

A Chaplain's War: Edmund Henry Oliver and the University of Vimy Ridge, 1916-1919

by Jack Coggins

Vimy Ridge, Canada's Glory in the war will be Canada's Glory in the Peace; by the selflessness of those that died on that Battle-furrowed crest, and the mighty deeds of those that fought and lived, there was set up on that Triumphant day, the invisible Portals of the University of Vimy Ridge then-to-be, and its creation in these after-days is hallowed by the serene memory of those noble sons of Freedom who fought and died -- that Canada might live.¹

Captain William Gilmour's dedication to the University of Vimy Ridge "somewhere in France" inspired the first battlefield university -- a "people's university." The notion of a university for the common man emerged during the Great War of 1914-1918. "The Great War for Civilisation" coined by Allied propaganda created a crusading fervour that recruited the cream of Canada's youth. Dr. Edmund Henry Oliver, the University of Saskatchewan's first professor of history and Principal of the fledgling St. Andrew's Presbyterian College, was to don the khaki uniform of the Canadian Expeditionary Force (CEF) as chaplain with the Western Universities Battalion, created from faculty and students of western Canada's universities. Oliver's almost daily three-year correspondence to his wife sheds light on a career in His Majesty's Forces that introduced him to Sam Hughes, Canada's Minister of Militia, John McCrae, the author of "In Flanders Fields", Edward, the Prince of Wales, and General Arthur Currie, commander of the Canadian Army Corps in France. Oliver's observations and commentaries highlighted many of the issues spawned by the War and Canada's emergence from a colony into a nation. As chaplain, his letters chronicle the experiences of Canadian soldiers in the front lines and of those wounded recovering at base hospitals. He celebrated their victory at Vimy Ridge and Passchendaele and the final offensive that helped topple the Imperial German Army. Captain Oliver's war culminated in creating the University of Vimy Ridge -- a "khaki" university born in the trenches of Flanders.

Oliver, former professor of History and Economics and Principal of St. Andrew's College, University of Saskatchewan², enlisted in 1916 as Chaplain of the 196th Western Universities Battalion formed by volunteers of Canada's four western universities.³ The 196th Battalion was

officially created on February 14, 1916 comprising four companies: A Company of the University of Manitoba; B Company from the University of Saskatchewan; C Company from the University of Alberta; and D Company from the University of British Columbia.⁴ Oliver enlisted on May 30 1916, one of many U. of S. faculty to join the colours. Oliver joined the battalion for basic training at Camp Hughes near Brandon.⁵ By October 20 the temperature had fallen to -6 degrees Fahrenheit when departure orders finally arrived and Camp Hughes's dust was gladly abandoned. Oliver preached to the Battalion:

"What a spectacle we now behold in Western Canada! Once again Athens goes forth to Marathon. The Muses march with Mars. The Universities have become militant. Geologists are forming fours. Philosophers rush from muster parade to revolver practice. Professors of mathematics and English literature shout themselves hoarse at physical drill. Chemists are teaching bayonet practice and the mysteries of the Ross rifle; and everybody is swallowing pecks of dust at Camp Hughes. What is it for? ... We are citizens of a great Empire that has stood for self-government that is being tried by fire. We must learn the lesson of the fire and the cross, the university and the church, the lesson of struggle and sacrifice and self-control....⁶

The Western Universities Battalion docked at Liverpool on November 16, 1916 only to learn that the Battalion was to be disbanded and the four companies were to become reserves and reinforcements to replace losses in British and Canadian brigades. Battalion officers' struggle to prevent the dissolution came to naught. The 196th was renamed the 19th Reserve Training Battalion, to replace casualties. Oliver lamented what the Battalion might have done for the country and for the Universities.⁷ While the 196th battalion was undergoing basic training at Camp Hughes, Sir Douglas Haig's 1916 Somme offensive, begun on July 1, ended on November 19, 1916. The terrible casualties of the Somme had depleted all ranks. The Canadian Corps alone suffered over 29,000 casualties. To fill the gaps in the ranks, in December Oliver noted that two hundred Canadian ncos began an officer's training course. Applying for an officer's commission in His Majesty's Overseas Forces required the applicant to cite their father's occupation and their education. Some regarded this

as British class snobbery. Canadians overcame the officer's education prerequisite by substituting "collegiate" for the name of their "high school."⁸

At Bexhill for advanced infantry training, Oliver attended soldiers wounded at the Somme convalescing at the military hospital. One Canadian soldier, seeing the casualties, ruefully hoped to be sent home *before* he was wounded. Oliver observed that survivors spoke of a detached fatalism towards the bullet or shell that had "your number." With the German declaration of unrestricted submarine warfare in February 1917 and the imposition of food rationing, Oliver observed that one captain suspected that Britain could not defeat Germany by arms alone. "The war would be decided upon the Food Question. He did not say in whose favour."⁹

News of the first Allied victory came on April 16-17 when the Canadian Corps took Vimy Ridge. Oliver celebrated the feat of Canadian arms, the first Allied victory since 1914. Vimy Ridge was the first glimmer of hope. Until then Oliver's Director observed grimly "that chaplains would be burying men all summer in France and spending night and day attending them at their bedside in Hospitals."¹⁰ Resentment surfaced when Oliver thought of those who might return after the war: "... When the boys come home many things will be vastly different in their ways of thinking. The war will continue to colour their outlook for years and its lessons will serve to influence the policy of church and state for a long time to come. I shouldn't care to have remained outside of it. I am afraid that the boys will look strangely at many young folks who failed to get into the game."¹¹ His prophetic observation that the war would effect the policy of church and state was prescient. The conscription crisis in Canada was about to break.

Of the first wave of soldiers who joined the Canadian Expeditionary Force in 1914, only 10,880 of the 36,237 men in the first contingent were born in Canada. The remaining 23,000 were born in Britain. For French Canadians this was "Britain's war" and Quebec had little love for either England or France. Prime Minister Robert Borden promised a CEF of 500,000. Borden thought that Canada's contribution to victory would win it a place at the peace conference not as a Imperial colony but as an independent nation. The call to the colours of 250,000 volunteers by 1915 had

exhausted the unmarried and British-born immigrants who returned to fight. Replacements from Canada's 20-39 year old sons was drawn from a population pool of only 1.7 million, according to the 1911 census. Half were engaged in essential services in either farming, or transport and munitions production. There was barely 850,000 left for military service. Canada's corps of 300,000 barely maintained divisions at strength. Where were the rest to come from to replace the fallen of 1916?¹²

In the House of Commons on May 18, 1917, Conservative leader Robert Borden called for a general conscription bill. This provoked a riot in Montreal. Liberal leader, Sir Wilfrid Laurier, insisted that volunteers alone must fill the ranks. Borden charged that Laurier's policy was defeatist and meant "the virtual withdrawal of Canada from the war, the desertion of her soldiers overseas, the abject surrender of her honour, and the utter loss of her pride."¹³ Borden added that "the country could not set any limits to its exertions that fell short of the totality of its powers." Oliver defended Borden:"... "I could not support a government or a party that hesitates to send some of the funk[er]s[sic] over. Liberal or Conservative doesn't count, but winning the war does."¹⁴

Borden's Unionist election strategy was to pass two laws: the Military Service Act with a Military Voters Bill providing for overseas soldiers vote. The other measure, a Wartime Elections Bill offered wives, mothers, sisters and widows of military personnel to vote. Conversely, all conscientious objectors and all immigrants designated as "enemy aliens" lost their franchise. Arthur Meighen, Canada's solicitor-general, explained the extension of the vote to women while withdrawing it from aliens was to "shift the franchise from the doubtful British or anti-British of the male sex and to extend it at the same time to our patriotic women."¹⁵ The election slogan "Who would the Kaiser vote for?" polarized the debate.

