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**THE EDUCATION OF NON-COMMISSIONED OFFICERS, SOLDIERS
AND THEIR CHILDREN IN BRITAIN'S CANADIAN GARRISONS
1800-1890**

by

Charles S. Bradley, B. A.

A thesis submitted to
the Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research
in partial fulfilment of
the requirements for the degree of
Master of Arts.

Department of History
Carleton University
Ottawa Ontario
April 18, 2002

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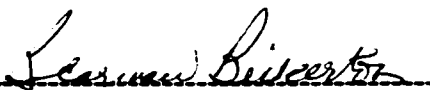
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Thesis Supervisor

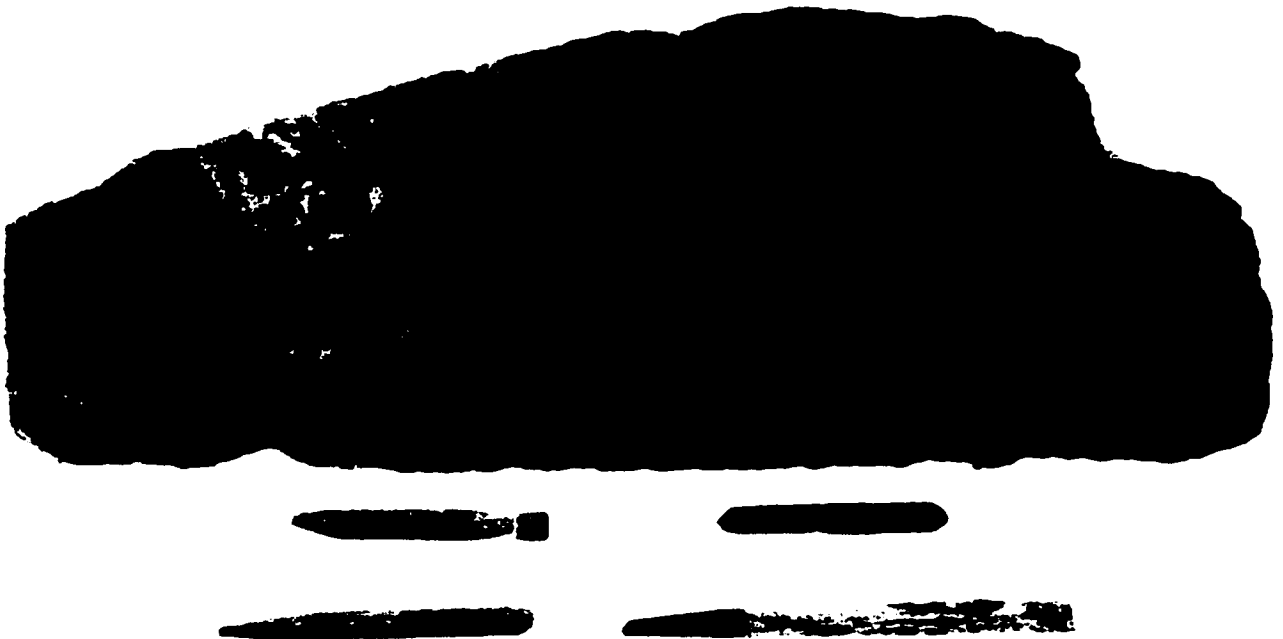

Chair, Department of History

Carleton University

6 May 2002

Figure: 1

A fragmented slate board and four slate pencils recovered during archaeological investigation of the Fort Wellington latrine, Prescott, Ontario. Note that one of the pencils has been worked at one end in order to tie it to a writing board. The context in which they were recovered suggests deposition during occupation by the Royal Canadian Rifle Regiment, a unit characterized by the large number of children carried on the strength of the regiment. Photograph: R. Chan, Parks Canada.



ABSTRACT

This study profiles the development of schools for soldiers and children of the regiments serving garrison duty in nineteenth-century Canada. It describes the structure of the army school system, the motives of its providers, and the intricacies of its policies. The work examines the reasons why British authorities were compelled to recognize the concept of schooling for the rank and file as well as their children. Educational reforms remained in the forefront of social reform within the army and, as such, stimulated much debate. Although the motivation was initially operational and humanitarian, schools were increasingly viewed by army policy makers and administrators as an instrument of socialization. For whatever reason, the military established schools for soldiers and their children well in advance of their civilian contemporaries. The analysis also examines whether Canada's unique geographic location affected the British government's attitude towards education and family in the military. Through examination of the Royal Canadian Rifle Regiment, a special unit raised to deal with problems of garrison duty in British North America, the thesis reveals that schools became an increasingly significant facet of garrison life, demanding more and more of the administration's attention and resources. The study also shows that the detached nature of military duties associated with these units fostered an increasingly dysfunctional education system within Canadian garrisons, foreshadowing a general decline in the quality of schooling for all children of the British military towards the end of the century.

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INTRODUCTION

Origin and Early Growth: Schooling and the Military to 1850

If 'e 'as three stripes, 'e can read and write. If 'e 'as two stripes, 'e can read or write. If 'e 'as one stripe, 'e knows someone who can read or write.

(Anonymous)

The early nineteenth century was a period of intense class conflict. The army in both its composition and attitudes mirrored the social character of the age. It served as a forum for controversial issues spearheading traditional, moral and ethical, as well as evolving radical concepts inherent in the emerging forces of British industrial society. Schooling served as one focus of considerable debate over "army reform," a topic subjected to dramatically opposing views within the officer class. The examination of educational attitudes within the army, and its role in the socialization of soldiers and their children, is instructive of the struggle over army reform and the larger issue of class conflict.

William Cobbett enlisted in the 54th, the West Norfolk Regiment of Foot, in 1783 and served the balance of his military career on colonial service in the province of New Brunswick. As there was little provision for educating the common soldier at this period, Cobbett drove himself to learn to read and write. In the eight years he was in the army, Cobbett rose to the influential non-commissioned rank of sergeant-major. Cobbett became pre-eminent as a political essayist and social critic after his discharge in 1791. His outspoken criticism on issues of officer corruption and accountability, and his agitation concerning welfare of the common soldier led to confrontations, self-imposed exile and even imprisonment.

One of few enlisted men to leave any record of life within the ranks, Cobbett provides dramatic insight into the personal initiative, persistence and sacrifice required for a late eighteenth- century soldier to obtain a formal education:

... the edge of my berth or that of the guard bed was my seat to study in; my

knapsack was my bookcase; and a bit of board lying on my lap was my writing desk . . . I had no money to purchase candle or oil; in winter time it was rarely that I could get any evening light but that of the fire, and only my turn even at that. To buy a pen or a sheet of paper I was compelled to forego some portion of food, though in a state of half-starvation. I had no moment of time that I could call my own; and I had to read and to write amidst the talking, laughing, singing, whistling and brawling of at least half a score of the most thoughtless men, and that, too, in the hours of their freedom from all control.

Even the expense of study posed a hardship.

. . . Think not lightly of the farthing that I had to give now and then, for ink, pen or paper. That farthing was, alas! A great sum to me!¹

The profession of soldiering did not accommodate schooling. As a private Cobbett earned six-pence a day. However, his meagre pay was subject to “stoppages,” payments for basics such as food and clothing as well as expenses for washing and mending associated with maintaining a soldier’s appearance and equipment.² In these circumstances, Cobbett’s sacrifices and his rise to the most senior non-commissioned rank in the army is astonishing.

As a non-commissioned officer, Cobbett held a critical position in the military hierarchy. The British army was a class-conscious institution that drew its officers from the privileged classes and its rank and file from the uneducated and unskilled.³ As interaction

¹ William Reitzel, (Editor), *The Autobiography of William Cobbett: the Progress of a Plough-boy to a Seat in Parliament*, Faber and Faber Ltd., 1967 Edition, London: 26-27. Hereafter referred to as Reitzel, *The Autobiography of William Cobbett*.

² A British private’s yearly wage in 1785 was £12 of which £3 was deducted for clothing and administration charges, £4 for rations, £1 for the maintenance of equipment and clothing, £1 for the service of baking his flour ration into bread, and £1/2 assessed for laundry, surgeon’s and paymaster’s services, leaving the soldier with a net income of £2 1/2 per year. Christian Rioux, *The British Garrison at Quebec, 1759-1871*, Studies in Archaeology, Architecture and History, Department of Canadian Heritage, Parks Canada, Ottawa, 1996: 29-30.

³ J. Douet, *British Barracks: 1600-1914 Their Architecture and Role in Society*, English Heritage, The Stationery Office, London, 1998: xv. Hereafter referred to as Douet, *British Barracks*.

between the officers and men remained minimal, some form of administration was required to override the traditional social structure in the army's daily operation.⁴ Responsibility for the necessary clerical and administrative duties fell to the non-commissioned officers, the corporals and sergeants of the regiment. Cobbett revealed the extent to which units grew to depend on such men for the operation of the regiment:

While I was corporal I was made clerk of the regiment. In a very short time, the whole of the business in that way fell into my hands; and, at the end of about a year, neither adjutant, pay master, or quarter-master could move an inch without my assistance. The accounts and letters of the paymaster went through my hands; or, rather I was the maker of them. All the returns, reports, and other official papers were of my drawing-up.⁵

As sergeant-major, every aspect of the regiment's military affairs fell under Cobbett's control, who was quick to realize the power of this position, especially in light of the surprising ignorance of the officers in regimental routines. In Cobbett's view, officers, who he described as the "epaulette gentry," only confounded regimental business by their interference which set ". . . all things out of order and all men out of humour."⁶

To keep accounts, make out regimental returns, interpret and implement the handwritten orders of their superiors, non-commissioned officers required a proficiency in reading, writing, and arithmetic that surpassed those of their civilian contemporaries. The challenge for the Army was to prepare men without formal education of any kind for the

⁴ Great Britain, Parliament, House of Commons *Sessional Papers*, "Report from His Majesty's Commissioners for Inquiring into the System of Military Punishments in the Army; with Appendices," H.M.S.O., London, 1836: xix. Hereafter referred to as "Report of the 1835 Punishment Commission."

⁵ Reitzel, *The Autobiography of William Cobbett*: 31.

⁶ *Ibid*: 31.

discipline and responsibility required by this rank.⁷ This task was accomplished through the regimental school, which became the cornerstone of the army's educational system. The success of regimental schools as they existed in Cobbett's time and for some time afterwards, depended on the interest of the commanding officers who maintained absolute control over every aspect of regimental operations. The War Office, while cognizant of the importance of regimental schools, initially assumed no responsibility for them and, as a result, early attempts to educate soldiers stemmed from the initiative of the individual officers rather than by general order. The emphasis on schools in many regimental standing orders attests to a move toward educational reform that marked the early decades of the nineteenth century. Units such as the 85th Infantry portrayed literacy as integral to administrative competence and reinforced the importance of well-schooled, non-commissioned officers:

Non-commissioned Officers are required to attend, when not fully masters of the information which is necessary, to the perfect performance of their duties; every Serjeant is expected to be master of reading, writing, and the four first rules of arithmetic.⁸

As a copyist transcribing regimental correspondence, Cobbett indicated that his commander subscribed to this growing notion of equating education with administrative competence. He also rewarded education with the opportunities for promotion and that this emphasis had become more commonplace:

The Colonel saw my deficiency, and strongly recommended study. He enforced his advice with a sort of injunction and with a promise of reward in

⁷ By the 1840s, approximately one-third of the other ranks of the British Army had acquired the ability to read and write.

⁸ Great Britain, Army, *Standing Orders and Regulations for the 85th Light Infantry*, Military Library, Whitehall (London) 1815:120.

case of success.⁹

Once Cobbett mastered reading and writing, he was promoted to the rank of corporal.¹⁰ Curriculum centred on subjects critical to the regimental administration: names of officers, military terms, as well as instruction in making out reports and passes. Dictation in copy books from *The Digest of the Services of the Regiment* and the *Regimental Standing Orders* was an important consideration, as was arithmetic for balancing regimental accounts, purchase authorizations, exercises in making out bills, receipts and billeting contracts.¹¹

There was also a humanitarian aspect to establishing schools. Many officers perceived education as the means through which the privileged classes recognized an obligation to the lower, less fortunate levels of society.¹² The need to impart instruction to the masses stemmed in part from the great Evangelical Movement. Born in the late 1600s, this all-embracing social force was dedicated to improving individual and social standards as well as elevating the material and spiritual prospects of the less fortunate. By the first quarter of the nineteenth century, it had had a dramatic effect on Britain and her empire.¹³

⁹ Reitzel, *The Autobiography of William Cobbett*: 26

¹⁰ *Ibid*: 27.

¹¹ Schoolmaster Polden's monthly school report for the Royal Canadian Rifle Regiment, dated February 1864, N.A. RG8, I, C-Series, Vol: C 783: 27.

¹² Factory, dame and charity schools, established throughout Great Britain during the latter half of the 1700s were the result of a growing movement throughout the period towards imparting knowledge to the masses. Schools using the Reverend Andrew Bell's and Joseph Lancaster's system of mutual instruction, which were designed to accommodate large numbers of students, flourished throughout Great Britain during the early 1800s. This educational reform movement culminated with a universal system of compulsory education in the Education Act of 1870.

¹³ See Herbert Schlossberg, *The Silent Revolution and the Making of Victorian England*, Ohio State University Press, Columbus, 2000, for an account of how the religious revival movement influenced the development of Victorian society. Hereafter referred to as Schlossberg, *The Silent Revolution and the Making of*

The educational welfare of the poor became a sense of mission with many benevolent organizations. Major among these was the Society for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge, founded in 1649 by Thomas Bray, which distributed bibles and religious tracts in the United Kingdom and abroad.¹⁴

These influential concepts became evident in many different ways within the army. They countered the established traditional faction for the status quo, to which most of the senior officers within the military administration of the Horse Guards ardently subscribed. While both standpoints on the issue of army reform maintained a relatively low opinion of the character of the common soldier, the debate centred around the degree to which his behaviour was affected by environment, and the point to which the state should assume responsibility for improving his welfare. The more liberal sentiment, subscribing to the concept of environmentalism, maintained that an individual's character was entirely a product of environment. One British officer echoed popular reformist sentiments:

The soldier is usually taken from the least cultivated portion of the community; he brings with him the feelings and habits of his class, and these feelings are coarse and the habits gross. He is usually ill-educated, if at all, when he joins; he is then thrown into forced everyday companionship with great numbers of men equally uncultivated with himself; his temptations to idleness and vice are many and close at hand; the inducements to an opposite course of life few and remote; he is instructed in little else than mechanical duties, and is regarded in that respect rather as a thing than as a person; he is controlled more by fear than by hope or sympathy; and his virtues are and must be a result rather of accident than of acquirement. If human beings so

Victorian England.

¹⁴ Janet Fyfe, "Books Behind Bars: The Role of Books, Reading, and Libraries in British Prison Reform, 1701-1911", Greenwood Press, Westport, Connecticut, U.S.A. 1992: 49. Hereafter referred to as Fyfe, "Books Behind Bars."

circumstanced are, as a class, ignorant and vicious, where is the wonder.¹⁵

Reform-minded officers believed that social problems could be rectified by providing the rank and file with a decent environment and, combined with a determined program of moral indoctrination, through schooling, these men were capable of a respectable lifestyle.¹⁶ Many officers, reflecting the Victorian ethos that ignorance and idleness led to criminal activity, believed in the transforming power of education and its influence on discipline.¹⁷ Morality was considered to have a direct bearing on the men's performance as soldiers and instruction in spiritual and material needs would ultimately raise moral standards within the service.¹⁸ The off-duty soldier, caught within the tedium of peace-time service, epitomized the corrupt and less desirable aspects of garrison life. With little organized recreation, these men drew heavily on canteens and brothels, activities which lead to excessive and, in many cases, habitual drinking. As another officer pointed out in 1816: "... It is useless to mention the habits and manners of an idle garrison where wine and spirits are cheap and abundant."¹⁹ Alcohol was considered a chronic problem within the nineteenth-century British military organization, and a major cause of ill health, immorality, inefficiency and numerous offences

¹⁵ W. Denison, "Observations on Barracks, and on the Moral Condition of the Soldier" *Royal Engineer Corps Papers*, Paper: 25, 1848, p:256, as cited in Douet, *British Barracks*.

¹⁶ David Wardle. *The Rise of the Schooled Society: The History of Formal Schooling in England*, Routledge and Kegan Paul, London, 1974: 80. Hereafter referred to as Wardle, *The Rise of the Schooled Society*.

¹⁷ Susan E. Houston and Alison Prentice, *Schooling and Scholars in Nineteenth-Century Ontario*, Ontario Historical Study Series, Government of Ontario, University of Toronto Press, Toronto, 1988: 99.

¹⁸ Myna Trustram, *Women of the Regiment: Marriage and the Victorian Army*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1984: 38. Hereafter referred to as Trustram, *Women of the Regiment*.

¹⁹ Lieutenant-Colonel Hime, *History of the Royal Regiment of Artillery (1815-1853)*, 1908, as cited in T.H. Hawkins and L.J.F. Brimble. *Adult Education: The Record of the British Army*, Macmillan and Co. Ltd., London, 1947: 8.

from breaches in discipline to desertion. Regimental schools were regarded as a prominent and integral portion of a soldier's elementary discipline which prevented deviant behaviour, "by supplying the soldier's mind with intellectual resources."²⁰ In other words: "By making them better men you make them better soldiers."²¹ The transfer of the 72nd Regiment's schoolmaster in 1854, because of low attendance at his classes, underlined this perceived correlation between education, morality and efficiency.²² This regiment was also plagued with "a good deal of drunkenness and other crimes" -- a condition attributed by the Commanding Officer to a decimating yellow fever epidemic that claimed many of the regiment's non-commissioned officers in the West Indies and fostered "a reckless spirit within the other ranks."²³

There was a growing considered view, as the commander of the garrison at Cork. Major-General Ridley proclaimed, that a functional regimental school served as a deterrent to crime by maintaining discipline and respect for authority.

I am convinced that where commanding officers exercise the power judiciously of compelling the attendance at school of young soldiers, and affording older men in the service the opportunity of doing so by exempting them from parade, when such indulgence can be granted without detriment

²⁰ Comment of Sir George Arthur from the Report of the Committee on Military Punishments, as cited in Colonel A.C.T. White, V.C., *The Story of Army Education, 1643-1943*, George Harrap and Company, London, 1963: 30. Hereafter referred to as White, *The Story of Army Education*.

²¹ "A Short Course of Standing Rules for Government and Conduct of the Army", 1745 : 54, as cited in J. E. Moran, "The Development of the Education of Soldiers and Soldiers' Children During the Early and Mid-Nineteenth Century with Particular Reference to the Influence of the Royal Military Asylum, Chelsea", *Phd. Dissertation*, University of Wales, 1979: 72. Hereafter referred to as Moran, "The Development of the Education of Soldiers and Soldiers' Children."

²² Letter from the Secretary of War to the General Officer Commanding Her Majesty's Forces, Nova Scotia, dated 19 July, 1854, N.A. RG8,I, C-Series, Vol: C 1528: 45, [231].

²³ Confidential report of Lt.-General Woods, dated 19 July, 1851, Vol:C 1527: 60, [243].

to the good of the service, crime and irregularity in quarters are considerably decreased.²⁴

By the mid-nineteenth century, then, it was held that schools maintained peace and order within the regiment by combatting idleness, ignorance, immorality, and political unrest which, in turn, led to increased efficiency. As schooling became the key to self-fulfilment and enriched opportunity, it was perceived as an essential element to the socialization of the ranks. Titles dealing with religious and moral topics reflected an attempt to disseminate positive social values.²⁵

Like other working class educationalists, Cobbett disagreed with the concept that the moral regeneration of the rank and file was to be achieved through schooling. He was vocal in his argument concerning the correlation of ignorance, or a lack of education, with crime. He wrote that, "... no Lancastrian or Bell work, no Tracts, no circulation of Bibles . . . make the common people generally honest and obedient."²⁶ Cobbett believed that men were inherently good, and to insinuate that the only salvation of the poor was through education was fundamentally wrong. Schooling presented the means to a better life rather than a tool for moral indoctrination and discipline. He remained critical of the established systems for educating the masses and considered the privileged classes a barrier to those of less fortunate

²⁴ Great Britain, Parliament, House of Commons, *Sessional Papers*, "Second Report by the Council of Military Education on Army Schools, Libraries and Recreation Rooms," H.M.S.O., London, 1865: 11.

²⁵ Although formally established in 1838, unofficial regimental libraries, as with regimental schools, existed prior to this date in a number of more pregressive regiments. These regimental libraries travelled with the regiment. In Canada, garrison libraries were established by General Order in Quebec City, Montreal and Toronto, on October 26, 1840. In August of the following year, books were sent to the London and Kingston garrisons. By the time of Lefroy's 1859 report, libraries were also at Halifax (established 1840) one at the South Barracks and one at the Citadel Barracks, as well as St. Jean (established 1842) and Fredericton (established 1845) garrisons.

²⁶ Reitzel, *The Autobiography of William Cobbett*: 16.

social standing. His educational philosophy centred around the importance of industry and self-instruction, derived from his own experiences of using his leisure time to read and study, unlike other soldiers of his social standing. Cobbett honed his grammatical skills while on sentry duty and learned more complex levels of arithmetic while working with the regimental ledgers.

Reports of the various Commissions reiterate that schooling was a vehicle for social conditioning, an important instrument in quelling revolutionary sentiment and unrest throughout the rapid social change that characterized the mid-1800s.²⁷ This same period coincided with the growth of a print culture, resulting in an abundance of printed literature.²⁸ By establishing schools, libraries and reading rooms for the other ranks, military authorities conceded that an uneducated and armed proletariat was a danger to social stability and a potential liability to the establishment. Schooling, if strictly regulated, could pacify the ranks, provide them with an indoctrination of placid contentment for their station in life, and induce useful and industrious pursuits. Nevertheless, as education could be used to subordinate the masses, it could also foster discontent with the establishment if uncontrolled. Prior to the recommendations of the Military Punishment Commission in 1836, literature was viewed as a liability, which exposed the rank and file to the more radical, subversive

²⁷ "Report of the 1835 Punishment Commission:" xix, and Great Britain ,Parliament *House of Commons, Sessional Paper* "Report of the Commissioners Appointed to Inquire into the State of Popular Education In England,"1861, H.S.M.O. London: 427.

²⁸ Houston and Prentice, *Schooling and Scholars in Nineteenth-Century Ontario*: 190.

sentiments of the day²⁹ – and enticed the soldier to “. . . induce a contempt for the position he occupies.”³⁰ The military strictly regulated reading materials. Commanding officers were responsible for ensuring that newspapers in authorized barrack libraries and reading rooms “. . . have not a tendency to corrupt morality or Military discipline, or are not of a controversial character on Naval and Military, or Religious Subjects.”³¹

There was a powerful counterview to the emerging concern for the education of the British soldier, which resisted any proposals to ameliorate conditions for the troops. Indifference, apathy, and neglect were deeply entrenched within the clique of senior officers that dominated the bureaucracy of the Horse Guards.³² This branch of the army responsible for administration and discipline, remained sceptical of improving living conditions and raising the character of the private soldier. As the Prince Consort succinctly argued, “. . . the Army was not there to be educated, but to defend the country.”³³ The army demanded only that the common soldier be physically fit to endure the rigours of campaigning, sufficiently disciplined to carry out any order without question and efficiently trained in battlefield manoeuvres. At the same time, traditionalists viewed the soldier as incorrigibly

²⁹ Carol Whitfield, “Tommy Atkins. The British Soldier in Canada 1759-1870” *History and Archaeology*, No. 56, National Historic Parks and Sites Branch, Parks Canada, Ottawa, 1981: 102.

³⁰ John Richardson, *Eight Years in Canada*, Montreal, 1847: 77, as cited in Elinor Kyte Senior, *British Regulars in Montreal: An Imperial Garrison, 1832-1854*, McGill-Queen’s University Press, Montreal, 1981: 151.

³¹ N.A. RG8, I, C-Series, Vol: C:1194E: 378, General Order dated 29 March 1853.

³² Douet, *British Barracks*: 116.

³³ Verner, *Military Life of the Duke of Cambridge*, I: 201, as cited in F.J. Hedleston, “A Barrack Library of 1839”, *Journal of the Society for Army Historical Research*, Vol:II, 1974 Edition, London: 37.

idle and shiftless, beyond redemption and incapable of self-improvement.³⁴ Discipline and efficiency within the ranks were accomplished only through a rigorous campaign of corporal punishment. These officers considered schooling as a malignant force, that interfered with regimental routine, distracted the rank and file from drill and inspired independence of thought in a system critically dependant on unconditional obedience.³⁵ Self improvement demonstrated by the desire for schooling was not only unnecessary and futile, but dangerous as it undermined discipline by fostering dissatisfaction and insubordination within the ranks and disrupted accepted social patterns.³⁶ At the same time, such actions could only lead to a conflict of attitudes as they were counter to the traditional Victorian philosophy that service men had achieved their station in life. By employing the less privileged elements of society, the army provided purpose in their lives. Minimal schooling was useful only as a tool through which the rank and file could be manipulated into a position of subordination, subservience and respect for authority. Too much schooling was a veiled threat to the institution and educated men were barrack room lawyers, less amenable to discipline. In other words, "in making the scholar, education tended to unmake the soldier."³⁷

The ambiguity surrounding the formation of army schools in the period can be

³⁴ *Fraser's Magazine for Town and Country* LXXIV (1866): 9, as cited in Richard L. Blanco, "Army Recruiting Reforms 1861-1867," *Journal for the Society of Army Historical Research*, XLVI, 1968: 219.

³⁵ Skelley, *The Victorian Army at Home: The Recruitment and Terms and Conditions of the British Regular 1859-1899*, McGill-Queen's University Press, Montreal, 1981: 92. Hereafter referred to as Skelley, *The Victorian Army at Home*.

³⁶ *Ibid*: 113-114.

³⁷ *Naval and Military Gazette*, September 2, 1843, P:552, as cited in Hew Strachan, *Wellington's Legacy: The Reform of the British Army, 1830-1854*, Manchester University Press, Manchester, 1984: 88-89. Hereafter referred to as Strachan, *Wellington's Legacy*.

attributed to this continuing controversy. Regimental schools developed unofficially during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries from a need to teach non-commissioned officers and men of the regiment. The arbitrary nature of development, and the absence of any authority led to considerable inconsistency in the tone and quality of regimental schools. Progress remained slow and sporadic. Moreover, the prosecution of the war against Napoleon, and the post-war retrenchment of expenditures that followed, curtailed the development of army schools. By the 1850s, between 25-35 per cent of each company, (250-350 soldiers of a serving battalion) were, on average, enrolled in the adult school.³⁸ However, irregular attendance proved to be a key obstacle to constructive education. The majority of the rank and file remained illiterate. An 1856 survey revealed that 27 per cent of 10,000 British soldiers tested were unable to write, and 21 per cent could neither read nor write.³⁹ The critical problem remained that school carried minimal authority in relation to other routines in the regimental scheme. After years of nominal attendance and ineffective instruction, the majority of men on the school rolls in 1859 rarely extended past the most elementary level of instruction.⁴⁰ Errors in spelling, grammar and poor penmanship throughout regimental records indicate that the term "literate" may have been loosely applied. A lance-serjeant of the 67th Regiment wrote the following passage from dictation:

³⁸ Great Britain, Parliament, House of Commons, *Sessional Papers*, "Report from the Official Committee on Barrack Accommodation for the Army with the Minutes of Evidence, Appendix and Index," H.M.S.O. London, 1855: 87, Testimony of Sergeant A. Brown, 10 May 1855. Hereafter referred to as "The 1855 Report on Barrack Accommodation." The administrative strength of a regular battalion was generally fixed at 1,000 men.

³⁹ John William Adamson, J, W: *English Education 1789-1902*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1964: 217.

⁴⁰ Great Britain, War Office, Brev-Col. John H. Lefroy, *Report on the Regimental and Garrison Schools of the Army and on Military Libraries and Reading Rooms*, H.M.S.O. London, 1859: 28.

Avery officer and non-comm. Officer and *solderie* when on guard *sug* consider that *the are* in a most *respob - sirer*-[responsible situation], and that the *cararter* of the regiment Depends *maytially* [materially] on the manners in *wish the preform* their duty.

Guards to *cant* (to turn out) with *cared* arms, when *armed Parites* approach or pass their posts, and if the *partay* is *commandinged* by an officer, *the present arms*.⁴¹

An 1858 legal interpretation confirming an earlier ruling, that the army did not have the authority to compel soldiers to attend school, led to a further decline in adult attendance. A certificate program linking education to promotion attempted to provide further incentive. The dramatic increase in literacy achieved in the country as a whole, which was the direct result of compulsory education introduced by Forster's Education Act of 1870, affected the army during the last quarter of the nineteenth century. Whereas only 4.7 per cent of soldiers possessed a "superior education," (able to read and write with ease) in 1858,⁴² the rate had climbed to 85.4 per cent by 1886.⁴³ However, it was much slower than initially anticipated.

It was during this course of school development that a system of childhood education was born. If the public at large held little regard for the welfare of the nineteenth-century soldier, concern for his family proved to be even more ambiguous. Families were considered incompatible with the military function. As one officer succinctly concluded:

. . . it is evident that the presence of large numbers of women and children with a body of men intended for quick movement and for service in distant

⁴¹ *Ibid*: 29.

⁴² Great Britain, Parliament, House of Commons *Sessional Papers*, "First Report by the Council of Military Education on Military Schools," H.M.S.O. London, 1862: *iii*.

⁴³ Byron Farwell, *Mr. Kipling's Army*, 1987 Edition, W. Norton and Co. New York: 149.

colonies, and for occasional fighting, is in the last degree, inconvenient.⁴⁴

Although it is difficult to document children living in a barrack setting, the communal life style compromised family integrity. Because married quarters were not always feasible, families were often forced to live with the single men.⁴⁵ It was in these oppressive conditions that the children of the regiment were raised.

A regiment, generally speaking, forms a very bad home for children, especially females, families are often crowded together to a degree incompatible with decency, and from long and constant association with the men, many of the mothers lose that delicacy of sentiment and refinement of speech so becoming in females, and sometimes indeed contract the more masculine habits of drinking and swearing. For these evil examples the school should operate as a corrective.⁴⁶

School removed the young of the garrison from the negative influences of barrack life. It countered and substituted the unattractive forces within the military community with an appropriate education.⁴⁷ Army children went to school as much to grow up as to learn vocational skills. Schooling taught the children manners and acceptable social behaviour for their class. As with the soldiers, the regiment provided the social discipline and moral welfare through the school medium.⁴⁸ Teaching Christian virtues as well as practical

⁴⁴ General Sir John Adye, "1881 Report on Marriage in the Army", as cited in Trustram, *Women of the Regiment*: 48.

⁴⁵ Bowyer-Bower, "Some Early Educational Influences in the British Army:" 9. Private married quarters were provided only by the late 1850s. For more information on Barrack life see Carol Whitfield, "Thomas Atkins, No.245 - A Social History of the British Soldier in Canada, 1759-1870," *Manuscript on File*, Ottawa, 1981.

⁴⁶ *First Report by the Council of Military Education on Army Schools*, 1862, xxxii : 78, as cited in Trustram, *Women of the Regiment* : 98.

⁴⁷ Wardle, *The Rise of the Schooled Society*: 78.

⁴⁸ Trustram, *Women of the Regiment*: 98.

knowledge prepared army children for the adult world. Schools offered the youth of the regiment advantages to: "... take their station in life as good Christians and intelligent members of society."⁴⁹ These children of the regiments became a fashionable and popular form of benevolence for officers and their wives, many of whom considered it their duty to take an active interest in their educational requirements and welfare:

... to watch over the moral and religious conduct of the children; and to implant in them... such habits as may best conduce to guard them against the vices to which their condition is particularly liable.⁵⁰

The establishment of regimental schools by general order in 1811, and subsequent regulations governing their operation, formally recognized the army's obligations to soldiers' children.

Service families had little choice but to send their children to the regimental school. for attendance was compulsory and compliance on the part of the parents was strictly laid down. Passages covering school attendance of the 76th Regiment of Foot clearly indicate no tolerance for children "... above the age of four allowed to be idle in the barracks."⁵¹ School was established not so much through the interest and foresight of the officers, but as a means of keeping the children out of the way. Supervised children did not interfere with the business of the garrison. Because schooling was under the auspices of the regiment.

