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A GRAND EXPERIMENT:
ADULT EDUCATION IN THE
CANADIAN OVERSEAS MILITARY FORCES
DURING THE FIRST WORLD WAR

by

Stewart A.G. Mein

Submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements
for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

at

Dalhousie University
Halifax, Nova Scotia
February, 1994

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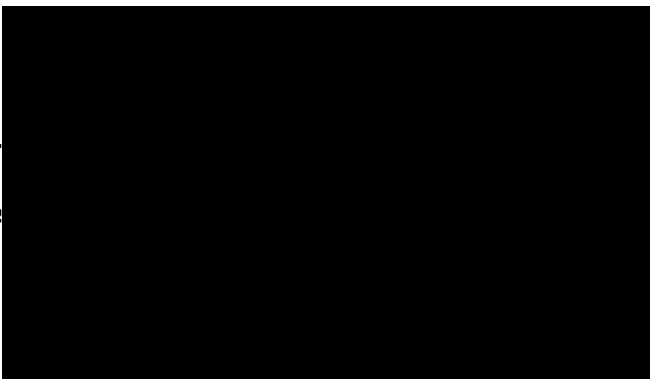
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DEDICATION

To my long-suffering wife Lillian for her support and active contribution to this project and for her waiting for family life to properly begin. To my children Ronald, David, and Richard for coping with a student-father during their early years on earth. To my father and mother for their support in bringing this project to a successful conclusion. It is to my everlasting regret that my mother did not live long enough to see the results of her contribution to this work. She was a gentlewoman in her life and in her death. She lived and died with dignity.

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ABSTRACT

This dissertation examines the origin and growth of the adult education movement in the Canadian overseas military forces in the First World War, as presented through official military documents and the letters written by two of the principal participants, Clarence MacKinnon, then Principal of Pine Hill Divinity School, Halifax and Edmund Oliver, then Principal of St. Andrew's Theological College, Saskatoon.

The dissertation outlines the scope of the adult education movement in the CEF in World War One, tracing four distinct phases of development of the movement. The first of these phases began in August, 1914, at Camp Valcartier, and grew out of the YMCA's mandate to provide educational activity to the CEF. In the second phase of adult education activity, Khaki Colleges were instituted in the 5th Canadian Division in Witley Camp, in Britain, by Clarence MacKinnon and spread to other camps through the work of the Chaplain Service. The third phase took place in France, in the Canadian Corps, where the University of Vimy Ridge was formed by E.H. Oliver under the direction of General Lipsett of the 3rd Canadian Division. In the fourth phase, the Khaki University was instituted in Britain by the Canadian Education Service under H.M. Tory in early 1918. The Khaki University absorbed the Khaki Colleges in Britain and the University of Vimy Ridge in France and began work in the other units in France such as the Forestry Corps.

This dissertation puts forward three conclusions about the adult education movement in the Canadian overseas forces during the First World War. First, Henry Marshall Tory, then Principal of the University of Alberta, is usually given credit for starting the adult education movement in the CEF during World War One. Although Tory was one of the founders of the educational movement, evidence, primarily their own words, indicates that Clarence MacKinnon and E.H. Oliver did the work that turned his planning into actuality. Secondly, although it can be accurately said that the adult education movement in the Canadian forces overseas provided the impetus for similar movements in other armies, it has been generally understood that it was the activity of the Khaki University in Britain under Tory that provided the basis for the adult education activity that spread throughout the British and Dominion armies and, then to other armies of the world. In fact, it was the work of Oliver and the University of Vimy Ridge that became the "model" for educational work in the British and Dominion field armies. Finally this dissertation also shows that although the adult education movement overseas provided the impetus for similar activity in other armies around the world, it had little effect on the post-war, re-establishment activity in Canada, or on subsequent adult educational activity in the post-war Canadian civilian or military adult education community until World War Two.

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Producing any written work of history, be it thesis, dissertation, or book, is for the author often-times a lonely struggle. The work, however, is never totally a solitary effort. Whatever is put on paper by the author requires the input of many other people. I would like to thank all those who contributed to the completion of this dissertation.

First, I would like to thank my dissertation committee, Professors Michael Welton and B. Anne Wood of the Department of Education, Dalhousie University and James H. Morrison, Dean of Arts, Saint Mary's University, for their suggestions, guidance, and patience.

This dissertation is the product of a four year search for source material in many libraries and archives throughout Canada and I would like to thank the many librarians, archivists, and staff in those various institutions for their help and interest in the project. In particular I would like to thank Mrs. Carolyn Earle, Acting Interim Archivist, Maritime Conference Archives of the United Church, at The Atlantic School of Theology in Halifax, Mr Allen Robertson of the Public Archives of Nova Scotia and Ms. Heather MacKinnon, of Halifax, grand-daughter of Rev. Clarence MacKinnon. Also in Halifax I was helped by the staff of the Dalhousie University archives and by Dr. R. H. McDonald, Research Archivist, Parks Canada at the Halifax Citadel National Historic Park. Thanks also to Lieutenant Colonel Ray Elliston of the Atlantic Militia Area Headquarters in Halifax, Mr. Bruce F. Ellis, Curator of the Army Museum, Halifax Citadel and Master Corporal S.G. Braye, librarian of the Cambridge Military Library, Halifax. I would also like to thank the staff of the McGill University Archives, the staff of the Atwater Mechanics Institute and Mme. Diane Tetreault, Director of Financial Development and Public Affairs, Metropolitan Office of Y.M.C.A. in Montreal. I would like to acknowledge the help given by Dr. Carl Christie and Major Catherine Allen, Directorate of History, Department of National Defence and the staff of the National Archives, the National Library and the National Defence Library in Ottawa. I was also given assistance by Mrs. Ann Melvin, librarian of the Royal Canadian Military Institute in Toronto and by Ms. Garron Wells, Archivist, University of Toronto Archives. In Kingston, I was fortunate to have the help of Mr. Benoit Cameron of the Massey Library, Royal Military College, Mr. Serge Champion of the Fort Frontenac Library, National Defence College and the staff of Queen's University Archives. Mr. Trevor Powell of the Saskatchewan Archives Board in Regina, Mrs. Bert Bartindale, Archival Assistant, University of Saskatchewan Archives in Saskatoon and Ms. Shelly Sweeney and Ms. Selina Coward of the University of Regina Archives were also of great assistance, as was Ms. Fay Hutchinson, Archivist, University of Alberta Archives in Edmonton.

Part I
INTRODUCTION

Origins of the Work

It all began with the deceptively innocent question; although there are various agencies and directorates involved in providing education and training in the Canadian Forces, why is there nothing comparable in the Canadian military to the Royal Army Education Corps of the British army? The answer to this question proved to be extremely complex and it uncovered a little known story of Canadian adult education originating in the Canadian Expeditionary Force of the First World War which gave rise to the Khaki University, an institution set up to provide instruction to Canadian soldiers overseas who were fighting that war.

The story of adult education in the Canadian overseas forces during World War One featured many of the leading Canadian academics of the day, who became involved with mass adult education in the army. This "grand experiment" as one of them, Henry Marshall Tory, then principal of the University of Alberta and later, the Khaki University, termed it, did not survive in the post-war Canadian military. However, the idea did take root in the British army where it led to the development of the Royal Army Education Corps. The Canadian experience also led to the establishment of similar organizations in other Dominion armies, such as those of

Australia and New Zealand. The idea of popular mass education in the army as developed by Canadian adult educators during the First World War provided the basis for subsequent adult educational activity in most of the modern armies in the Western world, including the United States.

At the end of the war, each formation of the Canadian forces that served overseas was ordered to provide a record of its wartime activities. These records were later to be made into an official history of Canada's participation in the war. A history of the Khaki University was never completed. This led to another intriguing question, why was it not done? The answer uncovered a controversy that alters the whole understanding of the development of adult educational activity in the Canadian forces overseas at that time and challenges the accepted version of the roles of those who were engaged in it.

Purpose of the Dissertation

Since, to this time, a body of academic literature around the subject of military adult education in the Canadian overseas forces during World War One, hardly exists, a "constructional" rather than an analytical framework was adopted for this work. The dissertation may be seen as laying the ground work for future study of the subject of military adult education, and there are many opportunities for further work in this field.

There are many ways of writing history and many intellectual tools of analysis and interpretation that historians can employ in exercising their craft. The usefulness of these tools and their appropriateness vary according to the purpose of the work. Since the writing of history is generally contextual, historiographic methods shift over time and it is the responsibility of the historian to choose the most appropriate method of presenting historical material. Since this work is near the beginning of the study of the history of Canadian military adult education, I have chosen to present a detailed study of one of its seminal events, based on the evidence of source material. This study may ultimately fit into some future analytical framework when more becomes known about the field.

The purpose of this dissertation therefore, is not to analyze the theory or philosophical underpinnings of Canadian military adult education, rather it is to tell a story. This story has not been told before and it alters the accepted version of the work of Canadian adult educators overseas in World War One. The dissertation tells the story of two educators, Clarence MacKinnon and Edmund H. Oliver who, in the midst of the bloodiest war known to mankind, provided opportunities for adult education to occur. They not only organized opportunities for adult learning, but they created two educational institutions, the Khaki Colleges in England (which led to the creation of the Khaki University) and the

University of Vimy Ridge in France. This dissertation tells the story of the origins, growth, and development of these adult education institutions in the Canadian overseas military forces through an examination of official military documents of the time, and letters written home by the principal participants as they lived through the events they were shaping.

The Khaki Colleges, the first of these institutions, were created by Clarence MacKinnon initially to provide a learning environment for the future men of his church. They later grew into institutions that provided the secular intellectual stimulus thirsted for by those men who had interrupted their pursuit of knowledge to go to war, and were waiting in England to fight in France. The second, the University of Vimy Ridge, was put together by E.H. Oliver in the Canadian Corps, on the battlefields of France.

The story told in this dissertation had laid dormant for some seventy five years. It is a story of courage, of dedication, and of perseverance against wartime conditions. But, above all, it is a story of the frustration of men of action with the interference of petty men of bureaucracy. The story of the work of these two men has been pieced together from primary material, including the messages, orders, route letters and the other minutia of military life, but mostly it is told through the eyes and the words of the participants themselves, words taken from the letters these two men wrote

home continuously to their wives at the time, and which have since laid deeply buried in archival boxes.

Specifically, the dissertation is a chronological narrative that traces the origins and development of the adult education movement set up as military units in the Canadian Expeditionary Force (CEF), including the role of the Young Mens' Christian Association (YMCA), the Canadian Chaplain Service, the University of Vimy Ridge, the Khaki Colleges and the Khaki University and, the examination of the activities of the principal participants involved in these institutions.

Since this is not a "comparativist" work, adult education activity in the British, other Dominion, or the other Allied armies of World War One were not examined or contrasted with the Canadian educational movement. This approach has been well explored in the work of Semple (1) and, to a lesser extent, that of Boshier (2). As well, except for the YMCA, the activities of the other Canadian agencies that provided ancillary support to the CEF, such as the Knights of Columbus, the Salvation Army and the Red Cross, are not examined. As yet, except in their institutional histories, no examination of the work of these organizations during the First World War, has been undertaken.

The dissertation also addresses a number of previously unanswered questions which came to the fore when examining the adult education movement in the CEF during World War One. These questions include:

1. What was the adult education movement in the CEF in World War One and what form did it take? This question is answered through examining the work of the YMCA, the University of Vimy Ridge, the Khaki Colleges, and the Khaki University. The dissertation examines how these agencies were structured, what programs they offered and what type of curriculum was used.
2. Where did the adult education activity take place? The dissertation looks at the implications of the fact that adult education activity was exclusively a part of the overseas Canadian forces and was not part of the militia establishment in Canada.
3. When did it take place? Although adult education activity was present in some form all throughout the war, its application can be divided into a number of phases. In this dissertation, four phases are identified and described. The first phase began in Canada at the outbreak of the war, growing out of the YMCA mandate for educational matters at Camp Valcartier in September, 1914 and the early idealism of chaplains and the academic community in the well-being of the troops at Camp Hughes in 1916. The second phase took place in England in the form of adult education classes in the Khaki College started by Clarence MacKinnon in the 5th Division at Witley Camp in the summer of 1917. Under MacKinnon's supervision, similar classes were provided in other camps by the Canadian Chaplain Service. The third phase of the adult education movement took place in France where the University

of Vimy Ridge was established in the 3rd Canadian Infantry Division of the Canadian Corps by Dr. Edmund H. Oliver, early in 1918. In the fourth phase, the Khaki University was instituted by Dr. Henry Marshall Tory in England in the summer of 1918. The Khaki University absorbed all other adult education activities in Britain including the Khaki Colleges. In France, the University of Vimy Ridge was also merged into the Khaki University. This fourth phase of adult education activity in the Canadian forces overseas came to an end in the summer of 1919 when the Khaki University closed.

4. How did the movement come about? What was the political and administrative activity surrounding the establishment of the various educational institutions in the Canadian military forces overseas?

5. Who were the people involved in carrying out adult education in the Canadian overseas forces? Although many people were involved in the process in one way or another, the dissertation features two principal characters, Clarence MacKinnon, then Principal, Pine Hill Divinity School, Halifax, Nova Scotia, and Dr Edmund H. Oliver, then Principal, Presbyterian Theological College, University of Saskatchewan, and follows their activity through the voluminous letters home to the wives during the war years, featuring their perceptions of events.

The story focuses on their work overseas and their relationship with Dr. Henry Marshall Tory, then principal of

the University of Alberta, who became the head of the overseas educational movement. The standard interpretation by the literature on the subject of adult education in the Canadian military during the war, such as it is, generally credits Henry Marshall Tory as being the instigator of the movement (3), however, evidence exists to suggest that MacKinnon, Oliver and the men working with them, were more influential in making adult education in the Canadian overseas forces come to pass. The dissertation examines this issue and why Tory is given credit for starting the movement. For instance, Tory's biographer, Ned Corbett, who worked with Tory in the Khaki University, took this view and used Tory's diary as the foundation for his work. Others (4) have alluded to the idea that Tory was not the instigator of Canadian army adult education, however, the source documents have never before been thoroughly examined with a view to supporting this case. In this dissertation, the letters of the other two leading participants in the overseas educational movement, E.H. Oliver and Clarence MacKinnon, are examined for the first time and the story of the educational movement is told primarily from their perspective, as they wrote about it at that time.

6. What was the purpose of the adult education movement in the Canadian military overseas? The dissertation examines the reasons behind the establishment of the various agencies that delivered adult education to the troops and the motives which guided the thinking of those who established the institutions.

In the early years of the war, the emphasis on the part of the YMCA was to provide a "wholesome" environment for the leisure activities of the troops. Later, the Chaplain Service provided classes and other learning activities for the benefit and personal advancement of the soldiers. As the emphasis and the control of adult education began to move initially from the YMCA who had a mandate to provide it, to the Chaplain Service, an antagonism began to develop between the two organizations. This antagonism was further enhanced when Dr. Henry Marshall Tory was sent overseas by the YMCA to establish an "educational service" in the Canadian overseas forces and the control of adult education was removed from the chaplains and made part of the military establishment under Tory. This dissertation examines the relationship which existed between the two services and explores their different views of what adult education in the overseas forces was supposed to do. As the war progressed, adult education through the Khaki University became part of the official demobilization and re-establishment program of the Canadian overseas forces. As part of the re-establishment program, mass adult education became a basis for teaching "citizenship" in the army as a counter to Bolshevism and became a means of "regulating" the return of the troops to civilian life, rather than mass demobilization that would release all at once, thousands of unemployed soldiers into the civilian community.

7. Finally, did the adult education movement in the Canadian

overseas forces have any effect on the development of other adult education activity overseas or in Canada, during the war or afterwards, or was it a "grand experiment" that came to nothing? The dissertation examines how Canadian adult education activity influenced similar war-time schemes in the British and other Dominion armies and why adult education activity continued in the post-war armies of those countries.

In the British army, adult education activity during the war became part of the army establishment, staffed by military personnel and a regular officer was put in charge. Therefore it had a chance of survival in the British army. After the war, the Army Education Corps was placed on the regular army establishment and adult education became an integral part of British army training. This did not happen in the post-war reorganized Canadian army. Unlike in the British army where, during the war, adult education became part of the army establishment administered by soldiers, in the Canadian system the educational service was a department of the Overseas Military Forces of Canada and not a department of the Canadian militia. The educational service was administered by civilians who had been brought into the army and not by army officers. These academics returned to the universities after the war and therefore no educational organization remained in the OMFC to be absorbed into the post-war Canadian Army. In Australia and New Zealand military adult education became linked to larger social movements such as the Workers' Education Association.

This helped to assure the survival of adult education in the armies of those countries after the war. This did not happen in Canada.

The dissertation also examines the lack of a relationship of adult education in the OMFC to the rehabilitation process in the Department of Soldiers, Civil Re-establishment and veteran's groups after the war. It also looks at the part played by adult educators who worked in the Canadian overseas forces, on adult education activity in the universities of post-war Canada. Tory, on his return from the war, tried to promote the Canadian Officer Training Corps on university campuses as a means of fostering "citizenship" among the future leaders of the country. He also was involved in the Canadian Citizenship Council, as was Ned Corbett, who was also involved with the setting up of the Canadian Association of Adult Education.

By using these questions as a framework for examining the adult education movement in the Canadian overseas forces during the First World War, through the writings of Oliver and MacKinnon, it is possible to come up with an entirely different picture of the work overseas than that which is the generally accepted version. It is also possible to put forward in this dissertation, three conclusions about the movement that have not previously been advanced. First, although it can be accurately said that the adult education movement in the Canadian forces overseas provided the impetus

for similar movements in other armies, it has been generally understood, based primarily on the work by Corbett and other leaders in the post-war Canadian adult education movement, that it was the activity of the Khaki University in Britain under Tory which provided the basis for the adult education activity that spread throughout the British and Dominion armies and, from them, throughout the armies of the world. In fact, because it was part of the military system, it was the work of Oliver that became the "model" for other educational work in the British and Dominion field armies, through the orders of Field Marshal Haig.

Secondly, it can be stated that, although Tory may have planned the overseas educational work, it was Oliver and MacKinnon who actually put a functioning movement into place. Finally this dissertation also shows that the adult education movement overseas had little effect on the post-war re-establishment activity in Canada, on subsequent adult educational activity in the civilian community and did not remain as part of the Canadian military forces after the war, as it did in other armies. This did not happen primarily because adult education was not rooted in the Canadian military establishment or run by serving Canadian officers.

Organization of the Dissertation

The dissertation is organized chronologically by topics and is divided into three parts. The first part, consisting

of the introduction and chapters one and two, provides a background for the story of the adult education activity of MacKinnon and Oliver in World War One. Chapter one introduces the topic of military adult education and relates some of the problems of recognizing it as a distinct area of study. Chapter two provides some background material on adult education activity which took place in the British army, before World War One, to show that there had been a history of adult education before that war, in the army from which the Canadian military emerged. The chapter also examines the rich legacy of adult education in the British army as part of the great surge of social activism that swept through British and Canadian society in the late 19th and early 20th Centuries. It shows that the work of adult educators in the military in World War One did not arise from a vacuum.

In part two, which comprises chapters three, four, five and six, the four phases of the Canadian overseas adult education movement are chronicled. Chapter three outlines the progress of the war, as an introductory background to the time, in late 1917, when MacKinnon and Oliver put their universities in place, and the "formal" aspect of the overseas educational movement began. In this chapter, the early years of the war are traced through the activities of the student-soldiers who joined the battalions of the Canadian Expeditionary Force, specifically the Princess Patricia's Canadian Light Infantry (PPCLI) of the 3rd Division and the

28th Battalion from Saskatchewan, of the 2nd Division. The unfolding of the military events of the war is seen from the perspective of the men in those particular battalions. The chapter also describes the "educational" activity of the YMCA within the context of those first years of the war. This period, from September, 1914, to August, 1917, is treated as the first of four stages in the development of adult education in the Canadian overseas forces.

Chapter four chronicles the early development of the Khaki Colleges, the first of the formal learning institutions developed overseas, in England by Clarence MacKinnon and the Canadian Chaplain Service, from their beginning in the 5th Canadian Infantry Division in France during the summer of 1917 to their absorption into the Khaki University in late 1918. This period is treated in the dissertation as the second of the phases in the development of adult education in the Canadian forces overseas.

In chapter five, the military career of Dr. Edmund H. Oliver is followed from his enrolment in the 196th (Western Universities) Infantry Battalion to his launching of the University of Vimy Ridge, the second of the learning institutions overseas, in the 3rd Canadian Infantry Division in November of 1917. The chapter also outlines the activities of that university from its inception to its eventual absorption into the Khaki University in late 1918. This is seen as the third phase of development of adult education in

the Canadian overseas forces.

Chapter six details the establishment of the Canadian Education Service and the Khaki University in England by Dr. Henry Marshall Tory in 1918 and follows the progress of that institution from its inception until it was disbanded in May, 1919. This university was the culminating effort at adult education overseas and absorbed the work done by MacKinnon in England and Oliver in France. The chapter outlines the attempts by Tory to utilize the Khaki University as a learning environment within the demobilization process of the Canadian overseas forces. This is the fourth and final phases of adult education in the Canadian military overseas.

Part three includes chapter seven and the conclusion. In chapter seven the impact, or lack of it, that the military adult education movement which had been developed in the Canadian forces overseas during the war, had on the post-war Canadian military, and on Canadian society in general, is examined. A conclusion summarizes the points raised in the dissertation about the work of the Canadian overseas adult education movement. It emphasizes that the movement comprised four distinct phases, and that three clear conclusions can be drawn from it. First, although Henry Marshall Tory is usually considered to be the "founder" of the Canadian overseas educational movement, his "idea" was put into effect by Clarence MacKinnon and Edmund Oliver. Secondly, that although the Khaki University of Tory is usually credited as being the

model for similar work in the British and other Dominion contingents of the BEF, in fact it was Oliver's University of Vimy Ridge that was copied throughout the Imperial field armies. Finally, that although it had little impact in Canada, the importance of the work of MacKinnon, Oliver and Tory was its influence on the development of adult education in the post war armies of other countries.

The style used in this dissertation for the "core" chapters, which are four, five and six, is to allow the featured participants to describe the unfolding of events themselves through excerpts quoted from their letters. Therefore all background commentary (necessary or gratuitous), "colour", interesting asides and supporting documentary material that reinforce the text, has been placed in the "end notes" so as not to disrupt the flow of the narrative.

Chapter 1

MILITARY ADULT EDUCATION

The Role of Adult Education in the Military

Adult education since the late 18th and early 19th centuries has been an important part of the development of nations and nationalism throughout Europe and those areas of the world such as the Americas and Australia, which fell under the influence of the European cultural tradition. The nations which grew up on the continents of North and South America, in Australasia, and the colonies founded on the continents of Asia and Africa by the European powers, all in one way or another were influenced by adult education in both their civil and military communities. Military adult education was an integral part of this vast cultural movement.

Although much has been written about adult education both within an historical and contemporary context, the impact of adult education within the military both in war and in peace and the influence of military adult education within the civil community, have been neglected areas of study. Semple's (1) comparative study of Australian and Canadian military adult education in World War One and the work of Boshier, outlining the New Zealand experience, (2) are examples of some studies that have been done in this area.

Military Adult Education in War

The role of military adult education during wartime can be seen in relation to three phases of warfare; mobilization of an army for war, the conduct of the war itself, and the demobilization of an army at the end of a war. During the mobilization phase, adult education can be, and has been, used to prepare a nation for war. A modern technological nation fighting a modern war needs to raise an army from among its population that is able to understand military activities and can manipulate military technology. This is done by instituting educational programs that will give those who will become soldiers the academic and technical skill level necessary for them to perform their duties within the military.

In sustaining a war, adult education can be and was, used to provide for the intellectual welfare of the troops within the army itself or to those who have been taken as prisoners of war. Adult education activities for prisoners of war and internees were generally done through the International Red Cross. Adult education can be used to motivate soldiers to fight, through the distribution of information that will help them to identify with the aims and objectives of the nation conducting the war. It can also help keep up the morale of the troops by giving them an understanding of the larger purpose behind their sacrifice and a vision of the "new world" their efforts are helping to create. Activities such as

"current affairs" classes and "army newsreels" have been used to this end. Wartime information boards were also used to boost civilian morale. Adult education also can be, and has been, used to "re-educate" or "rehabilitate" soldiers of the opposing or "losing" nation's (or in a civil war the losing faction's) army.

In the demobilization phase, adult education was and can be, used to give citizen soldiers the skills necessary for them to return home after a war is over and to take their place in the civilian community they fought to preserve. Equipping soldiers with these skills is also a convenient way of keeping them gainfully employed during the period between the cessation of hostilities and their release from the military.

All of these adult education activities were present in the Canadian Expeditionary Force in the first World War. They were carried out by civilian agencies such as the YMCA (which was appointed as one of the ancillary services to the Canadian overseas forces), and by military institutions such as the Chaplain's Service, the University of Vimy Ridge, and the Khaki University. Some 50,000 Canadian citizen soldiers were directly engaged in one way or another in adult education activities during World War One and lectures on topics of general interest were delivered to some 600,000 more who were serving in Britain and on the Continent in the Canadian Forestry Corps, the Canadian Corps, the Cavalry Corps,

Canadian Railway Troops, the Royal Flying Corps and Royal Air Force, Lines of Communication units, and other formations.

Military Adult Education in Peacetime

An army can also be used as an agent for mass adult education in peacetime. It can be used to effectively spread a political ideology or to provide for basic educational skills such as literacy throughout the population of a nation or colony. This can take place in two ways, first, by enlisting or conscripting the youth of a nation into the army and educating or politicizing them during their period of service within the military. Secondly, an army can be sent out into the nation itself to provide basic educational services or to implant the aims and objectives, or the political ideology of the government among the general population. This latter use of the military has occurred both historically and in our own time among developing nations and in situations of radical political changes through revolution within nations such as the former Soviet Union, China, Cuba, Iran, and Nicaragua.

Defining Military Adult Education

Situating military adult education within the context of education in general is not a particularly easy task. Military adult education is not an easy subject to define. In a practical sense, the act of transmitting knowledge to people

who are wearing the military uniform of their country may not seem to be too difficult a process to explain. However, when one tries to discover why these people are being educated and the widespread variations of the process that exist, and have existed in the historic past to achieve this end, the difficulty of putting the process into perspective becomes more apparent.

The first problem is to differentiate between military education and military training. Although many who have traced the development of vocational or professional training as a means of preparing people to take their place in an industrial state may not see this process as separated from other education, a barrier, even if somewhat artificial, must be erected for the purposes of this study at least, in order to properly make an attempt to define the concept of military adult education (3).

In the military sense, training may be considered to be the learning of those particular skills and activities which are required by soldiers to effectively carry out their professional role. Education on the other hand can be seen as acquiring that information which would enhance the soldiers' growth as individuals, or would help them to contribute as members of the larger national community in which they live.

Keeping this distinction between military training and education in mind, tracing the development of technical and professional training within the military would require an

examination of the origins and development of fortifications, weapons systems, tactics, and the other "mechanics" of warfare and the interaction with those of the people who would have to, or had to, employ or maintain them.

In tracing the development of military education, however, a completely different set of perspectives must be employed. Some aspects of military education belong within the field of "formal" education, that is, education centred on the intellectual development of the child or adult and on the institutions which perform this task. For example, the whole field of educating the dependants of soldiers becomes a part of this activity, just as would the education of children in any other identifiable group in society (4). Providing formal education, such as providing a school-leaving certificate for youthful members of the military (Boy Soldiers), especially when viewed within an historical context, also fits within this category. Although some military adult education also is formal education, much of it is not.

Military Adult Education and Adult Education

The problem of trying to situate military adult education within a larger intellectual context is similar to that which occurs when attempting to do the same for its "parent," adult education. In trying to account for the evolution of adult education it is necessary to keep in mind the continual debate over what adult education really is. Is it a

"profession," as is its sister endeavour, the formalized teaching of children, or is it a "movement," analogous to other social movements such as cultural nationalism, or the Social Gospel?

Military adult education is subject to the same sets of questions and controversies which surround the larger study of adult education, especially those questions which attempt to place the study of adult education either within the field of formal education or that of social and cultural development (5). But a similar debate has not yet occurred within the context of military adult education. That it has not happened may be because of its obscurity or perhaps because it is so closely connected with the concept of "military" that the idea that such a debate could occur seems incongruous. The rough boundaries for the study of military adult education seem to include the processes whereby soldiers are provided with knowledge that will help them live fuller lives as mature members of their society. This is a cultural activity and as such, puts military adult education squarely in the field of social development.

Writing Canadian History and the History of Canadian Adult Education

The hallmark of Canadian historiography, whether it be the nationalist approach of a Donald Creighton or the "liberal" approach of a Frank Underhill, has been an almost

neurotic obsession with the growth of the Canadian nation, national unity, and the survival of a distinct Canadian society. Canadian educational history, as a reflection of this national pastime, has generally dealt with the growth of Canadian educational activity within the framework of the growth of the Canadian nation. The interpretive frameworks of the history of education in Canada have evolved from a Whiggish approach with its focus on institutions and its assumed ideological neutrality (6), a type of history suitable for the legitimizing of the profession, through the liberal-humanitarianism of the moderate revisionists (7) to the social history of a Michael Katz (8).

The historiography of Canadian adult education is not so highly categorized. This is perhaps because there are so few writings which concentrate on the actual development of Canadian adult education as a separate and distinct process from Canadian education in general. Canadian adult education historical thought has yet to produce a Grattan (9) or a Thomas Kelly. Even the writings of J. Roby Kidd from an earlier period are only vignettes (10). The closest attempt to date to synthesize adult educational thought can be found in the work of Welton (11).

Tracing the History of Canadian Military Adult Education to World War One

In tracing the history of military adult education in

Canada, it is possible to observe a number of distinct stages of development. Firstly, the provincial militia of pre-Confederation British North America and locally raised "fencible" regiments, practically speaking, were adjuncts to the British forces or carried on the British army list. Therefore, all the auxiliary services they required, such as garrison schools, were provided through the British military system, so any military adult education activity existing before Confederation in British North America can be seen as being part of the history of British army adult education (12).

Although the ancillary services to the Canadian militia, including the provision of "formal" military adult education, were provided by the garrisons of the British military, the militia units themselves were an integral part of British North American colonial society. In their ranks were the farmers and the men from small towns who volunteered to serve in the Active Militia, or when they could not do so because of age or other restrictions, formed the "levee en masse" of the Sedentary Militia, which was called out on the annual muster day. The part-time nature of the militia, as one writer suggests (13), perhaps has been one of the reasons for the lack of social research into the Canadian military, since it is not easy for social scientists to study the militia as a distinct entity, in isolation from the Canadian society of which it was a part. This perhaps also accounts for its

exclusion until recently (14), from Canadian social history. Because of this anonymity it is also difficult to see that the social factors which had an impact on Canadian society also had an impact on the Canadian militia. This can be said for both the pre- and post-Confederation Canadian militia.

In the next stage of its evolution, after Confederation, in the mid to late nineteenth century, adult education in the Canadian militia was part of a fundamentalist Protestant movement for social reform. Methodism, through the YMCA, was the chief agent for the promotion of the Christian ideals of temperance and the improvement of the individual, and society, through education.

Some of those who were prominent in this area of work were also aware of the changing attitudes in the field of education. The movement for "liberal," or "pupil centred" education was formed around the ideal of the "self-sufficient" person who was educated for self-enrichment. To this end, agencies like the "Macdonald Schools" in Nova Scotia stressed activities such as gardening along with academic subjects that would be of value to citizens of the country. These activities were preferred over a non-productive "classical" (or "content" centred) education. Educators such as James L. Hughes, superintendent of the Toronto school system at the turn of the century, advocated activities such as cadets and gymnastics as part of a "progressive" system of education (15). In North America at the turn of the century, a new

emphasis in education had begun to take place. A more "scientific" form of education based on testing and "efficiency" emerged that was oriented more to "industrial" and vocational ends, and the "liberal" ideal began to be displaced (16).

In its next phase of development, during the first quarter of the twentieth century, the most traumatic event to shape the course of Canadian military adult education was the First World War. With thousands of Canadians flocking to the Colours to enlist, making each of the contingents of the Canadian Expeditionary Force (CEF) a cross-section of Canadian society, those agencies which saw it as their mission to provide social and educational services to Canadians in analogous situations, the forestry and the railway camps of the North and the West, naturally turned their attention to this new social phenomenon. They saw no difference in providing these same services to Canadian citizens temporarily in uniform. The brother of James Hughes, Sam Hughes, who was minister of militia when the First World War broke out, true to his Methodist upbringing, was anxious to see "wholesome" diversions made available to the troops. To this end, he invited the YMCA, which had provided reading tents at militia summer camps and during the Boer War, to take charge of amenities for the Canadian Expeditionary Force.

Adult education in the CEF was begun by chaplains who had joined the army and who were educators in civilian life.

Their activities were focused on using education as a means of enriching the lives of the men while they were involved in their military duties and helping them continue studies which had been interrupted by the war. With the setting up of the ministry for the Overseas Military Forces of Canada, the command and administration of the overseas forces became centralized and the appointees of Hughes were displaced. When Sir Arthur Currie, from British Columbia, was appointed commander of the Canadian Corps many "scientific" approaches to the conduct of the war by Canadians were instituted. For example, Andrew McNaughten, a science professor from McGill turned gunner, introduced artillery coordination in the Canadian corps.

Gerald Birks of Montreal who had been put in charge of the YMCA activities for the CEF, invited H.M. Tory from the University of Alberta to coordinate educational activities of that agency in the overseas forces. Tory was originally from McGill University and had been involved in the establishment of UBC as an extension of McGill. Tory took the educational activity away from the chaplains and tried to institute a system based on formal academic activity, oriented towards demobilization. The clash between the two concepts as to the purpose of adult education in the overseas forces, resulted in an internal "political" battle within the CEF between the Chaplain Service and the Educational Service, allied with the YMCA. The Tory faction won out.

Arthur Currie ended up as president of McGill after the war. McNaughton became the head of the National Research Council and later chief of the defence staff. Tory, who had preceded McNaughton as head of the National Research Council in 1923, later went on to become president of Carlton College after World War Two.

The History of Canadian Military Adult Education as Social History

To understand the forces at work through the years in the Canadian militia which were shaping military adult education, it is necessary to see that those same forces were at work in the larger Canadian society. That this was so, is a very persuasive argument for situating the history of military adult education in Canada within the study of Canadian social or cultural history.

Carl Berger describes social history as an attempt to "recover the life experiences of ordinary people and to reduce the prominence of unrepresentative elites." He says that social historians possess "a keen appreciation of the importance of class and class conflict and the subtle ways in which membership in an economic, ethnic, or sexual group shaped consciousness and behaviour." He also notes the contributions of the social sciences to social history and acknowledges the effect of institutions in maintaining cultural stability. The study of the history of adult

education in general, and of military adult education in particular, especially with its links to the social reform movement, is compatible with this "bottom up" approach (17).

Writings in the history of adult education today are generally conscious of adult education as a social movement, and as such they rightly take their place in the field of Canadian social history. Berger further says of social history:

Social history in general represents a more intense involvement with anonymous social processes and structures that underpin whole ways of life. According to some of its more radical exponents a history that concentrated upon conscious intentions and actions was quite insufficient; the historian must understand human behaviour in relation to the material framework and structural formations within which they occurred and of which people in the past were unaware even though their lives were affected by them (18).

The history of adult education is more and more beginning to reflect this approach. So too should the history of military adult education.

Since, as has been said earlier, military adult education grew out of the social reform movement in twentieth century Canada, it can best be studied within the area of social history. The traditions of liberal education and fundamentalist Protestantism, as they manifested themselves through the Social Gospel movement, have both contributed to the theoretical structure of military adult education. This is particularly evident in the adult education programs of World War One and the rehabilitation activities which took

place in the immediate post-war period. The fact that army adult education in World War One was a temporary activity, conducted overseas by civilians in uniform who went back to the civil community to continue their work there at the conclusion of hostilities, shows that the military aspect was simply an extension of this whole social movement and can only be adequately understood within this context. Canadian military adult education of the twentieth century, then, within the larger world of Canadian adult education, was an integral part of the early twentieth century social reform movement. The history of Canadian adult education, then, can be treated as the history of a social movement, and therefore rests within the context of Canadian social history.

The History of Canadian Military Adult Education as Military History

The history of Canadian military adult education, however, can also be seen as one of the areas of study within the larger field of military history. Recording the activities of the organizations which provided adult educational services is certainly a form of military history, but it is not "traditional" military history. It is often not even recognized by military historians as being worthy of inclusion within their subject area (19). Generally, military history instead has been recognized as "operational" military history. Those who practise it have concentrated primarily on

tactics, strategy, "institutional" regimental histories, and military biographies, or as Berger describes it, "drum and trumpet romanticism (20)." The primary source material for these histories in large measure was the war diaries kept by regimental officers. During the Second World War historical officers were attached to each of the Canadian divisions. Their job was to summarize the contents of these war diaries and produce material which would later be used by an official historian of Canadian army activity in the Second World War. The official historian turned out to be Charles P. Stacey who has been described as "the country's finest practitioner of technical history (21)." Stacey's writings may be considered as the beginnings of Canadian "nationalist" military history. He was the initiator of the army historical section, later to become the Directorate of History in the National Defence Headquarters of the Canadian Armed Forces. Most of the subsequent military historians who have contributed to Canadian nationalist military history have come from this directorate. They include among others, George Stanley (later to become a lieutenant-governor of New Brunswick (22), J. Mackay Hitsman, J.L. Granatstein, and Desmond Morton.

Chapter 2

EARLY ADULT EDUCATION ACTIVITY IN THE BRITISH ARMY AND IN THE CANADIAN MILITIA BEFORE WORLD WAR ONE

Early Adult Education in the British Army

The history of adult education in the British army reaches back to the days of Oliver Cromwell. The leaders of the Commonwealth saw it as important to spread the ideology of fundamentalist Protestantism throughout the army. To this end study groups were formed, led by "preachers" whose primary purpose was to promote discussions on theology (1). This approach to religious education, carried on within the New Model Army, spread outward into the nation at large as the troops, upon the army's disbandment, were integrated back into the civil community. More forcefully, fundamentalism was enforced through the edicts of the "rule of the major-generals." This undue influence over the activities of the state by an "informed" army was one of the principle reasons for the subsequent British practice from the Restoration onward, of relegating the army to a non-political, subordinate place on the periphery of society, and for the tradition among British army officers of being studiously disinterested in political affairs. One of the major legacies of that era was the influence of Nonconformist thinking which, through religious expressions such as Methodism, continued to linger on as the basis for various reform movements within the

British army and within British society in general.

The few records of army education from that time which still exist (2) indicate that when the professional army was formed after the Restoration, schools for dependants and young soldiers were established in overseas garrisons such as Tangier, Gibraltar, and Madras. It was in this latter garrison, still operated by the army of the East India Company, where the Reverend Andrew Bell, in the early nineteenth century, devised his system of instruction (3).

Educating the soldier was not altogether an altruistic act. In fact, it became highly politicized. To some, state induced learning was looked upon as an antidote to political populist movements, both social and religious. Especially in the age before barracks, when regiments were billeted among the civil community and tracts advocating social reform were freely circulated, soldiers were highly susceptible to radical political thought. This led to a number of incidents, even outright mutinies (4) within some units. Prayer meetings held by fundamentalist protestant groups such as the Methodists, in which officers often mingled as equals with their soldiers, threatened the hierarchical structure of the army. These threats to stability and cohesion within the military system led directly to the establishment of a Chaplaincy General Department and to formalized educational activity for soldiers.

This is not to say that there was not some opposition to

soldiers being educated. As one officer expressed it, "A fellow that can write, can draw petitions (5)." He was not too far wrong. The famous radical pamphleteer and advocate of working men's education, William Cobbett, started out as an illiterate soldier in the ranks. He showed a single-minded perseverance to better himself however, by learning to read and write, thereby rising to the appointment of Regimental Sergeant-Major in his regiment. As he said of his early educational experience in the army,

"The edge of my berth or that of my guard bed was my seat to study in. My knapsack was the book-case; a bit of board lying on my lap was the writing-table. I had no money to purchase candle or oil; in winter time it was rarely that I could get any light but that of the fire, and only my turn of that. To buy a pen or a sheet of paper I was compelled to forego some portion of food. I had no time that I could call my own; and I had to read and write amongst the talking, laughing, singing, whistling and bawling of at least half a score of the most thoughtless of men, and that, too, in their hours of freedom from control (6).

Cobbett's road to self-improvement led to his becoming politicized and he later went on to become a political activist and publisher of Reformist tracts. In later years with the establishment of garrison reading rooms and libraries, those men committed to learning had a much easier time of it.

The Adult Education Movement in Great Britain in the 19th Century

The upgrading of the general level of education among

soldiers stemmed from the need of the army to have a more technically proficient, and literate, body of men who would be capable of dealing with the more sophisticated types of machinery that, as a result of the Industrial Revolution, were making their appearance in the army and in British society generally.

The increased interest in the British army of providing education to the troops, was a part of a much larger movement which occurred in Great Britain and the Empire in the latter part of the eighteenth century and throughout the nineteenth century. This was the movement to provide mass elementary education for children and to achieve mass literacy among adults. This activity was a part of an even larger movement to alleviate many of the more wretched social conditions then existing in British society. The movement was fuelled by the philanthropic efforts of utopian liberal aristocrat and Nonconformist protestant churches such as the Methodists. From among these groups grew organizations both within the military and without, whose purpose was to reform those unfortunates who had succumbed to the evils of drunkenness or who were victims of social or industrial exploitation. This was the same kind of impetus that led in the civil community to the formation of such things as working men's educational schemes and mechanics' institutes (7).

The YMCA and Adult Education in the British Army in the 19th Century

Within the army, those engaged in this great social movement produced changes in living conditions by providing adequate housing through the construction of barracks and hutted camps, improvements in health and sanitation, especially after the Crimean War, and more attractive recreational facilities such as libraries and reading rooms. One of the largest and most influential of these military social organizations was the Army Temperance Association, which had chapters in both Regular and Volunteer units (8). This organization also existed in the Imperial garrisons of British North America.

The YMCA was founded in Great Britain by George Williams in 1844 and had been involved there in social reform work, including adult education. From its earliest years the YMCA had been involved with the military, providing literacy programs for adult soldiers. The movement flourished and expanded and eleven years later, in 1855, the first world convention of the YMCA was held in Paris. By 1890, the British YMCA was providing welfare and educational work at army summer training camps in that country (9).

The Professional Education of Officers in the British Army

The need for better education and greater technical proficiency was not confined to the other ranks. As the

nineteenth century progressed it became patently obvious, especially after the well publicized debacle of the Crimean War, that the British army would require more technically competent officers. This coincided in British society with the rise of two other social phenomena, "scientism" and professionalism. There had always been, from their inception, two highly technical corps in the British army, the Royal Artillery and the Royal Engineers. Apart from these two organizations, however, the emphasis on officer development in the British military had been oriented towards producing courageous and forceful leaders. This type of thinking was reflected in the preponderance of representation among the ranks of army officers of the upper caste of British society where these qualities were thought to have been most prevalent. In the last quarter of the nineteenth century the Cardwellian reforms of the British army, among other things, introduced the liberal concept of meritocracy into the selection of officers. After 1870 commissions were granted only to those who had completed the course at the Royal Military Academy, Woolwich. Places in the army which had once been reserved for the younger sons of the aristocracy were now going to capable young men from the middle class. This occasioned a great emigration of young upper class Englishmen to the colonies (10). With the introduction of staff college, senior officers of the British army were able to upgrade their knowledge of administrative work and receive a much wider

liberal education which included a heavy emphasis on the sciences (11).

Garrison Schools in the British Army in British North America

From 1840 to 1846, British army schoolmasters who were in charge of garrison schools, and who operated garrison libraries, were non-commissioned officers drawn from the particular regiment for which the school was set up. After 1846 they belonged to the Corps of Army Schoolmasters which was created in that year (12). British army regimental and garrison schools served two purposes. First, they existed to provide an elementary education for soldiers' dependant children and secondly to provide a similar education for the young and adult soldiers themselves (13).

During the nineteenth century, garrison schools existed throughout the Empire wherever British troops were stationed, including British North America. Garrisons, and therefore garrison schools, were established in New Westminster by the Royal Engineers and at Esquimalt, on the Pacific Coast; in St. John's Newfoundland, St. John, New Brunswick and at Halifax in the Atlantic region; in the Red River Settlement in Rupert's Land (14); and in Hamilton, York (Toronto), Kingston (15), Montreal (16), Quebec City, and later on, in pre-Confederation Ottawa, in the Province of Canada. These garrison schools became the model for those of the small Canadian Permanent Militia which was established shortly after Confederation.

The YMCA in British North America: Educating the British Soldier

The YMCA in Montreal was organized in late 1851. In December of that year, the first public meeting was held. Two years later, in 1853, the Halifax YMCA was founded (17). By 1854, the formation of the Confederation of YMCAs of the United States and British Provinces had taken place and, in 1856, the annual convention of YMCAs of the United States and British Provinces was held at Montreal. The 1861 YMCA annual convention was cancelled because of the impending U.S. Civil War. However, a special conference was called for the purpose of extending the work of the Association among the soldiers of the Union army of the United States (18).

Before Confederation, British troops were stationed at strategic points throughout the province of Canada and a number of British officers formed close connections with the YMCA. The YMCA had participated in adult education activity at the garrison school in Montreal as early as 1858. The Associations in both Montreal and Toronto extended invitations to the troops of the garrisons to attend YMCA functions. In February of 1863, the City Missionary of the Montreal Association organized small YMCAs for soldiers stationed in nearby communities (19).

In 1866, in reaction to the Fenian Raids, military camps were established at points near Montreal and Toronto and closer relations developed between the military and the

Association. Association workers in both areas visited the camps, conducting religious services and distributing tracts and other reading material. Invitations were regularly given by such workers to soldiers to use the YMCA rooms and in that year, "2000 visits were made to the Toronto Association rooms, and 804 wrote letters in the rooms" (20).

Confederation: The Canadian Militia and the YMCA

With the birth of the new Dominion, a national militia was formed when the militias of Nova Scotia and New Brunswick were united with the Canadian provincial militia through the federal Militia Act of 1868. The Canadian militia was organized into military districts. The districts were also divided into brigade divisions, regimental divisions, and company divisions, based on territorial distribution. Besides the military districts, the militia also included The Grand Trunk Railway Brigade, a railway volunteer corps of thirty-two companies, and The Civil Service Rifle Regiment. The militia had two components and all male inhabitants of the new Dominion between the ages of 18 and 60, if not exempt or disqualified by law and who were British Subjects, were liable for service in one of them, the sedentary militia. This component mustered once a year. Those required to fill the vacancies in the sedentary militia were selected by ballot. Service in the volunteer militia, the other component, was for three years. The total volunteer militia in Canada numbered

30,000. Since the militia was based on compulsory service, most young men in Canada were required to go on military duty for a few weeks every year.

In the post-Confederation era, by 1872, both the Toronto and Montreal YMCAs were offering evening classes. In the following year, the Montreal YMCA had 3,000 books in its library and the Toronto YMCA had 1,556 volumes in its library. A year later, the Toronto YMCA reported 400 visitors daily to its reading rooms while the Montreal YMCA reported a year end total of 60,000 visits to its library and reading rooms. A YMCA was started at McGill University in the late 1870s but lasted only briefly. The Association was revitalized when Luther D. Wishard, the first secretary of the Student Department of the YMCA, visited McGill in 1880. The Association again lapsed but was revived in 1884. In 1876, with the opening of the Royal Military College, a YMCA was established there. Canadian graduates from the college could take militia commissions or compete for places in the Imperial army (21).

The services provided by the YMCA to British regulars and to Canadian militiamen in their camps during the Fenian Raids were so successful that the organization was asked to carry on this type of work for the Canadian militia during the remaining years of the nineteenth and into the early twentieth centuries. Towards the end of the nineteenth century the Association had become an institution in militia camps in

Canada and had organized its own militia work committee to provide reading tents, writing facilities, entertainments, lectures, sports, gospel meetings, and the "dry" canteen (22).

In 1871, T.J. Wilkie, the Secretary of the YMCA for Toronto, established the Association's presence in the militia summer camp at Niagara-on-the-Lake. One of his helpers provided the following description of the event:

"Immediately after the formation of the camp at Niagara, Mr. T.J. Wilkie, the secretary of the Association at Toronto, Ontario, went over to the ground, and having obtained the kind permission of Adjutant-General Ross, erected a tent in the midst of the camp, and soon a white banner floated from the door, announcing it as the Reading-room of the Young Men's Christian Association. It was a large marquee, and was well supplied with Bibles, books, periodicals, and the daily newspapers, which were generously given by the Upper Canada Bible Society, and Messrs. James Campbell & Son, of Toronto. Pens, ink, and paper were also furnished gratis to all who desired them, and during the whole time of two weeks the tent was literally besieged by volunteers, who frequently manifested their gratitude and the way in which they appreciated the conveniences of the place by repeated expressions of approval" (23).

In addition to these services, Wilkie conducted two, sometimes three, prayer meetings daily and four on Sunday. These meetings were usually crowded, and the total effect was such as to make YMCA leaders feel that an important step had been taken in "making some of those sturdy volunteers of Canada enlist under the banner of the Lord Jesus Christ" (24). By 1880, in Canada, there were over 20,000 soldiers attending militia summer camps each year.

Methodism and Adult Education in the Canadian Militia

Adult education in the full and part-time Canadian militia was also influenced by the social reform movement. Throughout the latter half of the nineteenth century many organizations were formed to change various aspects of life in Canada. Some of these movements like the Grange in agriculture, were extensions of similar social reform activity occurring in the United States. Others, like the home nursing programs in public health, were patterned on similar schemes in Great Britain (25). The type of people involved in these various social reform activities included transplanted British Gladstonian liberal aristocrat such as the Governor General of the early 1890s and his wife, Lord and Lady Aberdeen, and Non-conformist clergy, usually Methodist, who adhered to the tenets of the social gospel.

Methodism, especially the Southern Ontario variety, was the shaping force for a number of people intimately connected with the Canadian militia. For one family from this region, the Hughes, religious belief was the foundation for the careers of four brothers who contributed to two very different and yet in some ways convergent, areas of community life. James L. Hughes, the eldest of the brothers, a disciple of the "New Education" movement in North America was a passionate advocate of child centred learning (26). His younger brother, Sam Hughes, a sometime teacher, journalist, and militia officer, was later to become the minister of militia in the

government of Sir Robert Borden. It was his rural Methodist upbringing that led Sam Hughes to see life as a citizen soldier as being an important service for an individual to perform for the state. It also led him to ban all alcoholic beverages at militia summer camps (27).

Cadet Training in Canada

The concept of service to the state was one that permeated much of the thinking within the English Central Canadian culture of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. It found its expression not only in military circles but also within the field of education. James Hughes for instance, was an enthusiastic supporter of the teaching of civics and of cadet training. He promoted the establishment of cadet corps throughout the Toronto school system with such overwhelming success that their annual inspections became the highlight of that city's May 24th celebrations (28).

Although cadet corps had existed in private schools in the Canadas since the mid-nineteenth century, the cadet movement as a mass educational phenomenon in Canada began in Nova Scotia. In 1896, the Halifax School board authorized its supervisor, Alexander McKay, to organize cadet corps in the city schools. The first to do so was the Halifax Academy. Cadet training as an educational activity was seen by those who promoted it as a means of instilling discipline, character, and physical well-being in school children (29).

When Frederick Borden became minister of militia in the Laurier government that year, he started to build a national cadet movement. Using government facilities and funds from the Strathcona Trust, Borden and the general officer commanding the militia, General Major General E.T.H. Hutton, developed the cadet movement as part of a citizen's "national army." Cadet instructors, who were teachers, took training for certificates that would qualify them to become officers in the militia. Cadet training was an expression of the strong sense of militarism present in the English Canadian society of that day. It was a militarism fuelled by Central English Canadian imperialism and by British imperialism. The other expression of this militarism was, of course, the militia.

Forging a "National Army"

The concept of the militia as a "national army" was the objective of a number of Canadian imperialist-nationalists (30). Their primary vehicles of expression were the Canadian Military Institute, founded in 1890 and Canadian Defence League formed in 1909. A leading member in both these organizations, Lieutenant Colonel William Hamilton Merritt was the chief advocate of universal conscription in Canada (31). As with the cadet movement the idea of universal compulsory military service in the militia was seen by many of these men not only as an expression of militarism but also as a means of increasing the overall physical capacity of Canadian young

men, especially since so many were now coming from an urban environment. It was also a way to instill good old fashioned rural values of manliness and self-sufficiency. These certainly were among the primary objectives of Sam Hughes.

The South African War and the Canadian YMCA

In the Canadian general election of June, 1896, the Conservatives under Sir Charles Tupper were defeated by the Liberal party led by Wilfrid Laurier. Laurier's government lasted until October, 1911. His minister of militia and defence was Frederick William Borden. Frederick Borden was a military enthusiast. His primary interest was in fashioning a national force which would augment Imperial troops in the defence of the Empire and his chief supporter in this enterprise was Major General E.T.H. Hutton, the British officer who was General Officer Commanding the Canadian Militia.

In 1899, the Boer War began. Hutton, Lord Minto, then the Governor General of Canada, and Joseph Chamberlain, the British colonial secretary, were primarily interested in forcing Laurier to send Canadian contingents to the Boer War (32). During the Boer War, those contingents sent from Canada to South Africa, went as Imperial troops, financed by the British government. In South Africa they had to depend on the British forces for most of their ancillary services. One of the agencies which provided many of those services was the

British YMCA. As a result of its experiences in militia camps the Canadian YMCA was asked to operate the ancillary services for the Canadian troops in conjunction with the Soldiers' Christian Association, of the British YMCA.

When the war began an Association representative, Dr. Howard G. Barrie accompanied the First Contingent to South Africa. He remained with that contingent until its return in October of 1900. In January, 1900 another representative of the Association, Thomas Best, accompanied the Second Contingent. These workers carried out the duties of the YMCA as they had been defined in the militia camps and also provided various "comforts" including food and beverages from their resources. The field activities of the YMCA, which continued until the Boer War ended in 1902, were to be a preparation for later work in World War One. The International Committee of the YMCA also took part in the other two wars at the turn of the twentieth century, the Spanish-American War and the Russo-Japanese War.

The YMCA continued its activities in militia camps in Canada after the Boer War. In 1910, the first permanent YMCA military building was erected at Aldershot, Nova Scotia, at a cost of \$2,500 with the Provincial Committee of the YMCA and the Military Council of the Canadian government sharing the cost.

Part III
Chapter 3
WORLD WAR ONE,
FROM YPRES TO PASSCHENDAELE,
AUGUST, 1914 TO NOVEMBER, 1917:
THE EARLY WAR WORK OF THE YMCA

War Clouds Gathered

On June 28, 1914, a chain of events was being forged in Europe which would alter the lives of each and every person throughout Canada. On that day, Archduke Ferdinand of Austria was assassinated at Sarajevo, Serbia. The troubles that precipitated that tragic event had their origins in the tangled treaties and alliances of the nations of Europe, extending back for better than forty years into the latter half of the 19th Century (1). The assassination led to Austria-Hungary declaring war on Serbia, and Russia mobilizing its army. Germany, allied with Austria-Hungary, declared war on Russia. France, allied with Russia, mobilized its army and Austria attacked Serbia. Germany declared war on France and marched into Belgium, against Belgium's protests, enroute to France. So was set in motion one of the most disastrous wars in the history of mankind.

On August 4, Great Britain, honouring its pledge to aid Belgium in the event of an attack, declared war on Germany and the British Expeditionary Force (BEF) landed in France on

August 17. Within days, the British army had clashed with the Germans in Belgium and had begun its retreat from Mons. The Germans, entering France, occupied and burned Louvain. Rheims was also occupied by the Germans and Paris came under siege. On August 8, 1914, the retreat from Mons ended when the "Old Contemptibles" made a stand and the 2nd British Corps under Sir Horace Smith-Dorrien, inflicted 9,000 casualties on the 1st German Army, sustaining 8,000 casualties of their own. On September 6, at the Battle of the Marne, a German army under Von Kluck was defeated by French and British forces under Joffre. The BEF pushed into a gap between the German 1st and 2nd armies and the Germans retired, retreating from their seige of Paris. The Germans halted just north of Arras, in Flanders, at Vimy Ridge where they dug in, building heavily fortified positions. The Germans held these positions until they were dislodged by the Canadian Corps of the 1st British Army, during the Easter Offensive of 1917.

In September, 1914, the BEF moved from Aisne to Flanders and the month long, First Battle of Ypres was fought. In this "race for the sea" the German forces withdrew to positions extending along a Soissons-Rheims-Verdun line and on October 10, 1914, Antwerp fell to the Germans. By the second week of that month, a "Western Front" line was established, extending from the Belgian coast to the Swiss border. Subsequently, the line did not vary much beyond 10 miles either way for the next two years (2). In November of 1914, a British War Council was

formed to fight the war. The Council was in essence an augmented and expanded Cabinet.