Oliver joined the debate commenting that, "France had called up her men from 16 to 60 while the French Canadians were raising the devil because they want men from 20 to 45. I wonder if they know what planet they are living on."¹⁶ Oliver hoped that the French Canadian 22^{ème} Regiment – the Van Doos, had set an example serving overseas. Borden's Wartime Election Act enfranchising sisters, wives and mothers of soldiers on service was endorsed by Oliver who wrote to his wife Rita

entreating her to vote for conscription. "In a time like this if a man won't do his duty then he should without hesitation be conscripted. The War is not over but those Quebeckers act as though they didn't know there was a war at all. It makes one fume. Of course no one wants to get killed but why should a man put a higher value on his carcass than on his manhood or soul. Conscription may not be able to get them into drafts. It may be too hard to enforce, but it will reveal them for what they are."¹⁷ Oliver ended his Dominion Day sermon on July 1, 1917 by quoting a stanza from John McCrae's poem which had appeared in *The Spectator*. One can trace the origins of what became *In Flanders Fields*.

Tell them, O Guns, that we have heard their call
That we have sworn, and will not turn aside,
That we will onward till we win or fall,
That we will keep the faith for which they died.¹⁸

Home front issues paled as Oliver received embarkation orders at the end of August to sail for France in what he later recalled as a year of "Mud and Murder." He arrived in the midst of Sir Douglas Haig's offensive, the Battle of Passchendaele, and reported to the Third Canadian General Hospital at Boulogne. The unit was operated by the McGill YMCA Field Branch Hospital under the command of Lt.- Colonel John McCrae. The base hospital received wounded convoyed from regimental aid posts in the trenches to front line casualty clearing stations. Many wounded had lain for hours out on the battlefield with a fractured femur, or already suffering from trench foot. Their wounds, lack of food and water, mud and rain created secondary infections such as gangrene and pneumonia.¹⁹ Wounded and gassed cases were divided into triage -- the "dangerously ill" cases too serious to be moved to England and "seriously ill" cases that might convalesce in France and return to the front. Poison gas casualties were prone to pneumonia. Many were often temporarily blinded and required Oliver's services to write letters to family. Head, chest and stomach wounds required close watching for post-operative infections. All soldiers hoped for the "Blighty wound" that would

prevent their return to active service and the front. Many veterans of previous battles claimed that Passchendaele was the hottest they had endured.²⁰

Throughout September, the wounded arrived in a continuous stream at the Boulogne hospital. Gas gangrene infection accounted for the rising death toll. "Can you imagine a harder job than writing to their wives. Such wounds as I never saw.... There has been nothing like it here, at any rate since the Somme....I write to quite a few sweethearts. But curiously it is to mothers most of all, for so many are too young to be married."²¹ Oliver spoke of the last moments shared with those mortally wounded; "It makes a man get down to some tremendous realities. You may be chatting and jesting with a chap now and in a few hours you are praying beside him ere he goes out..."²² Oliver shared the final moments with far too many consoling them with his prayers: "It is wonderful how the poor wounded fellows appreciate it. I have never yet had a refusal.... Religion is a very vital element in the life of a man who is near unto death."²³ One casualty was Colonel John McCrae who died from pneumonia. "He was a great fellow, always came to evening service, was quite a philosopher and something of a poet."²⁴

Finally on November 6, two Canadian brigades stormed and held the village of Passchendaele. The "butchers bill" was 240,000 British and Dominion casualties that reaped 37,000 prisoners and another "few thousand square metres of soggy Flanders." During the grim winter of 1917-18 Oliver undertook one of the greatest events of his career as one of the architects of a soldier's university. It restored him to a task that would rebuild a future for so many lives shattered by the war's carnage and devastation. What Oliver called the University of Vimy Ridge in honour of Canada's feat of arms emerged as the Khaki College of Canada. The educational plan called for a soldier's university and ultimately a people's university.

In early 1917 the British Ministry of Reconstruction began to investigate post-war issues. The Canadian National Reconstruction Committees in collaboration with the Ministry planned a "scientific demobilization" to absorb the labour influx of returning soldiers, displaced domestic workers and immigrants fleeing a war-torn Europe. Social peace and the labour question were

uppermost: "...the changed conditions at the close of the war will bring into the field of urgent practical politics, especially the ominous possibilities of widespread unemployment."²⁵ The Committee sought to address many issues: the employment of soldiers, many disabled, who required vocational training. Another issue was the industrial dislocation caused by converting war industries into peacetime enterprises; federal initiatives for the creation of public and municipal works, and finally to encourage agriculture.

The University of Saskatchewan had a significant role to play in the latter. The Reconstruction Committee asked what facilities were available to teach men farming and what Dominion and provincial government assistance was available for farm machinery and vocational agriculture education to make farming attractive. The paper concluded that "the coming of peace will bring keen international competition demanding high efficiency...., and the facilities for assisting the development of business and agriculture, the greater will be the expansion of trade and agriculture and the consequent opportunities for work."²⁶ On April 23, 1917 The Soldiers's Settlement Act was passed by the House of Commons allocating quarter sections of Dominion lands at the disposal of the Ministry of Interior to honourably discharged ex-servicemen or widows of soldiers killed on active service. The Land Settlement Act was passed on 29 August 1917.²⁷ Such were the first federal efforts to convert soldiers into workers and ploughmen.

University of Alberta President Henry Marshall Tory had broached the idea of a soldier's university with Oliver in early August at Bexhill with the task of co-ordinating an Army education scheme in collaboration with Canadian universities. Several colleges in England had started at camps at Seaford under Major Brock, at Bramshott under Capt. Kent, and at Witley and Shorncliffe under Major Wallace. In late November Oliver met with Col. G.W. Birks, head of the YMCA, invited Oliver to preside over the new soldiers college with Tory as chairman and the assistance of two directors, Oliver in France and Clarence McKinnon in England.²⁸ The embryonic Khaki College of Canada would offer courses in senior secondary high school subjects leading to matriculation and entrance prerequisites into Canadian and British universities.²⁹ Oliver's task was to transform an idea into an institution.

Oliver was elated at the prospect of being president of a Canadian University in France.³⁰ The new university scheme received support from the highest levels. Dining with Third Division's commander, Oliver and General Lipsett agreed that the new university would begin with Third Division and would expand to the other three divisions of the Canadian Corps. His executive assistant, Capt. William Gilmour, spoke of a University of Vimy Ridge or a University of Passchendaele, to commemorate Canada's military victories in Flanders.³¹ Oliver was to report to 3rd Divisional Wing of the Canadian Corps Reinforcement Camp. The "University of Vimy Ridge" would be as near as possible to the Front and would provide courses for battalions coming out of the line. But the University lacked almost everything -- staff, books and classrooms. First things first, Oliver and McKinnon began to interview candidates as prospective faculty. A Brigade School Staff would serve as teachers of Agriculture, Business, History and Geography, and Mathematics and Science.