⁴⁹ Letter from Lt-Col. Taylor, commanding officer of the RCRR to the Adjutant-General, dated 22 August 1851. N.A. RG8,I, C-Series, Vol:C 773: 116-117.

⁵⁰ Reverend Andrew Bell, *Instructions for Conducting a School, Through the Agency of the Scholars Themselves: Comprising the Analysis of An Experiment in Education, Made at the Male Asylum, Madras, 1789-1796*, John Murray, London, 1813: 62. Hereafter referred to as Bell, *Instructions for Conducting a School*.

⁵¹ Great Britain, Army *Standing Orders of the 76th "Hindoostani" Regiment*, A. & W. Mackinac, Halifax, N.A. 1855: 57.

other influences could be brought to bear:

Any parents neglecting to enforce the attendance of their children at school, or are wanting in attention to their cleanliness, &c. shall be deemed unworthy of consideration; and mothers so destitute of maternal feeling, must not expect the indulgence of being permitted to remain with the corps.⁵²

Delinquent families were struck “off the strength,” a powerful deterrent as the regiment thereby relinquished any moral or legal responsibility. Families considered off the strength (married without the commanding officer’s consent) were denied regimental benefits such as food and lodging privileges.⁵³ A petition written by a mother of three children gave voice to the hardships this entailed:

We find very hard indeed to get along, situated as we are. my husband treated as a single man in barracks, while I am refused the indulgence granted every other married person in the Corps.⁵⁴

The Kingston Whig reported the plight of three such women:

Three females, who had formerly caused the city much trouble as vagrants, made application to the mayor for passage to Toronto, whither their husbands, soldiers of the R.C.R. Reg’t, have gone before . . .⁵⁵

Because they shared a common social level and environment, the early distinction between soldiers’ and children’s schooling remains clouded. This ambiguity is even more pronounced with the recruitment of “boys” into the various regiments. These were young

⁵² *Standing Orders and Regulations for the 85th Light Infantry*, 1815 :122.

⁵³ General Order North American Command, dated 21 January 1859, Circular Memo dated Horse Guards, 20 December 1858 instructing on the status of wives of soldiers married without leave, N.A., RG8,I, C-Series, Vol: C 1194H: 74.

⁵⁴ Letter written by Ellen Muller to the commanding officer of the RCRR, 1864. N.A., RG8,I, C-Series, Vol: C 782: 213-216.

⁵⁵ *The Whig*, Vol:XXIV, 12 November 1855.

males who ranged in age from 14 to 17, brought on the strength and trained prior to enlistment. Training for “boys” in most regiments included attending school. Early reports document schoolmaster-sergeants teaching the children of the regiment at “odd times” when they were not instructing the soldiers. From such inauspicious beginnings, isolated instances of children’s schools appear on the historical record. The first documented school for army children was at the British garrison at Tangier in 1675.⁵⁶ In 1774, a small school was established in barracks by a serjeant of the 9th Regiment for the instruction of children of the non-commissioned officers.⁵⁷ At a time when there were no state-sponsored institutions in Great Britain for the civilian poor, “establishment” schools such as the Royal Hibernian School in Dublin and the Royal Artillery School at Woolwich, formed in 1769 and 1779, and the Royal Military Asylum in Chelsea in 1801, are evidence of the growing concern for the education of the army’s children.⁵⁸ These early schools were philanthropic institutions that offered the less fortunate army children, many of them orphaned, an elementary education or, at least, a trade. “. . . to qualify them either for the duties of a soldier or for other subordinate positions in life.”⁵⁹ Regimental standing orders such as those of the 85th Regiment, identifying the serjeant-schoolmaster’s role of teaching the children as well as the other ranks, reflected an enlightened trend toward schooling in many British regiments and

⁵⁶ *Ibid*: xiii.

⁵⁷ Veronica Bamfield *On The Strength: The Story of the British Army Wife*, Charles Knight, London, 1974: 186.

⁵⁸ N.T. St John Williams, *Tommy Atkins’ Children: The Story of the Education of the Army’s Children 1675-1971*, H.M.S.O. London, 1971: xiii. Hereafter referred to as Williams, *Tommy Atkins’ Children*.

⁵⁹ *Regulations for the Royal Military Asylum, 1819*, as cited in Hawkins and Brimble, *Adult Education*: 11.

a growing interest on the part of the officer classes in the moral and social development of the service children by the first decades of the 1800s.

The school will be open every day, excepting Sundays and Saturday evening, from the Rouse Bugle to the breakfast one, from eleven o'clock till dinner hour, and after dinner till evening parade; and from 1st October, to the 1st April, during the winter season, for two hours also before Tattoo, at which several hours (except the last mentioned) all the soldier's Children of the Regiment, whether boys or girls, will regularly attend . . .⁶⁰

As with other aspects of the emergence of schooling in British society, religious motivation proved to be a traditional driving force. The established church, the Church of England, represented a powerful sphere of influence within early nineteenth-century army schools. The Church's association with the ruling classes, and the fact that the two dominant personalities involved with army education in the first half of the 1800s, Dr. Andrew Bell and Reverend George Robert Gleig, were men of the cloth, further emphasized the role of religion in the army school system. Given the moral and religious goals assigned to such instruction, chaplains were natural candidates to oversee the schools for much of the period under study. Bell and Gleig both were imbued with philosophies concerning education that were congruent with their times. In his *Instructions for Conducting a School*, Bell reinforced the accepted interrelation of education, religion and morality, writing: "The ultimate object or end of all education is to make "good subjects, good men and good Christians." " The medium was "Christian education," religion and morality being the driving forces:⁶¹

His Royal Highness the Prince Regent, His Royal Highness the Commander-

⁶⁰ Col. Coote-Manningham's Article V, *Regulations for the Rifle Corps*. Blatchington Barracks, 25 August, 1800, as cited in Williams, *Tommy Atkins' Children*: 5.

⁶¹ Bell, *Instructions for Conducting a School*: 3 and 8.

in-Chief has bestowed on all of the children of the army . . . that all [of them] may be taught on an economical plan to read their Bible, and understand the doctrine of our holy Religion.⁶²

Bell was the first Superintendent of the Madras Male Orphan Asylum, founded in 1789 by the East India Company to instruct the sons of their military men.⁶³ Bell met and surpassed the challenges of limited resources and inefficient teaching staff by devising a monitorial system of instruction which enabled children to teach other children, thus allowing the schoolmasters to concentrate on supervision. Bell's approach and method were revealed in a 1797 report of this "experiment" which he introduced as the Madras System of Mutual Instruction.⁶⁴ The time was ripe for Bell's concept as it was designed to effectively and economically instruct large numbers of pupils. It was accepted by many philanthropic societies eager to provide schooling to the masses. Bell's method was introduced into the Protestant Charity School of St. Botolph's, Algate, in 1798 and was adopted by the Industrial schools at Kendal the following year.⁶⁵ Bell envisioned a scheme of national education which he believed could be carried out rapidly and economically through the existing organization of the church. In 1811, he became Superintendent of "The National Society for Promoting the Education of the Poor in the Principles of the Established Church Throughout

⁶² *Ibid*: 65.

⁶³ Reverend Dr. Andrew Bell (1753-1832) by George Paul Macdonell, Sir Leslie Stephen and Sir Sydney Lee (Editors) *The Dictionary of National Biography*, Volume II, Oxford University Press, London, (1973 Edition): 149. Hereafter referred to as Macdonell, *The Dictionary of National Biography*.

⁶⁴ *Ibid*: 150.

⁶⁵ *Ibid*: 150.

England and Wales.”⁶⁶ Approved by the Royal Military Asylum in Chelsea in 1807, army authorization of Bell’s system of instruction for regimental schools, in 1811, considerably widened the system’s credibility and influence. Non-commissioned officers from the regiments were trained as schoolmaster-sergeants in a formal four-week training course under Bell’s personal instruction at the Royal Military Asylum, Chelsea.⁶⁷ Approximately 130 sergeant-schoolmasters were trained between January and August 1812. By 1814, almost every regiment had instructors.⁶⁸

Bell became embroiled with Joseph Lancaster in a bitter controversy over credit for the monitorial instruction.⁶⁹ Lancaster was an educator whose school in London led to the formation of the Royal Lancastrian Institution in 1809, later known as the British and Foreign School Society. His teachings formed the basis for the Lancastrian school model. Lancaster, of Quaker background, favoured non-denominational religious teaching in the schools.⁷⁰ As a minister of the established church, Bell linked his curriculum to the doctrine of the Church of England. In the course of the first half of the nineteenth century, the different social backgrounds of these approaches were exasperated by the politics and

⁶⁶ *Ibid*: 151.

⁶⁷ Bell, *Instructions for Conducting a School*: 81.

⁶⁸ Moran, “The Development of the Education of Soldiers and Soldiers’ Children:” 136.

⁶⁹ Macdonell, *Dictionary of National Biography*: 150.

⁷⁰ Lancaster’s school in England failed in 1816, and in 1818 he emigrated to Canada where he founded a school in Montreal established on monitorial principles. Although his Canadian institution also ended in bankruptcy, his well-known Lancastrian principle, which he first laid out in the pamphlet “Improvements in Education” in 1803 was employed in a number of cities in North America. Heather Lysons-Balcon, *Dictionary of Canadian Biography Vol:VII, 1836-1850*, University of Toronto Press (Toronto, 1988): 481-482.

intellectual controversies of the conformists-nonconformists struggle, a major issue of which was education. The Tories and high church faithful supported Bell's conservative application, while the dissenters and more "radical" elements supported Lancaster. Early in this dispute, during the Prime Ministership of Spencer Percival (1809 to 1812) royal approval earlier accorded to Lancaster by George III shifted to Bell, at the urging of Percival, on the Prince of Wales becoming Regent in 1811.⁷¹

Bell's inexpensive and simple system, designed specifically to accommodate large classes, proved an ideal choice for the larger military centres.⁷² Despite its strict and somewhat rigid curriculum and its dependence on mechanical teaching, Bell's was the first serious attempt to provide the military with a large scale, uniform system of instruction for regimental schools. From its inception until Reverend Gleig's educational reorganization in 1846, the standard curriculum and teaching methods provided by Bell served as a necessary initial step in an organized program of army schooling designed to meet the needs of a broadly uneducated institution. Through Bell's system, the army offered the soldiers and their children an educational program that was comparable to that of a civilian elementary common school of the period. By the early 1840s, however, the efficiency of the army's schools had deteriorated. The merits of monitorial instruction, initially accepted as a revolutionary form of teaching, were subject to serious doubt and debate. Heralded as a rational and simple solution to the challenge of cheaply schooling many, the system delivered only a nominal level of instruction for the uneducated masses. By the 1820s and

⁷¹ Schlossberg, *The Silent Revolution and the Making of Victorian England*: 207

⁷² Bell, *Instructions for Conducting a School* : 5.

1830s, doubts, opposition, proposals and improvements were being voiced. Critics labelled the method outdated and incapable of meeting the demands of a modern era.⁷³ One staunch opponent to Bell's system was the eminent and influential nineteenth-century poet, writer and philosopher, William Wordsworth.⁷⁴ Wordsworth, as a strong advocate for a national system of education for all social classes, was an early admirer of Bell's system, of which he wrote in 1814,

The discovery of Dr. Bell affords marvellous facilities for carrying this [a state system of education] into effect; and it is impossible the benefit which might accrue in humanity from the universal application of this simple engine under an enlightened and conscientious government.⁷⁵

Wordsworth appears to have relented in his admiration when he became more familiar with the monitorial schools.⁷⁶ The concept of learning by rote, a mechanical memory process without comprehension, was the centre of the controversy. Bell advocated learning through drilling students outside the context of comprehension. Memorizing lists of combinations of syllables and words to be spelled could only be effective to a certain point. Believing that the creation and not the mere acquisition of knowledge constituted the end to education, Wordsworth, representing the antithesis of Bell's theories and philosophies, came to fundamentally oppose his methods. The views of another contemporary English educational

⁷³ Houston and Prentice, *Schooling and Scholars in Nineteenth-Century Ontario*: 254.

⁷⁴ Ward, P.J. " " Came From Yon Fountain" " Wordsworth's Influence on Victorian Education," *Victorian Studies*, Spring, 1986: 406.

⁷⁵ Excerpt from Wordsworth's *The Excursion*, *Memoirs of William Wordsworth*, by Rev C.G. Wordsworth, vol: 2 (1857), p:186, as cited in J.J. Curtis & M.E.A. Boulton, *A Short History of Educational Ideas*, University Tutorial Press, London, 1963: 309. Hereafter referred to as Curtis and Boulton. *A Short History of Educational Ideas*.

⁷⁶ *Ibid*: 309.

theorist, Richard L. Edgeworth, mirrored the thoughts of the educational reformists of the period.⁷⁷

Words without correspondent ideas are worse than useless, they are counterfeit coin, which imposes upon the ignorant and unwary; but words which really represent ideas are not only of current use, but of sterling value
 . . .⁷⁸

The short-comings of Bell's methods were equally well perceived by the Reverend George Robert Gleig, the British army's Chaplain-General from 1846 to 1875. While Bell concentrated on providing an economical and effective method of imparting knowledge to the masses, Gleig epitomized the more progressive educational ideals typical of mid-century teaching philosophies. Gleig personified growing discontent with the accepted monitorial system of instruction and the sweeping need for reform as realized by contemporary educational theorists of the mid-nineteenth century. His efforts directed on the range and quality of education improved army school efficiency and elevated them above the standard once more. Gleig served as an officer of the 85th Regiment in the Peninsular and North American campaigns of 1813-1814. Ordained in 1820, he was appointed chaplain of Chelsea Hospital in 1834, and assumed the post of Chaplain-General to the Forces ten years later.⁷⁹

Gleig's appointment as the first Inspector-General of Military Schools in 1846 fostered an

⁷⁷ Richard Lovell Edgeworth (1744-1817), considered a prominent educational theorist of his time was an early critic of Bell's monitorial system. From 1806 to 1811, Edgeworth served on the Board for Inquiring into Irish Education. -- Leslie Stephen, *Dictionary of National Biography*. VOL:XVI, London, 1888: 384.

⁷⁸ Edgeworth, *Practical Education*: 64, as cited in Curtis and Boulton, *A Short History of Educational Ideas*: 396.

⁷⁹ G. Barrett Smith "Reverend George Robert Gleig (1796-1888)" *The Dictionary of National Biography*, Volume VII, Oxford University Press, London, (1973 Edition): 1303-1304. Hereafter referred to as Smith, *The Dictionary of National Biography*, 1973.

era of reform, which standardized the school program, provided a corps of trained professional schoolmasters and established infant and industrial schools within the army. Gleig assigned a team of school inspectors to regulate and report on the schools' progress. His work provided a more humanitarian approach with efficient teaching methods and completely remodelled army education through the medium of a nondenominational regimental school. Much of Gleig's observations and ideas for reform were carried out at the British army's philanthropic institution, the Royal Military Asylum, Chelsea. Appreciating that there was little existing provision for the training of serjeant-schoolmasters and even less evaluation through the lack of an efficient and regular inspection process, Gleig proposed a plan that replaced Bell's monitorial methods with a normal and model school program. He advocated a less authoritarian approach to schooling by motivating children to learn by comprehension, rather than memorization and recitation. In so doing, he introduced progressive instructional techniques to the army which were fashionable throughout the 1840s and 1850s in the United States and Europe. A prolific writer, he edited his "Gleig's School Series" an educational library used in army schools. Although Gleig resigned as Inspector of Army Schools in 1857, he continued to be a strong, if unobtrusive, force concerning army schools during his long term as Chaplain-General of the Forces from which he retired in 1875.⁸⁰

The role of schools in British army reform was complex and far-reaching, encompassing much more than just their development. Study of regimental schools within

⁸⁰ Smith, *The Dictionary of National Biography*: 1304.

the context of the Canadian garrisons and specifically how the British army viewed the purpose and utility of education on the whole, may contribute to the current debate concerning schools as a process of socialization in nineteenth-century Britain.⁸¹ Schooling was linked to definite military objectives, the need for literacy and the need to impart moral principles, which increased the soldier's value to the institution and society. By advancing the cause of basic education, authorities hoped to improve the lot of the rank and file, which, in turn was expected to alleviate problems of discipline and efficiency.

Although the motives behind the development of regimental schools were primarily humanitarian, with the purpose of providing a better quality of life for soldiers and their children, the perceived ameliorative influences as a result of schooling were viewed as a critical factor in social reform. Military officers, concerned with discipline and efficiency, relied on schools as an effective agency in the socialization of the rank and file. These mixed motives greatly affected the administration of the army's schools. In the course of time, however, the army was in the forefront of British secular education.

The British army, however, was an institution steeped in tradition. Schools, embedded in conservatism and fiscal restraint, were subjected at times to total neglect by the

⁸¹ Among the more important contributors to this debate are: Herbert Schlossberg, *The Silent Revolution and the Making of Victorian England*, Ohio State University Press, Columbus, 2000; Janet Fyfe "Books Behind Bars, The Role of Books, Reading and Libraries in British Prison Reform," *Contribution to Librarianship and Information Science Number 72*, Greenwood Press, Westport Connecticut, 1992; David W. Wardle *The Rise of the Schooled Society*, London, 1974; B.S. Simon, *The Two Nations and the Educational Structure*, London 1976; J. Hurt, *Education in Evolution*, London, 1971; R. Johnson and R. Dale (Editors) *Schooling and Capitalism* London, 1976; Harold Silver, *Education as History: Interpreting Nineteenth- and Twentieth-Century Education*, Methuen and Company Limited, London, 1983; identifying schooling as a process of socialization and W.B. Stephens, *Education in Britain, 1750-1914*, Macmillan Press Limited, London, 1998 and J. Stack "Reformatory and Industrial Schools and the Decline of Child Imprisonment in Mid-Victorian England and Wales" which maintain that other factors may have played a more prominent role in socialization than schools.

bureaucracy. Despite this slow process, regimental schools played a significant role in the development of the service family which, by the middle of the nineteenth century was recognized as a desirable element of stability that proved an immense benefit on the North American frontier. The thesis reveals that the lives of army children had altered dramatically throughout the nineteenth century. By developing schools the British military authorities were compelled to recognize what children's historians refer to as the concept of "childhood" and thereby provided a system of schooling for army children well in advance of their civilian counterparts.⁸² The thesis also explores whether Canada's unique geographic location affected the British Government's attitude towards education and the family in the military. The examination of the Royal Canadian Rifle Regiment, a special unit raised to deal with problems associated with duty in British North America, demonstrates that schools became an increasingly significant facet of garrison life within this unit, demanding more and more of the administration's attention. Detached service and limited resources presented increasing obstacles in maintaining this regiment's schools.

The shift from colonial to Imperial defence in 1870 coincided with an era of social and political change within the army. Educational reform was part of this broader campaign designed to popularize the Victorian army, elevate the common soldier to a professional status and centralize the army's administration. Forster's 1870 Education Act, which established a national system of schooling and fostered dynamic changes, produced a high standard of civilian education. However, recommendations stemming from various

⁸² Works such as Neil Sutherland's *Children of English Canadian Society, 1880-1920 : Framing the Twentieth-Century Consensus*, University of Toronto Press, Toronto, 1976, recognize childhood as a life stage and a cultural experience.

commissions formed to investigate the army's schools were tempered with fiscal restraint. As this era stressed the efficiency in the expenditure of public money, financial rather than educational considerations began to shape army schools after 1870. Government austerity combined with bureaucratic reorganization, resulted in a considerable degeneration of the army's school system by the end of the century. The wholesale establishment of garrison or station schools, and the rigid and restrictive curriculum this system required, contributed to the decline in army school's effectiveness. Although the army provided its children with a sound elementary education, standards had improved only marginally. By the end of the century, army schools lagged behind their civilian counterparts.

CHAPTER ONE

The Administrative and Legal Aspects of Army School Development

... there were far higher and broader grounds on which the claims of education are usually maintained, as influencing the moral as well as the intellectual condition of those instructed.

(First Report of the Council of Military Education on Military Schools)¹

The cumbersome inefficiency and incessant in-fighting that defined the bureaucracy of the nineteenth-century British army was deliberately contrived. The military's active participation in the internal struggles of the seventeenth century, established an uneasy relationship. A standing army was viewed by many Britains as a potential threat to personal and constitutional liberties. Composed of both military and civilian elements with vaguely defined areas of responsibilities, the deliberate bureaucratic confusion nullified any imbalance of influence and ensured that absolute command rested with neither sovereign nor state. The institution was so decentralized that by the mid-nineteenth century, no less than thirteen separate departments administered the army.² The legacy of this structured dysfunctionism was inter-office friction, duplication and general inefficiency. Any order or regulation required consensus and was heavily dependant on personalities and uncertain alliances amongst the various administrative branches. This decentralized character of command made for painfully slow progress in all aspects of army reform. Education of the "other ranks," meaning soldiers other than officers, was an integral part of this process.

Ultimate power lay with the Secretary of State for War, an influential politician who linked the three main administrative branches of the army, the War Office, the Horse Guards and the Ordnance Department, with the Crown and parliament. The Secretary of State for War maintained parliamentary influence, and ensured that a military hierarchy did not achieve supremacy. The Secretary at War, another political appointee, handled the financial aspects of the army. The Horse Guards, under the Commander-in-Chief, was responsible for recruitment, administration and discipline for the infantry and

¹ Great Britain, Parliament, House of Commons, *Sessional Papers*, "First Report of the Council of Military Education on Military Schools," 1862: v. Hereafter referred to as "The First Report of the Council of Military Education, 1862."

² Byron Farwell, *Mr. Kipling's Army*, 1987 Edition, W.W. Norton and Company, New York : 18. Hereafter referred to as Farwell, *Mr. Kipling's Army*.

cavalry.³ The Ordnance Department, under the direction of the Master-General of Ordnance, was responsible for administration and discipline for the artillery and engineering arms of the service, as well as all fortifications. The Commander-in-Chief was, in theory, accountable to the Secretary of State for War. In practice, this post remained autonomous until 1870. Moreover, the term "Commander-in-Chief" was misleading as this officer was responsible only for the regular forces within the United Kingdom. Soldiers on foreign service were administered by the Colonial Office, while the Home Office dealt with the militia and yeomanry. A civilian Treasury Board handled logistics such as transport and supply until the late 1880s.⁴ The Secretary of State for War and the largely civilian War Office considered the army an instrument of parliament. The predominantly military Horse Guards, serving as the monarch's representatives and advisors on military affairs, viewed the army as an instrument of the Crown and, as such, resented any political interference. Staff officers at the Horse Guards were appointed by the Crown on the recommendation of the Commander-in-Chief. In this way, this branch remained a bastion of conservatism, highly resistant to change. Many senior officers had royal connections. Both the Secretary at War and the Commander-in-Chief used numerous issues in attempts to gain executive control. The measures of the liberal War Office (the Office of the Secretary at War), which held financial power over the army,

³ For insight into the problems associated with the administration of the British army, see "Confusion Worse Confounded: The Administration of the Army:" 9-42 in Whitfield, C. "Tommy Atkins: The British Soldier in Canada, 1759-1870" *History and Archaeology*, No.56, National Historic Parks and Sites Branch, Parks Canada, Ottawa, 1981. Hereafter referred to as Whitfield, "The British Soldier in Canada."

⁴ Farwell, *Mr. Kipling's Army*: 18.

were often at cross purposes with the deeply conservative and influential Horse Guards. The result was a labourious process of negotiation and alliances which often confounded change. Despite the obfuscation of the process, reforms were achieved through the efforts of the Secretary at War. Successive administrations gradually overcame the traditional concept of the lower ranks as being the quintessence of degradation and evil and assumed more responsibility for the soldier and his family through improvements in their moral and material well-being.⁵ But the dichotomy of organization and interests continued within the army's bureaucracy until Edward Cardwell's War Office Act of 1870, which effectively centralized all aspects of army administration under the jurisdiction of the Secretary of State for War and eliminated the traditional feuding between the War Office and the Horse Guards.⁶

The army's policy on schooling the rank and file remained vague and fluctuated throughout the nineteenth century.⁷ Frequent bureaucratic changes and ambiguous regulations demonstrated the army's gradual and somewhat reluctant recognition of army schools. An education scheme recommended by John Le Marchant in 1802 was quickly rejected by the War Office as a notion dangerously close to elevating the other ranks to

⁵ Peter Burroughs, "The Human Cost of Imperial Defence in the Early Victorian Age," *Victorian Studies*, 24,(1), 1980: 8.

⁶ Edward Cardwell, the Secretary of War in Gladstone's Cabinet from 1868 to 1874 was responsible for a series of sweeping changes from 1870 to 1881 popularly known as the "Cardwell Reforms," which had far reaching implications on the army.

⁷ The first official reference concerning instruction of "young soldiers" (recruits) appears in Circular Order No.79, dated December 27, 1811.

the level of the officers.⁸ A British militia commander's decision in 1809 to assess a fee to his non-commissioned officers for compulsory schooling, launched events which had far-reaching implications for the army.⁹ The ensuing legal action involving a serjeant, Richard Warden, who refused to pay the fee, and his acquittal from court martial and award of damages for false imprisonment, set a precedent governing compulsory adult instruction, formal recognition of army schools and the institution's obligation for instruction. In *Warden v. Bailey* (1809-1811) the court did not recognize school as a military duty for the soldier:

It is no part of the military duty to attend school, and to learn to read and write. If writing is necessary to corporals and sergeants, the superior officers must select men who can read and write.¹⁰

The judgement established that if the prospective candidates for non-commissioned officers had to possess a working ability in reading, writing and calculating skills, then it was the army's responsibility to provide the resources necessary to prepare soldiers for these complex duties.¹¹ *Warden v. Bailey* forced the War Office to recognize the need and—*ipso facto*—the existence of regimental schools. As a result, from 1811 onwards, the Secretary at War and the War Office dealt with school issues. Within months of this decision, schools were formally established by Order and the responsibility for doing so

⁸ Farwell, *Mr. Kipling's Army*: 141.

⁹ Victor Neuburg, *Gone for a Soldier: A History of Life in the British Ranks From 1642*, Assell Publishers Ltd. London, 1989: 72. Hereafter referred to as Neuburg, *Gone for a Soldier*.

¹⁰ *English Reports*, Vol: 128, p:253, and vol. 105, p:882, as cited in A.C.T. White, *The Story of Army Education, 1643-1963*, George Harrap and Co. Ltd. London, 1963: 21.

¹¹ Neuburg, *Gone for a Soldier*: 72.

was placed on the commanding officer, a practice that had already become common in many units. The order (Figure: 2), established specific objectives promoting basic education, instilling strict moral principles in the children and young soldiers and preparing them for their station in life:

The object of these institutions is to implant in the Children's Minds, early habits of morality, obedience and industry, and to give them that portion of Learning, which may qualify them for non Commissioned officers . . .¹²

By virtue of the Warden V. Bailey order, the army began to provide the means for soldiers and their children to achieve the required educational qualifications for the rank of non-commissioned officers.

Late in December of the same year, an order outlined the formation of a regimental school in each battalion or corps under a serjeant-schoolmaster " . . . for the Instruction of young soldiers, and of the Children of Soldiers . . ."¹³. The order established class-rooms in each barrack, regulated allowances of fuel and light, and authorized an annual school budget of £10. Commanding officers were given official direction concerning instruction and supervision of their schools. A few days later, a second order reiterated the critical importance of impressing upon the children's minds "early Habits of Order Regularity and Discipline, derived from a well-grounded Respect and Veneration for the Established Religion of the Country, as "important benefits for the

¹² *General Regulations and Orders for the Army, Adjutant General's Office Horse Guards, 12th August, 1811 to Which Have Been Added Such Regulations as Have Been Issued to the 1st, January, 1816*, London, 1816, reprinted London, 1975, Frederick Muller Ltd.: 331. Hereafter referred to as *General Regulations and Orders for the Army*.

¹³ Circular No.79, relative to the establishment of regimental schools...dated War Office, 27 December, 1811, *General Regulations and Orders for the Army*: 23

Figure: 2

Circular letter dated 14 November 1811 outlining the formal establishment of regimental schools in the British army. The adoption of Bell's monitorial system of instruction also noted in this document instituted Britain's first nationally recognized elementary school system.

General Regulations and Orders for the Army Adjutant General's Office Horse-Guards 12th August, 1811 to Which are Added Such Regulations as Have Been Issued to the 1st January 1816, 1970 Frederick Muller Facsimile Edition: 331.

Circular Letter addressed by the Adjutant-General to the Colonels, or Commanding Officers, of Regiments of Regulars and Militia.

Horse-Guards,

14th November, 1811.

I have received the Commander-in-Chief's Directions to inform you, that it is in the contemplation of Government to afford the means of establishing *Regimental Schools*, for the Care and Instruction of the Children of Non-Commissioned Officers and Soldiers. It is His Royal Highness's Intention, that these Schools be conducted on the Plan recommended by the Reverend Dr. Bell, and adopted with great Success at the Royal Military Asylum; and you will be pleased immediately to look out for a Person, calculated to superintend the School of the Regiment under your Command.

The object of these Institutions is to implant in the Children's minds early Habits of Morality, Obedience, and Industry, and to give them that portion of Learning, which may qualify them for Non-Commissioned Officers. With this view, the Commander-in-Chief desires you will be very careful in the Selection of the Person you propose for the Superintendence of the School, which should be done without delay. The Person so selected, will be placed on the Strength of the Regiment as a *Serjeant*, in addition to the present Establishment.

I shall hereafter have the honor of communicating with you further on this Subject.

I have, &c.

(Signed)

HARRY CALVERT,

Adjutant-General.

individuals, the army and the nation.”¹⁴ The regulations also revealed concern with inculcating values and ideals in the children that would prepare them to undertake responsibilities:

It is to be remembered that the main purpose for which the regimental schools are established, are to give to the soldiers the comfort of being assured that the education and welfare of their children are objects of their sovereign's solicitude, and to raise from their offspring a succession of loyal subjects, brave soldiers and good Christians. The Commanding Officer, therefore feels confident that every man in the regiment, and every father in particular, will be duly sensible of the important advantage resulting from an Institution founded on such useful, moral and charitable principles.¹⁵

Established along military lines, these schools were incorporated into the internal economy of the regiment. Girls were also to be instructed, if circumstances permitted. Commanding officers and clergy were charged with responsibility for ensuring the moral and religious standards as well as reporting on the progress and behaviour of the children and teaching staff:

The Commander-in-Chief considers it particularly incumbent on the *Chaplains*, and other Clergymen engaged in the Clerical Duties of the Army, to give their aid and assistance to the Military Officers in promoting the success of these Institutions, by frequently visiting the *Regimental Schools* of their Divisions and Garrisons; by diligently scrutinizing the conduct of the *Serjeant-School-Masters*; examining the progress and general behaviour of the Children; and Reporting the Result of their observations to the Commanding Officer of the Regiment.¹⁶

Industrial training for army children was introduced in 1815. Commanding

¹⁴ *Ibid*: 332.

¹⁵ *The Queen's Regulations and Orders for the Army, 1844*, (Parker, Furnivall and Parker, Military Library, London, 1844: 214-215. Hereafter referred to as *The Queen's Regulations and Orders for the Army, 1844*.

¹⁶ General Order, dated Horse Guards 1 January 1812, *General Regulations and Orders for the Army*: 333.

officers were ordered that children were to be taught:

... the means of making themselves useful ... [to] gaining their Livelihood ... [and] by employing the best qualified and best behaved Woman of each Regiment in instructing the girls in Plain Work and Knitting ...¹⁷

Girls were instructed in sewing, mending and seamstressing by the “best qualified and best behaved woman of the regiment”, usually the wife of a non-commissioned officer on the strength of the regiment, while the boys would be taught practical trades in the regimental shops by the artisans.¹⁸

Two types of schools operated within the army system. Although regimental schools remained the standard, the army also maintained a limited number of garrison schools at some of the larger military centres in Britain, such as Aldershot. These served the educational needs of all the units in the area. Garrison schools, accommodating an aggregate of adult students and army children, proved to be more efficient in these situations by cutting costs and negating duplication. By contrast, detachment schools were created when the numbers of a regiment on detached service warranted a school. These schools were essentially satellite schools based on the regimental model. The limited resources available to these schools made them less efficient imitations of the regimental school.