Mobilization!

August, 1914 - February, 1915

Canada Mobilizes for War

In the July, 1911 Canadian general election, the Conservatives under Robert Borden became the government, defeating the Liberals under Sir Wilfrid Laurier. It was this government which was in place when war broke out in August, 1914. For his minister of militia and defence, Borden chose Sam Hughes. George Perley exercised the functions of high commissioner in London for Borden, although he was not officially appointed to that office until later in the war.

When Great Britain declared war, Canada also automatically was at war with Germany. The Canadian population when the war began, was nearly 7,500,000. The country had a small permanent force army of about 3,000 officers and men, and a militia of some 75,000 available for service. In addition, there was the Canadian Naval Service, a small force of some 350 men, which, at the beginning of the war, was placed under command of the Royal Navy. As a further boost to the navy, the government of British Columbia bought two submarines from the United States and offered them to the Canadian government.

The Patricias Go to War

In response to the outbreak of war, authority was given to Hamilton Gault, a wealthy militia officer, to independently raise a Canadian regiment for service in the British army. The regiment was to be known as the Princess Patricia's Canadian Light Infantry (PPCLI). The regiment was formed mainly from former regulars of the British army, resident in Canada. The PPCLI embarked for service in England at the end of August, 1914, the first Canadian unit to do so.

In October of that year, No. 3, Canadian General Hospital (McGill) was authorized and the suggestion was made that McGill might raise an overseas infantry battalion. Instead, that university was later to raise reinforcement drafts for the PPCLI. On December, 24, 1914, the PPCLI landed in France to become part of 80th Brigade, 27th British Division of Vth Corps, 2nd British Army. On January 7, 1915, the PPCLI moved into the line, becoming the first Canadian troops to go into action.

Valcartier, Mobilizing the First Contingent

Upon the outbreak of war, Britain was given, and accepted, the offer of a contingent of troops to be raised by Canada, and an order-in-council was passed by the Canadian government mobilizing 25,000 men from among militia units across the country. Militia districts began frantically recruiting to meet their quotas. The militia had expected to

be fully mobilized, but instead it was relegated to contributing only one or two companies per unit to the battalions of the First Contingent.

While the First Contingent was being recruited, the minister of militia, Sam Hughes, was preparing a huge 12,000 acre camp to hold 30,000 men at Valcartier, near Quebec City. The first troops began arriving in late August and by September the First Contingent had fully mobilized there. Among the units formed in Valcartier was the 2nd (Provisional) Western Brigade, commanded by Lieutenant Colonel Arthur Currie (3). The brigade major of the 2nd Brigade was Major L.J. Lipsett, an officer on the Active List of the British Army. The British War Office had to give its permission before Lipsett could be taken on strength with the CEF.

The YMCA and the Auxiliary Services at Valcartier

In the summer of 1914 when war seemed imminent a group of YMCA leaders, meeting at Couchiching, approached the Canadian government with a view to provide some form of work with the Canadian military should it be mobilized for war. They did so based on the experience that had been gleaned by the Association through its activities in the Boer War. Their offer was accepted by Sam Hughes and when Valcartier was created, officials from the YMCA erected a tent in the centre of the camp and stocked it with their supplies. On the first night the camp was opened they held an open air meeting around

a bonfire where upwards of 1,500 soldiers gathered, sang hymns, and listened to short addresses (4). Thus began what is considered to be, in this dissertation, the first of four phases of adult education activity within the Canadian overseas forces. This phase, which primarily focuses on the work of the YMCA, lasted until the summer of 1917. The work of the YMCA in the area of education consisted of providing books and reading rooms for the troops to use in their off-duty hours. Lectures primarily of a religious nature were also provided. However there was, in this period, no organized active program of academic instruction.

The official put in charge of organizing the YMCA at Valcartier as chief of staff was Thomas Best, who had accompanied the Second Contingent of Canadian troops to the Boer War. He secured for the Association, official status in the CEF for YMCA Supervisors from no less than the minister of militia himself, Sam Hughes. The Association provided a "post office tent" with an area for letter writing which would accommodate 200 men where paper and envelopes were provided free of charge (5). A canteen where non-alcoholic refreshments were served was set up in a large marquee tent which measured 40 by 80 feet and featured 115 feet of counter space (6). Among the other activities of the Association at Valcartier was a comprehensive athletic program. Instructors from the Toronto Association were brought into the camp with a wide assortment of athletic equipment. These instructors

spent their days organizing sports leagues and track and field events. These were held every evening except Sunday (7).

The YMCA was granted six positions of supervisor within the establishment of the First Contingent of the CEF. The minister of militia granted the officials occupying these positions honorary commissions as captains and permission to wear officers' uniforms. This gave them a status equal to that of chaplains in the CEF units. The YMCA was given the authority to fill these positions on their own, without military approval (8).

Non-military activities within the First Contingent were apportioned out to selected civilian organizations. Because of its history of providing reading materials and lectures to the troops in militia camps, the YMCA, along with its other duties, was given particular responsibility for education within the CEF. Until 1917, these were the only official educational activities provided by that organization. Other civilian agencies called upon to provide amenities for the soldiers at Valcartier were the Salvation Army, Knights of Columbus, and the Red Cross. These agencies, along with the Saint John's Ambulance Association, continued to carry out demanding and valuable service to the Canadian military forces throughout the war. Although a chaplain service had not yet been officially organized for the CEF, a number of chaplains had been taken on strength with the First Contingent at Valcartier, in addition to the chaplains who filled the normal

vacancies in unit establishments.

The First Contingent to Britain: A Winter on Salisbury Plains

At 3:00 in the afternoon of Saturday, October 3, 1914, the First Canadian Contingent of the CEF, comprising some 31,200 troops and 7,000 horses, sailed for England in 32 ships. The convoy stretched for 21 miles and took three hours to pass a point. It was guarded by the 12th Cruiser Escort Squadron, of the Royal Navy. On October 5, the ship, Manhattan, left Quebec independently and stopped in St. John's harbour to load the Newfoundland contingent. The convoy took almost two weeks to make the Atlantic crossing and on October 14, the First Contingent landed at Plymouth. Upon arrival in England the First Canadian Contingent was designated the 1st Canadian Infantry Division and moved to its quarters on Salisbury plains where General Sir E.A.M. Alderson took command. After suffering through one of the most severe winters on record in the area, the Division began its move to France in February, 1915.

The Canadian YMCA on Salisbury Plains

The six supervisors of the YMCA who had been taken on strength with the First Contingent had accompanied it to England. With them, the YMCA men had brought a supply of books, magazines, and writing material to be used in the British camps that the Canadians would occupy. At Salisbury

Plains the Canadians found YMCA facilities already in place, provided by the British Association. The British YMCA, from both huts and tented locations, besides supplying stationary and reading matter, sold refreshments and the small items with which the soldiers could supplement their kit. In conferences held with the English YMCA workers, it was decided that the Canadian secretaries would become attached to the various British branches, specifically to organize athletic and evening programs. The YMCA huts rapidly became the social centres of the camp and the evening programs featured both religious meetings and concerts. The concerts in many cases were given by professional British artists who came to entertain the Canadians. A field library was also set up in each of the Canadian camps on Salisbury Plains to which a large number of magazines and other reading material was donated, including 500 books, contributed by the Times Book Club (9).

Two other agencies operated under the auspices of the YMCA on Salisbury Plains. The first of these, the Canadian War Contingent Association, was set up to receive and distribute parcels to the troops. These parcels contained food to supplement rations, tobacco, and woollen garments, knitted by ladies throughout the Dominion. The second organization, the Canadian Field Comforts Commission, was under the direction of two women who had accompanied the First Contingent from Valcartier and who had been given the

honourary rank of lieutenant in the CEF. This organization also distributed gifts of food and clothing from Canada.

In Flanders Fields: the First Canadian Battles,

February - October, 1915

The 1st Canadian Division, to France with IV Corps, 1st British Army, March - October, 1915

On February 14, 1915, the 1st Canadian Division landed at St. Nazaire, France, to join IV British Corps, a unit of 1st British Army (10). By February 16, all units of the 1st Canadian Division had arrived in France. In March, 1915, a Canadian Section, of the 3rd Echelon of the British General Headquarters began functioning in France at the base at Rouen. This was the first Canadian administrative unit to be established in France. The Canadian Section ultimately received reinforcements from the Canadian training units in the United Kingdom through the British army. After joining 1st British Army, the 1st Canadian Division took over a four mile section of trenches near Armentiers in France and later took over a sector of the front line in the Ypres Salient. On March 10, 1915, the 1st British Army took Neuve Chappelle in Flanders. The 1st Canadian Division, as part of IV British Corps, played a minor part in the battle. Thus began the Canadian trench warfare period which lasted from March to October, 1915.

The operational plan of the allied armies for 1915, called for a three-fold offensive designed to cut the long supply lines through German occupied territory of Northern France. In the north, an advance eastward from the province of Artois (the capital of which, was Arras) was made against German communications in the Douai plain. This main blow in the north was to be delivered by the French Army, striking eastward between Arras and Lens to capture the heights of Vimy and dominate the whole Douai plain. In the south, a northward thrust from Reims to sever the German line running north-westward through Mezieres to Valenciennes would also be made. After the success of these advances, a push northward from the Verdun-Nancy front would be launched to cut the German line of retreat across the Rhine. With little change, this was to remain the operational plan for the allies on the Western Front until the summer of 1918.

Second Ypres, April - May, 1915

On April 22, 1915, the Second Battle of Ypres began. It lasted until May 13, 1915. This was the first major battle in which Canadian troops took part and it was the battle which was to inspire Lieutenant Colonel John McCrae to compose the poem, "In Flanders Fields." At Gravenstafel Ridge, troops of the 1st Canadian Division were subjected to the first German poison chlorine gas attack of the war. There were 95,000 British casualties as a result of the action at Ypres, 6000 of

whom were Canadian. During the rest of April and May, the Division fought its way through the Battles of St. Julien, Frezenburg Ridge, Bellewaarde Ridge, Aubers Ridge, Festubert, and Givenchy.

During the Battle of Second Ypres the PPCLI, as part of the 27th British Division, took over defensive positions on Frezenberg Ridge and on Bellewaarde Ridge near Ypres, on May 8, 1915. The battle was marked by a poison gas attack in the Patricias' area during the German advance. The gas was preceded by an intensive artillery barrage. At 3:00 pm, 80% of the battalion were casualties. At 5:00 pm when the Patricias were relieved, only four officers and 150 other ranks of the regiment remained. At Bellewaarde Ridge, 700 all ranks of the battalion were killed, wounded or missing in action. This marked the end of the "originals" as the core of the PPCLI.

On May 9, 1915, the Battle of Aubers Ridge began as part of the Artois Offensive. The French army launched an attack over a five mile front, pushing the Germans off the Noulette Spur and taking Souchez, Ablain, St. Nazaire, Clarency, and Neuville St. Vaast. Eighteen French divisions were employed in the attack. The Germans defended Vimy with nine divisions for over six weeks. There were 100,000 French casualties and 80,000 German casualties as a result of the battle.

On May 17, 1915, the Battle of Festubert began as a cooperative attack to the French battle of Aubers Ridge. It

lasted to May 25. British forces, including the 1st Canadian Division, mounted an attack on Givinchy and Festubert to the north of the French offensive. The Battle of Givenchy resulted in 900 Canadian casualties. Festubert accounted for 2000 Canadian casualties. In all, there were 11,000 casualties suffered by 1st British Army in these engagements (11). In the fall of 1915 the Champagne and Artois Offensives, which had come to nothing, were halted. The fighting throughout the campaign had cost a total of 60,000 British, 200,000 French, and 150,000 German casualties.

The Canadian YMCA in France: With the First Division

When the 1st Division embarked for France, there was no provision on its establishment for YMCA supervisors. The British YMCA had workers in France but they were civilians and were limited to the Lines of Communication. The major service of the YMCA was to provide materials and facilities for writing, reading, and sports for the troops in their time out of the line. Before there was any organized system of distribution of YMCA supplies, the supervisors had themselves to take their materials to the troops in the front lines. In those early months, the quantity of materials for the YMCA which funnelled through the supply system in one week included:

30 sacks of Canadian newspapers, 35 parcels of current magazines, 456 pounds of used magazines in crates, 30,000 sheets of writing paper and 15,000 envelopes, 4 gross of pencils, 2000 current daily

papers, 3 dozen footballs, 1 dozen baseball sets, 1 dozen sets of checkers and 1,500 postcards (12).

It was not supposed to be part of their activities, but gradually the YMCA men saw that there was a pressing need for canteen service. This eventually became one of the main activities of the YMCA in France.

One of the original supervisors, Captain Pearson, was appointed senior YMCA officer for the division just before the outbreak of the fighting of Second Ypres. During that battle, the YMCA suffered its first loss when Lieutenant Oscar Irwin was fatally wounded during the German attack.

Reinforcing the PPCLI: The McGill Companies

After the action of Bellewaarde Ridge, the PPCLI had almost ceased to exist as a unit. Since the regiment had been privately raised, no provision had been made for reinforcing it. In the spring of 1915, the problem was solved by recruiting reinforcement companies through Canadian universities. Since the student's union at McGill became their mobilization centre, the "University Companies Reinforcing the PPCLI" became known as the "McGill Companies." In fact, every university in Canada contributed faculty and students to the regiment.

In March, 1915, a contingent was raised in Saskatoon to join the 1st McGill University Company to reinforce the PPCLI (13). On May 29, 1915, the 1st University Company embarked aboard the S.S. Northland for England. The Company

disembarked at Plymouth and went by train to St. Martins Plains, Shorncliffe. On July 16, 1915, the 1st University Company embarked from Folkestone to land at Boulogne. On July 27, 1915, the men of the 1st University Company began their move to the front and the next day at Erquingham, near Armentieres, they joined the PPCLI.

In August, the PPCLI moved into the front line between Armentieres and Lille. The Patricias occupied that part of the line for a month. The second reinforcement company, from the University of Toronto, joined the battalion on September 1, 1915. It was in that month that the PPCLI, as part of 27th British Division, moved to the Somme. By October, 1915, two more university companies had been raised, each with representation from the Universities of McGill, Toronto, Manitoba, Saskatchewan, Alberta, and British Columbia. In October, the PPCLI moved to a rest area at Ferrieres, near Amiens, moving the next month to Flexecourt where they acted as a "model battalion" for the training of British officer cadets of the Officers' Training Corps.

Mobilizing the Second Contingent

On October 7, 1914, three days after the First Contingent had sailed to Britain, orders to mobilize a second overseas contingent of 20,000 men were issued to the commanding officers of militia units across Canada. The battalions of the Second Contingent were raised independently within militia

districts across the country and they remained in those districts for initial training. The battalions were then formed into provisional brigades, commanded by temporary commanders. The 4th Brigade of the Second Contingent was allotted to Ontario, the 5th Brigade to Quebec and the Maritimes, and the 6th Brigade to the West. The YMCA in Canada, now organized to aid the concentrations of newly-joined soldiers, was present to provide comforts to the men as they gathered together in their units.

Across the country, as did Canadians from other walks of life, faculty and students left their universities to join the units of the Second Contingent. When the Second Contingent was authorized, a platoon of the Saskatoon Company of the 28th (Northwest) Battalion of the 6th Brigade was recruited from among those attending the University of Saskatchewan. The university was approached to have a number of professors released to be enrolled into the 28th Battalion. Professor R.J. Bateman, who was a member of the teaching staff of the University of Saskatchewan and a number of other professors volunteered. They were joined by students from the university (14). The 28th Battalion assembled in Winnipeg (15) in early 1915.

The Second Contingent, to Britain and to France

The movement of some units of the Second Contingent to England started in the first months of 1915. Unlike the First

Contingent, the Second Contingent sailed from Canada in groups throughout the winter and spring of 1915, rather than as a whole unit. In March 1915, the advance units of the 2nd Canadian Contingent began arriving in England and concentrated at Shorncliffe. Seven more YMCA workers came with them, including Captain T.F. Best, who, after his experience in the South African conflict, was joining his second war.

As had been the case for the troops of the First Contingent at Salisbury Plains, the British YMCA had made provision for servicing the Canadians of the Second Contingent. In the Shorncliffe area large permanent well-equipped buildings already had been put up for earlier drafts of British troops who had concentrated there before moving to the continent. In this early stage of the war most of the activities which took place within the British and Canadian forces were of a temporary basis since no one expected the war to last for any great length of time. However, since trench warfare was now accepted as a way of life the Canadian authorities were beginning to look to the problems of reinforcements and training for their forces while they were resident in Britain. Most of the Canadian "left out of battle" troops were concentrated in the camp at Shorncliffe where the beginnings of a training establishment was created. For the Canadian YMCA, this meant providing physical educational activities and recreational activities for the large numbers of troops still in England. Because of the

accommodations the Association was able to provide first class entertainment for the troops and to begin lectures and religious meetings. The official history of the YMCA in World War One (16) notes the beginning of Bible classes at this time. However, since the concentrations of Canadian troops in Britain were looked upon basically as "staging areas" none of these activities were of a permanent nature.

As more and more Canadian troops arrived in Britain, both the military authorities and the YMCA began to see a need for a more permanent establishment to be set up in Britain. A Canadian Training Division was formed at Shorncliffe and all the Canadian troops in Britain were put under the command of Brigadier General J.C. MacDougall. During the summer of 1915 a new camp for Canadian troops was opened at Bramshott. For the YMCA the need to develop a permanent establishment in Britain was given a tremendous boost when, in September 1915, Gerald W. Birks of Henry Birks and Sons Limited, in Montreal, offered his services to the Association as a worker on the overseas staff. He did so at his own expense. Birks arrived in England in October of 1915 to tour YMCA establishments in Britain and in France with a view to consolidating the Associations activities under a single administrative system within the Canadian military overseas establishment. Birks was given the honorary rank of major in the Canadian overseas forces and was later promoted to lieutenant colonel. His personal status and his activities on behalf of the YMCA led

to the formation of the Canadian YMCA Military Services Department in early 1916, as part of the establishment of the overseas military forces.

In May, 1915, the Second Canadian Contingent became the 2nd Canadian Division. The division was quartered at Dibgate Camp, a tented camp near Sandgate in the area of the ancient Cinque Ports in Kent. Remaining in the area throughout the month of August, the troops were given training in minor tactics, both offensive and defensive, as well as the fundamentals of bayonet fighting, weapons firing and the digging of trenches. While this training was in progress, the units were being equipped for active service on the Continent. In September, 1915, the troops of the Second Division embarked for France from Folkstone.

The Canadian Corps,

September, 1915 - November, 1916

In the Ypres Salient: The Canadian Corps in 2nd British Army,
September, 1915

In mid-September, 1915, units of the 2nd Canadian Division disembarked at Boulogne, France. There, the 2nd Division joined the 1st Canadian Division to form the Canadian Corps, which became a unit of 2nd British Army. Headquarters for the Canadian Corps was opened at Baillieul, in France, under the command of Lieutenant General Sir E.A.H. Alderson.

By the end of September, the Canadian Corps consisted of these two infantry divisions and supporting Corps Troops, totalling in all, 1345 officers and 36,522 other ranks.

In late September, the Canadians took over the trench systems of a sector in the Ypres Salient in Belgium, with German troops to their front, on both flanks and on the higher ground. This trench-line represented the final positions gained by the British after the First Battle of Ypres, back in 1914.

In Flanders, in the winter of 1915-16, living conditions were not comfortable. The weather was cold, the quarters were badly heated and the billets were badly scattered in out-of-the-way farms (17). In the front-line trenches, the men were packed in their allotted positions so tightly that at times movement was almost impossible. Behind the front-line positions loomed Kemmel Hill, the loftiest peak in the entire area. Although only 350 feet high, on the flatness of the Belgian plains it appeared as a mountain. The front-line trenches in this section seemed to be in good condition. However, this was soon proven not to be so. During the rainy seasons the rivers in the region could not contain their flow because of the flatness of the area. Most of them flooded and when they did so, they spread their waters far and wide. The trenches built in this terrain became waterlogged and simply crumbled and fell.

The Germans were also in a trench system. The distances

between the two systems varied from thirty to 300 yards. The German system dominated the Wytchaete-Messines Ridge, an arc of low hills and highlands running for some miles north of Passchendaele, southward to Messines and then westward towards Hazebrouck. The German holders of these ridges enjoyed a great tactical advantage as they possessed local observation from higher ground over the British trench system. They also enjoyed an advantage in locations for gun emplacements and defensive fortifications (18).

The YMCA with the Canadian Corps in Ypres

The services provided at the front and in the Lines of Communication by the YMCA increased greatly upon the formation of the Canadian Corps. The "Y" organized and sponsored athletic events and other recreational activities within the Corps. Along with the distribution of letter paper, envelopes, and books, the Association acquired film projectors, including portable machines which could be operated by hand, and films to be shown in forward recreational areas. Gramophones were also procured and sent forward to the front, even into the trenches themselves. As well, a free phonograph record exchange for the troops was established by the Association. The YMCA continued to provide a canteen service for the troops, expanding its range of commodities to include foodstuffs such as tinned pork and beans to supplement the issued rations and hot drinks. In the

cold miserable weather, these drinks and the delivery of hot soup in "dixies" to men who had just stood down from sentry duties in the trenches were much appreciated. Because of the greatly expanded work of the Association, it was decided by the military authorities to increase the Corps and divisional establishments of the YMCA to include a divisional supervisor for each division and to eventually include other ranks. At first, the other rank workers for the YMCA were attached posted from other units of the Corps. A regular system for YMCA reinforcements from Britain for the Canadian Corps in France was also instituted.

The PPCLI Join the Canadian Corps: Forming the 3rd Canadian Division, December, 1915

At the end of November, 1915, the PPCLI left the 27th British Division to become part of the 3rd Canadian Division. The 3rd Canadian Division (7th, 8th, 9th Brigades) began forming late in December, 1915, from units stationed in Britain and those already serving in France (19). Major General M.S. Mercer, was appointed General Officer Commanding the division. He held that appointment until his death in battle at Sanctuary Wood, on June 2, 1916. The 3rd Division was completely formed by late March, 1916. The new division joined the Canadian Corps in France with a full authorized complement of six YMCA officers.

In January of 1916, a fifth university reinforcement

company for the PPCLI was organized. In February, after the fifth company had gone overseas, a sixth university company was raised as reinforcements. This last university company joined the regiment in September, 1916. In all, a total of six reinforcements companies were raised and 1200 men reached the PPCLI from the universities. Thereafter, as a unit of the Canadian Corps, the regiment was reinforced through the Canadian reinforcement system.

"The Byng Boys": The Actions at Mount Sorrel, Sanctuary Wood and Hoge: The 4th Division is Formed, April to August, 1916

By the end of 1915, a total of 84,000 Canadian troops had been sent overseas. By 1916, some 50,000 of them were in the field in France. In that year, an order-in-council of the Canadian government authorized the Canadian overseas troop strength to increase to 500,000.

Throughout the summer of 1916, the Canadian Corps remained in the Ypres Salient where early in April Canadian troops were issued with steel helmets for the first time. At the beginning of April, 1916, the Canadian Corps was engaged in the battle of the St. Eloi craters. Troops from 2nd Division took over the defense of an area of mine craters from British troops, and were attacked by German forces. A terrible battle erupted on April 6, and in the confusion, the Canadian troops were driven out from their defenses. Canadian casualties were listed as 1,373 men killed, wounded, and

missing (20). Canadian Corps losses in the operations around the St. Eloi area eventually led to the replacement of General Alderson as the corps commander on May 28, 1916. The new commander, Lieutenant General Sir Julian H.G. Byng, continued to command the Corps to June 8, 1917.

Byng's first engagement was as disastrous as the debacle of St. Eloi. On June 2, he committed the 3rd Division to battle at Mount Sorrel. The Germans, after a fierce, day-long bombardment of artillery in which General Mercier was killed, overran the Canadian trenches. The 3rd Division was forced back, losing their positions at Sanctuary Wood, Hill 61, and Hill 62, losing two guns in the process (the guns were later recovered). A counter-attack by the 1st Division proved futile and the Germans pressed on with their advance. On June 6, 1916, they exploded four mines under the men of the 2nd Division, throwing them back from their positions (21).

On the night of June 12, 1916, Canadian troops of the 1st Division again massed for a counter-attack to regain the territory which had been lost over the past few days. The attack took place on June 13. Byng believed in having a superiority of weaponry in the attack. New guns were sited everywhere and the Corps now had the ordnance necessary to make an attack succeed. The attacking force regained all of the territory that had previously been lost as a result of the German offensive at the beginning of the month.

On June 16, 1916, Major General L.J. Lipsett, who had

succeeded Arthur Currie as commander of the 2nd Infantry Brigade in the 1st Division in September, 1915, took command of 3rd Canadian Division. Lipsett commanded the division until September 12, 1918.

In April, 1916, while the three divisions of the Canadian Corps were engaged in the bitter fighting of St. Eloi, the 4th Canadian Division was being formed in Bramshott, England. The division, less its artillery, which was provided by the 3rd (Lahore) Indian Divisional Artillery, was completed in August, 1916. Four YMCA secretaries went to France as part of the division's establishment.

The Move from the Ypres Salient to the Somme, August, 1916

The Canadian Corps remained in the Ypres Salient until August 1916. By that time, due to a prolonged rest period after the summer battles, the troops were in good physical condition and continuous arrivals of reinforcements brought the units of the Corps up to strength. The Canadian Corps Commander, Lieutenant General Sir Julian Byng, changed the whole system of training in the Corps. Throughout the late summer of 1916, exercises featuring contact between air observers and ground troops, and long, tactical route-marches were introduced. New battle procedures were also introduced, since trench warfare was becoming more complicated with the introduction of creeping barrages, mopping-up parties, carrying parties, and so on. As part of the revisions to the

training, infantry battalions, with the aid of flags and other devices, reproduced what was supposed to be the section of the front over which they were eventually to make an attack. Here, to actual scale, were indicated trenches, roads, and other features which were likely to be encountered from the start lines to the final objectives.

This was the beginning of what was to become standard operating procedures in all future operations, the laying out of areas for troop training in trench attacks. Using these methods, the troops practised set-piece plans of attack for several days. Before going into the attack, every officer and man knew what he and his unit had to do, how to do it, what to expect and what had to be done at the conclusion of an operation. In August the Canadian Ross rifle was withdrawn from the Canadian Corps and replaced by the British Lee-Enfield rifle.

The Canadians came to be known as "The Byng Boys" a pun on the title of a musical play then all the rage in London theatres. While the Canadian Corps was resting and training in Ypres, the Somme offensive was in full swing and rumours of the Canadians being sent there began to surface. The rumours were true. Canadian troops packed their belongings and marched to the back areas, beginning their long journey to the killing fields of the Somme.

The Drumfire of the Somme:

September to November, 1916

The Canadian Corps: To the Somme with 3rd British Army,
September to November, 1916

On July 1, 1916, In the province of Picardy, the Battle of the Somme began. On that day, the 3rd British Army launched its attack as part of the Allied offensive of 1916. During the advance that day, the Royal Newfoundland Regiment as part of the British army, suffered 700 casualties. In this "first day of the Somme," the British army lost 57,500 killed, missing or wounded, more casualties than at any other time in the war. The whole operation of the Somme was to eventually produce 1,200,000 British casualties, 24,000 of them being Canadian (22).

The Canadian Corps moved to the Somme in early September, 1916. After nearly three weeks of rest in the back areas, Canadian troops left Ypres by tactical train for the Somme. After travelling all night they detrained to find themselves in Picardy. Picardy, with its wide open fields and slightly rolling hills without hedges or trees, was a vastly different place from that to which they had become accustomed at Ypres.

The Canadians, now in the battle area, could hear distinctly that sound which was called "the drum fire of the Somme." Accustomed as they were to artillery fire in the Ypres Salient, the violence of this fire, even when heard at

a considerable distance, was overwhelming. Once in a while, over the normal firing of the guns could be heard a terrific volume of fire which would break out and, after reaching a great crescendo, would die away into silence. Suddenly the firing would begin again with renewed violence, indicating the changes taking place, as situations developed at the front.

As the Canadian troops arrived in the battle zone they could see the tower of Albert Cathedral. From its apex, stretching out and hanging over the street could be seen the figure of the Hanging Virgin, a statue which had been dislocated by German artillery but which had never been dislodged.

The one thing above all others which made an impression on the men was the accumulation of vast quantities of guns and ammunition. On every side was evidence of what was, up to that period, one of the greatest offensives in the war. For miles the surrounding country was dotted with horse lines, bivouacs, and ammunition storage dumps making it very apparent that a massive concentration of forces had been assembled (23).

The 1st Canadian Division was already in the front lines when the 2nd and 3rd Divisions were mustered in the Somme in the open spaces northwest of Albert, known as the brick fields. In the brick fields, a piece of ground was carefully allotted to each unit, giving just enough room for each man to lie down. The troops were supplied with tarpaulins which,

with the aid of poles, were designed to become shelters for eight or ten men. The men were fortunate in having no rain, rather there was fine September weather. However, when the rains did come, flooding took place swiftly over the greasy surface of the clay fields and the effects of this were most uncomfortable for the soldiers.

The YMCA at the Front during the Somme Offensive

The YMCA also moved to the Somme with the divisions of the Canadian Corps. There, the Association had to start from scratch to provide the necessary services to the troops. Since there were no huts or tents in place in the Somme sector, each area had to be provided with new equipment, mostly large marquees and tents of various sizes. As well, the forward YMCA centres operated from "dugouts" near the front lines. Within a few days of the YMCA's arrival at the Somme, some 35 branches of the Association were in operation (24). Two central branches operated from the city of Albert, which was used as a forward station, while further back, in the brickfields, a huge marquee housed a YMCA entertainment unit which had been organized by Captain M.W. Plunkett from among the McGill students of the PPCLI. This "concert party" complete with scenery and costumes, nightly put on a program of vaudeville (25). A new agreement was worked out between the YMCA and the military authorities whereby regimental canteens would be turned over to the Association which would

operate them and return 5% of the profit back to the unit. This arrangement was later to lead to some criticism of the Association after the war, over the management of profits.

Fleurs-Courcelette and Thiepval

The divisions of the Canadian Corps were assigned to attack the village of Courcelette on September 6, 1916. On the morning of the day before the attack, the men were issued with bombs, hand grenades, flares, extra bandoleers of small arms ammunition, picks and shovels, sand bags, water cans, and extra rations. Following a hot meal from the field kitchens, the troops started forward, up communication trenches and along tracks, to the crest of Pozieres Ridge, beyond which lay Courcelette, with its sugar refinery and Sugar Trench, with Thiepval Hill looming in the distance.

The movement into the line was difficult. The Germans, noting the new assembly trenches, systematically shelled the routes and approaches (26). At 5:30 in the morning of September 6, the barrage, one of the thickest and heaviest of the war, opened up with a deafening crash. The British and Canadian lines, from the outskirts of Combels on the right, to the neighbourhood of Thiepval of the left, went forward in one great sweep to deliver one of the most decisive blows of the Somme campaign. With that marching wave, too there went forward those new devices used for the first time in the war - the tanks. They were primitive machines, but still

effective. Although the tanks did not do a great deal of physical damage they caused consternation among the German forces and inspired confidence in the accompanying troops. By their presence they had introduced for the first time since the opening days of the war one of the fundamental principles so necessary to success, surprise. All objectives were reached, taken, and held. Far out in front, the German troops could be seen retiring. The British and Canadian advance had been carried out without a check and all the objectives were reached within the time limits set for their capture.

On September 26, 1916, the Canadian divisions moved forward from Courcellette to engage in the battle of Thiepval Ridge. Although the British and Canadian advance had been slowed, it was successful and on September 27, 1916, the first German retirement since the battle of the Marne occurred.

In October, the wet weather was settling in, transforming the area into a quagmire. In that month, the first three Canadian divisions began to leave the battlefields of the Somme to rejoin the 1st British Army in the Lens area near Vimy. The 4th Canadian Division which had remained with 3rd Army, attacked again on the Somme front, capturing Regina Trench during the Battle of Ancre Heights. At the end of November of that year, the 4th Canadian Division also rejoined the Canadian Corps in the Lens area. With their leaving, all Canadian troops had withdrawn from the Somme area.

Vimy: Winter and Spring in the Lens Sector,
November, 1916 - October, 1917

The Canadian Corps to 1st British Army, in the Lens sector:
Preparing for Vimy Ridge, November, 1916 to April, 1917

In October, 1916, Canadian troops moved to positions along a five mile front in the Lens area. On the Lens front, the area around Houdain became the permanent home of the Canadian Corps for some time. From October, 1916 until the Corps had advanced well beyond the Hindenburg Line, nearly two years later, in August, 1918, this area, west of Vimy Ridge, was, for all intents and purposes, considered to be Canadian territory. Here, in what was then a comparatively quiet front, the Canadian Corps rested, regrouped and prepared for the upcoming spring campaign of 1917.

By the end of 1916, a total of 165,000 Canadian troops had been sent to France. Since the Canadians' arrival in the Lens sector from the Somme, reinforcements had been meagre. Throughout the early part of January units were critically under-strength. At times infantry companies were only able to muster 60 men instead of their normal fighting strength of 140. The battalions also had a difficult time maintaining their rosters to effective strength. As well, shrinkage in personnel from sickness, due to the inclement weather and conditions in the trenches, was considerable. With the thermometer many times hovering around zero degrees Centigrade

and the intense dampness, the troops were cold and uncomfortable in their billets.

In January, 1917, the entire British army, including the Canadian Corps, began a thorough reorganization. This reorganization quickly produced marked improvements in the tactical handling of British and Imperial forces. The infantry battalion organization, which had been developed in the period before the war, in which groups of specialists had been allocated to the battalion headquarters establishment, was now changed and the specialists were returned to the line companies. In the companies, each platoon became a fighting unit complete in itself. At the beginning of February, 1917, the troops were still in training. The weather continued very cold. The men attended church parades in the morning and had recreational training in the afternoon. Leave for rest and recuperation were granted quite liberally to all ranks. Training schools, as part of the scheme for reintegrating citizen soldiers into Canadian society after the war, were also set up and were being operated to their fullest capacity.

By early 1917, the YMCA had established some 50 branches throughout the Canadian Corps area. Since the area was comparatively quiet, except for patrolling, the Association was able to establish posts as far forward as the support trenches. In the rest and training areas, tents and buildings were utilized.

On February 28, 1917, the prime minister, Sir Robert

Borden, visited the Canadian Corps. He was accompanied by two of his cabinet ministers, Robert Rogers and H.D. Hazen. After visiting all the Canadian camps in England, Borden, accompanied by Perley, crossed to France where he met Currie, Haig and Nivelles at their respective headquarters. Borden had come to France to extend his good wishes to the Canadian Corps on behalf of all Canadians. On March 9, 1917, the troops were reviewed by the prime minister. The weather on the day of the inspection was extremely unpleasant. Neither the troops nor their guests enjoyed the event. Borden returned to England four days later.

Vimy Ridge: The Battle of Arras and the Spring Offensive,
April, 1917

During the winter months of 1916 and early 1917 the Canadian Corps, as part of 1st British Army, had occupied the trenches in front of Vimy Ridge. An extensive network of watering points was established and large, well-stocked ammunition dumps were set up. Work parties were everywhere and the roads were congested with traffic. Extensive planning and preparation for the upcoming operation was still in progress when the frost of winter had broken and the spring rains started to come. The mud in that congested area of the front was beyond belief.

In the month of March, 1917, cold winds, drizzling rains, snow flurries, and mud plagued the troops. The four divisions

of the Canadian Corps which were designated to capture the Vimy Ridge were taken out of the line, one at a time, to practice their part in the assault (27). Staff officers assisted by sappers, prepared a miniature Vimy Ridge on the French cornfields at Grand Servins. There, in actual scale on the ground, was outlined the German defence on the ridge in minute detail. Trenches, roads, villages and natural features were all indicated so that every man going into the attack would have firmly fixed in his mind exactly where he would be, where he would go, and what his task would be once he had arrived in his appointed place. The French peasants had strong objections to training exercises being held in their fields and at times the training had to be suspended.

On March 25, the preliminary bombardment for the attack on Vimy Ridge was already beginning and heavy shelling by Canadian artillery was directed onto the German defence at Thelus. There was some German retaliation. Final preparations for the Vimy operation were made. Canadian artillery and trench mortars were very active, carrying out several barrage practices. The assembly trenches were completed and front line and communication trenches were cleaned.

As part of 1st British Army, the four divisions of the Canadian Corps and 5th British Division were selected to attack and capture Vimy Ridge in the Battle of Arras, during the British army's spring offensive of 1917. This ridge

constituted a formidable obstacle to the Allied advance. Vimy Ridge was of vital importance to the Germans, being the keystone of their front line system in the north. From Arras to Souchez, its terrain sloped gradually to the east. From the crest of the ridge, the Germans could observe a great stretch of country to the east and the west.

The Germans had fortified Vimy Ridge with all of the skill and ingenuity of which they were capable. Line after line of well planned and well built trenches covered the western slopes. Long tunnels from east to west allowed the bringing up of supplies and reserves. The sheer, vertical face of the eastern side allowed the Germans to construct accommodations for large reserves of troops and to site protected gun emplacements.

April 8, Easter Sunday, was a pleasant day with warm spring-like weather. At 11:30 in the morning there was a church parade among the bare, splintered trees of Bois des Alleux, with guns thundering along the whole front. After the service, senior officers gave addresses to the units. The men then separated after the parade to spend the remainder of the day in a way which, to each of them, might seem most fitting. There were supplies and ammunition to be acquired, Mills bombs, small arms ammunition, gun flares, signals, tools, sandbags, extra rations and a hundred and one other things. The time for making these arrangements had been ample. There was no rush or confusion, and no anxiety as to whether

preparations would be completed in time. That afternoon, there was a band concert for the troops, given by the regimental bands. The assault battalions began their move to their respective assembly area at 9:05 in the evening. Extra ammunition and equipment were distributed to the men.

The time came to move. The night was dark and rain threatened. The back areas from Souchez to Arras were full of troops, all moving forward, and the roads were jammed with transports for guns and engineers.

As the hour for the final move arrived, the whole of the back area was filled with music. Upon a front not exceeding much over twelve miles, one of the mightiest of armies ever gathered together, was moving forward in the darkness to the music of many varied types of bands. Brass bands, bugle bands, pipe bands and fifes and drums, in the darkness, were all playing their respective units out to victory (28).

Forward could be seen various types of lights glittering in the lines. The constant steady rise of white flares, the occasional reds or greens or combination of both, glowed over the Ecurie sector. German artillery fired heavy shrapnel and, on the immediate Canadian front, some gas shells.

There had been ample time for thorough preparation and good staff work had taken care of the most minute details of the assault. All forward trenches had previously been bridged and had been supplied with ladders so that no difficulty would be experienced in getting out of, or over, the trenches.

Routes and approaches to the jumping off lines had been so carefully worked out that the troops of the assault battalions were able to move into their proper positions without undue delay or confusion. The approach marches were short and not difficult. By using overland routes, congestion on the highways was avoided. Fortunately, German artillery ignored these overland approaches and concentrated most of its attention on the main highways.

Every unit was in positions in good time and had the opportunity to get some rest. Battalion cooks were able to serve a meal shortly before zero hour arrived, and everyone was assured of a mess tin of good hot tea.

The Canadian artillery opened up at 5:28 am with an artillery and machine gun barrage on the German lines. This was followed by a German signal of distress to their artillery. At 5:30 am, Zero Hour, as the first streaks of dawn lightened up the sky, the infantry attack commenced. The half light did not allow the Germans to easily observe the forward movement of the Canadian troops, so their counter barrage was not too heavy. So heavy was the Canadian barrage, however, that, throughout the period of the initial attack on the ridge's forward defence, the infantry, following in its wake, remained totally invisible to the German defenders.

At 6:15 am, The first prisoners were observed coming over the ridge from the German front line. Many were wounded. Streams of prisoners straggling back without escorts showed

clearly that the initial phase of the attack had been successful.

Automatically, the second phase of the attack (in which the 28th Battalion took part) opened up without word or signal and the area behind the Canadian front lines sprang into life. Whole brigades, formed up in "artillery formation" (little groups of men under an NCO, in regular lines of sections) and began to advance forward. In this manner, the troops following the first assault wave, reached the line of the Lens-Arras road, the line chosen for the commencement of the second phase of the assault.

The move forward was carried out just as it had been planned and practised in the fields of the French farmers. Steadily the troops marched over land, pock-marked with shell holes, towards their start line and the next objective. The German counter barrage had slackened but they were still shelling the area with heavy artillery.

The first three Canadian divisions had captured their objectives practically according to plan. A position of great strength was taken by the Canadian Corps with cool, scientific precision. Canadian troops, sweeping upward, came at last to the crest, and Vimy Ridge was in Canadian hands.

On reaching their final objectives, the 1st and 2nd Canadian Divisions sent out patrols through Farbus Village and Station Wood as far as the Lens-Arras railway. The 3rd Canadian Division sent patrols towards Vimy and Petit-Vimy to

see if those places remained occupied by the Germans. Troops in the forward areas were busily consolidating their positions. In the rear areas, roads were being repaired and guns, ammunition, and food were brought forward. The troops began preparing for a counter-attack by strengthening the front and support lines in the sector. Strong points were constructed and heavily surrounded by barbed wire. Fortunately, a counter-attack never came.

YMCA during the Vimy Battle

The action at Vimy Ridge lasted only a few hours and was carried out with a precision learned on the training fields. The YMCA workers also learned their part in the Vimy operation through the methodical planning that had preceded it. Since they knew the objectives and the schedule for their capture, the YMCA officers were able to plan when and where they would set up their relief posts. At eleven places along the line, the YMCA was able to set up stations where hot drinks and food would be available to the battle-weary attackers, the wounded and even the German prisoners. One such post was established by Captain J. Summers on the crest of Vimy Ridge itself almost before the position had been consolidated (29).

After Vimy: Hill 70 and Lens, Currie Commands the Canadian Corps

April was spent in improving the Canadian positions on

Vimy. Consolidation of the new line was completed and the trenches were firmly secured. The territory gained on April 9, 1917, and the succeeding days, remained in British hands to the end of the war. It was practically the only tactical position of importance which British forces did not abandon during the retreat in the face of the German offensive of March and April, 1918.

On June 9, 1917, Lieutenant General Sir Arthur W. Currie became the General Officer Commanding the Canadian Corps. He remained in that appointment to August 8, 1919. Earlier in the war, after the Battle of St. Julien in 1915, Currie had been given command of a brigade and, in 1916, he had been placed in command of the 1st Canadian Division. As Corps commander, Currie succeeded Sir Julian Byng who went on to command 3rd British Army in the Somme.

Throughout the fall of 1917, from August to October, the Canadian Corps remained in the Lens-Vimy sector. Great events were being planned for the north in the Belgian sector at Passchendaele, and it was decided that, to keep them off guard, the Germans should not think that the Lens-Vimy front was a stable one.

In August, 1917, the 1st and 2nd Canadian Divisions engaged in the battle of Hill 70 near Lens. The main purpose of their attack was to threaten the Germans in a vulnerable spot and also to hold back their reinforcements from Flanders where the Third Battle of Ypres was being developed. The

objective of the attack on Hill 70 was to capture the hill and to envelope the city of Lens from the north. The plan was to force the Germans from Lens and the commanding country just east of Vimy Ridge. German positions from Oppy and Fresnoy north to Acheville, Mericourt, and Lens had been consolidated and were designed to protect important railheads at Rouvroy southeast of Lens. German wire entanglements around their trenches were raised from four to six feet in height.

For weeks the weather had held up the attack. On the morning of August 15, 1917, the Canadian Corps advanced, the 1st Division on the left, the 2nd Division in the centre with its left flank on the Cite St. Laurent-Hulluch-La Bassee line and its right flank south of Cite St. Laurent and St. Emile. The 4th Division was on the right and the 3rd Division in reserve. The attack was of the set-piece variety with predetermined objectives and was carried out under the cover of a heavy creeping-barrage. The main attack by the 1st Canadian Division was to capture the high ground known as Hill 70 while the 2nd Division was to cover the right flank of the attack and to capture the group of mining villages lying between Hill 70 and Lens. The first objective was reached in sixteen minutes and consolidation rapidly commenced. Four hundred yards of ground was gained forward across the entire front. In eight minutes more the second wave passed over for the final objective. The whole operation took 50 minutes. Altogether the Canadian Corps penetrated the German lines to

a depth of one mile on a frontage of two miles and the operation resulted in the gaining of Hill 70. Besides Hill 70 the Canadians launched an attack on Lens, capturing the suburbs of Cite St. Laurent, Cite St. Elizabeth, Cite St. Emile, and a portion of Cite St. Auguste.

After the actions at Hill 70 and Lens, the Canadian Corps remained in the 1st Army area until October, 1917, when Field Marshal Haig ordered the Corps attached posted northward to Belgium, to 2nd British Army which had been engaged all summer in the massive offensive known as the Third Battle of Ypres.

Passchendaele,

October - November, 1917

The Third Battle of Ypres, June to November, 1917

A series of military operations in France and Belgium carried out from June 7 to November 10, 1917, became known collectively as the Third Battle of Ypres. The battles also became known by the name which would more properly describe the final phase of the series, Passchendaele.

The Flanders offensive was an attempt by Field Marshal Haig, Commander-in-Chief of the British armies, to push towards the Belgian coast. In the early summer of 1917, a large scale operation by the British army was needed somewhere on the Western Front, because the disastrous failure of the French offensive in April had resulted in the mutiny of large

parts of the French army. A German offensive against them might have meant the loss of the war, since the Americans, who had just entered the war could not, as yet, get their forces into action.

Haig's tactics were basically a frontal assault on German positions, preceded by a tremendous artillery bombardment. The preliminary bombardment for the first offensive lasted from July 16 to 31. This bombardment eliminated any possibility of surprising the Germans and succeeded in creating more obstacles, shell craters, and mud. However, Haig had little choice but to employ these tactics since the British reinforcements being sent to him were just recently called up and were totally untrained. Only by sending them forward under heavy artillery barrages could any offensive be successful. On October 12, 1917, before the arrival of the Canadians, the British fought the First Battle of Passchendaele.

Second Passchendaele: The Canadian Corps joins 2nd British Army, October - November, 1917

In October, 1917, the Canadian Corps joined 2nd British Army. On October 26, the Second Battle of Passchendaele began and the Canadian Corps took part in the offensive. Sir Arthur Currie had insisted that careful preparations should be made before the operation was attempted. The Canadian Corps had by this time, perfected its use of artillery, bringing the troops

up under a hail of shrapnel and pouncing on German defenders in their trenches before they could regain their firing positions after the barrage.

The Passchendaele offensive carried on into November. The problems encountered were primarily the condition of the ground and the weather. The really bad conditions existed mainly during the phase of the battle when the Canadian Corps was involved.

The next phase of the attack had been planned to result in the capture of the Belgian village of Passchendaele, which rested on the last of the ridges between the British army and the sea. It was the Canadian Corps that finally took the Passchendaele Ridge.

On November 6, 1917, the troops advanced along a ten mile front. Zero hour had been fixed for 6:00 am, and promptly at that hour the British barrage opened. This barrage was of tremendous weight and intensity but the German gunners were not slow in responding, particularly on the routes of advance and lines of communication. Because of the nature of the terrain over which the Canadians advanced, the covering barrage had of necessity to be very slow. The troops moved forward at the rate of 100 yards in eight minutes, with frequent rests. As the ground in the early stages of the attack was in places knee-deep in mud and water, sometimes waist deep, this rate of advance was not too slow, although less than half the pace of which the troops were accustomed.

The village of Passchendaele was a mass of battered masonry and broken walls when the Canadians entered it. With bombs and bayonets they cleared the deep fortified cellars of the buildings. Desperate resistance had been expected at various fortified points in the village, such as the brewery with its vaulted concrete cellars, the windmill with its three foot concrete walls, and the convent, church, and school, but only scattered opposition was offered.

The German counter-bombardment which had continued for twelve hours, was especially directed on the main routes and approaches. The constant German shelling of the approach routes from front to rear caused many casualties to the walking wounded and to the German prisoners captured in the action. It was estimated later that the numbers killed on these roads were greater than those killed in the actual attack. The evacuation of the wounded was a most difficult problem, in fact, on the first day it was practically impossible. Often no less than eight men were required for a single stretcher and even then it was agonizing work. The nature of the ground was such that stretcher-bearers would loose their footing and the wounded would be flung to the ground. The agonies of the wounded were unspeakable and even after they had reached the dressing stations their difficulties were not ended, since the ambulances could not go forward through the mud. Often they had to be carried farther

back to more permeant medical facilities. Never in any other engagement in which the Canadian Corps had taken part, had the wounded suffered as they did in this battle. Through all this carnage the YMCA carried on its work of providing comforts to the troops. In the 2nd Division's lines alone, over 2000 gallons of hot tea were served. Sand-bagged huts and in some cases, captured German "pill-box" emplacements, were used as distribution stands.

The Canadian Corps suffered 15,000 casualties during the Passchendaele campaign, from October 26 to November 11, 1917. The capture of Passchendaele Ridge was a testament to the toughness and skill of the now battle-hardened veterans of the Canadian Corps. Later in November, to the great joy of all ranks news was received that the Canadian Divisions would leave the Ypres Salient and return to their old positions on the Lens Front.

Chapter 4

THE CHAPLAIN SERVICE AND ADULT EDUCATION IN THE CANADIAN OVERSEAS FORCES IN BRITAIN: THE KHAKI COLLEGES, 1917

Canada at War: The Home Front, 1917

On November 9, 1916, while the Canadian Corps was battling in the Somme, Prime Minister Borden asked for the resignation of Sir Sam Hughes as minister of militia. After a stormy fight, Hughes resigned on November 11 and was replaced on November 23, by Sir Albert Edward Kemp. Kemp held that appointment for a year until the general election of October, 1917 (1).

In 1917, many government and private agencies were formed in Canada to support the war effort. Among them was the Military Hospitals Commission, established to rehabilitate the wounded and disabled who had been returned home (2). In January of that year, in anticipation of the demobilization of thousands of unemployed to be, former Canadian soldiers who might wish to take up farming as a post-war occupation, the Soldier Settlement Act was passed by the Parliament of Canada and the Soldier Settlement Board was established.

The YMCA and War Work in Canada, 1917

Along with the other social agencies in Canada, the YMCA was also heavily involved with war work at home as well as

abroad. The Association opened the doors of its establishments in Canada to troops stationed near them and provided a "homelike" place for men to go who found themselves, many for the first time, away from their home. The Association created a National Military Committee of prominent Canadian businessmen and other national leaders to oversee its war work. The committee was greatly strengthened when Gerald Birks of Montreal offered his services on a full time basis to the YMCA. Birks, whose family business, Henry Birks and Sons of Montreal, was one of the largest in the country took on the responsibility, at his own expense, of directing the work of the Association in relation to the government and the Canadian military forces. Under Birks, YMCA officers were placed in Canadian military camps in Canada and overseas. This was simply an extension of the Association's work in similar situations such as construction camps, lumber camps, and other large concentrations of single young men. To finance their work with the military, the YMCA organized activities to raise funds throughout Canada and charged nominal rates to the men for whom they provided their services. This policy of charging soldiers for the services it provided created criticism of the Association and its work in the post-war years (3). This criticism, however, did not overshadow the very real contribution made by the YMCA to the war effort at home and abroad.

In 1915, upon the departure of the First and Second

Contingents of the CEF to Britain and to France, Western troops enlisting for the war were mobilized at Camp Sewell, Manitoba (4). The troops were drawn from all points between Fort William (Thunder Bay) and Victoria. Sewell was one of three huge camps that were set up to train Canadian troops for overseas, the others were Valcartier and Petawawa (5).

Colonel William McBain of the Headquarters Staff, Ottawa, who planned and organized Camp Valcartier, was sent to Winnipeg to complete the arrangements and to lay out the grounds of Camp Sewell, which were patterned after Valcartier. The sand hills and topography of the region was considered to be an ideal training area. The troops were to go directly to England as formed units upon completion of their training at the camp. On May 19, 1916, Camp Sewell was officially renamed Camp Hughes to honour Major General John Hughes, General Officer Commanding, Troops, at the camp. As was done for the First Contingent at Valcartier in 1914, the YMCA provided amenities to the troops in Camp Petawawa and Camp Hughes.

In many of the newly constructed military camps in Canada, especially those like Camp Hughes which were of a temporary nature, the YMCA dispensed its services from large tents located in the most prominent or central area of the camp. However, as time went on, the Association began building temporary wooden buildings. The Association was called upon more and more to provide recreational activities in the form of sports and athletics for the troops and

eventually officers who specialized in athletics were posted to the YMCA establishment to be in charge of this "supplementary training (6)."

E.H. Oliver Goes to War: The 196th (Western Universities) Battalion at Camp Hughes, 1915-1916

In early December, 1915, while the Canadian Corps was fighting in Ypres, the idea for a Western Universities Battalion began among the members of the University of Manitoba Canadian Officers' Training Corps. The officer commanding, Major R.P. McWilliams, at a conference with Brigadier General (then Colonel) Ruttan, District Officer Commanding, Military District 10 (MD 10), and General John Hughes, proposed the idea of the battalion.

The student movement which brought the battalion into existence began at the University of Manitoba. There, A Company from that university, was first quartered at the then new Agricultural college building. The first commanding officer was Lieutenant Colonel Daniel S. MacKay, a Winnipeg physician, then in France as a staff officer with 6th Brigade Headquarters and who later went on to become second-in-command of the 27th (Winnipeg) Battalion of that brigade. After an unsuccessful attempt to recruit the entire battalion in Winnipeg, it was decided to invite the other universities of Western Canada to contribute contingents. Throughout the winter of 1915, the Battalion was organized and, on February

14, 1916, the 196th (Western Universities) Battalion came into existence. The battalion was formed from among the students of the four Western universities who wished to belong to a unit that would retain their identity as university students from Western Canada. Those universities were, the Universities of Manitoba, Alberta, British Columbia and Saskatchewan (with a Brandon College contingent attached).

Initially, army staff officers wanted the universities to raise a series of independent companies to become reinforcement companies for the "Princess Pats", as the universities in Eastern Canada were doing. Although contingents were raised for the Reinforcement Companies of the Patricias, the Western universities, at a meeting in Winnipeg, reaffirmed their intention to form a university battalion. The minister of militia, Sam Hughes, who was approached about the matter on January 25, 1916, was also in favour of a university battalion being formed as an integral unit.

General John Hughes accepted the offer of a battalion and left the organization and selection of officers to an academic committee which consisted of Henry Marshall Tory, President of the University of Alberta (7), Walter C. Murray, President of the University of Saskatchewan, F.F. Westbrook, President of the University of British Columbia, and J.A. MacLean, President of the University of Manitoba.

Other senior officers of the Battalion on its formation were: Major R.W. Brock, Dean of the Faculty of Engineering at

the University of British Columbia, (Seaforth Highlanders and 72nd Battalion, CEF) second-in-command; Captain M.C. Rousseau, adjutant; Principal (Honourary Captain) E.H. Oliver, Saskatoon, chaplain (8); Professor (Captain) C.S. Burgess, Alberta, quartermaster; Professor (Honourary Captain) J.M. MacEachran, Alberta, paymaster; Dr. (Honourary Captain) T.W. Walker, Saskatoon, medical officer; Professor (Lieutenant) C.R. Hopper, Manitoba Agricultural College, machine gun officer. Other officer appointments were made on February 22. The officers were all professional men, mostly from university staffs. Their average age was 31 years.

The senior non-commissioned officer was Regimental Sergeant Major Rutherford. Francis Stevenson of Saskatoon was appointed Bandmaster and band instruments were bought by the universities on a "pro rata" basis. Many of the NCOs and men were qualified for commissioned rank. 88 of them held lieutenant's certificates and one held a captain's certificate. Fifteen held lieutenant's commissions and one a captain's commission in the militia. Ten of these men were quickly commissioned while the unit was in training (9).

As the Spring offensive was beginning on the Somme and the Canadian Corps was suffering through the spring and summer actions of St. Eloi, Sanctuary Wood, and the Hooge in France, the 196th Battalion was beginning its training. Throughout May and June of 1916, the companies of the 196th Battalion began to gather at Camp Hughes. It was a tented camp where

about 30,000 soldiers representing many different units were undergoing training that summer. On June 4, 1916, A Company of the Battalion, from Manitoba (MD 10), arrived in Camp Hughes with a strength of 206 all ranks. It later reached a strength of 236 all ranks. The company commander was Captain N.R. Wilson. Other officers were, Captain H.P. Armes, and Lieutenants C.G. Lee, R.A. Cunningham, G.H. Dyson and W.V. Tobias also Lieutenants Martin and R.F. Argue. The next day, B Company, from Saskatchewan (MD 10), arrived at Camp Hughes. Before moving there, the company was housed in the university buildings in Saskatoon, and trained on campus. The company commander was Professor, (late Sergeant of the 28th Battalion, by then Major), R.J.G. Bateman, who was later to command the 196th Battalion. The company second-in-command was Captain J.P. Oliver and the other officers were Lieutenants F.J. Freer, C.J. MacKenzie and A.M. Boyd. When the Company arrived at Camp Sewell it was joined by the Brandon College platoon under Lieutenant McKee. That platoon had been recruited at Brandon College by Lieutenant Evans. The strength of B Company on arriving at Camp Hughes was 219 all ranks, later increased to 264 all ranks. Private John G. Diefenbaker, later prime minister of Canada, was a member of this company. On June 21, 1916, Lieutenant Colonel McKay returned from France to take command of the 196th Battalion.