Oliver outlined three levels comprising general lectures to battalions with classes in elementary, secondary education to university levels. The fourth level was private or directed reading for advanced university students in liaison with their home universities. Oliver outlined that the University of Vimy Ridge was to be administered by its Chancellor (Maj-Gen of the Division), himself as President, a Senate, and a University faculty of four brigade staff. The faculty would supervise the work of the school staff, teach at the central village, and lecture to battalion parades on selected topics.³² Indeed, the scheme met with popular acclaim. Oliver reported between 4,000-5,000 students attended lectures; 257 were registered in classes; and 21 were registered in advanced courses.

On December 16 1917 Oliver met with Lieutenant-General Sir Arthur Currie at Canadian Corps Headquarters. Currie commissioned Oliver as Officer in Charge of Technical and Vocational Education for the Canadian Corps believing that the scheme would make better soldiers.³³ Oliver agreed with Currie that "...popular education in [France and Canada]...would make better citizens and more efficient working men."³⁴

The college was constrained by military priorities. Brigade school staff were to receive normal school standard training at the village when the Division manned the front lines. Only when the Division was in reserve or held in support could the teaching program be implemented. Oliver spent early December screening prospective applicants for credentials, auditing sample lectures and course outlines. He was struck by his meteoric rise in stature as Officer Superintendent of Civilian Training for the whole Canadian Corps. "I shall soon have a larger University than he [President Walter Murray] has, and if things go well I expect to have one in each Division, so that apart from being Principal of a College in Saskatoon I may be President of 4 Universities."³⁵

Oliver's vision was shared by YMCA Captain William Gilmour, his chief executive officer, charged with administration in France while Oliver planned policy and handled the higher politics. Gilmour proved indispensable as a scrounger. "Gilmour has been a great help.... He steals the stoves, puts up the tents and drives the YMCA ahead at a pace they have not encountered since they struck France. Gilmour 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 some pamphlets printed and do some advertising." Improvised venues included breweries, mines buildings, tents, and schoolhouses. "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."³⁶ A week later Gilmour had returned from England with 3000 books, a typewriter and stationery and reported that even the War Office had heard about the University of Vimy Ridge.

The greatest handicap was transportation, with schools scattered miles apart. Oliver and his brigade staff were required to either walk or hitch a ride.³⁷ Some classes required a sixteen mile hike, teaching in a makeshift tent, an *estaminet*, or cinema. A week later Oliver had received transportation, of sorts. "In Canada they speak of a Professor appointed to a Chair. Here he is assigned to a bicycle."³⁸ The logistical tasks of the new University were daunting. The lack of books was one problem. Another was their distribution. The transportation of a dozen libraries by truck,

especially in bad weather, was impossible. Gilmour and Oliver camped at Signals headquarters, bribing and cajoling quartermasters and the motor pool for the necessary transport.

The new President rose to the office. By week's end Oliver had his personal transport -- a motorcycle and side car. "So picture the President of the University of Vimy Ridge dashing around the highways of France in a side-car encouraging, exhorting, planning, executing."³⁹

One bone of contention between Edmund Oliver and Henry Marshall Tory concerned the authority and jurisdiction of the two colleges. Oliver was offended to read in the *Times* that Tory claimed *his* University in France as a branch of the Khaki College in England. Oliver insisted that the University of Vimy Ridge was independent and self-governing.⁴⁰ By February 1918 the University was a reality. Oliver wrote proudly that he had a score of reading rooms and schools stretching over a thirty mile area.⁴¹

Oliver celebrated his 36th birthday on February 8, 1918 attending to his task. "The trouble is to chase around and 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."⁴² He worked closely with General Lipsett, 3rd Division commander and General Watson, 4th Division commander. By mid-February Oliver reported 23 libraries scattered over the countryside -- what Oliver likened to a University stretching from between Lanigan and Sutherland.⁴³

Captain Oliver reported an overwhelming response from Canadian soldiers. "Last week our attendance in classes was 3913; at lectures 6390; and books loaned 4412."⁴⁴ News of the University of Vimy Ridge spread throughout the Canadian Corps. General Lipsett and Sir Arthur Currie had endorsed the scheme at staff meetings inspiring inquiries from the Australian and New Zealand Army Corps. In this capacity, Oliver was summoned to address the British Chiefs of Staff at Field Marshal Sir Douglas Haig's headquarters in the second week of March. Rumours of the battlefield university had reached and impressed the "Imperials."⁴⁵ Frustrated by an acute teacher shortage, Oliver bemoaned that recruiting staff must be easier in England than in France where the CEF was

waging a war. He was hampered further by military priorities: "I can overcome every administrative and educational difficulty but the task is to get teachers without interfering with military requirements...."⁴⁶ Military requirements, the German March offensive, indeed intruded on Oliver's university semester.

On March 21, the Germans launched the Michael/Mars offensive against the British Fifth Army near the vital rail junction of Amiens. "Today the Hun has begun his drive," noted Oliver who awoke at 4:40 to the booming German artillery barrage. The German attack was north of the Canadian Corps. Oliver felt that was Germany's last desperate bid that, ultimately, would shorten the war. "The British hold the road to Paris, to the coalfields, to the Channel ports, all important sectors of the line, and I am sure that the Canadians can hold their own with any Bavarian or Prussian or Saxon that may want to control any part of it."⁴⁷

Ludendorff's offensive forced a recess. Normal School classes were interrupted by artillery shrapnel passing through a tent. One of Oliver's staff addressed his students warning them to have rifles oiled and bayonets sharpened. "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."⁴⁸ As the German assault advanced into April Oliver was forced to suspend classes and all staff returned to their units. Oliver was posted as temporary chaplain to 8th Field Ambulance.

The German offensive broke through Gough's second line of trenches and the British front collapsed. Nothing stood between the German army, Amiens and the Channel ports. Haig announced his famous General Order of the Day for 12 April outlining the Allied position as 'backs to the wall': "Many of us are now tired. To those I would say that victory will belong to the side which holds out the longest.... There is no other course open to us but to fight it out! Every position must be held to the last man: there must be no retirement. With our backs to the wall and believing in the justice of our cause, each one of us must fight it out to the end. The safety of our Homes and the Freedom of mankind alike depend upon the conduct of each one of us at this critical moment."⁴⁹ Oliver thought

Sir Arthur Currie's order to the Canadian Corps was 'vastly superior' and cited Currie's order: "... Canadians will advance or fall where they are standing facing the enemy."⁵⁰

The front loomed closer as the German offensive waxed in fury. An artillery shell exploded in a hut killing seven and wounding ten. In a make-shift ward located in a cellar, Oliver worked in a main dressing station ministering to the wounded and dying, and burying the dead. Here Oliver met another of the war's piteous sights -- displaced refugees, their few effects loaded into baby carriages fleeing a war zone. Their fatalistic response was "*C'est la guerre, monsieur*" and they hoped the Hun would be sent home.⁵¹ In the midst of death of young soldiers was the birth of a baby boy by a French woman who pointed to the newborn as her "souvenir Anglais."⁵² Morale was restored when the German attacks stalled. Oliver reported that the French were holding awaiting the arrival of the Americans. "Everybody is full of hope." Oliver argued that each successive German offensive meant "Fritz" was almost ready to throw in the sponge.⁵³ Soldiers commented, "This is a h--l of a war. But it is the best we've got, so we'll have to be contented."⁵⁴

Oliver was surprised to find that the University of Vimy Ridge was still in operation in First Division under Lieutenant Fred Cox. Work began anew to resurrect the battlefield campus. By the end of June Oliver reported attendance up to 3000 and he was invited to address other British Army Units on the Battlefield University.