Recommendations of the 1835 Punishment Commission, dedicated to reform, improving discipline and repressing crime in the British army, reflected popular

¹⁷ WO28, Vol:314, Reel:B-3227, General Order dated Horse Guards, 16th January, 1815.

¹⁸ *The Queen's Regulations and Orders for the Army, 1844*: 214.

sentiments in establishing a direct connection between ignorance and crime. The report concluded that the hardships, provisions and dangers associated with military service drew the less desirable elements of society, the habits and character of whom required some form of punishment to maintain discipline. Corporal punishment, therefore, was a necessary evil, but the commission argued that increased rewards and advantages would attract a better class of soldier. Their comment provides an intriguing insight into the popular perception of the army's make-up:

Whether some system of rewards to the good and well-behaved soldier while in the service, either by promotion to commissions, by honourary distinctions, or otherwise, or by the prospect of some civil advantages combined with pension, or all of these might not have the effect of inducing the parents and friends of young men of a better and more educated class of life than that of which the army is now composed, not only to consent to, but even to encourage their enlistment, and of thus improving the moral character of the Army so as to render the use of corporal punishment unnecessary.¹⁹

Alcohol “. . . which pervades the army and the country to a great extent . . .” was considered the essence of all problems related to discipline and punishment:

It is over and over again repeated, that the propensity of that vice is, the occasion of utmost all faults, that are Committed by British soldiers, and that, if it could be subdued, punishment of any sort would rarely be necessary.²⁰

The Commission advocated regimental schools and the formation of barrack libraries and reading rooms in a socialization program that would instill the rank and file with moral

¹⁹ Great Britain, Parliament, House of Commons, *Sessional Papers*, “Report From His Majesty’s Commissioners for Enquiring into the System of Military Punishments in the Army; with Appendices,” H.M.S.O. London, 1836: *viii*. Hereafter referred to as “Report of the 1835 Punishment Commission.”

²⁰ *Ibid*: *vii*, *viii*.

values and combat evil through constructive use of the soldier's time and energy.²¹

There will be found in the evidence, suggestions with regard to increased attention and encouragement to regimental schools for the men and to the providing of libraries and a reading room in every barrack, to enable them to usefully occupy their idle hours, which in this country, and more especially in the warm climates of some of our foreign stations, hang heavily upon them.²²

Following the Honourable East India Company's policy of the late 1820s, the British army established libraries and reading rooms at every principal station throughout the United Kingdom and the colonies by 1844.²³

The object of these Institutions is to encourage the Soldiery to employ their leisure hours in a manner that shall combine amusement with the attainment of useful knowledge, and teach them the value of sober, regular and moral habits.²⁴

The regulations governing army schools changed little for almost 40 years after their initial introduction. *Queens Regulations and Orders for the Army* issued in 1844 repeated *verbatim* the initial orders which established the schools, the only additions being the encouragement of the two-hour daily attendance by young non-commissioned officers and soldiers, and provision for the Queen's Corps of Army Schoolmistresses created in 1840.²⁵ The Corps provided trained professionals to instruct the female children in reading, writing, the rudiments of arithmetic, the domestic trades, as well as

²¹ Whitfield, "The British Soldier in Canada:" 102.

²² "Report of the 1835 Punishment Commission:" xix.

²³ "Regulations for Troops in Barracks," *The Queen's Regulations and Orders for the Army*, 1844: 75.

²⁴ General Order dated 25 October 1844, concerning the establishment of barrack libraries, N.A. RG8, I, C-Series, Vol: C 519: 237.

²⁵ *The Queen's Regulations and Orders for the Army* 1844: 215.

training “ . . . in habits of diligence, honesty and piety.”²⁶

The formation of the Corps of Army Schoolmasters by Royal Warrant in July 1846 introduced another era in the development of British army schools. The two-year training program at the newly-formed Normal School at the Royal Military Asylum, Chelsea, not only created a body of professional teachers to replace the sergeant-schoolmasters, but also a certification program which provided the criteria necessary to gauge a teacher's ability. These measures elevated regimental schools to a more professional status. Academic subjects were taught during the first three terms at the Normal School, while the final session offered practical teaching experience at the Model School—a prototype facility composed of four companies of boys formed from the school at the Royal Military Asylum, from which British regimental schools at home and abroad could be modelled.²⁷ Resources expanded considerably with these additional facilities. Improved accommodations, new school materials and a complete set of text books accompanied each schoolmaster's appointment. After 1850, every regiment or depot battalion that employed a trained schoolmaster was also required to furnish an infant and industrial school under the charge of a schoolmistress.²⁸ The infant school introduced very young children to the basics of education and prepared them for grown school. The schoolmistress taught the infant school in the morning and instructed both

²⁶ Major T.H. Hawkins, with L.J.F. Brimble, *Adult Education: The Record of the British Army*, Macmillan and Company Ltd. London, 1947: 17.

²⁷ Royal Warrant, dated November 21, 1846.

²⁸ “Army School Regulations, July 1857, *W.O. Circular Memo No. 117*. London, 1857. Hereafter referred to as “1857 Army School Regulations.”

infants and older girls in needlework and other domestic skills in the industrial school in the afternoon.

Schooling had previously been considered a necessity by many of the more enlightened commanders who had established regimental schools on their own initiative. The success of these schools remained dependent on the interest of these officers in educating the other ranks and a soldier's individual initiative and attitude to take advantage of a system designed to improve his lot in life. However, compelling school attendance and charging for these "benefits" was never popular amongst soldiers, many of whom remained indifferent to self-improvement. Requirements for competent non-commissioned officers continued to dictate the military's schooling policy. Commander-in-Chief Lord Wellington's 1849 Regulation ordering recruits to attend school for two hours daily prompted a re-examination of the legality of compulsory attendance.²⁹ Wellington's order was eventually rescinded in 1857, when the highest government legal authorities upheld Lord Mansfield's original 1811 ruling. This effectively removed the entire question from the realm of the Mutiny Act.³⁰ Schooling was postponed until after "dismissed drill," and in the absence of compulsory attendance, the military authorities were limited to a policy of persuasion and inducement. The 1849 regulation was replaced in June 1857 by a more moderate directive to commanding officers ordering them to "encourage" young soldiers to attend school until a sufficient level of reading, writing

²⁹ Order, Horse Guards #591, dated 10 April, 1849, N.A. RG8, I, C-Series, Vol:C 1527: 24, [498].

³⁰ The Mutiny Act, passed annually by act of parliament provided the legal justification for the existence of Britain's standing army as well as the parameters and laws by which the army operated. The Act specified military offences dangerous to the discipline and efficiency of the army and, consequently, to the country.

and arithmetic had been achieved. This ruling lead to a further order which highlighted the merits of instruction and formally linked schooling with promotion:

That no man is to be considered eligible for promotion to corporal, unless in the field, who has not been dismissed the lowest class of school, and is therefore, tolerably advanced in reading, writing, and arithmetic. And, for further promotion, it must be well understood that the men who avail themselves most intelligently of the means of improvement within their reach will be generally preferred where, in respect to conduct and soldier-like bearing, they are eligible for it, and that neglect to do so will be regarded as a disqualification.³¹

A subsequent clause introduced in the 1859 Articles of War making it an offence for a soldier to refuse to attend school parade, was an attempt to skirt the legality issue of compulsory schooling of the ranks. A circular memorandum the following February, calling attention to this amendment, suggests that this ambiguously worded order probably escaped the attention of most commanding officers.³² This notion was clarified in January 1861 by regulations which placed the obligation for attendance on those who volunteered to attend, rather than those who did not. Commanding officers were directed to provide all means,

. . . for men whose names are on the school-books to attend regularly, and are to require them to do so as a parade or duty, and as previously stated they are empowered to bring to trial before a court-martial any soldier who without due cause or without leave from his commanding officer, shall absent himself from the garrison or regimental school when duly ordered

³¹ Great Britain, Parliament, House of Commons *Sessional Paper*, "Report of the Commissioners Appointed to Inquire into the State of Popular Education in England," H.M.S.O. London 1861: 417. Hereafter referred to as "Report of the Newcastle Commission, 1861."

³² "First Report of the Council of Military Education on Military Schools, 1862:" iv.

to attend there.³³

However, this power was not recognized by the officers or the rank and file.³⁴ Emphasis on the importance of schooling once again varied from regiment to regiment and whether the school was viewed as an adjunct or an essential element within the regimental system.³⁵ Officers, noting men's deficiencies, could only recommend study with a promise of reward. Soldiers were informed that, " . . . those who make the greatest proficiency in their education will be the first promoted, provided their conduct as soldiers merits that distinction."³⁶ Regulations of the Scots Fusiliers was typical of the persuasion found in many regiments concerning school attendance:

All private soldiers, drummers, and non-commissioned officers, are at liberty to attend School, and every encouragement is to be given to them to do so.³⁷

The Orders included subtle pressure placed on soldiers to conform:

The School is so regulated as to put it in every man's power to perfect himself; and the Commanding Officer trusts the opportunity will not be thrown away.³⁸

³³ Great Britain, Parliament, House of Commons, *Sessional Papers*, "Second Report of the Royal Commission Appointed to Inquire into the Present State of Military Education; with minutes of Evidence, Appendix, and Index," HMSO, London, 1871: xiv. Hereafter referred to as "Second Report of the Royal Commission, 1871."

³⁴ *Ibid*: xiii-xiv.

³⁵ *Ibid*: 11.

³⁶ Great Britain, Army, *Standing Orders of the 76th "Hindoostan" Regiment*, A&W MacKinley, Halifax, 1855: 57.

³⁷ Great Britain, Army, *Standing Orders and Interior Regulations of the Scots Fusiliers Regiment of Guards, Commanded by General His Royal Highness the Duke of Cambridge KG, GCE,&c, &c.* John W. Parker and Son, London, 1858: 116.

³⁸ *Ibid*: 116.

Schooling was postponed until after initial training as the recruit was often overwhelmed by his orientation to drill, fatigue duties and other regimental routines. He was encouraged to attend school "after dismissed drill" until sufficiently advanced in reading, writing and arithmetic. As few soldiers took advantage of the opportunities of schooling, voluntary attendance fostered an era of dwindling and irregular enrolment. The decline was especially acute in regiments where the Commanding Officer did not take an active interest in the school program. Fees were abolished in an attempt to encourage attendance³⁹ and officers were instructed to plan their regimental routines to allow at least four hours of school per week for their troops.⁴⁰ A provisional classification system was also improvised in 1857, which rendered uniform instruction throughout the army.

Authorities drew heavily on garrison libraries and reading rooms as well as informative lectures, slide shows and scientific demonstrations by army schoolmasters, officers and chaplains to stimulate and maintain interest in learning.⁴¹ Compulsory schooling for recruits resumed in 1871 and increased standards for promotion for the rank of non-commissioned officer required school attendance for soldiers until the required certificate had been obtained.

³⁹ General Order dated 19 June 1857, N.A. RG8, I, C-Series, Vol: C 1195G2 : 30. Before 1845, fees varied according to the regiment. After this date, regulated monthly payments of *8d* for serjeants, *6d* for corporals and *4d* for drummers and privates were paid to the instructor N.A. RG8, I, C-Series, Vol: 70, Circular Memorandum, dated Horse Guards, 16 September 1845. Circular Orders No. 611 and 783, dated War Office, 23 July 1860 for 3rd class adult school and 12 September 1862, respectively, N.A. RG8,I, C-Series, Vol: C 1194I : 3, Vol: C 1194J, p:[between 136 and 150].

⁴⁰ General Order dated 19 June 1857, N.A. RG8, I, C-Series, Vol: C 1195G2: 30.

⁴¹ For more information on Magic lantern shows see Brenda Dunn, "Magic Lantern Shows and the British Army: Lecture Material in the Halifax Garrison in the 1860s" *Research Bulletin No.304*, Canadian Heritage, Parks Canada, Ottawa, January, 1994.

The shortcomings in army organization and administration, which became dramatically apparent in the mismanagement of the Crimean campaign, sparked numerous investigative commissions and committees in an attempt to identify and improve conditions. The spirit of reform which had influenced so many other British institutions by the middle of the nineteenth century was now concentrated on all aspects of Britain's military.⁴² Education was one topic under examination. Despite numerous recommendations, army schools changed very little. Upon Reverend Gleig's retirement in 1857, Brevet Colonel John Henry Lefroy of the Royal Regiment of Artillery was appointed Inspector-General of Army Schools. Lefroy had been appointed Senior Clerk in the War Office by Henry Pelham, the fifth Duke of Newcastle and continued in that position under Lord Panmure's term as War Minister. Lefroy was an ardent proponent in the advantages of education throughout all levels of the service. As a second Lieutenant, he co-established an evening Sunday school for the soldiers' children at Woolwich in the late 1830s. He also advocated for a program of professional instruction for artillery officers and became secretary of the newly-established Royal Artillery Institute.⁴³

Lefroy's most significant contribution during his short tenure was an exhaustive and comprehensive report on the state of army schools in the late 1850s and an

⁴² Philip Magnus, *Gladstone: A Biography*, 1978 Edition, John Murray, London: 118.

⁴³ Lefroy also an accomplished scientist and geographer. From 1839 he was involved in numerous magnetic surveys including Cape Helena and the Cape of Good Hope. He was transferred to the observatory in Toronto in 1842 from where he left on a remarkable two-year, 5,475 mile journey through the Canadian north to determine the position of the forces of magnetic intensity, the magnetic north. Robert Hamilton Vetch, *The Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, London, 1973 Edition: 841-842. Hereafter referred to as Vetch, *DNB*.

assessment of the army school system. Lefroy's *Report on the Regimental and Garrison Schools of the Army and on Military Libraries and Reading Rooms*, based on the work and testimony of inspectors, schoolmasters and informed officers in the United Kingdom and India as well as the colonies, was a compilation of reports, testimonies, problems, concerns and suggested remedies concerning army schools and their staff. Its detailed investigation of adult, grown children, infant and industrial schools in Great Britain and several stations throughout the Empire provided a virtual snapshot of mid-nineteenth century British army schools.⁴⁴ The organization and progress of the Normal and Model Schools of the Royal Military Asylum were also included. The report listed an approximate total of 12,000 children within the army school system.⁴⁵ It stressed the correlation between instruction and promotion for the common soldier and dealt with the inherent problems associated with irregular attendance for both children and adults, as well as the diminished authority that schools maintained within regimental routines.

Lefroy's brief three-year tenure as Inspector-General of Army Schools proved controversial as his position increasingly became a casualty of a political dispute between Lord Panmure, Secretary of State for War, and George William Frederick Charles (the Second Duke of Cambridge) the Commander-in-Chief of the Army. Panmure's attempt to wrest officer education and training from the Commander-in-Chief at the Horse Guards

⁴⁴ The relative lack of information concerning regiments serving garrison duty in the Canadas was related to the fact that there was no Assistant Inspector of Army Schools assigned to the North American Command at this period.

⁴⁵ Great Britain, War Office, Brevet-Colonel John H. Lefroy, *Report on the Regimental and Garrison Schools of the Army and on Military Libraries and Reading Rooms*, 1859: 34. Hereafter referred to as Lefroy, *Report on the Regimental and Garrison Schools of the Army*, 1859.

and place it under civilian control, was indicative of the administrative rivalry in the various branches of the army. Lefroy was an ardent proponent of schooling for the rank and file while the Duke of Cambridge, who was the epitome of the aristocratic conservatism within the Horse Guards, strongly held the divergent view. The suggestion instigated a controversy that was resolved only with Queen Victoria's intervention—on the side of her cousin, the Duke of Cambridge.⁴⁶ The conflict's resolution settled the question. Lefroy's position was terminated in 1860 and the administration of army schools came under the Council of Military Education.⁴⁷ With the absorption of Lefroy's duties, the Council assumed responsibility for all aspects of army education and training, including libraries and reading rooms.

Although the 1861 Commission on Popular Education chaired by the Duke of Newcastle found the army school system competent and efficient as a whole, it reported disturbing evidence concerning the adult school program. The Commission revealed that 32 per cent of the 15,861 men discharged in 1856-1857 were unable to sign their names, 27 per cent of 10,000 British soldiers tested in 1856 were unable to write, and 21 per cent

⁴⁶ In a letter to Viscount Palmerston dated 18 December 1856, Queen Victoria declared that the responsibility of officer education should be immediately under the Commander-in-Chief rather than the civilian Secretary at War. Her Majesty stressed that "...the utility of the system would be broken and the army ruined if education was removed from the military command." Benson, A.C. and Viscount Esher, GCVO, KCB, (Editors) *The Letters of Queen Victoria: A Selection of Her Majesty's Correspondence Between the Years 1837 and 1861*, published by authority of H.M. the King, London 1908, Volume III, 1854-1861: 221-222.

⁴⁷ Lefroy became president of the Ordnance Select Committee in 1864 with the rank of Brigadier-General. He became Colonel of the regiment in 1865 and Director-General of Ordnance in 1868. Retiring from the military in 1870, he was appointed Governor and Commander-in-Chief of the Bermudas in 1871 and Governor of Tasmania in 1877. Vetch, *DNB*: 843.

could neither read nor write.⁴⁸ The significant number of uneducated army recruits drew concern.⁴⁹ The Commission revealed that school instruction, and other activities for promoting the intellectual improvement of the men, was still considered an effective policy of socialization:

We have every reason to believe that the great moral and intellectual good is the result of this movement. These lanterns act, to a certain extent, as an antidote to the evils with which a soldier's life is beset. They withdraw the men from the canteen and from sensual indulgences; they give them a taste for better things, and impart to them the desire for attending the school in order to improve themselves, and to secure the means of acquiring more knowledge.⁵⁰

The Commission reflected a popular trend in the desire for education amongst Britain's less privileged social classes and hoped that the common soldier would also take more of an interest in instruction:

We also feel sure that the wish for education, which is now so prevalent among the classes, will by degrees extend itself to the soldiers, and to make them more anxious to avest [sic] themselves of the opportunities afforded to them in the school . . .⁵¹

The Newcastle Commission identified the military as an instrument of socialization, and the soldier an example for the lower classes:

Profligacy and habits of excess are no longer tolerated in the soldier; we must, therefore, endeavour by education to raise him above these things, and set before him better objects to wean him from such pursuits; and it must not be forgotten that in many instances soldiers are discharged the

⁴⁸ "Report of the Newcastle Commission, 1861:" 422.

⁴⁹ *Ibid*: 423.

⁵⁰ *Ibid*: 423.

⁵¹ *Ibid*: 423.

service in their prime and it is obvious that they carry into civil life the habits which they have acquired in the army. The time, therefore, of their military service, is a most favourable opportunity for improvement which ought not to be neglected, since they become examples for good or for evil in the various communities to which they return, according to the manner in which their time has been spent, and according to the habits they have been induced to form while serving in the army. It is most highly important, therefore, in every way that the soldier should be encouraged to attend school.⁵²

The Commission mirrored the increasingly popular concept of the soldier as an intelligent and self-reliant professional, requiring mental training, or at least the rudiments of education to perform his duty.⁵³ It concurred with the War Office strategy of encouraging rather than compelling soldiers to attend school, and that the key to successful adult instruction remained the individual commanding officer, for he alone held the power to stimulate the men.⁵⁴

The First Report of the Royal Commission of Army Schools in 1869 dealt primarily with officer education in the British army. The report's important considerations were that the British military authorities were seriously studying the questions of officer education and the replacement of the Council of Military Education by the Director-General of Military Education. The Council of Military Education had inherited a system greatly in need of reform. Despite its weakness in executive powers, this body was influential in bringing about changes within the army school system, some of which may be considered improvements. In 1870, the Council was replaced by a

⁵² "Report of the Newcastle Commission:" 427.

⁵³ *Ibid*: 427.

⁵⁴ *Ibid*: 428.

single officer, the Director-General of Military Education, who was responsible for every aspect of education and training. The necessary executive and financial powers of this appointed officer of senior rank enabled changes to army schools in the form of direct orders rather than mere “recommendations” of the Council of Military Education which, lacking such powers, served more as an advisory committee. Garrison instructors provided officers with intense courses that were linked to promotion in which the officer/student (generally of junior rank) was excused all duty. This concept of officer education, coinciding with Cardwell’s abolition of the purchase system had significant implications. Both innovations created competent officers with an active interest in their units and their men. Senior non-commissioned officers also appear to have benefited through the courses provided by the garrison instructor.

The Royal Commission’s second report in 1870 examined the organization of army schools and recommended a number of points in an attempt to improve the curriculum and teaching methods, which had changed little since Reverend R.G. Gleig’s restructuring of army schools in 1846. Few changes were recommended concerning children’s schooling, which was considered to be on par and even superior to their civilian counterparts:

The subjects taught appear to us in general well adapted to the social condition and future wants of the children. . .⁵⁵

The moral value of children’s schools was also appreciated:

I have seen them in all situations, and I honestly declare that in my opinion

⁵⁵ “Second Report of the Royal Commission, 1870:” *ix*.

they are better disposed than young people of the same class in civil life. The moral influence on them of the schools both secular and religious, is very striking.⁵⁶

Suggested improvements included less frequent visits of superintending schoolmasters, a half-yearly schedule of visitation by district superintending schoolmasters and the abolition of tuition fees for children, the segregation of the extremely young children, separation of infant and grown school facilities and more emphasis on industrial and domestic training for the grown boys as well as the girls.⁵⁷ This last point reiterated that for many of these children who entered into the military, industrial training provided the service with recruits skilled in a useful trade.

Adult schooling was the major focus of the Commission which noted that although educational certificates were prerequisite for promotion, successful implementation still depended on the commanding officer, as did school attendance. Irregular attendance remained a major problem. Although the commanding officer had been empowered by the Articles of War to try any soldier by court-martial for absenting himself from school when ordered to attend, this power was not consistently enforced.⁵⁸ The report recommended standard school certificates which provided a degree of consistency over the existing regimental ones, and compulsory adult education which was once again re-instated in 1871.⁵⁹ Recruits required a fourth class certificate with an

⁵⁶ Chaplain-General Gleig, as cited in "Second Report of the Royal Commission, 1870:" *xii*.

⁵⁷ "Second Report of the Royal Commission, 1870:" *x-xi*.

⁵⁸ *Ibid: ix*.

⁵⁹ *Ibid: xiii*.

established minimum attendance of five hours per week.⁶⁰ Linking promotion to education provided increased incentive to attend school which led to a larger adult presence, and significant attention to adult schooling within the army's organization.⁶¹ The Commission recommended phasing out the army's Normal school program, arguing that the system was no longer cost-effective and did not prepare candidates for training adults.⁶² Successful candidates, serving a probationary six month term with an established army schoolmaster, would save money and increase teaching standards within the system.⁶³ The concept of soldiers being parties to a process of socialization for the lower classes was once more identified:

Nor would the advantages of an improvement in the education of the soldier be confined only to the army itself from the larger numbers of men who, with shortened periods of service, will annually pass from the ranks into a civil life, the educational condition of the soldier will to some extent affect that of the community at large and the army may in time become an auxiliary in promoting popular education.⁶⁴

Other factors also had an indirect effect on army schooling, major among these were a series of changes commonly referred to as the Cardwell Reforms. Changes instigated under Cardwell's administration constituted a vital contribution to the welfare

⁶⁰ *Ibid:* xvi.

⁶¹ "Second Report of the Royal Commission, 1870:" xvi.

⁶² *Ibid:* xxx.

⁶³ *Ibid:* xxxi.

⁶⁴ *Ibid:* xiv.

of the common soldier and marked a new era in military history.⁶⁵ Most notable were the War Office Act, the abolition of the purchase of commissions and the Army Enlistment Act. These reforms in living and working conditions greatly improved the welfare of the common soldier and attracted a better class of recruit, which in turn increased the public perception of soldiering as a professional occupation. Such reforms had far reaching implications on army schooling. The Army Enlistment Act which replaced the traditional twenty-one year term with a six year active, followed by six year reserve service, effectively lowered the age of serving soldiers. Emphasis was placed on training the soldier as quickly and as efficiently as possible and preparing him for integration back into the civilian work force after an abbreviated period of service.

An 1887 investigation into army schools and schoolmasters had important ramifications for army schools. Influenced directly by fiscal restraint, the recommendations tabled by this committee spearheaded by Lord Harris, introduced a negative era in which army schools deteriorated in the face of calculated government austerity. Recommendations included replacing regimental schools with garrison schools at home and abroad, revoking compulsory schooling for adults, employing acting schoolmistresses for infant schools, closing the army's normal school and the abolition of the fourth class certificate of education, which was considered too elementary to be of

⁶⁵ Moran, J.E. "The Development of the Education of Soldiers and Soldiers' Children During the Early and Mid-Nineteenth Century, with Particular Reference to the Influence of the Royal Military Asylum, Chelsea", *Unpublished Doctoral Dissertation*: 346. Hereafter referred to as Moran, "The Development of the Education of Soldiers and Soldiers' Children."

any practical purpose.⁶⁶ Much to the detriment of education for the common soldier, and particularly for his children, successive administrations took Harris at his word and enacted the recommendations.

⁶⁶ Great Britain, Parliament, House of Commons, Sessional Papers, "Fourth Report by the Director-General of Military Education on Army Schools," H.M.S.O. London 1889: 3-4.

CHAPTER TWO

The Canadian Challenge: The Early Development of Regimental Schools in Canada 1812 to 1850

Canada is another matter. It is a most difficult and arduous task. There has been recent rebellion in the country. . . and the united Province is bordered by a most hostile and uncontrollable community, the United States of America.

Viscount Melbourne to Queen Victoria (1841).¹

The principal function of the Victorian Army was that of Imperial defence. Over three-quarters of the British infantry served overseas in this colonial role.² British North America commanded a considerable amount of this attention. The one hundred years spanning 1770 to 1870 witnessed open hostility during two conflicts, followed by periods of tenuous peace. American sympathizers, intent on removing the "yoke" of British oppression and promoting a republican government for the people of the Canadas, intervened on the side of the rebels during the 1837 Rebellions. Additional American threats took the form of territorial disputes: the "Aroostook War" over the Maine - New Brunswick border, the 1842 Oregon problem and the 1859 San Juan Island boundary. In this unsettled climate, strengthened garrisons and elaborate defences were maintained along the Great Lakes and the St. Lawrence frontier. This dispersal of troops along a broad frontier had important consequences for the education of the common soldier and his children.

Britain's imperial commitments required a substantial standing army. Although colonial defence could be considered a passive role for the army, demands for maintaining peace-time garrisons were substantial. An early nineteenth-century British soldier could count on spending two-thirds of his twenty-one years in colonial service.³

¹ Letter from Viscount Melbourne to Queen Victoria, dated 12 September 1841. Benson and Esher, *The Letters of Queen Victoria: A Selection of Her Majesty's Correspondence Between the Years 1837 and 1861*, London, 1908. Volume: I: 326.

² Myna Trustram, *Women of the Regiment: Marriage and the Victorian Army*, Cambridge, 1984: 14. Hereafter referred to as Trustram, *Women of the Regiment*.

³ Great Britain, Parliament, House of Commons, *Sessional Papers*, "Report From His Majesty's Commissioners for Inquiring into the System of Military Punishments in the Army; with Appendices," H.M.S.O. 1836 : viii. Hereafter referred to as "Report of the 1835 Military Punishment Commission."

The burden of colonial garrisons was relegated to the infantry. Throughout the 1820s and 1830s, seventy-nine of the 103 infantry regiments were either stationed abroad or *in transit*, with the remaining regiments prepared to relieve those returning from foreign service.⁴ Initially, units were assigned a single ten- to twelve-year posting. However, a schedule of rotation was introduced in an attempt to distribute a regiment's term of service at foreign stations and reduce the devastating loss of strength exacted by long term exposure to tropical climates, and to prevent soldiers from "going native." The system comprised three tours—the Mediterranean area for three to four years where the soldiers became acclimatized to hotter temperatures, followed by deployment in the Caribbean or a similar high-risk station for three to four years, and a final term in the more temperate environment of North America before returning to the United Kingdom. It was in this last phase that veterans were encouraged to take their discharge, saving the government the cost of passage to Britain.⁵

Unlike some distant stations, British garrisons in North America did not constitute ethnic enclaves segregated by language and culture. However, a British regiment was an entity unto itself, a microcosm of society, composed of serving officers from privileged classes, and the rank and file including, by general order, six to twelve women and their families for every one hundred men.⁶ This cultural community maintained an internal

⁴ Peter Burroughs, "The Human Cost of Imperial Defence in the Early Victorian Age," *Victorian Studies*, Autumn, 1980, :11. Hereafter referred to as Burroughs, "The Human Cost of Imperial Defence."

⁵ *Ibid*: 29.

⁶ N.A. RG8, I, C-Series: Vol:1168, p:105, General Order, Canada, dated February 17, 1812, referring to Circular Order dated Horse Guards, November 5, 1811.

economic and social system. A mid-nineteenth-century British garrison in Canada generally consisted of a regimental service battalion of eight to ten companies, each company numbering from 50 to 75 men,⁷ a Royal Artillery detachment, a small number of resident ancillary staff, such as members of the Royal Engineers, an army hospital, and a detachment of the Commissariat Staff Corps. Stationed in barracks at strategic locations throughout the North American Command, distribution and length of duty varied according to political and diplomatic pressures.⁸ A regiment had to remain mobile. Circumstances often dictated dispersal in a number of small detachments over a vast expanse of territory. The second battalion of the 23rd Regiment of Foot served in Canada from 1841 to 1853, arriving at Kingston in July.⁹ During its eleven-month occupation of the town, detachments were stationed at Belleville, Cornwall and Brockville/Prescott. The regiment was then transferred to London, Canada West in June 1843 and Fort Chambly, Quebec, in May 1845, with one company at Sorel. In 1847, the regiment was moved to Montreal where it served with the 19th and 77th Regiments of Foot. While returning to London in May 1850, twenty-six men and eight women of one company drowned in Lake Erie.¹⁰ The right wing consisting of three companies and the regimental

⁷ John W. Spurr, "Garrison and Community 1815-1870". Gerald Tulchinsky (Editor), *To Preserve and to Defend*, McGill-Queen's University Press, Montreal, 1976: 112.

⁸ Charles P. Stacey, *Canada and the British Army 1846-1871: A Study in the Practice of Responsible Government* 1963 Edition, University of Toronto Press, Toronto: 11.

⁹ Occasionally two battalions of the same regiment served concurrently in the North American Command. Each battalion constituted an independent entity with its own internal organization and command structure.

¹⁰ Charles Stewart, "The Service of British Regiments in Canada and North America: A Resume with a Chronological List of Uniforms Portrayed in Sources Consulted," *Department of National Defence Publication No. 1*, Ottawa, 1962: 145. Hereafter referred to as "The Service of British Regiments in Canada and North America."

headquarters was sent to Hamilton and then Toronto, while three companies remained in London. The regiment returned to England in July 1853.¹¹

Appropriations for school accommodation throughout Canadian garrisons after formal recognition of regimental schools in the early 1800s indicated that serving regiments were taking advantage of the opportunity to establish schools.¹²

Requests were submitted by the commanding officer to the Office of the Military Secretary, to the Commander of the Forces—the agent of the Secretary at War. One such document for the fourth Battalion, Scots Guards, stationed in Quebec, requested the Secretary at War's authority:

... to bear on the strength of the 4th Batt'n Royal Scots under my Command a School Master Serjeant, and that the other allowances granted to Regimental Schools may be charged in the Accounts of the Battalion a Regimental School being necessary the instruction of the Non-Commissioned Officers, Young Soldiers & Children of the 4th Battalion .
..¹³

“Allowances granted” included a school room with a regulated ration of fuel and light and £10 *per annum* for stationary supplies and other school expenses.¹⁴ The 19th Light Dragoons stationed at Fort Chambly Quebec in November 1816 requested shallow sand

¹¹ *Ibid*: 145-146.

¹² Carol Whitfield, *Tommy Atkins: The British Soldier in Canada, 1759-1870, History and Archaeology No. 56*, National Historic Parks and sites Branch, Ottawa, 1981:111. Hereafter referred to as Whitfield, *The British Soldier in Canada*.