In the first of the letters which he wrote home daily to his wife, Rita, Professor Edmund Oliver, Principal of the

Presbyterian College at the University of Saskatchewan and chaplain of the 196th Battalion, described the conditions under which the men lived:

I have a tent to myself, about 13 feet across and circular in form. My furniture is a small table, a chair, a camp bed about 6 inches wider than myself, a soap box in which I keep my books, a pail for water, a tin basin for washing and a kind of box on which I put the basin. I hang my clothes, shaving outfit [which was given to him by his wife] on the tent pole in the centre. This morning I was wakened up by bugles, so got up to write this letter (10).

On June 24, C Company of the 196th Battalion, from Alberta (MD 10), arrived at Camp Hughes. The company commander was Captain H.J. MacLeod. The Lieutenants were, W.M.W. Fife (senior lieutenant), Sidney Wood (who had been an NCO in the Company), Wesley McKenzie and L.V. Miller. The Company was organized in Edmonton on February 14. It was headquartered in Assiniboia Hall, University of Alberta, where the men were quartered. Lieutenant A.D. Cowper, under the supervision of President Tory, was in charge of the organization of the company. Circulars were sent out to prominent business and professional men and officers made personal recruiting trips. Recruits were obtained from all parts of the province. On April 17, the company was up to strength at 237 all ranks and Capt H.J. MacLeod was appointed company commander. Later the strength was increased to 264. On January 26, the Battalion (less D Company which had not yet arrived in camp) took part in a general review of the troops by Sir Sam Hughes.

D Company from Vancouver (MD 11), arrived in Camp Hughes a few days later. The company commander was Captain O.E. LeRoy. The other officers were, Captain E.C. Sheppard and Lieutenants J.H. Kerr, H.F.G. Letson, S.J. Schofield and L.H. Kennedy (Letson, Schofield and Kennedy came from the ranks of the company). The company was organized by Major Brock, with headquarters at the University of British Columbia, where offices and a recreation room were provided. The parade ground was located at King Edward High School and a city park was used for sports. Active recruiting for the company had started on April 1, 1916. With the arrival of D Company, the whole Battalion paraded together for the first time at a royal review at Camp Hughes, by the Duke of Connaught, Governor General of Canada.

As battalion chaplain, Oliver had many and varied duties. On June 25, he spoke in the evening, in the YMCA tent, to a large audience, on what it meant to be a Christian. Oliver also started a list of names of the next of kin of the men in each of the battalion "tent groups" (11). He said of his routine:

I am getting more into touch with my work but it has not got very well organised as yet. It will be a couple of weeks before I know exactly where I am at. I usually work in my tent in the mornings at a sermon, or letters or making an indent of the soldiers. The afternoon I consider free except for visits to hospitals, then in the evening I go around the tents talking and chatting with the boys. It is all more or less informal work but I consider it important to get into touch with the men (12).

On July 2, 1916, Oliver preached his first brigade service to about eight battalions (between 6,000 and 7,000 men). He also began a bible class for the afternoons and conducted an evening service. A few days later he notes "I had to Christen a baby yesterday in the 222nd Battalion, the first ever done in Camp Hughes. The General and Headquarters staff were present" (13). Again, on July 14, "I conducted the first funeral at Camp Hughes" (14).

While Oliver was thus busy with army work, his work with the Presbyterian college in Saskatoon still required some of his time. On July 3, 1916, he wrote to his wife:

I also was in receipt of Mr. McCraney's communication declining to serve on the Board. It is very disappointing and discouraging. If ever the college survives and amounts to anything it will have done so in spite of handicaps that would well nigh overwhelm any other institution. Knowing as you do how eager I was to have him come on the board with the prospect that we might in two or three years time make him our chairman you will know how much I deplore his refusal. It seems almost impossible to get people interested in the work of training men for the ministry. Possibly the fault lies with me. Perhaps they would serve for somebody else as principal. If I thought that I would withdraw. It may be that I should have done so when I had the chance this spring (15).

The weather was hot and mostly prairie-dry. One incident noted by Oliver on July 6, illustrates the conditions under which the men worked and lived.

We were going to have an inspection by the General. Just as the men got formed into companies a dreadful dust storm came up followed by a cloud burst. The orderly room the officers mess and washing room were all flattened out. The latrines were picked up and carried down among the tents. The Salvation Army had just built a little church

or hall and had one service in it. It is now scattered over the prairie. The YMCA tents are all flat. Our canteen was overthrown (16).

Although, as Oliver noted, other organizations such as the Salvation Army and the YMCA were present at Camp Hughes to take care of some of the ancillary services for the troops, Oliver had seen a need to provide a place for rest and relaxation for the men from the daily training activities. As chaplain, he took it upon himself to provide such a place (17).

The idea of a recreational tent had been on his mind for some time and since the canteen tent had been destroyed by the storm, he decided to acquire another through the help of private citizens. He explained to his wife:

Soon after I came here I began working on the problem of securing a recreation tent for my meetings and for the men to use as writing room and concerts etc. I put the proposition to J.A. Allen of Regina who lost his son in this work. I received no answer for a couple of weeks so wrote in despair to president Murray to see if he could secure one at Saskatoon. Along comes a cheque today from Allen for \$250. which will enable me to get my tent for \$165 and still have some money to equip it. And by the same mail comes a letter from President Murray that he is forwarding one that the University owns. We shall be glad to have both as we are very short on this kind of thing here. A chaplain can be more useful than I realized (18).

The effort to provide recreational activities for the men became costly for Oliver. He notes, "My recreation tent causes some expense to me. I am ordering ink, paper, etc., we need this tent very badly" (19). "We have no paper for the boys to write on in the tent. They have been using some from

the Theological College. They think it is a good joke" (20).

On July 21, one of Oliver's big tents arrived and he had it erected in the Battalion's lines. He called on the men of the Battalion to help him by making benches and tables for the recreation tent. One of the first events in the new tent was to be a concert for which Oliver was hoping to get a piano.

By August 1, the piano had arrived. Oliver noted, "I have started a library and we get a good many magazines so that the boys are now in better shape than they were for reading material". There was always a group of men reading or writing in his library and Oliver was always busy soliciting books. He wrote to his wife asking that if anyone of their acquaintance in Saskatoon had any "spare novels or any useful reading material about, tell them to mail it to me for the boys". He continued, "I think Dr. Murray is back in Winnipeg as I got a little shipment of books today from him" (21). Four days later Oliver received a letter from J.F. Cairns, a Saskatoon businessman, in which he told Oliver, "I will be only too glad to do what I can to help out in the matter of books for your recreation tent. I take it for granted that it is light fiction that you will want and I will endeavour to send forward an assortment which will serve your purpose" (22). Oliver looked for support from many sources. He notes, "Yesterday I went to Brandon to speak to the women's auxiliary that was being formed there to look after the interests of the Brandon platoon" (23).

Besides the library, Oliver became involved with putting together concerts for the troops. He invited a local entertainer, a Mrs. Sherry from Neepawa, Manitoba, to give a concert in his newly erected recreational tent. Unfortunately, the event did not go as smoothly as planned. Oliver writes:

We had scarcely got back from a route march and Mrs. Sherry had arrived to give the concert, when down swept another storm and all our tents had to be lowered. There was I with my concert due in about half an hour and tents all down and it pouring rain. In the midst of the rain I dashed off to see the Roman Catholic chaplain to see if I could secure his hall or church. He very kindly loaned it to me. We postponed the concert until 8 - it was to begin 7:30 - I got word to Mrs. Sherry, sent messengers to every tent in the Battalion and shortly after eight began with a packed house - 600 to 700 people (24).

Mrs Sherry had brought with her a Miss Clark who was "an excellent pianist" and Sergeant Stevenson (the regimental bandmaster) provided some male vocal selections.

With the tents back up, Oliver was able to continue with his program of concerts and entertainments. On August 13 he wrote, " Dr. and Mrs Tory came here yesterday (25) and I arranged an impromptu concert at 10 o'clock that he might have a chance to address the boys (26). Tory had been to Ottawa that summer beginning his initial inquiries into what was occurring there in terms of adult education as part of the government's demobilization program. He had done so in response to a request from the national council of the YMCA. A few days later Oliver noted that " we had Brandon girls down

on Friday night and we had a concert in the big tent. It was a great success. we are also getting more books. Again, on August 15, he notes, "I have to preside at a concert at the YMCA tonight".

Oliver continued to have trouble with the weather ruining his recreational tent. He recounted on August 17, that:

One of those infernal storms came upon us this afternoon. The officers mess tents went in an instant. I got to our gift tent (from the University of Saskatchewan). Three or four others rushed to help. It blew up - how I didn't know. Suddenly I found myself outside. Our piano was knocked and over smashed the case considerably. It tore the tent up a fair amount but it can be repaired. The boys all turned out and put it up again but everything including books and magazines were badly messed (27).

As the hot prairie summer began turning into the cool prairie fall, the need for warmer quarters became more pressing. Oliver was concerned enough over the health and well-being of the men that he resolved to do something about the situation, even if it meant spending his own personal funds:

I went to the Colonel and told him that the men had to have a place where we could put a stove to get warm. I offered to pay for a couple of coal oil stoves. I am buying the stoves from T. Eaton for about \$12. A months rent for the piano came due today. That is \$10. So you see it is not a very lucrative job being a chaplain. I am glad to spend the money on the boys. It is crowding me a little owing to paying the mortgage and insurance just now. The work as chaplain has cost over \$300 so far. I suppose there will be about \$50 more before we leave. But I am thankful that we are in a position to manage it. If I can do anything for men who are themselves giving their lives I feel repaid (28).

As summer slipped into fall and, in France, the Canadian Corps began its move to the Somme, the 196th Battalion began to hear rumours regarding a move overseas. However, the Battalion's ultimate destination was still unknown. The presidents of three of the universities from which the men of the 196th Battalion were drawn, Tory of Alberta, MacLean of Manitoba and Murray of Saskatchewan, paid a visit to the camp and delivered a farewell speech to the men in the mess tent.

While Oliver was at Camp Hughes, the principalship of Queen's University came open and Oliver was asked if he would accept the job. After weighing this opportunity against his duty to the troops of his battalion, he wrote to Dr. Murray, president of the University of Saskatchewan, and had his name withdrawn from the list of candidates. He wrote to his wife:

I sent off the letter definitely refusing to consider the matter at Queens. I stated three reasons elaborating them of course. 1. That I was committed to this work in connection with the war and intended to stay with it. 2. That I thought that I ought not to leave the West. 3. That I didn't think that my powers and capabilities were equal to so exalted a post. - that was the gist and keep it to yourself (29).

The time was quickly approaching for the battalion to move overseas, Oliver noted on October 13, that everything was packed up for the move except the tents (30). Oliver had packed his books for shipment overseas. On September 19, he had received a consignment of books from Edmonton and now had a library of some 500 books. On October 17, 1916, the first Canadian officer' overseas draft left Camp Hughes. Lieutenants

Boyd, Cowpor and Cummings of the 196th left with this draft. On October 26, the 196th Battalion itself left Camp Hughes at 3:15 in the afternoon. While on the train, Oliver and the battalion's medical officer, Dr. Walker, went through the cars, giving a talk on venereal disease. Oliver notes on October 27, that he "did three cars this morning. We are anxious to keep our boys clean when we get there" (31).

On November 3, 1916, Camp Hughes was officially closed. Major General John Hughes and his staff moved to Winnipeg. A detachment of Canadian Army Service Corps was left behind to clean up the grounds and remove the debris left by the troops who had trained there during the summer. Some 30,000 troops had trained there in bayonet fighting, bombing and physical training. Officer training was also conducted there. In all, 18 infantry battalions and two drafts of 100 officers each, went to England from Camp Hughes. In 1917, training which had been done at Camp Hughes was transferred to Winnipeg and Brandon (32).

The 196th Battalion Sailed to England: Oliver provides a Library and Reading Room at Seaford Camp, November, 1916

In late November, 1916, the 196th Battalion sailed from Halifax on the S.S. Southland as part of a convoy of troopships. The Battalion landed at Liverpool and, after an all-night train journey through the whole length of England, detrained at Seaford in Sussex (33).

As the 196th Battalion was settling into its life at Seaford, waiting for news of its fate, the Canadian Corps in France had moved to the Lens area, after being withdrawn from the Somme. Because of the chronic need for reinforcements for the battalions of the Corps, the 196th was broken up and absorbed into reserve or reinforcement battalions. Most men ended up in the 19th Reserve Battalion which reinforced the four active Saskatchewan infantry battalions in the Canadian Corps in France. The NCOs were reduced to privates and all ranks took the disbanding of the 196th very hard. In despair, Professor Bateman, now a lieutenant colonel and commanding officer of the 196th, kept saying "why in the devil did I ever leave the 28th" (34).

At Seaford, all ranks lived in huts, these were frame buildings of about 50 feet by 30 feet in size. The officers of the Battalion shared three of them, each divided into compartments with a stove and electric light in each. As chaplain, Oliver had one of these compartments to himself. The camp had been newly set up and Oliver found it much more poorly equipped and organized than Camp Hughes had been. The various battalion chaplains took turns holding church services in the camp YMCA hut. Oliver, who continued to write daily to his wife, noted that "each chaplain has to provide the elements for the service himself and of course at his own personal expense" (35).

While at Seaford, men from various battalions were

quarantined in the camp hospital following an outbreak of measles. As part of his duties Oliver contacted the hospital and made regular visits to the men. On December 11, he wrote, "I am distributing a box of books among the shut-ins this afternoon. I brought them from Camp Hughes and they will prove of real value here" (36).

When the 196th Battalion had been posted to Britain in November of 1916, Oliver had the books from his library at Camp Hughes shipped to Bramshott, where it was understood that the battalion was to be quartered. Some of the troops did go to Bramshott but Oliver found himself in the hutted camp at Seaford. Oliver eventually furnished two libraries, one for each camp, this he did out of his own pocket. The initial outlay was about \$150.00, with a further weekly contribution of \$10.00 for maintenance (37).

At Seaford, Oliver's attempt to start a reading room began slowly. He started it with his books from Camp Hughes. Initially, Oliver had no place even to open up his reading room, however he was able to get the use of one of the camp huts in the Battalion lines. On January 23, 1917, he wrote, "Our papers should be up today, and some of the magazines. Parker, a boy of Robertson College, Edmonton, has been put in charge of the reading room and I think he will look after it carefully" (38). Oliver bought paper and stamps for the men, posted letters and distributed books. As at Camp Hughes, Oliver was even able to acquire a piano. Later in the month

he was able to write:

Our reading room is proving a success. We have got together a good many of my books which I had at Camp Hughes. I have bought some more and borrowed and begged others. So we have quite a respectable assortment by this time. If I can find anybody who wants to spend a few dollars to help I could always buy note paper or reading material here (39).

The upkeep of the reading rooms was indeed becoming a drain on Oliver's financial resources. He confided to his wife:

I am spending what money I can afford on the hospitals and reading rooms. So far as I know no one else does, and though our library from Camp Hughes was largely dissipated, I have got together, to a great extent through purchase, a fair library again. We have the current magazines, several dailies and about 500 books - 150 out at loan just today - and we furnish a good deal of stationary per week, etc. So far I have financed all this myself and I suppose as at Camp Hughes there will be every disposition to let me do so (40).

In March of 1917, Oliver was posted from the 19th Reserve Battalion to the Canadian Chaplain Service and sent to the Canadian training establishment at Bexhill. In November of that year, in a restructuring of the training and reinforcement system, the 19th Reserve Battalion was absorbed into the 15th (Saskatchewan) Reserve Battalion.

The Administration of the Canadian Overseas Forces

While the political battles were being fought in the Canadian House of Commons just before the dismissal of Sam Hughes as minister of militia, the administration of the CEF was being consolidated into one overseas government ministry,

the ministry of the Overseas Military Forces of Canada (OMFC). The headquarters of the OMFC were to be in London. In October, 1916, the Honourable Sir George H. Perley, Acting High Commissioner in London, became the first minister of the new department (41). Two months later, on December 5, 1916, the headquarters of the OMFC were opened. In the same month, Major General P.E. Thacker became Adjutant General of the OMFC. He held that appointment to August 15, 1919. At the same time, Lieutenant General Sir R.E.W. Turner (42), who also exercised the office of General Officer Commanding, Canadian Forces in the British Isles, was appointed Chief of the General Staff, OMFC. Turner held that position to July 31, 1919. In January of 1917, Colonel W. Gow, became the deputy minister of the department. He held that appointment to October 28, 1918.

The YMCA and Adult Education in the Canadian Overseas Forces in Britain, 1917, Lectures and Meetings

In March of 1917, the YMCA had been given an official establishment on the strength of the Canadian overseas forces. Two months later, its establishment had been fixed at 114 officers and 265 other ranks in Britain and in France. There was a separate establishment in Canada and on troopships. In Britain, the Association had grown into a huge organization. In most of the camps operated by Canadians, the YMCA initially worked with the British YMCA which had set up its operations

in the camps when they had been occupied in the first instance by British troops. As these camps became more Canadian and as wholly Canadian camps were established, the Canadian YMCA either purchased the operation of their British counterpart or created their own. The Canadian YMCA centres in these camps were generally wooden huts and at one time there were some 65 of them in operation in England (43). Another type of service offered by the YMCA to overseas troops in England and France were the Red Triangle Clubs. These places were essentially an "overnight" club for Canadian soldiers on leave in the larger cities in England and France. They provided meals and overnight accommodation at a minimum cost, reading rooms, and travel and information service (44).

Along with its responsibilities for providing recreation, sports, entertainment and comforts to the troops in the line and on leave, the YMCA did not neglect its religious work. This activity was centred mainly on Bible study groups and large revival meetings. Many prominent Canadian church leaders were sent to England and France by the Association to address large gatherings of troops as part of its evangelistic campaign. Among those who made such tours were the Reverends John MacNeil, Dr. George C. Pidgeon, Dr. H.P.A. Abbott, and Captain, the Reverend William A. Cameron of the Bloor Street Baptist Church of Toronto (45).

Besides this program of religious work, the Association also sponsored a large number of lectures on secular matters.

The content of these lectures dealt largely with literary and historical subjects. As well, there was an attempt to provide information on the various aspects of the war, its causes, its problems, and its progress. It was through the organization of these lecture series, and their great success, that the idea for a more formal educational enterprise took shape. Those YMCA officials engaged in this work saw the possibilities of providing some form of academic activity that would help those who had been students before the war, return to the classroom at war's end. Adult education would thereby become part of the overall demobilization process.

The YMCA and Adult Education for Demobilization

In the spring of 1917, it was proposed at a conference of the Executive Committee of the YMCA in France, presided over by Lieutenant Colonel G.W. Birks, commanding officer of the YMCA overseas, that some form of educational activity should be instituted for the troops. It was decided that someone from Canada should come to England and survey the situation and draw up a plan for the further development of adult education in the Canadian overseas forces (46). Since a year earlier, Henry Marshall Tory, at the behest of the national council of the YMCA, had written a report outlining the educational services that should be provided for the reintegration of returned soldiers into Canadian civil life, Birks, who knew Tory well, decided that he would be the likely

person to develop an educational program for the Canadian forces in Britain and France (47). Later that summer, Birks returned to Canada to invite Tory to England on behalf of the YMCA, to survey the needs of army adult education. Tory accepted the invitation and sailed for Britain in July, 1917.

The Canadian Chaplain Service, to 1917

As has been noted earlier, chaplains had been an integral part of the Canadian overseas forces from the beginning at Valcartier in 1914. Some 33 chaplains had accompanied the First Contingent overseas and had continued serving with their respective units in France. However, it was not until August of 1915 that the Chaplain Service was given an official establishment as a unit of the Canadian overseas forces. The "statement of duties" for chaplains was undefined and many of them created their own work. Among the various tasks taken on by chaplains was that which was referred to as "social work". As a part of this work, in the fall of 1915, when the Canadian Corps was organized in France, the Chaplain Service was asked by the Corps commander to provide entertainment facilities for the troops. The theatre in Bailleul, where the Corps headquarters were located, was rented and afternoon and evening entertainment was organized (48).

A club was also organized in Bailleul by the chaplains. It became so popular that the two divisional commanders asked for extensions to be operated within their unit lines. Two

tents, each capable of seating a battalion of men, were purchased in Paris and another was donated by the Boy Scouts of Canada. In early 1916, two movie projector kits were acquired by the chaplains. These were in continuous use until the end of the war.

As did the YMCA, the chaplains provided a canteen service for the troops. The canteen service was started in 1916 and its profits, along with admission money from the movies, provided the chaplains with their only source of income. With these profits, the chaplains were able to purchase additional supplies for the troops, such as stationary and free coffee. This particular service, free coffee and biscuits, was most appreciated by the troops, especially during and after battle. During the Somme campaign, what had by then become the Social Department of the Chaplain Service, carried out its duties from two large tents erected in the Brickfields near Albert and four large coffee stalls located behind the front lines. One of these tents, equipped with electric lights, was given to the Ambulance Service to use as a field ambulance. At Vimy, in April, 1917, the Social Department operated three movie theatres, seven canteens and nine coffee stalls in the Canadian Corps area (49). By 1917, the Chaplain Service had grown to 280 ministers and priests of various denominations. By far the largest contingent was Church of England at 102, followed by Roman Catholic, at 53 (50).

In early 1917, through the initiative of the chaplain

service, lectures of an informative nature were being given by guest lecturers in the various Canadian camps in Britain (51). But as yet, both the YMCA and the chaplain service were only thinking in terms of entertainment or information. No systematic academic educational program had yet been developed by either organization.

E.H. Oliver is Posted to The Training Establishment, Bexhill,
March, 1917

In March, 1917, E.H. Oliver had been posted by the Chaplain Service to the Canadian Training Centre, Bexhill-on-Sea, in Sussex. This centre trained other ranks of the Canadian Corps who had been recommended for "promotion in the field" as officer cadets. Upon being posted to Bexhill, Oliver, as he had in Camp Hughes, Seaford and Bramshott, began to again set up a library and reading room for the staff and for the cadets under training. He was able to report at the beginning of that month, that he had made a start on his reading room, which had cost him an initial expense of five pounds, 18 shillings, 3 1/2 pence. The cost did not include the eight daily papers which he had ordered for the library (52). All the while, as well as looking after his library, Oliver continued on with the other duties assigned to him as chaplain of the training centre. On July 14, he delivered a lecture comparing the fiftieth anniversary of the Canadian Confederation with the North German Federation, which had come

into being on the same date.

Towards the end of that month H.M. Tory, who had come to Britain at the invitation of Colonel Gerald Birks and the YMCA, paid Oliver a visit at Bexhill. Tory was making a tour of all the Canadian camps in Britain and was to travel to France to visit the Canadian Corps. The purpose of his visit was to assess the feasibility of instituting an educational program as part of the demobilization process for the Canadian overseas forces. According to Tory, during his visit with Oliver, he had asked Oliver to come into the educational work with him but Oliver had declined at that time, since he wanted nothing to stand in the way of his doing a tour of duty in France. Seemingly, Oliver was concerned with Tory's standing as a civilian and wanted the educational work to be done within the military. Tory did not agree that it was necessary to do so, primarily because, at that time, he did not want to accept a military appointment and thereby jeopardize his position at the University of Alberta (53).

While in Britain, Tory also met with Captain Clarence MacKinnon, principal of Pine Hill Theological College, Halifax, at the 5th Canadian Infantry Division's concentration area in Witley Camp, Sussex, and observed MacKinnon's theological classes (54). Recalling the experience later to Sir Robert Falconer of the University of Toronto (55), Tory relates that he saw two educational experiences in the camps in England. First, there were afternoon discussions, mainly on

theological subjects ("organized by Lieutenant Clarke of the YMCA and he brought Captain MacKinnon into it to lead the discussions - at least, that was the information I was given" he writes). In regard to the other, he writes:

The other work carried on was the work done in connection with Bible Study. In this work, MacKinnon was cooperating with the YMCA. The work had been started by them in the early days of their connection with the army as part of their regular programme, just as they always do it at home (56).

It was about a month after Tory's visit that Oliver was posted from Bexhill to the Canadian Corps in France.

The Pines, Witley Camp: Waiting for Action, Adult Education in the 5th Canadian Infantry Division in England, February, 1917

In October of 1916, a month before E.H. Oliver came to Britain with the 196th Battalion, Clarence MacKinnon arrived in England with the Highland Brigade from Nova Scotia. In late 1915, MacKinnon had joined the 219th Battalion of the Brigade as regimental chaplain. Captain The Reverend H.A. Kent, also from the faculty of Pine Hill and later, after the war, principal of Queen's University Theological College, joined the 219th Battalion of the Highland Brigade as a combatant officer. After a summer training in Nova Scotia, the Brigade embarked for Britain and, landing at Liverpool, journeyed to their quarters at Whitley Camp, Sussex, in October, 1916. Because of the huge casualty rate in the Canadian Corps after the Somme, the battalions of the Highland Brigade suffered the same fate as their Western Canadian

counterparts. They were broken up and absorbed into existing units in Britain. Most of the men of the 185th Battalion were posted to units of the newly-formed 5th Canadian Infantry Division.

On February 2, 1917, the 5th Division had been formed in England (57). The division, commanded by Major General Garnet B. Hughes (Sam Hughes' son), who had previously commanded the 1st Canadian Infantry Brigade in the 1st Division, was mobilized at Witley Camp, Surrey. Garnet Hughes commanded the division until it was disbanded in England almost one year later.

Upon the breaking up of the Nova Scotia units, Clarence MacKinnon was posted as chaplain to the 161st (Huron) Battalion which was one of the units of 14th Brigade, in the 5th Division at Witley. The 161st was an Ontario battalion with the men mostly coming from the county for which it was named.

In April of 1917, while the Canadian Corps was taking Vimy Ridge in France, MacKinnon began to concern himself with the needs of the men in the 5th Division for some sort of educational work that would help them continue with their studies, which they had set aside on going to war. Many young men who had begun studying for their career in the ministry wished to resume their studies while waiting to go on active service in France. As MacKinnon noted, " educationalists had felt that something should be done to improve the minds of the

men and fit them for positions on their return to Canada at the close of the war, and that for this purpose the evening hours in training camp or when [a] battalion came out on rest might be utilized" (58).

It appears that Clarence MacKinnon organized the first formal education classes in any of the military forces in Britain, just as it was E.H. Oliver who later actually organized the educational work in France through the University of Vimy Ridge, although MacKinnon had a hand in it by suggesting Oliver for the job. Therefore it is Mackinnon rather than Tory who deserves the "credit" for first initiating actual educational classes in Britain, although Tory was the one who first drafted the overall plan for educational activity as part of the demobilization process.

In May of 1917, the first Canadian classes were organized by MacKinnon among the men of the 5th Division at Witley camp. At first the work concerned religious topics but by mid-summer more than 500 men were registered in a variety of "secular" courses. Because of the politics surrounding the non-posting of the 5th Division to France as a formed unit, the infantry units of the Division were left in England throughout the summer of 1917, As MacKinnon notes, it was because of those long summer months of waiting for the 5th Division to be sent to France, that there was considerable leisure time for the men (59).

In one of a continuous series of letters that MacKinnon

wrote home to his wife, Mary, he talked about the growing opportunity for educational work at Witley. He had organized a philosophy club from among former theology students of the Division at Witley, which met every Tuesday under the pine trees at the camp.

I have a Bible class on Sunday afternoon with a membership of over 100. I have also as a legacy of Gilmour's visit, a theological class, made up of university men, which meets every Tuesday evening. We have class together under the pine trees and a theological discussion on some religious theme. The responsibility for discussion rests on me, and I find great interest in preparing for it. The fact of the matter is, my life is getting less and less military and lapsing into an ordinary minister's work visiting, preaching, teaching (60).

In one interesting interlude, MacKinnon took a class to the annual conference of the Fabian Socialists, where he debated Bernard Shaw. He recounts:

After dinner I went over with my social club to a school two miles beyond Godalming where the Fabian Society (Edite a de Luxe Socialists) were having their Summer School and where we were invited, Bernard Shaw was to open discussions. Some of our boys had chosen the subject "Is the church necessary for realizing the Christian ideal?" He spoke for 45 minutes. It was fascinatingly clever but left the impression of being more brilliant than sincere. I was put up to reply and got the sympathy of the Fabians by likening Bernard Shaw's diagnosis of the church to the diagnosis of a patient by a surgeon as, "Two of the wounds are fatal. The others, he said, with careful treatment could be healed (61).

Writing to his wife three days later from the 161st Battalion lines in Witley camp:

I went over to No. 2 YMCA Hut and held my bible class as the sky was thundering, we held it in the Billiard room. The billiard table served as a sort of desk. Our membership is now about 150 but we do

not average more than 70 or 80 at a time. We are going over the gospel of Matthew and have reached the 7th chapter (62).

Mackinnon also recorded:

Now it was during these pleasant and quiet months at Witley camp that the opportunity came for educational work. Naturally the religious side came first - Bible classes numbering two and even three hundred. There were many university students as well, and a number of them formed a 'philosophic club' and we used to meet of an evening under a grove of pine trees for discussion (63).

The 'Gilmour' that MacKinnon wrote about as having left a "legacy", was Professor J.L. Gilmour of McMaster University, Toronto, who spent, at the invitation of the YMCA, the months of May to September, 1917, developing the Association's Bible study program in each of the camps in England. He is not to be confused with Captain William Gilmour of the YMCA, who was to play a major part in the educational movement with MacKinnon and Oliver.

In his letter to Sir Robert Falconer of the University of Toronto, Tory notes that the man most anxious about instituting academic work was Captain William Gilmour of the YMCA staff in England who "in a very earnest way expressed a wish that something concrete could be done" (64). Tory's itinerary also included a visit to Canadian troops in France. Tory notes that before going, he met with Captain William Cameron, the evangelist who had been commissioned into the YMCA, and who had crossed over from Canada with Tory when he sailed to Britain. Tory had asked Cameron to arrange a meeting for him, on his return from France, with a group of

men who would be interested in studying for the ministry after the war.

On August 10, Tory crossed the Channel to visit Canadian areas of the Western Front, including Canadian Corps positions in the Lens sector. While there, Tory notes that he discussed, in mid-August, the matter of a formal adult education program with officers of the 4th Division. He then put forward his scheme to General Lipsett of the 3rd Division and, through Major J.H. Wallace, who was in charge of the YMCA in the Canadian Corps, held a conference at Corps headquarters at which representatives of all the divisions were present (the 3rd Division's representative was Hamilton Gault of the PPCLI). According to Tory, they all endorsed his educational scheme (65).

The Beginning of Organized Adult Education Activity in the Canadian Camps in Britain, September, 1917

While Tory was in France, MacKinnon continued to organize classes among the troops at Witley. There was a general sense that Germany was coming to the end of its ability to wage war and the conflict would be nearly over by the end of 1917. This of course was before the German offensives of 1918, which no one could anticipate. MacKinnon wrote to his wife:

It will be a few months before the troops can be demobilized and efforts are afoot to establish a Khaki University to take up classes for students and arrangements are being made through President Tory of Alberta University, to get these classes recognized by the home Universities. This will be

of immense value. It will give the men a serious interest when that of the war lapses. It will economise their time and fit them for citizenship, to use the large and hackneyed phrase of the hour. Should the war end in a few months and should this scheme be carried through, I will likely be detailed to take part in this work (66).

On August 30, 1917, Tory returned to England after his tour of Canadian units in France. While back in England, on September 2, he met with a group of 200 men, presumably assembled at Cameron's instigation. It was to this group that Tory publicly presented his idea for an educational program. In canvassing the 200 men, it was found that 57 wanted to study agriculture, 40 for the ministry, 30 for business, 18 for YMCA secretaryships and 15 for practical mechanics.

Seemingly, Tory was not satisfied that this group was a representative enough base upon which to build his educational program so he arranged for "an officer of the YMCA" to survey one of the brigades at Witley, to ascertain what sort of interest there would be in his scheme. That officer later sent his report by cable to Tory, who, by then, had returned to Canada. According to Tory, the positive findings in that report was "the foundation on which the Khaki College organization in Witley rested" (67). In commenting on the meeting at Witley, Tory noted that:

MacKinnon does not appear to have known that it was done at my instigation, or that the 200 men were brought together at my suggestion. In a report which he [MacKinnon] made on the subject he refers to me as reaching Witley Camp on the 2nd of September and giving impetus to a work already

established. I think I have now removed from his mind the error in this connection (68).

The letter in which Tory recounts his part in the origins of the education movement in Britain was written six months after the events occurred and in a period when the struggle for control of the movement between the YMCA and the chaplain service was at its height. However, MacKinnon, writing at the time, saw it much differently:

Our work has taken an entirely new development since we [the 5th Division] were left out of the "vacation party" (69) From Cameron's meeting has arisen a kind of intellectual awakening in the camp. Dr. Tory, President of Alberta University, ... arrived at the opportune moment, when this had begun. He was clothed with authority to investigate the educational possibilities. He secured the promise of the military authorities that all who registered in the classes being formed would be concentrated in our camp when hostilities ceased. He is now on his way to Canada to see what educational institutions there will honour the work. I was practically the only [Khaki] College man in the camp and the whole organization of the work devolved chiefly on myself, therefore, I have been careful to assume no responsibility other than a simple adviser of the YMCA as I think it essential that institution should carry the movement (70).

In a letter written later to Gerald Birks, Tory concedes that MacKinnon's classes under the pines were in session before his visit to the camp, his attention "was not called to it at the time" (71).

The one part of the interpretation of the origins of the educational movement that both Tory and MacKinnon did agree on however, was that they both understood MacKinnon to believe that the education movement should be directed by the YMCA.

Tory had asked MacKinnon's opinion on two matters, first, the feasibility of the scheme in general and secondly if it should be under the control of the YMCA. In regard to the first matter, MacKinnon believed that Tory's plan was feasible if the universities in Canada would support it and if the military authorities would cooperate. In regard to the second, MacKinnon believed that the YMCA should operate the movement. Cooperatively, he, and the Association began to set up the first of the Khaki Colleges in Witley. Three of the YMCA officers in the camp, Captain Gilmour and Lieutenants Rawson and G.A. Clarke, had been assigned to the educational work on a full time basis. They, with MacKinnon, who still looked upon himself as an "advisor" to the YMCA, were the people who put the college together. MacKinnon wrote to his wife:

We have arranged three general courses - 1. Literacy, 2. Business College, 3. Agricultural. The military authorities have put their instructional huts at our disposal. The enthusiasm among the men has been surprising. We have more registered already than the whole of Dalhousie University. The registration for the first night was history 54, Latin 33, Greek 19, English literature 79, bookkeeping 88, shorthand 87, French 108 -beside mathematical and office classes. I have the names of 33 taking Theology eventually. I will teach eight courses a week, taking history and Latin with the Theological class at the Reformation. In addition I have my Bible class which has overflowed the billiard room into the passage and has I think been no ignoble factor in the larger movement. We have in a mild sense the spirit of the Renaissance (72).

The business classes were taught by Captain W.G. Frisby and MacKinnon taught the history, Latin, Greek and French classes.

Even if one is prepared to believe that Tory originated the concept of a formal educational movement in the Canadian overseas forces, there is no doubt as to who was the driving force behind the movement in England being turned into reality. Once MacKinnon was brought into the educational work at Witley, he turned his efforts wholly towards it. Travelling constantly to London to consult with staff officers at OMFC headquarters, and visiting British universities to get the movement organized, he brought together teaching resources and a library. All the while he continued to teach. On September 27, 1917, MacKinnon wrote, "our educational work has gone on with great enthusiasm. I teach eight groups a week, Latin and History" (73). The enthusiasm must have been real, because he was also able to write, "out on a bivouac the other day I found some of our soldiers had taken their history books with them. That was encouraging" (74). A month later, in October, MacKinnon was still totally occupied in organizing the college at Witley, He wrote, "our educational work has exceeded all expectation. We have now over 800 who have applied for classes. My work is quite like at home. Apart from my uniform I might be out of the army" (75).

The infantry unit of the 5th Division were to remain in Britain for another few months before the Division was officially disbanded. However, with the educational program being so successful, MacKinnon was posted out of the 5th Division in October, 1917, to the staff of the Canadian

Chaplain Service in Britain. As a staff officer he began to work full time with the education movement (76).

Tory Drafts a Plan for a Khaki University for the YMCA

While MacKinnon was busily organizing educational work in Britain, Tory had returned to Canada from his visit to Canadian troops in Britain and France. He had been impressed with the enthusiasm with which his proposals for a formal, institutionalized educational system for the overseas military forces had been received by the YMCA and military officials and by the men themselves. Tory relayed these feelings of optimism in his report to Birks which he presented before leaving for Canada.

While he was still in England, Tory was beginning to see the educational movement in a larger context. He had been very careful in eliciting MacKinnon's opinion on how the movement should be controlled because he had already, at that time, entered into discussions on making the movement into a "national" service, rather than a service of the YMCA. To do so Tory knew he would need the backing of the universities and the government. Before leaving England, Tory had secured the endorsement of Brigadier General H.F. MacDonald, the GSO 1 of headquarters, OMFC, and a McGill alumnus, for his plan to take the educational work away from the YMCA and give control of the activity to the Canadian universities (77).

In October, 1917, Tory presented his report to the

National Council of the YMCA, in Canada, outlining a plan which would meet the immediate educational needs of the troops and which could become the basis for activity during the period of demobilization. It was believed that total demobilization would require at least one year to complete. Tory recommended the establishment of an educational institution, which would carry out a standard curriculum of university work in one central camp. The name of this institution was to be, the Khaki University of Canada. There would also be an extension department which would provide services for all the other Canadian camps in Britain. The curriculum would include matriculation courses, business and agricultural courses, teacher training and some work of university level in the arts, in engineering, in medicine and in law (78). The YMCA approved of the plan, including its expansion to a larger national service and agreed to raise funds to support the work until it outgrew the limit of its financial resources.

The Canadian General Election of October, 1917: Tory Puts his Educational Plan Before the Union Government and the Universities

Meanwhile in October, 1917, in Canada, as Tory was putting forward his report on adult education to the National Committee of the YMCA, a number of national issues arising from the conduct of the war were precipitating a political

crisis in the Canadian parliament. Prime Minister Borden resolved to receive a mandate to continue his war-time policies through calling a general election. By the fall of 1917, many factors had combined to bring on a general feeling of pessimism within the Canadian government and among the Canadian population. By far, however, the most contentious issue facing the Canadian public was conscription. With the disastrous campaigns of the Somme, in the summer of 1916, and the Vimy campaign in the spring of 1917, the ranks of trained infantrymen in the Canadian Corps were becoming seriously depleted.

Earlier, at the beginning of 1917, while the Canadian Corps was moving to the Lens sector from the Somme, the Canadian House of Commons had adjourned its 1917 sitting on February 7, to allow Prime Minister Borden to attend the Imperial War Conferences in Britain. Borden went to England in the spring of that year to plan for the 1917 offensive as a member of the conference. Present at the Imperial War Conferences were representatives from Canada, South Africa, New Zealand, India and Newfoundland. Absent from the meetings was the prime minister of Australia since that country was in the middle of its general election. While in Britain, Borden toured the Canadian camps in England and visited the Canadian troops in France in March, before the upcoming assault on Vimy Ridge. In April, with the conferences ended, he left England to return to Canada (79).

From his experiences in Britain and France, Borden knew that more troops would be needed to replenish the overseas forces and, upon returning to Canada, he told the House of Commons on May 16, 1917, that conscription would be needed. Borden introduced a conscription Bill in August, with the intention of making it a paramount issue in an upcoming general election in October. On August 29 of that year, the Compulsory Service Bill, passed the House of Commons and a month later the Canadian Government introduced the Military Service Act, instituting conscription in Canada. Under the War-Time Elections Act, soldiers in Canada and overseas participated in the general election and voted overwhelmingly for the Union government.

On October 12, 1917, the Unionist government under Prime Minister Sir Robert Borden formed the tenth ministry of the government of Canada. It was composed of sixteen Conservative, nine Liberal and one Labour ministers. That government lasted until July 10, 1920. As ministers, Borden appointed the Honourable Newton Wesley Rowell as President of the Privy Council. Rowell continued in that position to July 9, 1920. The Honourable James Alexander Calder became minister of immigration and colonization (80) and in place of Albert Kemp who went on to become the minister of the overseas military forces of Canada, Borden appointed a Liberal, Major General the Honourable Sydney Chilton Mewburn as minister of militia and defence. Mewburn held that position until January 15, 1920

(81). As minister of the overseas military forces, Kemp succeeded Sir George Perley. Kemp held that office until 1920, when the ministry closed down. Perley was officially appointed High Commissioner to London on October 12, 1917 (82). Lieutenant General Sir R.E.W. Turner remained as the general officer commanding all Canadian troops in France and Britain.

In the fall of 1917, Tory put forward to the Canadian government, his plan for educational work in the overseas forces. His plan emphasized two areas of concern. First, the organization of educational work while the war was in progress and, secondly, the work to be done during the demobilization period.

In his report to the government Tory outlined the ways in which his concerns could be addressed. He proposed that educational work done while the war progressed would include:

- a. Lectures of a popular, scientific and educational character.
- b. Organization of small groups for the study of agriculture, history, economics, the natural sciences, etc.
- c. The organization of libraries and the distribution of general literature.

During the period of demobilization the program would include:

- a. Work of university grade.
- b. Work similar to that offered in agricultural schools in Canada.
- c. High School matriculation.
- d. Normal School instruction for untrained teachers.
- e. Technical and scientific courses.
- f. Business training for commercial pursuits.
- g. Extension courses in literature, history, economics, elementary science and agriculture (83).

His plan was enthusiastically endorsed by the government and the prime minister.

Tory also approached the universities, looking for their participation in his program. In a series of letters to university presidents across Canada, Tory outlined his program and solicited their active support. The support was forthcoming and an advisory board of university presidents and governors was set up to guide the movement, under the chairmanship of Sir Robert Falconer, President of the University of Toronto. The initial board that was to guide the fortunes of the overseas work included: Sir Robert Falconer, University of Toronto, as chairman; President A.S. MacKenzie and George Campbell, chairman of the Board of Governors, Dalhousie; William Birks; President J. Bruce Taylor and Hamilton Cassils, Vice-Chancellor, Queen's; Sir Edmond Walker, chairman, Board of Governors, Toronto; C.W. Bishop, national secretary and G.H. Wood, chairman, National Council of the YMCA; Lieutenant Colonel Vincent Massey; President J.A. McLean and Issac Pitblado, chairman, Board of Governors, University of Manitoba; President Westbrooke, UBC; G.E. McCraney, member of the senate and President W.C. Murray, University of Saskatchewan; Chief Justice Harvey, chairman, Board of Governors and, of course, H.M. Tory from the University of Alberta. The universities also agreed to provide additional teachers to augment the resources of the Khaki University when necessary, especially during the period of demobilization (84).

A Wider Field: Khaki Colleges are Established in Britain

While Tory was laying the political groundwork in Canada for a larger movement, educational work continued on in England. The work in Witley was enlarged under MacKinnon's direction. It was at Witley Camp that the first Khaki College was organized in October, 1917. A board of governors was established for the college from among the officers at Witley, and MacKinnon was elected president (85). Garnet Hughes, the GOC, 5th Division, became the chancellor of the college. Before the end of October, there were some 900 students or potential students at Witley, enrolled or waiting to enrol in a variety of classes. The classes were taught by university professors and teachers who came from the various units stationed in the camp.

Also in October, while the Khaki College was being organized at Witley, an educational movement was beginning at the Canadian camp at Bramshott. MacKinnon's old friend and colleague from Pine Hill, Captain The Reverend H.A. Kent, had remustered from a combatant officer into the chaplain service and was directing the educational activity in that camp (86). Kent was made president of the college at Bramshott.

The educational movement was now becoming widely known both within the Canadian army and outside it. Lieutenant General Turner, the senior officer of the Canadian overseas forces, was made aware of the work and called MacKinnon to OMFC headquarters at Argyle House, London, to be briefed on

the movement. Turner was profoundly impressed with what he heard and appointed MacKinnon as chairman of a "temporary" committee of the general staff to oversee the development of the educational movement in Britain (87). The other members of the committee were Gerald Birks of the YMCA and Captain MacDonald of the general staff. The mandate of the committee would also later extend to the educational work in France. Although Mackinnon saw his role as helping to organize the work until Tory returned from Canada, because his appointment to the committee was an "army" appointment, there was to be some confusion as to the status of his position in relation to Tory on his return, since, at that time, Tory only held his appointment through the YMCA. To exercise his new appointment, MacKinnon was posted from Witley and his battalion to the general staff in London. As the education movement became an army activity, moving away from the YMCA, the director of the chaplain service, Colonel J.M. Almond, became interested in the work and was beginning to see it as part of his mandate, as an army service, to provide "social work" activities.

While education was being organized as a general staff activity, more colleges were being developed in the other Canadian camps in England. In November, 1917, a third Khaki College was organized at Seaford under Major (Professor) Brock of the University of British Columbia, who, when at that university, had organized D Company of the 196th Battalion.

Brock became president of the college at Seaford. Also in November, MacKinnon went to the camp at Shorncliffe to organize a college there. He wrote, "on Friday we were at Shorncliffe and "founded" another university there. Seaford has now nearly 1000 students, Witley has the same" (88). By the end of 1917, there were several thousand men enrolled in night classes in the camps at Witley, Bramshott, Seaford, Shorncliffe and other training centres.

MacKinnon Visits France to Establish Educational Work in the Canadian Corps, November, 1917

Towards the end of November, 1917, when the Canadian Corps had returned to their positions on the Lens front, after the action at Passchendaele, Clarence MacKinnon, Gerald Birks and Captain MacDonald from the OMFC general staff, were sent to France by Major General Turner of the headquarters, OMFC, to organize some form of adult education in the Canadian Corps. On November 4, MacKinnon wrote: "I shall be in France for a few weeks and then come back and initiate Dr. Tory into his work... I am in charge of the educational work in the Chaplain's Service. Who could ask for more" (89). On November 21, MacKinnon wrote from London:

Our educational work has been more successful than I could have anticipated. We put in our report today and the general was immensely pleased. We have four colleges running and two subsidiary schools in hospitals. We have enrolled 2638 students with 136 teachers. We have completed arrangements for its continuance in the formation of a central board in London. General Turner met

me afterwards accidentally in the corridor and he was so delighted at what had been done that he put both hands on my shoulders and said "I want to thank you personally for the splendid way in which you have put this through! He was anxious that the work should be continued in France although the circumstances there will be very different and he arranged with Colonel Almond the D.C.S. that I should be sent across at once. Colonel Birks goes in any case as head of the YMCA and the General is sending over Capt. Macdonald. So we three will have the same work in France. We will be sent up at once to the Corps, as it is called, and will likely have our place among the rest billets eight or ten miles from the front (90).

Having penned these observations, Clarence MacKinnon crossed over the Channel to visit the Canadian Corps Headquarters at Camblain L'Abbe to discuss the development of educational work for the troops in France.

From France, Mackinnon was able to write happily to his wife that:

My mission is going better than I could have anticipated. We are likely to secure Principal Oliver and with him and the general sympathy I think our movement is safe. Dr. Tory comes from Canada about the beginning of the year and I will have to return to England to introduce him to the work. I have also to give a lecture at a retreat for chaplains at Cambridge University January 7-11. I am practically at present the head of the whole educational movement in the Canadian army both in England and France and I feel that my work is really telling for good among the men (91).

MacKinnon's sense of euphoria was soon to evaporate. While in France, he was joined by the director of the Chaplain Service, Colonel Almond, who had rushed over to raise the alarm with MacKinnon that all was not well with the education movement in England. Although the work of organizing the khaki colleges had devolved largely to the Chaplain Service through

MacKinnon's committee which had been appointed by the OMFC headquarters, word was being passed that, on Tory's return in January, the control of the movement would pass to the YMCA, through him (92). Again, writing to his wife from France, MacKinnon notes:

I regret very much that I have to return so soon to England, but Colonel Almond relies extremely on me in educational matters and the difficulty that has arisen is over Dr. Tory and outside teachers coming over and taking up work inside the army. Hitherto we have always worked with and under the higher military authorities. And yet Dr. Tory is necessary as he brings the support and sanction of Canadian universities. It is not a difficulty that worries me. We have had others far worse (93).

Back in England in early December, MacKinnon began to prepare for the arrival of Tory from Canada. He was buoyed up by the knowledge that he had left a functioning "University of Vimy Ridge" in France, under the able directorship of E.H. Oliver.

As word of the educational movement in the Canadian camps in Britain began to spread, it generated a great deal of interest in British and Dominion forces as well as among the British public. The idea was so novel that it piqued the interest of the London Times. The khaki colleges were featured in its Educational Supplement and a proud MacKinnon noted to his wife:

... I enclose a clipping from "The Times" about our educational work. You can imagine the impression that had been made when the Times sent a reporter down to Witley to get the facts and Witley is not even the most progressive of these colleges today. Seaford is even more so. I must send you one of the calendars it has got out. I attended a college smoker there on Thursday and it was most enjoyable. The class in the "Pine grove" referred to in the

report was my Theological Club. I drafted the constitution also and indeed have directed the whole movement so far and it is a great satisfaction to see it now so generously appreciated (94).

It was this organized educational movement which Mackinnon had put in place in England and in France that Tory found when he arrived in England from Canada in January, 1918.

Chapter 5

THE UNIVERSITY OF VIMY RIDGE:

ADULT EDUCATION IN THE CANADIAN CORPS IN FRANCE

NOVEMBER, 1917 TO AUGUST, 1918

After Passchendaele and Beyond Vimy: The Canadian Corps Returns to 1st British Army in the Lens Sector, November, 1917 to March, 1918

In November, 1917, after the battles of Passchendaele, the Canadian Corps was posted back from 2nd British Army to take up its old positions in 1st British Army and the Lens Sector of the Front. Here it would remain until the German advances in the Somme in March of 1918. On leaving 2nd British Army in November, 1917, the troops of the Canadian Corps had finished their last tour of duty in the Ypres Salient and they would not return to Belgium again until the great pursuit of the Hundred Days, almost a year later. The Canadians were now back in the sector which they had occupied less than a month earlier. There, they spent their time through the winter of 1917-1918, in a general reorganization and in carrying out trench raids and patrols along the line in that part of the 1st British Army's front (1). By the end of 1917, a total of 63,536 Canadian troops had been sent to France. One of those Canadians was E.H. Oliver who was posted from Bexhill, England, to 3rd Canadian General Hospital, a "Line of Communications" unit which had been raised by McGill

University and which was stationed at Boulogne.

While the Canadian Corps occupied the relatively quiet Lens Sector, large battles were raging in other areas of the Front. In the area of the Front occupied by 3rd British Army, General Byng, the former commander of the Canadian Corps, then commander of 3rd British Army and in future to become Canada's governor general, launched an all-out attack against the German force opposing him. The first day of the attack, launched with massed tanks, was initially successful, taking British troops to the outskirts of Cambrai (2). However, the German Army counter-attacked on the second day. Byng could not exploit his gains because of a lack of reinforcements. Those troops had been allocated to the Passchendaele front, and so the British forces were pushed back and most of their hard-won ground was lost again.

In November of 1917, in Russia, the Bolsheviks were successful in gaining control of the government. They sued for peace with Germany and an armistice was signed, thereby taking Russia out of the war and freeing up German troops from the Eastern Front for service against the Allies in the West. The Allied forces were becoming battle-weary and depleted from the long bloody summer campaigns at Verdun in the south, which left the French army in open mutiny, and at Passchendaele in the north, which led to a major reorganization of the British field armies (3).

Adult Education is Established in the 3rd Canadian Division,
November, 1917

When Oliver joined his unit in France, he began to consider what sort of activity he could engage in for the betterment of the troops. In that regard, as part of his duties as chaplain, he started a Bible study group with the YMCA. While Oliver was continuing on with his duties as chaplain, he was paid an unexpected visit by Clarence MacKinnon who was on his way to Canadian Corps headquarters. The two men held a hurried conversation about education in the Corps and Mackinnon continued on his way. MacKinnon had clearly decided on Oliver as the one who would best be able to organize an education movement in France. Oliver, for his part, was ambivalent at first when presented with the prospect of changing his role from chaplain to full-time educator. He wrote to his wife, "I expect not to hear anything more about the educational work till next week at the earliest. I like the chaplain's work and would be sorry to leave it as I have been happy in it. I can decide better after I know more of the details" (4).

MacKinnon had come to France as part of a committee (which had included Colonel Gerald Birks of the YMCA and Captain MacDonald of the OMFC general staff) which had been sent from OMFC headquarters in London, to establish an adult education program in the Canadian Corps. After meeting with General Currie in the Corps headquarters at Camblain-L'Abbe,

MacKinnon had been directed to General Lipsett, commander of the 3rd Canadian Division, who had previously expressed an interest in establishing some sort of educational activity in his division (5). MacKinnon suggested Oliver as the person who could best put together such a program and Oliver was immediately sent for by General Lipsett and ordered to report to the 3rd Division. Oliver, writing from 3rd Canadian General Hospital noted, "I was wakened up last night between 12:00 and 1:00 am with a telegram from the assistant director of Chaplain Services for France [Colonel McGreer] ordering me to secure a pass to proceed today to the Canadian Corps at the Front. I expect it is to have a conference about the new educational work. My pass is to be for one week" (6). In describing how Oliver had been chosen to carry out the educational program, Mackinnon relates:

The general had not been over-anxious to have a chaplain in charge of the work, as such an appointment was apt to stir latent denominational antagonisms, but he was finally mollified by the assurance that the learned doctor was not so much of a clergyman as he was an educationalist. As Oliver had been Dr. Tory's choice, all parties were thus quite satisfied and a wonderful work began.
(7)

The educational program, which had as one of its objectives the preparation of men for their return to civilian life by equipping them for greater efficiency in agriculture, business, and professional life, was organized in the form of a "field university" which was named The University of Vimy Ridge (8). The institution had four main branches;

Agriculture, Business, Elementary Science, and Citizenship.

MacKinnon continued on in France through December, until he was abruptly called back to England to advise the director of the chaplain service, Colonel Almond, in his upcoming negotiations with Tory, who was due back in England from Canada at the beginning of the new year. While still in France, however, MacKinnon spent his time helping Oliver get the new University of Vimy Ridge up and running. MacKinnon wrote to his wife from France:

You will be pleased to know that our work here has been a very great success 'The University of Vimy Ridge' has been established with Principal Oliver as president and the general of the [3rd] Division as chancellor. Oliver and I gave the initial lecture or address this week, two today and we give two tomorrow. Each was to a battalion and then each day in a new brigade. So we will have reached all the brigades in the division. We have lunched with the general and had afternoon tea with him, we also dined with him and all his brigadier generals (9).

Organizing the new university was a herculean task. Oliver had been "taken on strength" with the 3rd Canadian Division Wing, Canadian Corps Reinforcement Centre, as a staff officer. There, he began his work, finding areas for class rooms and reading rooms and outfitting them with supplies. He noted:

I went to the Canadian Corps to report progress regarding the educational work. I got some splendid pictures to bring back to decorate our reading room. I also got some stationery and one or two books that are very helpful. We expect to get another reading room opened up tomorrow which will be three within a week's time and all as far forward as we can ever go (10).

Fortunately for Oliver, he had an able assistant in his work in Captain William Gilmour of the YMCA. Gilmour became Oliver's right-hand man, indefatigably securing all that Oliver needed. Of Gilmour's work, Oliver wrote:

Gilmore has been a great help. I plan the policy and keep the higher politics going. He steals the stoves, puts up the tents and drives the YMCA ahead at a pace they have not encountered since they struck France. Gilmore and I have some rare old laughs. As he says, this proposition can't wait. So the University of Vimy Ridge rams ahead. We are going to get pamphlets printed and do some advertising. We use breweries, mines, buildings, tents, school houses, for the University of Vimy Ridge can't wait. For if we don't hurry, our pupils may get shot or killed before they are educated (11).

The urgency of providing educational services to the men meant that Oliver and Gilmore had much work to do, and little time to accomplish it. Putting the university in place required long hours of work on the part of both Oliver and Gilmour. Oliver writes:

At a fairly early hour this morning Gilmour and I set off to the Corps Headquarters. At the YMCA, we made arrangements about getting books, had dinner then proceeded by lorry some twelve kilometres to set up a reading room where the Princess Pats are. The day before we had been there and had picked out two tents. When we arrived we found them down so in the darkness they had to be put up (12).

At the beginning of January, Oliver sent Gilmour off to England to acquire books for the reading rooms of the new university. By that time, three reading rooms had been set up in advanced positions in the line, thereby establishing the principle, as Oliver noted, " that such things are possible" (13). One of Oliver's greatest problems was acquiring

transport. He notes, "I have to look after schools scattered miles apart and I must do it by walking or jumping lorries" (14).

