The British army had recognised the value of basic education for serving soldiers during the nineteenth century. The Corps of Army Schoolmasters was formed on 2nd July 1845 and offered schooling at an elementary level for reading and arithmetic. It was believed that these skills would help soldiers to obtain employment after their military service ended.

The concept of military education was adopted by the Canadians between 1917 and 1919 but then raised to a whole new level. The model was so successful that it created interest amongst other allied countries such as Australia and New Zealand. The Khaki University of Canada developed through the often conflicting efforts of the YMCA and the Chaplains Service.

In November 1851 a new organisation named ‘The Young Men’s Christian Association’ opened at Montreal in Quebec. Its aims were to provide a Christian fellowship to all, regardless of faith or beliefs. From the outset, the YMCA offered care and help to anyone who needed it. By 1914, the ‘Y’ had become a huge international network of branches.

The Canadian YMCA was to play a major vital support role for all service men and spared no effort or resources to help provide them with a brief respite whenever and wherever possible. Whether at the front lines, in Great Britain or back home in Canada, the organisation set up makeshift centres in huts, halls, dugouts and tents. From there they offered an oasis for rest, recreation and a few home comforts. These were especially appreciated by men who were away from home for the first time. The YMCA offered bible classes, sports facilities and other simple recreational activities. The overriding concern was the boredom that beset the troops serving in the trenches, or getting into trouble with women and excessive drinking back in their rest camps.

Since August 1914, the Chaplain Service had also been providing entertainment facilities, canteens and home comforts in Canadian training camps. Whilst the YMCA had substantial funds, the Chaplains often paid out of their own pockets. Later, in 1915, the Service was granted official status as a unit of the Canadian Overseas forces and the Chaplains were able to follow their men into battle. The second-in-command of the Unit was Professor Edmund Henry Oliver, Principal of the Presbyterian College at the University of Saskatchewan.

As the war dragged on and with so many soldiers returning to Canada wounded or maimed, the question arose as to what sort of future lay ahead for them and all the other men after the war ended. Hundreds of thousands of ex-soldiers would one day be demobbed and return home. But
what was to become of them all after the war as they attempted to resume their former civilian lives?

By 1916 the YMCA, under the direction of Lieutenant-Colonel Gerald W Birks, Supervisor of the YMCA Overseas Forces, had identified the need for an educational programme alongside all its other activities. In order to fulfil demand, the YMCA and the Chaplain Service worked in tandem to provide books and talks for men who were on periods of leave from either the front line trenches or at rest camps in England. These educational sessions proved to be very popular and drew in many capable officers and non-commissioned officers to deliver the lectures. Lt-Col Birks was also involved with McGill University, as well as other Canadian and British Universities. He was able to use his influence to invite lecturers to tour the Canadian camps.

Professor Oliver became an Honorary Captain of the 196th (Western Universities) Battalion and had many duties to perform, including starting a ‘next of kin’ list for the men in his care. When they were posted to Seaford, England in November 1916, Oliver sailed with them. At his own expense, he proceeded to set up a reading room and an entertainment hut as one of his first priorities. But when he found it was draining his personal financial resources, Oliver wrote 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 [Manitoba, Canada] 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 myself…………….” (Ref: Mein, 1994 p 114)

By the spring of 1917 the Canadian YMCA had firmly established itself separately to its British counterpart and wholly ran the Canadian Camps in Britain and overseas. As men began to request books to study, questions were asked if their educational achievements could somehow be carried over into academic credits after their return to civilian life. Secular lectures had also become an important part of the YMCA programme with attempts to impart information on the historical causes, effects and progress of the war in which the men were embroiled. “It was through the organisation of these lecture series, and their great success, that the idea for a more formal educational enterprise took shape” (Ref: Main, 1994 p117).

Earlier, in 1916, Lt-Colonel Birks had been very keen to see if it was possible to instigate a formal programme of education for the Canadian soldiers. To this end, he had written to Dr Henry
Marshall Tory, the Principal of Alberta University, asking for his assistance. However, Dr Tory was unable to help at that time. “Instead, he completed a report on the needs of men returning to Canada from the war, and what was being done to meet those needs”. (Ref: Johns 1981. P 62).

His ‘Special Report on the Discharged Men from the Army’ was presented to the National Council of the Canadian Y.M.C.A. It directly gave rise to a second request for help being sent to Dr Tory early in 1917. He was invited to travel to England and France to assess the support for organising regular study courses. Dr Tory accepted and left Canada in July 1917.

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Dr Henry Marshall Tory
President of Alberta University & The Khaki University of Canada.