¹³ Letter Lt.-Col. Muller, 4th Battalion Royal Scots to the Military Secretary, Quebec, dated 21 February 1815, N.A. RG8, I, Vol: C 824: 82.

¹⁴ Great Britain, War Office Circular Number 79, dated 27 December, 1811, as cited in Brevet-Colonel J. H. Lefroy, *Report on the Regimental and Garrison Schools of the Army, and on Military Libraries and Reading Rooms*, London, 1859: 169. Hereafter referred to as Lefroy, *Report on the Regimental and Garrison Schools of the Army*.

tables with levellers, boards for Roman and Italian letters, figures and select sentences, material indicative of learning through a mechanical memory process and the regiment's faithful implementation of Bell's monitorial system of learning in the regimental school.¹⁵ The following year, two senior boys trained as monitors at the Royal Military Asylum, Chelsea, arrived in Quebec to establish regimental schools on Bell's principles.¹⁶

Monitorial instruction operated on the principle of tuition by the students, where advanced children monitored and taught others under the supervision of a single master. The mechanics of Bell's system appeared in the 1828 Standing Orders and Regulations for the Royal Regiment of Artillery.

The boys will be divided into squads of twenty, to each of which, such boy as shall recommend himself by his good conduct is to be appointed Corporal, who must be able to account to the Assistant Non-Commissioned Officer for all boys under his charge.¹⁷

Schools were arranged in forms or classes. Each class or *company* was superintended by a student monitor as *serjeant-teacher*, usually the most competent senior student within that unit and, if numbers warranted, a *corporal* or assistant teacher. These "teachers" were responsible for the order, behaviour and progress of their class. Assistant teachers attended in-class instruction and helped the tutors learn their lessons. The rest of the class was paired into tutors and pupils with the most competent instructing the least competent

¹⁵ N.A. RG8,I C-Series, Vol:1035, 6 November, 1816: 188.

¹⁶ Letter from F. Addison, Military Secretary to Reverend George Jenkins, Quebec dated 16 December 1817. N.A. RG8, I, C-Series, Vol: C1245: 112.

¹⁷ Great Britain, Army, *Standing Orders and Regulations, for the Royal Regiment of Artillery, at Home and Abroad*, H.M.S.O. , London, 1828: 110-111.

and so on. Learning was achieved by breaking subjects down to their basics and then presenting material mechanically through drill and repetition.¹⁸ Spelling was mastered by tracing the alphabet (Figure: 3a,b). The process was graduated to incorporate longer and more complex words until reading was achieved. Weekly examinations monitored each student's progress, as well as the teacher's direction, conduct and level of control over the class.¹⁹ The onus was on the student to qualify for advancement or at least to maintain his status within the class. One of the strengths of Bell's process was that the tutors instructed in the language of their peers. The system benefited the children teaching as well as those learning.²⁰ Bell identified the functions of the serjeant-schoolmaster as overseeing the general order of the school and ensuring that all subordinate officers within the system carried out their responsibilities adequately.²¹ The highest level of this hierarchy was an "usher" a person, such as a chaplain, who oversaw the work of the schoolmaster-serjeant and superintended the school in general.²²

Although formal establishment of an organized education system within the British military provided a degree of uniformity through regulations, regimental schools

¹⁸ Moran, "The Development of the Education of Soldiers and Soldiers' Children During the Early and Mid-19th Century with Particular Reference to the Influence of the Royal Military Asylum, Chelsea," 1979: 119-120. *Unpublished doctoral dissertation*, University of Wales. Hereafter referred to as Moran, "The Development of the Education of Soldiers and Soldiers' Children," 1979.

¹⁹ Andrew Bell. *Instructions for Conducting a School, Through the Agency of the Scholars Themselves: Comprising the Analysis of An Experiment in Education, Made at the Male Asylum, Madras, 1789-1796*, John Murray, London, 1813: 18. Hereafter referred to as Bell, *Instructions for Conducting a School*.

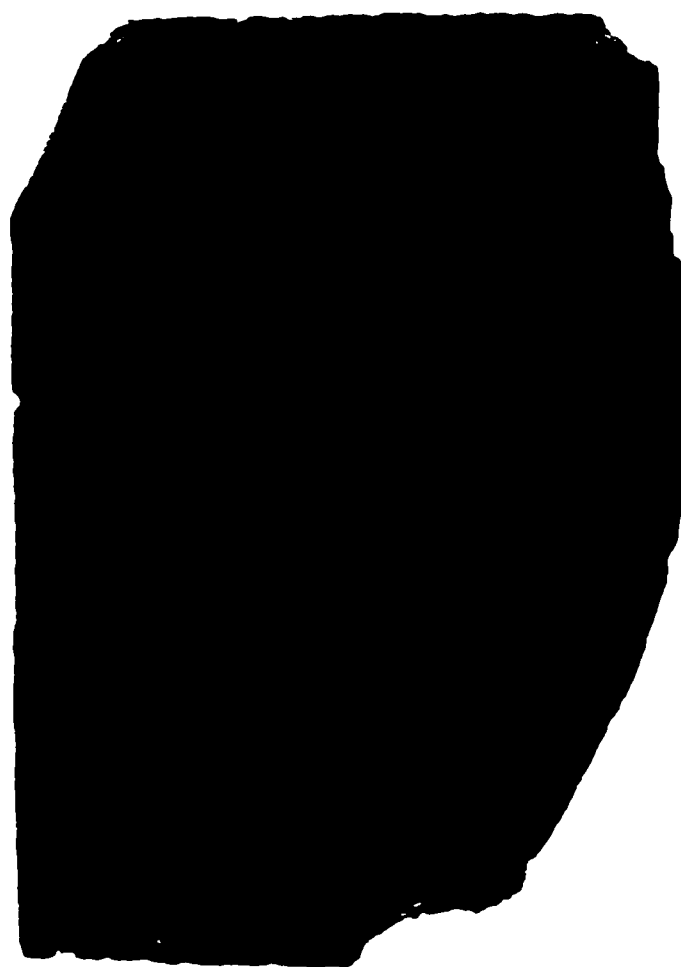
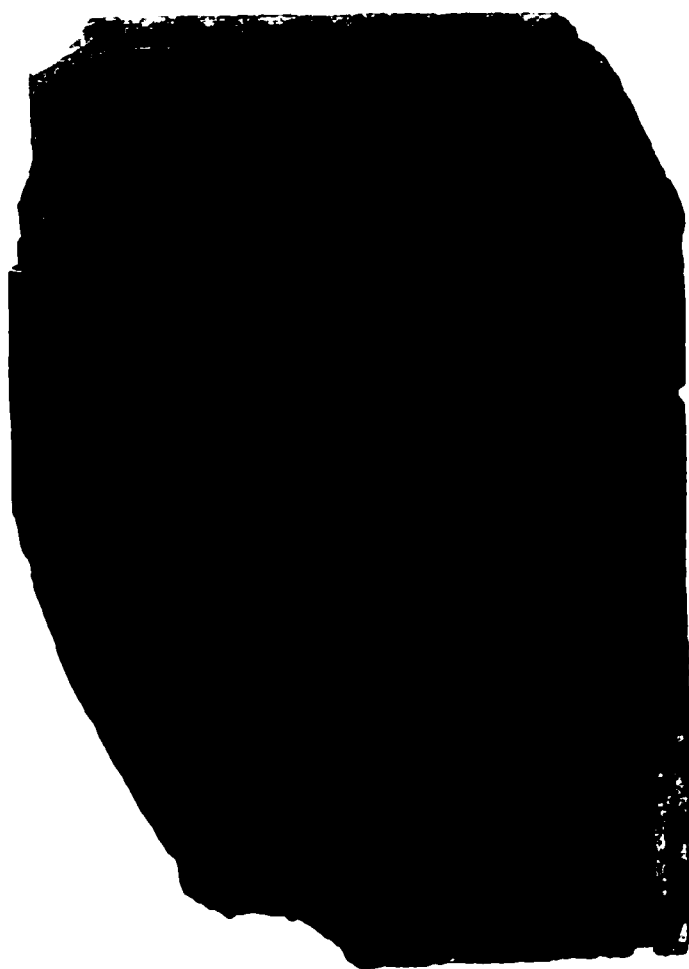
²⁰ *Ibid*: 16, 20.

²¹ *Ibid*: 11-12.

²² Bell, *Instructions for Conducting a School*: 81.

Figure: 3a,b

Learning by rote. This writing slate recovered during archaeological excavation of Artillery Park in Quebec, has the letters "a" to "f" incised in cursive script on one side and the primary numbers incised on the reverse. The student methodically traced these letters and numbers over the incised templates until they could be written independently. The slate illustrated was recovered from a ca. 1830s context. Specimen Number: 18G40K153-320. Photographs: Jean Jolin, Parks Canada, Quebec, Negative Numbers: GX-000/ACM/PR-6/D-152-6, GX-000/ACM/PR-6/D-152-8.



continued to experience considerable diversity. Progress remained slow and sporadic. Even after official recognition, the development and calibre of regimental schools remained heavily dependent on the philanthropic interest and initiative of the individual commanding officer. As the resources invested were also determined by these same individuals and the degree to which they subscribed to reform ideals, considerable variation was encountered within the regiments in such matters as management, organization and finances. If the officer-in-charge believed in the merits of education, attendance was high. Sympathetic commanders could incorporate an adult school into the exhaustive schedule of regular duties, parades, and other garrison tasks, to the point of excusing men from drill. By encouraging attendance and promoting only those men who attained the required education, officers demonstrated the importance of schooling within the regiment. One incident in the late 1850s illustrates the benefits of such action:

The assumption of afternoon drills during the winter occasioned a considerable falling off [school attendance]. This, however, was speedily remedied by Colonel Graham, who, on his arrival, permitted the men to attend school instead of evening parade, and slotted several large barrack room and verandahs to school purposes. By these means nearly the whole regiment was induced to attend. . . .²³

Conversely, an officer's indifference could have a detrimental effect on his regiment's school. If he was not sympathetic to educating the ranks, he could, and did prevent it from happening. In regiments where there was no exemption from duties, schools struggled as the men were often pulled from classes on trivial pretences.²⁴ The officer-in-

²³ Lefroy, *Report on the Regiment and Garrison Schools*: 161.

²⁴ Lefroy, *Report on the Regimental and Garrison Schools*: 9.

charge generally tolerated a nominal level of schooling for the soldiers to adequately perform their duties. Apathy and inefficiency persisted throughout the system. Moreover, whatever the attitude of the commanding officer, changes in station frequently disrupted school routine.

Although no charge was originally assessed, the onus of financial support for the school remained with the regiment. Before 1850, the expenses associated with regimental schools varied. In addition to moral support, officers often contributed financially. In 1801, the Commanding Officer of the 41st Regiment considered the newly formed Royal Military Asylum in Chelsea so important that he organized an annual subscription of one full day's pay minus stoppages for all commissioned officers, non-commissioned officers, privates and drummers of the regiment for that institution.²⁵ Regimental school funds became increasingly common in units throughout the first half of the 1800s. Lieutenant-Colonel Style of the 17th Regiment of Foot, and a few of his officers raised a fund for, ". . . necessary books, and a school was established and well attended, with most excellent results. . .".²⁶ In 1844, when regiments were annually allotted £10 for operational expenses, the annual budget of the 71st Regiment's school, serving in Montreal, amounted to £60, raised through a variety of means. Men granted leave to marry were charged ten shillings, as well as a monthly subscription of three pence, in addition to one penny per month for every child attending school. Regimental

²⁵ Letter from Lt-Col Wm. Thomas, 41st Regiment to Major General N.C.. Burton, Montreal, dated 24 September 1801, N.A., RG8, C-Series, Vol:C224: 52-54.

²⁶ T. Faughnan, *Stirring Incidents in the Life of a British Soldier: An Autobiography*, Picton, Ontario, 1891: 135-136. Hereafter referred to as Faughnan, *Incidents in the Life of a British Soldier*.

artisans and tradesmen were assessed five per cent of any income generated for additional work “upon their evenings,” and officers were expected to contribute three or four days pay annually. The visiting officer’s statement: “ I confess I felt very much sickened of our school,” suggested that there was considerable discrepancy among regimental schools and that the 71st probably constituted one of the more enlightened.²⁷

Operational procedures also varied from regiment to regiment. Commanding officers relied heavily on the army chaplains, who were instructed to take an active interest in regimental schools.²⁸ These men were often praised for the attention and untiring care they exercised in reporting on the state of regimental schools.²⁹ Although army Chaplains were charged with inspection and regulation of the schools within their jurisdiction, they lacked the executive power to enforce any recommendations. In areas where there was no military chaplain, the empowered civilian clergy possessed even less authority. Chaplains continued to contribute formal religious and moral classes, even after the Church ceased to be a dominant influence in army education with the Reverend Gleig’s retirement as Inspector-General of Army Schools in 1857.³⁰ In the absence of a chaplain, the Commanding Officer, or the officer of the day ensured the regular attendance of the students and the proper execution of duties for the schoolmaster.

²⁷ Papers of Sir Charles Chichester, dated 6 February 1844, N.A. MG24, F31: 19-20.

²⁸ Bowyer-Bower, “Some Early Educational Influences in the British Army,” *Journal of the Society for Army Historical Research*, Vol. 33, London, 1955: 7-8.

²⁹ Letter from Lt.Col. Muter, Commanding RCRR to the Secretary at War, concerning the state of the regimental schools, dated 6 May 1850, N.A. RG8.I, C-Series, Vol: C 521: 90-92.

³⁰ Monthly school report by RCRR Schoolmaster Thomas Polden for February 1864, N.A. RG8.I, C-Series, Vol: C 783: 27.

schoolmistress and other teaching staff.³¹ Regiments also solicited officers to administer the school or employed committees to examine school accounts, maintain supplies, ensure that relevant regulations and warrants were followed and to compose quarterly reports for the Commander. The regiments were eventually assigned these duties:

. . . to promote the efficiency of army schools if, in every regiment and garrison where there is no local Assistant Inspector, it be made the duty of some one officer, besides the orderly officer - if possible one who will undertake it - to visit them periodically during the hours of attendance, and to call the attention of the commanding officer to all circumstances which he may observe, or which may be pointed out to him by the schoolmaster, as susceptible to improvement. If the matter is one that can not be remedied by the influence and authority of the commanding officer, the monthly school report presents him with the opportunity of calling the attention of the Secretary of State to it.³²

As standards were non-existent, competency varied considerably, resulting in a lack of consistency in the quality of education amongst regiments. The commanding officer held the power to appoint or dismiss the schoolmaster-serjeant, who was to be "an attested soldier" borne by the establishment, with the same pay and allowances as the paymaster serjeant of the corps.³³ Men within the ranks with such capabilities were rare. The commander of the 60th Regiment granted a discharge to the schoolmaster-serjeant in April 1818 with the regimental chaplain's assurances "that the Corps is provided with a

³¹ Report of Captain G.V. Hamilton commanding the RCRR detachment at Isle aux Noix to the Military Secretary, Montreal concerning the overcrowded state of school accommodations at that station, dated 25 October 1847. N.A. RG8,I,C-Series, Vol: C 771: 74.

³² Circular No.273 (Schools) 50/Gen. No/63, War Office, 23 June, 1858, in Lefroy, *Report on the Regimental and Garrison Schools of the Army*: 48.

³³ Circular Order No. 79 dated War Office December 27, 1811. *A Collection of Orders, Regulations, and Instructions, for the Army*, Vol: II, London, 1815: 23.

person in all respects qualified for the situation.”³⁴ The schoolmaster-serjeant of the 17th Regiment was, according to one soldier/student, “. . . a very gentlemanly, able man and imparted his interests in a very painstaking manner which caused many of the young soldiers to attend his school willingly, and try to advance themselves by his instructions.”³⁵ The men selected were not always suitable to the task. Schoolmaster-serjeants were frequently incapable of instruction and maintaining order in the classroom. Exempted from strict supervision exercised over the other ranks, coupled with the temptations of a larger salary, many of these men succumbed to bad habits and entirely neglected their duties.³⁶ In the 1820s, the schoolmaster-serjeant of the 70th Regiment, reported by the Chaplains at Quebec and Montreal and confirmed by the unit commander to be unsuitable, was returned to regular duty as serjeant. As there was no one in the regiment qualified, the commanding officer was forced to hire a private schoolmaster to superintend the schools as well as instruct “a promising young Corporal in the Regiment for the purpose of succeeding to the situation should he qualify . . . ”.³⁷

Before the 1850s, school facilities at various military stations had been determined only through the generosity of the Commanding Officer and the regimental fund. After this date, garrison schools in the United Kingdom maintained a separate

³⁴ N.A. RG8, I, C-Series, Vol: C 1177: 386, General Order dated April 30, 1818.

³⁵ Faughnan, *Incidents in the Life of the British Soldier*: 135-136.

³⁶ Testimony of Lt. Frederick Scriviner, Superintendent of Army Schools, Bombay Presidency, in Lefroy, *Report on the Regimental and Garrison Schools of the Army*: 100.

³⁷ N.A. RG8, I, C-Series, Vol:C 9971: 74-75, letter from Brevet Lt-Col. Thomas Evans dated October 10, 1823.

schoolroom so that the noise of the infants (or older children) did not interrupt grown children or adult studies and that activities, such as parade, would not disrupt the children. A large school room measuring 100' by 30-50' was required for a battalion strength of 1,000 men.³⁸ As most Canadian garrisons were not furnished with specific classrooms, schools assumed a fluid character. Instruction was carried out in converted barrack-rooms, guard rooms, bakeries, commissariat store rooms, serjeant's messes and, at one station, even a converted horse stable. Fortifications, designed for defence, were not always conducive to study or instruction. Casemates, by the nature of their construction, proved inadequate. The lack of windows and small embrasures, characteristic of such defensive structures, made for poor lighting and ventilation. Dampness also proved a persistent problem for school materials and furnishings.³⁹ One school plan for a Montreal garrison proposed a shared occupation with a canteen and regimental store. A "wet" canteen, where spirits and liquors were sold, would have been an incredible distraction for any activity requiring concentration, or even attendance for the soldiers.⁴⁰ The limited facilities of the Toronto garrison often necessitated partitioning the schools, as the crowded state of the men's barracks made it impossible to accommodate the schools at a single site. The station's detachment schools often

³⁸ Great Britain, Parliament, House of Commons, *Sessional Papers*, "Report From an Official Committee on Barrack Accommodations for the Army with the Minutes of Evidence, Appendix and Index," London, 1855: 162. Testimony of M.R. Mennie, Esq., 17, May, 1855, 12 May 1855. Hereafter referred to as "The 1855 Report on Barracks Accommodation," *The 1855 Report on Barrack Accommodation*: 162.

³⁹ Letter from Major-General Hastings Doyle, commanding in Halifax to the Secretary of State for War, dated 21 September 1863, N.A. RG8,I, C-Series, Col: C 1344: 10-11.

⁴⁰ "Plan, section and Elevation of the Canteen, Regimental Store and School for the Defensible Barrack. Montreal," W.O. 44/36, National Archives, Canada.

comprised small barrack rooms at the Old Fort and another at the New Fort, which were approximately one mile apart.⁴¹ Although regulations called for a large room for adults and grown children and a small room for the infants, units were often forced to accommodate both grown and infant children in the same facility. The schoolrooms were often unfurnished except with ordinary barrack tables. Proper fittings within the schools were a problem as the existing furnishings often proved unsuitable for school purposes.⁴² Classroom furniture was a considerable expense.⁴³ Because these were temporary facilities, the regiment was under constant pressure to minimize any permanent alterations. “. . . care being taken to disturb as little as possible the barrack fixtures, furniture and accommodation.”⁴⁴

Large garrisons usually constituted an aggregate of troops from different units. An attempt was made to amalgamate the regimental schools at Quebec in October 1816. A large room in the Jesuit Barracks was appropriated for the male children of the various corps in the garrison to attend with their respective schoolmasters, under the supervision of the Commandant and the Military Chaplain. Fuel orders were withdrawn for each

⁴¹ The "Old Fort" referred to in the documents was Fort York, the "New Fort" was Stanley Barracks built in 1841.

⁴² Letter from Lt-Col. Nelson, R.E. , (The Colonel Commanding the Troops) to the Secretary of State for War, dated 3 March 1860, N.A. RG8,I, C-Series, Vol: C 1342: 189.

⁴³ Letter from the Office of the Secretary of State for War to the General Officer Commanding the Troops, Halifax, N.S., dated 14 February 1866., N.A. RG8, I, C-Series, Vol: C 1752: 45-46.

⁴⁴ "Warrant authorizing the Commissioners for the Affairs of Barracks, to appropriate and fix up Barrack Rooms for Regimental Schools; and to issue Coals and Candles for the same," dated 24 July 1812, *A Collection of Orders, Regulations and Instructions for the Army*, Volume II, London, 1815: 144.

regimental school and the standard ration for one room was allotted.⁴⁵ The Chaplain was also instructed to assess the guardhouse outside the St. Louis Gate as a classroom for the female children of the garrison and the teacher's residence.⁴⁶ The Garrison school concept was abandoned the following spring and regimental schools were re-instated.⁴⁷ The communal system of education may have failed given the natural resistance on the part of the regiments involved. Although larger, co-operative schools were an intelligent alternative in terms of pooling resources and supplying a consistent standard of education, each Commanding Officer retained control of his regiment's school. The failure of the garrison school in Quebec may have been caused by the inability of the regiments to relinquish such authority. Army schools would remain a regimental responsibility for units serving in Canada until 1887.

Because of inconsistent implementation and the professional competence and credibility of the teaching staff in question, army school efficiency had deteriorated by the 1840s. This was alleviated by the new training program initiated in 1846 by Reverend Gleig. Whereas schools had been heavily dependant on the Commanding Officers' views and attitudes, Gleig's reforms consolidated the various aspects of army education. Primarily through establishing teaching standards and suitable school accommodation, Gleig was able to deal with the inconsistent quality of schooling and

⁴⁵ General Order, issued by the Commander of the Forces dated October 16, 1816, N.A., RG8.I, C-Series, Vol:C-1176: 179.

⁴⁶ Report by Joseph Miller, Chaplain of the Forces to Lt.-General Sir Gordon Drummond, N.A., RG8.I, C-Series, Vol:C 64: 105-106.

⁴⁷ N.A., RG8.I, C-Series, Vol:C 1176: 322, General Order dated 23 March, 1817.

education within the service. He provided effective, professional school staff, appointed school inspectors in both domestic and foreign stations, and supervised the construction of dedicated class rooms.⁴⁸ He replaced Bell's antiquated and limited system of monitorial instruction with one that employed normal and model school programs at the Royal Military Asylum, Chelsea. Through the medium of lectures, learning became a positive experience.

Although the system was placing schoolmasters by the 1850s, the transformation was neither uniform nor systematic.⁴⁹ Changes implemented with the appointment of trained schoolmasters did not have any significant effect until the first schoolmasters graduated from the army's Normal School and were assigned to specific regiments. Even after this occurred, in 1849, few teachers could be appointed and the desired changes were slow in making themselves apparent. The high demand for graduates from the Chelsea Normal School Program in the 1850s could simply not be satisfied. From 1846 to 1858, only 178 schoolmasters had passed through the Normal School, of whom 157 were still in the service.⁵⁰ The extended two-year training program, coupled with the small numbers of teachers trained during each session, meant that two distinct school systems were operating simultaneously within the army school structure. Moreover,

⁴⁸ White, A.C.T. *The Story of Army Education 1643-1963*, George Harrap and Company, London, 1963: 34.

⁴⁹ "Regulations to be Observed in Regard to the Instruction of Children in Garrison and Regimental Schools, to Which a Trained Schoolmaster has been Appointed by the Secretary at War", dated, War Office, 30 March 1850, N.A., RG8, I, C-Series, Vol: C 32: 85.

⁵⁰ Lefroy, *Report on the Regimental and Garrison Schools of the Army*: 69.

regiments were inaugurated into this more progressive second phase at different times.⁵¹ Attesting to the slowness of the process, standing Orders of the 76th instructed the continued use of Dr. Bell's monitorial system in Canada as late as 1855, nine years after the method was abandoned by the military.⁵² By 1858, it was estimated that at least 60 trained schoolmasters were still required by the military system.⁵³ Until a trained schoolmaster could be appointed, regiments were forced to rely on their own resources, serjeant-schoolmasters working the traditional monitorial system of instruction. With a chronic shortage of qualified staff, the army was often compelled to appoint a substitute from the ranks as acting schoolmaster to conduct the school on existing allowances, or to hire a trained civilian schoolmaster. In many cases, it proved difficult to find men sufficiently qualified for the duties expected.⁵⁴ A telling passage was tabled in the First Report of the Council of Military Education, published in 1862, indicating the persistence of the shortage of teachers.

Until that date, therefore the schoolmaster's office must continue in many corps to be held by the schoolmaster serjeant, a non-commissioned officer in general of excellent character, but usually, as is evidenced by the earnest demands of commanding officers for trained schoolmasters, scarcely equal to the duties now required by him.⁵⁵

⁵¹ Letter from B. Hawse to the officer commanding the RCRR concerning the demand for trained schoolmasters for the regiment, dated 15 February 1859, N.A., RG8,I, C-Series, Vol: C 779: 30.

⁵² Great Britain, Army, *Standing Orders of the 76th "Hindoostan" Regiment*, A & W. McKinley, Halifax, 1855: 56. Hereafter referred to as *Standing Orders of the 76th Regiment*, 1855.

⁵³ Lefroy, *Report on the Regimental and Garrison Schools of the Army*: 82.

⁵⁴ *Ibid*: 82.

⁵⁵ Great Britain, Parliament, House of Commons, *Sessional Papers*, "First Report of the Council of Military Education," London, 1862: xxx, as cited in Dunn, "Education in the British Army in the 1860s," *Manuscript on File*,

An assistant schoolmaster or a soldier-assistant could be sent with the regiment on foreign service while the trained schoolmaster remained at the depot. Only three of the six regiments serving British North America in 1858 were managed by a trained schoolmaster. The remaining schoolmasters appear to have been schoolmaster-serjeants.⁵⁶ Schoolmasters were required to train at least two of the more proficient men to assist as acting or detachment schoolmasters:

With a view to provide a qualified Soldier to act in case of need as Schoolmaster either to the Service or Depot Companies upon the former being ordered to proceed abroad, the Schoolmaster should in anticipation train one or more men of the Regiment in such a manner as to secure one competent and available for this duty; and when the Regiment has received orders to proceed on Foreign Service, the name and rank of the Soldier best qualified to act as Schoolmaster should be furnished to the Secretary of State by the Commanding Officer with an estimation of when it is probable that the Depot Companies will be formed.⁵⁷

Childhood education originally focussed on the male children of the regiments.⁵⁸ although the initial orders stipulated that: "Female Children of the Soldiery are also intended to partake of the Benefits of this System of Education, whenever the accommodations, and other circumstances will permit."⁵⁹ The schoolmaster's obligation was only recognized by Royal Warrant of 30 March 1850, which formally established the

Parks Canada, unpaginated: [82].

⁵⁶ Lefroy, *Report on the Regimental and Garrison Schools of the Army*: 15-24.

⁵⁷ "Army School Regulations, July 1857." *Horse Guards W.O. Circular memorandum No. 117*. London, 1857: 12-15. Hereafter referred to as "1857 Army School Regulations."

⁵⁸ Correspondence of Lt-General Sir Gordon Drummond, Commander of the Forces and Joseph Miller, Chaplain of the Forces concerning the appropriation of a garrison school room, General Order dated October 16, 1816. N.A., RG8,I, C-Series, Vol:C 1176: 179.

⁵⁹ General Order dated Horse Guards, 1 January 1812, General Regulations and Orders for the Army : 333.

schoolmaster's additional responsibility for instructing female children.⁶⁰ The nature of girls' education was drastically extended by this same warrant, thereby formally implementing infant and industrial schools into the system.⁶¹ The establishment of infant schools reflected a popular trend towards education of very young children. The Kindergarten concept was introduced into the United Kingdom in 1851.⁶² Every regiment or depot battalion that employed a trained schoolmaster was required to establish an infant and industrial school, under the charge of a trained schoolmistress.⁶³

Infant school introduced the basics of education and prepared the very young for grown school which was taught by the schoolmaster or an assistant. The age of admission, which varied from two to four years throughout the 1850s and 1860s, greatly affected the curriculum. Singing and bible lessons were part of its curriculum. The infant school could be composed of up to four classes, based on level of learning. Regiments were required to provide a separate room fitted with platforms and proper (small) size benches distinct from the grown children's and adult's facilities, depending on available space. Reducing the age of enrollment in infant school not only controlled the children at an early age, but also enabled the mothers to better concentrate on the required tasks of the regiment such as washing, cleaning, cooking and mending instead of the

⁶⁰ F. Maule, "Establishment of Infant and Industrial Schools into the British Military Service." and "Regulations to be observed in Regard to the Instruction of Children in Garrison and Regimental Schools, to which a Trained Schoolmaster has been, or may Hereafter, be Appointed by the Secretary at War, General Orders dated London, 30 March 1850, N.A., RG8,I, C-Series, Vol: C 32: 81-84.

⁶¹ *Ibid*: 81.

⁶² Curtis and Boulwood, *A Short History of Educational Ideas*: 391.

⁶³ "The 1857 Army School Regulations."

distraction and costs associated with child care.⁶⁴ The very young age dictated a limited curriculum, little more than child care.⁶⁵ Superintending schoolmaster John Little reported the somewhat chaotic environment in a Royal Canadian Rifle Regiment infant school at Niagara as being, “. . . a crowded gathering of children.”⁶⁶ Children left infant school when they were able to read words of at least two syllables, generally around the age of seven or eight. Both male and female children enrolled in the grown children's school where they received instruction from the schoolmaster or an assistant. Infant schools were also dependent on the philanthropic interest of the Commanding Officers and the ladies of the regiment.

The same royal warrant of 1850 also established industrial occupation schools presided by the regimental schoolmistress who taught the grown and infant girls sewing, knitting, clothing manufacture and other household occupations, "which may be likely to prove advantageous to them in afterlife."⁶⁷ A systematic program of instruction in needlework was introduced into the regimental school system in 1854 by Gleig. Younger boys were included in the industrial school if the parents desired it.⁶⁸ Training in

⁶⁴ Testimony of Major Little, "The 1855 Report on Barracks Accommodation:" 130.

⁶⁵ Myna Trustram, *Women of the Regiment: Marriage and the Victorian Army*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1984 : 102.

⁶⁶ Report of the school of the Niagara detachment of the Royal Canadian Rifle Regiment inspected 10 October 1863 in J. Little, "Report Upon the Regimental Schools of the Corps serving in Canada inspected during the months of September and October, 1863 by Superintending Schoolmaster John Little," dated 9 November 1863, N.A. RG8.I, C-Series, Vol:C 535 : 215.

⁶⁷ *Ibid*: 57.

⁶⁸ Maule, General Order for the Establishment of Infant and Industrial Schools into the Military Service, dated 30 March 1850, N.A., RG8.I, C-Series, Vol: C 32: 81.

practical and industrial trades was also recognized for grown boys as early as 1815 in which orders stipulate regiments employ:

... the Tailors and Boot and Shoe-makers of each Regiment instructing the Boys in their respective Trades, by which means the whole may at a very early age, be rendered useful to the Regiment, and be able to gain their own subsistence.⁶⁹

Standing Orders of many regiments appear to have incorporated such trades as tailoring and shoe-making by the regimental artisans into the boy's education. Those of the 23rd Regiment stipulated that,

The boys will be taken into the regimental shops and taught the trades; and the girls sewing, knitting &c. under the best work women of the regiment; and it is recommended to the regiment to furnish them with work of a description they are capable of doing.⁷⁰

Although advocated in orders and later reinforced by Gleig in the Queen's Regulations, such industrial training was not always feasible due to limited barrack facilities.⁷¹

Trained schoolmistresses on the strength of the regiment were entitled to quarters, with one room's fuel and light allowance.⁷² Authorities endeavoured to employ the schoolmaster's wife in this capacity. As part of the educational team, wives could also share accommodation.⁷³ Reverend Gleig stated in 1855:

⁶⁹ General Order dated Horse Guards, 16 January 1815, PRO WO 28, Vol:314, Reel: B-3227.