The Khaki College of Canada scheme in England was having problems of its own. Oliver had awaited news of Dr. Tory's arrival and tour of inspection. Tory's proposed civilian Board of Governors comprising Canadian university presidents would only duplicate military bureaucracy and impede any college administration within the Army. Oliver insisted that Tory, his YMCA staff and Canadian university presidents knew little of the battlefield university's situation or its students. He insisted that the University of Vimy Ridge remain under the command of the Canadian Corps.⁵⁵

In June Tory, with the support of Prime Minister Borden, wrote Oliver formalizing the *ad hoc* military educational schools in France and England. Oliver attended a conference with Corps

Commander Sir Arthur Currie, Sir Robert Borden, Arthur Meighen [Solicitor-General], Calder and Oliver's old friend Colonel Frederick McGreer, Assistant Director of Chaplain Services for the Canadian Corps. The conference decided that Tory would be Director of the Khaki College in England and that the university in France would be independent of the schools in England. Oliver was candid at the conference. He took offense to Tory's "lordly way of claiming to have done everything" and offered to resign and return to the Chaplain Service. "Of course that would leave him [Tory] in the lurch in France.... One thing I have resolved upon, that I shall not be put into a position where Best [YMCA] dominates the situation."⁵⁶ The stress of the past months also took their toll on Oliver. By July 3 he had fallen ill with Spanish influenza. Oliver was visited by Colonel McGreer with Gen. Lipsett's request ordering Oliver's return to 3rd Division's university. Oliver was gratified but had hoped to be posted to Corps rather than to a single division.⁵⁷ Ultimately, Oliver thought that his work might expand from the Canadian Corps to include all Canadian hospitals and forestry camps.⁵⁸

The Khaki College Calendar included many of Oliver's recommendations. The scheme was to be staffed by officers and administered by the military. Tory was to be commissioned as a colonel and Oliver and McKinnon were to be promoted to lieutenant-colonels. Tory and Oliver travelled to Seaford to inspect the facilities and programs of the Khaki College of Canada.⁵⁹ Oliver returned to London to work with Dr. Frank Adams, McGill professor of Applied Sciences, who was Tory's assistant and Deputy Director of the Khaki University. Together they drafted the University of Vimy Ridge calendar and a book list for the standard library.⁶⁰

Like its Khaki College counterpart in London, the University of Vimy Ridge divided the academic year into two four month terms from October 1 1918 until January 31, 1919. The second term began on February 1 and ended May 31 1918. University faculties were divided into five areas: agriculture, commerce, practical science, languages and selected undergraduate university courses. The agriculture curriculum was devoted to soils, livestock, veterinary science, dairy, vegetable and fruit growing, floriculture, forestry, poultry and bookkeeping. Commerce included bookkeeping, auditing, business law, English composition and correspondence, shorthand and typing,

salesmanship, economics, banking and exchange, Canada's resources, industrial problems, and commercial art.⁶¹ Practical sciences offered courses in electricity and magnetism, wireless telegraphy, petrol and steam engines and surveying. The Language faculty offered classes in French, Spanish, Latin and Greek. Finally, undergraduate university work was offered along with reading and correspondence courses.

Also included were Friday evening lectures dealing with topics devoted to literature and science, Sunday afternoon meetings for discussions "of some of the great questions of the present hour, and of the coming days of reconstruction."⁶² London also offered a sports and social program comprising a drama society and glee club. Academic registration was one shilling and two shillings for the seasonal loan of sports equipment.

Unlike the College in London, with classrooms, laboratories, lecture halls, library and textbooks, Oliver's university was London's poorer cousin. The University of Vimy Ridge was truly a battlefield university. Oliver returned to France to serve at 4th Division Canadian Corps Reinforcement Camp in the midst of an Allied offensive under Foch and Haig.⁶³ On August 8 fourteen Canadian and Australian divisions broke through the Hindenburg line. By early September Oliver reported the Canadian Corps' advance to the Drocourt-Quéant Line as Allied armies pursued a retreating German Army. Gains were accompanied by the inevitable casualties when "so many boys went West."⁶⁴ Oliver lamented the news of General Lipsett's transfer from 3rd Division. Lipsett, a University patron, was later killed by a German sniper. Oliver also learned of the death of his University of Saskatchewan colleague Captain Reginald Bateman. "The University is making for itself a great tradition of service and sacrifice."⁶⁵ Even Oliver's Presbyterian College had paid a blood sacrifice: "The University of Saskatchewan has had the full share of deaths and wounded -- a veritable baptism of blood in the first 10 years of its academic existence."⁶⁶

By early October 1918 armistice rumours circulated among the Allied lines with peace negotiations transmitted by Turkey and Austria, two of the Central Powers. Oliver reckoned that Germany would be "left in the lurch." The imminent collapse of Germany's allies even, Oliver

hoped, might spark a revolution in Germany and force the German Kaiser to abdicate. Otherwise the war might persist until the summer of 1919. In any case, the war's end was a matter of months.⁶⁷ "I do not think the soldiers will be satisfied till they have invaded Germany and given them a taste of their own medicine."⁶⁸ By late October Douai and Lille were liberated by the Allies as the German Army fell back to the Rhine.

The Cambrai offensive in October and Valenciennes in November became the battles of the Canadian Corps' "Pursuit to Mons." Oliver's educational work had to take a back seat to Allied military operations. Yet, Oliver's University of Vimy Ridge was vindicated with news of a similar battlefield educational scheme adopted by the New Zealand Army Corps. The British High Command had ordered the immediate implementation of educational training in every Division.⁶⁹ In mid-October Oliver met with Colonel Tory and Captain McKinnon at Canadian Corps Headquarters in Paris to formalize the battlefield university. Here General Arthur Currie and Edward, the Prince of Wales, supported the scheme.⁷⁰ The beginning of November found Oliver working on timetables, interviews with prospective teachers, and liaison with 3rd Division.⁷¹

On November 11 Oliver was woken by shouts of celebration. His second year in France coincidentally also fell on the armistice. At 11 o'clock the 44th Battalion Band played *La Marseillaise*, "God Save the King" and "O Canada" to cheers and celebration. Oliver shed tears at the news of the cease-fire. Oliver was struck by the silence, the absence of gunfire. "The War is over and Peace has been won. The world has been made safe for democracy and we'll all get home to our wives."⁷² "All is quiet on the Western Front.... It looks as though the Hohenzollerns have gone the way of the Romanoffs. The autocracies have perished from the earth, and it is good riddance."⁷³ One British Tommy asked, "What about an extra issue of rum?"⁷⁴

The armistice saw the Canadian Corps advancing through Mons to the Rhine as part of the Allied army of occupation. Roads were packed with crowds of returning refugees pushing carts and household goods. The Canadians advanced into areas of Belgium formerly occupied by the Germans. German signs were still posted about the newly liberated towns. One German sign "Zum

Understand" (to the cellar) was penned under by one British soldier "and some don't."⁷⁵ Mons, the site of the war's first battles in 1914 was the last to be liberated in 1918. However, impatient Canadian soldiers serving with the Allied Army of Occupation chanted "Christmas on the Rhine, Easter in Canada." The University of Vimy Ridge had a role to play both during the occupation of Germany, the demobilization in England and repatriation to Canada. Oliver learned from Field Marshal Haig's GHQ that the University was to be re-established as part of regular training during the armistice and demobilization. The Khaki Colleges would be part of a mass vocational training scheme for hundreds of thousands of Imperial troops.