During his survey, Dr Tory carried out extensive opinion research in four entire battalions. From one thousand, eight hundred and sixty responses, over seventy percent of the men indicated they were very interested in an educational programme. With such overwhelming support, Dr Tory recommended it should start immediately. In September 1917, his subsequent report concluded: “There is no doubt in the minds of the Military Authorities that such educational work, if properly planned, would be of great benefit to the soldiers from the point of view alone of Military efficiency and general morale, and that, further, a great and useful service might be done in preparing the men for the time when they would have to resume the normal duties of life” (Ref: OMFC. 1918 p 474).

He went on to say that the initial excitement of war and army life had faded for the majority of soldiers. There were signs that their previous social and civilian instincts were starting to assert themselves again. Tory was also concerned that men who had left higher education or intellectual occupations were keen to re-establish links with their former lives when they were eventually able to return to Canada. (Ref: OMFC. 1918 p 474). It was believed that the soldiers who had only been in the army for a short while would have no problem in resuming their former education or lives after demobilisation. However, it would prove far more difficult for the long service men after a break of three or more years.

Finally, he recommended that a unique Educational Section of the Army be established and called the "Khaki College of Canada". Educational institutions would be set up at fourteen established Canadian bases across England. All but one of these centres (Buxton, in Derbyshire) were located in the counties of Hampshire, Berkshire, Sussex, Surrey, Kent and London.

Later, Battalion Schools would cater for the needs of soldiers at elementary level, presenting a learning opportunity for those men who either had received only minimal or no schooling at all. Where it was not practicable to set up a centre, a Correspondence Department would be available to those soldiers who were in hospitals, at Forestry Camps or remote areas.

Dr Tory returned to Canada with the daunting task of raising financial support to provide a complete scheme of education spanning elementary to graduation at University level. For their part the Canadian and British Universities agreed to help by providing teaching personnel and set
up an Advisory Committee of Board Members to be known as “Union Committee of the Universities”. They also agreed to:

“Accept certificates of educational work done by the men with the Overseas Military Forces of Canada, in lieu of University work where it was of the same grade.” (Ref: OMFC 1918. P476).

However, they were reluctant to get fully involved with the Scheme until it had been officially recognised and had the full support of the Canadian Government. The initial funding came from the YMCA, who also agreed to transfer the control to the newly formed “Union Committee”. Their decision enabled the classes to be set up in England and France. Meanwhile, official recognition was slow to be granted. There was still no formal Government decision, although the Scheme had attracted Canadian public support and large amounts of money were donated. The uncertainty did not stop the march of the fledgling educational scheme that now had the grand title of the “Khaki University of Canada”. Dr Tory agreed to become its President and took a sabbatical from the University of Alberta to enable him to concentrate wholly on the new venture.

One huge supporter of the idea of the Khaki University was Army Chaplain Edmund Oliver. When his men in the 196th Battalion were sent to the trenches in France, he chose to go with them. The concept of formally educating the soldiers had been broached by Dr Tory when the two men had met at the Bexhill Camp in Sussex. Oliver was asked by Lt-Col Birks of the YMCA if he would be prepared to preside over a new soldiers’ college in France whilst his counterpart Chaplain Clarence McKinnon, would set up a similar college in England.

“The embryonic Khaki College of Canada would offer courses in secondary high school subjects leading to matriculation and entrance prerequisites into Canadian and British Universities. Oliver’s task was to transform an idea into an institution”. (Ref: Coggins, 2004. p 6).

Oliver was delighted to be the President of a new Canadian University based on the Front Line and threw himself into his new responsibilities. But what was it to be called? Against all the odds, the Canadians had secured a landmark victory at Vimy Ridge a few months earlier in April 1917. Oliver’s Executive Assistant Captain William Gilmour suggested that the new venture should be named the “University of Vimy Ridge” in memory of the battle.

Under Oliver’s Presidency, there were to be three general levels of education, elementary and secondary education, plus the graduated step up to University entry level. Later, a fourth level
was added for “private or directed reading for advanced university students in liason with their home universities” (Ref: Coggins, 2004, p. 7)

In December 1917, Oliver met with Lt-Colonel Sir Arthur Currie and was subsequently given the officer commission of Captain. Both men were in agreement that “…popular education in France and Canada…would make better citizens and more efficient working men” (Ref: Coggins, 2004 p.7). The University of Vimy Ridge had huge logistical obstacles to overcome amidst a desperate wartime landscape. Early on, a bicycle was Oliver’s only means of transport. Soldier-students were scattered across a vast area of the Western Front. School sessions were held in improvised dugouts and any building available. Large numbers of books, stationery and other supplies needed to be shipped from England to service the classes. As news about the University spread through the ranks, there was an overwhelming response and clamour to join the classes. By February 1918, Captain Oliver’s enthusiasm was rewarded when he reported that: “Last week our attendance in classes was 3913, at lectures 6390 and books loaned 4412”. (Ref: Coggins, 2004, p.8)