⁷⁰ Great Britain, Army, *Standing Orders XXIII Regiment or Royal Welsh Fusiliers*, R. Graham, Montreal, 1841: 45.

⁷¹ "Inspection Return Royal Canadian Rifle Regiment, dated 7 September 1844:" 10, PRO WO 27/374.

⁷² Great Britain, War Office, "Regulations for the Management of Army Schools," *War Office Circular Memorandum No. 821*, London, May 25, 1863: 11. Hereafter referred to as "1863 Army School Regulations."

⁷³ "1863 Army School Regulations:" 11.

We generally recommend a schoolmaster when he leaves Chelsea to marry a well-educated young woman who may become the schoolmistress of the regiment.⁷⁴

Edward A. Vicars, Superintendent of Army Schools also commented on this subject:

The peculiarity of their position in barracks, unless they reside with their friends, the temptations to which they are exposed, the duties with which they are entrusted, render it expedient that the schoolmistresses should be either married women or women well advanced in years. Possibly, if there was something like an understanding among the masters that their wives, if found duly competent and trustworthy, would have the preference over other candidates for the office of infant and industrial schoolmistress, a sufficient number of women so connected would be found available.⁷⁵

Authorities strongly felt a moral responsibility to furnish proper accommodation for unmarried schoolmistresses.⁷⁶ The obligation was especially acute at foreign stations.

Unmarried, trained schoolmistresses, or schoolmistresses whose husbands were on service at another station, did not generally reside in barracks but were entitled to a combined allowance for quarters, fuel and light.⁷⁷

The schoolmistress was expected to train a few of the eldest girls or the eligible wives of non-commissioned officers to serve as assistants in the school. As with schoolmasters, an acting schoolmistress may be temporarily appointed if a trained schoolmistress was not available. Detachment schoolmistresses were also employed.

⁷⁴ Testimony of Reverend G.R. Gleig. "The 1855 Report on Barrack Accommodation:" 156.

⁷⁵ Edward A. Vicars, Report on Army Schools for Ireland, in LeFroy, *Report of the Regimental and Garrison Schools of the Army*: 94.

⁷⁶ Testimony of the Reverend Gleig to the Committee, dated 17 May 1855 "The 1855 Report on Barrack Accommodation:" 156.

⁷⁷ Lefroy, *Report on the Regimental and Garrison School of the Army*: 250.

provided the students were unable to attend any other regimental or garrison school.⁷⁸

Regiments employing a trained schoolmistress were entitled to one monitress for every 25 children attending the infant or industrial schools. Monitresses, girls between the ages of 13 and 16 years, were taught one and one-half hours daily with the other children and were expected to refine their sewing skills at home. These girls received £4 *per annum* in addition to the subsistence allowance they received as a child on the strength of the regiment.⁷⁹ Younger girls, if qualified, could be appointed to this position. Regulations also allowed pupil teachers, from 17 to 20 years, to assist when enrolment in the infant and industrial schools exceeded 40 students.⁸⁰ Both monitress and pupil teacher positions required the recommendation of the Commanding Officer. The industrial school was a natural focus for the attention of the officers' wives. These ladies provided active encouragement through teaching and demonstrations of needlework and sewing. Such interest was considered more of an obligation within the tradition of the regiment than an act of benevolence.

Soldiers were charged two pence per month for one child, 1 1/2 pence each if two from a family attended, and one penny per month each if three or more from a family attended the infant school, to be paid the first day of each month to the schoolmistress.⁸¹ Industrial school fees were precluded by those for grown or infant school attendance. In

⁷⁸ "1863 Army School Regulations:" 14.

⁷⁹ Lefroy, Report on the Regimental and Garrison Schools of the Army : 31.

⁸⁰ "1857 Army School Regulations:" 22.

⁸¹ Plan for providing instruction for children of the Royal Canadian Rifle Regiment, dated 2 July 1850, N.A., RG8,I, C-Series, Vol:C 521: 140.

addition, the schoolmistress received another £2 per company *per annum* for each regiment of infantry for industrial school supplies.⁸² Although a small allotment was granted towards supplies for each child, the schoolmistress was expected to encourage the children to bring work from home. Darning and clothes-mending sessions were usually scheduled once a week.

The school schedule at foreign stations was determined by the Commanding Officer, according to the season or climate. The adult school room usually doubled as the grown children's facility, as the two groups were the responsibility of the schoolmaster. In some regiments, classes were concurrent. Classes of children and adults resulted in little progress for either group. Generally, when grown children and adult schools coincided, the children's instruction was relegated to an assistant.⁸³ Ordinarily, the school day consisted of six to six and one-half hours attendance in the morning, afternoon and evening, as circumstances required. If the numbers dictated, the schoolmaster was expected to extend the school day as much as one hour, up to five days a week.⁸⁴ Figure: 4 illustrates a typical class schedule for a regimental school of the period. The schoolmaster commenced the school day with devine blessing or prayer and a Bible lesson. Those objecting on religious grounds could arrive for general instruction at 9:30 a.m., when regular instruction commenced. The grown children's school had up

⁸² "Regulations to be Observed in Regard to the Instruction of Children in Garrison and Regimental Schools, to which a Trained Schoolmaster has been, or may Hereafter, be Appointed by the Secretary at War," dated 30 March 1850, N.A., RG8,I, C-Series, Vol:C 32 : 84.

⁸³ Lt. F. Scriviner, in Lefroy, *Report on the Regimental and Garrison Schools of the Army*: 114 .

⁸⁴ "1857 Army School Regulations:" 9.

to four classes with the curriculum consisting of reading and writing, grammar, English history, world and British geography and arithmetic. Mapping, drawing and music may also have been taught. The older boys continued to study in the afternoon with the schoolmaster at least four days a week, providing that this did not interrupt the adult class schedule, or the industrial school.⁸⁶ In summer, classes for boys ran from 9:00 a.m. - 12:00 p.m. and from 1:30 p.m. - 4:30 p.m. The older girls generally shared morning studies in the grown school and attended industrial school from 2:00 p.m. to 5:00 p.m. The winter schedule for grown school was from 9:00 a.m. to 11:45 a.m. and from 1:00 p.m. to 3:00 p.m. Classes were held for a half-day on Saturday morning. School was closed generally for two weeks over the Christmas season. Infant school was confined to the morning, usually from 9:00 a.m. to 12:00 p.m., with the afternoon sessions taken over by the regimental industrial school for the grown girls and infant children. One hour was set aside for clerical instruction two days a week. Officiating Chaplains of the Forces and clergy of any denominations to which the stationed troops belonged, held separate classes. The school staff was expected to attend the sessions of their persuasion. The schoolmaster and schoolmistress were also expected to provide a simple interpretation of Bible History and the moral lessons.

One problem that plagued regimental schools in Canada was the inconsistent supply network. As with all other aspects of military life, these schools were locked in a frustrating bureaucracy. School supplies, stationery for the schoolmaster's use, and texts

⁸⁶ Article 38, "The 1857 Army School Regulations" as cited in Lefroy, *Report on the Regimental and Garrison Schools of the Army*: 49.

and student copy books were acquired through the War Office. The schools were totally dependent on an allotted half-yearly supply every May (or June) and November, from London. Supplies was invariably late, or did not arrive due to either oversight or mishap. Occasionally the loss of school materials occurred as a result of peril at sea.⁸⁷ Classes were unable to carry out instructions as the previous supply was completely exhausted. The military had no contingency system to lend school supplies as a temporary measure. Although the advantages for authority to purchase were recognized over the erratic and often inadequate half-yearly supply system, regiments were required to appeal through the military bureaucracy for authority to procure missing supplies by purchase or loan.⁸⁸ The incredible amount of correspondence caused by missing supplies demonstrated the lack of executive and financial powers within the system. Supplies also arrived after the regiment had been posted. The confusion raised by this situation, coupled with the inability to redistribute these items, further illustrated the complicated and erratic process of administrative-making and inaction. Given the labourious and cumbersome bureaucracy of the British army, the regiment for which lost or delayed supplies were intended had to resort to similar administrative gymnastics to procure the much-needed school material at their new station.

⁸⁷ Listing of school supplies purchased to replace those intended for the regiment and lost with the wreck of the *Ardenlee* dated 17 March 1868, N.A. RG8,I, C-Series, Vol: C 786: 33-34.

⁸⁸ Request for school materials for the Royal Artillery Headquarters industrial school, Montreal, dated 20 November 1862, N.A. RG8,I, C-Series, Vol:C 758: 190.

CHAPTER THREE

The Canadian “Experiment” Case Study: Royal Canadian Rifle Regiment Schools 1840 to 1860

**... formation of a regiment of volunteers from the Corps now
employed in Canada and to be styled the Royal Canadian Regiment.¹
Lord Fitzroy Somerset (1840).**

Garrisoning the Canadian frontier posed unique difficulties for British authorities, the chief of which was desertion. The solution was the formation and subsequent deployment at border stations of a regiment composed of steady veterans, many of whom were married. Out of this initiative came the Royal Canadian Rifle Regiment. Over a twenty year period, the regiment's headquarters was established at Montreal from 1841, Niagara from 1843, Kingston from 1854 and Toronto from 1855.

The disjointed and somewhat fluid nature of the duties presented obvious difficulties as the unit's headquarters had to contend with independent companies stationed from St. Jean, Canada East to Fort Malden, Amherstburg, Canada West, and numerous isolated detachments along the American frontier. In May of 1850, the Royal Canadian Rifle Regiment was headquartered at Niagara, with detachments at Windsor/Amherstburg, Toronto, Prescott, Bytown, Penetanguishene, Kingston, Isle aux Noix, and Montreal, (Figure: 5). The large population of children associated with the regiment necessitated the establishment of several detachment schools that required continuous attention.

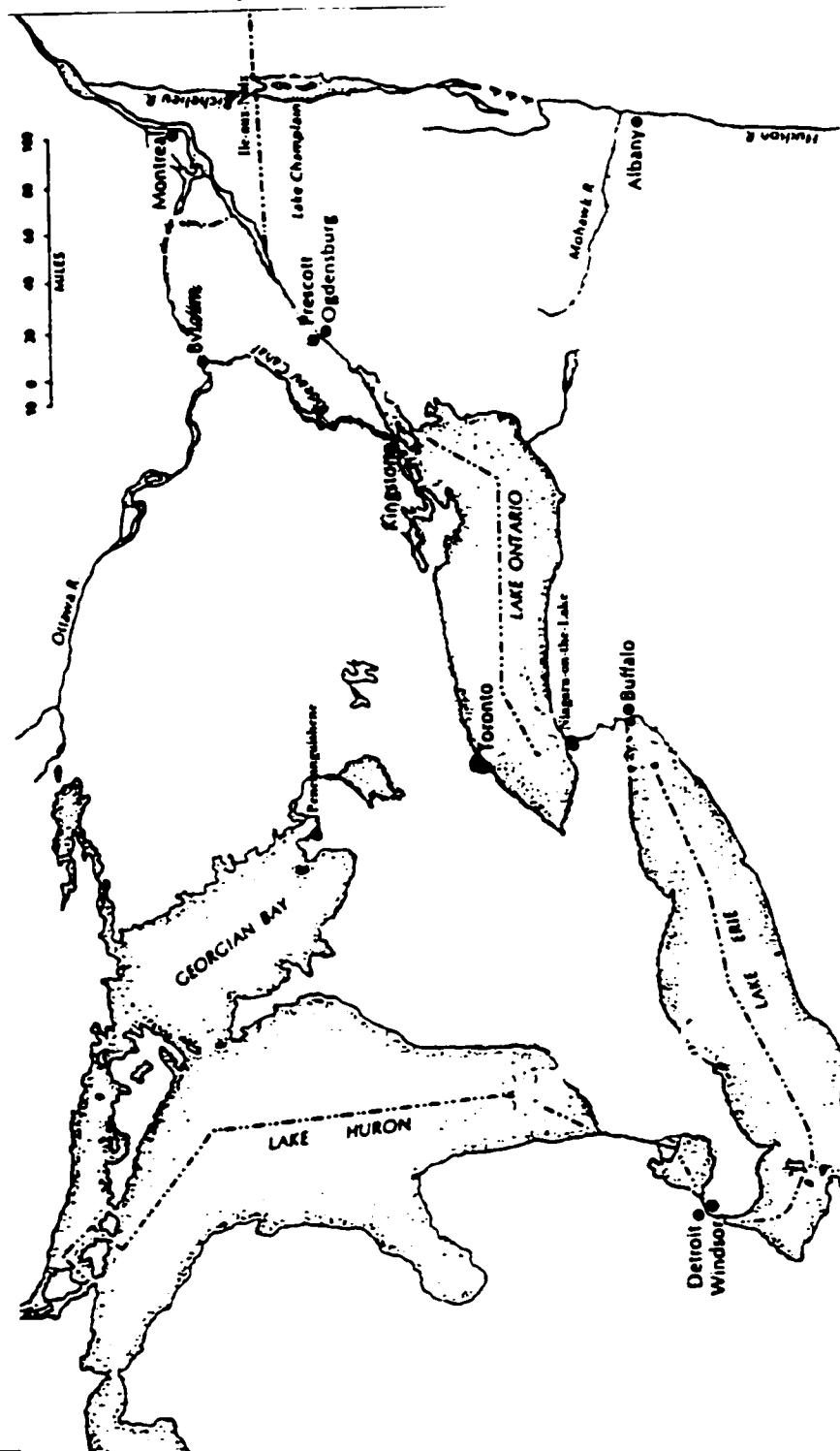
The proximity of the United States made many Canadian garrisons particularly susceptible to desertion. With over 1,000 miles of territory to guard, 600 of which consisted of a shared border, desertion was so widespread that hundreds of men were required annually to replenish the ranks within the North American Command.² When 111 men of the 9th Regiment deserted from Kingston between July 1856 and August 1857, British authorities realized that border garrisons could no longer be maintained by

¹ Memo written by Lord Fitzroy Somerset concerning the formation of the Royal Canadian Rifle Regiment, dated 27 August 1840, N.A. RG8, I, C-Series, Vol: C 769: 1.

² N.A., RG8,I, C-Series, Vol: C 770: 119, 110, Letter from Captain George Black, Royal Canadian Rifle Regiment to Cunningham, 18 January 1844.

Figure: 5

The Distribution of the Royal Canadian Rifle Regiment, May 1850.³



³ Map based on Gerald M. Craig, *Upper Canada: The Formative Years, 1784 - 1841*, The Canadian Centenary Series, McClelland and Stewart Ltd., Toronto, 1972 edition: 127.

regular units.⁴ A letter written August 19 stated, "... no Queen's Regiment should in His Lordship's [Lord Panmure's] opinion be stationed within ten miles at least of the frontier, if it can possibly be avoided."⁵ Two days later, an order removed the 9th Regiment from Kingston because of "... the facilities for desertion afforded by that place . . . which would be overcome by the presence of companies of the Royal Canadian Rifle Regiment."⁶ Garrison duty at frontier stations was assigned from this point onward to the Royal Canadian Rifle Regiment.⁷

Formed in August 1840 from regiments serving in Canada, the unit's original purpose was to intercept British deserters attempting to cross the border into the United States. The regiment differed from regular units in that it was composed of volunteers with fifteen years of exemplary service, prerequisites that dictated seasoned veterans, many with families.⁸ The regiment enjoyed a number of benefits. The other ranks were paid the same rate as their counterparts in Her Majesty's Foot Guards, more than the standard shilling-a-day.⁹ They were not charged for their clothing as was the case in regular regiments, and light duties permitted the men to work off the post or employ any

⁴ Monthly Inspection Returns 9th Reg't, Kingston Station for 1856-1857, N.A., MG12, WO17, Vol:1582.

⁵ Letter from Horse Guards, dated August 19, 1857, N.A., RG8,I, C-Series, Vol: C 836: 113.

⁶ Letter to General Sir Wm. Eyre, K.C.B. from Sir C. Yorke, dated Horse Guards, 21 August 1857, N.A., RG8,I, C-Series, Vol:C 836: 110-112.

⁷ Letter from Horse Guards, dated 19 August 1857, N.A., RG8,I, C-Series, Vol:C 836: 113.

⁸ Captain Black, memorandum on the Royal Canadian Rifle Regiment, dated 6 February 1844, N.A., RG8,I, C-Series, Vol:C 770: 112.

⁹ General Order #10, dated 28 September 1840 concerning the rate of pay for the Royal Canadian Rifle Regiment, N.A., RG8,I, C-Series, Vol:C 1194: 237.

trades for their own benefit.¹⁰ The most significant characteristic was the high proportion of families within the unit. British authorities permitted rations for six wives/families on the strength for 100 men on overseas service, from four to six women per company, or approximately 40 to 60 for a serving battalion of 1,000 men. The number of families allowed on the strength of the Royal Canadian Rifle Regiment was even higher than the 12 *per* 100 ratio permitted for domestic garrison duties.¹¹ Prospective riflemen with families already on strength of their regiments were exempt from the prescribed limits:

All married men who receive rations for their wives in the present regiments, and who may volunteer for the Royal Canadian Rifle Regiment will continue to receive them as supernumeraries in the Corps; and will also be entitled . . . to transport and barrack accommodation.¹²

Families had expanded to such an extent that by 1852 the regiment was forced to restrict applications for marriage because of the large number of women—419—already on the strength of approximately 1,000 troops.¹³ This large number of families, approaching four times the regulated number, must have fostered an atmosphere completely foreign to that of a normal imperial garrison. This uncharacteristic tolerance of family by the British authorities is not without reason. Marriage, traditionally viewed as a threat to garrison stability, was encouraged under the circumstances of frontier duty.

¹⁰ *Ibid.* 237.

¹¹ General Order dated 17 February 1812 in the North American Command, referring to Circular letter dated 5 November 1811, the number of women [families] permitted per troop or company, N.A., RG8,I, C-Series, Vol:C 1168: 102.

¹² General Order, dated 21 February 1846, N.A., RG8,I, C-Series, Vol: C 771: 103.

¹³ Royal Canadian Rifle Regimental Order, in the Geale Papers, N.A., MG24, F68: 305, dated June 21, 1852.

In this instance the sedentary factor—generally regarded as incompatible with mobility—proved to be beneficial. The Royal Canadian Rifle Regiment, made up “chiefly of married men with families,”¹⁴ provided an efficient, trustworthy defence force that garrisoned the exposed St. Lawrence River, Niagara and Amherstburgh frontiers, all areas that were notorious for desertion.¹⁵ Family responsibilities made these men the best risk at border stations. This unit, recognized for its dependability in such locations, was deployed in a number of independent companies along the frontier in conjunction with regular regiments, which were stationed in a number of “safe” locations that were less amenable for desertion.¹⁶ The benefits of the service family to security were recognized by the military and applied to the struggle with desertion in Canada. However, such security was not without a price. The authorities were taxed with a multitude of problems arising out of concern over the families of men scattered in small detached units. Means above and beyond the norm were required to accommodate the many families. As literally hundreds of children were enrolled during the unit’s 29 year history, schooling was a critical aspect with significant time and resources devoted to it.

Royal Canadian Rifle Regiment Schools

As Reverend H.J. Grassett—the Official Chaplain to the Troops—observed in

¹⁴ N.A., RG8,I, C-Series, Vol:C 782: 94.

¹⁵ A similar strategy was applied to a Canadian garrison as early as December 1832 Isle aux Noix was reinforced only with married men and their families in an attempt to stop desertion, Carol Whitfield, “Tommy Atkins: The British Soldier in Canada, 1759-1870,” *History and Archaeology No. 56*, Historic Parks and Sites Branch, Parks Canada, Ottawa, 198: 61.

¹⁶ Captain George Black, memorandum on the Royal Canadian Rifle Regiment, dated 6 February 1844, N.A., RG8,I, C-Series, Vol:C 770: 119.

April

1850, one of the more tell-tale characteristics of this unit was that it had on its strength, “ . . . a number [of children] equal probably to the aggregate found in any eight or ten ordinary Battalions in Her Majesty’s Service.”¹⁷ Although there is scant information about schools during the early days of the regiment, what is clear is that the unusually large population of children, coupled with scattered duties, necessitated the establishment of detachment schools. Whereas a battalion of a regular line regiment generally maintained the normal complement of children’s and adult schools in one location, the Royal Canadian Rifle Regiment had to contend with the educational needs of sizeable detachments at a number of garrisons. The commanding officer, Lieutenant-Colonel William Elliot, advised the Secretary at War as early as 1843:

. . . taking into consideration the Permanent extended distribution of the Regiment under my Command covering a Frontier of 7 or 800 Miles in Extent. . . . I have found it necessary to sanction ... Establishing Company Schools at each station, the number of Children being great and wholly depending on this measure for Education.¹⁸

In February 1844, four companies of the Royal Canadian Rifle Regiment served at the regimental Headquarters at Niagara, two companies each at Amherstburgh and Ile aux Noix, with one company at Prescott and Chippewa.¹⁹ The average number of

¹⁷ Letter from Reverend M.L. Grassett to Lt-Col. Muter, RCRR, dated 30 April 1850, N.A., RG8, I, C-Series, Vol:C 521: 85.

¹⁸ Letter from Lt-Col. Elliot, Commanding Officer of the RCRR to the Secretary at War, dated. 14 November 1843 N.A., RG8,I, C-Series, Vol:C 776: 142.

¹⁹ Dated February, 1844. N.A., RG8,I, C-Series, Vol:C 776: 144.

children per company at this period was 42.²⁰ The large population of children associated with the regiment meant that the unit's regimental schools laboured under serious disadvantages. It became necessary to divide and subdivide the allotted allowance for one school amongst the numerous detachments. Clearly the allocation was insufficient to meet the cost of both establishing schools and paying the necessary teaching staff at all the outstations.²¹ Extra support was essential to supply an acceptable calibre of schooling for the children of the soldiers at these garrisons. At outposts where there were single companies, the commanding officer, Colonel Elliot, deducted the required allowance from the soldiers pay to sustain the company's school instructors, the necessary assistants, books, materials and supplies.²² This stoppage continued until 1854.

Inadequate funding for detachment schools became critical in 1850.²³ The chaplains of the Toronto and Niagara garrisons complained of insufficient resources to teach the large number of children "thrown accidentally upon the Regiment."²⁴ However, although the clergy took an active interest in the schools, control and administration remained with the military bureaucracy, and allowances for schoolmistresses, books, stationery and other

²⁰ Letter from Lt-Col. Taylor to Griffin, dated 15 December, 1854, N.A., RG8,I, C-Series, Vol:C 776: 14[2-145].

²¹ Letter from Rev. H.L. Grassett to Lt-Col. Muter, RCRR, dated 30 April 1850, N.A., RG8,I, C-Series, Vol: C 521: 86.

²² Dated 15 December 1854, N.A., RG8,I, C-Series, Vol:C 776 : 144.

²³ Correspondence from Revs. H.L. Grassett and Thomas Creen, chaplains to the Toronto and Niagara garrisons and Lt-Col Muter, Officer Commanding the Royal Canadian Rifle Regiment, dated 30 April 1850. N.A., RG8,I, C-Series, Vol:C 521: 90-92,

²⁴ *Ibid*: 92.

requisites remained the same as those allotted to regular regiments whose schools averaged fewer than 50 children. More than half of the 834 children attached to the Royal Canadian Rifle Regiment were "of school age,"²⁵ (see Table: 1). Proper authority was obtained from the War Office to grant £3 (and later £5) *per annum* for each detached company.²⁶ But even this new granting formula was stressed by the chaplains as being inadequate for the support of the best qualified and most efficient of teachers.²⁷ These schools became dependant on the financial support of the officers. One officer made note of the donation of £10 by Sir Richard Jackson, the Honourary Colonel of the regiment, saying that "Our schools have been greatly indebted to the annual donation that he so handsomely sent us as it has enabled us to assist the schools at the outstations in procuring books, paper, etc."²⁸

Another problem was the difficulty of procuring competent teaching staff for the many necessary detachment schools as a result of the unit's permanent dispersal. As detachment schoolmasters were selected from the ranks of the regiment, the quality of teaching varied from post to post. Elliot wrote of the acting schoolmaster-serjeant stationed in Drummondville (Niagara) during the 1840s, "There is no regularly appointed schoolmaster and though a corporal has been acting, I doubt whether he is very

²⁵ Return of Women and children of the Royal Canadian Rifle Regiment, dated May 1850, N.A. RG8.I, C-Series, Vol: C 521: 89.

²⁶ Dated 15 December, 1854, N.A., RG8,I, C-Series, Vol:C 776: 142-144.

²⁷ N.A. RG8, I, C-Series, Vol: C 776: 140.

²⁸ Letter from Captain Taylor to Griffin, dated 15 December 1854. Sir Richard Jackson was Commander of Her Majesty's Forces in North America, at the time he made this donation to the regiment's school fund, N.A., RG8.I, C-Series, Vol:C 776: 142.

Table: 1

Return of Men,²⁹ Women and Children of the Royal Canadian Rifle Regiment, May 1850.³⁰

Distribution	#Men	#Women	Children Attending School		Total	Tender Age	Total# Young
			Male	Female			
Niagara	234	116	57	54	111	91	202
Amherstburg	96	53	54	39	93	66	159
Toronto	190	101	35	42	77	34	111
Prescott	60	38	23	23	46	39	85
Bytown	67	28	18	14	32	24	56
Penetang	27	25	9	13	32	25	57
Kingston	61	21	12	16	28	16	44
Isle Aux Noix	136	72	23	23	46	65	111
Montreal	2	2	3	4	7	2	9
Total	873	456	244	228	472	362	834

²⁹ Monthly Inspection Return, The Royal Canadian Rifle Regiment, for May, 1850, N.A. , MG12, WO17, Vol:1580.

³⁰ Dated 1 May 1850, N.A., RG8,I, C-Series, Vol:C 521: 89.

competent.”³¹ Although regulations called for “competent and respectable wives of soldiers appointed to act as assistant schoolmistresses at the outstations”³² as well as “competent and well instructed schoolmasters,”³³ the records suggest that need, rather than teaching ability, may have been the principal factor behind many such appointments. Some detachment schoolmasters and schoolmistresses appeared in regimental documentation as having had to apply for rations, even though their families were considered, “on the strength.”³⁴ Granting positions of acting schoolmaster and schoolmistress appear to have been the means by which the regiment compensated some of these families that were not receiving entitled rations. Detachments were often compelled to take drastic measures, as there were limited resources on which to draw. Lance Corporal Meek was granted the schoolmaster's and schoolmistress' allowances for the schools at Amherstburg, where three companies sustained 142 children. Meek's duties entered into the realm of schoolmistress as the station could not produce a competent female to instruct the girls, who comprised the majority of students. Lieutenant-Colonel Elliot was quick to emphasize that “every attention is paid by the Officers' Ladies of the Detachment, in regard to their [the girls] working.”³⁵ Although the

³¹ Half-Yearly Inspection Return, Royal Canadian Rifle Regiment, by Lt-Col. Elliot, dated 11 August 1842: 11, PRO WO 27/318.

³² Plan for providing school instruction for children of the RCRR, dated War Office, 2 July 1850, N.A. RG8.I, C-Series, Vol:C 521:140.

³³ *Ibid*: 140.

³⁴ Dated 19 June 1860, N.A. RG8, I, C-Series, Vol:C779: 181, 122.

³⁵ Letter from Colonel Elliot, RCRR to Sullivan, dated 15 December, 1854, N.A., RG8.I, C-Series, Vol:C 776: 146.

proportionate allowance was approved for the Lance Corporal, the office emphasized that Meek's position was incongruent with regulations and ordered the required schoolmistress be recruited for the station.³⁶ The March 1846 inspection return, which indicated that the girls of the Royal Canadian Rifle Regiment were taught “. . . all kinds of needlework with knitting, reading, writing, Etc., etc.”, suggests the arrival of a trained schoolmistress for the regimental headquarters school as only knitting and needlework were mentioned in previous returns.³⁷

The schoolmaster-serjeant's principal task in a regular regiment was to instruct the soldiers of the garrison.³⁸ Although the Royal Canadian Rifle Regiment's school plan initially contained provision for two hours of instruction daily for recruits at drill, this was not a realistic regimental objective, as most men qualified as non-commissioned officers by virtue of their service were not interested in attending school.³⁹ Major Derywell wrote of the soldiers of the unit in 1855, "I cannot hold out the prospect of any adult pupils receiving instruction except for occasional cases . . .".⁴⁰ The Secretary at War in Lord Palmerston's cabinet, Fox Maule (later Lord Panmure) conceded as early as 1850 that the Royal Canadian Rifle Regiment, with its unorthodox composition,

³⁶ *Ibid*: 147.

³⁷ Half-yearly inspection return of the Royal Canadian Rifle Regiment, dated 23 February: 11. PRO, WO 27/362, 1847.

³⁸ Plan for providing school instruction for children of the RCRR, dated War Office, 2 July 1850, N.A., RG8, I, C-Series, Vol:C 521: 140.

³⁹ General Order #591, dated Horse Guards, 10 April 1849, N.A., RG8, I, C-Series, Vol:C 1527: 24,[498].

⁴⁰ Report on school accommodation at Kingston, Canada West, January 1855, N.A., RG8, I, C-Series, Vol:C 777: 12.

completely confounded the existing educational system of the British military.⁴¹ Unlike regular regiments, this unit had a large number of children, and the soldiers, being veterans of the service, held little inclination for education. Since the unit was composed of older men, adult pupils were not a prime consideration. In fact, in the early history of the regiment, they were not a consideration at all. The Secretary at War also realized the need for special measures above those of regular line regiments that would, at least make possible a realistic school strategy. The measures were based on army regulations providing for situations where there were no trained schoolmasters. Schoolmaster-serjeants were approved by the Secretary at War⁴² who could be appointed in conformity with the following teacher/adult student ratio: one to sixty, two to one hundred and three to 140 adults attending school.⁴³ According to regulation, the schoolmaster's income that was over and above his fixed salary depended on payments by non-commissioned officers and men attending school. The purpose was to attract and sustain competent and well-instructed schoolmasters.⁴⁴ This was an acceptable rate as by the 1850s, from 250 to 350 non-commissioned officers and other ranks of a serving battalion attended adult

⁴¹ Plan for providing school instruction for children of the RCRR dated War Office, 2 July 1850, N.A., RG8,I, C-Series, Vol:C 521: 140.

⁴² In Canada, this duty was usually carried out by the Office of the Secretary-General.

⁴³ Article 35 page 12 of Army Regulations, as cited in a letter from Lt.-Colonel Taylor, Royal Canadian Rifle Regiment, dated 24 November 1854, N.A., RG8,I, C-Series, Vol:C 776: 139.

⁴⁴ Plan for providing school instruction for children of the RCRR, dated War Office 2 July 1850, N.A., RG8,I, C-Series, Vol:C521: 140.

school.⁴⁵ No charge was originally assessed for children's schooling. The poor adult attendance and the exceedingly large population of school-age children on the regimental rolls created a unique set of problems for the military authorities.⁴⁶ The proportion of children associated with this regiment so much exceeded that of a regiment of the line, that the unit petitioned and was granted approval for obtaining a schoolmaster-serjeant for each detachment where 50 children attended school, at a cost of *3d* per day, the same ratio and rate allowed other regiments for training adults.⁴⁷ In addition, each company was allotted *£6 per annum* for a schoolmistress, double the current rate for regular line regiments and granted in recognition of the increased work load associated with the high number of infant and female children.⁴⁸

Another problem was the constant struggle to provide the children with proper facilities and some stations did not always have adequate facilities to accommodate the number of families. In October 1847, the detachment at Isle aux Noix was so overcrowded that it was impossible to meet the required division of the girls' and boys' schools. The officer in charge of the detachment was compelled to attend the school

⁴⁵ Great Britain, War Office, Testimony of Serjeant A. Brown, 10 May, 1855, "Report from an Official Committee on Barrack Accommodation for the Army with Minutes of Evidence, Appendix and Index." London, 1855: 87. Hereafter referred to as "The 1855 Report on Barrack Accommodations." The administrative strength of a regular battalion was generally accepted to be 1,000 men.

⁴⁶ Plan for providing school instruction for children of the RCRR dated War Office 2 July 1850, N.A., RG8,I, C-Series, Vol:C521: 140.