On November 8, 1918 Colonel Tory received the Privy Council Report P.C. 2322 approved by the Governor-General on September 19, 1918 providing for the establishment of the Department of Educational Services in the Overseas Forces of Canada, the Khaki University of Canada. The Privy Council outlined the objectives of the university: (a) to promote an intellectual interest in the war and its problems; (b) to offer an opportunity for intellectual improvement and continuing studies interrupted by the war; and (c) to offer instruction in peacetime occupations after demobilization. Tory outlined steps taken to secure necessary teaching staff from the Army. The General Staff was to provide names of all former teachers in the Overseas Force of the Canadian Army. By November 1918 the London office of the Khaki University reported nearly one thousand registrants. Unfortunately, some areas had to suspend operations due to the influenza epidemic.⁷⁶

At Gosselies an educational conference chaired by General Currie, the four generals of the Corps and education officers of the four divisions organized compulsory classes for all who could not read or write. Throughout November and December education was made a part of the regular training for 1½ hours a day. Oliver received his appointment as Acting Lieutenant-Colonel and Assistant Director of Educational Services in France.⁷⁷ The Canadian Corps advanced through Belgium from Gosselies to Namur and Huy destined for Bonn. On December 5, 1918 Oliver watched the Second Division of General Currie's Canadian Corps cross the Rhine bridge into Bonn. Here Oliver took over many of the University of Bonn's facilities as quarters for his own university. At Schleiden, Germany Oliver was billeted with the Superintendent of District Police or Herr

Oberwachtsmeister. Here he noticed the sullen resentment of the defeated. "People have given up their rooms to us. Of course they had to. Some do it graciously, others are not so eager, yet they have to do it.... The woman is courteous enough but the man, I know, would like to bite us – only he can't." Some Canadian soldiers took offence to a marble statue of Kaiser William and knocked the spike from its helmet, smashed the statue's nose and the sword in its hand, and placed a Union Jack on it. A German citizen tore the British flag from the statue and trampled it. He was arrested and thrown into prison.⁷⁸

Oliver noted that his name was never mentioned in press reports of the new "Khaki University of Canada" but remained satisfied with initiating the educational program. While awaiting orders for demobilization the new Khaki College of Canada in France embraced the Forestry Corps, Hospitals, as well as the Corps' four divisions. Oliver taught German language classes to help Canadian soldiers find their way around. By year's end, Oliver reported that Gilmour had arrived in France with sixteen tons of books for the Khaki University. By mid-January, Oliver reported 15,000 Canadian soldiers in France were enrolled in courses or attending lectures. Oliver travelled from Bonn to Cologne, Namur, Aix-La-Chapelle, Liège, and Huy to supervise the task. But his work in France was circumscribed by the fact that the Canadian Corps was demobilizing and embarking for England. He wondered whether upon his return he could settle down to teaching Theology.⁷⁹

Outward amicable relations between Oliver and Tory again deteriorated with conflict over their respective jurisdictions. Travelling to London for another conference, Oliver was surprised to learn that Dr. Tory had issued a calendar for what he called the Khaki Theological College. Oliver complained that he was being kept in the dark while Tory and his McGill coterie constituted a sort of mutual admiration society.⁸⁰ As the Canadian Corps was demobilized in France, Oliver saw that his educational scheme was also being demobilized. The Khaki University of Canada in England was supplanting the University of Vimy Ridge in France and Oliver complained that his work went unrecognized even though the Khaki College in France had 15,000 students to its English

counterpart of 9,000. His evident displeasure of Tory's interference was underscored when Oliver credited the educational work in France to the Army and not to Tory's Khaki College.

By February Oliver's monthly report noted over 17,000 students and between 45,000 and 50,000 attending lectures in January. By mid-February Oliver, too, was demobilising his faculty as the Canadian Division embarked for England. Oliver became increasingly sensitive to Tory's criticisms and vented his frustrations upon the Khaki College's director: "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. Oliver vowed to complete the task in France but washed his hands of Tory's College in England.⁸¹ Tory's attempt to mollify Oliver only served to aggravate his subordinate. Tory wrote to Oliver noting that he would credit Oliver's work in France when the history of the Khaki College was written. Oliver, later, caustically refused to be Tory's "literary hack" but was determined to write his own. Oliver confessed to his sense that both Tory and Assistant Director of Chaplain Services lacked confidence in his abilities. This was due, in part, to Oliver's unwillingness to become Tory's subordinate.⁸²

In many ways, Edmund Oliver was suffering from "combat fatigue." To a reader of his correspondence, Oliver's vision, the focus of his strenuous efforts to improvise, organize, and administer the University of Vimy Ridge had taken a toll. His once thriving educational cause was quickly dismantled with the embarkation of the Canadian Corps from France. From Boulogne, Oliver reflected on his ten months in England and twenty months in France. "I remember in 1916 we thought we should never get to France if we didn't hurry." The end of May 1919 completed three years with His Majesty's Forces: "Three years have made many differences. Bateman has gone, scores of men I have known over here will never return to Canada at all." Rita had been a model soldier's wife, brave, plucky, never complaining. Oliver promised Rita that their eighth wedding anniversary would be their last separation.⁸³

Oliver embarked on the *S.S. Adriatic* at Liverpool for Canada. The war had been won. What of the peace? The Armistice and peace had both domestic and national repercussions. The

experience of mass soldiering, the break-down of class barriers, the strong communal loyalties was the shared experience of those at the front. Historian John Stevenson noted the war's cultural impact on young men. The Great War was the end of "a startling innocence and ignorance which preserved a kind of stoic endurance and naive patriotism." A revolution born in the trenches heralded a new age of mass culture. Cigarette smoking, cinema, the use of contraceptives and the decline of organized religion could be attributed to the war.⁸⁴ As Imperial Forces demobilized their governments prepared for the dawn of the common man with some trepidation in light of the social and political effects of the war and the Russian Revolution.

Whereas the British Army had escaped the wide-spread mutiny of the French Army in 1917, the inadequacies of the demobilization plan provoked serious unrest at army camps in France and in England. There were incidents in Calais, Dover and Folkestone, while in North Wales a mutiny in the Canadian's camp at Rhyl led to fatal casualties.⁸⁵ These incidents and a wave of mounting industrial action in Britain and the Winnipeg General Strike in Canada appeared to portend a growing threat of revolution. Winston Churchill's solution for frustrated soldiers impatient with bureaucracy were pacified by the minister's "first in, first out" scheme.⁸⁶

The University of Saskatchewan's President, Walter Murray, learned of the Khaki College through Tory's deputy, Dr. Frank Adams, formerly of McGill's faculty of Applied Sciences. Adams was serving as Lieutenant-Colonel and deputy-director of the Khaki University. The University of Vimy Ridge and the later Khaki College were supported by *alma maters* in Canada. Facilities for vocational rehabilitation training schools included Military Convalescent Hospitals at Moose Jaw, Fort Qu'Appelle, the Saskatoon Vocational School, and the University of Saskatchewan. These were linked with the Military Hospitals Commission (MHC). The MHC offered vocational rehabilitation for soldiers disabled by tuberculosis, gas poisoning, amputations, deafness, rheumatism, trench fever, shell shock, traumatic epilepsy, and blindness. Moose Jaw's MHC School offered courses in motor mechanics, steam engineering, gas engineering, a commercial course, oxy-acetylene welding, plumbing, shoe repair, telegraphy, book-keeping and even embalming.