Classes were held in YMCA huts like this including those close to the Front. (Courtesy of the Canadian War Museum – George Metcalf Collection)

However, all was not well between Captain Oliver and Dr Tory, who insisted the University of Vimy Ridge was an integral part of his Khaki University in England. Captain Oliver took great offence at this claim. He asserted the France based organisation was independent and entirely due to his efforts and his teams. Oliver also felt that Dr Tory was unable to comprehend the difference between running a university in the midst of several major military battles and the relative security of conducting a similar educational organisation in England.

One other contentious issue between Oliver and Tory was the basic concept and aims of the Khaki University. The Chaplains believed that “the mission was to the masses and not to an élite minority who would be taught to question rather than accept spiritual guidance from their Bibles.” (Ref: Cook, 2002 p. 115). They also believed that the majority of resources should be aimed at teaching soldiers at the lower levels with basic reading, writing and arithmetic. In March 1918, Oliver wrote to Tory: “We are aiming to meet the needs of the mass of the men rather than to compete with your classical Universities in Canada” (http://scaa.sk.ca/gallery/uofs_events/articles/1917.php). By extension, offering other classes for agriculture and other practical subjects would enable them to be more qualified for work after demobilisation.

Although Dr Tory agreed with the concept of mass education, he also felt that there was a strong case for including courses to University Degree level for the more capable students. The YMCA supported his viewpoint, as it would continue to secure the ongoing and vital support of Universities in both England and Canada who had provided the scheme with many lecturers. Chaplain Clarence MacKinnon fuelled the debate and continued to publicly criticise Tory. Eventually, MacKinnon defected from the Khaki University in England and left to work alongside
Captain Oliver in France. It was acknowledged by all concerned that classes at every level should be available to everyone and the practical subjects were added to the curriculum.

The relationship between the Chaplains and Dr Tory had continued to deteriorate. The Chaplains had always believed this unique educational scheme should be under their control. Dr Tory had the firm support of the YMCA. Cook (2002) writes that the YMCA was also in a power struggle with the Chaplains over the “salvation of souls”. The YMCA urged Tory to “hold his ground” and with their support “was able to brush aside the padre’s objections and solidify his position with the military officers”. The Chaplains continued to feel aggrieved and resented the YMCA for its support of Dr Tory who they viewed as an outsider.

During the summer of 1918, Dr Henry Marshall Tory was awarded the military rank of Colonel. His counterparts in France became Lieutenant-Colonel Oliver and Lieutenant-Colonel MacKinnon. However throughout the year, Tory had remained frustrated that the Khaki University still had not been formally recognised by the Canadian Government. The validation finally took place on 19th September 1918, with the issue of an ‘Order In Council’ which bestowed full authorisation for “The Khaki University of Canada”. Cook also writes: “The Borden Government provided no direct funding but the overseas military was ordered to transfer some 240 officers and ranks to act as full-time instructors” (p120).

The Khaki University had already structured its academic year in tandem with each branch. It was divided into two semesters, to run from October 1918 to January 1919 and from February to May 1919. In addition to the basic literacy and numeracy lessons, they offered classes under four definitive headings as follows. Agriculture offered diverse topics ranging from raising livestock through to bookkeeping and vegetable growing. Commerce included from shorthand to banking and English composition. Languages covered French, Spanish, Latin and Greek. The Practical Science syllabus spanned such topics as electricity and magnetism, wireless telegraphy, surveying, petrol and steam engines (Ref: Coggins 2004. P11).

Many of the soldiers had left jobs within all these occupations when they enlisted. They had high hopes of picking up the threads of their former lives and prepare for their return to Canada. For the men who had received only basic or no education at all prior to their military service, the elementary school subjects offered a challenging but diverse choice at varying levels of competence. These courses included arithmetic, reading, and writing, including composing letters. Three thousand men learned to read and write which, for many, gave them their first opportunity to send a letter home to their family.
As the number of classes continued to expand, the Khaki University was seen as an ideal medium for offering home making classes in England for women. Whether wives of soldiers or for those who were seeking to move to Canada, it was felt that learning how to run a farm or household would be a good basis for contributing to a post war country. Again, Cook writes that as interest in these courses grew "additional curriculum was developed to help shape women into ‘ideal Canadian settlers’" (p130). Significantly, this educational experiment was also considered to be an important foundation building block towards forging a new and stronger Canada as an independent nation.