⁴⁷ Letter from Lt-Col. Muter, RCRR to [the Military Secretary] dated, 24 November 1854, N.A., RG8,I, C-Series, Vol: C 776: 136-139.

⁴⁸ Letter from Lt-Col. Taylor to Griffin, dated 15 December 1854, N.A., RG8,I, C-Series, Vol:C 776: 142.

regularly to ensure that the girls were taught properly.⁴⁹ Over-crowding was also a problem at the regimental headquarters in Niagara, where two small rooms housed upwards of 150 children,⁵⁰ numbers which inhibited effective teaching and endangered the health of the children and teaching staff.⁵¹ The need for sufficient school accommodation at Niagara was rectified by the transfer of the regimental headquarters to Kingston. Detached service meant that garrison strength fluctuated, a consideration which affected any long term alterations to facilities. Renovations involving considerable outlay were discouraged as a garrison's strength could shift and diminish. Proposed improvements for the regimental school at Kingston in July 1855 were rejected because of an impending shift of the unit's headquarters to Toronto.⁵² The report on school accommodation at Kingston indicates the nature of available facilities. Two companies of the Royal Canadian Rifle Regiment were stationed at Tete du Pont barracks and two were at Fort Henry. Distance necessitated the maintenance of schools at both garrisons to accommodate the 201 grown and infant school children.⁵³ Facilities at Tete du Pont included a boy's schoolroom and a converted serjeant's mess for the girl's room. A bakery and the commissariat storeroom, both casemates, served as the boy's and girl's

⁴⁹ N.A., RG8,I, C-Series, Vol:C 771: 74, letter from Captain G.V. Hamilton to the Military Secretary, 25 October 1847.

⁵⁰ Letter from Lt-Col. Taylor, RCRR dated, 22 August, 1851, N.A., RG8,I, C-Series, Vol:C 773: 116-117.

⁵¹ *Ibid*: 116-117. Two companies of the Royal Canadian Rifle Regiment were stationed at Niagara at this time.

⁵² Correspondence from Senior Schoolmaster Charles Stanton to Lt.-Col. Hill and Lt.-Col. McCoy to Stanton, 9th July and 27 July 1855, N.A. RG8, I, C-Series, Vol: C-777: 120-121.

⁵³ N.A., RG8,I, C-Series, Vol:C 777 : 9-12. The number of children in the regiment at the time of this report totalled 690; 333 boys and 357 girls.

schoolrooms respectively at Fort Henry.⁵⁴

Two companies of the Royal Canadian Rifle Regiment were also stationed at Montreal in 1855. Here there were 67 children attending school and the prospect of another 20 becoming eligible during the year was a concern.⁵⁵ The regimental school room, for both boys and girls, was fashioned from a barracks designed to accommodate 24 men. Stipulation that additional space was available for girls' classes indicated their small number was the determining factor in shared instruction, in contrast to the cramped facilities of the regimental headquarters at Niagara. Toronto detachments also had no permanent school rooms for the children in any of the garrisons of that post. Facilities at the Old and New Forts, Fort York and Stanley Barracks respectively, were consistently at a premium. School accommodation at the unit's later London headquarters were so inadequate that the 220 children attended school on alternate days, receiving only half the instruction to which they were entitled.⁵⁶ If the school could not be held in barracks, or other public building, private premises were occasionally leased for the purpose.⁵⁷

Because of the large number of children associated with the Royal Canadian Rifle Regiment, employment of a trained schoolmaster commanded priority within the army system.⁵⁸ Second Class Schoolmaster Charles Stanton joined the regiment as senior

⁵⁴ Report on RCRR school accommodation dated 14 May 1855, N.A. RG8, I, C-Series, Vol: C 777: 85.

⁵⁵ *Ibid*: 85.

⁵⁶ Monthly school report of Schoolmaster Thomas Polden, Royal Canadian Rifle Regiment regimental schools, dated February, 1864, N.A., RG8,I, C-Series, Vol:C 783: 29.

⁵⁷ N.A. RG8,I, C-Series, Vol: C 1346: 192a.

⁵⁸ N.A., RG8,I, C-Series, Vol:C 776 : 148-152, 26, dated December 1854.

schoolmaster in June 1855.⁵⁹ Stanton was a member of the first graduating class of the Normal School at the Royal Military Asylum, Chelsea. Entering the program in April 1847, the 22 -year-old London surveyor was one of 27 accepted out of 115 civilians examined, and one of 13 students who graduated from the Normal School in his two-year program.⁶⁰ Stanton joined the Depot Battalion of the 3rd (East Kent) Regiment of Foot at a British garrison school June 18, 1849.⁶¹ In June 1855, Stanton, now a second class schoolmaster, was assigned to the Royal Canadian Rifle Regiment by Inspector-General Gleig because of his ability to instruct children "of which the numbers were greater in this regiment than in any other."⁶²

The Headquarters school in Toronto in 1858 was staffed by second-class schoolmaster Stanton with a corporal as his assistant. Mrs. Stanton served as schoolmistress of the infant and industrial schools and Catherine Stanton, their daughter, was a pupil-teacher.⁶³ Two soldier-schoolmasters were assigned to the two detachment schools in Kingston with one assistant. A third soldier/schoolmaster taught the detachment school at Quebec (Figure: 6). Wives of soldiers of the regiment, described as

⁵⁹ N.A., RG8, I, C-Series, Vol:777: 88-89.

⁶⁰ Hew Strauchan. *Wellington's Legacy: The Reform of the British Army 1830-1854*. Manchester University Press, Manchester, 1984: 95.

⁶¹ Register of Candidates in Training as cited in J.E. Moran "The Development of the Education of Soldiers and Soldiers' Children During the Early and Mid-19th Century with Particular Reference to the Influence of the Royal Military Asylum, Chelsea, unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of Wales, 1979: 186.

⁶² Letter to the Military Secretary, dated 12. January, 1859, N.A., RG8.I, C-Series, Vol:C 770: 30.

⁶³ Return of Royal Canadian Regiment Schools dated December 31, 1858, N.A., RG8.I, C-Series, Vol:C 777:

Figure: 6

Status of Royal Canadian Rifle Regiment Schools, December, 1858, illustrating the location and numbers of children attending each school, teachers employed as well as teaching staff required by regulation at the various stations. National Archives: N.A. RG8, I, C-Series, Vol: C-777: 232.

A							Royal Canadian Rifles	
Station	Boys Enrolled		Girls Enrolled		Total Enrolled	Total	Teachers employed	Teachers required
	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls				
Head Quarters Toronto	43	38	18	10	78	169	2 nd Class Schoolmaster, 1 st	

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“competent women,” served as acting schoolmistresses at these stations.⁶⁴

The post of senior schoolmaster in this unit possessed far more responsibilities than a schoolmaster of a regular line regiment. As senior schoolmaster, Stanton was responsible for organizing the schools at the various stations and instructing qualified non-commissioned officers as assistant or acting schoolmasters and schoolmistresses at these outposts. He was also expected to inspect these detachment schools at least twice a year and report to the Office of the Secretary at War in London. By 1860, Stanton was in charge of approximately 160 children attending the headquarters school and was supervising all of the detachment schools of the regiment, in which there were upwards of 800 pupils.⁶⁵

Maintaining the regimental school was considered an obligation on the part of the officers of the regiment, a task they were ordered not to take lightly.⁶⁶ Inspections indicate that they played an active role in school development and operation. Reflecting the strong obligation felt by many officers to the children of their regiments, Lieutenant-Colonel Taylor of the Royal Canadian Rifle Regiment wrote in 1851:

I trust that the great moral responsibility which I feel is attached to me as the Officer in Command of the Regiment in which there are 394 married and 746 children will plead my excuse for strongly pressing for the means of giving such plain education to the youth of the Regiment as may give them to take their station in life, as at least good Christians and intelligent

⁶⁴ Letter from the Office of the Secretary of War to the officer commanding the RCRR, dated 14, May, 1855, N.A., RG8,I, C-Series, Vol:C 777: 85.

⁶⁵ Letter dated 30 January 1860, N.A., RG8,I, C-Series, Vol:C 779: 146.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.* 116-117.

members of society.⁶⁷

An officer of the regiment was appointed at every post where schools were established to oversee the regulated procedures. Officer's wives were also expected to take an active interest. Standing Orders of the regiment specified the importance placed on support by these women:

It is also a great advantage when the Ladies of the Regiment will give countenance and assistance to School Mistresses, by regularly visiting the Infant and Industrial schools.⁶⁸

The benefits of these activities were later recorded at Kingston:

Mrs. Moffat and the other Officer's Ladies of the Corps take a lively interest in the school, and give much of their time to it, which is a great encouragement to the children, besides assistance to the schoolmistress. These ladies also take classes in the infant school.⁶⁹

During initial formation of detachment schools, teaching supplies and books from the military prisons in Montreal and Quebec were appropriated.⁷⁰ In accordance with regulations, a new set of books and materials were to accompany the first trained schoolmaster, Charles Stanton, to the headquarters schools at Kingston.⁷¹ As the

⁶⁷ Letter from Lt-Col. Taylor, RCRR to the Military Secretary, N.A., RG8,I, C-Series, Vol:C 773: 116-117.

⁶⁸ *Ibid*: 66.

⁶⁹ Report by Superintending Schoolmaster John Little on the state of the RCRR schools, dated 3 November 1864, N.A., RG8,I, C-Series, Vol:C 783: 149.

⁷⁰ The military authorities considered books a constructive recreation to inform and instill service men with moral values. In consequence, a number of libraries were created in February 1840. Since these facilities were inaugurated by The Punishment Commission, books were placed in prison in the hopes that inmates would employ their time of incarceration constructively to better themselves. Topics covered religion, temperance and rewards of moral behaviour. Although the books from the Montreal prison were too poor a condition to be of any use, Appendix: A indicates titles that were borrowed from the military prison in Kingston for the RCRR school.

⁷¹ "Regulations to be Observed in Regard to the Instruction of Children in Garrison and Regimental Schools, to which a Trained Schoolmaster has been, or may, Hereafter be Appointed by the Secretary at War," dated 30 March,

promised books did not arrive with Stanton in June 1855, books and school supplies were transferred from the military prison at Kingston for use in the regimental school.

Material and implements for the industrial schools of the regiment also needed to be purchased.

By the time of Lefroy's 1859 report, the British army educational system, on the whole, was experiencing a serious deficiency in trained schoolmasters and mistresses. This shortage was especially acute in the Royal Canadian Rifle Regiment, which was to have received priority in this regard. Rather than dealing with the most pressing needs first, such as that of the Rifles' unique population of children, the British authorities created the problem by concentrating on providing every regiment with teachers and thus defeating the instruction of army regulations. The seriousness of the problem was evident in that approximately one-twelfth of the 12,000 children recorded in the army school system were in Canada (Table: 2). Of the 991 children listed in the Report as attending schools in Canadian garrisons, 730 belonged to the Royal Canadian Rifle Regiment, and the remaining 261 were with the four infantry and artillery regiments. Problems associated with the regiment's mobility, such as incessant changes of station, movement of detachments and transfer of soldiers from company to company, which were regular occurrences, made the situation even more serious. The transfer of regimental headquarters usually included the schoolmaster and a large contingent of children. What had been the headquarters school, under the direction of a trained schoolmaster, was then

Table: 2

Status of Grown Children, Infant and Industrial Regimental Schools of Units Stationed in Canada, 1858.⁷²

Regiment	Location	Under Schoolmaster		Under Schoolmistress		Total		Attending Industrial School	
		Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls				
1/17th* **	Canada, E	11	13	16	17	57		51	
39th	Quebec	16	19	14	14	63		28	
62nd	Halifax, N.S.	20	16	2	-	38		26	
63rd* **	Halifax, N.S.	15	4	23	14	56		14	
Royal Artillery	Halifax, N.S. Quebec	921	113	1 -	11	1235		-14	
Royal Canadian Rifle Reg't	Toronto*	48	38	48	40	169		78	
	**	85	58	101	112	356		170	
	Kingston	23	34	48	47	152		81	
	Quebec	-	-	-	-	-		-	
	St. Helena St John's Nfld*	14	11	16	12	53		30	
Subtotal RCRR		170	141	213	211	730		359	
Total		262	207	269	258	991		492	

* Denotes Schoolmistress rated as trained on the grounds of merit and efficiency.

** Denotes trained schoolmaster assigned to the regiment

⁷² Statistics and information compiled from *The Report of the Regimental and Garrison Schools of the Army and on the Military Libraries and Reading Rooms*, Brevet-Colonel J.H. Lefroy, Royal Artillery, Inspector-General of Army Schools, London, 1859: 15-24, 37-45.

relegated to the status of a detachment school in the charge of a schoolmaster sergeant, if enrollment even warranted a school.⁷³

A further complication which taxed the regiment's floundering school system occurred in August of 1858, when 316 men arrived in Canada, the result of a decision to recruit men for the Royal Canadian Rifle Regiment from units in the United Kingdom.⁷⁴ Inspection returns record 291 women and 524 children accompanying this new contingent.⁷⁵ Whereas previously two detachment schools were necessary, the population of children now warranted another large school at Quebec City, which was established in the same year.⁷⁶ The single men of this new contingent were posted to Quebec while married soldiers were sent to Toronto and Kingston. This dispersion indicates that some such division was necessary to balance numbers at each station between service families and single men.⁷⁷ The schools of the Toronto, Quebec and Tete du Pont (Kingston) garrisons each required one trained schoolmaster and one trained schoolmistress with one assistant, as *per* army regulations.⁷⁸ A schoolmaster and schoolmistress, as well as a pupil teacher, were needed for the

⁷³ Correspondence of Lt-Col. Muter, commanding the RCRR, dated May 6 1850, referring to regulations stipulating one teacher for every 60 pupils, dated 24 November 1854, N.A. RG8,I, C-Series, Vol: C 776: 139.

⁷⁴ N.A. RG8, I, C-Series, Vol: C 1194G: 221, dated 3 April 1858.

⁷⁵ Monthly Inspection Return, Royal Canadian Rifle Regiment, August, 1858, N.A. MG12, WO17, Vol:1582.

⁷⁶ General Order, dated 11 August, 1858, N.A. RG8, I, C-Series, Vol:C 1194G: 287.

⁷⁷ *Ibid*: 287.

⁷⁸ Report on RCRR schools dated 31 December 1858, N.A. RG8,I, C-Series, Vol: C 777: 232.

detachment school at Fort Henry.⁷⁹ The regiment subsequently applied for a further four trained schoolmasters. The hope was to assign two married schoolmasters to Kingston and Quebec, where the wives of these men, undertaking the post of schoolmistress, could fulfill the needs of the infant and industrial schools.⁸⁰ The War Office approved two trained married schoolmasters for Kingston and Quebec and the appointment of a pupil teacher at Fort Henry, but none were available before the summer of the next year due to heavy demand.⁸¹ The War Office attempted to relieve the situation by proposing that four non-commissioned officers of the unit be sent to England for training as assistant schoolmasters. These men could be employed as detachment schoolmasters on a temporary basis.⁸² By November 1859, the regiment had acquired another trained schoolmaster.⁸³ Senior schoolmaster Stanton taught at the regiment's London headquarters. Second class schoolmaster Thomas Polden was assigned to the Tete du Pont detachment school in Kingston. Mrs. Polden also assumed the post of schoolmistress at that station. Major Moffat described this couple as being very competent—displaying good conduct and ability.⁸⁴

⁷⁹ *Ibid*: 232.

⁸⁰ Great Britain, War Office, "Regulations for the Management of Army Schools," *War Office Circular Memorandum No. 821*, London, May 25, 1863: 11.

⁸¹ Letter from B. Hawse of the Office of the Secretary of State for War, dated 15 February 1859, N.A., RG8.I, C-Series, Vol:C 779: 30.

⁸² N.A. RG8,I, C-Series, Vol: C 788: 196-199, Letter from the Office of the Secretary of State, Major-General Peel to the Officer Commanding the Troops in Canada, dated 29 October 1858 outlining recommendations to alleviate the problem of inadequate teaching staff for The Royal Canadian Rifle Regiment schools.

⁸³ Dated November 1859, N.A., RG8, I, C-Series, Vol:C 1553: 177-184.

⁸⁴ Letter from Major Moffat, dated 30 November 1859, N.A. RG8, I, C-Series, Vol:C 1553: 184.

Polden's monthly school report for November 1859 indicated insufficient accommodations for the Tete du Pont barracks schools and inherent overcrowding, typical of the schools within this regiment.⁸⁵ Although no adults attended the school, approximately 100 grown children were housed in a single barrack room with little area for the teaching staff to work. Forms were filled with children who were unable to be assigned seating.⁸⁶ Another 100 children of the infant school were also forced to use benches designed for older children and adults. The situation, Polden reported, increased the labours of the schoolmistress and retarded the progress of the children. A request for the Lieutenant-Commander to include school accommodation in the April 1860 estimates and the permanent appropriation of school rooms indicated some action was initiated as a result of these reports as proper furnishings and facilities were ordered without reducing accommodations for the troops in garrison.⁸⁷

⁸⁵ Dated November 1859, N.A. RG8, I, C-Series, Vol: C 1553: 104, [177]-[183].

⁸⁶ The forms mentioned in the school report were long wooden benches without backs.

⁸⁷ Dated, 19 April 1860. N.A., RG8, I, C-Series, Vol: C 1553: 123, [218].

CHAPTER FOUR:

Challenge and Survival: British Regimental Schools in Canada, 1860 to 1870

**... a crowded gathering of children, - very imperfectly taught.
Superintending Schoolmaster John Little (1863)¹**

The Royal Canadian Rifle regimental school relocated three times during the decade following 1860, as the headquarters transferred from Toronto to London, Canada West in 1863 and Kingston in 1866. Detachment schools were established as necessary at Niagara, Canada West; Quebec, St Jean, Chambly, and Ile aux Noix in Canada East; and, Signal Hill and Fort Townshend in Newfoundland. This chapter examines the implications of the establishment of the Council of Military Education for schools of regiments serving in Canada. Most of the analysis follows the 1863 general report on the state of regimental schools in Canadas East and West submitted by Superintending Schoolmaster John Little and, where appropriate, local inspections made by Little and his colleague, Samuel Stockham. These inspections indicated that detachment schools of the Royal Canadian Rifle Regiment and those of the Royal Regiment of Artillery were operating below acceptable army standards. The chapter presents an analysis of the problems encountered and the recommendations to improve these schools. As a result of these actions, the problems, at least in the case of the Royal Canadian Rifle Regimental schools, were being addressed by the time of the regiment's disbandment in 1870.

Initially formed in 1858 to deal with officer education, the Council of Military Education assumed responsibility for all aspects of military education in 1860 after Colonel Lefroy's resignation.² Through the Council, soldiers serving in North America became eligible for admission to the Normal School program.³ School fees were also

¹ The school children of the Royal Canadian Rifle Regiment garrison school, Niagara-on-the-Lake, as described in a report by Superintending Schoolmaster John Little, dated 9 November 1863, N.A., RG8,I, C-Series, Vol: 535: 215.

² N.A. RG8,I, C-Series, Vol: C 1194H: 321-322, Horse Guards Circular Memorandum #566.

³ N.A. RG8,I, Vol:357, "Regulations for the Appointment of Army Schoolmasters," 13 April 1863.

abolished for soldiers by the Council in an attempt to encourage enrollment.⁴ A controversial move by the Council in 1863 involved replacing the existing four-tier schoolmaster system with two classes: "superintending schoolmaster," a commissioned officer with a relative rank of ensign, and a single category of "army schoolmaster," a non-commissioned officer ranked just below serjeant-major.⁵ Although the reclassification resulted in substantial pay and pension benefits, the abolition of warrant rank and the various "grades" of schoolmaster produced an ambiguous status equivalent to a 3rd class schoolmaster in the previous order. The schoolmaster's sword, sash, shoulder cord, and collar insignia, all of which implied a commissioned rank, were replaced by chevrons. Giving up a distinctive uniform that reflected a professional status was resented by many teachers, including Schoolmaster Barrett, serving with the 2nd Battalion, 16th Regiment at Halifax, who felt that: "... substituting badges on the collar for chevrons on the arms similar to a serjeant . . ." was so inconsistent with the regulations under which he joined, that he purchased his discharge.⁶

Perhaps the Council's most significant contribution was establishing superintending schoolmasters within the Canadian Command. Monthly school reports, which monitored the progress of regimental and detachment schools, were difficult to

⁴ Great Britain, Parliament, House of Commons *Sessional Papers*, "Second Report by the Council of Military Education on Army Schools, Libraries and Recreation Rooms," London, H.M.S.O. 1865: xv. Hereafter referred to as "Second Report by the Council of Military Education, 1865."

⁵ The Royal Warrant of May 19, 1863 "Army School Regulations dated 25 May 1863, War Office Circular Memorandum No. 821:" 2, in *Index to War Office Circulars, Regulations, and Warrants from No. 1, 30 August 1856 to No. 948, 27 March 1866*, War Office, 1st April 1866, Her Majesty's Stationery Office, London.

⁶ N.A., RG8, I, C-Series, Vol:C 1379: 364-365, dated 13 May 1865.

maintain on colonial service. These accounts were often disrupted by any number of causes associated with the extended lines of communication.⁷ Lefroy had identified the need for a more senior rank within the Corps of Army Schoolmasters to deal with this strain in administration and communication.⁸ Assigning superintending schoolmasters who administered, examined, and inspected the schools, the Council sought to improve communication and maintain authority over the large number of schools within the Command and to provide a close and more effective system of supervision and guidance for these schools, many of which the Council felt had not been subject to inspection for several years.⁹ In British North America, the schools were administered by two superintending schoolmasters, John Little and Samuel N. Stockham. The Canadian appointments were probably the result of the need, as reflected in the considerable lack of data in Lefroy's 1859 report on the Canadian schools. Although these men were specially appointed to the stations of Toronto and Montreal respectively, they were also responsible for other schools within their specific province.¹⁰ In areas without superintending schoolmasters, the Council appointed local inspectors from staff or

⁷ Great Britain, War Office, Lefroy, L.H. Brevet-Colonel, *Report on the Regimental and Garrison Schools of the Army and on Military Libraries and Reading Rooms*, 1859: 27, Hereafter referred to as Lefroy, *Report on Regimental and Garrison Schools*, 1859.

⁸ *Ibid.*: 83.

⁹ "Second Report by the Council of Military Education on Army Schools, 1865:" *vii-viii*.

¹⁰ Great Britain, Parliament, House of Commons, *Sessional Papers* "Third Report by the Council of Military Education on Army Schools, Libraries, and Recreation Rooms," H.M.S.O. London, 1866: *vii*. Hereafter referred to as "Third Report by the Council of Military Education on Army Schools, 1866."

regimental officers serving these garrisons.¹¹ Lt.-Col. Robert Lowry, Commanding Officer of the 47th Regiment acted as a temporary assistant inspector of the seven regimental schools in Montreal.¹² Personal interest and past initiatives made this officer a logical candidate for the position. He was one who, as Superintendent Little reported in 1863,

. . . devotes much time and care to it [the regimental school] and gives encouragement to his men to improve their literary education; as he is fully convinced of the close connection between ignorance and crime.¹³

Lowry acted in this capacity from November 1862 until Superintending Schoolmaster John Little arrived from England to assume his duties in September 1863.

Little was a graduate of the Normal School Program. He had served as a first-class schoolmaster in Limerick, in charge of the largest adult school in Ireland.¹⁴

Described by Lefroy as a man of "remarkable energy and success as a schoolmaster,"

Little had devised a teaching program for soldiers.¹⁵ His "Method of Instructing Adults" revealed valuable insight into his philosophy and attitudes toward education. Little referred to soldiers as ". . . species of overgrown children especially the uneducated

¹¹ Great Britain, Parliament, House of Commons, *Sessional Papers* "First Report by the Council of Military Education on Military Schools," H.M.S.O. London, 1862: *ii*.

¹² N.A. RG8,I, C-Series, Vol:C 1194J, p:182, General Order, dated 19 November 1862, NA, RG8,I, C-Series, Vol: 1194J: 184, dated 24 November 1862.

¹³ N.A. RG8,I,C-Series, Vol:535, "Report Upon the Regimental Schools of the Corps Serving in Canada. Inspected during the Months of September and October 1863" by Superintending Schoolmaster John Little: 221. Hereafter referred to as N.A. RG8,I, C-Series, Vol:535, "Report of Superintending Schoolmaster Little, dated 9 November 1863."

¹⁴ Mr. Vicar's Report for Ireland, Appendix I - No.3, Appendix to Lefroy, *Report on the Regimental and Garrison Schools of the Army*, 1859: 93.

¹⁵ Lefroy, *Report on the Regimental and Garrison Schools of the Army*, 1859 : 83.

portion, but it requires much greater ingenuity to manage them than children.”¹⁶ Little firmly believed that the secret to successful education rested squarely with the teacher’s ability. “No matter how excellent any system of education may be, unless the teacher zealously and energetically performs his part, the result will be but indifferent.”¹⁷

Because his new responsibilities involved administering an area where many assistants taught within the North American Command, it is instructive to note Little’s forthright opinion concerning the worth of teaching assistants:

Not being able to place sufficient confidence in the soldiers’ assistants (the trained ones are engaged with the more advanced pupils) is my reason for giving so much of my time to the junior class. These assistants take very little interest in the work, and if not well looked after they discourage the learner instead of assisting him, besides they are never long enough, with me at any rate, in the school, to get properly into the system of teaching, neither have the best of them that diversified learning essential in an instructor.¹⁸

Little’s duties included school inspection and student examination in addition to the administration of such council business as procurement of supplies and selection, promotion and discipline of school staff. His work eventually concentrated on the schools in the Second Military District of Canada East after Samuel N. Stockham, a second superintending schoolmaster, arrived in September 1864 to administer the First Military District of Canada West.¹⁹

¹⁶ Little, “Note on Instruction of Adults” First Class Army Schoolmaster John Little’s method of instructing adults, Appendix to Lefroy’s *Report on the Regimental and Garrison Schools of the Army*, 1859 : 174.

¹⁷ *Ibid*: 175.

¹⁸ *Ibid*: 174.

¹⁹ N.A. RG8,I,C-Series, Vol:C 851: 77, dated 22 September 1864.

Little's Report on the Status of Regimental Schools in the Canadas, September and October 1863.

Shortly after his arrival, Little toured all regimental and detachment schools. For more than two months he inspected the Royal Canadian Rifle Regiment Headquarters school in London and four detachment schools in Niagara, Kingston, Fort Chambly and Saint Johns, Canada East [St. Jean], the Royal Artillery Headquarters school in Quebec, as well as detachment schools in Montreal, London, Toronto and Kingston. He also assessed the schools of nine regular regiments including the 1st Battalion, 17th Regiment in Quebec, the 62nd Regiment, the 63rd Regiment in London, 4th Battalion, 60th Rifles, the 4th Battalion, Prince Consort's Own Rifle Brigade in Hamilton, the 47th Regiment at Kingston, the 30th Regimental school at Montreal, 1st Battalion, 16th Regiment, and 2nd Battalion, Scots Fusilier Guards. Little's report is invaluable in that it reflects the state of regimental schools within the North American Command in the 1860s. By documenting schools of regular regiments along with those of units compelled to perform detached service, Little's report proved instrumental in illustrating many of the system's shortcomings.

He recognized a tendency toward dysfunctionality in a number of schools within the Canadian Command.²⁰ The Royal Canadian Rifle Regiment school in St. Jean epitomized the state of the unit's detachment schools:

The nature and the extent of instruction in this School was very unsatisfactory. Most of the children of the highest classes read imperfectly.

²⁰ "Second Report of the Council of Military Education on Army Schools, 1865:" 41.

The copy books were rather clean but the writing defective. Arithmetic very insufficiently known. Dictation apparently only commenced. It may be said grammar and geography are not taught, so little do the children understand of these branches.²¹

The infant school was described in a similar “. . . very weak state also, there being children in it over ten years of age, and not able to read the simplest words.”²² This disturbing trend in the quality of education persisted throughout the Royal Canadian Rifle Regiment. Even the children attending the headquarters school at London, Canada West, should have been more advanced in their education and industrial training. The schoolmaster and schoolmistress, Mr. and Mrs. Polden, had recently taken charge of the school as a result of the promotion of the senior regimental schoolmaster, Charles Stanton, to superintending schoolmaster. Although Little did not reveal the number of children on the roll of this establishment, he conceded that attendance warranted two trained schoolmasters.²³

The detachment school in Niagara was under the guidance of an untrained schoolmaster and was described in the report as, “. . . in every respect in a low condition; it presents a crowded gathering of children, - very imperfectly taught.”²⁴ Basics of reading, dictation, writing and arithmetic were indistinct and indifferent. The infant

²¹ N.A. RG8,I,C-Series, Vol:535: 217, Report of Superintending Schoolmaster John Little, dated 9 November 1863.

²² N.A. RG8,I, C-Series, Vol:535: 217, Report of Superintending Schoolmaster John Little, dated 9 November 1863. It was generally accepted that the upper age limit for attending army infant schools was eight years of age.

²³ Monthly school return for February 1864 by schoolmaster T. Polden indicated that 220 children attended the Royal Canadian Rifle Regiment school at London, C.W., N.A. RG8,I,C-Series, Vol:C 783 : 26-29. Hereafter referred to as Polden, monthly school return, RCRR, dated February 1864, N.A. RG8, I, C-Series, Vol:C 783.

²⁴ *Ibid*: 215.

school demonstrated similar results with only the rudiments taught to the 61 children ranging in age from six to eleven years. Little conceded that the task was “. . . quite out of the power of one teacher, no matter what her qualifications are, or however active and intelligent she may be to instruct with any kind of efficiency the number of children attending her school.”

The Royal Canadian Rifle Regiment schools in Kingston were more successful, owing to the interest and frequent visits of the garrison chaplain, the Reverend Mr. Scott, and his wife. The satisfactory state of the infant school was again credited to the intervention of Mrs. Scott and not the teacher, a soldier's wife whom Little described as: “. . . rather an illiterate woman and quite ignorant of system and devoid of resources possessed by a person of better education.”²⁵

The detachment schools of the Royal Regiment of Artillery fared no better than those of the Royal Canadian Rifle Regiment. Although the first class of grown children at the detachment school in Montreal read with ease, Little was not impressed with the progress of most of the other children, considering their age and standing. Spelling and arithmetic were poor and little was known of geography and grammar. The infant school also contained many children over the age of eight. The unsatisfactory performance of the Royal Artillery headquarters school in Quebec with, “. . . scarcely anything known beyond reading, writing and a little arithmetic” Little attributed to the three-week period during which the trained schoolmaster had charge. The school was previously under a

²⁵ *Ibid.* 215, 216.

schoolmaster-serjeant. As with the Royal Canadian Rifle Regiment schools at the station, the Reverend and Mrs. Scott took an active interest in the Royal Artillery School in Kingston, as did the commanding officer. Little reported:

Rev Mr. Scott Garrison Chaplain, and Mrs. Scott are constant visitors of these schools and take much interest in their progress. The effects of these visits are very perceptible. Colonel Burrows, RA also takes a very lively interest in the schools.²⁶

The Royal Artillery detachment school at St. Helen's Island also exhibited little progress:

" . . . nothing other than spelling, reading and a little arithmetic was attempted." The infant school was clearly deficient:

The teacher of this school appeared to have very little knowledge how a school of young children ought to be conducted. The only information imparted was a little spelling.²⁷

In his report Little highlighted a fact all too common with detached service: "These children will shortly have the benefit of Mrs. Rowan's care, as the detachment is about to join Headquarters at Montreal."²⁸

The numbers of children within the schools of the regular regiments inspected were considerably smaller. There were fewer grown children in the 2nd Battalion Scots Fusilier Guards. Attendance was similarly low at the grown children's school of the 1st Battalion Grenadier Guards, numbering only 13 students. The small size of these classes was clearly a positive factor. Reading, spelling, writing and arithmetic were taught with

²⁶ *Ibid*: 211.

²⁷ N.A. RG8,I,C-Series, Vol:535: 212, Report of Superintending Schoolmaster Little, dated 9 November 1863.

²⁸ *Ibid*: 212.

care and, although grammar and geography were listed as being elementary, at least some exposure to these subjects was demonstrated.