Although the work was long and hard, for Oliver it was also immensely satisfying. He was now fully immersed in the role of educator as he had been in Saskatoon and he wrote to his wife:

I have been working on my weekly report today and have made arrangements for lectures to battalions on Saturday and Monday. Who would have thought that I, leaving behind the principalship of the College in Saskatoon, should have become President of the University of Vimy Ridge. The work goes well but as is the case when one is a pioneer the chief burden falls on the promoter. However, I have got along far better than I had any reason to anticipate (15).

He added in another letter, "It seems like a big joke to have refused the principalship of Queen's and to have got in its place the presidency of the University of Vimy Ridge" (16), and later:

I often think about our separation and my leaving the principalship behind as I did, and the more I think of it the more I see that my duty lies here. I'm doing a much bigger work than I could have done if I had remained behind in Saskatoon (17).

Extending the Work of The University of Vimy Ridge to the Other Divisions in The Canadian Corps, January to September, 1918

In January, 1918, the Corps commander, Lieutenant General Sir Arthur Currie, authorized Oliver to expand his work from the 3rd Division to the entire Canadian Corps. This new

responsibility brought with it even more work, but it also meant that Oliver would now have an official position on the general staff of the Corps headquarters. There, his first requirement was to find personnel to staff the new university. After an interview with Arthur Currie, at which he was accompanied by the assistant director of the Chaplain Service for France, Colonel McGreer, Oliver was assured of Currie's full cooperation and he was given permission to recruit an adequate staff (18). He wrote:

Yesterday Colonel McGreer, the ADCS of the Canadian Corps took me down to the Corps and I had an interview with Sir Arthur Currie about being allowed to have a certain staff of officers and men. He was very nice about it. The consequence is that I am going to get my officers and other teachers as I wish. It will take some time to get their appointments through but I am free to go ahead. Currie was very nice about it and said he appreciated what I was trying to do and sympathised with it for he believed it would make the men better soldiers (19).

With Currie's authority behind him, Oliver immediately began staffing his university. He began with his own division, the 3rd, and the first officer he approached was Lieutenant Alex Gordon (20). Gordon was to be the first of a large complement of teaching staff. Oliver noted:

When I get all my appointments through I shall have a professorial staff of from 80 to 100 giving their full time to the work. So you see that I shall have a pretty fair university, even it is only for the duration of the war (21).

He added, "I have more students than if I were home in Canada in connection with a university there." By the end of January, 1918, three more officers were allocated to Oliver's

university, for the 3rd Division. One of these officers was a Lieutenant Martin who had been with Oliver in the 196th (Western Universities) Battalion. Of another officer instructor of the 3rd Division, Oliver wrote:

One of my latest teachers is Weir (22) of the Regina Collegiate Institute. He is here with the Princess Patricias. To teach some of his lessons he will have to walk eight miles there and eight miles back. He may have to teach in a tent or the rear of an estaminet (23).

With the compliment of officers who would become instructors for the university in the 3rd Division almost complete, Oliver set about to find instructors for the other divisions. Since time was of the essence he turned to the people he knew best, most of whom were former officers of the 196th (Western Universities) Battalion with whom he had come overseas. When the 196th Battalion was broken up in England most of these officers had found their way to the various battalions of the Canadian Corps in France. Another former officer of the 196th Battalion, Lieutenant Shaw, from Calgary, agreed to take over educational work in the 4th Division (24). A month later, Shaw's place was taken by an officer named Sullivan who, as inspector of high schools in British Columbia, had experience in organizing educational systems in civilian life (25).

While collecting his instructors, Oliver continued to organize his university. Along with Colonel McGreer, he met with the commanding officers of the 4th and 2nd Divisions to talk about setting up universities in their units. The GOC of

the 4th Division, General Watson, was most enthusiastic about the work and authorized its immediate beginning in his units, so Oliver set about at once to find a place in 4th Division's lines where he could put a school and reading room. In the 2nd Division the work of setting up a university was not as easily done because that division was destined to become detached from the Canadian Corps in the upcoming months, in reaction to the German advances at Arras. At the time, however, none of this could be foreseen.

While all this organizing was going on, Gilmour returned from London, bringing supplies for the university and the welcome news that his and Oliver's work was being recognized in the highest levels of the British army. Oliver writes:

Gilmour has brought back nearly 3000 volumes, a typewriter and stationary. Gilmour is a real genius. I tell him what I want done and it is done. He conquered their incredulity in London, got his pass extended, got the War Office to put a special car on a train, got a carrier's pass to enable him to bring the books and now he has them in a neighbouring town. He is simply invaluable to me. Gilmour says that everybody in the War Office has heard about the University of Vimy Ridge (26).

Oliver's work was now becoming known throughout the BEF and, understanding how units can eventually become entrenched in the system if they have enough visibility, he began to manoeuvre for official recognition of the university on the Canadian Corps establishment. On January 14, 1918, he confided to his wife, "I am going to see soon if I cannot get my mail addressed to me at the University of Vimy Ridge, Canadian Corps" (27). The University of Vimy Ridge continued

to expand and its organization was beginning to take shape. Oliver, as principal, continued his negotiations with all the various factions within the Corps who had a voice in the creation of the University. As he wrote to his wife:

Gilmour is out fixing up a reading room while I have been engaged in the higher diplomacy of appointments. It is wonderful how many people have to be consulted. I have to keep in touch not only with my workers and instructors but the GOC of the Corps, the GOCs of each of the four divisions, the assistant director of chaplain services, the YMCA supervisor and it has to be done in the most punitive fashion, ie., if you want to see a man you have to write him and wait for an answer or walk to where he lives and then you find him on leave or he has moved, for there is nothing stable in the army (28).

The instability of the situation was further aggravated by the fact that the University of Vimy Ridge did not have an official establishment as yet within the Corps to which Oliver's instructors could be posted. The commanding officers of the units from which the instructors had been "attached posted" were continuously attempting to take them back (29). In spite of this, Oliver continued to expand the University into the 1st Division, the only division still within the Corps to not have an educational program (30). Unit by unit, Oliver instituted his university throughout the Canadian Corps. He noted that it took a great deal of time and patience and negotiating "but as long as progress is being made I feel that we are doing good work". He continued:

I dropped Dr. Murray a note today enclosing a library card just for a lark. I imagine he is interested in the progress of the University of Vimy Ridge. It is a thriving concern and we expect

great things of it during the period of demobilization (31).

Oliver estimated that it would take him "a couple of months yet to get the university organized thoroughly" (32).

One of Oliver's many concerns was actually providing a learning environment for the men:

Troops are continually moving and when you get work arranged it does not stay arranged. For instance, when a battalion comes into rest it remains in rest only five days and then it goes into reserve or support. But another battalion comes in. You must do a little for each of them but your course is not very long (33).

While Oliver was busily developing the university in the divisions of the Canadian Corps, Gilmore was busy setting up the facilities. Oliver and Gilmour continued to face difficulties in obtaining transportation for themselves and their material and had to overcome the awkwardness of getting around in the mud. Oliver noted, "I am getting bicycles for our brigade education officers. In Canada they speak of a professor being appointed to a chair. Here he is assigned to a bicycle" (34).

Throughout the winter, as the weather changed, moving the libraries and reading areas created almost insurmountable problems. Oliver recounted:

We have to get our books moved to certain places and when the weather is bad, thaw precautions are taken and lorries are not allowed on the road so you can imagine the proposition it is to move a dozen or more libraries all at once (35).

He went on to say,

I quote a letter just received from Gilmour. 'I got

all the books distributed in good time on Monday afternoon. It was indeed a great sight and one I'll never forget, to see six limbers lined up at three o'clock in front of Brigade headquarters. The staff captain was an interested spectator from the first moments when loading operations commenced until the last wagon had disappeared on its way home to the unit from whence it had come' (36).

Again, to illustrate the problems presented by the logistics of moving the libraries, he wrote:

Today is a busy day as some of our libraries have to be moved. Picture twenty-odd libraries that have to be moved or transferred from one division to another where there is no organization to receive them. Picture that division waiting till the last moment till it sends its representative to take over the libraries. Picture me riding around the whole area in a car trying to make arrangements in six hours that I have been wanting to make in ten days. Then this morning a limber that we had been promised disappoints us and five libraries are held up in the air until we discover some one else that will give us a team (37).

Throughout the month of February, 1918, Oliver continued to organize and promote his university (38). It had been pretty well established in the 3rd Division by then and it was well on its way to being established in the other divisions of the Corps (39). Most of the instructor positions in the 3rd Division had been filled, although some adjustments had to be made, and Oliver turned to others to temporarily help with the teaching and to act as guest lecturers (40). With the 3rd Division faculty secure, Oliver turned to finding a cadre of instructors for the other divisions. He noted:

I have been interviewing an officer to take charge of the work for me in the 1st Division. He has the Ordre Merite Agricole from the French Government. I am waiting for my officers in the 4th Division to turn up. I have been promised one but it takes

time to get things put through (41).

Although by the beginning of February, 1918, most of the university sites were located within the lines of the units of the 3rd Division, they were beginning to grow in number. The distance between the sites and the size of the area in which they were located posed enormous logistical problems for Oliver. He noted:

I have been out all afternoon inspecting my reading rooms and schools. I have about a score in operation now. They stretch over an area already of about thirty miles. One is in a church, several are in French schools, one is in a French woman's kitchen, one is in a tent, one behind an estaminet, one in a mine building. One of the teachers lives in a chateau (42).

Others on the staff of the university were not so lucky in their accommodation and living space for his faculty became a serious problem for Oliver. Again he notes:

The question of accommodation is one that continually harasses us. It is hard to get a place even for the fellows to sleep in and doubly hard for them to have both books or class rooms in. Then they are moved every few days and it is difficult to have anything like continuous work (43).

This problem of continuity of work was to bedevil Oliver and his instructors throughout the life of the university. As the work grew the problem became more acute. In mid-February, he wrote to his wife:

We have now about twenty-nine centres. At some places, and these are scattered over a good many miles, we have troops for three or four weeks. At others for three or four days. They are always moving and the teachers are moving. And to get from one spot to another we must walk. The whole business is in a constant state of flux (44).

In March of 1918, Oliver reported that he was able to put an educational presence into place in the 4th Division. He noted, "Yesterday afternoon I concluded my big educational push in the 4th Division. I had spoken to fourteen battalions in a little more than a week" (45). Lieutenant Sullivan, the officer Oliver had appointed to oversee work in the 4th Division, began to lay out the places within the division's lines for his libraries and teaching areas (46).

Not all of Oliver's work was accepted easily by others. Although Oliver was sensitive to it and tried to avoid it being seen as such, some commanders thought that his work was interfering with fighting the war. He confided to his wife:

I went on to another centre where I had a long and rather animated discussion with a colonel who said he was opposed to our work. I pointed out that when the army had approved of it he had no business to be opposed to it. It was his business to carry it out. We parted on excellent terms (47).

In spite of occasional setbacks such as these, the work proceeded apace. As Oliver was able to write:

We are gradually step by step getting the university on its feet. Some days there are discouragements. Some unit when moving runs off with a library. Some officer fails to measure up to what you expect. Accommodation is inadequate. It is impossible to get transportation for books. One has to walk endless miles. Instructors prove wooden and inefficient. Some institution that should be helping doesn't quite do the thing that is expected. There are countless obstacles. But we have adopted the army's motto - carry on. No matter what happens I refuse to give up and we are winning. The demand is growing and I am satisfied with our progress (48).

Although the work was challenging to the point where

Oliver felt he had justly earned the right to his homestead north of Wadena, Saskatchewan, which he would receive through the Veterans' Land Act, the exhilaration he felt from creating a new university in the midst of combat was evident when he wrote, "I have never regretted joining the army (49)." It was in the army that Oliver found professional and personal fulfilment in his contribution to the lives of his fellow combatants in France. That fulfilment was unfortunately to be severely tested by developments in the education movement in two areas. Firstly, among the troops in Britain and secondly, by the challenge of that other organization which also felt it had a claim on the provision of educational services to the troops in France - the YMCA.

The Relationship between Oliver's University of Vimy Ridge in France and Tory's Khaki Colleges in Britain, January to June, 1918

While Oliver was busily employed organizing his university, he was being kept informed as to the developments of the educational movement in Britain. In January 1918, as he was beginning the work of creating the University of Vimy Ridge, he had heard rumours that H.M. Tory was going to return to Britain to become involved in the education movement. He was puzzled as to Tory's involvement in the movement and he was certainly not about to let slip the control of educational activity in France to Tory, the YMCA, or anybody else. The

University of Vimy Ridge was to be his under the direction of the army, through the chaplain service. Upon seeing the article in the London Times about the Khaki Colleges in Britain, which had brought such pleasure to Clarence MacKinnon, Oliver was chagrined to find out that his work in France was being perceived as an extension of the work in England. He angrily wrote to his wife:

I rather resent an article in the Times that speaks of us as a branch of the Khaki College in England. We are an independent self-governing institution and we are a university - the University of Vimy Ridge! (50)"

In a further letter to his wife, Oliver wondered why Tory was returning to England from Canada, but whatever Tory was going to do, Oliver was sure it would not affect him:

I still can't make out what Tory is coming over for. The military authorities do not approve of 'bringing professors over from Canada.' They feel rightly enough that these posts should go to those who have regularly enlisted and have run military risks. Tory has no power to direct this work. I worked out the plan myself, got it approved by the Corps commander and have been placed by him in control. Tory can't work here without my consent. Of course I am glad to have him but I have grave doubts if he understands the situation. However, time will tell. The YMCA has kept Tory's plans confidential with the result that I am in complete ignorance as to what he wants and the military authorities have proceeded off their own hat and entrusted the work to me (51).

In early February, Oliver mused by letter to his wife about Tory's mission, and its effect on the already established adult education movement among the Canadians in Britain and France. He was willing to work with Tory, but he was not about to let his work in France become subordinate to the YMCA

or the activity taking place in Britain. Oliver's appointment as the staff officer responsible for education in the Canadian Corps put him beyond the control of activity directed from London by someone like Tory, a civilian who had received his mandate from a civilian committee of university presidents in Canada. He wrote:

I keep hearing Dr. Tory is going to come across [to Europe from Canada] but still he doesn't come. I do wish he had followed the advice I gave him last August to cover as an officer if he came, as he could not do anything worth-while as a civilian in the army. His great board of governors is so much camouflage more designed to help the YMCA campaign for cash than to give real assistance in solving the educational problems here. I would give a good deal to have a talk with him. One thing is certain, he has no jurisdiction here and can only operate in so far as we can reach a *modus operandi*. I shall be glad to cooperate but the educational policy is going to be determined by EHQ (52) under the direction of the Canadian Corps and not by Tory under the direction of university presidents who know absolutely nothing about the situation or the need of the men out here. (53)

In a another letter to his wife, written somewhat later in the month, Oliver continued to dwell on Tory's unfamiliarity with the army, its educational program and how that program was made to function. The fact that Tory had the backing of Canadian universities was of great interest to Oliver, but it was not something that impressed him:

I shall look forward with interest to seeing Dr. Tory. How he could go home and outline a policy of work for France, if he has done so, after spending one week in this country I cannot see. We have the simplest imaginable programme. The whole point is the working of it. There are infinite little difficulties in the actual accomplishment of a programme and it is only by sitting on the job that one can get anything done. Dr. Tory is returning I

understand backed by a Board of Governors representing the various universities of Canada. I mean no disrespect to the universities when I say that I would rather have Gilmour to help me than all the presidents and governors of all the universities of Canada. The trouble is to discover a room, steal chairs, find lights, keep cheerful and deliver the goods. We have got results not because we are university people but because we have walked our legs off and overcome every obstacle that has presented itself (54).

Finally, by mid-February, Oliver received a letter from Tory in which he mentioned that he would come over to France to see Oliver and "adjust relationships" (55). However, Tory never did get over to France in those early months of 1918. Upon arriving in England he immediately turned his attention to putting his plan for adult education into effect among the Canadian troops in that country. Oliver was relieved to learn that Tory was not in Britain as a representative of the YMCA and that institution was not to direct the overseas education movement. Oliver was beginning to run into difficulties with the YMCA over the control of adult education in the Canadian Corps and the senior supervisor of that organization was beginning to challenge his authority to conduct the Corps education program. He wrote to his wife:

Last night I had a letter from Captain Mackinnon. He says that Dr. Tory has arrived and that they are working together in London. I was interested to learn that Dr. Tory is not at all associated with the YMCA. Although I have a great respect for that institution, that is a wise stipulation that the Canadian universities have made and they are perhaps wiser in it than they realized. For the only difficulty that I have here experienced is from the YMCA or at least their supervisor wanting to dominate educational policies. But they didn't put anything over EHQ. I don't know whether Dr.

Tory brings with him any money for the work or not. I have kept the expenses down to a minimum. The YMCA gave us the books. Any other little items that have come up I have had to pay for myself (56).

Tory, in Britain, was not yet involved in the educational activities on the Continent (57). He was too busy trying to get the movement in Britain under his control. Initially he cooperated with Clarence MacKinnon in consolidating the Khaki Colleges into a central administrative unit. Oliver, noting the activity in Britain from France, wrote home, informing his wife of the "goings-on", using the first of the stationary, newly marked with the letter-head, "University of Vimy Ridge, Canadian Corps." He wrote:

Tory and MacKinnon seem to be founding a 'Khaki University' in London. Their difficulties are just child's play to the difficulties we must encounter here with the movement of troops, the distances, the lack of transportation for this work, the problem of getting books, of finding instructors and keeping everything running smoothly (58).

Oliver's "difficulty" with the YMCA and its senior supervisor however, was a different matter. Relations were later to bloom into a full-fledged confrontation between Oliver and that institution within the Canadian Corps in France.

The Chaplain Service Vie with the YMCA to Provide Adult Education to the Canadian Corps in France, January to March, 1918

Although initially the YMCA helped Oliver with his

educational work, conflict between that organization and the University of Vimy Ridge was beginning to surface. The senior YMCA supervisor for the Canadian Corps was Major Ernest M. Best. Before the war, Best had served with the Canadian YMCA in Montreal. Since the YMCA had all along been given the responsibility for "social work" in France, Best expected that educational work in the Corps would come under his jurisdiction, but Oliver was having none of that. In early January, 1918, when the university had become well established in the 3rd Division and was being extended into the other divisions of the Canadian Corps, he wrote to his wife, "I have lots of fun over our new university. The YMCA supervisor to whom I was forced to administer a good dressing down has been as nice as possible ever since. He just needed a bit of firm handling (59)."

In fact Best was not as nice as possible afterwards. He saw the work being done by Oliver and the chaplain service as his responsibility, over which he should exercise control, especially since the YMCA was providing the largest amount of funding towards the work. However, Best, as a YMCA officer, was not an "army" officer and therefore, unlike Oliver, did not fit into the "chain of command" within the Canadian Corps. He therefore had no authority over the educational work and could not direct its progress. Oliver, on the other hand, besides being the principal of the University of Vimy Ridge, had been appointed as director of educational services for the

Canadian Corps by the Corps commander, General Currie, himself. This was a staff position on the general staff, within Corps headquarters, and as such, signified that the educational service in the Corps was not subordinate to the YMCA or under its jurisdiction in any way.

Because it was unclear at the beginning of 1918 how the educational movement would eventually be structured, especially since Tory was now to have a hand in it, Best refused to cooperate with Oliver or to acknowledge that Oliver was in overall charge of educational activity for the Canadian Corps (60). The frustration experienced by Oliver in dealing with Best was evident in this letter home to his wife:

I am getting a pamphlet published regarding the University of Vimy Ridge. The YMCA are supplying the money for it. The OC [Best] wanted an addition made to it. I consented and made the addition. Gilmour took the pamphlet to London to get it printed. Colonel Birks wanted still another addition and asked Gilmour to seek my approval. After consulting the [Canadian] Corps which must authorize these changes I told Gilmour to wire London. When he took the wire over to YMCA headquarters the OC [Best] here refused to send it. Didn't I give him a piece of my mind! Colonel Birks in London the head of the whole YMCA is all right but the supervisor here in France has the educational vision of a pin head. It simply eats him that Gilmour and I have gone ahead. I have worked out my own plan, got it authorized myself and now I say to the YMCA if you want to come in on this I shall welcome you but if you don't I am going ahead anyhow. I am not going to be dominated by any little YMCA supervisor. I want the army to get the credit. He wants to tuck me away in a section of the canteen. I guess not! (61)

By mid-February, 1918, relations between the two men had become so strained that the head of the YMCA overseas himself,

Gerald Birks, had to journey to France to mediate between them. Oliver wrote to his wife:

Yesterday I had a long talk at YMCA headquarters with Colonel Birks. I imagine that the air has been considerably cleared by his visit. I don't think that the local head [Best] will be so inclined to fancy that he can decide the educational programme of this Corps. Dr. Tory is expected over soon. He and I will confer. I think Gilmour may represent the YMCA at our conference and then we are to report how the YMCA can help us. That is the way it should have been all along. As far back as last August when Dr. Tory came over I spoke to him and I wrote to Dr. Murray about the futility of having an educational policy guided by the YMCA. I knew it wouldn't do. I have always insisted on this and I know that this point of view will triumph. They can help but they cannot dominate. I fancy that much of the strain of the past three months will be eased now. I have always professed myself as ready to cooperate. One exasperating feature is, that I thought that the Chaplain Service who were doing my typewriting for me were sending the YMCA a copy of my weekly report. As a matter of fact they have not done so and it looks as though I were keeping information from them (62).

In Canada, Oliver had a constant ally in his friend Dr. Walter Murray, president of the University of Saskatchewan, who took a deep personal interest in the formation and growth of Oliver's university. Oliver's wife had continually kept Murray informed of the progress of the University of Vimy Ridge through Oliver's letters and Murray had taken up the political struggle with Canadian university officials at home. Murray was able to help in two areas. Firstly, buttressed by the information in Oliver's daily letters as relayed to him by Oliver's wife, he was able to speak against the YMCA having control of the educational movement overseas, especially in

France. Secondly, Murray, as a university president himself, was able to give weight to Oliver's opinions about the overseas educational movement being run by the military instead of a board of Canadian university presidents. It may have been Oliver's opinion of Tory's handling of the overseas educational movement that influenced Murray against accepting an invitation by Tory to come to Britain to help organize the Khaki University (63).

In response to a letter from his wife in which she outlined Murray's efforts on his behalf, Oliver wrote:

I was glad Dr. M. [Murray] took up the cudgels in the political arena. In fact I don't see how he could have done otherwise. Even Clarence MacKinnon who hesitates greatly to get into politics sent a ringing message home by cable and I helped him to frame it. Whoever else won't forgive them, Dr. John Forrest will. It is no time to stick by the ordinary conclusions. One has to get on with the war. I am sending the President's speech on to MacKinnon (64).

At the end of February, Oliver had another conference with Birks where he laid out his position in regard to cooperating with the YMCA in the field of education within the Corps and his position in regard to the Corps YMCA supervisor. The nub of the problem between Oliver and Best was that Oliver saw the Corps education program as a unique activity, needing its own special command structure while Best viewed it simply as one of the many "services" provided by the YMCA. Oliver wrote:

I walked over to the YMCA headquarters and had another conference with Colonel Birks. I can get along well with him and in fact with all the YMCA

men except the local senior officer. I told Birks I should be glad to discuss the whole problem of our cooperation, for which I am very eager, with that officer, but only in his presence or in the presence of Bishop the national secretary. He [Best] accused me of trying to put the YMCA out of business. I told Birks that I would not discuss business with a man who was small enough to think that, much less say such a thing. My attitude finally was: 1. I was willing to cooperate to the limit; 2. It must be on the high level of Christian service and the good of the men. Birks was very decent about it all but I refuse even to meet Best until I can meet him the presence of one of his superior officers. I am cooperating with every YMCA officer and I am actually messing with them where I am now, but I insist that the educational work is to be an independent work of the army and not a subsection of the YMCA and in that I stand or fall and I will not fall (65).

The differences between Best and Oliver were of such a serious nature that Birks thought it advisable to include Charles W. Bishop, the national secretary of the YMCA, in the discussions. Bishop was then in France touring YMCA facilities in the Canadian Corps. Oliver wrote of the meeting:

I had a conference with Bishop at the YMCA. Bishop has given me assurance that the educational work is not to be directed by the YMCA. It remains to be seen to what extent we can come to a common policy. He has got a long line-up of governors to direct the policy etc. As a matter of fact, they can't direct this [the educational policy of the Canadian Corps] one iota without my consent for the Corps commander has placed me in the position of responsibility. I told Bishop that his bunch of presidents was only a lot of camouflage and that I would rather have a good Ford car than the whole bunch of them. Imagine them gravely deciding on a policy of education about which they have not the slightest conception. Tory has got himself on as a governor. I shall adopt the most conciliatory attitude in the world but if they imagine they are going to subordinate the work in France to the work in London and build up a big Khaki University for a lot of people who never saw the trenches, it won't do. I'll do anything for the boys who are doing

the fighting but the work in France must not be subordinate to the work in England. However, Tory is coming over soon. I imagine we will be able to arrive at a working agreement. I have much faith in him and in Bishop and I should like to get this thing settled. In the meantime the real work is proceeding satisfactorily (66).

At the beginning of March, 1918, after his meetings with Oliver, Colonel Birks left France for England. While in France, he had temporarily taken over direct supervision of the Corps YMCA work from Best. From Britain, Birks proceed to Canada to organize the YMCA campaign for funds for the overseas educational program. After his meetings with Oliver in which the working relationship between the University of Vimy Ridge and the YMCA had been agreed upon, Bishop also left France for England. Oliver wrote:

I was down this morning to YMCA headquarters to see Bishop before his return to England. We had a long talk about the YMCA and I think matters are straightened up now. Tory has not been able to get across. Bishop and I had no difficulty in settling on a policy and no difficulty ever would arise with anyone but their supervisor here, Major Best, with whom I have had some differences. But everything seems to be adjusted now. We are going to receive financial support and get more adequate equipment and we shall be able to get better work accomplished (67).

Oliver had won. He now had the backing of the national secretary of the YMCA and a commitment that the YMCA would not interfere with his educational work. The University of Vimy Ridge would now become the medium through which the Canadian Corps educational program would be delivered. Unfortunately Oliver's victory would be short-lived. The threat to his university would no longer be Tory in Britain or the YMCA in

France, it would come from the war itself in the form of a smashing blow from German forces massed along the 3rd British Army's front. The Allied armies, anticipating what seemed like the near end of the war, were caught unprepared for such a fierce onslaught. As a result, the British 5th and 3rd Armies were totally destroyed by the German advance of March 1918.

Amiens and the German Advances of 1918:

March to June, 1918

The Canadian Corps Remains on the Lens-Arras Front, March, 1918

Because of the collapse of Russia in late 1917, at the beginning of 1918, the strength of the German Army on the Western Front exceeded that of the Allied armies. Although the United States had, by then, entered the war on the side of the Allies, the American Army had yet to become a significant force on the Western Front.

Throughout the winter of 1917-18, the Canadian Corps, as part of 1st British Army, continued to occupy the Lens-Arras Front. There, during that relatively uneventful period, units spent their time in rest, reorganization and training. They also received the reinforcements needed to bring them up to strength. In March of 1918, the Canadian Corps was to be withdrawn from the line and placed in 1st Army's reserve at Houdain (68).

Suddenly, on the 21st of that month, without the warning of a preliminary bombardment, the German Army launched a massive offensive against the Allied armies on the Western Front. In the Somme, in 1918, even after the German withdrawal of 1917, Arras was still under their guns. Six thousand buildings had been reduced to rubble and the population of 35,000 had been reduced to eight hundred, living under the ground. It was there, on the Somme front near Arras, that German forces smashed through the 3rd and 5th British Armies, completely destroying the 5th and forcing the 3rd British Army to withdraw to the area around Ancre. The German plan was to drive upwards from the southeast towards the coast and drive a wedge between the British and French armies.

On March 28, 1918, General Henry Rawlinson assumed command of 4th British Army, which he reconstructed from the remnants of 5th and Reserve British Armies. The job of the 4th Army was to defend Amiens. On that same date, the 3rd British Army began the first Battle of Arras.

Arras Operations, March-June, 1918: 2nd Canadian Division
Posted to 3rd British Army

In the recent retreat of the Allies, the British losses had been very heavy and the general disorganization was great. At Arras, there was a sector of the front-line, about 7,000 yards long, which had to be looked after. To man it properly

would have required the use of two British divisions in their then depleted state. Instead, one Canadian division was detailed to fill the gap. For that purpose, the 2nd Canadian Division was "attached posted" to VI British Corps, 3rd British Army, for three months, from March to May, 1918. Because of that detached duty, the 2nd Canadian Division was the one unit of the Canadian Corps in which Oliver was not able to organize his University of Vimy Ridge (69).

While the 2nd Canadian Division was with the 3rd British Army, fighting at Arras, the remainder of the Canadian Corps was withdrawn from the front line and sent into 1st British Army reserve. The 1st British Army had been tasked to remain in readiness to defend the channel ports if necessary. While in Army reserve, the Canadian Corps began training for what would become the final Allied offensive of the war.

The British and Dominion forces of 3rd British Army held the German armies at Amiens. This check prompted another German offensive in April, this time in Flanders. Again the British held. A third German advance was directed against the French in the area of the Marne and a fourth, and last, also against the French, took place in July in Champagne. All the German advances were stopped. By now the American Army was becoming effective and the initiative on the Western Front passed to the Allies.

Work in the University of Vimy Ridge in the Canadian Corps
During the German Offensives, March - April, 1918

When the initial German offensive began on March 21, in the Somme, the whole British front went on "stand-to". Although the three divisions which remained with the Canadian Corps upon the departure of the 2nd, were not attacked, they were required to man the Vimy defenses within 1st Army's front, before being sent to army reserve. Just days before the German offensive, Oliver had begun a normal school for his instructors and had begun to plan his course work for the upcoming session of the university. The German offensive brought this activity to a stand-still. On March 23, 1918, Oliver wrote:

With this offensive on, we shall greatly curtail our activities for awhile. Yesterday we began a normal school for our instructors. We shall keep it up a week to get our courses outlined and to provide uniformity of work and method. One doesn't know to what extent our work will be interfered with. It will be unwise to try to push educational work for a short time 'till we see how things will develop. The bigger the scale of this struggle just now the sooner it will conclude this war (70).

In another letter, written a few days later, Oliver noted:

This morning I attended our normal school for our instructors. We are planning our courses just as though we were not waging war and a piece of shrapnel had not come through one of our tents. When a place gets a bit too hot we close it down. Oh, this is a great university and its history will make interesting reading some day (71).

Because the brunt of the German offensive was levelled against other portions of the Western Front, the Canadian

positions were not in immediate danger of being attacked. However, at the time, this was not known and precautions had to be taken as though an attack might come. In explaining the situation to his wife, Oliver noted that, "Around the edge of the hut is a heavy fortification of dirt and chalk about three feet high and as thick. I sleep on the floor and all around me is a wall of sandbags (72)." The "fortification" was a defense against long range German artillery which was capable of reaching the Canadian lines.

By the end of the month, although the situation on the Front had not yet stabilized, the Canadian Corps, other than the 2nd Division, had still not been drawn into the fighting. Oliver and his staff continued to plan for the up-coming university semester. The situation under which they worked however was somewhat unique for a university faculty. He wrote to his wife:

This morning I attended another session of our normal school. What I am doing is to get all our teachers and officers together and discuss what should be our aims and the nature of our courses. We are meeting every day for a week and thrashing out our educational problems. It is a great experience. I'll illustrate what I mean. This morning one of my assistants, Martin, attended. Before we began he called us together and, addressing the men in all seriousness, said, 'I want to warn you all that you must have your bayonets sharpened and your rifles oiled, it may be necessary'. I couldn't help wondering if ever in the history of the world an educational association or a university faculty actually ever was thus addressed before they settled down calmly as we did to outline courses in agriculture, business or science (73).

Finally, by the end of March, 1918, although the

Canadians were not directly involved, because of the fighting, many of the university sites had to be closed down and it became apparent that the educational work would have to be curtailed. Oliver wrote:

Still the battle keeps up and still the Canadians are not in the big show. It has of course seriously effected my work. Instead of twenty eight libraries in operation I have now only six. Some of old Fritz's shrapnel started to come through our tents and we got our books packed for emergencies. We have had a normal school this week under shell fire and got splendid work done in the matter of coordinating and standardising our courses. We're more or less marking time for a few days although we are keeping some lectures going in places where there is no immediate risk of any kind. If we got drawn into the maelstrom of fighting I suppose most of our instructors would return to their units to prove that though the pen may be mightier than the sword the rifle is mightier than either of them (74).

Throughout April, the educational work continued to be shut down because of the German offensive. Oliver was forced to bow to the inevitable and, attempting to arrive at a solution that would not result in the disbanding of his university, he hit upon the idea of declaring the premature end of the semester and the beginning of "summer holidays." Writing on April 1, Easter Sunday, Oliver explained to his wife:

Our work is more or less suspended for the moment. I am declaring summer holidays for the University of Vimy Ridge and waiting till this offensive is by. We could all temporarily return to our units. Every available man is needed for any emergency that may occur. Under the circumstances there is nothing else to do. So the University has declared a vacation to begin tomorrow. We have not gone out of existence. I am still president of the University of Vimy Ridge. Only our holidays are beginning at Easter. We are all going back to our units temporarily. When the situation clears up we

shall again open up (75).

With the University of Vimy Ridge shut down for the duration of the German offensive, the students and the instructors were returned to their units. Oliver himself was hurriedly sent to be chaplain of the 8th Field Ambulance, not posted to the unit, just sent. The 8th Field Ambulance was one of the support units of the 3rd Division. Although Oliver had now temporarily reverted to carrying out the duties of a unit chaplain, he continued to keep his regular appointment as Corps education officer. As such he continued to direct the fortunes of his university.

In spite of having to temporarily close down, the fortunes of the University of Vimy Ridge were indeed shining brightly. Oliver's work was becoming more widely known and, in contrast to the work in England, was seen as being quite successful. Gilmour, who had been on one of his periodic trips to London on university business, relayed this happy news to Oliver on returning to France. Oliver wrote:

Gilmour is back from London. He has our books and equipment bought but on account of the big push he left them all in London where we can get them when the university vacation is over. From what Gilmour is saying Tory is not doing very much in London and all the people there are full of envy as to what we have accomplished. Perhaps if they had worked as hard as we did they might have accomplished more (76).

The success of Oliver's educational work in France brought many requests from others to share in it. He noted:

I have letters from England from men asking to get taken on here. they'll have to wait. All our

instructors and officers were willing to run the risks of war. We are not bringing people over as educationalists but as officers and soldiers (77).

The success of his work was later also to have other more profound and far-reaching consequences. However, for the moment, Oliver was immersed in his duties as chaplain to a field unit and the educational work lay dormant.

In carrying out his work as chaplain to the 8th Field Ambulance during the emergency, each evening Oliver give a religious address in the divisional cinema. He also continued to minister to the recreational needs of the men. He wrote:

I am going to take up with Gilmour the question of taking books right up to the front line. So much time is on the boys hands that I am sure the men would greatly appreciate having something to read. After the show, I throw a hymn on the screen, read a few verses, speak for a few minutes and have a short prayer. It takes about fifteen minutes (78).

As with the divisional instructors, and Oliver himself, Gilmour was also "returned to unit", to the YMCA. Oliver wrote despondently to his wife:

Gilmour has received orders to go back to the YMCA so our poor University of Vimy Ridge has been hit a hard blow by the Huns offensive. But not even the Hun can take from us the knowledge that we make it a distinct success. Gilmour is coming over this evening to talk over the situation. I saw him for an instant this morning on his road to take some books into the line (79).

In the midst of this nadir in the fortunes of the educational movement in France, an unexpected twist of fate was to propel Oliver's work into a prominence far beyond anything even he could dream.

The University of Vimy Ridge as a Model for Adult Education Activity in the Imperial and Dominion Corps, in the BEF, March to June, 1918

In spite of the setback brought upon by the German summer offensives of 1918, the University of Vimy Ridge did survive. As word of Oliver's university spread to the Imperial and other Dominion units of the BEF, it was received with great interest. As early as January, when the work was still in its early stages, he had told his wife that "I have just written an account of the organization of the University of Vimy Ridge for one of the British Armies which wrote to the Canadian Corps concerning it (80)". A few months later he again wrote to her "An Imperial officer from a British corps came down to inspect our educational work with a view to imitating it in the British army". Oliver wrote a glowing report for the British officer to hand in to his superiors (81). Oliver commented "I am becoming a kind of a Cooks Tourist Agency to show Imperials around (82)." When the next officer was sent from a British corps to inspect and report on the work of the university, Oliver gave him a tour and then brought him back to have tea with General Lipsett. Lipsett, who had become the major booster of Oliver's educational work had become extremely good "at telling all comers what a splendid thing the University of Vimy Ridge is (83)." Lipsett was not alone in basking in the glory of Oliver's educational work. The Canadian Corps headquarters was also "immensely pleased to

have other divisions and corps [of the BEF] coming here to enquire about our work. They [the Canadian Corps headquarters] like to think that the Canadians have been setting the pace." (84)

The most astonishing aspect of this interest in Oliver's educational work occurred when he was ordered to attend a conference to be held on April 14, 1918, at the headquarters of the BEF itself. The reason for his attendance came about through sheer serendipity. Oliver described the incident to his wife in this way:

I attended a educational conference at the general headquarters of the BEF in France. The quartermaster general was in the chair and the vice chairman was General Bonhau Carter, Asquith's son-in-law, who specially asked me to lunch with him. I was asked to outline the work we had done in an educational way. The Imperials are taking it up and proceeding with it for the couple of million or more troops in France. I was told that they had tried for months to get some educational work done but could not get it through. Then one day an order came from Sir Douglas Haig to Bonhau Carter to outline a scheme according to an attached document - the [Oliver's] report and General Lipsett's report strongly approving the work - and this had got up to Haig! Two or three orders have been issued throughout the whole British Army in France, reaching two or three million men, and they have even used for their orders the very language of our report. That was the reason I was summoned to attend the conference. I am glad I took a week off a month ago to write a very careful report. It makes me thankful I refused to accept Queens (85).

Oliver's report, written as an officer of the Canadian Corps of the BEF, had impressed Haig so much that he had similar educational programs instituted throughout the entire British and Dominion forces in France.

Thus, the adult education programs instituted in the various corps of the British Armies in the field in France began independently of the activity of the various agencies of the Imperial and Dominion forces stationed in the British Isles. It was the action on the part of Haig that institutionalized adult education throughout the BEF, and the University of Vimy Ridge, under its principal, E.H. Oliver, and its chancellor, General Lipsett, was the model for the whole program. This was something Tory and his Khaki University, could not do. It is hard not to hear vindication in Oliver's words to his wife when he wrote:

Tory might have got into this work I expect but for the everlasting bad judgement of his fellow presidents who insisted that he be a civilian. The army doesn't know civilians. As it is, I have been pushed into a prominence far beyond my worth or desert but I greatly enjoy the work though it has almost approached slavery in its mien and toil (86).

An even greater vindication must have been felt by Oliver when he was able to announce to his wife, "the Times that came in last night had my name among others 'Mentioned in Despatches' by Sir Douglas Haig". This was an honour, earned in the field, which was never extended to H.M. Tory (87).

As a result of Haig's directive, the adult education program in the New Zealand Division of the BEF in France began in April, 1918, independently of the work done by the agencies of that Dominion in Britain (88). In 1918, Major General A.H. Russell of the New Zealand Division had written to the GOC of the Canadian Corps, General Currie, saying " he had read with

interest that a scheme of education had been introduced." Encouraged by this, "we wish to do something similar of the same kind in the New Zealand Division". The letter was forwarded to Oliver (89), who noted, "the New Zealanders had wanted to copy our educational scheme and Sir Arthur referred them to me" (90). Oliver also noted that the "Australians want to know how our work is organised so I had to write them a long letter describing it" (91).

Reorganization of the University of Vimy Ridge after the German Offensives, June, 1918

By April of 1918, the emergency caused by the German offensives against the British area of the Western Front began to wane. In the months following the repulse of the German offensives, Oliver began the task of reviving the University of Vimy Ridge. The prospects were dismal. In the 3rd and 4th Divisions, the educational structure had ceased to exist. The university sites were no longer functional and the instructors had all been returned to their original units for the duration of the emergency. The one ray of hope for Oliver however, existed in the 1st Division. In mid-May he wrote to his wife, "I found that at the 1st Division, the University of Vimy Ridge is still keeping up operation under Lieutenant Fred Cox. So we have at least one institution in existence" (92). Because of the lack of instructors, Oliver was forced to personally take on a great amount of the teaching load in the

1st Division. He wrote in mid-June, "Fred Cox who looks after the University of Vimy Ridge at the 1st Divisional Wing was over tonight. I lecture for him as much as I can" (93). Oliver had to write many of his lectures from memory since many of the books had been lost or packed away during the fighting. By the end of June, 1918, Oliver had begun to reconstitute his educational program in the 1st Division. He was able to write to his wife, "the work at our branch of the University of Vimy Ridge is proceeding splendidly. Our aggregate attendance last week was about 3800" (94).

While Oliver was busily reconstituting the University of Vimy Ridge, events were taking place in Canada and Britain which would have a profound influence on the future of the educational movement in both France and Britain.

The Dominion Day Sports Meet, July 1, 1918: Borden and his Cabinet Ministers Visit the Canadian Corps and Discusses the Education Movement With Oliver

Over the summer of 1918, while the fighting was raging in France, Tory, in Britain, was fashioning his Khaki University from the Canadian educational activities in place in that country. The prime minister of Canada, Sir Robert Borden, had come to Britain in June, 1918, and Tory had presented to him his plan for an educational service to be part of the national reintegration program for returned soldiers. Oliver wrote to his wife:

I had quite a long letter from Tory. He has been having interviews with Sir Robert Borden. I do not know what will be the upshot. He says that he is doing his best to get them to agree to a large general plan for education in the army particularly looking towards demobilization. He says he is sick over the whole business. I think he means by this the quarrelling between Chaplains and YMCA in Canada. He says that he ought to know by the end of the week whether he will personally continue in connection with the work or not. He says that he is not going to be made a football in a religious quarrel. He says that he means to press the government there for a settlement of the question and the right to employ both civilian and army teachers. He thinks he may get over to France shortly with Rowell and Calder should they come (95).

In France, these questions of policy regarding an educational service took second place to the work of reorganizing the University of Vimy Ridge in the Canadian Corps. However, Oliver was still concerned that the educational work would be given to the YMCA, since he knew it would be a larger task than that organization was able to undertake. He wrote to his wife:

I imagine that so long as I am willing to work hard here I shall be kept until the educational work springs up again and that will not be for some time yet. Perhaps some final decision will be arrived at when Borden is over as to what provision will be made for educational work. I cannot myself understand how such longheaded wise men as Tory, Murray, Falconer could consent to recommend to the government that a great national undertaking should be associated with the YMCA and financed by them. I do not think it imports with the dignity of the Dominion of Canada. I do not want to discuss this matter at all for I have my difficulties with that institution long since solved. I do not want to begin the educational work again until it is officially recognised and my assistants are as formally appointed to the work as I have been (96).

When the 3rd Canadian Division returned from its three month stint of front-line duty with VI British Corps, 3rd British Army, at Arras, it rejoined the Canadian Corps just in time to take part in a great Canadian Corps Dominion Day celebration, held on July, 1, 1918. Since the other three divisions of the Canadian Corps had been out of the line and were then part of 1st British Army reserve, it was decided to hold a great gathering of Canadian troops at a village about two miles from Ambrines, the then billeting area of the Canadian Corps. Great preparations had been made and a sports field with all the facilities for every type of field game and track event had been prepared, and a program of sports and other events was arranged, complete with provisions for catering and canteen services.

The Governor General, The Duke of Connaught, the Prime Minister, Sir Robert Borden and three ministers of the Union government, Arthur Meighen, N.W. Rowell and James A. Calder from Regina, were in France at the time, and they all attended the celebration. Also present were high ranking military commanders from the British and French armies (97).

Realizing the opportunity to speak directly to those who would be setting the educational policy for the overseas forces, as part of the overall resettlement program for returned soldiers, Oliver and McGreer, the assistant director of the chaplain service, resolved to be present at the gathering. Oliver explained to his wife:

I have accepted an invitation to go to the Corps sports day forty seven kilometres away, tomorrow on Dominion Day. We are travelling in a lorry and I can picture our dusty condition after we get there. I understand that Borden and Rowell and Calder will be there and perhaps the Duke. I may get a chance to see them. Calder is the man I am anxious to behold. I feel about the educational work that I do not intend to undergo the pioneering stages again and that it is up to the authorities to give us some recognition and support. If they do not, why then I think I have the right to remain on as a chaplain. I have devised the plan, worked it, told them what was necessary. If they do not cooperate I do not intend to take up the work under conditions which will not work (98).

Upon reaching the gathering, Oliver approached Calder, who was to be in charge of the government's resettlement activities, to speak with him about the Canadian educational movement. Calder, anxious to hear what the men in the field thought of the government's program, invited Oliver to a formal dinner which had been planned by the Corps commander, General Currie, for his guests, as part of the Dominion Day festivities. For the dignitaries, this gala dinner at Canadian Corps headquarters, at which the band of the 28th (North West) Battalion from Regina, played the dinner music (99) was the highlight of the Dominion Day celebrations. Excitedly, Oliver wrote to his wife, "I saw Calder. He has invited me to come tomorrow night and talk over the matter with Rowell and Borden and have dinner with the Corps commander and the Duke" (100).

It was at this dinner that the future direction of the activities of the Canadian Corps in France were discussed and decided. Included in these discussions, were the general

direction to be taken by the government in its program to disband the Canadian Corps, and the other overseas units, and return the troops to Canada. Oliver wrote to his wife on the following day, describing the dinner activities:

Last night I had dinner with the Corps commander. Among the cabinet ministers present were Sir Robert, Rowell, Meighen and Calder. Colonel McGreer went with me. In fact he came down for me in his car and afterward I went home with him and he is to send me back again this afternoon. On our arrival we met Borden, then McGreer and I had a long talk with Calder explaining our work. He says that the educational work should be put upon a basis of its own. I quite agree. General McDonald of London was there. I sat between him and Calder. At dinner he told me that the government had decided to make a separate service of the educational work. It would be under him. So it will be military. Tory will be director. He said that France would be on practically an independent basis. I am to be shortly called to London for a few days conference. My whole point has been gained that the work should be under military organization. I have even heard rumours that Tory is to be made a lieutenant colonel but I don't know anything about that. I hope it is true for that has been the difficulty all along. Tory is a civilian and the army knows nothing about civilians. The chances are although they haven't said so, that I shall be put in charge of the work for the whole of France. Up to the present I have had only the Canadian Corps but the work is to be reorganised and if I get this post I shall have all hospitals and forestry camps etc. under me too (101).

Oliver Goes To London To Help Organize the Education Service.

August, 1918

Two months after the negotiations of July 1, during the dinner at the Canadian Corps headquarters, at which he was given the news about how education activity within the Canadian overseas forces would be conducted, Oliver was

called to London by General MacDonald of the OMFC headquarters to help organize the work. Before going however, Oliver still had to turn his attention to reorganizing the educational program in France.

Because of planning and training for the upcoming Allied offensive, which was about to begin in August, educational work in the Canadian Corps, other than in the 1st Division, had not been given any great priority. The work had not been forgotten however, and it was General Lipsett who again tried to reinstate it in his 3rd Division. In July, Oliver was asked to return to the 3rd Division to oversee the work but he declined, fearing that if he returned to one of the divisions he would not be in a position to fight for the continued official recognition of an educational establishment at the Corps level. He explained to his wife:

Colonel McGreer ADCS for the Canadian Corps came down to see me yesterday afternoon. General Lipsett had sent him a telegram asking for me to be sent back to the 3rd Division to take charge of the educational work. I am not going as I am education officer for the Corps and I am not going to go back to take up work simply in one Division. I said I wanted to go to London first for a conference. I am glad however that my work was sufficiently appreciated for me to be asked back (102).

Oliver's work, along with that of the other chaplains who held positions in the Presbyterian theological colleges in Canada, and who were then engaged in the overseas educational movement, was also appreciated by their Church at home. Oliver wrote to his wife in late July:

I have just received a letter from Dr. Ramsay in

Toronto containing a resolution concerning our educational work. 'That the Assembly place upon record its appreciation of the educational work done by the members of our college faculties in overseas service, more particularly by principal Oliver in France by Principal Mackinnon and Professor Kent in England.' I am glad of this as I am confident we are doing more for the church than if we had stayed at home (103).

Finally, at the beginning of August, 1918, just before the beginning of "Canada's 100 Days", the Canadian Corp's part in the massive final Allied push against the German armies on the Western Front that would end the war, Oliver left France for London to begin the work of fashioning an educational program for the entire Canadian overseas forces.

Chapter 6
THE KHAKI UNIVERSITY
IN FRANCE AND BRITAIN
JANUARY, 1918 TO JUNE, 1919

The Home Front, 1918

In Canada, in 1918, the country was now on a war footing and the nation had changed over from an agricultural to an industrial economy. By the end of 1917, great numbers of veterans, many disabled, were returning home and plans had to be put into effect to integrate them back into the civilian economy. In February, 1918, James A. Lougheed was appointed minister of Soldiers Civil Re-establishment in the Canadian Government (1). He held that appointment until the end of Borden's administration on July 9, 1920. By December, 1918, a total of 1,984 returned men had graduated from retraining courses offered by the vocational training branch of the Department of Civil Re-establishment and had been placed in civil employment. As well, by the end of the year, a total of 7,176 others had been approved to take such courses. However, it was not until after the war that the program achieved its greatest impact.

In response to the Military Service Act which had introduced conscription, in April of 1918, Canadian men aged twenty to twenty two were called to the Colours. Besides men of military age, to involve the whole nation in the war

effort, war drives of various sorts were instituted and on September 12, 1918, the Department of Public Instruction was established by the Canadian government to give information about the war to the Canadian public.

Adult Education

in The Overseas Military Forces of Canada in Britain,

January - September, 1918

The Khaki Colleges in Britain, January to June, 1918

While H.M. Tory was spending the fall and early winter of 1917 in Canada, "making a plan" and drumming up support for his educational scheme among the Canadian universities, and while E.H. Oliver was busily organizing and expanding his University of Vimy Ridge in France, Clarence MacKinnon, on his return from France in December, 1917, had continued to develop the Khaki College system in England, through the Chaplain Service and the headquarters of the OMFC. By 1918, MacKinnon had organized nineteen centres of education as Khaki Colleges in the camps and hospitals of England, in which Canadian troops took courses in such subjects as agriculture, business education, mechanics, teacher training, legal studies and medical instruction, through lectures and small study and reading groups. These activities were supported by a network of libraries.

It was this organization that Tory found in place on his

return to England from Canada. H.M. Tory had arrived in Britain from Canada in the latter part of January, 1918. He came armed with a proposal for an educational program for the Canadian overseas forces which had been endorsed by the YMCA, the Canadian universities and the new Union government of Sir Robert Borden. Tory, on leave from his position as president of the University of Alberta, had come to Britain to organize the educational work in the Canadian overseas forces under the auspices of a committee of Canadian university presidents. He had come to Britain as a representative of the Canadian universities and as a civilian. MacKinnon, writing home in late January, to his wife, Mary, noted:

President Tory of Alberta has arrived and represents the universities in the education work. There was a slight flutter in the dovecotes before his arrival as the Canadian papers had attributed the movement entirely to Dr. Tory and the YMCA and there was a suspicion that he came over as a YMCA man and that the whole movement would be taken over by the YMCA. The senior chaplain was up in arms over it as it really was the chaplain service that largely directed it. Principal Oliver and myself had been entirely detailed for the work and so far as the work in this side [overseas] was concerned Dr. Tory had done practically nothing. He came over however strictly as a representative of the universities and will do his work along those lines. Colonel Almond has consequently detailed me to carry on further in conjunction with President Tory. This week I will take him around and introduce him to the various colleges. He knows practically nothing of the army and its conditions and sometimes I am dubious whether plans he has evolved on the peaceful expanse of the prairies are workable here. However, he is most open minded and ready to adapt himself. There is also a big demobilization scheme afoot. All will have to be dovetailed together. I fear Colonel Almond will not let me out of sight until this is done as he entrusts the whole education work to me. I thought

you might like to know about these things so I wrote them (2).

MacKinnon was able to find within the British academic world, an ally for the Canadian educational movement. He made arrangements with Sir Gregory Foster, the provost of University College, London, to house the headquarters of the proposed Khaki University. He explained to Mary:

Next, owing to my preaching in St. Johns' Wood, I was invited to lunch with Sir Gregory Foster, Provost of University College. I introduced Dr. Tory to him and we have practically concluded an arrangement whereby the home of our "Khaki University" will be in its buildings. I am definitely detailed to this work by the Chaplain Service and work with Dr. Tory. It seems likely this will be my job until the end of the war. It is much too big a responsibility to divest myself of lightly (3).

In February, 1918, Tory put his plans for a Khaki University before the minister of militia, Sydney Mewburn. The Khaki University as envisaged by Tory, was to be an academic institution, different from the University of Vimy Ridge. Oliver's institution was geared more to improving the lot of the men in the trenches rather than being part of a demobilization program in which the troops would be detached from their parent units and assembled in an institution specifically set up for educational purposes. MacKinnon wrote:

Our education work is making good progress. Dr. Tory brings his scheme before the minister of militia tomorrow. If it is approved, we will settle right down to the work. We are cooperating with University College, London, and will begin classes in its buildings - also we are securing offices in its vicinity. Dr. Tory will be

president and I will be associated with him as superintendent of colleges and practically carry on the work that I have been doing. When he is away I will have full charge and when I am in Canada he will do my work. It is a little awkward leaving so soon but things are likely to be quiet when the spring fighting begins(4).

MacKinnon was still under the impression that the educational work was to be jointly administered by himself as the representative of the chaplain service and the OMFC, and by Tory as the representative of the Canadian universities and, obliquely, the YMCA. In this spirit, he brought Tory into the movement, helping him to familiarize himself with all aspects of the work already then in place. MacKinnon wrote in early February:

This week I have been taking Dr. Tory to the various colleges in the camps and he has had a splendid reception. He was greatly surprised at the extent of the work. We had over 4000 students registered - outside of France. Things will naturally slacken now that the spring approaches. I hope nothing will arise to prevent my trip to Canada which I am looking forward to every day with increasing eagerness. I only wish I had been more in France (5).

The trip to Canada that MacKinnon gleefully looked forward to, was to take him away from Britain and out of Tory's way, during the crucial months in the first half of 1918, when the educational movement was to be reorganized.

MacKinnon to Canada, March - June, 1918: Drumming Up Support for the Educational Services Overseas

The talk of a trip to Canada for MacKinnon where he would represent the educational work in a drive for funds to support

it, had begun in early January, 1918. Dr. John Neil, Moderator of the Assembly of the Presbyterian Church of Canada, had gone overseas to meet with the Presbyterian chaplains and men and to convey greetings to them from the Church in Canada. After touring the Canadian camps in Britain and visiting the Canadian Corps in France, he persuaded the director of the Chaplain Service to send Clarence MacKinnon to Canada to explain the educational movement overseas and to raise funds to support it. MacKinnon, writing to his wife from London, in late January explained:

Dr. Neil has asked to have me sent on a mission to Canada to address the Assembly and to visit prominent centres for a month before. I will be sent on duty, not leave, and this is far better. You come along all the same. Dr. and Mrs. Neil, you and I, will form a foursome and do the big Canadian cities and have a ripping time (6).

In early February he wrote again:

Now as to my visit - Dr. Neil asked Colonel Almond to have me sent out to address the churches and particularly the Assembly. Colonel Almond has assented but as I am in charge of the education work detailed by him to work with Dr. Tory he does not want me to be away longer than is absolutely necessary for the purpose - he said two months in Canada. In that case I must plan to reach Halifax early in April. As it takes fully three weeks to cross, I must arrange to leave immediately after the middle of March. Of necessity I have but little time in Halifax as I go not on leave but on duty. So I would like you to make all the arrangements required to accompany me. I do not know how far we may go. It may be actually to the Coast or perhaps not further than Winnipeg. Dr. Neil will fix the itinerary and Mrs. Neil will come along... All my expenses will be met but we will have to cover yours... (7).

With the educational movement apparently secure in the

hands of the OMFC and the Chaplain Service and supported by Tory, MacKinnon now turned his thoughts to his upcoming trip to Canada and his mission to drum up support for the Khaki Colleges. He wrote to his wife, on February 22:

I must hasten to tell you the good news. It seems now, as far settled as anything can be in the army, that I am to be sent on my mission to Canada. All that remains is the military approval (8). If there is no hitch I will leave in about a month's time and should reach Halifax about the middle of April. I am returning the clipping from the Indian Times also another from the [Times Educational] Supplement. The Khaki College has made quite a hit here and the British education authorities are aiming at something similar. I want you to make all necessary arrangements but not too expensive, to leave with me for Toronto at end of April, to go all the way to the Pacific Coast. Of course the army is naturally uncertain but don't be taken by surprise if I do get that far. Be ready for it. It will dig a hole in our finances but that will be better than letting the Bolsheviks get it (9).