Politicians and military commanders alike were very aware that the Russian Revolution was taking place. The Tsar was forced to abdicate in March 1917 and the Provisional Government was replaced by a Bolshevik Government after the Second Revolution in October 1917. They became fearful that the Bolshevik propaganda could well infiltrate and influence the mindset of Canadian soldiers. In response, special lectures were delivered setting out the dangers of radical thought. It was felt that the soldiers who had been in the trenches suffering incredible hardships could well rise up against the ‘ruling classes’ and mirror what was happening in Russia.

By October 1918, as the German Army was retreating back across the Rhine and the Allied Armies were gaining ground, the University of Vimy Ridge was faced with uprooting itself. All its supplies including many tons of books needed to move towards Germany in order to shadow the twenty-thousand soldier-students on its register.

After the Armistice was signed on 11th November 1918, the Canadian troops in France and Belgium left the region a week later and headed towards Germany where they were to spend the next few months as an occupying force. The Canadians remained in Germany until late January 1919 and were repatriated to England over the next three months. Once again, Lt-Colonel Oliver faced the daunting prospect of finding a way to transport his classrooms and libraries of the University of Vimy Ridge in order to provide for the soldier students and to try to keep them occupied and out of trouble.
Better conditions in the military camps and many other institutions enabled the Khaki University in England to offer a substantially larger number of courses. Since its conception, it had succeeded in offering courses at several different levels of achievement from an elementary stage to University Graduate status. Every course completed successfully was accredited by the Khaki University as set out in the 'Calendar Document' which stated:

“At the conclusion of any course an examination may be held, on successfully passing which, the soldier will be awarded a certificate which will be an official recognition of the work which he has done, and therefore of immediate value to him when he returns to Canada. Should the course be of University Grade, it will be accepted by the Canadian Universities as giving the holder pass standing in the equivalent course in the University Curricula.”

Certificate of P. E. Terry from Khaki University, stating that he has followed the course of study at the University and has passed the examination in the Faculty of Applied Science - First year, Mechanics and - second year, analytical geometry and calculus, dated June 1919. (Canadian War Museum)

However, unforeseen problems were looming on the horizon. At the conclusion of hostilities, the Khaki University was still very much in its infancy. The overriding question of demobilisation had not been properly addressed or organised. The men on the front lines and the ones with the longest service assumed that they would naturally have been the first to be repatriated to Canada. They had hoped for a policy of ‘First in, first out’. As this was not the case, the scene was set for trouble as thousands of disgruntled and war-weary soldiers were still far from home.

The troops in the English camps began to agitate and voice dissent when they believed the plans for getting them home were not being orchestrated as quickly as they expected. During 1917, there had been a bitter dispute in the Canadian Parliament surrounding the issue of Conscription, which was introduced on 29th August of that year. This meant that there were thousands of latecomers into the army and many of whom never saw active service. Because it was feared that these soldiers could have been sent home to Canada in the first wave, several demob riots broke out in camps across England.

Originally, it had been the plan to repatriate the Canadian troops directly from France, but staging camps were thought to be the better option even though the conditions were very basic. One
factor for resentment was that once back in England, the soldiers were accommodated according to the areas of Canada from where they originated. This fractured the long established bonds they had formed whilst facing death daily alongside their regimental friends. At Kinmel Park in Wales, unrest and violence erupted after delegations had failed to secure fairer treatment for the longer serving men. As the mutiny escalated, five soldiers were killed and many were arrested. The soldiers who died on the night of the 4th and 5th March 1919 are buried in St Margaret’s Churchyard, Bodelwydden, Wales. Repatriation of all soldiers was stepped up following the riot.

Launched in December 1918, the Information Bureau was of vital importance to the soldiers. It was formed so that every person of the Overseas Military Forces of Canada could apply for help and information in respect of his demobilisation or civil life. The news of the Bureau was imparted to the soldiers via “The Beaver”, a new magazine for ‘Canadians in Khaki’ dealing with post-war issues. Published in London by the Khaki University, it was intended to channel information to the troops and contained many articles of interest. In its first issue, the front page featured a short biography and photograph of Canadian Prime Minister, The Rt Hon Sir Robert Borden, who had arrived in London for the peace negotiations. Page six was headed “Khaki Kollege Klippings”, containing true accounts such as:

“It would be interesting to know what the teacher of an Engineering class thought when, after an examination, one of his students, who had only obtained 5%, told him in front of the whole class that it was a pretty poor teacher who could not knock more than that into a man’s head”.

One further amusing snippet reads:

“……some of us to whom mathematics was a very trying subject in our early days would like to know how a certain teacher in one of the colleges manages to persuade his class that the study of mathematics is far more interesting and exciting than a baseball game”.