By September 1918, Adams reported to Dr. Murray between three and four thousand Canadian soldiers enrolled in the Khaki College and including another 2,600 students in the correspondence department. Student-soldiers were scattered everywhere from firing lines, to training and rest camps, hospitals and forestry camps, with transport lines stretching from the Pyrenees to the Highlands of Scotland.⁸⁷ Sixty travelling libraries were kept small in order to adapt to movement orders. Of immediate concern was the lack of course textbooks in adequate numbers to satisfy the expected demands of 50,000 demobilized soldiers.⁸⁸

President Murray was able to offer winter courses through the Agriculture College including bacteriology, animal husbandry, agricultural engineering, carpentry, blacksmithing, motor mechanics, farm implements, arithmetic and accounts, English, and dairy science. The simple prerequisites were farm experience of at least one season, seeding to harvest, either on his own farm or as farm labourer "... to qualify them better for making a success of farming."⁸⁹

Tory's staff in London coordinated the Khaki College in Britain with Canada's university programs. Tory gratefully accepted the books forwarded from the University of Saskatchewan and apprised President Murray of the issues faced by the fledgling institution. In the midst of demobilization the strains were enormous. In February the Khaki College had over 20,000 in organized classes, eight hundred in 1st and 2nd year and matriculation work at Ripon assisted by historians George Wrong and Frank Underhill, while another three hundred were enrolled in British Universities. The British government also offered financial aid for Canadians in the British forces.⁹⁰ This was confirmed by the Imperial War Office's Army Council Instruction No. 280, April 28, 1919 providing funding for education and training for ex-officers and men of His Majesty's naval, military, and air forces both in the United Kingdom and the Empire overseas.⁹¹ The Khaki University's branches were spread throughout Britain with classes at Basingstoke, Bearwood, Bexhill, Bovington, Bramshott, Buxton, Cooden, Earthham, Epsom, Farnham, Kerrimuir, Ripon, Seaford, Shorncliffe, Sunningdale, Witley, and London. Its Correspondence Department offered courses at Bramshott, Rhyl, Seaford, Sunningdale, and Witley.

The Beaver, issued by the Khaki University of Canada, outlined Tory's vision for the Khaki University and its role in demobilisation, repatriation and reconstruction. By February 1919 Tory's staff had created a pattern similar to Oliver's work in France, Belgium and Germany. Battalion schools taught elementary education and elementary agriculture and commercial arithmetic. Area colleges were devoted to secondary matriculation in agriculture, commerce, elementary practical science and languages. The Ripon camp attended to university undergraduate courses in Arts, applied Science, Agriculture, Pre-Medicine and Law. Finally, British universities enrolled two hundred Canadian soldiers, a hundred each from Britain and France as senior and graduate students.⁹² An interesting facet of the Khaki University was its one hundred female students. *The Beaver* reported enrollment of 100 women in laundry, cooking, and agricultural home economics classes. "Thus a place was found for every man [and women] in the army who is anxious to improve his [her] education."⁹³

Permanent barracks allowed Tory's operation to register 13,321 students: 3913 in agriculture, 1818 in commerce, 2686 in engineering, and 886 attending either senior matriculation or university courses. The Khaki University devoted its attention to elementary teaching as one quarter of its students (2680) were completing elementary matriculation. It was discovered in one brigade of the First Canadian Division that 56 men could neither read nor write.⁹⁴ Tory repeated Oliver's difficulties of administering the College due to the almost constant movement of troops; the dispersal of these soldiers for billeting; and the lack of everything from facilities to heating. Elementary education and vocational subjects took priority. Tory reported that agriculture was undoubtedly the most popular subject.

In France and Belgium the Khaki College confirmed Oliver's statistics: 17,000 student soldiers were registered in classes while general lectures had between 45,000 and 50,000 in attendance. Dr. Adams attributed the numbers to the encouragement and support of military authorities and the popularity among the troops. Educational policy for each unit was not arbitrarily imposed from without but arose from the unit. Dr. J.A. Dole's lecture to assembled troops, "Education as investment, personal and national," was characteristic of the Khaki College's mandate

and the future life-skills of its students. Adams reported that in Belgium the Namur depot had distributed Canadian Government literature, 36,000 scribblers, 8,000 pencils, 2,000 drawing books, 96 gross of chalk, drawing boards, equipment and text books of all descriptions. The University of Brussels, Ghent and Louvain provided lectures to the Canadian Division stationed in Belgium. Many Imperial troops had also asked for a series of lectures on Canada and Canadian conditions. Brigadier-General Hackson of the 34th Infantry Brigade noted, "I can assure you that the lectures were enormously appreciated. I cannot but feel that these visits from representatives of the Dominions have a most beneficial effect in binding together more closely the bonds between them and the Mother Country."⁹⁵

The effort may have brought the Dominions closer to Britain but it also reflected those Dominions coming of age and independence. Tory affirmed that "The University in Khaki will be made the starting point of a great forward movement, not only in agriculture and industry, but in the spiritual, educational, and political life of Canada."⁹⁶

Following demobilisation, Dr. Edmund Henry Oliver (Lt. Col. retired) returned to the University of Saskatchewan as Principal of St. Andrew's Presbyterian College and professor of New Testament Theology and Church History. He promoted the union of the Congregationalists, Methodists and Presbyterians in what became the United Church of Canada. In 1925 he became President of the Saskatchewan Conference visiting churches and missions throughout the province. In 1930 he was elected Moderator of the United Church of Canada as the Great Depression hit the Prairies. Oliver's new war was waged against the poverty and hunger of his parishioners. His funeral eulogy noted that his sudden death in July 1935 was due, in part, to his efforts on behalf of his flock whose generosity he aroused or where his efforts stimulated them to greater exertions. In 1921 he became a Fellow of the Royal Society of Canada, received honorary degrees from the Universities of Queen's, Toronto and Saskatchewan and from the Theological Colleges, Emmanuel in Toronto and Union in Vancouver.⁹⁷

Dr. Henry Marshall Tory returned to Edmonton in 1919 and founded what became the Alberta Research Council in 1921. In 1923 he was appointed to the National Research Council (NRC) in Ottawa where he pressed the federal government to build its proposed National Research Council Laboratories realised by 1932. Three years later, at 71, Tory retired from his Council headship. In 1941 he opened Carleton College in Ottawa becoming its unpaid president and lecturer until his death in 1947.

Tory's Khaki University had some 50,000 men enrolled in varied academic or job-training courses given at military camps or hospitals that continued into 1919 and would be renewed in 1945-46 for another generation of Canadians serving in the Second World War. Canada's universities and most notably its extension divisions would reach the larger community. The University of Vimy Ridge and the Khaki University of Canada were dedicated to the education of its citizen-soldiers who had fought for Canada. William Gilmour wrote in *The Beaver* that the University of Vimy Ridge was not the "stately building of sculptured stone hallowed by the memory of by-gone men of learning....., [nor the] cloistered lawns and verdant playing fields [but] tortured lands, pock-marked by shell craters, clothed with towzled grass bedewed with blood and tinged with T.N.T. The playing fields of the undergraduates of this university are the battlefields of destiny."⁹⁸ Edmund Henry Oliver and Henry Marshall Tory transformed a Khaki University founded under canvas amid war's ruins. Its founders hoped their victory would be what Georges Clemenceau, France's Premier, called a victory for "the liberation of civilisation and the liberty of the human conscience."⁹⁹

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Primary Sources - University of Saskatchewan Archives:

The Oliver Papers, University of Saskatchewan Archives, 95/1, 95/2, 95/3.