The school inspection of the 62nd Regiment serving in Quebec was one of the more glowing of the report:

I need not particularize here the class or the subjects taught; it will be sufficient to say that after a very minute examination on the branches they were reported to be learning, I found all with scarcely an exception, in a satisfactory state.²⁹

Little wrote of the Infant School:

This is a well kept school, order, regularity, cleanliness reigned throughout. The pupils are all very young and advanced for their standing. They read, spell and write on slates, and the schoolmistress gives them collective lessons on religious history and geography.³⁰

The Industrial school was also praised:

Needlework well taught, sewing and hemming neat, many able to knit with much quickness. The array of articles of children's clothing exhibited was very satisfactory.³¹

Little identified a correlation between good teaching and training within the regimental and detachment schools. Schools with untrained instructors were in a very backward state.³² Little was also critical of the teachers' lack of skill and inventiveness. Statistics are critical in recognizing the problems encountered in schooling the army's children. Of the ten schools inspected of regular regiments serving in the Canadas, a total

²⁹ *Ibid*: 229.

³⁰ N.A. RG8,I,C-Series, Vol:535: 230, Report of Superintending Schoolmaster Little, dated 9 November 1863.

³¹ *Ibid*: 230.

³² "Second Report by the Council of Military Education on Army Schools, 1865:" 40-41.

of 227 children were noted as being either on the rolls or present during the inspection. There were 133 children attending the Royal Artillery detachment schools. Although attendance in the Royal Canadian Rifle Regiment schools was inconsistently recorded throughout the inspection, the unit was responsible for the education of 736 children, approaching three times the combined number associated with the regular line regiments inspected.³³ The staggering imbalance reflects the sober realization once expressed by Chaplain Grassett, that the number of children within his unit was at least equal to the aggregate found "in any eight or ten ordinary battalions of Her Majesty's Service."³⁴ Little reported that infant schools supervised by trained mistresses were well managed, and he observed that most of the children attending these schools were very young, thus opportunities for teaching were somewhat limited. Although young, the children of the infant school of the 1st Battalion, 16th Regiment at Montreal, were progressing.

Little was critical of the officers' wives, indicating that aside from Mrs. Scott, the Garrison Chaplain's wife in Kingston, "it does not appear that any ladies interest themselves in these schools."³⁵ He praised the schoolmasters of the Grenadier Guards (Montreal), the 62nd Regiment (Quebec) and 1st Battalion, Rifle Brigade (Hamilton), for having their schools in "a very efficient state, and are well worthy of special notice." He also reported favourably on the Schoolmistresses of the Royal Artillery of Montreal, the

³³ *Ibid*: 118-125.

³⁴ Letter from Chaplain Graselt to Lt-Colonel Muter, Royal Canadian Rifle Regiment, dated 30 April 1850. N.A., RG8,I, C-Series, Vol:C 521: 85.

³⁵ N.A. RG8,I,C-Series, Vol:535, Report of Superintending Schoolmaster Little, dated 9 November 1863: 235.

62nd Regiment, and 4th Battalion, 60th Rifles (Montreal), reporting of the last woman:

. . . although the latter is not rated as a trained mistress, yet her school is well conducted as to order and discipline, and in every respect she appears an efficient teacher.³⁶

Considering the very young age of enrollment in infant schools at this period and the numerous and varied talents expected of a schoolmistress, to be praised by the superintending schoolmaster was quite an accomplishment. Given that this teacher's prerequisite was solely that she be "a well conducted woman from the ranks of the regiment," her achievements were all the more exceptional.

Little recognized a disturbing trend in the many Royal Canadian Rifle Regiment and Royal Artillery detachment schools:

With regard to the teachers engaged in the schools of the R.C. Rifles as well as those employed in the Detachment Schools R. Artillery, it ought be well to consider whether any useful and general course of study could be prescribed for them, with a view of increasing their efficiency; because much time is lost to the children, which can never be recalled, for the proper direction of the elementary studies.³⁷

Even the unit's headquarters school was described as being in a low state of proficiency and the schools at the other stations received a similar low rating because of the lack of training for the teaching staff which led Little to conclude,

As the teachers selected for these schools received no special training, and are not competent for the duties entrusted to them, the state of the schools

³⁶ *Ibid*: 235.

³⁷ N.A. RG8,I,C-Series, Vol:535: 219, Report of Superintending Schoolmaster John Little, dated 9 November

cannot be other than what it is.³⁸

Schoolmaster Polden's monthly school report for February 1864 provides further insight into the problems that the Royal Canadian Rifle Regiment experienced concerning the large population of children on detached service (see Appendix: B).³⁹ In the report, the schoolmaster accounted for the children attending the grown, infant and industrial schools in the unit's London Headquarters, as well as the six detachment schools at Niagara, Chambly, St. Jean, Toronto, Kingston and Isle aux Noix. Polden's report indicates eleven "drummers," one private, twelve corporals, and three serjeants under the direction of the senior schoolmaster at the unit's headquarters school. That adults were enrolled provides evidence of the unit's adherence to the general order of September 1863, and the establishment of special adult classes within the North American Command during the winter months. Little's inspection the previous fall revealed that no adults were attending the regimental schools. The teaching staff were also listed as were their titles and rates of pay. The report noted that one of the assistant schoolmistresses missed 32 days because of the birth of a child.⁴⁰ Five girls and five boys from outside the regiment, probably children of prison warders, pensioners in garrison or regimental employ, and militia staff attended the school. School accommodation at the London headquarters was inadequate for the 220 children enrolled. According to regulations, in

³⁸ Memo from J. Little to JJ Grant, Lt-Col. Commanding Royal Canadian Rifles, London, C.W., Appendix II, No. 7, General Report on the Army Schools in Canada by Superintending Schoolmaster J. Little, dated 9 November 1863, "Second Report by the Council of Military Education on Army Schools," H.M.S.O. London, 1865: 42.

³⁹ Polden, monthly school return, RCRR, dated February 1864, N.A. RG8, I, C-Series, Vol:C 783: 26-29.

⁴⁰ *Ibid*: 26-29.

such situations, the students attended on alternate days thereby receiving only half the instruction to which they were entitled.⁴¹ Overcrowded conditions continued for another two months until improved school facilities were proposed by the Council of Military Education.⁴²

School Inspections of Superintending Schoolmaster Samuel Stockham, Canada West, September, October 1864

Superintending schoolmaster Stockham arrived to take up duties in Canada West in late September 1864 and immediately inspected the three regimental schools under his jurisdiction, that of the 47th Regiment in Hamilton and the 16th Regiment and the Royal Artillery detachment schools in Toronto.⁴³ As with Little's findings the previous year, Stockham identified an emerging pattern. The regular regimental schools received a good rating while detachment schools did not. The school staff of the 1st Battalion, 16th Regiment of Foot, consisted of a trained schoolmaster and schoolmistress, a pupil teacher, as well as a lance corporal serving as an assistant. The regimental school was interpreted as a positive experience where the grown children progressed well, possessing a high level of reading and comprehension, and scoring well in geography, writing, dictation, grammar and arithmetic.⁴⁴

Stockham was also impressed with the calibre of learning in the infant school

⁴¹ *Ibid*: 29.

⁴² N.A. RG8,I,C-Series, Vol:C 783: 61, dated 17 April 1864.

⁴³ N.A. RG8,I,C-Series, Vol: C 851: 77, dated 22 September 1864.

⁴⁴ N.A., RG8,I, C-Series, Vol:C 851: 67-74, inspected September 27, 1864 at Toronto.

where the 47 children were divided into four classes, with the first class " . . . so far advanced as to be sent to the master's school. . ."⁴⁵ The senior infant class was also taught arithmetic (addition and notation), and the three first classes knew the five times multiplication table, in stark contrast to the infant schools of the Royal Canadian Rifle Regiment where the children could read a little, perform some elementary addition and knew some simple geography. In other areas such as writing, the children of the 16th Regiment performed much better than their counterparts in the Royal Canadian Rifle Regiment. The samplers and garments produced in the industrial school were described as of excellent quality. Stockham reported of the teachers:

Schoolmistress Bramhall appears painstaking and gentle in manners to the children, and seems most conscious to acquaint herself of her duties satisfactorily.⁴⁶

and

Of Schoolmaster Bramhall I can but say he appears thoroughly efficient, zealous and hard working, and on visiting the school before and after my inspection, I found him at his work . . .⁴⁷

The 47th Regiment stationed at Hamilton, inspected by Stockham on September 29, also received a satisfactory rating.⁴⁸ Forty-one children were enrolled in the schools of this regiment. The students in the four classes in the grown school all appeared intelligent, and well instructed with a fair knowledge of the required subjects. The thirty-

⁴⁵ N.A., RG8,I, C-Series, Vol:C 851: 69

⁴⁶ *Ibid*: 69.

⁴⁷ N.A., RG8,I, C-Series, Vol:C 851: 73.

⁴⁸ N.A. RG8,I, C-Series, Vol:921: 48, dated 29 September 1864.

one children attending the infant school were progressing satisfactorily under a second class schoolmistress.

Stockham's inspection of the Royal Artillery detachment school in Toronto in October graphically illustrated the consequences of sporadic education.⁴⁹ As with the Royal Canadian Rifle Regiment, children attending smaller stations where the regiment had a reduced presence did not always have the opportunity to attend school.⁵⁰ Even though the school was in the initial stages of formation under the direction of a Bombardier and his wife as acting schoolmaster and schoolmistress, Stockham's findings epitomized the consequences of detached service on children's schooling within the Royal Regiment of Artillery. The acting schoolmaster reported that the children belonging to both Number 5 Battery, 10th Brigade, and G Battery, 4th Brigade, had not attended school since 1861, some three years; and those of D Battery, had not attended since the beginning of 1864. The situation led the superintending schoolmaster to conclude:

In setting the results of my examination I must particularly mention, the length of time which I am informed has elapsed since the children were taught before, considering this point, no doubt as much progress has been made as can be expected.⁵¹

The grown children were divided into two classes, the first class consisting of two

⁴⁹ N.A., RG8,I, C-Series, Vol:C 761: 170-176.

⁵⁰ A company in the British Army consisted of 100 men; however, units seldom achieved full strength and companies generally varied from 60 to 100 men.

⁵¹ N.A., RG8,I, C-Series, Vol:C 761: 175 Inspection Report R.A. school at Toronto by Superintending Schoolmaster Samuel Stockham, dated 13 October 1864.

girls and two boys and the second with four girls and two boys. Lack of space dictated shared accommodations with the infant's school at the Old Fort location. The classes read elementary texts badly, without comprehension. Results were similar in other subjects. Neither class had the slightest knowledge of geography and history or elements of arithmetic and grammar.

The children possessed little religious knowledge.⁵² The schoolmaster's efforts were spent harnessing the children's behaviour and establishing some degree of order.

. . . the acting schoolmaster reports, that the discipline of the school has been the principal point to which his attention has been directed, the children having been both noisy and stubborn in the commencement.⁵³

Stockham appeared positive respecting the efficiency and character of the acting schoolmaster, Bombardier Smith, and predicted a marked improvement by the next inspection.⁵⁴

The 38 children of the infant school were divided into four classes. Children in the first class knew the alphabet, but read poorly. No other subjects were taught and Bible lessons had not yet commenced. Stockham stated that the schoolmistress ". . . appointed to take charge of the infant and industrial schools, . . . appears intelligent and capable of imparting instruction."⁵⁵ The infant school was not yet fully equipped, possessing only a few of the required books and no cards for the junior classes. The industrial school

⁵² *Ibid*: 173.

⁵³ *Ibid*: 173.

⁵⁴ *Ibid*: 174.

⁵⁵ *Ibid*: 170.

contained no work as the school had only been established some ten days before the inspection.⁵⁶

Stockham's sober observations on this large number of uneducated children warranted the attention of the Commanding Officer of the First Military District (Canada West), Colonel George Napier, who blamed barrack accommodation, stating that "the schools have not had fair play." Napier had great faith in the ability of the acting schoolmaster. A graduate of the Royal Artillery schoolmaster program, Bombardier Smith had arrived from Woolwich two months previously, and Napier predicted that the detachment school would yield increasingly favourable results. This sentiment was not shared by Little, the superintending schoolmaster of the Second Military District, who stated 14 months later in December 1866, " . . . neither Corporal Smith nor his wife has much ability. When last employed as schoolteachers both were evidently desirous to do their best."⁵⁷ This situation was by no means unique. The superintending schoolmaster for the army in Ireland, Edward Vicars, attributed the poor educational standing of many service children returning from colonial duty to the fact that schools were either not open during their foreign service or, if established, were conducted "without system or arrangement" and the children often returned from such postings in a state of total ignorance.⁵⁸

⁵⁶ *Ibid*: 171.

⁵⁷ N.A. RG8, I, C-Series, Vol:C 761, p:171, and N.A. RG8, I, C-Series, Vol:C 764: 105, dated 24 December 1866 .

⁵⁸ "Mr. Vicar's Report for Ireland" Appendix I - No.3 Appendix to Lefroy's *Report on the Regimental and Garrison Schools of the Army*, 1859: 92-93.

The poor rating of the schools of the Royal Regiment of Artillery is not surprising as the unit's duties closely paralleled those of the Royal Canadian Rifle Regiment. Two artillery brigades usually served concurrently; one supplied field batteries for mobile artillery support while the second manned ordnance in the numerous fortifications. The regiment's fluid schedule proved a crippling obstacle to consistent education as batteries were scattered throughout the system of colonial defences. Schools disappeared as units were dismembered to serve at other posts. An increase from 35 to 60 children attending the Royal Artillery school in Toronto between 1865 and 1866 is indicative of one such re-assignment.⁵⁹ Detached service fostered considerable diversity in the quality of education. Headquarters stations generally enjoyed the benefits of trained teaching staff which, by the 1860s, consisted of a senior regimental schoolmaster as well as a permanent schoolmistress from England. Although the numbers of children were seldom large enough to warrant a school, most children of the Royal Artillery were stationed in detachments where some form of schooling could be devised. Dispersed detachments could enrol their children in schools of the serving infantry regiment of the garrison.

Regulations of 1844 stated:

The Children of Non-commissioned Officers and Soldiers of the Royal Artillery, and Royal Sappers and Miners, are to be received and instructed in the Schools of Regiments, with which detachments of those Corps may happen to be serving.⁶⁰

Detached schools of the Royal Regiment of Artillery experienced the same problems as

⁵⁹ N.A., RG8,I, C-Series, Vol:C 763: 146.

⁶⁰ *The Queen's Regulations and Orders for the Army*, Adjutant-General's Office, Horse Guards, 1 July 1844, Third Edition, Military Library, Whitehall, London: 214.

the Royal Canadian Rifle Regiment, particularly the difficulty of finding qualified teachers. Little described the acting schoolmaster of one Royal Artillery school as: "... wanting in competency, but there is no better to be had."⁶¹ He also reported of another detachment schoolmaster,

... a serjeant whose literary acquirements are very limited, and who, it would seem, entered upon the advocacy of teaching without previous study or preparation, and without any rule, or the knowledge of any method whatsoever.⁶²

A number of problems associated with regimental schools within the Canadian Command are illustrated in Little's and Stockham's reports. Maintaining competent detachment schoolmistresses in the required numbers was a considerable problem. Candidates skilled in the varied tasks and wide range of duties required of the position were not normally found within the pool of women canvassed. An assistant inspector once reported that it was easier to obtain masters qualified to instruct the highest classes than to find women capable of instructing infants.⁶³ Most schoolmistresses, usually wives and daughters of non-commissioned officers, were seldom qualified. Little reported one schoolmistress as the most competent woman in the detachment "though this is but medium in that respect."⁶⁴ He remarked of another candidate:

Except for sewing Mrs. Macklin is very poorly qualified. She is wholly

⁶¹ N.A., RG8,I, C-Series, Vol:C 767: 58, dated 2 September 1868.

⁶² N.A., RG8,I, C-Series, Vol:C 760: 125, dated 19 November 1863.

⁶³ James P. Sergeant, Assistant Inspector of Military Schools, "Report on Army Schools in North Britain" January 1858, in Lefroy, *Report on the Regimental and Garrison Schools of the Army*, 1859: 95.

⁶⁴ N.A., RG8,I, C-Series, Vol:C 766: 78-82.

unacquainted with the process and practices which it is necessary to adopt in teaching infants nor has she proper control over the children, who appear to act in the school pretty much according to their own favour.⁶⁵

Finding acting schoolmistresses was an incessant task as these women were forced to resign in the event of their husbands' transfer, retirement, or death. Superintending schoolmasters were often compelled to look outside the regiment to find suitable candidates, and even assistant staff sometimes had to be procured from other Corps.⁶⁶ Schoolmasters were sometimes expected to assume responsibility for the infant school when an acting schoolmistress could not be recruited.⁶⁷

In its efforts to improve the standard of education in the army, the Council removed the officers of regiments from the appointment process for teaching staff. An officer's choice of candidate was no longer simply endorsed, and recommendations were passed through the proper channels for consideration by the Council. Officers could nominate individuals for the various postings, but the candidates had to prove their ability in written examinations and provide samples such as needlework that demonstrated their ability in the domestic trades in the case of a schoolmistress's application. On a number of occasions, the views of the Commanding Officer were thwarted by the superintending schoolmaster who was acting on behalf of the Council of Military Education. This intervention in matters that many senior officers considered within the realm of the

⁶⁵ N.A., RG8.I, C-Series, Vol:C 765: 130-133, dated 14 October 1867.

⁶⁶ N.A., RG8.I, C-Series, Vol:C 765: 121-123, dated May 1864.

⁶⁷ Lefroy, *Report on the Regimental and Garrison Schools of the Army*, 1859 : 139., and N.A., RG8.I, C-Series, Vol:C 763 : 166,171, dated 22 March 1866: [8].

regiment was sometimes unpopular, as superintending schoolmasters proved to be an obstacle in the administration of regimental schools. Plans to employ monitresses, pupil teachers and assistant schoolmistresses were also overturned by the Council, until the candidate successfully completed the necessary examination.

An incident that revealed the latent frustration and hostility between the two factions occurred in early August 1868 when the schoolmistress for the Quebec detachment of the Royal Artillery resigned, following her husband's discharge. Unable to find anyone suitable among the soldier's wives in Montreal, Quebec or Kingston, Little recommended a Mrs. Dixon to the Council, an experienced and willing candidate who had been employed as an assistant schoolmistress with the Royal Canadian Rifle Regiment in Kingston. Colonel Kennedy, the Brigade Commander, objected on the grounds that Mrs. Dixon's husband was of "very worthless character" and who was about to be discharged from the service. The Council of Military Education could not appoint Mrs. Dixon in light of these objections, and Little held that no other candidate was qualified or willing to act as schoolmistress in Quebec. Almost two weeks into the controversy, the superintending schoolmaster proposed that if the Council appointed Mrs. Dixon, over Kennedy's objections, an exchange could be effected with a Miss Goulding, a trained schoolmistress attached to the Royal Canadian Rifle Regiment.⁶⁸ Colonel Kennedy, in turn, proposed the wife of a colour serjeant of the 53rd Regiment of Foot, concurrently serving at the Quebec garrison. The woman was willing, and was believed

⁶⁸ N.A., RG8,I, C-Series, Vol:C 767: 1-6.

by the schoolmaster under Kennedy's command to be qualified. Little was less than impressed, however, saying that, "The attainments of Mrs. Gibson are so low as to render her ineligible for the situation of school teacher."⁶⁹ The crisis was resolved almost six weeks later, on 18 September 1868 with Little's nomination of a Mrs. Smith, the wife of a serjeant in the 3rd Brigade, Royal Artillery, in Quebec, who had taken charge of the detachment school during the dispute. Little reported, "I have heard she is likely to give satisfaction."⁷⁰ The incident not only reflected the difficulty in placing competent teachers, but also the animosity of officers toward the existing system. Even when offered the service of a trained schoolmistress in exchange for Mrs. Dixon, Colonel Kennedy appeared to refuse on principle, indicating the low probability of reconciliation.

A report on army schools at Toronto by Stockham graphically highlights the problems typically encountered at many Canadian garrisons. In addition to the inherent problem of irregular adult attendance, and the closure of several children's schools during the inspection period as a result of outbreaks of measles and scarlet fever, the movement of regiments, the complications arising from active service and deficient school accommodation greatly hindered the process. Three units, which transferred into the district, did not open their schools for several months after their arrival. The school rooms for the serving artillery unit at the Old Fort were so inadequate that the grown children and infants were instructed together. The adult school room at the New Fort was not only too small, but also doubled as the recreation room at night which curtailed the

⁶⁹ N.A., RG8,I, C-Series, Vol:C 767: 24, dated 17 September 1868.

⁷⁰ N.A., RG8,I, C-Series, Vol:C 767: 22-26.

adult school schedule.⁷¹

Royal Canadian Rifle Regiment Schools of Kingston, 1864 (see Appendix: C):

In November 1864, Little inspected the Royal Canadian Rifle Regiment schools of the Kingston detachment, which he described as locked in a disturbing "low and backwards state."⁷² The senior schoolmaster attended 94 grown children in two barrack rooms at Tete du Pont Barracks, assisted by two soldier assistants. The first class contained 27 students ranging in age from 11 to 15 years. Examination revealed that although reading was good, there was little or no comprehension, a typical consequence of mechanical learning. Less than half of the class accomplished dictation correctly and, in elements of geography, the same number appeared to do "fairly." Few could identify parts of speech and only seven students completed the questions in compound multiplication and division without error.

The second class was composed of 27 students that ranged from 8 to 13 years. As with the first class, the reading level was fair, although comprehension was non-existent. Writing was irregular and dictation, arithmetic, grammar and English geography were poor.

Reading for all but three of the third class of twenty students, ranging from 7 to 13 years, was laboured. Writing was poor and dictation showed progress but was

⁷¹ Great Britain, Parliament, House of Commons, Sessional Papers, "Inspection Report of Superintending Schoolmaster Stockham dated Toronto 23 April 1867," Appendix II, Number 12, "Fifth Report by the Council of Military Education on Army Schools, Libraries, and Recreation Rooms," 1868, H.M.S.O. London: 62-64.

⁷² N.A., RG8,I, C-Series, Vol:C 783: 150, Letter from Superintending Schoolmaster John Little, dated 9 November 1864.

mechanical, demonstrating little thought. Few could solve the arithmetic problems and students knew nothing of weights and measures. Only nine answered questions on Canadian geography and 12 students at this level were able to identify parts of speech.

The fourth class of 20 students from 7 to 12 years, registered poorly in reading and writing and knew virtually no arithmetic.

The infant school at Tete du Pont enrolled 108 children in two barrack rooms. The first room of the school was in the charge of the second class schoolmistress assisted by one monitress. Three classes in the infant school accomplished reading and some simple geography. The third class could spell words on McCleod's card #7 and only two of the class could pronounce words of three letters.⁷³ The remaining room contained 64 students who were taught by an assistant schoolmistress, the wife of a soldier, and a second monitress. Fourteen of this class could spell words on McCleod's Card #3, although none knew the meaning and 19 could spell from Card #2. The remainder were learning letters.

Reading was indistinct and hesitant, writing was poor. Every pupil performed dictation incorrectly and arithmetic was not included in the curriculum of the 16 children of the first class at the Royal Canadian Rifle Regiment school at Artillery Park. The 13 pupils of the second class appeared to have benefited even less, as progress in reading, writing and arithmetic was poor. The students were "ignorant of the simplest elements" of geography and engaged in mechanical answers. Little commented that the teacher was

⁷³ Walter McCleod, schoolmaster of the Royal Military Asylum, Chelsea, devised a series of cards to aid the very young in learning to identify letters.

the same individual who taught the regimental detachment school at Niagara the previous year, concluding that, "He is unsatisfactory and not likely to ever be an efficient schoolmaster."⁷⁴

The infant school at Ferguson's Buildings accommodated 37 children in a former dry goods store. The schoolmistress was the wife of the schoolmaster at Artillery Park, and had been the schoolmistress at Niagara the previous year, who Little found incompetent to have independent charge of the school. Only the simplest elements were taught. Few children had mastered the alphabet while the rest were in various stages of learning it.

Little described the new schoolmaster at the Cottages, at Point Frederick, as "attentive and painstaking." The industrial school, through the efforts of the ladies of the regiment, displayed a considerable show of material, demonstrating that needlework, darning and patching were taught with great care and success.

Little found comprehension lacking in the mechanical reading at every level, where classes registered from poor to "tolerable" at best. As Colonel Moffat, the regimental commander, noted after Little's inspection, it was unfair to compare the level of instruction found in the schools of the Royal Canadian Rifle Regiment to the trained teaching staff encountered in a regular line regiment.⁷⁵ Detached duties peculiar to the unit made any form of consistent, quality instruction difficult. Like Moffat, Little

⁷⁴ N.A. RG8,I, C-Series, Vol: C 783: 144-150, dated 3 November 1864.

⁷⁵ N.A. RG8,I, C-Series, Vol: C 783: 162, Letter from Col. Moffat, Commanding Officer, Royal Canadian Rifle Regiment, dated 28 November 1864.

recognized and isolated the unique circumstances which distinguished the Royal Canadian Rifle Regiment, the constant shifting within the unit, the great number of children associated with the regiment, and the challenge of achieving high teaching standards from unqualified staff. When the unit was consolidated under the direction of a trained schoolmaster and schoolmistress, problems of continuation and consistency in education diminished as the children were taught according to provisions for the school in the regimental standing orders (see Appendix: D). However, this situation was seldom the norm as circumstances constantly dictated detached service, and schooling degenerated considerably.⁷⁶ The disproportionate ratio of children also made for an unfair comparison. The excessive numbers of students attending the Royal Canadian Rifle Regiment schools presented problems. At the time of Little's report, there were a staggering 782 children enrolled in no less than nine detachment schools located at Signal Hill and Fort Townshend, Newfoundland, the Cottages, Tete du Pont, Ferguson's Buildings and Artillery Parks, in Kingston and in St. Jean, Ile aux Noix and Chambly in Canada East.⁷⁷ The senior schoolmaster faced a continuing challenge in which consistency was impossible to maintain. Skilled teachers were imperative, rather than the backward and inefficient instruction that had become common in the regiment's detachment schools. Whereas regular regiments resorted to recruiting soldiers as schoolmaster-sergeants and acting schoolmistresses as a temporary measure, this practice

⁷⁶ P. Couture, "The Royal Canadian Rifle Regiment, 1842-1870, A Profile," *Manuscript Report on File*, Canadian Parks Service, Cornwall, Ontario, 1988: [172].

⁷⁷ N.A., RG8, I, C-Series, Vol: C-783: 162, letter from Colonel Moffat, dated 28 November 1864.

had become the norm for the Royal Canadian Rifle Regiment.

The detachment schools were staffed entirely by non-commissioned officers from the ranks and by soldiers' wives. When compared with the more favourable conditions associated with educational facilities of other regiments and the benefits of small numbers of pupils and consistent trained instructors, the problems are obvious. With the lack of qualified masters and mistresses, the quality of instruction in the regimental schools of the Royal Canadian Rifle Regiment suffered and declined. The wholesale transfer of families, which proved so disruptive to school progress, was especially acute in this unit where station assignments were often so small that detachment schools were not always feasible. Detachment schools, when provided, proved inefficient. The teachers, demonstrating little understanding of instruction methods, were rarely competent, and were incapable of teaching or controlling the students. There was no exercise of thought on the part of the children, as the teachers' methods were mechanical. In this environment, there could be little regard for individual subjects, as degrees of intelligence or accuracy of answers were not factored into the system. Mechanical teaching permitted little reason for study or incentive to look beyond the material presented as the routines of questions became known. Teachers instructed, but did not educate. The superintending schoolmaster found an educational system in the Royal Canadian Rifle Regiment detachment schools that was essentially dysfunctional. Children leaving headquarters on detached service were exposed to a stagnant system of education. Little concluded that

"These schools instead of increasing in proficiency, seem to recede."⁷⁸ When these same children returned years later through unit reorganization, not only had they failed to progress but had forgotten all that they previously had been taught.⁷⁹ Little's description indicated that Bell's discredited monitorial system was still entrenched in the Royal Canadian Rifle Regiment educational structure. The situation in the Royal Canadian Rifle Regiment may not have been as "backwards" as Little implied. Learning without comprehension remained widespread in the British Army throughout the 1850s and into the 1860s.⁸⁰

Although trained schoolmasters and schoolmistresses could not be appointed to all detachment schools, Little proposed a small scale normal and model school system similar to the training programs employed by the army in Great Britain.⁸¹ Nominal returns for candidates from the Royal Canadian Rifle Regiment at the Royal Military Asylum, Chelsea, had been unsuccessful. Little proposed a compromise where the candidate could qualify as a semi-trained schoolmaster under command of the regimental schoolmaster in a fraction of the time and without leaving the country. He recommended selecting five or six "intelligent and well-conducted" men to be trained at the

⁷⁸ Great Britain, Parliament, Sessional Papers, "Report of Superintending Schoolmaster Little for 1868," Montreal, dated April 27, 1869, "Sixth Report by the Council of Military Education on Army Schools, Libraries, and Recreation Rooms," 1870, H.M.S.O., London: 46-47.

⁷⁹ N.A., RG8,I, C-Series, Vol:C 78: 144-150.

⁸⁰ Reference to Bell's monitorial instruction still appeared in *Standing Orders of the 76th "Hindoostan" Regiment*, published in 1855: 56, some nine years after the method was superseded within the British army.

⁸¹ N.A., RG8,I, C-Series, Vol: C 783: 178, Superintending Schoolmaster John Little to the Military Secretary, Montreal, dated 19 December 1864.

headquarters school under the senior schoolmaster of the regiment. These men would have three hours daily devoted to instruction during the morning and two hours teaching experience in the afternoon. After six months, these student teachers would be examined and, if successful, appointed to detachment schools or granted a certificate of competency. Thus, when a teacher was needed, a trained individual could be appointed to take charge of the school.

Little's proposals were not novel. Training soldier-schoolmasters within his assigned unit had been a recognized part of the schoolmaster's duties. As a War Office memorandum of the day reminded regiments:

With a view to provide a qualified Soldier to act in case of need as Schoolmaster to the Regiment or any Detachment, the Schoolmaster is to train, in anticipation one or more Men of the Regiment in such manner as to secure at least one man competent and available for this duty.⁸²

A similar system had been established in India in 1854. The East India Company had assigned a Superintendent of Army Schools to each of the Presidencies. Lieutenant Frederick Scrivener, who, like Senior Schoolmaster Charles Stanton, the first senior schoolmaster of the Royal Canadian Rifle Regiment, was one of the original 13 graduates of the Normal School in 1849, and had been responsible for the regimental schools of both the British regular force and the regiments of the East India Company stationed within the Bombay Presidency. Scrivener devised a Normal and Model School training program at the Central School of Military Instruction at Poona, ensuring that the

⁸² Regulations for the Management of Army Schools, *War Office Circular Memorandum No.821*, dated 25 May 1863: 8.

development of army education at the critical regimental school level was effectively maintained within the boundary of the district.⁸³

This solution had also been recommended as early as 1850 to fit the context of the Royal Canadian Rifle Regiment. The Secretary-at-War, Fox Maule, recognized the unit's unique situation and requirements. In a letter to the Commander of the Forces in Canada, Lt-General Rowan, Maule presented the need for competent teachers to instruct the many children of the regiment on detached service. A proposed plan by the War Office called for an assistant schoolmaster, trained at the Asylum, to be attached to the Royal Canadian Rifle Regiment. On arrival at the regimental Headquarters, the senior schoolmaster, with the aid of this assistant, would form a class of the most eligible and competent soldiers selected from the ranks of serjeants and corporals of the regiment. These men would be instructed, successful candidates certified as teachers and employed as acting schoolmasters at the several out-stations. Also of some importance was the recommendation that effectively monitored the quality of education and secure a uniform system of instruction at the various out-stations:

Monthly reports on the same form as that required to be transmitted by the schoolmaster to the Inspector-General should be forwarded by each acting schoolteacher to the senior schoolmaster at HQ, who would point out any deviation from the established course of instruction and embody the same in his monthly report to the Inspector-General of Schools.⁸⁴

Although some responsibility was placed on the senior schoolmaster to assess

⁸³ Report of Lt. F. Scrivener, "Regimental Schools in India," Appendix I-No.5, in Lefroy, *Report on the Regimental and Garrison Schools of the Army*, 1859: 100-101.