MacKinnon left England for Canada and arrived in Halifax in early March, 1918, just before the German offensives of that year, to begin a whirlwind speaking tour that would last for the next two months. For the next few evenings, beginning on March 11, he spoke in Halifax to many interested organizations, including the Canadian Club, St John's and St Matthew's Churches, the Commercial Club, the Rotary Club, the Conference of Ministers, Pine Hill Convocation, the Pine Hill College Board, and a mass meeting of women. Until April 23, he toured Nova Scotia, speaking to mass meetings at Homewell, Stellerton, Westville, New Glasgow and Amherst. As a result of this gruelling schedule, from April 23 to May 6, MacKinnon was laid up with tonsillitis in Halifax and then with quina in

Montreal. He had two slight operations on his throat and then resumed his speaking tour. From Montreal, MacKinnon moved west, whistle-stopping for a series of meetings at all the major centres. On May 12, he was in Winnipeg, addressing the Central and Westminster Churches' Ministerial Associations, a day later he was in Regina attending a mass meeting and addressing the Minister's Association and the Canadian Club. On May 15, MacKinnon was in Calgary, again addressing a mass meeting and speaking to the Methodist Conference and the Minister's Association.

On May 18, MacKinnon reached the West Coast and spoke that evening in Vancouver to the Methodist Conference of British Columbia, at St. John's Church. The next evening he attended mass meetings in Vancouver and in New Westminster. Three more meetings in British Columbia centres followed in rapid succession. On May 22, MacKinnon was in Victoria for a mass meeting and an address to the public schools and the Minister's Association. On the 24th he was in Revelstoke for another mass meeting and to address war veterans. In Nelson on the 28th, he spoke to the congregation of Knox Church attended a Methodist Church mass meeting and addressed the Minister's Association. Recrossing the Prairies from British Columbia, MacKinnon stopped in Edmonton to address the Methodist Conference for Alberta, and to attend another mass meeting. Another mass meeting awaited him in Saskatoon, where he also addressed the Minister's Association.

On June 5, 1918, Mackinnon arrived in Toronto where he spoke to the Church of England Synod and the Congregational Union. The next evening was spent in London Ontario, where he addressed the Presbyterian General Assembly and two days later he was in Hamilton where he delivered two sermons and addressed another mass meeting. Via a return trip to London, where he addressed the Presbyterian General Assembly, MacKinnon travelled to Montreal where, on June 12, he attended his last public meeting. On June 15, MacKinnon returned to England.

Administering the Canadian Forces in Britain, 1918-1919

On April 11, 1918, an order-in-council authorized the creation of an overseas military council, the purpose of which was to more closely coordinate the departments of the overseas administration and to advise the minister. The council, in Great Britain, with Albert Kemp as chairman, was to oversee Canadian involvement in the war. On October 10, 1918, Colonel G.S. Harrington, who had been acting deputy minister of the OMFC was confirmed in that appointment. He held the appointment until the ministry was closed in February, 1920.

Organizing the Education Service in Britain, July to September, 1918

Meanwhile, in France, throughout the summer of 1918, Oliver was busily trying to reorganize the University of Vimy

Ridge after the German offensives of that year. He was also being kept informed of the steadily worsening relationship between the Chaplain Service and the YMCA in Canada, in relation to the provision of educational services to the overseas forces. He wrote:

I have just heard that the Director of the Chaplain Service has had an interview in the Canadian papers about the YMCA. I personally regard it as most unwise although I have not seen the papers. If there are differences they should not be aired in public at such a time as this. I have not seen it myself but I am told there is an account of the interview in the Canadian Daily Record and that the University of Vimy Ridge is mentioned. This is a great mistake (10).

In May, 1918, in Ottawa, a conference was held between the head of the Chaplain Service, Colonel J.M. Almond, who was then in Canada, and representatives of the YMCA. A "statement of relationships" was agreed upon which was to be the basis of cooperation between the two agencies, although the question of control over the education movement was not even then clearly resolved (11).

In a confidential letter to Sir Robert Falconer, undated, but written around that time, Tory attempted to give his version of events surrounding the rift that had occurred between the Chaplain Service and himself. Tory felt he had to do so, to counter the face-to-face versions that would be offered by Almond and MacKinnon, both then in Canada. In his letter, Tory explained in minute detail his version of how he started the overseas educational movement. It was this version that he hoped would become the "orthodox"

interpretation in the history of the movement. Since there was no reconciling Tory's version with MacKinnon's, neither became the accepted version, and, ultimately, the history was never written. In his letter to Falconer, Tory claimed that the "idea of systematized educational work for the Army on broad lines in relation to home problems was my real contribution and an original contribution" (12).

As to his problems with the Chaplain Service, Tory related that the rivalry began when the committee consisting of MacKinnon, Captain MacDonald and Gerald Birks was formed by General Turner (of the headquarters, OMFC) on the insistence of Colonel Almond. That committee had toured England, starting classes in many of the Canadian camps. In Tory's eyes, it was to be only a temporary committee, acting for him in his absence.

Unfortunately the director of the Chaplain Service did not see things that way. Upon the completion of its work in England, Almond had sent the committee to France to start educational work there. It was then that MacKinnon, Oliver and General Lipsett began educational work in the 3rd Division. The work, under military control was, according to Tory, "severely handicapped as a result of the lack of cooperation between [Oliver] and the YMCA" (13) Tory continued:

I confess, I felt on my return, very uneasy over the whole thing, particularly as some of my dearest friends were connected with the work. I had about made up my mind that rather than have any quarrel

over the matter I would return home quietly and have nothing further to do with it, leaving the military authorities to work it out as they thought wise, but the assurance that I received here that would be fatal to the project, at least so far as the university side was concerned, gave me the patience to await the turn of events (14).

Tory, going to great lengths to assure Falconer that he had no complaint against MacKinnon, made it clear that he expected to cooperate with the Chaplain Service so long as he was recognized as being in charge of the movement. On that basis, Tory was prepared to give MacKinnon the "maximum of recognition by giving him the highest official appointment possible in the educational plan, consistent with my [Tory's] leadership being recognized" (15).

It obviously escaped Tory's attention that neither Almond or MacKinnon believed that Tory had any authority to appoint anybody to anything. This was the crux of the disagreement between the Chaplain Service on one hand and Tory, the YMCA and the universities on the other. Tory went on to say:

I hope in his [MacKinnon's] heart he is not regarding me as someone who replaced him in connection with it [the education movement]. He assures me that such is not the case (16).

Although Mackinnon initially did believe that he stood co-equal with Tory in the leadership of the movement, as this dissertation relates, that was not to be.

The resolution of the question of control between the two agencies however was to be made redundant by events in Britain. In June, Prime Minister Borden and members of his cabinet had journeyed to Britain to hold conferences with

officials of the OMFC on the whole aspect of the return of the troops and their reintegration into Canadian life. Tory spoke to Borden while he was in Britain, before the prime minister's visit to the Canadian Corps in France for the Dominion Day celebrations on July 1, 1918. In his meetings with Borden, Tory outlined his plan for educational activity to be part of the overall demobilization process.

Tory, in a draft of his proposed biography, told an interesting story of the events surrounding his meeting with Borden. He related:

We had not succeeded in getting formal approval of our effort [from the OMFC, which was still backing MacKinnon's committee and the plan of the Chaplain Service]. It so happened that in writing a letter home to Colonel Gerald Birks, who was at home in connection with a money raising campaign, I in a moment of pessimism, suggested to him that it seemed we would never overcome the official inertia with respect to the matter. While the letter was marked private, Colonel Birks showed it to Principal Peterson. Principal Peterson, who was deeply interested in the matter and who was preparing to come to England, had copies of it made. It so happened he travelled to England on the same boat as Sir Robert Borden, who was coming to attend a War Cabinet. Sir Robert, who was deeply interested in every effort for the betterment of the men, on his arrival in England promptly asked the minister overseas [Albert Kemp] what was the matter. When I wrote the letter, I hadn't the slightest intention of making a formal complaint against the Canadian authorities in England. I ought to add that from the beginning I had the warmest support of Sir Richard Turner and the officers in Argyle House [headquarters of the OMFC], but for their good will of course nothing could have been done at all. However, the morning after Sir Robert's arrival I found myself hurriedly summoned to the minister's [of the OMFC] office, a car having been sent for me. I was informed that I shouldn't have sent the letter of complaint. For a moment I couldn't recall what was meant, and then I

suddenly remembered the letter which I had written to Colonel Birks and which in some way Sir Robert had seen and had raised the question of what was the matter that our plans had not been in some manner recognized. The upshot of it was that with the consent of the YMCA through whose agency the scheme had originated we were given an establishment as a part of the regular Army [the Canadian overseas forces] (17).

Tory, seeing the problems that would occur if an educational movement were entrusted to one of the competing agencies to the detriment of the other, proposed that all the overseas educational activity be consolidated into its own service, within the overseas military forces. This new educational service would have its own director, Tory himself, and its own military establishment. Borden and his cabinet accepted the idea and, in July, 1918, the Canadian Educational Service of the OMFC was formed. In Britain, the educational work of the Khaki Colleges was absorbed into the newly organized educational service as would be Oliver's University of Vimy Ridge in France.

Oliver in London: Organizing the Education Service, August, 1918

At the beginning of August, 1918, after his Dominion Day meeting with Borden and his officials, and just before the Allied offensives, E.H. Oliver left France for London where he attended a conference on the organization of the new educational service. He wrote to his wife from London:

I have seen Dr. Tory and Mrs. Tory. I had a short talk with him but we are going into the whole

question tomorrow. Our relations are very amicable but we shall not know how we are standing until tomorrow. They have some gorgeous offices here and plenty of stenographers etc. If they saw how in France we trotted around in the mud without equipment or any accommodation they would learn what a task it is to carry on an educational programme. I saw the director [Tory]. He says that he will give me a free hand to do as I wish. However, a day or so will tell (18).

Oliver's initial assessment of the situation proved too optimistic. In a series of intense meetings over the following ten days, beginning on August 6, he found that he had to fight hard to maintain his direction of the work in France, although it was obvious that the work there would no longer be considered an independent entity and would inevitably be brought under the control of Tory and the education service in Britain. Still, he knew that his trump card was Tory's lack of understanding of the educational work being done on the Continent and the lack of experience among those who would head the new educational service, in dealing with the problems of organizing educational activity in an army in the field. From his rooms at the Canadian YMCA United Forces Club, on Belgrave Square, in London, where he was staying, Oliver wrote to his wife:

I have spent most of the day conferring with Tory. and it looks as though we'll need some more days. I think we can come to a solution but it will take a little time. I know I am as stubborn as a mule but I am simply not going to enter into a compact which will lead only to misunderstandings. Tory has gone over all the ancient history of this movement with me and I also have gone over the story of the past. I have expressed myself with candour but we have kept on the most amicable of relations. Tory has a lordly way of claiming to

have done everything. I say, very well, you may continue if you please. I am content to remain in the chaplain service. I am not craving new work. I have no ambition to leave the work which I came over to undertake. Of course that would leave him in the lurch in France. We ended the day by resolving to meet again in the morning. One thing I have resolved upon, that I shall not be put into a position where Best dominates the situation. Tory has brought a McGill professor over named Adams (19), a good fellow and a distinguished scientist. He is writing the Khaki University calendar. Tory is to be a full colonel, Adams a lieutenant colonel and MacKinnon and Oliver, majors. My answer is, that is not good enough. I don't want rank. I am content to remain a captain in the chaplain service but if Adams is going to be a lieutenant colonel then EHQ [Oliver's position in the Canadian Corps] is going to be one too. There must be suitable recognition for the men who have done the work. It is distasteful to me fighting for rank but one has a right to contend for fair play (20).

The next day, August 8, Oliver and Tory again were engaged in hard-nosed negotiations. Oliver noted:

Tory and I spent a good deal of time together again today, and had lunch together. Then in the evening I had tea with Dr. Adams. I have drawn up for Tory a series of statements and conditions which I regard as essential to the success of the work in France. I have always insisted that we should discuss the matter first irrespective of whether I was going to take charge of the work, in order that we might avoid the personal aspect of it. I insist that I do not want to take it over. I know too well the amount of work involved. Tonight I told him the conditions under which I would accept and we are going to discuss them tomorrow (21).

The negotiations had reached an impasse and, since Oliver was still an officer in the Chaplain Service, Colonel Almond, the director and Oliver's commanding officer, was invited to express his opinions on the matter. Oliver explained:

Tory and I are still at our negotiations. He knows my mind on the subject completely now. I have always been frank with him but I am as firm as I am

frank. We are going in the morning to see Colonel Almond to discuss my relations to the scheme from his point of view (22).

Almond stood by Oliver's demands and it was agreed that both Oliver and MacKinnon would have the same rank and status as Frank Adams, although later, Adams would get the post of deputy director.

This morning Dr. Tory and I went to see Colonel Almond regarding rank for MacKinnon and me. We had a long interview in which we discussed the whole question outstanding between us. It was decided that Colonel Almond should ask for the rank of lieutenant colonel for both MacKinnon and myself. This by no means signifies that we will get it but at any rate an effort will be made to secure it. In the afternoon Tory and I went to Seaford, he to see about a building for the college there and I to see an officer that I know. Dr. Tory hurt his leg yesterday while running to catch a bus so is limping around on a crutch. I am waiting for my transport warrant to return to France (23).

While he was waiting to return to France, after his negotiations with Tory, Oliver spent his time working with Frank Adams, putting together the course of study for the upcoming academic session. Oliver wrote, " This afternoon I worked with Dr. Adams on a calendar for the University of Vimy Ridge and yesterday we toiled at a list of books for our standard library (24)." The final meetings with Tory were amiable enough and Oliver felt that he could return to the work in France which would continue as he envisaged it. He noted, "Tory and I had a quite a satisfactory interview this morning. I am sure that we shall be able to work together satisfactorily (25)." Oliver was especially satisfied after talking with Sir Robert Falconer, President of the University

of Toronto, who was the chairman of the advisory board of Canadian university presidents, overseeing the formation of the Khaki University and who was then in London. Oliver wrote, "I had a long talk with President Falconer about the educational situation. He is seeing Tory tomorrow and we three are going to confer together on Wednesday morning (26)."

After his negotiations with Tory and Falconer, Oliver returned to France to continue with the educational activity there. The work, by August, 1918, had not even yet fully recovered from the setback of the German offensives of the previous summer. He wrote to his wife:

I went to a neighbouring village to look over the educational situation. It is exceedingly difficult to secure anything like suitable accommodation. We tried to get a barn or two that we might fix up but the peasants put their little crops in them and we can't get them. It is rather a serious undertaking to carry on educational work when there is no place to carry it on in (27).

Before any meaningful educational activity could be planned or undertaken, the Canadian Corps was moved from its restful billets with 1st British Army on the Lens Front, and was sent off to join in leading the British advances in the general Allied offensive of the fall of 1918.

Establishing the Khaki University in Britain, September, 1918

Clarence MacKinnon, back in Britain after his successful tour of Canada, returned to his task of helping to organize the new Khaki University in that country. Although he remained sceptical of Tory's plan, he was willing to

contribute to the work, still firmly believing that the interests of the Chaplain Service had been met and that he, as its representative, would have a place in the overall direction of the new university within Britain. Writing to his wife on September 13, from the headquarters of the new university, at 31 Bedford Square London, MacKinnon explained:

Here I am in my old "cushie" job in a larger office, with higher windows, heavier curtains and softer chairs. The office end of the Khaki University has at least flourished. But the whole movement is at present 'in stays' pending the authorization of an establishment which has been referred to Ottawa. The correspondence department has done well, but the work in the camps has hung fire. There has been nobody to push it. The business end has been well looked after by Captain Frisby. I am going to travel around the camps and see what can be done to infuse new life into the movement. Dr. Tory and Professor Adams have spent several weeks getting out a curriculum for university students which is very elaborate and no doubt very excellent and will receive the approbation of the universities in Canada but unless there are classes [of students] to study the subjects, the elaborate curriculum will have no legs to walk on. However, as my work will take me around the camps and over to France to lecture, that satisfies me (28).

Writing again a day later from the headquarters of the Chaplain Service, MacKinnon explained to his wife that he had met with Falconer and Tory about the new university but still had misgivings as to the effectiveness of its organization. He noted:

We have had Sir Robert Falconer with us and still have him in London where he is awaiting word to sail... He came over to secure men for his staff at Toronto but got over to France under the auspices of the Khaki University and was fortunate enough to see the beginning of the big battle at Arras. We have talked over the education structure

several times very carefully and have together seen Dr. Tory. I am not convinced that Sir Robert thinks in his own mind that Dr. Tory is the right man. Of course he did not so express himself but he feels that it would be disastrous to Tory were he not to succeed. The trouble is he [Tory] and Adams spend their time around a table working out plans and neglect the camps where the real work is to be done. The correspondence end has done very well under Major Weir but the rest is "so-so". Of course I write to you in confidence. I am going to do what I can and as soon as things start in France will likely go over there (29).

On September 19, 1918, as the Canadian Corps readied itself in France for its assault on Cambrai, the Khaki University of Canada was officially authorized by the Canadian government. An order-in council provided for the establishment of the Educational Service of the Canadian Overseas Forces of Canada, under the control of a director, as a branch of the general staff of the OMFC. This educational service was designated the Khaki University of Canada. The Khaki University absorbed all of the existing educational organizations in the OMFC in both Britain and France.

In his biography of Tory, Ned Corbett wrote:

The Montreal press was to note, 'The Khaki University was one of the most interesting developments of the war and one of which Canadians have special cause to be proud. Most things connected with the great conflict were destructive in character, but this was a great constructive effort, being at the same time a conception so striking in character that, when once seen in action in the Canadian forces, it was adopted in rapid succession by the Australians, New Zealanders, South Africans, then by the Imperial army and by the United States. In the standing army of Great Britain this educational work has been made part of the regular training of every British Regular' (30).

No doubt this glowing report about the Khaki University was in some way influenced by the preponderance of McGill men who had a hand in its birth.

Also, on October 18, 1918, the Canadian Daily Record Featured the Khaki University. The paper noted that any man could become a student for twenty five cents, in any of six subject areas, Agriculture, Commerce, Elementary practical sciences, Languages, Preparation for entrance into Canadian universities, or Courses equivalent to the first and second years in the Canadian universities. At that time, there were 3,000 students in the correspondence department. Of these, according to the newspaper, 1,000 were enrolled in engineering and most of the others were studying agriculture to take advantage of the government Land Settlement scheme. Later, some 400 to 500 soldiers were admitted to British universities through the Khaki University. In all, some 50,000 men were influenced by the work of the university in Britain and the Continent.

Colonel H.M. Tory was appointed director of the Educational Service and Lieutenant Colonel Frank D. Adams of McGill was appointed the deputy director. Although initially, Clarence Mackinnon was appointed the assistant deputy director for Britain, he soon left and his place was taken by Major J.L.W. Gill, a professor of engineering from Queens University who was convalescing in Britain (Gill later became the head of the Hamilton Technical School). Major William Wallace from

the University of Toronto, who was the commanding officer of Khaki College, Shorncliffe, was appointed adjutant of the Khaki University (31). A correspondence department was set up under Major Weir who had been invalided to Britain from the 3rd Division in France where he had been the divisional education officer for Oliver's University of Vimy Ridge.

Lieutenant Colonel E.H. Oliver expected to become the assistant deputy director for France. Under his authority, would come the all the work in France, including that in the Line of Communication units, the Canadian Railway Corps and the Canadian Forestry Corps. Significantly, Clarence Mackinnon, upon leaving the education service headquarters in Britain, chose to serve under Oliver in France, where he organized the work of the Forestry Corps. Work in the Canadian hospitals in France was done by Captain Melvin of the Chaplain Service. The educational work among Railway troops was organized by Major Adams of the Railway Corps. In the Canadian Corps, Oliver, as he had for the University of Vimy Ridge, appointed divisional educational officers for each of the four divisions (32).

Adult Education on the Continent,August, 1918 - May, 1919France: The Canadian Corps and Canada's Hundred Days, August - November, 1918

Beginning with Amiens in March, and continuing throughout the Summer of 1918, the German armies had launched a series of offensives against the Allied armies on the Western Front. All were checked and, following the Second Battle of the Marne, which was the final German offensive of 1918, the initiative on the Western Front passed to the Allies. As a result of the attempt by the Germans offensives to drive a wedge between the French and British armies, the Allied forces were coordinated under the command of Marshal Foch of the French Army, who became the supreme commander of the Allied forces on the Western Front.

The majority of the Canadian Corps, as part of 1st British Army, had taken little part in the summer fighting and continued its training in the reserve of 1st British Army in the Lens area. Throughout July, 1918, the Canadian Corps trained for open warfare, in preparation for its new role as the assault unit for the upcoming Allied offensive of the late summer. As a prelude to the Allied offensive the Canadian Corps was briefly sent to the line on July 14, 1918, at Arras as a feint to lead the Germans into believing that an assault was planned from that area.

Amiens, Back to the Somme: The Canadian Corps Joins 4th
British Army, August 8, 1918

In August, 1918, The Canadian Corps left 1st British Army and was transferred to 4th British Army on the Somme. It was at Amiens that Foch and Haig had planned to deliver the main Allied offensive, using 4th British Army, consisting of the Canadian Corps, the Australian Corps and 3rd British Corps, while the 1st French Army was to cooperate on the British right flank to the south.

The front allotted to the Canadian Corps for the battle was on 4th British Army's extreme right and extended from the Amiens-Raye road on the right to the Villers-Bretteaux-Chaulnes railway line on the left. The Australians attacked in the centre, on the Canadians' left, from the railway line to the banks of the Somme River. The 3rd British Corps attacked on the extreme left, north of the Somme. The French Army was on the Canadian Corps' right flank, south of the Amiens-Roye road. The road itself formed the "boundary" between the two Armies. General Lipsett's 3rd Division, on the extreme right of the Canadian Corp's front, was the linkage to the French 31st Corps, the extreme left unit of the 1st French Army and bore the brunt of the fighting in the initial advance. It was hoped, by surprise, to overwhelm the German front line, to overrun their defense and gun positions and to secure the general line of what was then the German Amiens outer defenses. The general line of this outer defense

was situated eastward, at a distance of from six to nine miles from the Allied "start line" from where the attack was to be launched. This distance represented a much greater advance than had, to this time, been considered feasible in an initial attack. The objective of the Allied attack was to put Amiens beyond the range of German artillery fire, thus freeing up the Amiens-Paris railway, thereby improving the Allied lines of communication and making the boundary between the French and British armies more secure.

At the Battle of Amiens, the "Black Day of the German army," which began on August 8, 1918, more sophisticated tactics, which included the effective employment of armour (33), the absence of prolonged artillery preparation and the scientific precision of the counter-battery artillery, directed by Lieutenant Colonel A.G.L. (Andy) McNaughton (34), ensured a complete Allied victory (35). After the victory at Amiens, the Canadian Corps returned northward to their old positions on the 1st British Army Front, on August 19, 1918, to become the vanguard of the final British advance against the retreating German army.

Canadian Corps Operations: Arras to Cambrai, August to October, 1918

After their overwhelming victory at Amiens, the Allied High Command decided to push onward. In late August, French Armies to the south of the British Front began their drive

north and east against the demoralized and rapidly falling apart German forces in front of them. Haig now began to push the British Armies forward. Byng's 3rd Army launched a successful attack in the Somme and the 4th British Army to the south of the 3rd, thanks to the Australian Corps which had remained in Rawlinson's Army after the departure of the Canadians, also pushed back the Germans facing it.

On August 26, 1918, the Second Battle of Arras began. As part of that battle, the Canadian Corps was involved in the Battle of the Scarp, from August 26 to 30. The Canadian Corps then moved to take on the job of breaking through the outer defenses of the Hindenburg Line. Those defenses, known as Drocourt-Queant Line (or popularly among the troops, the D-Q Line) had to be breached before the 1st British Army could move on towards Cambrai. On September 2, 1918, the Canadian Corps began its assault on the D-Q Line (36). The assault was to advance along the Arras-Cambrai road through the D-Q Line defenses, to consolidate at the banks of the uncompleted Canal du Nord which lay beyond it. The success of the assault was not without its consequences, some 5,500 Canadians became casualties in the fighting. One of them was Lieutenant Colonel (Professor) R.G.S. (Reginald) Bateman, Oliver's former commanding officer in the 196th (Western Universities) Battalion. Bateman, on giving up command of the 196th had reverted to the rank of lieutenant and joined the 46th Battalion of the 4th Canadian Division, in June, 1917. The

46th, from Southern Saskatchewan, had been dubbed the "Suicide Battalion" because of its large number of casualties, dead and wounded. Bateman, who had been wounded in earlier fighting could have been evacuated to England with a "Blighty" but had elected to return to his battalion instead. He was killed on the "Green Line", a position overlooking the Canal du Nord, on September 3, 1918. (37).

On September 9, 1918, after leading his division through the thick of the fighting from Amiens to the Canal du Nord, Major General Lipsett transferred from 3rd Canadian Division to 4th British Division, XVII Corps, which had been fighting along-side the Canadian Corps. On September 12, Oliver wrote to his wife:

I have just heard today that General Lipsett has left the 3rd Division and has received an appointment with the British. I am sorry for he certainly was a great friend of the educational work. I may run into him again some time or other, but he did what he could to make our work a success. With the YMCA bucking it last winter I could scarcely have managed without his assistance (38).

On September 12, 1918, Major General F.W. Loomis, took Lipsett's place as commander of the 3rd Canadian Division. Loomis commanded the division until April, 1919, after it returned to Britain upon completion of a stint in the occupational force, after the armistice. A month after he had left the 3rd Canadian Division, General Lipsett was killed while commanding the 4th British Division. On hearing the news of Lipsett's death, MacKinnon wrote to his wife on

October 14, 1918:

We just received the news the day after General Lipsett's funeral. He was a splendid General and a brave man. He was foster father of the educational work in France (39).

The success of the Canadian breakthrough at the D-Q Line forced the German army to withdraw behind the heavily fortified defenses of the Hindenburg Line. Some more hard fighting saw the Canadians across the Canal du Nord and through Bourlon Wood and, by the end of September, poised on the outskirts of Cambrai. Taking time to refit and acquire reinforcements (some of whom were the conscripts brought into the army as a result of the Military Service Act, who were finally reaching the Line) the Canadian Corps rested and geared up for its assault on the city. The YMCA, as it had through the battles of the advance, provided amenities to the troops during this short period of waiting.

The Battle of Cambrai (40) took place from October 1 to October 10, 1918, with the final attack to take place on the 8th. In the plan for the capture of Cambrai, the Canadian Corps of 1st British Army was to launch its attack in cooperation with units of 3rd British Army. The operation was to be carried out in two phases, with the units of the Canadian Corps being involved in the second phase. The Germans had begun a general withdrawal to a newly constructed line of defence near Valenciennes and the British and Canadian troops were able to occupy Cambrai without meeting any major resistance. On October 11, 1918, the Canadian Corps position

in the van of 1st British Army's advance was taken over by XXII Corps while the Canadians made their preparations for what would become the final advance of the war (41).

The Pursuit to Mons and the Armistice, October to November 1918

On October 17, the Canadian Corps, as the van of 1st British Army, again resumed the advance against the retreating Germans. By November 1, 1918, supplies had been stockpiled and the plans finalized for the capture of Valenciennes and the surrounding German defences, which were holding up the general advance and the Canadian Corps was called upon to enter the city. After an intense artillery bombardment, the attack on Valenciennes was carried out by the 3rd and 4th Canadian Divisions and, as soon as they had completed the job, the 2nd Canadian Division came forward to continue the advance. The Germans had been dislodged from their final line of defense and were now in full retreat, working methodically to get back to their homeland. Continued pressure was needed to disorganize that retreat and possibly turn it into a rout (42).

The locality through which the troops of the Canadian Corps advanced, had changed. They were now in the coal mining area on the frontiers of France and Belgium. The country was generally flat and densely populated. One village seemed almost to run into the next separated only by fields, devoid

of cover. Each village had its mine workings with their piles of refuse and slag-heaps which provided excellent coverage for the defence of the retreating Germans and made successful attacking operations very difficult, without the use of heavy artillery, which would have resulted in great losses of civilian lives. Because artillery fire had to be used sparingly, even when contact had been firmly established, progress in this region was necessarily slow. But the Canadians managed to follow the retreating Germans relentlessly giving them no time to reorganize (43).

The German High Command had, for some time, recognized that it could no longer effectively carry on the war, and the German government and nation were now dissolving into a state of political turmoil. On November 9, envoys from the German government were sent to Marshal Foch, proposing an armistice. By November 11, the terms had been fixed and, on that day, the German armies on the Western Front capitulated and the Armistice was signed to end World War One.

On November 11, 1918, Canadian troops entered Mons, Belgium, near the point, where on August 24, 1914, the "retreat from Mons" by the BEF had started. Four long years had passed since then and now Currie was to make sure that the honour of reclaiming the lost territory would fall to the Canadian Corps. It was Currie (with an escort from the 5th Lancers, who had been at Mons when the German Army struck at the BEF in 1914) who rode into Mons at the head of his troops

as the armistice came into effect. This was the culminating action of the Canadian Corps in the operations which had started south of Arras on August 26, 1918. It was the last action of the Canadian Corps' "Hundred Days" (44). Three days later, on November 14, to celebrate the armistice, a review by the Belgian King of contingents of the British army, including those from the Canadian Corps, took place at Mons.

During the First World War, Canada had raised a military force of 600,000. A total of 418,052 served in France. Canadian forces suffered 60,000 fatalities in World War One, 35,684 of whom were battle casualties with the CEF, 12,000 died from wounds received in battle, 4,000 from disease, 2,287 died in Canada and 6,029 were classified as "missing" (45).

The University of Vimy Ridge and the Khaki University in the Canadian Corps, France, During the Final Push, August - November, 1918

Upon returning from Britain, after his negotiations with Tory and Falconer over the founding of the new Canadian Education Service, Oliver's attempts to reinstate adult educational activity in the Canadian Corps through the autumn of 1918 came to an abrupt end on August 8. On that date, the Canadian Corps was posted to 4th British Army to play its part in the Battle of Amiens, at the beginning of Canada's "Hundred Days".

After the success at Amiens and the subsequent posting of

the Canadian Corps back to 1st Army in August, to fight at Arras and onward to the D-Q Line and the Canal du Nord, the most pressing problem faced by Oliver was simply to keep pace with the advancing troops. Finally, in mid-September, as the Canadian Corps paused before its assault on Cambrai, Oliver was able to organize a brief program of learning. He wrote to his wife on September 18:

I went to Corps headquarters. In the afternoon I went up to the forward area to see a general who wanted to discuss the matter of an educational officer with me (46).

As part of his program, Oliver was able to acquire some films for his classes, supplied to the YMCA by the expeditionary force canteens.

While engaged in this limited educational work, Oliver received a letter from Tory in which he learned that the military council of the OMFC in Britain had endorsed Tory's plan for a Khaki University and the whole matter was to be sent to Canada for the government's approval. Earlier in September, Oliver noted:

Today a letter came from Dr. Tory 'With regard to our plans the situation is as follows: The ministry here and the military council have approved and about two weeks ago forwarded the matter to Canada for their final decision. It seems that they regard the money involved as of sufficient importance to warrant the Canadian government taking action upon it. I should hear in the course of a week or ten days now and will let you know at once what happens.' All this has reference to the whole scheme being endorsed by the government. Of course decisions regarding us personally will not take place till this is done (47).

The names of the personnel who would actually fill the

vacancies of the educational establishment, should it be approved by the Canadian government, had been proposed by Tory and accepted by the OMFC. Clarence MacKinnon had initially been selected as the assistant deputy director for Britain at the insistence of the chaplain service, but he could not bring himself to work with Tory. Instead, with Tory's acquiescence, he decided to work under Oliver in France with the Canadian Forestry Corps. Oliver, writing in late September to his wife, confided:

Quoting a letter from MacKinnon, 'Even though Oliver didn't ask for more, here's another for him, just to keep him up to date. Naturally my advent has precipitated things here a bit "The cat came back" and something had to be done with him, the cat himself taking a hand or a claw in that decision. First, in the presence of Colonel Almond and Colonel Macdonald with Dr. Tory, it was fixed that Oliver should have charge of the educational work in all France. Dr. Tory to let him know in his own way. Second, that your humble servant [MacKinnon] should work under you in the Forestry camps and Lines of Communication if you are agreeable. Third, that Dr. Tory should go over with your humble servant in the next two or three weeks to meet you and consult about an office and headquarters - possibly Paris. This situation was precipitated also by the reception of letters from French Forestry units [Canadian Forestry Corps units in France] for correspondence classes - all of which should have your sanction. You have a great possibility in France and Sancho Panza will do his little. Your firm believer. Clarence MacKinnon' (48).

MacKinnon's prophecy as to the appointments was confirmed a month later when Oliver received a letter from Tory in which Tory informed him, "Since I started dictating this letter, word has come through from Argyll House that the Canadian government has authorised the establishment of the educational

service" (49).

While the Canadian Corps was poised for its strike against Cambrai, by working hard, Oliver was able to put together enough of a program to impress visitors who were able to reach the Canadian Corps lines, even in the midst of battle. He wrote:

I received a message over the wire from Colonel Fallis [of the chaplain service] who said that he was sending a car over to get me to come to tell Colonel Cody [Archdeacon Cody, Minister of Education for Ontario] about our educational work. I went over to the Corps school and then I took Cody over to one of our plants. He was very enthusiastic about our work. He thought it was more sane and sounder in its aims and methods than what had been planned in London. I showed him some of our reports and he was intensely pleased. He has promised to help in any way that he can. I am to write to him later (50).

Among the visitors were Tory and MacKinnon who had come to France to iron out some of the details necessary to put into place the educational system that would be required once the fighting stopped. Writing to his wife from London at the beginning of October, MacKinnon explained:

I leave as I told you for France. Dr. Tory's transportation has not come through and he is trying to get mine postponed one day so that we can go over together. I am looking forward with great interest to my work and will be glad to get down to some definite task at last. Indefiniteness is, I fear, the bane of this whole movement. Neither Oliver nor I leave the chaplain service. Neither of us would wish to do so. But the whole education problem in France will be in our hands. Tell Major Tait that if nothing comes through to him from Tory, I will ask Oliver to secure him for France, if an establishment is given us that permits us the luxury of a major. One of the dangers of the new scheme is the meagreness of the establishment so far as senior officers are concerned. We have been

through difficulties just as bad (51).

MacKinnon was delayed a few days in crossing to France. Although Tory was also going to France, MacKinnon was still firm in his belief that Tory could not interfere in the work on the Continent since it would come directly under Oliver. MacKinnon wrote, "I was delayed getting away a couple of days as Dr. Tory was not ready. He is coming over with me but the work in France will be entirely in the hands of Oliver and myself" (52). This idea was, for the most part, illusory, since Oliver's independence only came from his position as education officer within the Canadian Corps. In the other Canadian formations in France, such as the Canadian Forestry Corps or the Canadian Railway Corps, Currie, as the Canadian Corps commander, exercised no authority, since these units were not under his command. Oliver's control over the educational work in the non-Canadian Corps formations came solely from his being within the command structure of the Canadian Education Service under Tory. Therefore, although Oliver would be his direct superior, MacKinnon, working in the Forestry Corps, would ultimately be answerable to Tory, through Oliver.

MacKinnon was looking forward to his work in the Forestry Corps since he would again be in the thick of organizing classes among the troops rather than spending his time in fruitless planning and negotiations at the headquarters level. He told his wife, "I can only guess at the progress of events,

but I should be home by June. I am going to get into educational work when the fighting ceases. It will free me from 'fatigue' and give me a drive" (53).

Oliver, writing to his wife after the fall of Cambrai, noted, "Tory and MacKinnon arrived. I took them to my educational establishment and I think they were pleased with the work. We are hunting for a place for a headquarters. I am off to Paris"(54) (where the YMCA had their headquarters).

On October 15, as the Canadian Corps resumed its advance towards Valenciennes after its capture of Cambrai, MacKinnon wrote to his wife from "somewhere in France":

I am snatching a few minutes in the midst of the conversation to send you a line. If the grammar is all wrong it is because Dr. Tory and Oliver are engaged in animated conversation only three feet from me... Next day we went up to where Oliver lived at the 4th Divisional Wing, where I met several Nova Scotians. Some miles in the vicinity we hunted for a possible headquarters for our educational work and are inclined to locate in a town where I spent a night last December. Oliver has made himself a noted personality in these French villages with all the old bodies [sic], attends the local funerals, plays with the children and is known as 'le cure protestant'... These few days have been a period of enlightenment and disillusionment to Dr. Tory whose spectacular schemes have been brought to earth and he is realizing the impracticality of many of his prairie born ideas and that in the army, education must be conducted along any line that may offer itself. Nothing can be prescribed and all this labour over university standards is so much camouflage. 'Ye maun bield the dyke wi' the stanes ye hal'. Dr. Tory is, of course a very pleasant travelling companion and we have had a delightful time together, interspersed with moments of vociferous arguments, both he and Oliver having strong Western voices, which amaze 'the gazing rustics ranged around'... My duties will call me all over France... Besides it may be necessary for me to

locate for some weeks in Paris and make that the centre of my excursions as my first task is to organize educational work in the forestry camps, which are ripe now and do not require us to wait until the fighting ceases (55).

At the end of October, after his negotiations with Oliver, Tory left France to return to Britain, as the Canadian Corps began its advance against Valenciennes. MacKinnon was still concerned that Tory had not yet grasped the extent of the work that would be needed for the educational movement to succeed, but he was ready to divorce himself from the problems in Britain and, hopefully without interference from Tory, concentrate on his work with the Forestry Corps. He wrote:

Dr. Tory has returned to England. We had a most delightful time together, but that does not make his scheme any more possible. However, in France that is not our "funeral." Oliver is in charge and we are going to work strictly along military lines. In the military however, outside the Forestry Corps, very little can be done owing to the mobile state of the army and have order forbidding the transfer of any man under the circumstances. When the work is ready to begin in the camps I hope to have the Forestry affair over and go with Oliver (56).

The Armistice on November 11, 1918, was to change many things. Among these, were the plans Oliver and MacKinnon had devised for educational work on the Continent. Now that the fighting was over, the work had to be totally oriented toward demobilization and had to be carried out as part of the activity of an army of occupation, rather than as a supporting activity for troops engaged in combat. For now however, Oliver was faced with the immediate problem of marshalling his classrooms and libraries for the long march of the Canadian

Corps across Belgium and into Germany.

The Watch on the Rhine: The Canadian Corps as Part of the British Army of Occupation, December, 1918 - January, 1919

After the signing of the Armistice on November 11, 1918, the Canadian Corps began to ready itself for its duties as part of the British occupational force in Germany. While the Canadians remained at Mons, Oliver was able to set up his educational work through the Khaki University. Because of the unsettled nature of the disposition of Canadian Corps units, his initial efforts were not to have much impact. As was noted in the war diary of one of the artillery units of the 3rd Division:

During the [39th, a sub-unit of 10th Brigade, Canadian Field Artillery] Battery's stay at Mons, the Khaki University - designed to re-establish men in civilian life - again came to the fore. A considerable number of men attended the lectures with a few of the Battery being detailed to act as "professors" in such subjects as accountancy, history, and arithmetic. The courses had only just been started however, when the order came to move, so that the university, although it might have been of great advantage to many, was of practically no use at any time. As during the period of fighting, it was an absolute impossibility for a man to attend. In each place of "rest", no sooner was it started, than the order was invariably received to move (57).

According to the terms of the Armistice, the British, French, and United States armies were to move into Germany to occupy bridgeheads on the east bank of the Rhine River. The British sector was centred on Cologne with the right flank about three miles up river from Bonn. The Canadian Corps was

to become part of General Sir Herbert Plumer's 2nd British Army and would be stationed in the area around Bonn. Initially, both the 2nd and 4th British Armies were to march to the Rhine, but logistical problems made it feasible only for the 2nd Army to carry out the move. Within the Canadian Corps, the number of divisions allotted to the occupation force also had to be reduced, so the 3rd and 4th Divisions remained in Belgium. These divisions were to remain in that country until they were repatriated to Britain in 1919.

The 1st and 2nd Canadian Divisions started out for Germany on November 18, 1918. Leaving Mons, the troops marched through Belgium in two parallel columns and, crossing the Meuse River near Namur on November 25, advanced towards the German border. On December 4, the two divisions crossed the German frontier, reaching the Rhine on December 12. The next day, in the rain that had dogged the troops throughout the preceding week, the Canadian Corps crossed the Rhine. The 1st Division paraded across the river at Cologne, marching past the 1st Army commander, General Plumer, while the 2nd Division, crossing at Bonn, extending the same courtesy to Arthur Currie. The Canadians remained in Germany as part of the British Army of Occupation from December 14, 1918 until January 24, 1919.

MacKinnon and the Khaki University in the Forestry Corps,
October -December, 1918

At the end of October, 1918, after crossing to France with Tory and meeting with Oliver, Clarence MacKinnon took up his duties with the Canadian Forestry Corps. Because of a shortage of timber for the war effort and the difficulty of shipping an adequate supply from North America, the British government, in 1916, began to look to its own forests to supply its timber requirements. Since there was a shortage of skilled timbermen in Britain, a request was made to the Canadian government for skilled lumber workers. The Canadian government agreed, recruited the men and sent them overseas. The Forestry Corps had grown from an initial battalion of 1600 all ranks, based in Britain in May, 1916, to a full-fledged Corps, authorized in November of that year, having detachments in France by year's end. The duty of the Forestry Corps in Britain and France was to harvest and process timber in each of the countries for use by the British field armies and, after the formation of the Royal Air Force, to construct airfield sites for the units of that service operating in France and in Britain. During the German offensives of 1917, many Forestry troops were sent to reinforce infantry units in the Canadian Corps. Their places were taken by prisoner-of-war and Chinese labour units. By the Armistice, some fifty six Forestry companies were located in France, in locations ranging from the English Channel to the Swiss border. In all,

one hundred and one Forestry companies, employing 31,477 men, were at work in Britain and France by the end of the war (58). After the Armistice, without the great demand for timber, the work of the Forestry Corps came to an end.

MacKinnon had been posted to the Corps headquarters in Paris from where, after the Armistice, he began to organize educational activities in the Forestry companies, while the men waited to be demobilized. All the while, he continued to become more and more disillusioned by Tory's indecision and inaction. In late November he wrote:

I have just returned from the orderly room [of the Forestry Corps headquarters] after making a very successful arrangement for education in the district. All Dr. Tory's schemes have apparently fallen through except for the correspondence schools and the library. Whatever [unit] establishment may have been granted to him, [for the Khaki University] no word of it has reached us and no aid from it. So I have gone to the military here, told them half a million dollars had been raised in Canada for education, and they might as well get for their men all the advantages going. They caught it at once and have organized their own educational work largely availing themselves of the aid of the chaplains who know the camps, but putting a military officer in charge of the work. For instance the arrangement just concluded in this district allows the men two hours off their work for educational purposes. How I wish Major Tait were here! When I got his cablegram I sent a message to Oliver to get a cable sent for him. But Tory holds up everything with his vagueness and indecision and now grouching spirit. The universities of Canada did education immense harm by their ill-considered action. The men want it, the officers are sympathetic, it is these impossible schemes that have derailed the movement though please do not think it has not been worthwhile. Many have benefited but it might have been better. After things get settled I am to go up to the Rhine to give Oliver a little help in the camps (59).

The money referred to in MacKinnon's letter had been raised by the YMCA in Canada to be used for educational purposes in the overseas forces. A month later, MacKinnon, still thoroughly disillusioned, wrote to his wife from the area of Company 73, of the Forestry Corps, complainingly:

Tell Major Tait he may thank his stars that he is not engaged in educational work. A "university" without teachers or books provided or available may be a mistake but it is neither a pleasant or a unique one. However there is no use worrying. I have been able to get even non-university men in the Forestry [Corps] reading and that's worthwhile, but what material is provided about the Khaki University is pure 'bunkum' (60).

Although the Forestry units in Britain were to remain in service until June, 1919, in France, the Forestry companies had started to disband in December, 1918 and were all gone by February of the following year.

In December, 1918, Tory again visited the Continent to plan for the upcoming second semester of the Khaki University for the Canadian troops of the Army of Occupation. The second semester was to begin on February 1, of the new year. In Paris, he met briefly with Mackinnon and Oliver before journeying to Bonn with them to confer with the officials of the university in that city. Writing to his wife, MacKinnon explained:

This artistic piece of paper [with the letterhead, 'Khaki University of Canada, 31 Bedford Square, London WC1'] is a trophy from a recent meeting with Tory and Oliver, so I am expropriating it for a letter home. At our meeting we rearranged our plans. In London, a correspondence school has been established which can carry on the work until all the [Forestry] camps are emptied. There is no need

for lectures at the camp so I start next week for Germany. Our HQ will be Bonn, actually in the famous University. I will be employed in lecturing to larger audiences of soldiers and have had a quiet "topic" to try and head off the Bolshevists. As I will likely be with the [Canadian] Corps until it is completely demobilized, my address will be 'c/o Lieutenant Colonel Oliver, ADES Canadian Corps, BEF'. Please do not think I have been overlooked when you read Lieutenant Colonel Oliver. His administrative position required the rank, but otherwise he would not have taken it, as the education ranks, Colonel Tory and Lieutenant Colonel Adams, are the joke of the army. Tory felt he should do something for me, but I fairly begged him not to mention it. I would have been disgraced for life. In the army rank is given for merit and especially bravery. In the Chaplain Service it goes by seniority (61).

With his work in the Forestry Corps completed, Clarence MacKinnon set off to Bonn to do educational work with Oliver and the troops of the Canadian Corps.

The Khaki University in Germany With the Army of Occupation,
December, 1918 - January, 1919

When the 1st and 2nd Divisions of the Canadian Corps had marched off to Germany in November, 1918, leaving the other two divisions behind in Belgium, the logistical problems faced by Oliver and his staff of the Khaki University, in providing and educational program for the Corps became acute.

After the Canadians had moved to the Rhine, Tory journeyed to Bonn with Oliver in December, 1918, to hold an interview with the President of Bonn University. It was proposed, with the concurrence of Arthur Currie, that Bonn University be taken over as the headquarters of the Khaki

University on the Continent. The German university officials, anxious that their institution not be taken over by the Canadians as a barracks, were eager to have it used for class work. As well, some members of the faculty were employed in teaching evening classes through the Khaki University.

In January, 1919, Clarence MacKinnon, by then working with Oliver in the Khaki University at Bonn, lectured in various subjects and spoke to the troops on citizenship and anti-Bolshevism. While working with the Khaki University in Germany, MacKinnon resolved to leave the Education Service when the Canadian Corps was repatriated to Britain, since he did not want to work with Tory in that country. Now completely disillusioned with Tory and his plans for demobilization, MacKinnon began to turn his thoughts to the work at home in Canada. Writing to his wife from Mons in mid-January, 1919, he explained:

Now that the Forestry Corps has been broken up, I am engaged lecturing at various universities. It is a fine opportunity to do good. I spoke on some of the responsibilities of citizenship, especially the need of keeping strictly to democratic principles and methods in face of the violent ideas of Bolshevism. I illustrate my main theme from the French and Russian Revolutions and have had good receptions everywhere. It is really worthwhile. But when the [Canadian] Corps breaks up I am going to leave the education department as all the schemes of a demobilization university have fallen through and I do not feel justified in spending my time in trifling matters especially when there is so much need to canvass the home church for men for the ministry (62).

At the end of the month, MacKinnon received a letter from Tory in which MacKinnon was authorized to return to the Chaplain

Service, from which he had been "attached posted", on the understanding that he would see the educational work on the Continent through to its end (63).

Since educational work among the Canadian troops still in Belgium continued to remain part of Oliver's responsibility, he had to devote some time to setting up a program for them. The 3rd and 4th Canadian Divisions had moved from Mons in December, 1918, the 3rd going to the Lille area and the 4th to the town of Jodoigne, some twenty five miles south east of Brussels. In early January, 1919, Oliver went to Brussels to make an agreement with the officials of the university there for Canadian troops to take classes, in the same way as the Canadians were at the university in Bonn. Writing to his wife from Belgium, he said:

I went to Brussels where I had an interview with the president and faculty of the University of Brussels to arrange some lectures for the men and officers of the 4th Division. They [Brussels University] are beginning the university again after four years. They are going to lecture on Belgium and other themes (64).

While still in Belgium, Oliver attended to the supply requirements for the new semester of the Khaki University. He wrote to his wife:

I went to Boulogne and secured from the Army Printing and Stationery Company 36,000 scribblers, 8000 pencils, 96 boxes of chalk, 2000 drawing books. I am getting them shipped to Namur (65).

Since the formation of the Education Service, in September, many personnel who had been involved with the educational movement in the Canadian Corps with Oliver and who

had returned to their units during the German offensives of 1918, had come back to work with the Khaki University. Among them was Oliver's old friend and fellow organizer of the University of Vimy Ridge, Captain William Gilmour of the YMCA. Oliver put him in charge of the educational work at Le Havre, the port selected by the Canadian authorities as the point of embarkation for Canadian troops returning to Britain. In mid-January, Oliver wrote:

We have a great number of thousands of books distributed. I am appointing Gilmour to be our education officer at the Point of Embarkation where he will have charge of the distribution of pamphlets on board the ships that return [to Britain] with the soldiers (66).

At the end of January, 1919, Oliver crossed the Channel to Britain to confer with Tory about his central institution for the Khaki University located, in the Canadian camp at Ripon, in Yorkshire. Meeting with Tory in London, Oliver unhappily observed in his letter to his wife, that Tory was, "full of big plans always planning. I am very glad I am not here in England, I much prefer the work in France" (67). He noted:

Tory's plans are mostly impractical I find. He has blazoned to the papers that he has some 8,000 students under training. We have had in France from 12,000 to 15,000 and do not say a word. I think I shall mention this to him. In their [Khaki University] advertising they never mention France (68).

Oliver did mention the topic, and some others, during a dinner engagement with Tory. Although Oliver was often exasperated with the way in which Tory ran the educational movement, there

was as yet little personal animosity between the two men. They were both able to carry on a social relationship which was not impeded by their professional disagreements. Oliver wrote:

I had dinner with the Tory's. Tory is a good-hearted man but I am afraid I disagree with him on some important themes. However, I think he is inclined to allow me to have my way on some matters. In any case I intend to have it (69).

The work of the Khaki College in Germany gradually came to an end as the Canadian divisions of the British Army of Occupation were withdrawn to Belgium, beginning in January, 1919. Oliver returned to Germany after his visit with Tory only to find all the educational work shut down and everything packed and ready to move to Belgium. On January 26, he wrote:

I arrived back [in Germany] last night after nearly two weeks absence only to find that everything was packed for moving and that our troops are going back to Belgium today (70).

By February 6, 1919, all units of the Canadian Corps had left Germany and their duties as occupation troops came to an end.

The Khaki University with the Canadian Corps in Belgium,
January to April, 1919

The 1st and 2nd Canadian Divisions, on leaving Germany rejoined the 3rd and 4th Divisions, which had remained as garrison troops in Belgium since the Armistice (71). The 1st Division moved to the area around Huy, the town situated between Namur and Liege where, in November, 1918, that division had crossed the Meuse River on its way to Cologne and

the Army of Occupation. The 2nd Division was stationed at Auvelais, some ten miles west of Namur.

The headquarters of the Canadian Corps were located at Jodoigne, just outside Brussels. It was there that Oliver also located the headquarters of the Khaki University on the Continent. At the end of January, Oliver had a meeting with Currie about the releasing of men to become students at the educational establishment in Ripon. Tory was interested in finding out how many former university students in the Canadian Corps were interested in being released, and could be released, from their units to continue their studies at Ripon. He also wished to know how many university teachers were in the Corps so that they could be released to form a nucleus of the staff of the Khaki University in Britain. Tory's plan to take these soldiers from their units met with opposition from unit commanders, since they were reliable men and there was much unrest in some units occasioned by the long wait to get home. Also, many of the educators who had enlisted did so to be soldiers and they did not appreciate being taken from their units for educational duties. It took an order from Currie himself to get the men released. Oliver was called to the Corps headquarters and ordered to facilitate the movement of soldiers from the Corps to Tory's institution at Ripon. In late January, Oliver's letter to his wife betrayed the grudging manner in which, in this instance, he carried out his orders: From the Canadian Corps headquarters at Jodoigne, he

wrote:

I had an interview with the Corps Commander and the Assistant Military Secretary [of the OMFC]. I have been arranging the matter of sending off men to England to attend Colonel Tory's university in the North of England. I shall be heartily glad when I get my hands washed of the whole matter. I have sent Gilmour to London to draw certain supplies in the way of literature and pamphlets. I expect that he will be gone about a week or two (72).

Oliver and Gilmour were again in harness, working to provide the logistical and administrative support for a university having thousands of students in centres many miles apart, extending over three countries. In his letter home, one can hear Oliver's frustration with Tory and the headquarters of the Khaki University in Britain, at their seeming indifference to the educational activity taking place in Canadian units on the Continent. In early February, he wrote:

I have received from Colonel Tory, for distribution, copies of a pamphlet describing the organisations of the Khaki University of Canada. In telling what constitutes it, he does not mention any of the work in France at all, although at the end of last month we had about 15,000 students to their 9,000 - I just chuck them into the waste paper basket. I spent yesterday at Namur where we keep our depot of books. Yesterday alone, I distributed about 10,000 scribblers and a great host of books (73).

The magnitude of the work facing Oliver, Gilmour and the staff of the Khaki University on the Continent was staggering. On February 2, Oliver noted:

On the way through Namur we shipped out a large quantity of books. Last week alone we shipped out 20,000 scribblers and when I tell you that these cost us nothing you will see that it requires a bit

of rustling to land these large supplies. I am sending a couple of hundred volumes up to Brussels to an officers club today. I am hoping in two or three weeks to have the worst strain of the work over. After that most of our books will be distributed and the chief problems will be settled if not entirely solved (74).

Over the following two weeks Oliver and the Khaki University staff made a concerted effort to reduce the stockpile of supplies in their depot at Namur, distributing as many texts and notebooks as possible to the huge number of students under instruction at the university centres in the Canadian camps and in the battalion schools in the divisions.

The number of students under instruction peaked in January, 1919, while all four Canadian divisions and support troops were still on the Continent. During February however, the situation began to change as the revised demobilization plans for the Canadian Corps were gradually beginning to take shape. One by one, beginning in that month, the Canadian divisions would leave the Continent and the education work would wind down. The statistics for January however, were impressive. Oliver wrote:

Mr. Martin, the 3rd Division educational officer, brought his monthly report in for his division. He had over 14,000 men for lectures during last month and over 3,300 in his classes. This is one of four divisions so that the work is progressing favourably (75).

Oliver sent copies of some of the reports to his wife, who, no doubt, would show them to an interested Dr. Murray at the University of Saskatchewan. Speaking of January, 1919, Oliver noted:

It will likely be our best month. We had slightly over 17,000 students and between 45,000 and 50,000 attended lectures in January. In my report I am giving my friend Tory a little rub of a sly character by indicating that the work in France has been the outcome of the work of the army itself. Tory will have the whole work to be the outcome of the efforts put forward in London. I take a sly satisfaction in prodding him in the ribs occasionally (76).

By the beginning of February, 1919, the Canadians were beginning to leave France and Belgium. In the initial demobilization planning, it was thought that the Canadian Corps could return to Canada directly from the Continent. However, this proved to be impractical and, instead, Canadian troops were withdrawn to huge holding camps in Britain to await the availability of trans-Atlantic shipping. The first troops to leave the Continent were those of the 3rd Division. On February 2, 1919, that division began its withdrawal to Britain. The first battalions to make the ten hour journey from La Havre to Britain were the PPCLI and the Royal Canadian Regiment. The troops left the port of embarkation in drafts of one thousand per day.

In mid-February, Oliver visited the Canadian camps in the Arras area of France in which Khaki University centres were located, to see for himself how the military situation was unfolding and what effect it was having on the educational program. He met with Captain Fred Cox, the former education officer of the 1st Division for the University of Vimy Ridge, who now represented the Khaki University in that area of France, and was briefed on the unexpected change of plans for

troop movements.

I have been looking into the working of the Book Department at Namur, at our stores room. We have our books pretty well all distributed. Gilmour is sending out pamphlets. I am sending him back to England for some more supplies towards the end of the week. I am going to Aubin St. Vaast. The military situation in changing there so frequently that I want to go down to look into the question of a policy. Perhaps we shall not be able to do work in that section of France longer than a month. It is extremely difficult to pursue anything approaching a settled policy with so many movements and changes taking place (77).

While in France, Oliver visited a Royal Engineers camp where he attended a lecture given by Dr. Dale, a professor of education from McGill, one of a number of lecturers being sent over to the Continent by the Khaki University in Britain. The need for instructors and staff however, was diminishing. On February 17, Oliver was able to write to his wife:

One by one I am demobilising my officers and men as the divisions move out. It is a relief to see the work come to an end in a success. Parts of it will linger for a couple of months yet (78).