This fifteen-page first edition of “The Beaver” contained information about sports, competitions, letters to the Editor and a full page of useful guidance for Farming students. Colonel Tory had written a full page article entitled “The Birth of A University” which set out how the Khaki University had begun (p8)
It was decided to establish a central Khaki College at Ripon in Yorkshire where hundreds of students were stationed after they left the Continent. Others were dispersed to main British Universities “including Oxford, Cambridge, London, Manchester, Liverpool, Glasgow, Aberdeen, and Edinburgh” (Ref: OMFC, 1918. P478). It was not proposed that they undertook degrees during this time, but were given certificates to confirm the work they completed. They also received their pay and allowances according to rank, as they were still registered as enlisted men.

Dr Tory had perhaps an insight into the minds of soldiers. In late 1917, he had voiced a need to forward plan for the end of the war and envisaged there would be a difficult period during demobilisation. Dr Tory had also wanted a more formal curriculum:

“\textit{I would strongly recommend that plans be put on foot to plant an educational institution into one central camp, A University in Khaki – say the Khaki University of Canada – where practically all branches of study}
During the demobilisation period of 1918 to 1919, it was believed that the Khaki College was a steadying and disciplinary influence to many men besides helping to make up time lost in their education. During the second semester of the academic year of 1918-1919, many students enrolled at the Ripon Khaki College and the University had a faculty of over seventy lecturers. The students remained at Ripon until the Khaki University was closed in June 1919 as the last of the men were shipped home to Canada to resume their former lives. The Khaki University and its Colleges had lasted less than two years, during which time about fifty thousand men registered to take courses and about a thousand of them received educational credits for a year of regular college work.

These figures do not reflect the enormous attendance at other lectures that were offered across Britain and Europe during the two-year tenure of the Khaki University. The OMFC Report quotes that two hundred and thirty-one thousand men attended lectures at some time during 1917 to 1919 and gained some knowledge from almost two hundred thousand books and educational pamphlets (Ref: p481). The attendees represented over thirty-five percent of the entire Canadian Expeditionary Force.

The military authorities were highly supportive of the Khaki University as it provided a new structure for an army which was no longer on a war footing. It replaced the physical routine of drills and parades with positive intellectual activities designed to minimise boredom on a daily basis. Politicians were also aware of the benefits which flowed from the Khaki University. Economically, it was instrumental in preparing men and woman for the challenges of post war Canada. For example, the Agricultural courses produced trained people who could successfully develop the available land in the western Provinces. Politically, it helped to create awareness of Canada’s greater contribution to world events and also it’s changing status as a Dominion within the British Empire. Although there was an unsuccessful attempt to recreate the Khaki University back in Canada during 1919, the scheme was reinstated during the Second World War, encouraging other countries to imitate the concept.

After winding up the Khaki University in 1919, there was a left-over fund in excess of $100,000. It was decided to divide this sum into equal shares and the proceeds distributed to several Canadian Universities spread across all Provinces. The conditions attached to these monies were that the money be converted into the ‘Khaki University and Young Men’s Christian Association Memorial Scholarship Fund’. Furthermore, it authorised the receiving institutions to use the funds for loans to soldier-student who had served overseas and were in need of money to complete their courses. One further stipulation was that future scholarship priority be given to sons and daughters of soldiers of The Great War. (Ref: Johns, 1981. P67) The Memorial Fund continues to the present day, with scholarships still being awarded to the descendants who served in The Great War.
‘The Khaki University of Canada’, conceived during the difficult mid years of The Great War, certainly helped to regenerate the dwindling morale of the soldiers. Its evolution from Bible classes into the comprehensive educational system of 1919 was due to the vision and expertise of Dr Tory and many others who sought to educate the soldiers of the Canadian Expeditionary Force. Of course, many soldiers were disinterested, whilst others used the opportunity purely as a means to combat boredom. However, there were thousands of who benefited from the opportunity to return to Canada with more educational qualifications and pride than when they enlisted. Cook (2002) sums it up succinctly in his conclusion:

“Education was good for morale in the military. It kept soldiers busy with work and conscious that the army seemed to care about them and their
The acceptance of the education movement by senior commanders also goes some way in dispelling the simplistic image of the uncaring Blimp-like generals evoked in post-war poetry, literature and film. Education was seen as a means of helping citizen-soldiers when the firing stopped.” (p134).

After the success of this little known “Grand Experiment” (Mein 1994) of the ‘Khaki University of Canada’, Dr Henry Marshall Tory returned to Alberta University as its President and served until 1928.

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