Faculty Biographies, Oliver, E.H. University of Saskatchewan Archives.

President's Office fonds Series: I

A. General Correspondence 29. Ga-Gl. University of Saskatchewan Archives.

J.E. Murray Collection MG 61S1 30. Khaki University 1918-19.

Khaki University (1918-1937), University of Saskatchewan Archives File No. 62.

WUB -- Western Universities Battalion -- 196th, October 21 1916. 1-2.

The Beaver, Vol 1, No. 10, London, February 15 1919.

Secondary Sources

Finlay, J.L. and D.N. Sprague, *The Structure of Canadian History*, (6th edition, Prentice-Hall, 2000.

Morton, Desmond, *A Military History of Canada: From Champlain to Kosovo*, Toronto: McClelland & Stewart, 1999.

Stevenson, John, *British Society 1914-45*, Harmondsworth, Middlesex, Penguin, 1984., 98-99.

The North Saskatchewan Regiment Cede Nullis.

1. President's Office fonds Series: I A. General Correspondence 29. Ga-GI, Capt. William Gilmour to President Watler Murray, London 1 April 1918, University of Saskatchewan Archives.

2. Oliver was appointed Professor of History and Economics at the University of Saskatchewan in 1909. In 1911 he married Marguerite Cowling and in 1912 Dr. Oliver resigned his position as Professor of History to become Principal of St. Andrew's College of the Presbyterian Church. His publications included *Roman Economic Conditions under the Republic*, *The Canadian North-West* (2 vols.), *Settlement of the Prairies 1867-1914*, and *The Winning of the Frontier*.

3. The idea of a western universities battalion originated with Major R.F. McWilliams, commander of the University of Manitoba's Canadian Officer Training Corps. He took up the idea with Brigadier-General R.F. Ruttan, O/C Military District No. 10 and General John Hughes, inspector-general of Western Forces. Approved on 1 December 1915, a shortfall of volunteers required a larger pool of manpower. On January 15 1916 it was decided to invite other universities to help raise the battalion. Captain M.R. Wilson and Captain R.F. Argue, faculty members of the University of Manitoba, invited the Presidents of the Universities of Saskatchewan, Alberta and British Columbia for their support to recruit a Western Universities Battalion. On 25 January 1916 Major McWilliams proposed the unique battalion to Lieutenant-General Sam Hughes, Minister of Militia, who approved. However, Militia Staff advised that instead of a battalion, a series of companies should be raised as reinforcements for the Princess Patricia's Canadian Light Infantry. On February 7 1916 it was decided that the Unit would be recruited from three military districts under the direction of Maj. R.F. McWilliams, O/C COTC, President F.F. Wesbrook of the University of British Columbia, President H.M. Tory of the University of Alberta, President Walter C. Murray of the University of Saskatchewan and President J.A. McLean of the University of Manitoba.

4. *WUB -- Western Universities Battalion -- 196th*, October 21 1916. 1-2. Khaki University, University of Saskatchewan Archives. The University Presidents Committee selected Lieutenant Colonel Daniel S. MacKay of the Cameron Highlanders of Winnipeg as commanding officer; Major R.W. Brock, Dean of the Faculty of Engineering at UBC and of the Seaforth Highlanders as second-in-command; Captain M. C. Rousseau as adjutant; Dr. T.W. Walker of Saskatoon as Medical Officer; Lieutenant. C.R. Hopper of Manitoba Agricultural College as Machine-Gun officer; Hon. Captain C.S. Burgess as quartermaster; Hon. Captain J.M. MacEachern as paymaster.

5. Oliver Papers, Faculty Biographies, Oliver, E.H., University of Saskatchewan Archives. He left behind his pregnant wife, Rita, and their young son Murray. The arrival of "Molly" turned out to be Oliver's second son, John Watson.

-
- 6.. "A Preachment by Padre," *WUB -- Western Universities Battalion -- 196th*, October 21 1916, 12.
 7. Oliver Papers, February 23, 1917.
 8. Oliver Papers, December 17, 1916. One soldier's father was a barber. He was advised to claim his father as an "artist" albeit a "tonsonial artist."
 9. Oliver Papers, May 23, 1917. Oliver succumbed to press reports of the Germans forced to boil the dead to extract glycerine for munitions. Oliver cited Sir Arthur Henderson's grim statistics of the cost to date: 46,000,000 casualties including 7,000,000 killed and the cost to Britain of £9,000,000.
 10. Oliver Papers, May 10, 1917.
 11. Oliver Papers, May 2, 1917.
 12. J.L. Finlay, D.N. Sprague, *The Structure of Canadian History*, 6th edition, Prentice-Hall, 2000, 338.
 13. *Ibid.*, 340.
 14. Oliver Papers, May 29, 1917.
 15. *Ibid.*, 340-41.
 16. Oliver Papers, June 14, 1917.
 17. Oliver Papers, July 2, 1917. Oliver was inflamed by the Liberal Convention that endorsed Laurier's anti-conscription policy. He cited *The London Times* report of 280,000 volunteers from the rest of Canada while only 14,000 volunteers were from Quebec. Borden gained Western support by promising draft exemptions for farmers and farm workers. The outcome of the election was determined in advance with the third reading of Meighen's legislation in the House of Commons. Seventy-five percent of the Quebec electorate voted against conscription; sixty-four percent of the rest of Canada voted for compulsory military service.
 18. Oliver Papers, July 1, 1917.
 19. Oliver Papers, October 14, 1917.
 20. Oliver Papers, September 10 1917.
 21. Oliver Papers, October 15, 1917.
 22. Oliver Papers, October 6, 12, 1917.
 23. Oliver Papers, October 6, 1917.
 24. Oliver Papers, 30 January, 1918.
 25. Dept. of Soils, C. W.J. Rutherford (Dean, College of Agriculture) 1. Educ. of Ret. Soldiers, Canadian National Reconstruction Groups Publication No. 1 (n.d.), University of Saskatchewan

Archives.

26. *Ibid.*, Canadian National Reconstruction Groups Publication No. 5 (n.d.)

27. J.E. Murray Collection MG 61S1 30. Khaki University 1918-19, Land Settlement Act.

28. Captain Clarence Mackinnon, D.D. was Principal of the Presbyterian Theological College in Halifax, Nova Scotia. Mackinnon met Tory's YMCA Mission at Witley camp in the summer of 1917. Together with Captain George MacDonald of the General Staff, the Committee drafted the organization and curriculum for the Canadian Corps. see Capt. Clarence Mackinnon, Khaki University of Canada Memorandum of Work in England and France, I. History, 1-2 in Oliver Papers, General Correspondence, University of Vimy Ridge 1917-19, University of Saskatchewan Archives.

29. Oliver Papers, December 7, 1917. College prerequisites were senior matriculation equivalents in English, Latin, Greek, French, History, Algebra and Arithmetic, Geometry-Trigonometry, Physics and Chemistry -- "... all the various lessons that make men unhappy in civilian life."