Because of the difficulty in sorting out transportation back to Canada, a great deal of unrest was occurring among the Canadian troops on the Continent and in Britain. As the same movement problems existed for other overseas troops, and for various other reasons, unrest was also spreading among Imperial troops and those of the other Dominions. A series of measures designed to counter the threat of disturbances among Canadian troops, were introduced by the Canadian authorities. Among these measures, to specifically counter the threat of unrest brought on by political agitators, it was decided to

give lectures on the evils of Bolshevism to the troops departing from the Continent for England. To this end, the Chaplain Service and YMCA requested that Clarence MacKinnon go to Le Havre to address troops as they embarked for England. Oliver gave his consent, and transferred MacKinnon back to the Chaplain Service so he could carry out that activity. MacKinnon, who had been on leave in England, reported back to the Continent for duty on February, 21, 1919. While on leave in London, MacKinnon had visited Colonel Almond, the director of the Chaplain Service, and submitted a report on the Education Service. That report was later to cause a great deal of anguish for Oliver. Meanwhile, Oliver was busily providing students from among the departing troops for Tory's college at Ripon: In mid-February, he wrote:

Captain MacKinnon reported back from London for duty today. He had been helping the Chaplain Service prepare a report and was on his way back to lecture at the 1st Division. I have just completed the job of sending men to England which my good chief Tory imposed upon me. I have secured over 100 for British universities and about 435 for his concentration camp at Ripon. I imagine that these are more than he has himself picked up in England. Captain Mackinnon says that in England they think I am thwarting their scheme (79).

On February 23, MacKinnon left for Le Havre where Canadian troops were embarking for Britain. There, he gave each draft a farewell address as they departed. MacKinnon wrote to his wife from France:

The Chaplains Service, YMCA and Educational Services united in asking me to be sent to Havre to deliver addresses to our troops as they leave. I spoke to audiences of 1,200 and 1,600 twice a day

(80).

While MacKinnon was delivering his farewell message to the troops embarking from Le Havre, Oliver was busy providing an educational program for those troops still on the Continent. He was becoming more and more discouraged and more resolved not to continue with the work in Britain after it was completed on the Continent. He was embittered by Tory's indifference to the work outside Britain and the feelings expressed in the Khaki University headquarters in England about Oliver's supposed negative attitude towards the educational movement in that country. He wrote dejectedly to his wife in late February:

I had a letter from Colonel Tory this morning in fact two, one in which he wants me to do some lecturing under the British Foreign Office in the relationship of Anglo-Saxon peoples, another in which he writes very critically about some work we are doing. I have replied declining the honour in the former case and in the latter giving him a piece of my mind telling him that he exhibits little appreciation of the difficulties or achievements in France. I am hoping that I shall soon be freed from this job - as soon as the divisions leave France. As soon as I am free from this job I shall rejoin the Chaplain Service but under no condition will I work under Tory in England or any other place. Tory knows nothing about France nor the size of the job here nor its difficulties and yet he sits in judgement in London like a nabob. I am however going to stick it to the end for I began the work in France and I am going to carry it through to the end. When I come home I am not going to discuss this business at all. I have never done so except with you (81).

Meanwhile, the day-to-day work continued. In mid-February, Oliver noted that Gilmour had been sent to Cologne to deliver 60 cases of Canadian publications to the British

troops who had remained in the Army of Occupation when the divisions of the Canadian Corps were withdrawn. The books were given to British educational authorities who had established schools for "young soldiers" and apprentices in the Gymnasia of the city.

Along with the regular administrative problems faced by Oliver, another, potentially lethal problem arose. The scourge of "Spanish Flu" was sweeping throughout Europe and the world, leaving in its wake more deaths than had occurred in the recent fighting. Oliver wrote:

Most of our lecture programme is cancelled because there is an army order out against gatherings - a precaution against the flu. Dr Dale of McGill is to lecture in the 4th Division when the flu precautions are past (82).

Relations between Tory and Oliver were not getting any better. In early March, 1919, he wrote to his wife:

I have just had a little tiff with my friend Tory. He wrote certain criticisms of our work and I struck out telling him that I was showing his letter to the General Staff. He has written back a very laudatory communication and again the air is clear (83).

Among other things, Oliver was not impressed with the quality of the Khaki University newspaper, issued from London, which tended to unduly promote Tory's enterprise at the expense of the other areas of university activity. Oliver noted:

I am enclosing you a copy of a page from the Beaver, a paper which Colonel Tory issues. It usually is so poor that I declined to distribute it (84).

The tension between Oliver and Tory was to intensify over

an incident involving Clarence MacKinnon. His work at Le Havre with the departing troops over, Mackinnon had returned to Britain and the Chaplain Service in mid-March, 1919. Oliver had duly sent him off with a letter thanking him for his services and praising his work with the Forestry Corps (85).

Whatever problems may have existed between Tory and Oliver in the past, they paled into insignificance when compared to the row that occurred when MacKinnon's report, written on February 19, to his superior, Colonel Almond of the Chaplain Service, fell into Tory's hands. The report was a "bombshell" and it brought all the animosity between the principals to a head. Oliver, when recounting the incident to his wife, was inclined however, to view the whole thing with a slightly wry humour. On March 9, he wrote:

I have spent most of the day writing letters to Tory. It has been a terrific day. Tory wrote me a long letter complaining about a report which Mackinnon wrote on the educational work for the Chaplain Service. I had given Mackinnon four days leave to go to England to prepare a report on theological education. Whether he did that or not I cannot tell, but he wrote a report on the Khaki University that slated Tory and now Tory gets after me, for at the time he was my assistant. I did not instruct him to write the report. I did not know that he had written it. He is no longer with us but at his wish, he was returned to the Chaplain Service. When he returned, I did not know that he had written it. When I saw the report he was no longer under me. So, of course I cannot be held responsible for what he wrote. I have been chuckling all afternoon at a letter I wrote Tory. Tory, imagining I am afraid I shall not be given credit, writes me that when the story of the work is written I shall not be dissatisfied with what he says. I reply that I am not wanting him to say

anything and that when the story of the work with the fighting men is told I shall not go unmentioned for I have no fear that I cannot tell the story myself. C'est a rire (86).

Oliver was hastily summoned from Belgium to Britain by Tory. On March 17, writing from London, he continued the tale:

I have had a really exciting day. To begin with I didn't know why I had been called over. So I reported to Colonel Tory to find out. And I found out. It seems that Mackinnon made a report to the Chaplain Service on the educational work and this has got to Tory and the fat is in the fire. They have called me over I suppose to give some kind of evidence. You can see what an unenviable position I am in. I saw Tory all morning and Mackinnon all afternoon. I anticipate that we may go up before the general tomorrow. We were to have had a session today but the general was sick. It is a great shame that people cannot settle their differences with a good fight. Tory and I had our usual little bout this morning but we have it out and then start over again. I can assure you that tomorrow is apt to be a trying day for me for both will be appealing to me to back their statements. I expect I shall survive and tomorrow I'll write you about the issue (87).

And, on March 18, he did write:

It has been a memorable day and one that several of us are not likely to forget. The business of Mackinnon's report came to a head. Of course I myself had maintained that MacKinnon had no business to write this report when he was a member of the Chaplain Service and to give it to Almond when he was still working in the educational work. I have spent the past two days endeavouring to make peace. I have had interviews with both sides all day yesterday and today. As you can imagine it was a difficult place for me to be in, in the heart of a quarrel between two friends of mine. I had drafted this morning, a memorandum which I hoped would be acceptable to both sides. There was a disposition to accept it, but finally it was thought wise to have a debate on some of the matters involved. We met at the deputy minister's [of the OMFC] office at 3:30 pm. I maintained a

discreet silence. I answered one or two questions but took no part in the general debate. Tory, Mackinnon and Almond did most of the talking with the deputy minister. When matters had been pretty well thrashed out I brought forward the plan I had written out and all were inclined to accept it, but unfortunately for poor me they went still further and everybody agreed that they would be satisfied if I would write the report. Tory said he was satisfied with my fairness. Almond and MacKinnon were glad to leave me do it and the deputy minister asked me to do it - but it lets me in for an exceedingly hard and difficult job. I told MacKinnon and Almond that it was all very well for them to do the quarrelling but I had to do the work. I said it was like hanging the wrong man, an innocent bystander who was just looking on. I would give dollars to be out of it but it is impossible I guess. However the matter is more or less fixed up for the moment and I am glad (88).

With a dispute between senior officers of the two services, that propelled itself all the way to the deputy minister's office for a solution, behind them, Tory and Oliver settled down to the work of the university. Oliver returned to the Continent and was soon busy with a new project - writing the history of the overseas educational movement.

In late March, Oliver was appointed, or at least he assumed he was appointed, to write the history of the Khaki University. On the 24th of that month, while at his headquarters in Jodoigne, Belgium, he turned to the task of writing the story of the educational movement in France. As he told his wife on March 25:

I am going to toil away hard at the history of the work in France. I think I can pretty nearly complete this part of it by the time we are ready to depart. I have people at work, or supposed to be at work, in England gathering material there, so that it ought not to take so long (89).

By early April, with most of the troops back in England, Oliver had time to work daily on his typewriter, producing sixty pages of manuscript on the history of the movement. While Oliver was thus employed in typing his draft of the history of the Khaki University, he received the news that Tory had gone to London to attend a McGill dinner. Oliver's comment was that Tory was out to get the presidency of McGill University (90). For Oliver, the writing of the history of the movement in France brought back many memories. He confided to his wife:

I have been working away all week at the history of this educational work, I think you would enjoy reading it. I chuckle frequently to myself as I fight over again some old battles in connection with it (91).

One current problem that was not so pleasant to recall, was the problem of overcoming the huge distances between the learning centres of the university, and keeping track of the vehicle transport that had been allocated to the Khaki University on the Continent.

Along with supervising the classroom activities of the Khaki University, Oliver as the commanding officer of the university and all others engaged in educational work on the Continent, had also to look after the more mundane daily administrative details of managing an organization that was at the same time, both academic and military. He had to oversee the discipline, drill and duties of his instructors and other rank personnel who were "on strength" with the university and

be accountable for the equipment and vehicles "on charge" to him and for which he was responsible.

Mobility was crucial to the success of Oliver's work since the educational centres were scattered over such a vast territory and keeping track of the university vehicles was one of the most troublesome of his administrative responsibilities. As early as February, 1919, when the headquarters of the university had moved from Germany to Belgium, the car allocated to Oliver had gone astray, leaving him without transport. The car was eventually found but was not serviceable. Later that month, one of the university cars was stolen. With the war over and a more lax attitude creeping into the army towards its equipment, it became difficult to maintain the required level of discipline among the other ranks assigned to transport duties in the university establishment. In March, Oliver's driver took his car on a joy ride. In early April, Oliver expressed his concern over the damaging of another car belonging to Khaki University. He wrote to his wife from an address described only as "On Active Service":

We have an awful time with our cars. The other day someone got into our garage at Corps headquarters took the car out for four hours at midnight and smashed up several parts of it. Then last night when it was in the YMCA garage at Namur someone stole, I suppose to sell, three of our inner tires and a complete wheel. I suspect a certain amount of collusion but I can prove nothing. It is most exasperating, just at the moment when I am expecting to take the car away on a big trip (92).

A few days later he wrote that he was still having bad luck

with cars and that:

I wanted to make a trip along the old battle front but postponed it because of work. I also was anxious to take Professor Wrong for a trip when he should come over in two or three days (93).

Just at the time Oliver needed his vehicle for the upcoming visit of Tory and Wrong, he found out that the Khaki University car had again gone astray and was broken down one hundred miles away from his headquarters.

Tory's visit to the Continent had been planned as early as February, but the work involved in starting the new semester of the Khaki University in Britain had kept him in that country. Oliver was not impressed with the need to have Tory on the Continent and confided to his wife:

I have received a couple of wires from Tory. He is coming out [to France]. There is absolutely nothing he can do, but I anticipate there is a certain amount of joy-riding that everybody has to do (94).

Finally, in early April, there was time for Tory to journey to the Continent, and time for Oliver to receive him. Tory brought Professor Wrong, who was on the staff of the college at Ripon, with him on his travels to France and Belgium. Wrong came over to lecture. In Belgium, they were to meet with Oliver. On April 10, Oliver, with his car problems behind him, went to meet Tory but, as he noted, "this morning I went down to Namur to meet Colonel Tory and thereby lost the entire day as he did not come (95). Tory and Wrong did arrive a day later and, after their visit with Oliver, they paid a call on the Corps commander, Arthur Currie. Finally, on April

13, Oliver was able to make his trip with Wrong to the battlefield areas, both old and recent. He noted, "Wrong and Tory and I walked out to near Ramillies this afternoon, the scene of one of Marlborough's battles" (96). In Belgium, Tory and Wrong were joined in their travels by Captain Fred Cox. Cox had been Oliver's education officer in the 1st Division since the days of the University of Vimy Ridge. When that division returned to Britain, he went to work for the Khaki University in northwest France. Cox had replaced Captain Hurd as the quartermaster of the Khaki University in Britain when that officer was recalled by the YMCA in order to begin his studies as a Rhodes scholar.

While on their tour, as usually happened whenever Oliver and Tory were together, a disagreement arose between the two of them. This time it was over the history of the overseas educational movement. Oliver had almost finished his history of the educational movement, which he had started a month previously, on the understanding that he had been detailed to write it. Tory seemingly did not see that to be the case and, after the MacKinnon affair, he wanted to have the final say over the version that would be published. After some discussion, Tory did ask Oliver to write the official history of the Khaki University, but on Tory's terms. Oliver declined, refusing to be, as he termed it, a "literary flunky". After this exchange, Tory returned to Britain, leaving professor Wrong to continue touring with Oliver.

Oliver noted wryly that Wrong travelled with him for free "because I know how to do it". On April 17, Oliver wrote to his wife from Arras:

Tory, Wrong and I left Lille at 8:20 am for Ypres. We got back in time to have a late lunch. Then Tory left for Calais. He asked me to undertake a short official account of the work in France for him, and I declined the honour. He asked one cab driver to take him to the station. When the man asked eight Francs he thought he was being robbed and refused. The next man asked fifteen Francs and he refused. The third man asked fifteen Francs and he had to accept him. Wrong and I have come via Douai to Lille. We are getting up early with a view of going to Lens and Vimy tomorrow (97).

Continuing in his resolve to have nothing to do with a "manufactured" official history of the overseas education movement, especially one that would glorify Tory at the expense of those whom Oliver perceived to have actually done the work, Oliver, writing from the Canadian Corps headquarters at Jodoigne on his return from his tour, explained to his wife:

I am not taking any part in the work as historian of the Khaki University. I can assure you that I am glad to be free from the task. I never wanted it and I am not sorry to get it off my shoulders (98).

Oliver's work on the Continent was gradually coming to an end as the Canadian troops continued to leave for Britain. On March 19, 1919, the 1st Division had left the Continent for Britain. With the departure of the 1st Division, the Canadian troops left on the Continent were the 2nd and 4th Divisions and the Canadian Corps headquarters.

At the end of March, units of the 2nd Division began to

entrain for their journey to the French port of departure for England (99). On April 11, 1919, troops of that division embarked from Le Havre. When the 2nd Canadian Division returned to Britain, only the 4th Division, Canadian Corps headquarters, and burial parties, were left on the Continent. In mid-April, the 4th Division left for Britain and, on April 19, 1919, the Canadian Corps headquarters left Belgium for England (100).

At the end of April, with the affairs of the Khaki University on the Continent wound up, Oliver made ready for his departure from Belgium. His spirits on leaving were dampened by a foretelling of what awaited him at the headquarters of the Khaki University in London. On April 30, he wrote, somewhat dejectedly to his wife from Belgium:

I have had another letter from Tory. He is at it again. I have a terrible time getting along with him when we are apart, but we manage when we are together (101).

Finally, in his last letter to his wife from the Continent, Oliver wrote, "I am writing a long letter to Tory, but I shall deliver it personally" (102). His work on the Continent at last completed, Oliver left France for England on April 1, 1919.

Adult Education in the American and Other Allied Forces on the Continent, 1918 - 1919

After Field Marshal Douglas Haig's conference in April, 1918, in which he instituted formal adult education activity

throughout the field armies of the BEF, including the divisions of the other Dominions, the concept of education in the field spread to the other Allied armies in France and to the other theatres on the Continent. Oliver found himself having to describe his program to interested people in countries throughout Europe. In September, 1918, he wrote to his wife:

I had a letter yesterday from Sir Arthur Currie asking me to write to a friend of his in Italy regarding the educational work. He [Currie] ends by saying, 'I am sorry to be troubling you so much Oliver but they will keep writing to me' (103).

The American Expeditionary Force, when it had first come overseas, studied the educational system in the CEF. Following the Armistice, the American Army set up a huge educational organization in the South of France. A farm was purchased and an agricultural program was instituted (104).

The Khaki University in Britain,

October, 1918 to June, 1919

Adult Education in the Imperial and Other Dominion Forces in Britain, 1918 - 1919

While the Canadian overseas forces were engaged in developing an educational movement for their troops, similar activities were taking place in the military forces of Great Britain and of the other Dominions. In the early years of the First world war, following the traditions of the pre-war

British army, a number of attempts were made to introduce adult education into the citizen-soldier battalions of Kitchener's New Army. Again, as in past wars, the work was taken up by the British YMCA. By 1918, as in the Canadian experience, the educational program in the British field armies in France was merged with the parallel, but separate, activity which had grown up in the British Isles. The two schemes were united under a Central Committee, set up at the War Office, Whitehall. Colonel Lord Gorell, a serving professional officer, was put in charge of the whole movement. It was the educational scheme introduced by Lord Gorell as Director of Education in the British army, that formed the basis for the work in the demobilization period and, subsequently, in the post-war British army. Because a program was in place after the war and under the direction of a military officer, during the reorganization of the British army in 1920, the educational establishment remained on the army lists as the Army Educational Corps (105). A similar situation occurred in the Royal Air Force during and after the war. The same thing, of course, did not happen in Canada.

In March, 1917, the New Zealand YMCA had created a small education program for limbless soldiers of the New Zealand Expeditionary Force (NZEF) at Oatlands hospital in Britain (106). Later, following the Canadian example, the New Zealand forces in Britain developed an educational program as part of the demobilization process. The Australian Imperial Force

(AIF) also instituted an educational program for troops from that country stationed in the United Kingdom (107).

The First Term of the Khaki University in Britain, October 1, 1918 - May 31, 1919

While the Canadian Corps was fighting its last battles in France throughout the fall of 1918, and staying on as part of the British occupational force in Germany in early 1919, the educational work was continuing in Britain. The Khaki University, which had been officially established in September, 1918, with headquarters in London, operated from the large camps in that country, in which Canadian troops were located. The Khaki University began its 1918-1919 session on October 1, 1918. The session was divided into two terms, the first of which, having begun in October, ended on January 31, 1919. The second term began on February 1, 1919, and ended on May 31 of that year.

In late October, 1918, the Canadian government authorized an establishment for the Khaki University in Britain of two hundred and forty officers and other ranks, with a further ninety officers and one hundred other ranks for the university establishment in France. In November of 1918, a booklet outlining the course of study, preparing students to matriculate into Canadian universities, was issued by the Khaki University.

The grand total of registrations of students in the Khaki

University for the period from July to December of 1918 was 34,768. Of these, registration for the month of December from the four divisions in France was 8,352 and for the same month, registration in England was 11,755.

The Canadian Divisions Return to Britain, February - April, 1919

From February to April, 1919, the divisions of the Canadian Corps moved back, one by one, to Britain from France, through the port of embarkation at Le Havre. In Britain, the troops were concentrated in a number of large holding camps set aside for them, where they waited to return to Canada (108).

Troop transports were now at a premium, made so by the large number of sinkings of Allied ships by German U-boats during the war. This resulted in many revisions and postponements of sailing dates. In the final days in the Canadian camps in England, the various delays caused much unrest among the troops and in some places, riots and other incidents of mass insubordination occurred. It was from these holding camps that a number of students and faculty for the Khaki University were obtained. However, the number of students did not rise to the level expected by Tory. Although his survey, sponsored by Arthur Currie, produced some more candidates, even when those sent over from the Continent by Oliver were considered, it took time to fill the Khaki

University's establishment.

MacKinnon and Oliver go Home, May, 1919

In February, 1919, Clarence MacKinnon, in the course of his duties, had occasion to travel to Ripon to see how the Khaki University was faring at the beginning of its second term. To his dismay, he found nothing of any significance was going on. MacKinnon was thoroughly disillusioned by what he saw. He wrote to his wife:

I ran up to Ripon with Captain Kent this week to see the education work there. There were about twenty five taking theology, chiefly Methodists and Anglicans. An attempt has been made to concentrate a Khaki University at Ripon but only three hundred students could be secured, half of these are studying for matriculation and half to get off in three months what it would take them years to do at the university at home. The thing is a miserable 'fake'. They have started a medical school with eleven students. They teach anatomy for which they were fortunate enough to secure an old skeleton! I am glad to get away from the whole bunch (109).

Upon returning from the Continent where he had worked under Oliver, first with the Forestry Corps, then with the Khaki University at Bonn and finally at the Canadian port of embarkation from the Continent, MacKinnon left the Education Service and transferred back to the Chaplain Service. On May 12, MacKinnon sent a telegram to his wife informing her that he would be returning home on May 21. On that date he returned to Halifax, leaving Tory and the problems of the Khaki University far behind. MacKinnon was discharged from the CEF and was enroled in the Chaplain Service Reserve of

Officers' List, as honorary captain and chaplain of the Halifax Rifles (110).

Oliver returned permanently from the Continent, at the beginning of May, 1919. On May 3, the day that the end of the war was being celebrated in Britain by a huge victory parade in London, Oliver arrived in the city and reported to the Khaki University headquarters, but did not see Tory. He wrote to his wife from his rooms at the Kenilworth Hotel on Great Russell Street:

I called to see Colonel Tory this morning. He was so busy that I told him I would come in early in the week so I am going in on Tuesday (111).

Oliver had brought with him the letter that Tory had sent to him during his last days on the Continent. Oliver was so irritated by its contents that he took a great deal of care in framing an answer to it:

I am preparing an answer to Tory's letter. I carry it around with me and occasionally add a sentence here and there. I intend to read it to him on Tuesday. I shall be glad to get away from that contentious atmosphere (112).

For Oliver, the anticipation of having to meet with Tory was unsettling. Relations between the two men were now rapidly deteriorating:

I thought of going to the theatre tonight but thought I had better not tire myself before my encounter with Tory tomorrow, so am going to bed early (113).

On May 6, Oliver finally was able to see Tory and, as usual, their meeting ended in a bitter exchange of words. After their meeting, Oliver, thoroughly disgusted, prepared to end

his connection with Tory and the Education Service. Civilly, he burned all acrimonious letters in his possession and began to arrange for his voyage home.

While he was waiting, Oliver decided to take leave in Scotland where he could do some writing and some thinking and planning for his future on returning to Canada. On May 7, he took the train to Edinburgh, stopping over to see the Khaki University organization at Ripon. He wrote from the train:

I am going away on a holiday, killing time and getting a rest till the 19th, by which time my acting rank will become substantive and so my gratuity will be paid on the basis of lieutenant colonel instead of captain, which was the rank I held on Armistice Day, November 11 (114).

Oliver now turned his mind to what awaited him at home. In particular, he was trying to work out what would be his future in relation to the Presbyterian church and to St. Andrew's College in Saskatoon. On returning to Britain from France, he had been elected president of the Chaplains' Fellowship, an organization of army chaplains who would continue to meet together after the war, to carry on their work in Canada, "in the spirit we have worked here" (115). On May 12, he wrote to his wife from Inverness, where he was staying on leave:

I want to be alone for three or four days to work out my ideas on certain matters. I want to come to certain conclusions about the [St. Andrew's] College and I want to try to decide what I am going to do. The difficulty is that I know little of what has taken place. I am eager to see what the church is contemplating, although I shall be surprised if it is contemplating any forward or aggressive step (116).

The next day, he wrote again to his wife, musing:

Having taken their pay for three years I feel that I ought to go back [to St. Andrew's College] for a year or two, but unless conditions are changed I am going to get out in 1920. I am sorry, for I like the work and have no very clear idea where I should go but many things will happen in the next twelve months. I am wondering whether Jean (117) has written to you about the situation at all. She may know why Dr. Murray wrote. It may be because I told him I wanted no appointments this year and someone may be pushing to be appointed. However, time will tell (118).

In a following letter to his wife he concluded:

I am afraid I can't see much daylight on the subject of the work at home. I do not fancy being put in the position of going around the country with a subscription list begging folks to contribute toward a building. I think I have worked hard enough to escape that now. But something definite ought surely to come out of the [Presbyterian] Assembly. My own wish would be to remain this year, look around, and withdraw in 1920. Perhaps when you get further news from Saskatoon as to what the present urgency for me to attend the Assembly is, you will have written and there may be some letter awaiting me in London (119).

Still holidaying at Inverness, Oliver turned to crafting a speech suitable for any occasion in which he might be called upon to give a public address. To his wife, he explained:

I have worked each morning on an address. I know that as soon as I return home I shall have to give some kind of speech. I had nothing ready so I wanted to put a few thoughts together in order that if I were called upon suddenly, with a little effort, I might be able to deliver some kind of address that would not be altogether discreditable. They may try to make me speak at the Assembly. I do not want to do so but it is sometimes difficult to refuse. I now have it planned and I would not be entirely stuck. However, I have a good deal of work to put on it yet but when one knows that he has the back of it broken he does not worry so much. You know that some time ago, Dr. Murray asked me to recommend a man to take Bateman's place (120). I suppose that Dr. Wilson really moves up

into Bateman's place and the new man will probably be second man. I recommended a fine fellow called Thomas whom I knew out here. I have a letter from him [Thomas] and I gather from it that Dr. Murray is appointing him, as he writes me that he wants to see me to obtain 'any useful information regarding the noble city of Saskatoon, soon, in all probability, to be my domicile' (121)

On May 20, 1919, Oliver returned to London from leave in Scotland. He was determined now to see Tory and ask to be "RTU'ed" (returned to unit) to the Chaplain Service.

I have not reported back to educational headquarters yet. I shall do so tomorrow and asked to be returned to my own unit, the chaplains service. That may be done at any time now. I am not keen on getting work to do but I am anxious to get away from the educational service (122).

The next day, Oliver reported to educational headquarters. But before going into the building, he met Tory on the street. Tory had business that kept him away for the day, so Oliver had to wait another day to speak with him. The following day, Oliver had his interview with Tory and put in his request to be transferred back to the Chaplain Service. His request was granted and, submitting his final report to Tory, Oliver was "struck off strength" from the Education Service. He wrote to his wife:

This afternoon I spent concocting a report for Colonel Tory to issue, which is expected to be a symbol of harmony and unity among the brethren (123).

Oliver now had nothing left to do but wait for his passage home. Again his thoughts turned to his future. He had made up his mind that, whatever that future might be, he could no longer remain as the principal of St. Andrew's

College. He confided to his wife:

The time is passing slowly. I am too restless to read anything except newspapers and too disturbed about the future to make any plans. I am keen to get home but I have little idea what the next few months may mean. The simple fact is that the principalship of the college is a hopeless kind of job under present conditions and I do not intend to remain with it. However, that should not be discussed with anyone (124).

Finally, on May 29, 1919, Oliver left London for Canada. His long continuous daily penning of thoughts and hopes to his wife Rita, came to an end on that day. He was now going home to resume what would become a successful life as an educator (in fact, staying on at St. Andrew's College) and cleric. However at the time of his leaving London, all of that was before him and none of it known to him. The future as he saw it then, was unknown and unsettling.

The Second Term of the Khaki University in England, February 1, - May 31, 1919

Beginning in February, 1919, students enrolled in the second term of the Khaki University were concentrated at Ripon, Yorkshire, for their classes. They remained there until the university closed in June of that year.

The university had a faculty of some 70 instructors. The department heads at Ripon included, from Canada: Professors George Wrong, History, University of Toronto; Douglas Killam, Mathematics, Cecil Burgess Drawing and Edouard Sonet, Modern Languages, University of Alberta; Herbert Rose, Classics,

McGill University; S. MacDonald, English, University of New Brunswick, and G. MacGibbon, Economics, McMaster University. From Britain came Professor G. Rinner, Physics, Birmingham University and L. Cowper, Chemistry, London University. As well, Captain A.E. Ottewell, who, under Tory, had set up the Extension Department at the University of Alberta, organized the Extension work for the Khaki University. Dr. James Robertson, who had been the head of Macdonald College, McGill, was in charge of Agriculture.

Courses offered at Ripon were the first and second years of Arts and of Applied Sciences, first year of Law and of Medicine and two years in Agriculture. A three year theological course was also located at Ripon which had ultimately attracted sixty students. In January, 1919, while still in Germany, Oliver had written:

Dr. Tory has issued a Theological calendar for what he calls the Khaki Theological College. He never consults anybody about anything so far as I know. He is surrounded by a coterie of McGill men who constitute a sort of mutual admiration society (125).

On May 31, 1919, the 1918-1919 session of the Khaki University closed. Two years had separated the founding of the Khaki Colleges and the dismantling of the Khaki University. In June, 1919, university level studies at the Khaki University (800 students at Ripon and 355 in British universities) were terminated and students were issued certificates if the courses taken were of university standing. These certificates were accepted as a first year pass standing

in the equivalent courses offered at Canadian universities thereby shortening the Canadian university course by one year. Besides those who took university classes, some four to five thousand illiterates had been taught to read and write and some 50,000 others took courses of study through the university.

Going Home: The Canadians Leave Britain, June, 1919 - August, 1921

At the beginning of 1919, the first plenary session of the peace conference to end World War One had begun in Paris. On June 23, of that year, after a final defiant act two days earlier, when the German Fleet, steaming in to surrender to the Royal Navy, was scuttled by its officers and men at Scapa Flow, the Treaty of Versailles was signed, bringing World War One officially to an end. On July 6, two weeks after the signing of the Treaty of Versailles, King George V declared a "Day of National Thanksgiving" in Britain, to celebrate the successful conclusion of the war.

Throughout 1919, the units of the Canadian Expeditionary Force were continuously being demobilized. In early March of that year, the first overseas troops began to return to Canada. In that month, the PPCLI, whose ranks were initially reinforced from the university companies, and which had fought so furiously in General Lipsett's 3rd Division, was demobilized at Ottawa.

On May 27, 1919, the 28th (Northwest) Battalion arrived in Halifax from Britain. The men boarded a special train and, on June 1, arrived in Regina where they were given a formal civic welcoming home. The Battalion paraded for the last time through the city streets to the military depot where the men received their final processing and were discharged. The Battalion whose contingents of student-soldiers had left Saskatoon four years earlier, to join with men from other prairie towns in Winnipeg and cross the ocean to fight through three long bloody years of war, was no more.

In July, 1919, another unit of student-soldiers, No.3 Canadian General Hospital (McGill), in which E.H. Oliver had served as chaplain in November, 1917, before being summoned to General Lipsett's 3rd Division to start the University of Vimy Ridge, returned to Montreal where it too was demobilized.

By the end of 1919, all Canadian military forces overseas had been repatriated and the Canadian Expeditionary Force had been disbanded. On December 20, 1919, a Canadian order in council was passed which recognized that the First World War had, in effect, ceased to exist. It provided for the repeal, by July 1, 1920, of all orders in council passed under the War Measures Act.

On February 29, 1920, the headquarters of the OMFC in London were closed and on July 1, 1920, Sir Albert Kemp resigned as the Minister of the Overseas Military Forces of Canada. On that date, the OMFC ceased to exist. On August

31, 1921, an Imperial Order-in-Council declared the First World War officially terminated.

Some 9,000,000 people had died in that "war to end all wars". Dying with them was the idealism of 19th Century European society. The new post-war age would be one of science, efficiency, industrialization and social order. The war also produced revolutions and political upheavals which would alter the social structure of nations around the world.

Part III
Chapter 7
AFTER THE WAR

When They Come Marching Home Again

Following the war, veterans of the overseas forces of Canada, returned home to take up their lives again. In September, 1919, the Prince of Wales had come to Canada to lay the cornerstone of the Peace Tower on Parliament Hill in Ottawa. With this act of remembrance, the people of the country put away the war and began to look to the future. At the end of the year, the War-Time Restrictions Act was lifted and Canadians again resumed their peace-time lives.

On July 10, 1920, the Canadian general election took place. Sir Robert Borden had resigned as prime minister and the Unionists (National Liberal and Conservative Party), under Arthur Meighen, formed the Government of Canada. James Laugheed became the Minister of the Interior and again assumed responsibility for the Department of Soldiers' Civil Re-establishment. Laugheed's place in that portfolio was taken by Robert Manion on September 22, 1921. Manion held that portfolio until the end of Meighen's government. James Calder became Minister of Immigration and Colonization and Hugh Guthrie became Minister of Militia and Defence. Meighen's government lasted until December 29, 1921.

Earlier, in August 1919, following the death of Sir

Wilfred Laurier, William Lyon Mackenzie King had been elected as leader of the Liberal party. Following the general election in late 1921, the Liberal Party formed the government of Canada. A year later, Sir Julian, Viscount Byng of Vimy, the former Canadian Corps and 3rd British Army commander, became Canada's Governor General.

Canada After the War, A Country Changed

The country the men returned to had changed. The country faced labour unrest (1) and a loosening of social morals and values. During the first quarter of the twentieth century a shift occurred in liberal thought from one of laissez-faire individualism to a concept of the "positive state" with increased regulatory functions.

In the years preceding the turn of the twentieth century Canada had been a nation with a predominantly rural based population and an economy primarily dependent on agricultural products. By 1918 the nation had changed radically. The Canada of the post-war era was a nation of rapidly growing urban centres with a diversified economy in which primary and secondary industry played a major role. This dramatic change of direction in the life of the nation in some ways was the result of a changing perception of social management, and in other ways it was the cause of a change in social thinking (2).

Although the factors which precipitated this change of

direction in national life were many and varied, one of the most prominent was the reformist philosophy of Progressivism. Progressivism extended into many of the major facets of life, including health, urban living, work and industrial standards, the family and education. The educational policies in Canada over that period reflected this ideological shift. In the field of education it meant a transition from the older concept of a classical education with its emphasis on intellectualism to the idea of a "practical" education that would prepare students to perform useful work in their society. Those liberals who had accepted progressivism as a means of fashioning a better, more orderly, world looked to the schools as the best means of insuring that such a society would be put into place. They placed a high value on religious morality, citizenship and idealism often linked to a Christian imperialism. Above all, they believed in a neo-Hegelian rationalism (3).

The primary underpinning of the philosophy of Progressivism was social planning or, less charitably, social engineering. Before the First World War most of the work that could be considered progressive or reformist was carried out through philanthropy. Those agencies which were formed to redress the more blatant social ills of the day relied on their connections to men of wealth and power to provide the funding through which their aspirations could be realized. In this way, a library system could be built through the

generosity of a Carnegie or new experiments in the approach to agricultural education could be financed through a Macdonald (4). Those who engaged in this type of work often held a utopian vision of a world which idealized the virtues of self-reliance, religion, co-operation and other values generally associated with an idealized rural life-style. They held that these values, if learned by society at large, would bring about a world of harmony and well-being for all.

World War One changed all that. That war was the first time (with the exception of the United States Civil War) that the nations of the English-speaking world faced the prospect of total national commitment to a war effort. The First World War accelerated the use, and acceptance of the newer methods of social organization which had made their appearance in the earlier years of the twentieth century. Government appointed "boards" to control various facets of industrial production, industrial efficiency, the classification and allocation of human resources based on intelligence testing. The introduction of an income tax and the employment of women workers in jobs previously reserved for men, were all factors which contributed to the acceptance of government control and the industrial state. This was the world of the "new liberals." The war galvanized those forces in Canadian society that were moving away from the original concept of practical idealism to the "Brave New World" of social intervention led by the "experts" well schooled in the new

social sciences and the use of the tools of statistical analysis. Positive government intervention was seen by the new liberals as being the best way of soliciting, as one writer put it, voluntary co-operation among the masses (5).

The acceptance of the new liberal concept of the "positive state" which occurred in Canadian society in the early part of the twentieth century was in many ways accelerated by the war. With the advent of the concept of total war most people were willing to allow a far greater intrusion of the state into their lives than would have been tolerated in the pre-World War One era. With the coming of the new "social" sciences and their emphasis on empirical "proof" as the apparently irrefutable foundation on which their "truths" were built, the humanism of traditional liberalism was swept away as this "more scientific bureaucratically coercive ideology emerged (6)." It was the belief of the new liberals that through an emphasis on social organization under the leadership of expert professionals, exercising enlightened social control, a new and better post-war society would emerge.

Veterans' Associations, Government and the Re-establishment of Returned Soldiers

One example of the social planning strategies which motivated the activities of the new liberals was the emphasis on preparing soldiers for a controlled return to civilian life

after the war was over. This was one of the major factors behind the founding of the Department of Demobilization, later the Department of Soldiers' Civil Re-establishment in Canada.

On February 26, 1919, the Soldier Settlement Act, which provided financial aid to returned soldiers settling on government land, was enacted. The Act was administered by the Soldier Settlement Board. Rehabilitation was seen as a means of "regulating" the return of veterans to civil life, rather than a wholesale demobilization or disbanding process, which would result simply in unloading disgruntled and unemployed soldiers on the community and into the clutches of the Bolsheviks.

Significantly, the Department of Soldiers' Civil Re-establishment which had been set up in Canada, under James Laugheed, did not include in its activities any of the educational work which had been developed overseas in the OMFC by the Khaki University. Rather than becoming part of the government's rehabilitation process, this "winning the second battle," (7) those adult educators who had been part of the overseas movement and who remained in the field of education after the war, returned to Canadian universities.

Besides the rehabilitation work of the government, other activities on behalf of the "returned men" was carried out by organizations set up by the veterans themselves. The Canadian Legion of the British Empire Service League was formed in 1919 when a number of existing veterans' groups decided to join

together. The most prominent of the earlier groups was the Great War Veterans' Association, which was formed in November, 1917 (8). The former commander of the Canadian Corps, Sir Arthur Currie, was appointed grand president of the Legion and remained so until his death on November 30, 1933.

Returned Soldiers and Canadian Universities After the War

Upon the disbanding of the Khaki University in May, 1919, arrangements had been made by H.M. Tory to have academic credit extended by Canadian universities to students who had completed war-time university level courses through his institution at Ripon. He also made arrangements to transfer to British universities, classes of the Khaki University still in progress when that institution closed.

Adult education overseas had been academic in nature and was geared to the requirements of the university community in Canada. The council of university presidents, headed by President Falconer of Toronto, which had guided the fortunes of Khaki University from Canada, had an influence in repatriating the movement back across the Atlantic.

As a means of perpetuating the memory of the Khaki University, a "Khaki College Bursary" was instituted, using half of the one hundred thousand dollars which remained from the half million dollars raised by the YMCA for educational work among the overseas troops (9).

Tory, on his return from the war, took to promoting

"citizenship" (10) within the university community, among the students who would become the future leaders of the country. To do so, he turned to the Canadian Officers' Training Corps (COTC) as the vehicle through which he could attain his goal. Among his most avid supporters in this cause was Sir Arthur Currie. In 1920, Currie, after a brief stint in the post-war Canadian permanent force (11), had become the principal and vice-chancellor of McGill University. He retained this post until his death.

Post-War Civil Adult Education in Canada

Those educators who returned from the war to take up their positions again in Canadian universities, also brought back with them an understanding of the need to use adult education as a mean of social reform. Many of these educators, because of their wartime experiences, went on with a greater dedication to introduce social activism into the post-war Canadian society (12). They also saw a need to entrench adult education activity into the mainstream of Canadian life. In 1935, a survey of adult education in Canada was completed under the direction of Dr. W.J. Dunlop, Director of Extension at the University of Toronto, and Dr. Peter Sandiford. As a follow-up to the survey, the Canadian Association of Adult Education, administered by E.A. Corbett, who had been on the staff of the Khaki University, was born in June, 1935. With the formation of the CAAE, the idea of using

adult education as a vehicle to promote social awareness in the civil community now had its place in Canadian society.

Adult Education in the Post-War British Army

During the First World War, adult education in the British army had become part of the regular army establishment. The Education Department had been staffed by military personnel and a professional serving officer, Lord Gorell, had been put in charge. Therefore it had a chance of survival on the regular establishment after the war.

World War One showed clearly that, in the words of the 1919 Report of the British Ministry of Reconstruction:

Adult education must not be regarded as a luxury for a few exceptional persons, nor a thing which concerns only a short span of early manhood, but as a permanent national necessity and as an inseparable aspect of citizenship (13)."

According to the authors of the report, adult education could no longer be considered as a peripheral activity within society but in fact, it had become an important and integral part of the development of the nation. As in the civil community, adult education also continued on in the British army. The Army Education Corps, created in 1920, had been included in the reorganized establishment of the British regular army and adult education became an integral part of military training for British soldiers.

The Reorganization of the Canadian Militia, 1919: The Lack of an Adult Education Presence in the Post-war Permanent and Non-Permanent Militia

Before the First World War, the militia in Canada, although it had a minuscule permanent component, had not been seen by the Canadian public or government as a "professional" force. It was simply the base from which an Imperial contingent could be raised for war, and then disbanded. As World War One progressed, the concept of the Canadian forces overseas changed from that of an Imperial force raised for "special service" by Sam Hughes in 1914, to that of an overseas "Canadian Army," administered by an overseas ministry of the Canadian government, the OMFC. However, the OMFC administered only those Canadians in the Canadian Corps and not those in other Canadian formations attached specifically to British forces, such as the Canadian Forestry Corps, the Canadian Cavalry Brigade and Lines of Communications troops.

With the disbanding of the Canadian Expeditionary Force in 1919, the Federal government decided to reorganize the Canadian militia. The militia in Canada, reflecting the nationalist political philosophy of the government, was to be reorganized from a territorial militia to a "modern" state army. A permanent force was to be organized together with a non-permanent militia.

In the spring of 1919 requests for perpetuating CEF battalions in a reorganized Canadian militia, were submitted

to Ottawa. As a result, the Chief of the General Staff, Major General W.G. Gwatkin, appointed a committee to investigate the fusion of the overseas units with the Non-Permanent Active Militia in Canada. On April 23, 1919, the Otter Committee, named after its chairman, Major General Sir William Otter, was created with the mandate to incorporate the CEF units into the militia without increasing establishments or disrupting the "divisional" system of organization (14). The Otter Committee produced no official report and no action was taken until 1920.

The reorganization of the Canadian militia began in 1920, by a general order dated October 1. Missing from the "order of battle" in the 1920 reorganization, was a Canadian educational corps. There had been no one from the Canadian Educational Service left in the Canadian military after the war to argue the case for its inclusion. The educational service had been part of the overseas military establishment and never part of the permanent or non-permanent militia establishment in Canada. Adult education activity overseas had been administered by civilians brought into the army and these academics had returned to their universities after the war and no educational organization remained to be integrated into the post-war Canadian Army. Therefore, the Educational Service was not perpetuated on the militia establishment as other CEF units were, not even, unlike the Chaplain Service, on the Reserve of Officers' List!

Adult Education in the Canadian Army: Through the Second world War to the Present

Telling the story of adult education in the Canadian military following the First World War is a task too vast and complicated to be attempted here. Indeed, to date, no one has attempted to do so. However, much of the educational work that occurred in the Second World War was so varied and so successful, was a direct result of the lessons learned from the educational movement of World War One. Adult education as it reappeared in the Canadian Army in the Second World War was better organized. It was sponsored by the Canadian Legion Educational Services in both in Canada and overseas and was taken directly into the army, as Oliver and MacKinnon had hoped the First World War movement would have been.

There was a Director of Educational Services on the war-time regular establishment of the Canadian Army, and a Khaki University in the United Kingdom, run on military lines. Other educational activity in the Canadian Army included "current event" lectures and divisional schools in the Canadian occupation force in post-war Europe. Unlike the First World War, classes in the divisional schools were oriented towards vocational activity which would hopefully prepare soldiers for employment on returning home. Many other educational schemes such as the "boy soldier" scheme of the Canadian Technical Training Corps (CTTC) and academic classes in the basic training depots were also a part of the war-time

educational experience in the Canadian military.

From the end of the Second World War to the present, adult education has existed, and in some periods actually thrived, in the Canadian services and in the integrated Canadian Armed Forces. Institutions such as the Canadian Forces Community College system of the Personnel Selection Branch, and the many other branches and directorates in the Canadian Forces that presently deal with education and amenities, all perpetuate the "grand experiment" of the First World war, envisioned by Henry Marshall Tory and put into practice by E.H. Oliver and Clarence MacKinnon.

CONCLUSION

This dissertation has examined the origin and growth of the adult education movement in the Canadian overseas military forces as presented through official military documents and the letters written by two of the principal participants, Clarence MacKinnon and Edmund Oliver. It also addressed a number of previously unanswered questions which had come to the fore when examining adult education activity in the CEF during World War One.

The dissertation outlined the scope of the adult education movement in the CEF in World War One, tracing four distinct phases of adult education activity in the overseas forces, and outlined the role of the YMCA, the Canadian Chaplain Service, the University of Vimy Ridge, the Khaki Colleges and the Khaki University in that movement.

Adult education in the Canadian overseas forces was begun by the YMCA. The initiative in providing adult education to the CEF progressed from the YMCA, which was mandated to provide ancillary services to the overseas forces, and did provide reading rooms, lectures, classes and entertainment but no active educational program for the troops. In the next phase, the Chaplain Service, when it was created in 1916, was given the responsibility to carry out "social work" in the army.

The chaplains who had joined the CEF and became involved

with its educational program, were themselves educators in civilian life. The activities of Clarence MacKinnon in England were focused on using education as a means of enriching the lives of student-soldiers. In France, E.H. Oliver, through the University of Vimy Ridge, provided a vocational program to help soldiers gain employment after the war. The Khaki University, under Henry Marshall Tory, although it began during the demobilization period, after the fighting ceased and was oriented towards helping soldiers return to Canadian civil life, in fact became primarily an academic program, focused on higher education. The purpose of these initiators of Canadian education activity, being focused on academic and vocational work, was not linked to larger social movements such as the Workers' Educational Association (WEA), as happened, for instance, in New Zealand military adult education. In fact, if anything, Canadian educators used adult education to suppress the unrest, political and otherwise, that was present among the troops during the long wait in Britain for repatriation to Canada at the end of the war.

Henry Marshall Tory of the University of Alberta is usually given credit for starting and developing the adult education movement in the CEF during World War One (1). Tory was sent by the YMCA to assess the state of the adult education movement overseas, and started the Khaki University. Tory may certainly be considered as one of the founders of the

educational movement, mainly on the strength of his visit overseas in the summer of 1917 and his subsequent promotion of an adult education plan which was accepted by the YMCA, the Canadian universities and the Canadian government.

Although the plan for the movement was developed by Tory, evidence, as brought out in this dissertation, would indicate that Clarence MacKinnon and E.H. Oliver did the work that turned his planning into actuality, although it was modified to fit their particular views as to what education for the troops should be.

MacKinnon and Oliver, as military officers, operated through the Canadian Chaplain Service and under the authority of the military establishment (MacKinnon, in England, as part of a "temporary" committee of the OMFC and Oliver, in France, within the headquarters of the Canadian Corps). H.M. Tory received his authority from the YMCA and a committee of Canadian university officials, which had the backing of the Canadian government. Therefore, initially, a conflict arose between the Chaplain Corps and the YMCA over which institution should have jurisdiction over the educational movement.

There were two distinct types of adult education activity in Canadian overseas forces, as there were in the British and other Dominion armies. The first, primarily vocational, was developed by E.H. Oliver as a field university, in France, the University of Vimy Ridge. It was this institution that was used as a model for similar adult education activity

instituted throughout the entire BEF on the orders of Field Marshal Haig, himself.

The second, a "national" adult education movement, Planned by Tory, was initiated by Clarence MacKinnon in the Canadian camps in Britain, was organized through the headquarters of the OMFC. Both Oliver's University of Vimy Ridge in France and MacKinnon's Khaki Colleges in England were absorbed into the Khaki University, which became part of the OMFC military establishment, and not a YMCA institution. That agency ultimately withdrew from educational work, except to support it with funds and material, leaving its direction to be determined by the new Canadian Education Service. Tory's Khaki University was part of the demobilization process in the Canadian overseas forces, but, unlike Oliver's University of Vimy Ridge, it primarily followed a university program and was not technical or vocational. Therefore it did not play a role in the demobilization program of the Canadian government department set up to integrate returned soldiers into Canadian civil life.

Because of the conflict between the Chaplain and the Education Services, as to which educational program would prevail, a personal antagonism also arose between H.M. Tory on one hand and MacKinnon, Oliver and Colonel Almond, the director of the Chaplain Service, on the other. This conflict was never resolved, continuing until the antagonists left Europe and the movement was terminated. One of the casualties

of the personal feud between Tory and the chaplains was a comprehensive history of the movement. It could not be written because neither party would accept the others version of who "founded" the Canadian overseas educational movement, or who should get "credit" for its success. For Tory, recognition as the originator of the educational movement had implications in regard to a possible bid for the job of principal of McGill, and would enhance his place in history.

Finally, the ultimate question to be answered is: was the education movement in the Canadian overseas forces successful, did it leave any results behind, or was it simply a "grand experiment"? The answer to the question, is not easy. By what results can the success of the movement be measured (2)?

One way is to see if the troops themselves benefited from the movement. The answer seems to be that, although the work of Oliver and MacKinnon simply grew out of the existing educational conditions in the overseas forces in France and Britain, some learning was accomplished but it did not lead to any well organized, successful system for sustained academic work. Nor did the more elaborate but, as MacKinnon noted, more ineffectual large-scale operation of Tory's Khaki University at Ripon.

The overseas educational movement did not take hold in the Canadian military after the war. The constant bickering between the participants curtailed any attempt to perpetuate the Education Service in the post-war reorganized Canadian

militia. Tory abandoned the army for academia and Oliver and MacKinnon went back to the church and theological colleges.

So, all in all, the adult education movement in the Canadian overseas military forces was not particularly successful in attaining its immediate objectives among Canadian troops in the First World War. It did not find a place in the post-war rehabilitation process nor was it successful in influencing adult education in the immediate post-war Canadian military or civil community. Although the Canadian adult education movement overseas was not particularly successful in World War One, it did provide a guide for the educational work in the Canadian military in World War Two. In that war, the educational work was truly successful. It was in fact, the movement that Oliver, MacKinnon and Tory had hoped it would be in their war.

The major legacy of the "grand experiment" however, perhaps may be found beyond the boundaries of Canada, in the armies of Britain, the other Dominions and the armies of the United States and other nations around the world, where, during and after World War One, the value of mass adult education for the soldiers in their ranks was seen as being of vital importance. The Canadian war-time educational activity did not act as a model, but more of an impetus in showing that, as Oliver said, when trying to convince sceptical field commanders of the value of his University of Vimy Ridge in late 1917, such things really were possible.

END NOTES

Introduction

1. Stuart W. Semple, "The Role of the Federal Government in Certain Educational Activities in the Commonwealth of Australia, 1901-1942." (Unpublished Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Toronto, 1970).
2. Roger W. Boshier, "John Condliffe Confronts Captain Kirk: a New Zealand Perspective on Mandatory Adult Education in World War One." Studies in Adult Education, (1982, 14), pp. 16-42 and "Revolting Soldiers: The Origins of Education in the Armies of the Empire in World War One." (University of British Columbia).
3. The most prominent to do so, was Tory's biographer, E.A. Corbett. His, Henry Marshall Tory, Beloved Canadian, (Toronto: The Ryerson Press, 1954), is the standard work on Tory, in which he is credited with founding the overseas educational movement. Generally, this is the work cited by others who write about the Khaki University, e.g., James A. Draper "Khaki University" in The Canadian Encyclopedia, (2nd Ed), Edmonton: Hurtig Publishers, 1987. p. 1134. Although Tory was the "founder" of the Khaki University, he was not necessarily the sole founder of the educational movement.
4. Boshier, op.cit. and Semple, op.cit. In a subsequent paper, Semple states, "Nevertheless, the distinctive character of Vimy Ridge, the difficult conditions under which it had to operate during the German spring offensive of 1918, and the shortage of books and supplies, warrant a reassessment of its work within the history of Canada's first army education scheme." Stuart W. Semple, "Educating in Khaki: Canadian and Australian Approaches to Adult and Continuing Education During the First World War". (Dalhousie University, n.d.)

Chapter 1

1. Semple, op.cit.
2. Boshier, op.cit.
3. One writer who certainly did not make this distinction was George Stanley. In spite of the title of his article, "Military Education in Canada, 1867-1970," in Hector J. Massey ed., The Canadian Military, A Profile, (Toronto: The Copp Clark Publishing Co., 1972), pp. 169-196, he outlines the history and structure of professional schools in the military, including the Royal Military College and The National Defence College.

4. For a history of dependent education in the British army, see, Colonel N.T. St. John Williams, Tommy Atkins' Children, The Story of The Education of The Army's Children, 1675-1970, (London: HMSO, 1971). Although the Canadian military also provided for the education of its dependent children, no comprehensive study of that activity exists. For an account of the operation of DND schools in later years, see, Rene Morin, DND Dependants' Schools, 1921-1983. (Ottawa: Directorate of History, National Defence Headquarters, 1986).

5. A significant text which puts the history of military adult education in the United States during World War One squarely in the field of social history is Carol S. Gruber, Mars and Minerva, World War I and the Uses of the Higher Learning in America, (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1975). One of the major difficulties in deciding where to "put" the history of adult education stems from the inability of those engaged in it to decide whether adult education is a movement or a profession. See Michael R. Welton, "Vivisecting the Nightingale: Reflection on Adult Education as an Object of Study," discussion paper prepared for the Canadian Association for the Study of Adult Education, February, 1986.

6. An example of this type of writing is Charles E. Phillips, The Development of Education in Canada, (Toronto: W.J. Gage and Co. Ltd., 1957).

7. The work of this type of historian paralleled that of American historians such as Bernard Bailyn and Lawrence Cremin who, following the social history tradition of American historiography, moved the history of education from the inward looking focus of an Elwood Cubberley to a linkage with the larger world of the social sciences and social history. The school could now be seen as one of the agents of socialization. See J.D. Wilson, R. Stamp and L. Audet, Canadian Education: A History, (Scarborough, Ontario: Prentice Hall of Canada Ltd., 1970).

8. Michael Katz, The Irony of Early School Reform: Educational Innovation in Mid-Nineteenth Century Massachusetts, (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1968) and his Class, Bureaucracy and Schools: The Illusion of Educational Change, (New York: Praeger, 1975). His work emphasized the "social control" interpretation of educational history focusing on the intent of elites in founding public systems of education without regard to the wishes of those upon whom the educational system was being imposed. Katz's quantitative approach was refined through the Canadian Social History project which he directed at the Ontario Institute for the Study of Education, this project was analogous to the work of the Cambridge Group for the History

of Population and Social Structure. Their work is reflected in the writings of such historians as Peter Laslett and Richard Wall. Also see Michael Katz, The People of Hamilton, Canada West: Family and Class in a Mid-Nineteenth Century City, (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1975).

9. C. Hartley Grattan, In Quest of Knowledge. (New York: Arno Press and the New York Times, 1971).

10. J.R. Kidd, Adult Education in Canada, (Toronto: Canadian Association for Adult Education, 1950).

11. See Michael R. Welton ed., Knowledge for the People, (Toronto: O.I.S.E. Press, 1987). See his introduction for an overview of adult educational thought.

12. This period of course varies as Confederation became a reality for different geographic regions of what is now Canada and even extended into the post-Confederation eras in some places. The fortress of Halifax and the station of Esquimalt for instance, were influenced by the British military system to 1905. In Newfoundland, of course, the same system obtained, to a greater or lesser degree, until 1949. Happily, there is a small but reasonably comprehensive body of literature in existence which describes the evolution of British army education, both dependant and adult. See, Williams, op.cit. Unfortunately the same cannot be said for Canadian military education. Even the military education activity which took place in the settlements and garrisons of British North America in the pre-Confederation era, has yet to be adequately researched. Some of the literature which has been produced on this topic includes, Eleanor Kite Senior, British Regulars in Montreal, An Imperial Garrison, 1832-1854, (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1981) and Carol M. Whitfield, Tommy Atkins, The British Soldier in Canada, 1759-1870, (Ottawa: National Historic Parks and Sites Branch, Parks Canada, 1981). pp. 102-110.

13. Massey, op.cit., p. 1, was one of the first writers to attempt to look at Canadian military sociology. There is a significant amount of literature in the United States on military sociology, the best known examples of which are the writings of Morris Janowitz. His Sociology and the Military Establishment, (New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1965) is the standard work in this field.

14. A number of works have appeared recently which focus on the Canadian militia as a social phenomenon. Among them, are three written by Desmond Morton. They are: Ministers and Generals, Politics and the Canadian Militia, 1868-1904, (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1970); A Peculiar Kind of Politics, Canada's Overseas Ministry in the First World

War, Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1982) and, with Glen Wright, Winning the Second Battle, Canadian Veterans and the Return to Civilian Life, 1915-1930, (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1987).