30. Oliver Papers, November 27, 1917.

31. Oliver Papers, December 3, 4, 1917.

32. Oliver Papers, December 7, 1917.

33. Oliver Papers, January 7, 1918.

34. Oliver Papers, January 16, 1918.

35. Oliver Papers, December 8, 9, 1917.

36. Oliver Papers 95/2, January 1, 1918.

37. Oliver Papers, January 2, 1918.

38. Oliver Papers, January 23, 30, 1918.

39. Oliver Papers, January 30 1918.

40. Oliver Papers, January 26, 1918.

41. Oliver Papers, February 1, 1918.

42. Oliver Papers, February 7, 1918.

43. Oliver Papers, February 17, 1918

44. Oliver Papers, February 21, 1918.

45. Oliver Papers, March 14, 1918.

46. Oliver Papers, February 16, 1918.

-
47. Oliver Papers, March 22, 1918.
 48. Oliver Papers, March 27, 1918.
 49. Cowley, *op. cit.*
 50. Oliver Papers, April 28, 1918.
 51. Oliver Papers, April 12, 16, 17, 1918.
 52. Oliver Papers, April 20, 1918.
 53. Oliver Papers, July 17, 1918.
 54. Oliver Papers, July 28, 1918. Oliver expressed his thanks for raisins, salted almonds and 18 pairs of sox[sic] from Women's Auxiliary knitting clubs. Oliver passed the socks. Chocolate was the most prized. In France, sugar is rationed to ½ pound a month.
 55. Oliver Papers, March 3, 1918.
 56. Oliver Papers, August 7, 1918.
 57. Oliver Papers, July 18, 1918.
 58. Oliver Papers, July 3, 1918.
 59. Oliver Papers, August 10, 14, 1918.
 60. J.E. Murray Collection MG 61S1 30. Khaki University 1918-19, University of Saskatchewan Archives. Many U. of S. faculty were in uniform, President Murray noted, in his reply to Dean Adams' request, 6 May 1918, for a complete list of all U of S faculty and undergraduates who had gone to the front. Murray noted twelve including Frank Underhill, Reginald Bateman, Frederick Freer and Edmund Oliver. Along with Captain William Gilmour, Freer, as assistant director of chaplain services for the YMCA, became one of Oliver's key executive officers in the University of Vimy Ridge.
 - 1) E. H. Oliver, Principal Theological College, Prof. of English(?) at U of S since 1909, now chaplain of 196th Battalion.
 - 2) Reginald J. Bateman, Prof. of English since 1909, Captain 46th Battalion.
 - 3) Frank H. Underhill, Prof. of History, Herts Battalion.
 - 4) C. Jack Mackenzie, Prof. of Civil Engineering, 54th Battalion in France.
 - 5) John P. Oliver, lecturer in Civil Engineering, c/o Forestry Battalion in France.
 - 6) W. Y. Hunter, instructor in English, Major of 203rd Battalion.
 - 7) John Strain, instructor of Field Husbandry, Queen's Artillery, instructor of University of Vimy Ridge.
 - 8) F.J. Freer, instructor in Physics, mobilized with 196th Battalion, First C.M.Rs.
 - 9) F.A. Canzi, instructor in Physics, mobilized with Signal Corps.
 - 10) A.M. Walker, demonstrator in Chemistry, 196th Battalion.
 - 11) H. Saville, instructor in Agriculture, enlisted with RFC. Still in Canada.
 - 12) J.W. Eaton, professor of German, Intelligence officer BEF.

61. Khaki University of Canada for Soldiers of the Canadian Overseas Forces, Calendar for Session of 1918-1919, London: September 1918, University of Saskatchewan Archives, President's Office fonds Series I, 62. Khaki University, (1918-1937). 5-6, 9-10.

62. Ibid., 20.

63. Oliver Papers, August 24, 1918.

64. Oliver Papers, September 6, 1918.

65. Oliver Papers, September 19, 21, 1918.

66. Oliver Papers, October 23, 1918.

67. Oliver Papers, October 6, 1918.

68. Oliver Papers, October 20, 1918.

69. Oliver Papers, September 25, 1918.

70. Oliver Papers, October 18, 1918: "Had lunch with General Currie and the Prince of Wales. The Prince [Edward] is a bright young fellow of 24. I was very favourably impressed with him. We talked about our educational work and he thought it was a "jolly good scheme." He said he was coming to Canada next August. I said he must be sure to see the Prairies. He replied -- "I want to be sure to see everybody."

71. Oliver Papers, November 6 1918.

72. Oliver Papers, November 12, 1918.

73. Oliver Papers, November 13, 1918.

74. Oliver Papers, November 11, 1918.

75. Oliver Papers, November 13, 1918.

76. Minutes of Seventh Meeting of the Provisional Overseas Executive of the Khaki University of Canada Friday Nov. 8, 1918. Khaki University 1918-1937 file no. 62, University of Saskatchewan Archives.

77. Oliver Papers, December 1, 1918.

78. Oliver Papers, January 8, 1919.

79. Oliver Papers, December 28, 1918.

80. Oliver Papers, January 21, 1919.

81. Oliver Papers, February 24, 1919.

-
82. Oliver Papers, April 12, 1919.
83. Oliver Papers, May 31, 1919.
84. John Stevenson, *British Society 1914-45*, Harmondsworth, Middlesex, Penguin, 1984, 96.
85. *Ibid.*, 98.
86. *Ibid.*, 97-98.
87. Lt-Col. Frank Adams, Deputy Director of Khaki University of Canada, to Pres. Murray September 21, 1918.
88. J.E. Murray Collection, Lt-Col. Frank Adams, Deputy Director of Khaki University of Canada, to Pres. Murray, 6 Nov. 1918.
89. J.E. Murray Collection, MG 61S1 30. Khaki University 1918-19, University of Saskatchewan Archives.
90. *Ibid.*, Hon. Col. H.M. Tory Khaki University of Canada H.Q. Bedford Square London to Pres. Murray University of Saskatchewan, 19 March 1919. University of Saskatchewan Archives File No. 62: Khaki University (1918-1937).
91. Khaki University (1918-1937), File No. 62, University of Saskatchewan Archives.
92. *The Beaver*, Vol 1, No. 10, London, February 15, 1919.
93. *Ibid.*, 6-7.
94. *Ibid.*, 4.
95. Khaki College, Report of Assistant Director of Educational Services, Canadians. Month ending January 31st 1919, University of Saskatchewan Archives.
- | | 1 st Can Div | 2 nd Can Div. | 3 rd Can Div | 4 th Can Div | |
|-------------------------------|-------------------------|--------------------------|-------------------------|-------------------------|------|
| (a) total in education | 4357 | 2085 | 3371 | 5569 | |
| (b) agriculture | 1258 | 440 | 428 | 1296 | |
| (c) commercial | | 698 | 401 | 1726 | 1674 |
| (d) elem.practical science | 164 | 478 | 45 | 101 | |
| (e) trades | 1082 | 87 | 259 | 704 | |
| (f) elementary | 1155 | 596 | 945 | 1060 | |
| (g) attendance other lectures | 12688 | 3289 | 14047 | 9727 | |
96. *The Beaver*, Vol. 1, No. 10, February 15, 1919, 1.
97. Faculty Biographies, Oliver, E.H., Proceedings of the Royal Society of Canada, 1936, University of Saskatchewan Archives.
98. "University of Vimy Ridge: Villers au Bois, March 1918," in *The Beaver*, (n.d.)

99. *The Beaver*, Vol 1, No. 10, February 15, 1919, 7.