15. For a description of James Hughes' work as an educator, see, R.M. Stamp, "James L. Hughes, Proponent of the New Education," in Robert S. Patterson, John W. Chalmers and John W. Friesen, Profiles of Canadian Educators. (Toronto: D.C. Heath Canada Ltd., 1974). pp. 188-212. James Hughes' brother, John, became the General Officer Commanding, Troops, at Camp Sewell, Manitoba in 1915. The camp was renamed Camp Hughes in his honour. The third brother was Sam Hughes.

16. The shift of emphasis within education paralleled a shift in early 20th Century North American society as a whole. Society became less rural and agriculturally based as it moved towards urbanization and an industrial base. For a study of the transformation of the "liberal" system of education to one which was based on an "industrial" model, see, B. Anne Wood, Idealism Transformed, The Making of a Progressive Educator. (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1985).

17. Carl Berger, The Writing of Canadian History, (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1986), p. 297-298.

18. Ibid, p. 301.

19. As is noted by one compiler of a Canadian military bibliography, "Materials on soldiers' rehabilitation have not been considered. Veterans' publications and works about veterans have been included only if they deal directly with the wartime activities of individuals or units." O.A. Cooke, The Canadian Military Experience 1867-1983: A Bibliography, (Ottawa: Directorate of History, Department of National Defence, 1984), p. xiv. Upon the conclusion of both World Wars, since the rehabilitation of veterans was an immediate social problem, a number of books were written about this process. Two examples are Robert England, Discharged, (Toronto: the Macmillan Company of Canada, Ltd., 1943) and Walter S. Woods, The Men Who Came Back, (Toronto: The Ryerson Press, 1956). This subject, however, has remained dormant over the years until the recent publication by Desmond Morton and Glenn Wright, op.cit., 1987.

20. Berger, op.cit., p. 169. This is not a particularly fair designation. Some very technically competent narrative history has been done in this manner. A good example is Colonel G.W.L. Nicholson, Canadian Expeditionary Force 1914-1919, (Ottawa: The Queen's Printer, 1962).

21. Ibid., p. 172. See Colonel C.P. Stacey, Official History

of the Canadian Army in the Second World War, (Ottawa: Queen's Printer, 1957).

22. George F.G. Stanley wrote the standard work on Canadian military history, Canada's Soldiers, 1604-1954; the Military History of an Unmilitary People, (Toronto: Macmillan, 1954).

Chapter 2

1. Colonel A.C.T. White, The Story of Army Education, 1643-1963, (London: George G. Harrap and Co. Ltd., 1963), p. 17. As a part of the adult education process, Parliamentary generals issued books to their troops, the best known being the Soldiers Pocket Bible printed in 1643. 2000 copies were issued to the garrisons of the West Indies. In modern times something akin to this approach of "educating" the army towards the acceptance of a particular ideology can be seen in the attachment of "political commissars" to Red Army units during and after the Russian Revolution.

2. Ibid., p. 18.

3. For a description of the Lancastrian system as used in Madras, see, Rev. Andrew Bell, Instructions for Conducting a School Through the Agency of the Scholars Themselves: Comprising the Analysis of an Experiment in Education, Made at the Male Asylum, Madras, 1789-1796, (London: The Free School, Whit Chapel, 1813).

4. See, John Prebble, Mutiny, (London: Penguin Books Ltd., 1975).

5. White, op.cit., p. 19.

6. Ibid., p. 28.

7. In 1825, Francis Place organized the first mechanics' institute in London. See, J.F. Harrison, A History of the Working Men's College, 1854-1954, (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1954) p.82., As part of the great Volunteer movement that swept across Britain and the Empire throughout the latter part of the 19th Century, company Volunteer Rifle Corps were set up by factory owners, manufacturers and other men of influence with Radical and Liberal political views. The movement embodied the ideals of manliness, activity and patriotism. As well, many who joined these units hoped the movement would grow into a huge "citizens militia", a "people's" army. One of these units was the Working Men's College Volunteer Corps.

8. A discussion on the formation and history of the Army Temperance Association can be found in the 1976-77 Report of the National Army Museum, pp. 9-16.
9. Robert England, Discharged, (Toronto: The Macmillan Company of Canada Ltd., 1943), p. 56. The British YMCA provided welfare and educational work at army summer training camps in that country since 1890.
10. See Patrick A. Dunae, Gentlemen Emigrants, (Vancouver: Douglas and McIntyre, 1981). For a discussion on the rise of professionalism and the subsequent displacement of "gentlemen" in British society see, chapter 3, pp. 48-65.
11. The emphasis on senior officers acquiring "scientific" knowledge at staff college is exemplified and lampooned in the popular song of the day, written by W.S. Gilbert, "I am the very Model of a Modern Major General," in the Gilbert and Sullivan operetta, Pirates of Penzance. Lieutenant Colonel John Lefroy, as Inspector-General, Military Schools, was appointed to advance the level army scientific education.
12. White, op.cit., p. 33. Before 1846, garrison and regimental schools had been supervised by the army Chaplains-General. The most productive of whom, was G.R. Gleig. Appointed in 1844, he became Inspector-General of Schools and supervised the newly formed Corps of Army Schoolmasters.
13. See Williams, op.cit., p. 108, for army Certificates of Education. Also see White, op.cit., p. 70. Army certificates were of first, second and third class. Third class was a simple record of literacy, second class represented the minimum standard education acceptable for a soldier to function as a Non-commissioned Officer. The first class certificate was roughly equal to the G.C.E. (Ordinary Level). This was a qualification for promotion to ranks above that of sergeant.
14. See, C.P. Stacey, Canada and the British Army, 1846-1871, (London: Longmans Green and Company, 1936).
15. During the War of 1812, a letter was published in the Kingston Gazette which advocated the fitting up of one of the rooms of the school for the instruction in ordinary school subjects of young militiamen garrisoned in the town. See, Charles E. Phillips, The Development of Education in Canada. (Toronto: W.J. Gage & Co. Ltd., 1957). p. 359.
16. For a description of the school and library of the Montreal garrison see, Senior, op.cit., pp. 151-153. For a detailed description of the workings of garrison libraries and recreation rooms see, Whitfield, op.cit., pp. 102-110 and pp. 170-182.

17. See, Murray G. Ross, The Y.M.C.A. in Canada, (Toronto: The Ryerson Press, 1951). p. 17-18. The first two presidents of the Halifax association were the Honourable H.H. Cogswell and Chief Justice Haliburton. The association was "well equipped and had a library which, in a few years, had over a thousand volumes." The association's regular lectures "were received by crowded audiences with great satisfaction." The YMCA in Halifax in its first year of operation, provided a centre for the social and cultural life of the city. In 1859, a YMCA was founded in Truro, Nova Scotia. Its first president was Rev. Alex Forrester, D.D., the superintendent of education for Nova Scotia.

18. Ibid. A "Christian Committee" of 12 members was elected to promote programs suited to the war situation of the United States military forces. Each Association was encouraged to have an "Army Committee," and the organization of "Army Associations" was suggested. The Commission was confined to the Northern states. The Association recruited chaplains for the Union forces. About two and a quarter million dollars was raised and spent by the Commission through the war years. In the later years of the 19th Century, the American YMCA was also active in the Spanish-American and the Mexican Wars.

19. Ibid., p. 28. in which, A. Sandham, History of the Montreal Young Men's Christian Association, (Montreal: YMCA, 1873) p 52.

tells of tract distributors visiting the military barracks regularly in the early 1860s and of the first social meeting of young men of the military garrison in the YMCA rooms. This constitutes the first YMCA military work in the British provinces.

20. Ibid., Ross, p. 111 and p. 28, quotes Sandham, p. 11 and p. 52, op.cit., who recounts that during the Fenian Raids, the Montreal Association offered the services of a Committee of 20 members to deliver parcels at the various camps, distribute tracts and reading matter, and hold meetings where practicable. This offer was accepted by the Military authorities, and the camps at St Johns, St Armand, Hudingdon and Durham were visited regularly, with most beneficial result, as acknowledged by the officers in charge.

21. Desmond Morton, A Military History of Canada, (Edmonton: Hurtig Publishers, 1985). p. 93.

22. Charles W. Bishop, the Canadian Y.M.C.A. in the Great War, (Toronto: The National Council of the Young Men's Christian Associations of Canada, 1924), p. 5.

23. Ross, op.cit., p.112. (Ross cites the Association Monthly, Vol.II, No.8, 1871, pp 192-193)

24. Ibid.

25. The Victorian Order of Nurses were organized by Lady Aberdeen to commemorate Queen Victoria's Diamond Jubilee in 1897. The Order was modelled on the Queen's District Nurses' Service which had been instituted in Britain by William Rathbone in 1887. Marjorie Pentland, A Bonnie Fechter, (London: B.T. Batsford Ltd., 1952), p. 120. For an account of the founding of the Queen's District Nurses' Service see Cecil Woodham Smith, Florence Nightingale, (London: Constable and Co. Ltd., 1950), pp. 460-461 and 568-569.

26. For an analysis of Hughes contribution to the "New Education" movement see, R.M. Stamp, "James L. Hughes, Proponent of the New Education," in Robert S. Paterson, John W. Chalmers and John W. Friesen, Profiles of Canadian Educators, (D.C. Heath Canada Ltd., 1974), pp. 192-212.

27. Morton, op.cit., p. 128. Also, the early life of the Hughes brothers is discussed in detail in, Ronald G. Haycock, Sam Hughes: The Public Career of a Controversial Canadian, 1885-1916, (Waterloo: Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 1986).

28. Desmond Morton, "The Cadet Movement in the Moment of Canadian Militarism, 1909-1914." Journal of Canadian Studies 13 (2) (Summer 1978): 56-68.

29. Many of the people involved in the Halifax YMCA, such as H.H. Cogswell and the superintendent of education for Nova Scotia, Alex Forrester were involved in the cadet movement in that province. Robert Borden himself, while in Halifax in the early years of his life, was commissioned as Cadet Services of Canada officer.

30. This term is used in the sense used by Carl Berger to describe "Imperial Federationists" in his, The Sense of Power, (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1970).

31. William Hamilton Merritt was the president of the Royal Canadian Military Institute. His best known work supporting universal conscription was, Canada and National Service, (Toronto: The Macmillan Company of Canada, Ltd., 1917). Merritt advocated a national army based on the Swiss model, in which all Canadian males would, on their seventeenth birthday, be required to register for national service. After a number of months of full-time active duty they would return to the civil community and would thereafter be obligated to serve in the army on a part-time basis until reaching sixty years of age. In this way Switzerland could mobilize a large army from among her citizens at very short notice.

32. Frederick W. Borden, as a Liberal, represented King's

County, Nova Scotia in Parliament. He had been Minister of Defence in the Laurier government from 1896 to 1911. A surgeon, he had previously been for twenty-eight years, a militia medical officer in the 68th Battalion, Canadian militia. Desmond Morton, Ministers and Generals, (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1970), p. 117. Borden's only son, Harold Borden, also a militia officer, had been killed in action in 1900 during the Boer War. Henry Borden, ed., Robert Laird Borden: His Memoirs, (Toronto: The Macmillan Company of Canada, Ltd., 1938). A monument to him stands in the main crossroads of the little town of Canning in the Annapolis Valley of Nova Scotia.

Chapter 3

1. World War One was preceded by a confusing, interlocking tangle of treaties between the European powers. In 1872, an alliance was struck between the emperors of Russia, Germany and Austria, to 1878. In 1877, Russia declared war on Turkey. The Turkish Sultan had closed the Straits of Bosphorus to Russian shipping and the Russians wanted to take control of Constantinople but the British fleet in the Mediterranean prevented them from doing so. In the ensuing peace treaty, the Turkish Christian provinces were transformed into Balkan states, under the influence of Russia. The Austrian Empire occupied the two Balkan states of Bosnia and Herzegovina. In 1879, a general alliance between Austria and Germany was instituted, to 1919. In 1881, a secret treaty was signed by which Russia, Germany and Austria agreed to remain neutral in case of any war involving any of them, and Russia agreed to respect Austria's rights in the Balkans, to 1887. In 1882, the Triple Alliance, between Germany, Austria and Italy, was a defensive alliance designed to protect Italy and Germany against France. In 1887, a secret treaty was signed between Russia and Germany in which Russia's aims in the Balkans were virtually recognized. According to some, these confusing alliances of European states assured all of them would be drawn into war. All that was needed was the spark that would set the whole thing in motion. The assassination in Sarajevo provided that spark.

2. Nicholson, op.cit., p. 45. The Belgian Army was on the Coast; the French 8th Army was next, along a seventeen mile front; the BEF held the Flemish Plain south to Givenchy; and French armies held the remainder of the line to the Swiss border. By December, 1914, the BEF consisted of two British Armies, the 1st and 2nd, comprising a total of eleven regular infantry, and five cavalry divisions. The 1st British Army (1st, IVth and Indian Corps), commanded by Sir Douglas Haig, held a trench line eleven miles long, centred on Neuve Chapelle. The 2nd British Army, commanded by Sir Horace

Smith-Dorrien (IIInd, IIIrd and Vth Corps), held a seventeen mile front across the valleys of the Lys and the Douve, extending northward from Bois Grenier to just beyond the Ypres-Comines railway, where it joined the French 8th Army.

3. When the war broke out, Currie was a lieutenant colonel in the militia, having risen from the ranks to command the 5th Canadian Garrison Artillery in Victoria, B.C. In 1893, Currie had gone from Ontario to British Columbia where he became a school teacher. He later went into business in Victoria and became a senior partner in one of the leading real estate firms on Vancouver Island. He had originally gone to Valcartier as the commander of the Vancouver Highland Battalion and, while there, was given command of the Western Brigade of the First Canadian Contingent. Major Lipsett, Currie's brigade major, was to become an important figure in the educational movement

4. Ross, op.cit., p. 273.

5. Bishop, Op.Cit., p. 17. As many as 14,000 sheets of paper and 9,000 envelopes were distributed in one day. The work of the Association supplemented the military field post office which had been set up at Valcartier. The YMCA secretaries did some \$800. worth of stamp business a day and handled many thousands of outgoing letters.

6. Ibid., p.18. A popular item was ice cream. The initial 100 gallon a day supply rapidly increased to some 325 gallons a day being dispensed. At times soldiers were lined four deep around the counter waiting to be served.

7. Ibid., p.19. Thirty-four teams were entered in the baseball league and thirty-two in the soccer league. During one week seventy-six baseball games were played and seventy-four games of football.

8. Ibid., p. 21. The names of the six original YMCA supervisors were, H.A. Pearson of Toronto, H. Whiteman, A.W. Forgie, C. Graham from Nova Scotia, O.D. Irwin, and A.J. Peguegnat, from Ontario.

9. Colonel A. Fortescue Duguid, The Official History of the Canadian Forces in the Great War, 1914-1919, Vol. I, (Ottawa: King's Printer, 1938). p. 140. See also Bishop op.cit. p.23.

10. IV Corps consisted of the 7th, 8th, 51st (Scottish) and 1st Canadian Divisions. The 1st Canadian Division consisted of the 1st, 2nd (5th, 7th, 8th and 10th Canadian Infantry Battalions) and 3rd Canadian Infantry Brigades.

11. On July 7, 1915, Private A. Simmons of 3rd Field

Ambulance, RAMC, attached to the CEF in France, writing to his sister in Melbourne, Manitoba says, " I guess you will have read in the papers about the Canadians. We have had a hard time of it. It was murder that is all you can call it. We have been cut up badly but we saved the situation. We have lost about fifteen in the 3rd Field Ambulance, eleven wounded and four taken prisoner by the Germans, with two motor ambulances." The Carberry Manitoba, News-Express, Vol 27, No.4, dated, July 2,1915.

12. Bishop, op.cit., p.39.

13. The University of Saskatchewan, Sheaf., Special Memorial Number, dated, April 19, 1928. ' At 12 pm on Monday, April 5, 1915, the university company marched through the streets of Saskatoon, headed by the 105th [Regiment] band and accompanied by all the soldiers under training in Saskatoon, to the CPR station for Montreal. Dr, Murray accompanied them as far as Yorkton where he was to attend a teachers' convention.' By July, 1915, The men were in the trenches as reinforcements for the PPCLI.

See also, Dalhousie University archives, President's Papers, MS1-3, A941 (A. Stanley MacKenzie), Soldiers, Returned, Education of, in a letter to MacKenzie, dated June 24, 1915, the 3rd University Company requested assistance from the Dalhousie university administration in finding recruits. MacKenzie complied and, in sending out inquiries to various public places in Halifax to advertise the Company, received a reply on July 19, from the manager of the Empire Theatre on Jacob Street, to the effect that he would be only to pleased to comply and had "already tacked same up in the main lobby of the theatre."

14. Camp Hughes, WUB, Western University Battalion, Vol.1, No.1. dated, October 21, 1916. 'On October 29, 1914, the members of the University of Saskatchewan platoon of the Saskatoon Company, 28th Battalion, assembled for Holy Communion at 6:45 am in Emmanuel College before proceeding to the train to join the Battalion in Winnipeg. Earlier, they had assembled in Convocation Hall where they had received an address and each man had been presented with a wrist watch.'

15. The 28th Battalion assembled in Winnipeg in early 1915 and was quartered in the Horse Show Building on the Exhibition Grounds in that city. The Base Company came from Prince Albert, No. 1 Company from Port Arthur and Fort William, No. 2 Company from Regina, No. 3 Company from Moose Jaw and No. 4 Company from Saskatoon. The commanding officer of the battalion was Lieutenant Colonel J.F.L. Embury. Embury was a Regina lawyer.

16. Bishop op.cit., p.60.

17. The descriptions of life in the trenches for troops of the Canadian Corps which occur throughout this dissertation are taken from the unpublished manuscript of Brigadier General Alexander Ross. Ross began the war as the commander of the Regina Company of the 28th (Northwest) Battalion which was recruited primarily in Saskatchewan. The 28th became a unit of the 2nd Canadian Division and landed in France with that division in September, 1915. Ross later went on to command the 28th Battalion and 6th Brigade. His manuscript was incorporated into D.G. Scott Calder's History of the 28th Battalion, 1914-1919. This work, also unpublished, is used in, Stewart A.G. Mein, Up The Johns! The Story of the Royal Regina Rifles, (Regina: Senate of the Royal Regina Rifles, 1992), and is the basis for descriptive material pertaining to the 28th (Northwest) Battalion, CEF. Also, since a specific analysis of the events of the First World War is not central to the development of the thesis of this dissertation, the official standard Canadian interpretation of the war, as found in Colonel G.W.L. Nicholson's The Canadian Expeditionary Force, op.cit., is the basis for the generic descriptive material pertaining to the war, used throughout this dissertation.

18. Calder, op.cit. p.35.

19. Units of the 3rd Canadian Division included:

- a) From Corps Troops; 7th Brigade, consisting of the RCR, the PPCLI, the 42th and 49th Infantry Battalions and the 7th Trench Mortar (TM) Battery,
- b) From the six regiments of the 1st and 2nd Canadian Mounted Rifles (CMR) brigades in France; 8th Brigade, consisting of 1st, 2nd, 4th and 5th CMR Battalions, and the 8th TM Battery,
- c) 9th Brigade, consisting of the 43rd, 52nd, 58th and 116th Infantry Battalions and the 9th TM Battery.

20. Calder, op.cit., P.55. In describing the battle of the craters in his manuscript, Ross noted, "In the morning, the real crash came. At first, in the dim light of morning, the advance groupings of the German attacking force was mistaken for working parties. There had been so many of these out in no man's land that orders were issued never to fire on unknown patrols.

All through the day the German guns kept up a terrific bombardment of the back areas. Units in reserve at Voormezele that morning, were so badly shelled that they had to move forward for safety.

Before noon, the Germans swarmed over the area time and time again and by sheer weight of numbers overpowered those who held the craters and wiped out the small groups sheltering in shell holes. Counter attacks were organized by parties from the 27th, 28th, 29th and 31st Battalions, CEF, most of

which were doomed to failure.

All through the 6th and 7th April the guns of the enemy kept up a terrific bombardment of the back area. The 28th Battalion CEF in reserve during the morning at Voormezele was so badly shelled that it moved forward to safety. Attempts were made by officers of this Battalion to reconnoitre the area of the craters and bombing parties were sent forward in the vain hope of reaching parties of the 31st Battalion, CEF who were fighting a game holding battle against vastly superior forces."

21. The carnage of the mine explosion was terrible, the 28th Battalion alone suffered over 200 fatalities.

22. Nicholson, op.cit., p.199.

23. Calder, op.cit., p. 86.

24. Bishop, op.cit. p.100.

25. Ibid., p.102.

26. Shell fragments wounded the Commanding Officer of the 28th Battalion, Lieutenant Colonel J.F.L. Embury in the arm and foot. Embury later went to a staff job in 3rd Echelon, GHQ, where, among other things, he was to administer to Oliver's future educational work in France. Embury continued on as the senior staff officer in the Canadian Echelon of GHQ to the end of the war.

27. Saskatchewan Archives Board, "War Diary of the 28th Battalion, CEF." Extracts from the war diary of the 28th Battalion for those days record:

02 03 1917- The Battalion was relieved in the front-line by the 29th Battalion and marched back to Estree Cauchie. Billets good. Weather fine.

03 1917- Battalion in billets at Estree Cauchie. Training. Fine.

04 03 1917- Training. Fine. Divine Service held.

05 03 1917- Training. Fine. Syllabus carried out.

06 03 1917- Training. Bathing carried on at Camblain L'Abbe Baths. Fine. Syllabus carried out as far as possible.

07 03 1917- Battalion moved to Grand Servins. Accommodation poor. All officers and NCO's down to Platoon Sergeants on flagged area. CO roughly outlined scheme. Very cold and frosty with keen wind. Gas alert on.

08 03 1917- Training. Unable to use flagged area owing to crop conditions and companies carried on attack practice under Company arrangements during morning and specialist training in afternoon. Very cold with snow. Gas alert on. Training of reinforcements carried on.

13 03 1917- a reinforcement draft of thirty other ranks came

to the Unit mostly from the 195th Battalion, CEF.
 19 03 1917- Battalion parade and attack practice carried out morning and afternoon. Dull. At Grand Servins.
 20 03 1917- Brigade attack practice. Dull.
 21 03 1917- Brigade attack practice. Conference of Cos and Adjutants at Brigade HQ. Parade ground training.
 22 03 1917- Training on flagged area with signallers. Training in musketry in afternoon. Cold with snow.

28. Calder in Mein, op.cit., p.40. The description of the 28th Battalion's part in the battle of Vimy Ridge is taken from Calder, pp. 124-131. It is the only battle mentioned in this dissertation, in which the events are detailed. This is done because it was such an important battle for the Canadian Corps and for the mythology of the Canadian nation.

Part of the development of "Canadian" citizenship during the war and after, involved the attempt to develop a "distinct" Canadian identity. One of the prevalent images used at the time to advance this end, involved the glorification of the battle of Vimy Ridge. Vimy was ushered into the hallowed halls of Canadian mythology and remains there to this day. The "Myth of Vimy" became part of the effort to fashion a "national" image of Canada. According to its tenets, Canada, as a "nation," was born on the slopes of Vimy Ridge. There, for the first time, all four divisions of the Canadian Corps, containing men from all across the Dominion, were welded together into a "national" army. Dashing up Vimy's slopes they attained a great victory for Canada. As a result, so the story went, the troops of the CEF, who had left Canada as Englishmen, returned as Canadians. The "myth" rather conveniently forgets the part played by 5th British Division, which was "under command" to the Canadian Corps, the Lahore Divisional Artillery, which was the divisional artillery for 4th Canadian Division, and other units of 1st British Army. Also, just as another Briton, General Brock at Queenston Heights, has been absorbed into Canadian mythology (although the victory is attributed to the heroic "Canadian" militia which he led), so to, the commander of the Canadian Corps at the time, was co-opted as an honorary Canadian, and governor general, Viscount Byng "of Vimy". However, the "real" Canadian icon, his debts and opportunism set aside, was later to become the "Canadian born" General Arthur Currie, even if he did not lead the Corps at Vimy.

The Vimy victory was real and the image was seductive for a generation of Canadian "separatists" who wished to loosen the ties to Britain. For them, it was necessary to create a national myth such as this, around which they could build an independent "Canadian" identity, which would transcend Imperial and regional loyalties. Borden and the Unionist government, who wished to elevate Canada's position in the world community, by taking their place as signatories of the Treaty of Versailles at the end of the war, promoted this myth

for its political value, as did the later post-war Liberal government under Mackenzie King. See Ralph Allen, Ordeal By Fire, (Toronto: Popular Library, 1961), p 143, and the work of that prolific professional Canadian, Pierre Berton, Vimy, (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1986).

29. Bishop, op.cit., p. 141.

Chapter 4

1. Albert Kemp became Minister without Portfolio in Borden's government on October 10, 1911. He held the appointment of Minister of Militia and Defence to October 11, 1917. After the general election of 1917 he succeeded Sir George Perley as Minister of the Overseas Military Forces of Canada, a position he held until the ministry closed on July 1, 1920. On July 13, 1920, Kemp again became minister without portfolio in Borden's government, continuing in this position to December 28, 1921. On November 4, 1921, Kemp was appointed a senator. He continued as such until his death on August 12, 1929.

2. Mein, op.cit., p.65. "H" Unit of the Military Hospitals Commission was established in Regina. In Regina, a group of prominent citizens began local educational work among soldiers by organizing evening classes in a number of subjects. These classes were provided for all servicemen in Regina but special attention was paid to the hospitalized.

See also, "The Provision of Employment for Members of the Canadian Expeditionary Force on their Return to Canada and the Re-education of those Who are Unable to Follow their Previous Occupations Because of Disability". (Ottawa: King's Printer, 1915). This was a plan (found in the Government of Canada Sessional Papers, No. 35a, 1916) proposed by the Military Hospitals Commission, under the chairmanship of Senator James Laugheed. This predecessor of the Department of Soldiers' Civil Re-establishment operated a number of convalescent hospitals across Canada in which disabled returned soldiers received academic, vocational and rehabilitative training. See, PANS, MG 17, Series A, Vol.6, No.15, F.H. Sexton Papers, for vocational education in "B" Unit, Nova Scotia.

3. Bishop, op.cit., p. 291.

4. Before World War One, Camp Sewell had been used to train the militia of Western Canada. Summer camp was held there for two or three weeks each year until 1914.

5. Winnipeg Free Press, dated May 1, 1915. 'Workmen from Winnipeg Brandon and Portage La Prairie were hired to build freight sheds for hay and oats, a telephone system which connected the camp from end to end, a hospital a system of 500

targets which stretched for a mile, a headquarters building, ordinance sheds, two theatres, a jewellery store, a barber shop, two cafes (one built of tin, the other of lumber), two banks (The Bank of Hamilton and The Bank of Montreal), both built of tin.'

6. Bishop op.cit., p. 280.

7. In 1908, Dr. H.M. Tory became the President of the University of Alberta. In 1912, Tory began the first university program of informal adult education when he appointed A.E. Ottewell as the first director of extension at the university. After serving overseas with Tory in the Khaki University, Ottewell continued in that position until 1928.

8. Clarence MacKinnon, Life of Principal Oliver, (Toronto: The Ryerson Press, 1936). Oliver was born in Eberts Ontario and had studied at Toronto, Knox, Berlin and Halle (Germany) universities and at Columbia where he obtained his PhD in 1905. From 1909 to 1914, Oliver was professor of history and economics at the University of Saskatchewan. He was, at the time of his enlistment, principal of the Presbyterian Theological College, Saskatoon. He had been appointed to this position in 1914 and remained as such to his death. In 1914, Oliver had edited, The Canadian North West, its Early Development and Legislative Records (2 vols.), (Ottawa: Queen's Printer, 1914).

9. Camp Hughes, WUB, Western Universities Battalion. Vol.1, No.1, October 21, 1916. 'Of the rank and file, 400 were university students, law students or senior high school students, 100 were accountants, cashiers or bank clerks (most of whom had matriculated or were college men), 6 were bank managers, 5 were professors or teachers at universities, 82 were public or high school teachers, 5 were lawyers (some were KC), 15 were civil, mechanical or electrical engineers, 2 mining engineers, 16 were clergymen, 7 were newspaper men, 7 mechanics, 100 ranchers, farmers, dairymen or horticulturists. The remainder were architects, musicians, dentists, opticians, physical directors, business managers, druggists, shippers, salesmen, builders, railway men, telegraphers, sailors and tradesmen. The average age of the other ranks was 23. 62% were Canadian born while the other 38% were almost all British born.'

In the earlier overseas contingents, the majority of the men were British. The later overseas contingents reflected the changing proportions of British born Canadians who went home to fight for their homeland (just as some German and Austrian born Canadians, and those of other nationalities, went home to fight for their homelands). Of the total Canadian overseas forces who served in World War One, 50% were Britons in Canadian uniforms (many of the units in the

"Canadian" Corps, until the final months of 1918, were also British. This was true as well in the "Canadian" Army of 1944 in Europe, which, until 1945, was a mixture of Canadian, British and Polish formations, as well as units of other nationalities).

10. University of Saskatchewan Archives, Oliver Letters, Box 1, dated, June 23, 1916.

11. Ibid., June 28, 1916.

12. Ibid., June 29, 1916.

13. Ibid., July 5, 1916.

14. Ibid., July 14, 1916.

15. Ibid., July 3, 1916.

16. Ibid., July 6, 1916.

17. Ibid., As he wrote, "I was going to use the old canteen tent for a recreation tent but the wind split it into shreds so that it will take a couple of weeks more to get things started I suppose".

18. Ibid., July 13, 1916.

19. Ibid.

20. Ibid., July 26, 1916.

21. Ibid., August 1, 1916.

22. Ibid., August 5, 1916.

Cairns, originally a baker, had come to Saskatoon from eastern Canada at the turn of the Century. By the outbreak of the war he had erected the largest and most prosperous department store in the city and had become a city politician. In his store, Cairns had a lending library and reading room.

23. Ibid., August 8, 1916.

24. Ibid., August 11, 1916.

25. NAC. MG30, D115, Vol. 3, File 3-9. In a report, written much later in 1918, to Gerald Birks, in which he was trying to establish his claim as the first to initiate an adult education program for the Canadian overseas forces, Tory recounts that he had spent some time in the summer of 1916 in Ottawa investigating the extent to which the government had developed any proposals for education within its program for

demobilization. He did so in response to a request from the National Council of the YMCA.

26. Oliver Letters, op.cit., August 13, 1916.

27. Ibid., August 17, 1916. On August 27, Oliver wrote, "I had the piano man from Brandon yesterday afternoon. I had to pay the return freight. I had it fixed up with pumice stone, raw linseed oil and benzine and it looked nearly as respectable as when it came, which wasn't saying much. The man asked me \$5 for the expense of cleaning it up. I gladly paid it as I was in terror lest he should charge me \$25 or \$50 for damages." On the same subject, he wrote again, two months later, on October 2, 1916, "We had a splendid concert with the band and Mrs Sherry in the Catholic Club on Friday night. She motored over from Neepawa and had lunch with us. We had a considerable number who had to stand."

28. Ibid., September 15, 1916. Three days later he reported, "I got up at 5:30 am to make a fire in the recreation tent for Communion at 7 o'clock. We have only one stove up. When we get the other up today we can make it fairly comfortable. I borrowed a wall of a tent from the YMCA. This enables me to continue doing business. Ibid., September 18, 1916. His heaters also proved useful during recreational periods and during training. He wrote, "The men, having been soaked while on the firing ranges, had only the Hudson Bay heaters that Oliver had bought for them, to dry themselves. On October 4, Oliver noted "I had a wire from President Murray today to draw on him for \$20 to buy a heater for our men."

29. Ibid., October 14, 1916.

30. Ibid., October 13, 1916.

31. Ibid., October 27, 1916.

32. The camp cemetery containing the graves of those men who died there during those years in which the camp was used to train the overseas battalions (including the first burial, which was conducted by E.H. Oliver), is all that remains to bear witness to their efforts. The cemetery continues to be maintained by Canadian Forces Base Shilo.

33. Seaford is a seaside resort near Brighton. It was then a town of almost 5000 people. Oliver noted that there are some beautiful country houses and homes here and some beautiful walks.

34. Oliver Letters, op.cit., November 12, 1916. The Saskatchewan battalions were, the 5th Battalion in the 1st Division, the 28th Battalion in the 2nd Division, the 1st

Canadian Mounted Rifles in the 3rd Division and the 46th Battalion in the 4th Division.

35. Ibid., December 3, 1916. Oliver noted, "My chaplain's uniform over here is slightly different from in Canada. Instead of stars on the sleeves I wear a plain cuff and I wear black buttons also black stars on my shoulders with piping of black".

36. Ibid., December 11, 1916.

37. MacKinnon, The Life of Principal Oliver, Op.Cit., p. 100.

38. Oliver Letters, op.cit., January 1, 1917.

39. Ibid.

40. Ibid., February 3, 1917. Later in the month he wrote, "We posted from our box in the Reading Room yesterday 140 letters. For a great percentage of these we furnish stationary free, so you see that is some help. Our circulation list for books loaned out is quite extensive. The Reading Room is proving a good help. The first two weeks of its operation has got me about \$50.00 but now that I have got a fair stock in, it will be easier to keep it replenished. Perhaps I can do it on a pound a week or a little more. We have a fine room in which to hold our Reading Room and we manage to keep it comfortably lighted and heated. The government furnishes us with the room, light and heat. Ibid., February 12, 1917.

41. The office of the Minister of the Overseas Military Forces of Canada was created by Order in Council on October 31, 1916, pursuant to the War measures Act. The Minister was to reside in London, administer the affairs of the Canadian military forces in the United Kingdom and Europe and submit recommendations to the Governor in Council through the President of the Privy Council. (Statutory provision for this office and that of the Parliamentary Secretary of Militia and Defence was made by Statute 7-8 Geo V, c. 35 assented to on September 20, 1917). This statute also provided for its own termination at the end of the parliamentary session in which the war ended. Guide to Canadian Ministries Since Confederation, July 1, 1867-April 1, 1973, (Ottawa: Public Archives of Canada, 1974. p. 58.

42. Turner, had taken over command of the 2nd Division (of which the 28th Battalion was a part) from that old soldier, turned policeman, turned soldier again, Sam Steele, on August 17, 1915, and commanded the division through the fighting at the St. Eloi Craters, in April, 1916. When General Alderson was replaced as Corps commander on May 29, 1916, because of the St. Eloi debacle, so too, Turner lost his job as

divisional commander, although somewhat later, on November 26, 1916. It was then that Turner left the Canadian Corps for his appointment in the OMFC headquarters in Britain.

43. Bishop, op.cit., p. 276.

44. Ibid. On the Continent, the most famous of these clubs was the Beaver Hut which, at a cost of \$100,000. provided sleeping accommodation for 160 men, a dining room which served 2500 meals a day, a store room for kits, offices, showers, and other amenities. Red Triangle Clubs were also established in Canada in the 11 largest cities from Halifax to Vancouver. Some of these were major hotel operations with a capital investment of several hundreds of thousands of dollars. Pidgeon later became the first moderator of the United Church of Canada.

45. Ibid., p. 281. In 1918, 2,463 services with a total attendance of 391,127 were reported for Great Britain and 1504 meetings with 222,140 in attendance in France. Some 1700 Bible class sessions involving 57,000 troops were also given in 1918.

46. Encyclopedia Canadiana, p. 409.

47. Bishop, op.cit., p. 82. Ned Corbett, the biographer of Tory, cites this work, which culminated in the "Special Report on the Discharged Men from the Army," as being the origins of the plan for adult education in the Canadian overseas forces. See, E.A. Corbett, "Henry Marshall Tory" in Harriet Rouillard, Pioneers in Adult Education in Canada, (Toronto: Thomas Nelson And Sons (Canada) Limited, circa. 1950), p. 24., and E.A. Corbett, Henry Marshall Tory, Beloved Canadian, Op.Cit., p. 138. Although Tory was involved in formulating a plan, at this stage of the war no actual formal educational work was being done by anyone.

48. 1500 dollars were borrowed to finance this activity and the sum was paid back in six months by charging an admission of two and one half cents per man. Canada in the Great World War, (Vol.6.) (Toronto: United Publishers of Canada, 1921). p 124.

49. Ibid., p. 125.

50. Report of the Ministry of Overseas Military Forces of Canada, 1918, (London: Minister of the OMFC, 1920), p. 409.

51. The Atlantic School of Theology, United Church of Canada, Maritime Conference Archives, MacKinnon Papers, F&I - 104, #10. On April 4, 1917, the senior chaplain at Witley camp sent the following message to his chaplains:

Office of the Senior Chaplain, Witley Camp, Surrey.

To All chaplains:

Colonel, the Honourable Stewart-Bouverie, now on leave from Salonika will give an address on his experiences in the Eastern Mediterranean on Friday evening, 5 o'clock in #2, Y.M.C.A. Hut to all Officers of this Division. (signed), Fallis, Honourary Captain, Senior Chaplain.

Captain Fallis, later Colonel Fallis, was to become the senior chaplain (the Assistant Director for Britain) in the United Kingdom, under Colonel Almond. Almond was destined to become embroiled in forthcoming conflict with Tory and the YMCA over educational work.

52. Oliver Letters, op.cit., March 31, 1917. Five days later Oliver wrote, "Today I went around to the men's dinner and invited them to the Sunday afternoon service. I am purchasing magazines for them. Besides almost 8 pounds in books which I have purchased I keep eight daily papers going in the reading room and in three different places (two for employed men [on the training establishment's strength] and one for cadets) each with 17 magazines. You can see that it keeps me pretty well poverty-stricken but I am eager to have my chaplaincy mean something that I won't be ashamed to look back upon." Ibid., April 5, 1917.

53. NAC. MG 30, D115, Vol.3, File 3-9. Letter to Sir Robert Falconer, dated, April 3, 1918. See, Tory papers, University of Alberta, 68-9-472, Telegram from Gerald Birks, dated June 12, 1917, in which Birks asks Tory to help with the YMCA educational policy. Also a letter from Tory to Birks, acknowledging it.

54. Oliver Letters, op.cit., July 27, 1917. Oliver wrote: I see that "Canada" says that Dr. Tory has arrived in London, here on some Educational business. I do not suppose there is likelihood that I shall see him, but of course one never knows. I see he is staying at the Strand Place Hotel. If I were called to London soon I might chance to run into him. Two days later he wrote, "Dr. Tory of Edmonton is expected in Bexhill this afternoon with some YMCA men. I hope I shall have a chat with him. I imagine he will want to discuss 196th affairs but I have no intention of doing that. It does not pay to discuss military affairs at all." op.cit., July 29, 1917. Again, on July 30, Oliver wrote, "I have had Dr. Tory here this morning and I always enjoy a visit with him... He is over in connection with the YMCA to help them formulate an educational policy. I frankly told him that I thought the educational work was altogether too big a work for the YMCA to handle, that the YMCA could be used but something bigger was needed, and I think that he agrees with me. op.cit., July 7, 1917.

55. Falconer Letter, op.cit.
56. Ibid.
57. Clarence MacKinnon, Reminiscences, (Toronto: The Ryerson Press, 1938), p.106. The [5th] Division was fully trained and equipped to be transported as a body to France. More than once [through the following summer of 1917] the order to move was expected. Leave was cancelled and everything in readiness, but the order never came.
- The units of the 5th Canadian Division were: 13th Brigade, (128th, 134th, 160th and 202nd Infantry Battalions); 14th Brigade, (125th, 150th, 156th and 161st Infantry Battalions) and 15th Brigade, (104th, 119th, 185th and 199th Infantry Battalions). In August, 1917, the 5th Divisional Artillery, (13th and 14th Field Brigades, and the four trench mortar batteries) went to France as additional divisional Artillery for the Canadian Corps. The 5th Divisional artillery remained with the Canadian Corps until the end of the war. The divisional machine gun companies (17th, 18th and 19th) also went to the Canadian Corps in France, as did the Divisional Engineers (13th, 14th and 15th Companies).
58. Ibid., p. 105.
59. Ibid., p. 106.
60. MacKinnon Papers, F&I, Box 104 #12. Letter dated, September 4, 1917.
61. Ibid., September 5, 1917.
62. Ibid., September 8, 1917.
63. Mackinnon, Reminiscences, op.cit., p. 202, and Bishop, op.cit., p. 136. The evangelical work of the YMCA overseas prompted some early friction between the Association and the Chaplain Service. A conference which was called in 1916 to smooth out relations between the two services was not particularly successful.
64. Falconer Letter, op.cit.
65. Ibid.
66. MacKinnon Letters, op.cit., September 5, 1917.
67. Falconer Letter, op.cit.
68. Ibid.
69. When the decision was made not to reduce the number of

infantry battalions in the Canadian and other Colonial divisional establishments, as had been done in the British divisions, nor to create a "Canadian Army" from the Canadian Corps, the 5th Division did not go to France as a formed unit. The infantry units of the division became reinforcements for the other four divisions already serving in France in the Canadian Corps.

70. MacKinnon Letters, op.cit., September 14, 1917. MacKinnon also writes, "That summer saw also a remarkable revival at Witley. The chief agent was the Rev. Dr. William Cameron of Toronto. No hut could hold the crowds and at last men had to be admitted only by ticket. The result was forty young men who dedicated themselves to the ministry. They were keen to begin their studies at once and so we secured the use of a hut and organized classes. Many besides these special students came to the History class, which appeared to be popular and sometimes numbered a hundred and fifty. But it was the Greek class that proved to be the pivot. These embryonic theologues were busy on the Greek text of St. Mark, when one evening the hut door opened and General Garnet Hughes [the divisional commander] entered. Owing to one of those happy mistakes on which so much of history has depended he thought it was Herodotus and not the Gospel they were studying and became quite enthusiastic. He went up to London and told how his soldiers were toiling over the classics. London was sympathetic. More lights and greater facilities were placed at our disposal and the work progressed. MacKinnon, Reminiscences, op.cit., p. 203.

71. NAC. MG 30, D115, Vol.3, File 3-9. Letter dated April 5, 1918 from H.M. Tory to Gerald Birks.

72. MacKinnon Letters, op.cit., September 14, 1917.

73. Ibid., September 27, 1917. "I am indebted to the hours of drilling I had with Ian [MacKinnon's son, who was then serving at the front in an artillery unit of the Canadian Corps] for my more thorough knowledge of Latin grammar that stands me now in good stead. I am giving an outline of European history but doing a lot of reading to fill in the spaces for my own satisfaction. The courses are short so for a text book I have chosen History of Peace and War from the University Library. It will carry us for a month. I receive questions and then spend the next night discussing the answers. The remaining time I have a historical talk and lecture with the map. I read as extensively as I can for it and then stand up and tell the story. I find that method the most interesting and the class is steadily growing."

74. Ibid. (An interesting comment for anyone who has ever taken soldiers out on a field exercise).

75. Ibid., October 4, 1917. Preparation for my teaching occupies every moment. One thing I am very glad about is that my study of European history is going to be most invaluable. I put several hours on it every day and have quite a new grip on it. Every history class I give a talk for half an hour with the map and I find that it has awakened great interest but it entails quite a lot of preparation. My other class is Latin and to be accurate in that, I have to put in a lot of study on it - especially on the grammar and conversation to avoid mistakes. I also talk French an hour every day with a neighbouring chaplain.

76. On February 9, 1918, the 5th Canadian Division was disbanded in England, one year after it had been formed. MacKinnon, Reminiscences, op.cit., p. 106. "The casualties during that terrible summer of 1917 had been so appalling, that Canada was forced to the decision that it could maintain no more than her present four divisions, and the 5th, was ultimately broken up and drafted to the others." It has been theorized that Arthur Currie refused to go to a "larger corps" (in effect, a Canadian "army") because it would break the "tightness" of the Canadian Corps. The Australians went to a five division corps.

77. Falconer Letter, op.cit.

See also, NAC, RG9, III, Vol.93, File, 10-12-47 (vol.1). Not all the officials of the OMFC were convinced that educational work was a good thing. Major G.F. Harrington, the deputy minister of the OMFC, wrote testily in a confidential memorandum to the minister, on November 23, 1917, that, "The attached file discloses an unfortunate example of a matter, contemplating an expenditure of public money, and involving general political considerations, drawing to a state of almost complete fruition without ever having been discussed with the civil representative of the people. It is a little difficult to see any military aspect whatever in this matter..." Harrington went on to say that the minister was being asked to ratify the setting up of a Board of Education in London, to approve of an interim committee to carry on the work [MacKinnon, MacDonald and Birks] and to allow military personnel to engage in the work, freeing them from military duties. Harrington acknowledged that, although "higher education" was only of benefit to the individual, the "only shred of this proposed plan" that he could recommend was primary instruction for illiterate and uneducated men "to fit them to occupy the positions in the field to which they may be called by the exigencies of the Service." Harrington's objections did not stop the implementation of the scheme.

78. The cost of the such an ambitious program would eventually be some \$500,000. and would be raised in Canada by the YMCA,

with the help of the Chaplain Service. Gerald Birks and Clarence MacKinnon himself would travel to Canada to explain the educational movement and help raise the money.

79. Borden brought home with him a gold mace for the House of Commons, presented to him by the Lord Mayor of London, to replace the one lost in the fire at the Parliament Buildings in February of 1916. In the parliamentary session which followed Borden's return from England, in May, 1917, the Imperial War Graves Commission was incorporated by Royal Charter. Its purpose was the burial and commemoration of the war dead of Great Britain and the Empire. Borden also introduced the Income Tax War Bill which, in June of 1917, imposed the first Canadian tax on personal incomes.

80. Guide to Canadian Ministries, op.cit. Calder was the acting minister of agriculture from June 18, 1919, to August 11, 1919, and acting minister of militia and defence from January 16, 1920, to January 23, 1920. He was president of the Privy Council from July 10, 1920, to September 20, 1921. Calder was appointed to the senate on September 22, 1921, and remained there until his death on July 20, 1956.

81. Ibid., On July 15, 1916, the office of Parliamentary Secretary of Militia and Defence had been created. It was filled on July 19, of that year by Fleming McCurdy, who held the position to February 22, 1918. The office remained vacant for most of 1918 until it was filled by Hugh Clark on November 7, 1918. Clark remained in that office to July 1, 1920.

82. Ibid., Perley became a Minister without Portfolio in Borden's cabinet on October 10, 1911. From August 4, 1914, Sir George Perley had exercised the functions of High Commissioner in London, to October 12, 1917, although he was not officially appointed to that office until after the 1917 general election. Perley went on to become acting minister of public works and acting secretary of state of Canada on June 29, 1926, and secretary of state on July 13, 1926. He again became minister without portfolio on August 7, 1930, to October 22, 1936. He was appointed member of the United Kingdom Privy Council on February 12, 1931. Perley died on January 4, 1938.

83. NAC, MG30, File D115, Vol. 9, "Memorandum Concerning A Plan For Educational Work In The Canadian Army Overseas. Submitted for Approval of the Government of Canada, December 29th, 1917."

84. Report of the OMFC, 1918., op.cit., p. 475.
See also, NAC, MG30, D115, Vol.3 File 3-2., Letters to Tory from various universities endorsing his plan. One from President Falconer of the University of Toronto, dated

November 12 , 1917, informs Tory that an executive committee of the senate would be set up to advise on what standards would be acceptable from the overseas movement, for credit at the University of Toronto. Similar letters of support were received from King's College in Windsor, N.S., McMaster and Western Universities.

85. MacKinnon Papers, op.cit., October 13, 1917.

86. Ibid.

87. Ibid., October 27, 1917

88. Ibid., November 18, 1917

89. Ibid., November 24, 1917

90. Ibid., November 21, 1917

91. Ibid., November 20, 1917

92. Ibid., December 2, 1917

See also, NAC, MG30, D115, Vol.3, File 3-2. In a letter to C.W. Bishop, the national secretary of the YMCA, dated November 21, 1917, Tory noted, "There is no doubt but that a definite effort has been made in England by Almond to get possession of the educational work. It is impossible for him, however, to carry it through, particularly for the demobilization. There is all the more reason that we should have two things established with the government: 1. That all work from now on is under the new board. 2. That I have some sort of official standing from the Canadian Government before I go. With these two things accomplished, I think there will be no serious problems developing, assuming, of course, that the Union Government is returned. I, to, was somewhat alarmed at Birks' letter, but on second thoughts I cannot see how they [Almond and the Chaplain Service] can hurt us. You may rest assured that the YMCA will not be overshadowed in the matter."

93. Ibid., December 4, 1917

94. Ibid., December 30, 1917

Chapter 5

1. The war diary of the 28th Battalion for part of November, 1917, notes the following daily activities:
 16 11 1917 - Battalion in support, Chaudiere Section, at Petit Vimy. Staff Capt I, 6th Canadian Infantry Brigade called at Battalion HQ in am. Quiet. Provisional defence scheme issued day before at 9pm. to all concerned. Orders issued at noon to

gather up all salvage and send out to details camp with ration wagons. Fair. Observation poor. Gas alert. 23 Other Ranks from C Company, 42 Other Ranks from D Company, detached for maintenance work with tunnelling company in support sector. 17 11 1917 - CO visited all companies in am. SOS signals issued to all companies at 10am. Defence scheme for this section received from 29th Battalion and all concerned made conversant with same. Situation normal. Visibility poor. Weather fair. Working party of B Company furnished 29th Battalion for night. Working party of 21 Other Ranks C Company and 42 Other Ranks D Company, supplied to 182 Tunnelling Company.

19 11 1917- Situation normal. Enemy shelling railway embankment as usual. Some HE [high explosive shells] overhead, shrapnel in morning. Fair. visibility poor. Gas alert.

2. Nicholson, op.cit., p. 333.

3. After the serious losses at Passchendaele, the British army reorganized and reduced its infantry battalions from four to three within the brigades of its divisions, using the troops of the surplus battalion within the brigade to reinforce the other three. The Canadian Corps, and other Dominion and Indian army corps, did not reorganize their brigade structures and continued with four-battalion brigades within their divisions. The infantry battalions of the 5th Canadian Division in England were used to reinforce the four-battalion brigades in the four divisions of the Canadian Corps in France, and the 5th Division was broken up.

4. Oliver, Letters, op.cit., November 28, 1917.

5. MacKinnon, Reminiscences, op.cit., p. 108. "The credit [for starting the interest in an educational movement in France] rests with General Lipsett who, after Passchendaele, considering what might be in the interests of his wearied men then "out on rest," devised the idea of evening classes. Unhappily, the officer selected for this duty became a casualty and the General knew not where to turn. It was at this moment that the writer arrived in France to render any assistance that might be possible."

MacKinnon said of his meeting with Lipsett: "He [Lipsett] balanced tea in one hand, leaned on the fireplace and, with "tears in his eyes" reviewed the costly Canadian victory at Vimy and other traumas of 1917. MacKinnon was deeply moved by Lipsett describing what "his boys" had been through. Carnage, successes, blunders, pleasure concerning Canadian railways for moving munitions to the front. The men were restless; they needed an education program."

See also, "In Winter Quarters", in, Canada In the Great World War, (Vol.V), (Toronto: United Publishers of Canada, Ltd.,

1921). p.27.

As well, see NAC, MG30, D115, Vol.7, File 7-7, Later on, after the University of Vimy Ridge had been established in the Canadian Corps, the Corps commander, Arthur Currie, sent a report, dated February 27, 1918, on educational activities, to headquarters, OMFC, on March 5, 1918. In his report, which he carefully declared, concerns arrangements which had been made for the "provision of technical and vocational education in the Canadian Corps", Currie noted that the organization, unofficial as of then, was formed with his approval, and that he felt it desirable to continue the work. Currie went on to say that the general standard of education for a large number of men would be raised through the technical classes and the classes in "civics" would make them more valuable citizens on their return to civil life. In a more practical vein, Currie recognized that a large amount of spare time, that otherwise would be wasted, would be spent in "useful" pursuits, and that a groundwork would be laid for an organization necessary during the period of demobilization.

Currie proposed that an educational establishment be authorized that would be centred in Corps headquarters, having a school for instructors as part of the Corps school, and a divisional section for each of the four divisions. The educational headquarters establishment would include an educational officer, a librarian, a sergeant instructor and a clerk. The Corps school would have an officer in charge and five other rank instructors. Each division would have a division educational officer, an officer for each brigade and one for the divisional artillery. An officer, seventeen instructors (one for each unit in the division and five for the divisional wing) and a clerk would be located at each divisional wing. The total Corps establishment would be 106 all ranks. This establishment with little change was the one that would later be the "model" for other corps and divisions in the BEF, and would become the establishment for the Khaki University which would be set up on the Continent in the following year.

Appended to Currie's report was the 3rd Divisional commander's report. In his report, "Technical and Vocational Education in the 3rd Division", Lipsett gave a brief overview of the history of the movement in his Division, beginning with a memorandum which he had circulated to his troops on September 27, 1917, during that winter's wait, after Vimy, in the Lens sector, even before the Canadian Corps was posted to 2nd British Army and Passchendaele! Because of the prophetic nature of Lipsett's memorandum, and the concepts for adult education he had devised, even before MacKinnon and Oliver arrived in France to institute the work, it is important to note it as one of the seminal documents of the overseas educational movement.

At that early date (September, 1917), Lipsett wrote, "I consider that the time has come, when in addition to the

military training which we are giving the men, we should consider the desirability of introducing some teaching applicable to civil life. The object to be aimed at in such instruction would be: (i) To give the men a change of occupation and interest during the ensuing winter; (ii) To improve the men's knowledge of subjects which may be of use to them on their return to civil life; (iii) To give them a wide view of historical, social and economic problems so as to assist them in the part they have to take in the future of the country." Lipsett went on. " We may expect at the end of hostilities there will be a period of perhaps some months before our men can be returned home. During that time a certain amount of military training will be necessary, but it will be difficult to maintain interest, as when working for a specific purpose, all ranks will be thinking of what they will do on their return home and civil life. Therefore, at this time we ought to be prepared to form classes in which the men would be prepared for their return to civil life."

6. Oliver Letters, op.cit., November 29, 1917.

7. MacKinnon Reminiscences, op.cit., p. 206.

8. MacKinnon, The Life of Principal Oliver, op.cit., p. 109. Various other names had been proposed for the new university, including the University of Passchendale. However, the name chosen not only commemorated the pivotal battle of the campaign of 1917 in which the Canadian Corps had been engaged, but it also signified the location in which the Canadian Corps had spent, and would spend, the greater part of the war, and which was considered for all intent and purposes, a "Canadian" area. Apparently, the idea of adult education for soldiers in the field was a popular concept. According to Clarence MacKinnon, the German army also established a "University of Vimy Ridge" two days after the inauguration of the Canadian institution. Ibid. See also, University of Toronto archives, A67-0007-062, "The Khaki College, by Clarence MacKinnon", in which MacKinnon notes, "It will be further gratifying to Canadian pride to learn that the German school on the enemy's front, about which so much cackle has been made in their press, was inaugurated two days after the University of Vimy Ridge had been authorised in Canadian orders".

9. MacKinnon Letters, op.cit., December 10, 1917.

See also, Canada In the Great World War, (Vol.V), op.cit., p.27. A constitution was drawn up having provision for a chancellor, a president, a registrar and a senate. Some members of the faculty were, Lieutenant Edward Duval, Captain G.S. Easton, Lieutenant J.S. Eaton and Lieutenant Thomas. A ten page calendar was issued in early December, listing classes for business, elementary practical science, agriculture and citizenship. It was not designed to primarily

give university courses. Three areas of operations were proposed, lectures to large groups of men, classes for smaller groups and private readings for advanced students. Records would be kept to secure credit for the work on the student's return to Canada. It was also hoped to make arrangements with Canadian trades unions whereby credit could be advanced towards apprenticeships. Reading rooms were to be established in every unit with a library of 100 volumes each.

See also, NAC, MG30, D115, vol.7, File 7-16. "The University of Vimy Ridge", (the calendar). The university was authorized by the Canadian Corps order dated, December 17, 1917. The document states that, "All courses are of an elementary and foundational character, the whole constituting a basis for efficient workmanship [and] for enlightened citizenship. Each department consists of a number of courses, all independent of each other, and each embracing five, or some multiple of five, lessons. Thus, in general, a course may be covered during the period a battalion is out on rest, when the division is in the line. In some cases the work may require two, or even three periods of rest to accomplish".

10. Ibid., December 1, 1918.

11. Ibid.

12. Ibid., December 10, 1917.

13. Ibid., December 12, 1917.

14. Ibid., January 2, 1918.

15. Ibid., January 4, 1918.

16. Ibid., January 8, 1918.

17. Ibid., January 14, 1918.

18. Ibid., January 6, 1918. "I am going off this afternoon to the Corps to have an interview with Sir Arthur Currie about the University of Vimy Ridge. I want to ask him to sanction the appointment of a staff. I am sure the president of the University of Saskatchewan would enjoy accompanying the University of Vimy Ridge president in the business of organizing. I addressed another battalion in the brewery yesterday and I have one to address tomorrow here in the cinema. I speak upon such profound and indefinite subjects as Canadian citizenship and the need of greater efficiency after the war. The boys are always very attentive. When Gilmore comes back with some books we can make better progress.

19. Ibid.

20. Ibid., January 8, 1918. "I have an appointment with Lieutenant Gordon, Alex Gordon, son of Principal Gordon. I am looking for the right sort of man to head the work now in the other divisions and I am consulting him. It is difficult to get about from place to place and the phone service is practically useless. Still I am keeping the University of Vimy Ridge going and that is worth considering.

21. Ibid., January, 9, 1918. "I think I shall put Jack Mackenzie into a post of the university if I can made the arrangements and he wants it." The following week, he wrote, "I went to General Lipsett to get some appointments through. I have left the names and now hope that the men will get the appointments." Ibid., January 16, 1918.

22. Major James Weir. Weir, in civilian life, was mathematics teacher at Regina Collegiate Institute in Regina, Saskatchewan. Afterwards, Weir, later to become minister of agriculture in the Bennett government, was wounded and posted to England as director of the correspondence department of the Khaki University.

23. Oliver Letters, op.cit., January 23, 1918.

24. Ibid., January, 21, 1918. Oliver wrote, "Three officers reported today to me. They will assist me in the 3rd Division. Lieutenant Shaw agreed if I could arrange it that he would take charge of the 4th Division. I am trying to get Jack Mackenzie to help me but he is in the line at the moment and I can't get in touch with him. Lieutenant Martin formerly of the 196th is one of the officers who is helping me in this work. He will work in the 3rd Division." In another letter, Oliver noted, "I have just had a long talk with Lieutenant Shaw of Calgary who used to be in the 196th and whom I am offering the post of the head of the university in 4th Division. I am hoping to get the 3rd Division pretty thoroughly organised in a fortnight so that I can proceed to other divisions without much difficulty. If I get them going well by spring I should have an interesting summer." Ibid., January 20, 1918.

25. Ibid., February 25, 1918. "I have an officer to take over the responsibility of the 4th Division [Sullivan]. He was inspector of high schools in the province of British Columbia so he understands educational work."

26. Ibid., January 13, 1918. "I plan the work, conduct the difficult negotiations, write the reports and I can tell you I have a busy time when on top of that I have to lecture occasionally."

27. Ibid., January 14, 1918.

28. Ibid., January 16, 1918.
29. Ibid., January 18, 1918. "Yesterday I had to go over to 3rd Division headquarters to arrange to keep three of my instructors who were being called back to their units. I was able to have them stay with me as I want to get my staff trained."
30. Ibid., January 18, 1918. "I am going away to the 1st Division today to explain to the GOC about this great university and to get an invitation to begin operations in his division." A day later he wrote, "I think I shall now be working for a time in the 1st Division, explaining our work and what we are aiming to do." Ibid., January 19, 1918.
31. Ibid., January 18, 1918. Oliver's friend, Walter Murray, the president of the University of Saskatchewan was interested in the progress of the University of Vimy Ridge and was kept abreast of its development through Oliver's wife who would pass on to him the news contained in Oliver's daily letters home. On January 18, 1918, speaking of Murray's interest in the University of Vimy Ridge, Oliver wrote to his wife, "I used to think Dr. Murray used to be politic and cautious and tactful when the university [University of Saskatchewan] was founded. You can tell him that I learned my lessons well from sitting at his feet and the lessons have proved to be of value. If I ever get this old university organized I can qualify to assist Miss DeLury in organizing Homemakers' Clubs in Saskatchewan. Still, I have great faith in my scheme. I devised it myself and I am putting it through myself. It cuts out the frills and fads and petticoats. I think that much could be done in the way of popular education at home along these lines to make better citizens and more efficient working men."
32. Ibid., January 19, 1918.
33. Ibid., January 23, 1918.
34. Ibid., January 30, 1918. Oliver continues, "I have just received a dozen big CPR maps of Canada and these we are distributing but of course a dozen doesn't go very far." A few days later he wrote, "I found that division headquarters had got a side car ready for me and bicycles for my officers. My officers are so scattered that they will not be able to get their wheels until Saturday when I am gathering them to divisional headquarters for a conference." Ibid., February 6, 1918.
35. Ibid., January 24, 1918. Two days later he wrote, "I came back here yesterday from the forward area bringing the books for our libraries in an ambulance. We are establishing a

reading room here in a day or two. In the meantime I have been preparing for a conference tonight between General Lipsett GOC of 3rd Division and the brigadiers of the brigades and artillery. So that I expounded to them our educational programme." Ibid., January 26, 1918.

36. Ibid., January 31, 1918.

37. Ibid., February 20, 1918.

38. Ibid., February 14, 1918. He said, "Last night I addressed about 300 here at the cinema on technical and vocational education and tonight I speak on education at the officers club about a mile from here."

39. Ibid., January 31, 1918. He went on to say, "Lieutenant Gordon has reported to me for duty with the 9th Brigade so that practically I do not need to worry very much now about the 3rd Division as I have all my officers chosen. Tomorrow Martin and I are going on a line of inspection to see our schools and reading rooms in this division. Tomorrow I am going out to see one of the brigades which I am afraid is not being organized as it should owing to a hitch in an appointment."

40. Ibid., January 29, 1918. He continued, "I have arranged for Captain Cameron to give some lectures on waste in war-time."

41. Ibid., February 15, 1918. He said a month later, "In getting teachers we send down asking for returns showing names of instructors qualified to teach such subjects as agriculture, science etc. Among the subjects we mention elementary subjects." Ibid., March 20, 1918.

42. Ibid., February 1, 1918. He said, "Besides regular classes in agriculture, business, science and citizenship there is work in French. We have lectures on submarines, aeroplanes, waste in war."

See also NAC, MG30, D115, Vol.7, File 7-7, "University of Vimy Ridge, President's Report, Week Ending February 1st, 1918". In his report, Oliver states, "During the week ending February 1st, the complete organization of the university within 3rd Division has been almost consummated." Also, "It is expected within two or three days to have schools and reading rooms operating in every unit in the 3rd Division. Counting the reading rooms which the 3rd Division has established in the forward area and which are still operating, we have about a score of reading rooms in operation. He went on, "The university is meeting with the heartiest support on all sides and the men have shown the warmest appreciation of its efforts. A warm room and good light and books to read - this

goes far towards making the men good soldiers. It helps their spirits and increases the value of the rest period." Finally, "The University of Vimy Ridge aims to prepare men for their return to civilian life. This return to civilian life involves a return to, 1. Their functions as citizens 2. Their occupations. I am persuaded that the work offered by the University of Vimy Ridge will not only make a direct contribution to the solution of these problems but will also afford a pattern upon which educational work can later be based throughout the Dominion". This latter comment referred to Oliver's growing interest "citizenship" training as part of the "Canadianization" of ethnic populations within Western Canada.

43. Ibid., February 4, 1918.

44. Ibid., February 19, 1918.

45. Ibid., February 9, 1918.

46. Ibid., March 16, 1918. He continued, "I went to see Sullivan at 4th Division headquarters. We walked over a good deal of his area to see where he might place some libraries."

47. Ibid.

48. Ibid., March 4, 1918.

See also, NAC, MG30, D115, Vol.7, File 7-7, Appendix II, "Captain Oliver's Report on Technical and Vocational Education in the 3rd Canadian Division".

49. Ibid., March 18, 1918.

50. Ibid., January 23, 1918.

51. Ibid., January 20, 1918. He wondered, "I hear nothing of Dr. Tory. Has he left for England yet? I wonder what his part is. He may represent the Canadian Universities but they have no jurisdiction in the army. I should like very much to see him and have a talk with him. I have had all the fun of starting the work here at any rate."

52. Canadian Corps Education Headquarters. Here Oliver was really talking about himself as the Canadian Corps education officer.

53. Oliver Letters, op.cit., February 3, 1918.

54. Ibid., February 7, 1918.

55. Ibid., February 5, 1918. Oliver continued, "I had a letter from Dr. Tory last night. He has arrived in London and

speaks of coming over soon to adjust relationships. What that may mean I do not know. But I shall be glad to see him and get some things straightened out that need straightening a bit."

56. Ibid., February 9, 1918.

57. Ibid., February 13, 1918. He continued, "Gilmour had a letter from YMCA headquarters in London in which Dr. Tory asked me permission to make certain changes in an application form. So he wired back under my instructions, 'Oliver approves application form as may be desired by Tory.' I did it to show that though I know as well as he does that this is a separate jurisdiction here and I am responsible for it yet I am eager to work in the closest sympathy with all concerned. I fancy that in two or three weeks several vexatious little problems will be straightened out. These are but growing pains incidental to the inception of our work."

58. Ibid., February 11, 1918.

59. Ibid., January 4, 1918.

60. Ibid., January 12, 1918. He went on, "I saw the Corps supervisor of the YMCA who tells me that he is waiting for Dr. Tory to come over to see what attitude the YMCA is to take towards this educational work. I know Tory well enough to know what his attitude will be." Ernest M. Best of Montreal, was a long-time worker for the YMCA. He had been associated with the work of that organization in its relationship to McGill University and the Student Christian Movement. In the post-war period, Best was the national secretary of the YMCA from 1931 to 1936.

61. Ibid., January 15, 1918.

62. Ibid., February 11, 1918.

63. Corbett, Henry Marshall Tory, op.cit., p. 144.

64. Oliver Letters, op.cit., January 12, 1918.

65. Ibid., February 24, 1918.

66. Ibid., March 1, 1918.

67. Ibid., March 17, 1918.

68. The 28th Battalion diary noted on March 7, 1918, that a large draft of 100 other ranks reinforcements arrived in the 28th Battalion from the 15th Reserve Battalion in England. Men from the 196th (Western Universities) Battalion had been

posted to the 15th (Saskatchewan) Reserve Battalion and from there, were posted to the 28th.

69. Calder, op.cit., p. 117. The 28th Battalion historian noted on March 26, 1918, that an order was received stating that the 28th was placed in 1st Army reserve. The next order from 6th Brigade came almost before the first order had been delivered. Once again it was stand to and be prepared to move at a moment's notice. The troops waited and it was not until 11:00 pm that orders were received to proceed by route march to Pommier some miles southwest of Arras. The 6th Brigade had been ordered to move as such and for the first time in our experience we were ordered to carry out a tactical march under service conditions with advanced-guard and rear-guard formations. As the whole 2nd Canadian Division was moving on parallel roads at the same time each unit was not able to select its own route with the result that most of the roads allotted to the 28th were for the most part second or third class types and by no means direct. By the route we were authorized to travel our troops had to march nearly twenty-two miles.

On March 27, 1918, the Battalion passed the starting point at Le Pendu at 11:40 pm, falling into its place in the 6th Brigade group. It was a fine night, clear, but not too bright and very still. On the front in the vicinity of Vimy things were quite normal. The usual flares could be seen rising and the occasional roar of a gun could be heard. However, as we tramped on in the night parallel to the lines, changes occurred for soon only an occasional flare could be seen and not a single gun could be heard. We soon reached the area where the full effects of the retreat could be observed. Both sides were feverishly occupied, the enemy in getting up his supplies for the attack on the morrow while our forces were equally as diligent reorganising their defenses and getting ready to repel the attack. As the Battalion passed through the deserted villages from whence both troops and civilians had departed the unearthly stillness of it all was most strange. Occasionally our troops would come upon some group of weary stragglers from the front-line huddled by the roadside.

70. Oliver Letters, op.cit., March 23, 1918.

71. Ibid., March 26, 1918.

72. Ibid., March 28, 1918.

73. Ibid., March 27, 1918.

74. Ibid., March 29, 1918.

75. Ibid., March 1, 1918.

76. Ibid., March 5, 1918.

77. Ibid., March 4, 1918.

78. Ibid., March 9, 1918.

79. Ibid., April 20, 1918.

80. Ibid., January 21, 1918.

81. Ibid., March 11, 1918.

82. Ibid., March 18, 1918.

83. Ibid., March 18, 1918.

84. Ibid., March 22, 1918.

85. Ibid., April 14, 1918. See also, Colonel Lord Gorell, Education and the Army, (London: Oxford University Press, 1921), p.24. Noting that the educational work in the British field armies began independently of the work in the "home" army in Britain, Gorell writes, "Turner [Captain D.Borden-Turner, an officer on the general staff of the BEF, appointed to develop an educational program] accordingly wrote for information as to the Canadian work; by an unusual but happy postal mischance the reply came to the personal attention of Sir Douglas Haig, who, surprised at the extent of the new developments, and keenly appreciative of their possibilities, sent a direction forthwith to the General Staff to draw up a scheme of education for the troops. Gorell also wrote that, on meeting Tory some months later, he asked Tory who had started the Canadian educational movement. Tory replied that it had been "up in the air". Ibid.

Haig's orders began bearing fruit. Among the many enquiries Oliver received from BEF Corps included this one on June 18, 1918. He wrote: "I got a letter today from some major in the Imperial Army who has been appointed education officer by one of the corps. He wants advice on his scheme. Speaking of agriculture he writes, 'I know that you are an authority on this last subject having read a report by you on your examination into the conditions in non-English speaking communities in Western Canada.' I wonder who this Major Simpson is, and how he ever got his hands on my speech." Oliver Letters, op.cit., June 18, 1918.

Word of Oliver's work was spreading beyond the army. A few months later, in August, he wrote to his wife from his billet at the 4th Canadian Division Wing, Canadian Corps Reinforcement Centre, BEF, France: "I have just received an invitation from the headquarters of the Royal Air Force to come there to deliver a lecture on educational work." Ibid., August 20, 1918.

86. Ibid., April 14, 1918.

87. Ibid., May 31, 1918. Significantly, the YMCA obtained an OBE for Best in recognition of his war work for that organization.

88. G.S. Richardson, G.S., "Education in the N.Z. Expeditionary Force." In Drew, H.D. (ed). Official History of New Zealand's Effort in the great War, (Auckland: Whitcombe & Tombs, 1923), pp 220-232. See also, Boshier, op.cit.

89. Ibid., March 2, 1918.

90. Ibid., March 5, 1918. Some months later Oliver also noted, "I have just received a copy of the New Zealand Educational Syllabus. It opens with these words "The necessity for a scheme of education in the field was felt by the Canadian corps more than a year ago and as a result the University of Vimy Ridge, was formed. The success that has attended this enterprise shows that we too can have nothing to fear from a similar undertaking. GHQ [of the BEF] in fact, have issued instructions that educational training should be commenced at once in every division." Ibid., September 25, 1918.

91. Ibid., March 2, 1918.

See Semple, op.cit., p. 10. "In March of 1918, the Vimy Ridge organization was contacted by Australians who, on the orders of their chief of staff, sought details of its work among Canadian troops." (p. 27fn. Oliver to Tory, March 2, 1918, Khaki College Papers, Vol.4651, Folder: Education 4)

92. Ibid., May 16, 1918.

93. Ibid., June 7, 1918.

94. Ibid., June 28, 1918.

95. Ibid., June 15, 1918.

96. Ibid., June 17, 1918.

97. Calder, op.cit., p.193. The historian of the 28th Battalion, who was the nephew of J.A. Calder, noted, "Present were some 30,000 soldiers of the Canadian Corps. Ordinarily, the men of one division saw little of the men of the other divisions but on this July 1, the occasion proved to be a real Corps reunion. There had never been anything quite like this before. The 28th Battalion, which had been in the Somme as part of the 6th Brigade, 3rd Canadian Division, marched up to Tingues early on the morning of July 1, headed by the Regimental Band. The Corps Commander, Sir Arthur Currie,

accompanied by the prime minister and the other cabinet ministers in his party inspected the 6th Brigade at Givenchy le Noble. Following the inspection and march past there were speeches by the prime minister and by J.A. Calder, who as a Westerner, talked to the men of that Western Canadian Brigade. Calder also visited the billets of the 28th Battalion from Regina and the other battalions of the 6th Brigade. After dining at the Canadian Corps headquarters' mess he visited the village square where the regimental band of the 28th Battalion gave a concert. Calder had expressed a desire to meet and talk with the men to ascertain their views as a means of helping him prepare his schemes for soldiers' re-establishment".

98. Oliver Letters, op.cit., June 30, 1918.

99. Calder, op.cit., p.193.

100. Oliver Letters, op.cit., July 1, 1918.

101. Ibid., July 3, 1918.

102. Ibid., July 18, 1918.

103. Ibid., July 22, 1918.

Chapter 6

1. Lougheed had been appointed to the Senate on December 10, 1889. He was Leader of the Government in the Senate from October 10, 1911, to December 28, 1921, and a minister without portfolio from October 10, 1911, to February 20, 1918. From July 10, 1920, to December 28, 1921, he was minister of the interior and superintendent-general of Indian affairs. Lougheed was appointed acting minister of soldiers' civil re-establishment again from July 19 1920, to September 21, 1921. He died on November 2, 1925. The office of the parliamentary secretary of Soldiers' Civil Re-establishment was created by Order in Council dated 21 Feb 1918. Guide to Canadian Ministries, op.cit., p. 217.

2. MacKinnon Letters, op.cit., January 27, 1918.

3. Ibid., January 30, 1918.

4. Ibid., February 3, 1918.

5. Ibid., February 8, 1918.

6. Ibid., January 30, 1918.

7. Ibid., February 3, 1918.

8. MacKinnon Papers, F&I Box 104, #10., Military approval came on March 20, 1918, in the form of the following message:
From: The Adjutant General, HQ, Overseas Military Forces of Canada, Argyll House, 246 Regent St, London, W1.
To: Director of Chaplain Services, Oxford Circus House, Oxford St, W1, I am to state by direction, that on instructions received from the minister, the marginally named officer [Honorary Captain & Chaplain, C. MacKinnon] will be returned to Canada by the next available sailing, at public expense, for a period of two months, for the purpose of touring the country and informing the public by lecturing and otherwise, as to the work being done overseas of a moral and social nature amongst the soldiers. He will be shown "on command" from the O.M.F.C. You will receive further notification as to when and where this Officer should report for embarkation orders. (Signed) E.G. Mackay, Captain, Staff Captain, for Brigadier General, Adjutant General.

9. MacKinnon Letters, op.cit., February 22, 1918.
On November 8, 1917, the Bolsheviks successfully carried out a coup d'etat against the Russian government during the Russian Revolution.

10. Oliver Letters, op.cit., June 05, 1918. The Canadian educational movement overseas was receiving a great deal of attention from the press in general. An article praising the movement, which sounded suspiciously as though it had been written as a result of some contact with Tory, appeared in the Christian Science Monitor on May 2, 1918.

11. Bishop, op.cit. p.181 and Appendix x, p.437

12. University of Toronto Archives, A67-0007-062.

13. Ibid.

14. Ibid.

15. Ibid.

16. Ibid.

17. NAC, MG30, D115, Vol.28, File: Autobiography-28-1. I think there is some "tongue-in-cheek" here. Tory was either extremely naive, or he probably knew more about what would happen than he is letting on!

18. Oliver Letters, op.cit., August 6, 1918.

19. P.R. Eakins, The Canadian Encyclopedia. (Edmonton: Hurtig

Publishers, 1985). p.8. Frank Dawson Adams, a geologist, took his PhD at Heidelberg University. He was a member of the Geological Survey of Canada from 1880 to 1889 and was Logan Professor of Geology at McGill University from 1892 to 1922. He was dean of applied science at McGill from 1905 to 1919. Adams strongly promoted the development of graduate studies in Canada. In 1918 as a lieutenant colonel, Adams became the deputy director of the Khaki University. From 1919 to 1922 Adams was vice-principal and acting principal of McGill. After retiring in 1922, Adams produced the first geological map of Ceylon (Sri Lanka) and wrote The Birth and Development of Geological Sciences, in 1938. Adams died in Montreal in 1942.

20. Oliver Letters, op.cit., August 7, 1918.
21. Ibid., August 8, 1918.
22. Ibid., August 9, 1918.
23. Ibid., August 10, 1918.
24. Ibid., August 14, 1918.
25. Ibid., August 15, 1918.
26. Ibid., August 17, 1918.
27. Ibid., August 27, 1918.
28. MacKinnon Letters, op.cit., September 13, 1918. Captain Frisby had taught the business classes in the first of the Khaki Colleges, which had been set up by MacKinnon and the YMCA officers at Witley camp in the fall of 1917.
29. Ibid., September 14, 1918.
30. Corbett, op.cit., p 138.
31. Robert H. Blackburn, The Canadian Encyclopedia. (2nd Ed.) (Edmonton: Hurtig Publishers, 1985), p. 1916. William Stewart Wallace was a librarian and historian. He was educated at Toronto and Oxford. After the war, in 1920 he became an assistant librarian at the University of Toronto and was the librarian from 1923 to 1954. He was the first editor of the Canadian History Review, from 1920 to 1930 and editor of the Champlain Society from 1925 to 1943. He started the Dictionary of Canadian Biography and was the general editor of, and wrote many articles for the Encyclopedia of Canada from 1935 to 1937. In all, he wrote some 30 books and numerous articles. Wallace retired at 70 years of age to open a book store. He died in Toronto on March 11, 1970. Before

the war, Wallace had been on the staff of McMaster University and, in a letter to Tory, dated December 13, 1917, when Tory was still in Alberta, organizing his educational scheme, the president of McMaster noted Wallace's presence in Shorncliffe, offering his name as a possible instructor in the overseas movement. Wallace was not able to go to France because of a physical disability. NAC, D115, MG30, Vol. 3, File 3-2.

32. NAC. MG30, D115, Vol 3, File 3-10., Report to the Secretary of the Canadian Universities Conference of 1919.

33. Calder, op.cit., p. 198. The historian of the 28th Battalion was to note, "On August 2, an order was given for the 28th Battalion to parade to a tank harbour to practice with the use of tanks. As tanks were not generally used with infantry in defensive tactics, except in cases of extreme emergency, it now looked as if the Battalion's next role was to be in the attack. The next day the unit marched to the location where the tank units had their quarters and demonstration grounds. A very busy and profitable day was spent practising with the tanks over tracks, trenches and in the open, riding on and in them and generally fraternizing with the crews of these strange weapons.

34. Andrew McNaughton from Moosomin, Saskatchewan, was a physics professor from McGill, turned soldier. Between the wars he became the president of the National Research Council (as did Tory) and chief of the general staff of the Canadian army. In World War Two, General McNaughton took the 1st Canadian Division overseas in 1939 and commanded the Canadian Army in France in 1944.

35. Calder, op.cit., p. 203. The 28th Battalion historian provided this description of a rare event, cavalry, passing through the Battalion's lines and going forward into battle for the last time: "The fog began to lift and then was seen one of the great sights of the war, the cavalry going into action by divisions. The infantry, in other battles, had seen squadrons of horse employed, but never before had they seen the cavalry launched in the attack in such large formations. As the cavalry moved briskly forward with horse-artillery, whippet-tanks and all of their transport, they presented a magnificent and inspiring sight. Trotting along in troops, they would suddenly deploy in half-sections and disappear over the high ground east of Marcelcave."

36. Colonel G.W.L. Nicholson, the official Canadian historian of World War One, described the D-Q Line as, "one of the most powerful and well organized German defence systems. It consisted of a front and a support line, both abundantly provided with concrete shelters and machine-gun posts and protected by dense masses of barbed wire. The Buissy Switch,

connecting the D-Q Line with the Hindenburg support system, was constructed on the same solid principles." G.W.L. Nicholson, op.cit., p.434.

37. James I. McWilliams and R. James Steel, The Suicide Battalion, (Edmonton: Hurtig Publishers, 1978), pp. 167 and 211.

38. Oliver Letters, op.cit., September 12, 1918.

39. MacKinnon Letters, op.cit., October 14, 1918. Lipsett had been carrying out a reconnaissance on the front line occupied by his new division on August 14, and was killed by a sniper. He had gone to the British division because, as a professional British officer in the Canadian militia, he would have had few prospects after the war. In the British army, he was destined for the command of a brigade before his death cut short his career. He was buried at Queant by the Canadian Corps. His funeral was attended by The Prince of Wales, then serving with the Canadian Corps, Arthur Currie, the Canadian Corps commander, as well as representatives of his old 3rd Canadian Division and the 4th British Division. A firing party was drawn from the 8th Battalion which he had brought overseas as its commanding officer, with the First Contingent in 1914. See J.F.B. Livesley, Canada's Hundred Days, (Toronto: Thomas Allen, 1919). p.325.

40. Calder, op.cit., p.223. In the plan for the capture of Cambrai the 1st and 4th Canadian Divisions were assigned to make the initial assault and, if they were successful in establishing a bridgehead, the 2nd Division was to go through to more distant objectives east of Cambrai. The final assault on Cambrai was to be carried out by the 5th and 6th Brigades of the 2nd Canadian Division with the 4th Brigade in reserve. The main attack would be carried out by the 5th Brigade, while the 6th Brigade (including the 28th Battalion) was assigned to cover the left flank.

41. Ibid., p. 230. These days of rest in October were very quiet and restful. The war had moved on rapidly towards Valenciennes and while occasionally the sound of gunfire could be heard it was muffled and decidedly faint. Each day brought further news of the collapse of Germany's allies and the realization that at long last the end was near. When the area occupied by the Canadian Corps during its brief rest had been captured, the railhead was still far back near Arras and it was not until the end of October that the Railway Corps had repaired the railway line to the [Canadian] Corps area. In the meantime all food supplies and ammunition had to be moved over the damaged roads. As a result supply was at all times precarious and slow.

42. Ibid., p. 233. To this end, a plan was adopted which assigned to one brigade in each division the task of keeping up the pressure. Each day, two battalions from a brigade would "advance to contact" and then the German positions would be attacked. At nightfall, these two battalions would be relieved by the remaining two units in the brigade and the process repeated. A second brigade would then come forward, relieving the first, and continue the pursuit in the same manner. As the Germans generally were able to cover only four to six miles by day or night in their withdraw, part of each Canadian advance usually began with a route march until the forward patrols had made contact, then immediately a local attack would be organized.

43. Ibid., p. 235. On November 10, the 28th Battalion started for and reached, Framieres, just southwest of the historic city of Mons. On these exciting marches, the route generally led through narrow streets. As the troops passed by with bands playing, the civilian population, liberated at last, overwhelmed the soldiers with their welcome. These were, in all respects, triumphal marches: As soon as the Germans had disappeared from the eastern portals of town or village, the inhabitants dug up and waved the black, yellow, and red flags of Belgium. Every locality, no matter how small, took on a holiday air. As the troops moved through the outskirts of Mons, large numbers of civilians flocked into the streets to receive them.

44. Ibid., p. 236. The last day of the war for the 28th Battalion was described in this way:

On November 11, 1918 at 0400 hours, the 28th Battalion marched out of Framieres proceeding towards the southwestern outskirts of Mons. Here at 0500 hours the attacking companies were deployed and took up their jumping-off positions on a start line near Hyon.

By 0900 hours the 28th was proceeding though Bois la Haut while the historic message of the cease-fire was being received at Battalion Headquarters, "All hostilities will cease at 11.00 hours November 11, 1918." It had come in its original form directly from the Supreme Commander of the Allied Forces, Marshal Foch, advising that an armistice had been arranged which would be effective at 1100 hours November 11. It also had ordered that, until that hour, the advance was to continue. This message further stated that at 1100 hours the troops would halt at the line reached and that outposts would be immediately established.

Standing on the slopes of Bois la Haut an observer could hear, behind and to the left, the bells of Mons ringing salutations of deliverance, the cheers and singing of the throngs in the city's streets, and the music of bands. In front and to the right, was a pleasant pastoral scene, the small village of St. Symphorien, small fields some still

pockmarked with grass-grown shell holes left there after the first attack of the war, clumps of trees, and, in the distance, Havre. There was little evidence of war except the occasional crackle of machine-gun fire and, as the final hour approached, a salvo of shells which fell harmlessly near St. Symphorien, as the German gunners cleared their guns for the last time. Then suddenly there was silence over the whole front. Hostilities had ended heralding, people hoped, the dawn of an everlasting peace. For the 28th Battalion, the war was over.

In those last few minutes of the war the 28th Battalion had reached the line of the Canal du Centre. At 1050, ten minutes before the war ended, No. 256265 Private G.L. Price of A Company, while reconnoitring some near-by buildings, was instantly killed near the canal by a German sniper. Price was the last combat fatality of either side in World War One.

45. The strength for all arms of the Canadian overseas military forces in World War One were: Infantry, 235,604 (Ethnic battalions were, 11 French Canadian, 28 Scots, 4 Irish, 2 Scandinavian, 1 Indian and 5 American); Artillery, 37,741; Cavalry, 7,268; Engineers, 29,259; Signals, 4,391; Cyclist Corps, 1,138; Railway troops, 22,801; Pay Corps, 1,541; Chaplain Service, 442; Nurses, 2,411; Military Police, 222; Veterinary Corps, 1,479; Ordnance Corps, 1,250; Canadian Army Service Corps, 14,030; Postal Corps, 325; Forestry Corps, 22,905; Labour Corps, 5,533; Dental Corps, 882; Medical Corps, 15,929; Gymnast Corps, 391; Tank Corps, 1,812; Canadian Machine Gun Corps, 16,315. The total Canadian strength was some 600,000 all ranks, all arms and services.

46. Oliver Letters, op.cit., September 18, 1918.

47. Ibid., September 6, 1918.

48. Ibid., September 27, 1918.

49. Ibid., October 4, 1918.

See also, NAC, RG9, III, Vol. 352, File 9. A copy of the report from the Privy Council in Canada, authorizing the formation of the Khaki University was forwarded by the OMFC headquarters in a letter to Brigadier General Embury at the Canadian Section of GHQ 1st Echelon in France. In the letter it was noted that since "a great portion of the work of this institution is in France, the attached [report] will undoubtedly be of interest and information to you. With the authorization of the educational establishment the University of Vimy Ridge ceased to exist. It was "renamed" the Khaki University.

The Privy Council report noted that the educational activity in the OMFC existed to: a) promote an intellectual interest in the war and the problems connected with it, b)

give to the Canadian soldiers an opportunity of using their spare time in intellectual improvement and continuing studies interrupted by the war, and c) give instruction in respect of occupations which Canadian soldiers will follow after the war, looking to the days of demobilization. The report also noted that it was desired to extend the work of education among the officers and men of the Canadian overseas forces and to place the entire movement upon a permanent and proper basis.

The establishment of the educational service in France required the posting to it, of a number of other ranks for employment in general duties and as batmen (officer's soldier-servants). This occasioned some rather strange administrative problems. When Oliver moved from his position on the establishment of 4th Divisional Wing, CCRC, to Corps headquarters to take over his duties as ADCES, France, in a message dated October 21, 1918, the Commander, CCRC, wrote, "It is understood that the Honourable [sic] Captain [although he would hold the acting rank of lieutenant colonel in the Education Service, this was his substantive rank in the Chaplain Service, where he was still held "on strength"] and Chaplain E.H. Oliver, Khaki University, attached to the 4th Divisional Wing, CCRC, is proceeding to Corps Headquarters to take charge of Educational Work. He is desirous of retaining his batman, No. 3030876, Private Livingstone, A.C., 54th Canadian Battalion. As this man is an available reinforcement for his unit, will you please state if it would be in order for Captain Oliver to retain him.

50. Ibid., October 3, 1918.

51. Ibid., October 3, 1918.

52. Ibid., October 7, 1918.

53. Ibid., October 14, 1918.

54. Oliver Letters, op.cit., October 11, 1918.

55. MacKinnon Letters, op.cit., October 15, 1918.

56. Ibid., October 22, 1918.

57. William D. Mathieson, My Grandfather's War, Canadians Remember the First World War, 1914 - 1918, (Toronto: Macmillan of Canada, 1981). p 194

58. Nicholson, op.cit., p.500. Some 70 percent of the timber requirements of the Allied armies of Britain, France, Belgium and the United States on the Western Front were supplied by the Canadian Forestry Corps. For the statistics of the work of the Canadian Forestry Corps see, Report of the Ministry, OMFC, 1918, op.cit., p. 370.

59. MacKinnon Letters, op.cit., November 20, 1918.
See also, NAC, RG9, III, Vol. 352, File 9.

A letter written from General Embury's section to General Headquarters, BEF, states that requests from the Forestry Corps and the Canadian medical units in the Lines of Communications (all of which were outside the Canadian Corps and directly under British command) had been made for instructional work to be undertaken by the Khaki University. MacKinnon was sent to the Forestry Corps.

60. Ibid., December 19, 1918.

61. Ibid., December 26, 1918.

62. Ibid., January 10, 1919.

63. Ibid., October 28, 1919.

64. Ibid., January 15, 1919.

65. Ibid., January 18, 1919.

66. Ibid., January 16, 1919.

See also, NAC, RG9, III, Vol. 352, File 9. The Khaki University headquarters establishment in France had included, besides Oliver, a secretary, a librarian, a lecturer and a clerk. The secretary's position was filled by Private B.J. Green, who, on the instigation of Oliver, was promoted to lieutenant. Lieutenant Davies Thomas was appointed librarian and Sergeant Charles Downer became the lecturer. There were also four divisional education officers, one for each division of the Corps. Lieutenant Charles Wilson filled that duty for the 1st Division, Captain V.E. Henderson was posted to the 2nd, Lieutenant William Martin was with the 3rd and Lieutenant Albert Sullivan was the divisional officer for the 4th Division. Lieutenant Fred Cox took on the same duties for the Canadian Corps school.

67. Ibid., January 20, 1919.

68. Ibid., January 22, 1919.

69. Ibid., January 23, 1919.

70. Ibid., January 26, 1919.

71. Calder, op.cit., p. 246. On January 24, 1919, the 28th Battalion return to Belgium by train. They were there until April 7, 1919. By February 12, 1919, the Battalion had moved to Namur. From there, another move was made to a billeting area near Belgrade. Here, the first steps toward demobilization took place. Everything possible was now being

done to relieve the tedium of the long wait. The Regimental Band and orchestra provided music for dances, not only for the 28th, but for many other units as well. The value of a regimental band was now shown. It and the regimental orchestra both contributed largely to keeping up the morale of the troops. Sports equipment was recovered from the place where it had been stored in France. Baseball, basketball and football teams were organized with inter-unit and inter-brigade schedules drawn up. Boxing matches in all classes and weights were also arranged. On February 18, 1919, battalion educational classes began in the theatre at Belgrade. In March, 1919, the 28th was still in Belgrade. A movie projector was issued to the battalion and was installed in the theatre in Belgrade. Daily, several other ranks of each company went on leave to Brussels, others going to the historic city of Liege.

72. Oliver Letters, op.cit., January 29, 1919.
See also, NAC, RG9, III, Vol. 352, File 9.

73. Ibid., February 1, 1919.

74. Ibid., February 2, 1919.

75. Ibid., February 3, 1919. Martin, from the University of Manitoba and a former member of the 196th (Western Universities) Battalion, had been the 3rd Division's education officer for Oliver's University of Vimy Ridge. See also, NAC, MG30, D115, Vol.7, File,7-7, "Report on Educational Training, 3rd Canadian Division". Martin notes that educational training was commenced immediately after the armistice along the lines of the "old scheme of the University of Vimy Ridge." He also notes that "Our experience gained during the winter of 1917-18 proved to be of immense value". In the report of the 2nd Division (of which the 28th Battalion was a part), Captain Henderson notes that while the Division was in Bonn, heavy military duties interfered with the educational program, however the classroom facilities were good. In Namur, after the Division moved to Belgium, difficulties were caused by many of the men being posted for educational courses in England. There were few instructors and the facilities were not as good, but the books were more plentiful.

76. Ibid., February 8, 1919.

77. Ibid., February 11, 1919.

78. Ibid., February 17, 1919.

79. Ibid., February 21, 1919.

80. MacKinnon Letters, op.cit., February 25, 1919.

81. Oliver Letters, op.cit., February 24, 1919.

82. Ibid., February 26, 1919.

Calder notes that on January 17, 1919, the 28th Battalion's last non-battle fatality occurred. Private S.D. Paden died of influenza, a victim of the epidemic then sweeping through Europe. At the beginning of 1919, the Spanish Influenza was raging among the undernourished civilian population and funerals were held every day. Total deaths in World War One were some eleven million. In the world wide influenza epidemic, known as the "Spanish Flu," which followed the war, the total deaths were about twenty two million. By April, 1919, the Spanish Influenza had killed more people in four months than had been lost in the entire war by all nations involved. Calder, op.cit., p. 299.

83. Oliver Letters, op.cit., March 4, 1919.

84. Ibid., March 28, 1919.

85. MacKinnon Letters, op.cit., March 8, 1919.

86. Oliver Letters, op.cit., March 9, 1919.

87. Ibid., March 17, 1919.

88. Ibid., March 18, 1919. See also, Maritime Conference Archives, F&I, Box 104, #11, MacKinnon Papers, for MacKinnon's report. MacKinnon's report to Almond was a stinging indictment of Tory and his plan for a centralized Khaki University. First, MacKinnon, without even alluding to Tory's preliminary work in the summer of 1917, states squarely that the origins of the education movement began in the 5th Division at Witley, with his classes under the pines. MacKinnon, pulling no punches, went on to clearly outline how Tory's plan, aimed at satisfying the standards of the Canadian universities, had not worked. He stated that its failure stemmed from two causes, first, he based his requirements for a teaching staff on army resources, serving officers men who, as it turned out, did not want to leave combatant units to return to teaching. Secondly, continuous movements of units made it impossible for the men to engage in any lengthy educational program. To counter these difficulties, MacKinnon states, Tory decided to create an education service rather than turning to the Chaplain Service as a source of manpower. Further, MacKinnon charged that Tory's educational plan for the troops on the Continent were inadequate and would have collapsed but for the work of Oliver. As to Ripon, MacKinnon reported that the planning came too late and very few students actually reported there for classes. One of the reasons, he

stated, was that The Khaki University had advertised that it would offer courses through February and June of 1919, that would allow students to matriculate into Canadian universities. On the other hand, it published a calendar laying out courses that would meet with 'the most exacting demands of any Canadian institution'. He went on, 'It has therefore to chose between disappointing the soldier or deluding the academic authorities at home.' MacKinnon concluded by praising the work of the correspondence department of the university under Major Weir, and stating, 'On the whole, much good work of an elementary nature has been accomplished in both France and England, but it has been greatly handicapped by the futile attempt to administer education in the army under the auspices of the universities and by a too ambitious plan which has proved a failure. To attempt highly specialized and university studies, except in a small way through the Correspondence Department, was an impossible task'.

See also, President's Papers, Dalhousie University Archives. Interestingly, MacKinnon asked for a copy of his report to be forwarded to Stanley MacKenzie, the principal of Dalhousie. This was done on February 22, 1919, by the adjutant of the Chaplain Service, Captain H.A. Kent (also from Pine Hill Divinity School). A month later after the confrontation in the deputy minister's office, MacKenzie received the following telegram: March 20, 1919, PLD LONDON, MACKENZIE DALHOUSIE UNIVERSITY HALIFAX NS DESTROY MACKINNON'S EDUCATIONAL REPORT CHAPSERCAN.

89. Oliver Letters, op.cit., March 25, 1919.

A few days later, Oliver wrote, "Today I got the box of old Vimy Ridge papers and documents that I packed up a year ago when the work closed down. I gave them to the 8th Field Ambulance to preserve. They carried them around all summer, they went through all the fighting from Amiens to Mons. I got them back at Mons and handed them over to the 3rd Division. They took them to La Hulpe and then back to Tournai. Last January I took them back to France to Aubin St. Vaast and now I have had them brought up again to Namur and here to Jodoigne for me to get information out of, for my account of the movement". Ibid, March 29, 1919. See also, F&I, Box 104, #11, MacKinnon Papers, Maritime Conference Archives. In a letter to MacKinnon, dated March 25, 1919, Oliver asks MacKinnon to supply him with material for the history, so that "no significant or essential contribution should be overlooked". Similar letters were sent out to all those who held significant appointments in the Khaki University.

90. Oliver letters, op.cit., April 2, 1919.

91. Ibid., April 4, 1919.

92. Ibid., April 1, 1919.

93. Ibid., April 5, 1919.

See also, NAC, RG9, III, Vol. 352, File 9. As early as November 1918, Oliver had been assured that he would receive vehicles for his work. The vehicles, two Cadillac touring cars, one of which was for Oliver, and two Ford "box cars" to transport supplies, along with four Army Service Corps drivers, had been held up by bureaucratic staff work. In a personal letter to General Embury, Oliver pleaded for the release of the vehicles to him. The vehicles were eventually obtained in January, 1919. The Ford vans came from Canadian Corps sources and the cars came from the British army. When the Khaki University on the Continent was closed, the vehicles were sold.

94. Ibid., February 25, 1919.

95. Ibid., April 10, 1919.

96. Ibid., April 13, 1919.

97. Ibid., April 17, 1919.

98. Ibid., April 20, 1919.

See also, NAC, MG30, E25, File: Report of the Director of the Educational Service. "Report of the Assistant Director, Educational Services for the Month of April, 1919."

As well, in a "personal and confidential" letter to MacKinnon on April 20, Oliver writes somewhat wryly, "I am sending this short note as I thought it might not be without interest to learn that there are many ways of appointing an innocent man to be an Historian but there are not so many ways to make him write a History. So far as the Chronicles of Universitas Khakiensis are concerned I am at Amerongen [the place in Holland where the Kaiser had fled after the war], to wit I have abdicated, renounced, fled to Holland, and the glories of my brief literary Kaiserdom are no more." After writing to the key appointments of the university for their input into the history, Oliver received a variety of replies ranging from cooperation to rejection. Tory wrote that he was sorry Oliver saw fit to write for information before the plan and treatment of the history had been agreed upon. Oliver continued in his letter to MacKinnon that at their meeting on the Continent, Oliver told Tory, "the work could be written in one of two ways. Either I should be an Historian, in which case I insist upon being free to form my own judgements of events; or I could be a clerk to write as he prescribed, in which case the very honourable opportunity to write the History would pass to another, for I would not touch it under any circumstances." Oliver concluded, "I have written France in about 100 pages, typed it all myself. I have read Wrong a

few paragraphs and he was interested. He says that it should be published, but I have decided that it will repose in the family Archives among the Lares and the Penates."

Unfortunately, an exhaustive attempt by this author to find the original manuscript written by Oliver was not successful. However, Oliver's views of the overseas educational movement on the Continent, and his summary of its history, is found in his final report to Tory.

99. Calder, op.cit., p.247, On April 3, 1919, orders for the 28th Battalion's movement westward to France, were issued. Four days later, the Battalion moved from Belgrade, Belgium, to La Havre, France. The troops arrive there at 0330 hours on April 9, and were billeted in Number 2 Canadian Embarkation Camp. After a day spent in Le Havre, the 28th left France for England.

100. On April 10, 1919, Brigadier General Embury relinquished his appointment as officer in charge of the Canadian Section, GHQ (France). After the war Embury became a judge, presiding in Yorkton Saskatchewan. While on the Reserve of Officers' List, he was appointed to the "educational committee" for the Canadian military colleges. Department of National Defence, List of Officers, Militia Service and Air Service, Part I, 1926.

101. Oliver Letters, op.cit., April 30, 1919.

102. Ibid., May 1, 1919.

103. Ibid., September 12, 1918.

104. Corbett, op.cit., p.149. When the American Army had first come overseas, their officers had studied the Canadian educational plan, and following the Armistice, a great organization was set up in the South of France. A farm was purchased and special instruction in agriculture was planned. See also, The Achievements of the Young Men's Christian Association of Canadian the Great War, (Toronto: National Council of Young Men's Christian Associations of Canada, 1920), p.4. Ten days after the United States declared war, the War Department officially recognized the American YMCA as its welfare agency "for the promotion of the social, physical, intellectual and moral welfare of enlisted men." Also note, Francis A. March, History of the World War, (Brantford Ont.: The Bradley-Garretson Co. Ltd., 1918), pp. 626-627. Besides the YMCA, agencies such as the YWCA, Knights of Columbus, Jewish Welfare Association, the Salvation Army, American Red Cross and the American Library Association took part in the welfare work. The YMCA provided entertainment, athletics and recreational activities for the American troops, as well as staffing hotels and rest areas for those on leave. The

educational work was carried out under the YMCA by one hundred educators from the United States, some of whom were Professor Erskine of Columbia University, Professor Daly of Harvard, Professor Coleman of Chicago University, Professor Appleton of the University of Kansas and Frank Spalding, superintendent of the Cleveland public schools. The American Library Association provided the troops with "suitable" reading material. In each of the YMCA centres, had a library operated by a trained librarian. Also arrangements were made to have books taken to units in the field.

105. Major General C. Lloyd, British Services Education, (London: Longmans, Green and Co., 1950). pp. 9 -12. An educational scheme had been instituted in the British army in 1917, quite apart from the normal work done by army schoolmasters in the regular army. The new scheme was aimed at young soldiers brought into the wartime army, and had been developed under the auspices of the British YMCA. This activity however had not consolidated into an organized scheme (the German army had also tried to fashion such a scheme, based on "propaganda" but they also were unable to organize one until the University of Vimy Ridge was formed in 1917 - on both sides of the Ridge). Lloyd notes that "By 1918, with the personal support of the Commander-in-Chief, Lord Haig, a definite scheme of education had been drawn up [In France! The scheme was based on Oliver's work and was independent of the work of the British army in Britain] with the twofold object of (a) giving the men a wider view of their duties as citizens of the British Empire, and (b) of helping them in their work after the war." Much like what happened with the Khaki University, although more efficiently, the two parallel programs of the British army, in France and in the United Kingdom, were brought together under Gorell's committee in London. See also Gorell, op.cit.

106. J.R. Kirk, "The New Zealand Soldier: His Outlook." In Royal Colonial Institute, The Education Schemes of the United Kingdom and Dominion Forces, 1919. As noted in Boshier, op.cit., General Richardson [the GOC of the New Zealand Expeditionary Force] appointed J.R. Kirk, a Gisborne lawyer, to be the organizer of an educational scheme for the NZEF. John Condliffe, a WEA lecturer from Christchurch had been wounded on December 3, 1917, and was convalescing at Brockenhurst Hospital in England. He had wanted to start a "WEA-type" program for soldiers. Condliffe disliked the "compulsory" aspects of the scheme. The New Zealand scheme was officially launched at a seven day conference that started April 9, 1918. Thirty people planned curriculum and prepared materials. One aspect of the New Zealand experience was a clash between "volunteerists" led by Condliffe and "compulsionists" headed by Kirk. Kirk was sent to New Zealand. But Stewart, who replaced Kirk as Director, said that the "compulsionist"

viewpoint came to prevail. (Stewart, H., "Education in the New Zealand Forces". (Commonwealth and Empire Review, 1919), p. 133. See also, University of Toronto archives, A67-0007-062, Christian Science Monitor, May 2, 1918, "... but another plan had been proposed for the New Zealand forces who had sent a representative to inquire into the workings of the Witley College. According to that plan, half the money would be provided by the New Zealand government and half would come from regimental funds." See also, MG30, D115, Vol.9, File 9-5. In a letter dated January 14, 1918, General G.S. Richardson, oic Administration, NZEF, noted that "special consideration should be given to providing instruction for the men on educational matters during the winter evenings, and if possible, continuously throughout the year."

107. For an account of the Australian experience see, Semple, op.cit. Semple views the Australian educational movement as having been based on Tory's academic model at first, but later shifting to a vocational system more like Oliver's. He also mentions that it is curious that writers have not elaborated on educational viewpoints which existed among supporters of adult education in the army. Ibid., p.6. In the Canadian experience at least, with the exception of Oliver's emphasis of the vocational and Tory's focus on academics, unlike among the educators of children, there seems little in the way of a philosophical underpinning to the work of men like Tory, Oliver and MacKinnon. Generally, at least in the case of Oliver and MacKinnon, the work seemed to be driven more by a sense of pragmatism.

108. Calder, op.cit., p.248, In April, 1919, the 28th landed in England and marched to Witley Camp, near Galdaming, in Surrey, where the Battalion was allotted barrack quarters in R Wing. While there, the men of the 28th underwent medical inspections, dental inspections, preparation of demobilization papers, records and documentation of all sorts. Members of the Battalion were also interviewed and categorized by a medical board. The month of May arrived and still the Battalion was in England. During that time, demobilization and other leaves were liberally granted to the men. On May 19, 1919, the 28th Battalion left Witley and embarked on its voyage home to Canada.

109. MacKinnon Letters, op.cit., February 15, 1919.

110. Department of National Defence, List of Officers, Militia Service and Air Service, Part I, 1926. Among others also present on the Chaplain Service Reserve of Officers' List were, E.H. Oliver, Archdeacon Cody, Colonel Almond (who had first seen service as the Protestant chaplain attached to the 2nd Battalion of the Royal Canadian Regiment during the Boer War) and Colonel Fallis. Oliver was later attached posted to

the University of Saskatchewan COTC. Strangely, the name of Lieutenant Colonel McGreer, the ADCS, France, who had been one of the youngest chaplains overseas, was missing from the list.

111. Oliver Letters, op.cit., May 3, 1919.

112. Ibid., May 4, 1919.

113. Ibid., May 5, 1919.

114. Ibid., 07 05 1919.

115. Ibid., May 10, 1919.

116. Ibid., May 12, 1919.

117. Jean Murray, daughter of Walter Murray, president of the University of Saskatchewan.

118. Oliver Letters, op.cit., May 14, 1919.

119. Ibid., May 16, 1919. Tory had obtained permission to employ not only military personnel on the teaching staff but also a number of civilian faculty, who had been brought over from Canada.

120. Lieutenant Colonel Reginald Bateman, the former commanding officer of the 196th (Western Universities) Battalion and the first professor of English at the University of Saskatchewan, who had been killed at the Drocourt-Queant Line on September 3, 1918, while serving with the 46th Battalion.

121. Oliver Letters, op.cit., May 17, 1919.

122. Ibid., May 20, 1919.

123. Ibid., May 22, 1919.

See NAC, MG30, E25, File: Report of the Director of the Educational Service. "Report of the Assistant Director, Educational Services for the Month of April, 1919." This was in fact Oliver's last report to Tory about the Educational Service on the Continent. In it, Oliver noted that educational work had continued right up to the departure of the 4th Division on April 15, and the 5th Divisional Artillery at the end of that month. Some of the instructors of the Khaki University from Britain who had been seconded to the work on the Continent, namely Lieutenant Mack Eastman and Captain Imrie, had completed their lectures and had departed. Imrie had been loaned to the American Army to conduct a series of lectures. Captain Cox, who had been appointed quartermaster of the university on the Continent had

supervised the final disposition of the stores of the unit. It was Cox who had sold the university cars.

In his final report, Oliver provided a brief resume of his work on the Continent, beginning with the founding of the University of Vimy Ridge in the autumn of 1917. It is interesting to note that Oliver emphasizes that the educational work, "Organized under the form of a field university ... was a program of technical and vocational education. It was not designed primarily to give university courses at all, nor even to meet the needs of undergraduates, although incidentally it made provision for them". Oliver's report ended by stating, "On the whole, the educational movement in France is one that has taken place within the military organization itself, and the results achieved have justified our faith in the officers and men of the Canadian forces."

124. Ibid., May 27, 1919. Upon returning home Oliver went back to the principalship of St. Andrew's College, and as events turned out, remained there. In 1921 he was elected a fellow of the Royal Society of Canada and in 1930, he was elected Moderator of the United Church of Canada. Oliver was also active in "citizenship" work among the ethnic population of Saskatchewan. He died at Round Lake, Saskatchewan on July 11, 1935.

The Presbyterian Theological College was initiated by the Synod of Saskatchewan in 1911. In the 1912-13 season, the government of Saskatchewan gave it the authority to grant degrees in Divinity. Oliver was appointed principal in that year. After the war the college acquired a new building and in 1924 its name was changed to St. Andrew's University of Saskatchewan, The Green and White, (Winter, 1993), p.17.

125. Ibid., January 21, 1919. Also, see Corbett, op.cit., p.151. for an account of the theological college at Ripon.

Chapter 7

1. In May of 1919, the Winnipeg general strike began. The strike was called by the Winnipeg Trades and Labour Council and 22,000 workers, including civil servants, left their jobs. A Citizens Committee of One Thousand was organized to counter the strike and veterans were enlisted as special police to contain the upheaval. On June 21, 1919, "Bloody Saturday" occurred when the Royal North West Mounted Police charge a demonstration of strikers. By the end of that month, the strike had ended.

2. For a good overview of this transitional era in Canadian history see Robert Craig Brown and Ramsay Cook, Canada 1896-

1921, A Nation Transformed, (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1974).

3. See, B. Anne Wood, Idealism Transformed, (Kingston and Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1985), pp. ix-xii.

4. The Macdonald-Robertson movement. See Wood, op.cit., pp. 73-74 for an explanation of the movement's goal of improving the quality of agriculture in Canada.

5. Ibid., p. 9.

6. Ibid., p. 51.

7. The story of re-establishment of returned soldiers can not be adequately covered in this dissertation. It is a subject which requires its own work. The activities of government and veterans' agencies for returned men are examined in the work of Morton and Wright, op.cit. Educational courses offered under the auspices of the Department of Soldiers' Civil Re-establishment included an orientation to life in Canada, civics and citizenship and a heavy emphasis on vocational training, those things that would encourage civic responsibility and productivity in the post-war Canadian society. See also, England, op.cit., pp. 24-25.

8. The story of the founding of the Canadian Legion is told in Clifford H. Bowering, Service, The Story of the Canadian Legion, 1925-1960, (Ottawa: Dominion Command, Canadian Legion 1960), pp. 13-28.

9. University of Toronto Archives. A67-0007/068, Khaki University File. In a letter to Sir Robert Falconer, dated March 16, 1921, Tory explains that money was left over from the war effort, which was to be used for a scholarship, to be known as the "Khaki University and Young Mens' Christian Association Memorial Scholarship" and offered a share of the money to the University of Toronto. The scholarship was ultimately to be used for undergraduates, with preference given to children of soldiers of the Great War. At that time however, the funds were to be used for loans to needy soldier-students who had seen service overseas. The total amount of the monies available was to be divided into eight and one half shares, to be distributed to universities in the ratio of four to the West (one per province), two to Ontario, one to Montreal and one and a half to the Maritime provinces. The university of Toronto's share was to be \$12,000. Falconer accepted the offer "with gratitude." A similar letter was sent to Sir Arthur Currie as president of McGill. Currie also accepted. The Khaki University scholarship is still offered today in many universities across Canada.

Besides the integration of Canadian students of the Khaki

University into Canadian universities after the war, a number of students who had served in the British army also had applied for admittance. See Dalhousie University Archives, President's Papers, MS-1-3, (A. Stanley MacKenzie), in which a letter written to MacKenzie on March 13, 1920, by Lord Gorell, asks that the Special Army Certificate, issued by the British Army be accepted at Dalhousie. The certificate would be the considered the equivalent of matriculation, and its holders would be exempt from the examination. The regulations for army certificates of education were enclosed.

10. Part of the content which had been taught in the curriculum of the Khaki University was "citizenship." It was considered necessary to foster a loyalty to a "national", rather than Imperial or regional identity, among the returning army of "Canadians", to counter the growing menace of subversive ideologies such as Bolshivism, and their resulting social disorder, which were sweeping throughout Canada, just as they were across the rest of the world.

11. In 1919, on his return to Canada, Sir Arthur Currie had been appointed Inspector-General of the Canadian Militia, the top job in the Canadian military.

12. The most prominent of these was Ned Corbett who went on to become the first director of the Canadian Association for Adult Education, from 1936 to 1950. For an account of the formation of the CAAE, see, Ron Faris, The Passionate Educators, (Toronto: Peter Martin Associates Limited, 1975).

13. Quoted in White, op.cit., pp. 49-50. See also Lloyd, op.cit., p. 12. After the war the British army had set up a number of Vocational Centres, staffed by the Army Educational Corps, in which soldiers retiring from the regular British army, were able to acquire a variety of civilian trades. Many of the regiments and corps of the British army also set up their own "family" networks through which retiring soldiers were helped into the civil community by the men of their regiments who had already made the transition. See, King's Royal Rifle Corps, Chronicle, 1929, p.85.

14. R.H. Roy, Ready for the Fray, (Victoria B.C.: Canadian Scottish Regiment, 1958), p.3.

Conclusion

1. The literature, such as it is, gives Tory credit for starting the Khaki University. See Corbett, op.cit. and Draper, op.cit.

See also, NAC, MG30, D115, Vol.28, File, Autobiography-28-1. In a hand-written note in the draft of his proposed

biography, Tory gives a clue as to why it was so important for him to be recognized. He wrote, "As this report [on an educational program for the soldiers in the Canadian army] became the basis in almost every detail of an educational programme not only in the Canadian forces in England and France, but in the overseas forces of Australia, New Zealand and the United States, and in a modified form in Britain as well, I think it worthwhile to publish it in full in these memoirs."

2. According to Ned Corbett, Tory's biographer, the project contributed to three important results:

- 1) The development of similar work among the armed services of other countries.
- 2) The maintenance of a healthy morale in the Canadian Army overseas during the difficult period of demobilization.
- 3) The encouragement of many Canadians to continue their education, which otherwise might have been abandoned. Corbett, op.cit., p.156.

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