⁸⁴ N.A., RG8,I, C-Series, Vol:C 521: 140, Letter from Fox Maule, dated 2 July 1850.

applicants for positions of acting schoolmasters and schoolmistresses, this was not a regular occurrence.⁸⁵ Previous orders to the Commanding Officer to select four non-commissioned officers from the ranks for a six-month assistant schoolmaster training program at the Royal Military Asylum, Chelsea proved ineffective because of the small selection of suitable candidates.⁸⁶ The non-commissioned officers of this unit were generally much older than in regular regiments. Most were married men with what the commanding officer, Lt-Colonel Bradford described as "habits formed," who were unwilling to leave their families to train in England. Established in their ways, they would not make efficient schoolmasters nor would they be men that the commanding officer could recommend.⁸⁷ Although the need for trained teaching staff had been recognized throughout the history of the unit, alienation in serving so far from the central authority probably contributed to the decline of the regiment's educational system. Maule's proposals were not implemented until Little's recommendations of the mid-1860s.

Little also proposed a similar procedure for acting schoolmistresses, where exams were given half yearly or annually in reading, writing, spelling, geography and compound arithmetic. Qualified candidates would be placed in the headquarters infant school to learn the mechanics of educating the very young and, after three months training, would

⁸⁵ N.A. RG8,I,C-Series, Vol:C 783: 129, dated 24 August 1864.

⁸⁶ N.A. RG8,I, C-Series, Vol:778: 196-199, Letter dated 29 October, 1858 from the office of the Secretary of State, Major-General Peel to the Officer Commanding the Troops outlining recommendations for improving teaching standards for the RCRR.

⁸⁷ N.A. RG8,I, C-Series, Vol:777: 232. Letter from Colonel Bradford of the Royal Canadian Rifle Regiment to the War Office 1857.

be placed in charge of schools. Through this method, a better class of schoolmistress would be established. And as Little observed:

... as four of the detachment schoolmistresses have such a stipend of £19 per annum, I am of the opinion there is sufficient inducement not only to bring candidates forward, but to urge those now in charge of schools to improve their stock of learning, and method of teaching, in order to avoid being superceded.⁸⁸

Little placed pressure on those occupying positions to improve or lose their jobs. His recommendations appear to have been accepted by the Council of Military Education. As a result of his scathing report, the Council recommended closing the detachment schools in Kingston while the teaching staff attended the headquarters schools for training.⁸⁹

Authority was issued to train non-commissioned officers and men of the regiment for the duty of assistant or detachment schoolmasters on November 14, 1864. The Council recommended the establishment of at least two schools, which would provide the means of supplying better detachment school teachers. The Council posted two trained schoolmasters and their wives to the regiment. Second class schoolmaster MacLean and his wife arrived September 13, 1865 to replace senior schoolmaster Polden and his wife, who were transferred to the 48th Regiment of Foot in England.⁹⁰ The couple proceeded to Kingston to join the Royal Canadian Rifle Regiment Headquarters.⁹¹ Second Class Schoolmaster Robinson and his wife as schoolmistress transferred from the 18th

⁸⁸ N.A., RG8,I, C-Series, Vol:C 783: 178.

⁸⁹ N.A., RG8,I, C-Series, Vol:C 78: 9, Letter from the Council of Military Education, dated 13 January 1865.

⁹⁰ *Ibid*: 9.

⁹¹ N.A., RG8,I, C-Series, Vol:C 1194: 209, General Order, dated 13 September 1865.

Regiment of Foot in September 1865. The Council instructed that duties of the senior regimental schoolmaster would revolve around his own school rather than visiting and inspecting the detachment schools, which was thought to be too disruptive both to his, as well as the detachment school schedules.⁹² As a means of recruiting men and women of the regiment for assistant schoolmasters and schoolmistresses, the commanding officer called for non-commissioned officers' and soldiers' wives willing to undergo the necessary examinations for appointment of acting schoolmaster/schoolmistress.⁹³ The new proposals provided the necessary flexibility and appeared to rejuvenate the regiment's school system.

Great Britain's general reduction of military forces and the removal of imperial garrisons was reflected in the Royal Canadian Rifle Regiment schools. By November 1868, with a limited number of grown children enrolled in the various detachment schools, the Council downgraded the rate of pay from one shilling to six pence per day for acting schoolmasters at the Naval Cottages School in Kingston, as well as for the masters of the detachment schools at Isle aux Noix and Chambly. Reduction led to further pooling of resources. In September 1869, an assistant schoolmaster for the Royal Artillery school in Kingston was assigned from the Royal Canadian Rifle Regiment, as the majority of pupils attending the school were children of that corps.⁹⁴

With the disbanding of the Royal Canadian Rifle Regiment, the three trained

⁹² *Ibid*: 209.

⁹³ N.A. RG8,I,C-Series, Vol:C 783: 129, Regimental order dated 24 August 1864.

⁹⁴ N.A., RG8,I, C-Series, Vol:C 787: 63.

schoolmasters attached to the regiment were transferred to other units. Schoolmaster Robertson was attached to the 101st (Royal Bengal Fusiliers) Regiment of Foot; Schoolmaster Hicks, who had been with the Newfoundland detachment since July 1867 was re-assigned to the 82nd (Prince of Wales's Volunteers) Regiment of Foot, despite requests that he remain with the Royal Artillery school established at St. John's.⁹⁵

Schoolmaster Maclean was sent to the 46th (South Devonshire) Regiment of Foot. Army schoolmistresses Robertson and Goulding received passage home and were placed on the unemployment list.⁹⁶ The Royal Canadian Rifle regimental schools closed April 8, 1870.⁹⁷ That same month the unit ceased to exist. Many veteran riflemen settled in Canada while others were re-incorporated into regular British regiments which left for the United Kingdom or other colonial assignments. The following September. Superintending Schoolmaster Stockham, who had assumed responsibility for army schools within the Dominion of Canada, after Superintending Schoolmaster Little's transfer to Edinburgh, Scotland in 1869, was also recalled to the United Kingdom where he continued his duties in Cork.⁹⁸

⁹⁵ N.A. RG8,I, C-Series, Vol: C 1345: 463, dated 6 July 1867, and also Vol: C 1384: 400, dated 21 June 1870, and C 1383: 411, 434, dated 4 July 1870.

⁹⁶ N.A. RG8,I, C-Series, Vol: C 787: 120, dated 13 May 1870, and Vol: C 787: 121, dated 17 May 1870.

⁹⁷ N.A., RG8,I, C-Series, Vol:C 787: 121, dated 17 May 1870.

⁹⁸ N.A. RG8,I,C-Series, Vol:C 944 : 17, dated 1869, Vol: C 1755: 357, General Order, dated 9 September 1870, by order of J.E. Thackwell, Deputy Adjutant-General, and "First Report of the Director-General of Military Education on Army Schools, Libraries and Reading Rooms," 1872, H.M.S.O., London: vii.

CHAPTER FIVE

Progress and Problems: Regimental Schools and Later Reforms, The Garrison of Halifax, 1870-1907

**... and there are grounds for stating that after this time
Army Schools deteriorated in efficiency.**

**(Fifth Report on Army Schools by the Director-General
of Military Education on Army Schools, 1893).¹**

Britain's strategic retreat from the old Canadas during the last quarter of the nineteenth century resulted in imperial garrisons being concentrated at Halifax, Nova Scotia, and Esquimalt, British Columbia to protect British sea communication with the new Dominion of Canada.² As one of the larger garrisons within the North American Command, Halifax maintained two to three regular infantry regiments with elements of the Royal Regiment of Artillery and Royal Engineers.³ Serving units witnessed profound changes throughout the last quarter of the nineteenth century that fostered heightened emphasis more on the garrison rather than the regimental model of education. This chapter outlines the general state of army education after 1870 by chronicling the schools at Halifax, Nova Scotia. Critical to both is the waning influence of the office of the Director-General of Military Education and its antithesis, the cost-cutting reforms of both Liberal and Conservative administrations of the period. As this station was garrisoned until 1907, the resident military population was affected by later educational reforms.

On recommendation of the 1870 Royal Commission on Army Schools, the Council of Military Education was abolished and its former Vice-President, Major-General W.C.E. Napier, was appointed Director-General of Military Education. This office, responsible for all aspects of military education, issued a series of reports during

¹ "Fifth Report on Army Schools by the Director-General of Military Education," Great Britain, Parliament, *House of Commons, Sessional Papers*, H.M.S.O. London, 1893: 16. Hereafter referred to as "Fifth Report by the Director-General on Army Schools," 1893.

² See Schurman, Donald M. "Imperial Defence 1868-1887: A Study in the Decisive Impulses Behind the Change from "Colonial" to "Imperial Defence." *Unpublished Ph.D. Thesis*, Cambridge University, 1955 and Schurman D. M. *The Education of a Navy: The Evolution of British Naval Strategic Thought, 1867-1914*, Cassell and Co. London, 1965.

³ In 1873, the Halifax garrison consisted of the first Battalion 60th Regiment, the 87th Regiment, units of the Royal Regiment of Artillery and Royal Engineers. In 1878, the 101st Regiment, First Battalion of the 20th Regiment, and 97th Regiment served with the Royal Regiment of Artillery and Royal Engineers.

the last quarter of the century which outlined the direction and development of army schools.⁴ After the initial withdrawal of troops from Canada in 1870, regimental schools remained in Halifax where trained schoolmasters continued to teach adult and grown children, conduct special adult winter classes, and deliver programs of lectures and magic lantern shows to the garrison. Schoolmistresses and assistants instructed infant and industrial schools. Acting instructors, soldier-assistants and soldiers' wives presided over detachment schools and periodically replaced trained teaching staff at the headquarters' schools.⁵ Appointments of assistant schoolmistresses, pupil teachers and monitresses indicate that considerable numbers of children attended the infant and industrial schools of some units (see tables 3 and 4). The large populations of children sustained by the 78th Regiment and the 1st Battalion, 60th Regiment, suggest that the number of families on the strength continued to be determined by factors other than regulations. The sizeable contingent of the Royal Artillery at Halifax warranted a regimental school under a trained schoolmaster and schoolmistress in which the unit's children, and those of the Royal Engineers were taught.⁶ Having no resident superintending schoolmaster, the Director-General's reports contain little information concerning the regimental schools of the

⁴ N.A. RG8, I, C-Series, Vol:C 1194V: 46, dated 13 July 1870, Vol: C 1373 : 374-375, dated December 1879.

⁵ N.A. RG8, I, C-Series, Vol: C 1385: 951/2, Garrison order dated 9 February 1871, establishing a soldier's wife as acting schoolmistress.

⁶ N.A. RG8, I, C-Series, Vol:C 1755: 280-281 An accommodation report dated 19 October 1869 indicated that the Royal Artillery establishment at Halifax consisted of three battalions which totalled 293 rank and file, thirty-two of which carried wives and families on the strength of the regiment/N.A. RG8, I, C-Series, Vol:C 1378 : 238, dated 7 March 1864, Garrison order concerning the establishment of a regimental school for the Royal Engineers, Halifax.

Table 3:
Regiments Serving at Halifax, N.S., 1870-1888 From Archival Sources.⁷

Regiment	Date of Service	Location	Number of Men	Number of Women	Number of Children	School-master	School-mistress	School Location
78th Highlanders	1869-1871	Citadel Barracks	682	106	230	C.[M] Fleming	Miss E Ross	Citadel Barracks
61st Regiment	1870-1872	Wellington Barracks		--	70 (school age)	W. Read	Mrs. Fraser	
1/60th Regiment	1871-1876	Citadel Barracks	555	144	239	H.H. Hebb	Miss Goulding	Citadel Barracks
87th Regiment	1872-1876	Wellington Barracks	696	75	167	J. Boland	Mrs. Boland	
1/20th Regiment	1876-1878	Wellington Barracks	--	51	69	J.Kearn	--	
97th Regiment	1876-1880	[Citadel Barracks]	--	48	100	M.J. Rix	Mrs. McGill/ Miss Aston	Pavilion Barracks
101st Regiment	1878-1883		--	45	76	T. Murray	M. Linard	Wellington Barracks
1/Royal Yorkshire Regiment	1880-1884	Wellington (1880-83) Citadel (1883-84)	--	--	--	M. Loftus	M.A. Loftus	Pavilion/ Wellington Barracks
2/Royal Irish Rifles	1886-1888		--	--	--	--	--	
2/York & Lancaster Regiment	1886-1888		--	--	--		--	

⁷ N.A. RG8,I, C-Series, Vol: C-1785: 439, dated February 1871, Vol: C-1785: 183, dated January 1871, Vol: C-1785, dated 1 December 1871, Vol:C-1785: 2, dated 1 August 1872, Vol:C-1548: [381], dated 29 October 1878, C-Series, Vol: C-1548:[381], dated 29 October 1878, C-Series, Vol: C-1374: 310a, dated 29 October 1883, Vol: C-1374: 310a, dated 29 October 1883.

Table 4:
Table of Royal Artillery Schools, 1870-1888 from Archival Sources.⁸

Regiment	Date of Service	Location	Number of Men	Number of Women	Number of Children	School master	School mistress	School Location
3rd Brigade Royal Artillery	1870-1872	Halifax	355	46	109	W. Myles	Mrs. Smith/ Mrs Creeggan/ at 3rd Class School mistress	
4th Brigade Royal Artillery	1873	Halifax						
7th Brigade Royal Artillery	1873- 1875	Halifax	392 (officers & men)	44	117	C. Fletcher/ Shields	Flecher / (3rd Class) Shields	
10th Brigade Royal Artillery	[1879]	Halifax						

⁸ N.A. RG8,I, C-Series, Vol: C-1785: 371, dated 1 December 1871, Vol: C-1194V: 7, dated 21 March 1873, Vol: C-1785: 300-301, dated 1 March 1873, Vol: C-1536: 29, dated 21 March 1879.

infantry, artillery and engineers stationed at Halifax from 1870 to 1888, other than records subsumed under “other foreign stations” or “those of other colonies” appended to reports from superintending schoolmasters in Gibraltar, Malta and India.⁹

“The First Report of the Director-General of Military Education on Army Schools, Libraries, and Reading Rooms” in 1872 contained new regulations for army schools. The report recognized that resources were stretched to the limit in the face of the dramatic increase in adult enrolment within the army, due to the reintroduction of compulsory adult attendance by the 1871 Army Regulations,¹⁰ and the establishment in the following year of a standard certification scheme as a prerequisite for peacetime promotion within the non-commissioned ranks.¹¹ The abolition of the traditional system of purchase of military commissions was one of the more significant reforms spearheaded by Edward Cardwell, the Secretary of War in Gladstone’s cabinet.¹² With infantry commissions awarded through boards of examination rather than by purchase and influence, the new system removed corruption and established promotion through merit. Soldiering for the officer class became regarded as an intellectual occupation which demanded a more competent and professional corps of officers with leadership qualities

⁹ Great Britain, Parliament, House of Commons, *Sessional Papers*, “Third Report by the Director-General of Military Education on Army Schools and Libraries,” H.M.S.O. London, 1877: x. Hereafter referred to as “Third Report by the Director-General of Military Education on Army Schools, 1877.”

¹⁰ Recruits attended school until a fourth class certificate of education was obtained N.A., RG8, I, C-Series, Vol: C 1194V: 88, General orders dated 20 May 1875, and 1 May 1876.

¹¹ Great Britain, Parliament, House of Commons, *Sessional Papers*, “First Report of the Director-General of Military Education on Army Schools, Libraries, and Reading Rooms,” H.M.S.O., London, 1872: iii.

¹² N.A. RG8, I, C-Series, Vol: C 1194V: 29, WO Cir. 115, 1/8/71, effective in Halifax by General Order dated 21 August 1871.

above and beyond the inherited right to command. Gone was the primacy of the “congregation of sporting men and loungers.”¹³ Examinations established criteria of competence for the commissioned ranks and necessitated the development of a formal education system which ensured that standards were maintained.¹⁴ The new process provided incentive for both officers and men. In Halifax, prospective candidates for first, second, and third class certificates of education were assessed by boards of regimental officers responsible for the examination process in the absence of sub-inspectors.¹⁵ Schoolmasters continued to award fourth class certificates.¹⁶ The increased attendance compelled schoolmasters to focus much of their efforts and attention on adult schooling.

The Second Report by the Director-General on Military Education in 1874 noted the increasing incidence of education among the rank and file. Candidates for certificates of education in 1872 had doubled over those of the previous year, there being 22,345 examined in 1872 compared to 11,488 in 1971. This was again attributed to the established link between education and promotion.¹⁷ However, the report noted that it

¹³ John Douet, *British Barracks 1600-1914: Their Architecture and Role in Society*, English Heritage, The Stationery Office, London, 1998: 125.

¹⁴ N.A., RG8, I, C-Series, Vol: C 1194V: 33, dated 23 March 1873, and C 1194V : 214, referring to WO Cir 115, dated 1 August 1871.

¹⁵ N.A., RG8, I, C-Series, Vol: C 1534: 26, [45], Letter from Deputy Assistant Adjutant-General to the Commander of the Forces, Halifax dated 17 February 1872. Superintending schoolmasters were reclassified as sub-inspectors in this First report.

¹⁶ N.A., RG8, I, C-Series, Vol: C 1534: 26,[45], dated 26 February 1872, and C 1534: 37,[66], dated 29 February 1872.

¹⁷ Appendix II, No. 1, “Report of Colonel Gleig for 1872,” in “The Second Report of the Director-General of Military Education on Army Schools, Libraries, and Reading Rooms,” Great Britain, Parliament *House of Commons, Sessional Papers* H.M.S.O. London, 1874:11.

remained imperative to have the commanding officer's support in the adult school program if soldiers were to meet the required minimum of five hours attendance per week.¹⁸ The school rolls of one regiment serving in Halifax suggest considerable latitude as each of the 168 men registered less than 1.5 hours *per* month. Only two soldiers in the unit attained more than 19 hours at school within a four month period.¹⁹

The Director-General's report commended the high level of achievement by children attending army schools. An annual schedule of examinations for school children replaced the existing twice-yearly system, thereby lessening the pressure on the sub-inspectors and improving the quality of instruction.²⁰ In the absence of sub-inspectors, administration and inspection of schools remained a regimental responsibility.²¹ Regiments monitored their schools through a variety of means until the early 1880s when all units outside the jurisdiction of a sub-inspector were required to assign an officer for this duty. The regulations stipulated that "... the inspection and examination of Schools may be made by a specially selected Officer of the unit, not under the rank of Captain."²²

¹⁸ *Ibid*: 25

¹⁹ N.A. RG8, I, C-Series, Vol: C 1541 : 149, [330], Letter from Colonel Battersby, the Office of the Director-General to the General Officer Commanding the Troops, dated 19 August 1881 and C 1541: 160 [350]-[352], Letter from Colonel Walker, Office of the Director-General to the General Officer Commanding the Troops, dated 30 September 1881.

²⁰ N.T. St John Williams, *Tommy Atkins' Children: The Story of the Education of the Army's Children 1675-1970*, H.M.S.O. London, 1971:79, hereafter referred to as Williams, *Tommy Atkins' Children*.

²¹ N.A. RG8, I, C-Series, Vol: C 1373 : 447, Annual Report of the schools of the 101st Regiment submitted by the regiment to the Director-General of Education, dated 13 July 1880.

²² N.A. RG8, I, C-Series, Vol: C 1542: 60, [110], Letter dated 13 November 1882, with reference to school inspection reports and request for schedules of examination for 1/Royal Munster Fusiliers and 1/ Royal Yorkshire Regiments serving in Halifax, from B. Walker, Office of the Director-General to General Officer Commanding the Troops, Halifax.

Regiments serving in Halifax were responsible for the inspection of their schools and the examination of adults and children, the results of which were forwarded to the office of the Director General at the end of each calendar year.²³ Although extracts were offered to guide these officers, period correspondence indicates considerable confusion as to their responsibilities as well as inspection and examination procedures.²⁴

The Third Annual Report of the Director-General of Military Education in 1877 reported the increased trend in the demand for education. The introduction of the "short service" soldier also had critical ramifications, as the compressed period of service heightened the tempo of the military training schedule at the expense of the regimental school. As Major-General Sir Garnet Wolseley declared of the recruit: "we have to think how we can make him a soldier in one year . . ."²⁵ Elementary education was now less of a concern as training concentrated on knowledge required to advance the soldier within his profession. The opportunity for professional development could only be provided at the expense of the regiment's school schedule:

Commanding Officers have now such large numbers of young soldiers to

²³ N.A., RG8, I, C-Series, Vol: C 1540: 154,[293], General Order dated 20 May 1879 commanding annual examination of army schools in Halifax by regimental board of officers and results forwarded to Director-General's Office, Barker, Director-General's Office to the General Officer Commanding the Forces.

²⁴ N.A. RG8, I, C-Series, Vol: C 1542: 60, [110], Reference to school inspection reports of the 1/Royal Munster Fusiliers and 1/Royal Yorkshire Regiment, dated 13 November 1882, identifying anomalies associated with the respective inspection returns of these units serving in Halifax, B. Walker, Director-General's Office to the General Officer Commanding the Troops.

²⁵ Major-General Sir Garnet Wolseley was a high profile military personality of the late Victorian era who led the 1870 Red River Expedition in Canada, as well as campaigns in Africa and Egypt. Wolseley later became Commander-in-Chief of the British Army. See J. Luvaas, *The Education of an Army: British Military Thought, 1815-1940*, Chicago, 1964: "The Wolseley Era, 1873-99:" 169-247. The statement in the text above was cited in A.C.T. White, *The Story of Army Education 1643-1963*, George Harrap and Company, London, 1963: 40-41.

train, and such a variety of instruction to impart to them, the practical effect in which in making them good fighting men is more readily apparent than that produced by the instruction given in school, that there is a risk of the orders relating to school attendance coming to be largely disregarded.²⁶

Short service resulted in the marked decline in school attendance for children during the last thirty years of the century. From 20,000 students in 1870, attendance fell to 12,000 by 1896.²⁷ The number of married men also fell below the regulated allowance, as short service soldiers were not eligible to wed and raise families on the strength of the regiment.²⁸ By 1876, all staff sergeants, 66 percent of other sergeants, and only four percent of the rank and file were listed on the marriage rolls, prompting Hugh Childers, the Secretary of State for War, to predict the following year: “. . . it will not be necessary to provide for the marriage of any considerable number of men except NCO’s.”²⁹ Fewer married soldiers meant fewer school children on the strength. The post of sub-inspector was abolished. Twenty-one inspectors with the honorary rank of Lieutenant monitored the conduct of the school staff and ensured that school regulations were carried out. This task continued to be a regimental responsibility in Halifax.

Although the Second Report of the Royal Commission in 1870 concluded that a well-devised curriculum within a sound and closely supervised operation resulted in

²⁶ Appendix II, Number 2 “Report on Army Schools 1875-1876,” “Third Report by the Director-General of Army Schools and Libraries,” H.M.S.O, London, 1876: 26.

²⁷ Myna Trustram, *Women of the Regiment: Marriage and the Victorian Army*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1984: 99. Hereafter referred to as Trustram, *Women of the Regiment*, 1984.

²⁸ *Ibid*: 49.

²⁹ *Ibid*: 48-49.

superior schooling for the army's children in relation to their civilian counterparts, years of austerity had eroded the army school's standing. This degeneration was the consequence of a number of factors which dominated late-Victorian politics. There was a growing movement in British politics which ardently believed that the Empire was over-extended in relation to the country's economic strength. Retrenchment and concentration on local matters was believed to be the only possible solution.³⁰ This philosophy forced Great Britain to continuously focus inward at the expense of its foreign, imperial and defence policies, all of which became increasingly driven by a ruthless campaign against expenditure. Influenced by a devotion to retrenchment and guided by this "little England" philosophy, all aspects of military and naval spending were steadily and marginally squeezed throughout this period.³¹ This feeling of fiscal austerity and the minimalist state corresponded directly with major cuts in the decline in the advocacy and resulted in the extensive reduction in colonial defence and all aspects of military spending, including the army school budget.³²

Although Gladstone's obsession with balancing the national budget is generally attributed with formulating these policies of financial retrenchment, both Liberal and Conservative parties subscribed to the philosophy of containing government expenditure

³⁰ See Roy Jenkins, *Gladstone*, Macmillan, London, 1975: 375. Hereafter referred to as Jenkins, *Gladstone*, and Knapland P. *Gladstone and Britain's Imperial Policy*, George Allen and Unwin Ltd., London, 1927: 15 for discussion on this aspect of Britain's imperial policy of the period.

³¹ Beeler, John F. *British Naval Policy in the Gladstone-Disraeli Era, 1866-1880*, Stanford University Press, Stanford, 1997: 240. Hereafter referred to as Beeler, *British Naval Policy in the Gladstone-Disraeli Era*, 1997.

³² Jenkins, *Gladstone*: 375

that dominated the last quarter of the nineteenth century.³³ It was in line with this emphasis that in 1887 Lord Salisbury's Conservative government appointed Lord Harris, the Under-Secretary of State for War, to preside over a committee on the army's school system. The Report of the Committee on Army Schools and Schoolmasters, also known as the Harris Commission, tabled several controversial recommendations which significantly damaged the army's school system.³⁴ Changes included the abolition of all regimental schools for garrison or station schools, the abolition of compulsory schooling for soldiers, abolition of the fourth class certificate of education, the closing the army's Normal school at the Royal Military Asylum, Chelsea, and the abolition of trained schoolmistresses. By 1888, the balance of these recommendations had been instituted.

The Director-General's fourth report on army schools in 1889 investigated the immediate effects of the recommendations. The Director-General was not happy with the changes implemented by the Harris Committee. The most contentious issue remained the Committee's decision to establish garrison schools in all stations at home and abroad. From this point, all adult and grown children's schools became a garrison responsibility rather than a regimental one. The Fourth Report weighed the advantages and disadvantages of the garrison schools. The Harris Committee advocated that garrison schools ensured uniformity of method and practice and were more efficient than the

³³ Beeler, *British Naval Policy in the Gladstone-Disraeli Era*, 1997: 49.

³⁴ Moran cites the Harris Report as being the product of a parliamentary committee in his "The development of the Education of Soldiers and Soldiers' Children During the Early and the Mid-19th Century with Particular Reference to the Influence of the Royal Military Asylum, Chelsea," *Unpublished Doctoral Dissertation*, University of Wales, 1979, whereas it is, in fact, a War Office Report: W.O. 33/47.

standard regimental schools, where grown children's attendance seldom exceeded twenty-five pupils. Garrison schools allowed a better streaming of students and, consequently, better instruction as the larger numbers of students permitted a trained schoolmaster at almost every level:³⁵

. . . their [the children's] education is carried out in a larger field than is to be found in a regimental school and their minds will be expanded by bringing together the children of different regiments and of all arms of the service and that their education will only be asserted by a better classification, which can only be attained by the assembly of larger numbers.³⁶

The implementation of garrison schools stimulated considerable debate. Twenty years previously, when the Council of Military Education was advocating maintaining the school as a regimental institution, the argument against garrison schools was two-fold: first in that they did not complement the regimental tradition in military schooling and, by integrating children from various regiments in larger numbers, classes were too large and impersonal. Moreover, the traditional regimental influence and control, which had long been a factor in promoting education of the other ranks and children, was lost to the system. Garrison schools could not mobilize the interests of the officers and their wives, many of whom took an active interest in the schools of the men and children of their regiment. Whereas regimental schools were under the immediate influence of the commanding officer, the senior officer of the station was responsible for the garrison

³⁵ "Second Report by the Council of Military Education on Army Schools, 1865:" xx-xxi

³⁶ "Report of the Committee on Army School and Schoolmasters:" 13, as cited in Moran, "The Development of the Education of Soldiers and Soldiers' Children During the Early and Mid-19th Century with Particular Reference to the Influence of the Royal Military Asylum, Chelsea," 1979: 378. Hereafter referred to as Moran, "The Development of the Education of Soldiers and Soldiers' Children."

school, thereby nullifying the traditional support of the regimental commanding officer.³⁷

As one Major Edward Owen informed the Harris Committee, the garrison system did not attract or sustain the involvement or interest of the regimental officers:

You would lose then anything like the personal superintendence of the CO of the regiment. Under the regimental system the colonel and the adjutant take a personal interest, in many cases, in the regimental schools; but if there were a garrison school . . . There would be only the obligatory visits of the officers on duty . . . the colonel of a regiment takes a certain amount of authority in a quiet way in the schoolroom.³⁸

These reservations were also later confirmed by the Director-General in 1893,

The anticipation that under the garrison system, schools would lose the great benefit resulting from the direct personal interest of Commanding Officers in them has been fully borne out. This defect undoubtedly exists as there is a reluctance on the part of the Commanding Officers to look much into the affairs of a school over which they have no definite authority.³⁹

Under the regimental system, the schoolmaster was a respected member of the regimental staff and maintained a high profile. He became a useful resource within the operational framework of the regiment. As a result, officers took an interest in him and his work.⁴⁰ The schoolmaster also had the advantage of a more intimate knowledge of the men and children within a regimental school.⁴¹ Lt-Col. Shute, the Commanding Officer

³⁷ "Second Report by the Council of Military Education on Army Schools, 1865:" 15-16.

³⁸ Report of Lord Harris' Committee on Army Schools and Schoolmasters, 1887 WO 33/47: 67-68, testimony of Major Edward Owen, as cited in Trustram, *Women of the Regiment*, 1984: 101.

³⁹ "Fifth Report on Army Schools by the Director-General of Military Education, 1893:" 1.

⁴⁰ Great Britain, Parliament, House of Commons, *Sessional Papers* "Fourth Report by the Director-General of Military Education on Army Schools," H.M.S.O., London, 1889: 6.

⁴¹ "Second Report by the Council of Military Education on Army Schools, 1865:" 15.

of the 6th Dragoons, summed up the problems associated with the schoolmaster's ambiguous authority under the garrison school system,

*I do not consider that the children are nearly so well looked after as under the old system of regimental schools. The schoolmaster tells me that he is not responsible in any way for the conduct of the boys, when out of school. Whereas formerly it was considered the duty of the schoolmaster always to have them more or less under his eye, and to reprimand them or punish them whenever he saw or heard of their being guilty of any impropriety, and they are morally and religiously better brought up than they are at present.*⁴²

The Director-General could no longer draw on a commanding officers' evaluation or opinion of a schoolmaster.⁴³ Alternatively, the regimental commander could no longer rely on the support of the schoolmaster. Another concern was that both soldiers and their children would be forced to travel out and away from their barracks to attend a garrison school. The prospect of traveling great distances was concerning for small children and was thought to deter many soldiers from attending school voluntarily.⁴⁴

Although the numbers of children at some of the more significant stations allowed for the formation of distinct classes by gender within garrison schools, this did not appear to be the case in Halifax. Two garrison schools were set up in Halifax, one at Wellington Barracks and a second at the Royal Artillery Park Barracks on the south side of Citadel Hill, under the former Royal Artillery Regimental schoolmaster.⁴⁵ Schoolmasters were

⁴² Great Britain, War Office, Lefroy, L.H. Brevet-Colonel, *Report on the Regimental and Garrison Schools of the Army and on Military Libraries and Reading Rooms*, London, 1859:26.

⁴³ Moran, "The Development of the Education of Soldiers and Soldiers' Children:" 383.

⁴⁴ "Fourth Report by the Director-General of Military Education on Army Schools, 1889:" 6.

⁴⁵ N.A. RG8, I, C-Series, Vol: Vol: C 1539: 26, [55]-[57], Return of garrison, infant and sewing schools Pavilion Barracks, Halifax, dated 31 January 1889, C 1539: 119, [275], Return of adult and elder children's

assigned to a station for a five-year term.⁴⁶ The garrison schoolmaster taught the soldiers “desiring to improve their education” and grown children (over eight years of age) at least six and one-half hours of classes a day.⁴⁷ The hours of instruction were from 9:00 a.m. to 12:00 p.m. and from 2:00 p.m. to 7:30 p.m.⁴⁸ Infant and industrial schools remained a regimental responsibility and, as such, were subjected to some variation in operation and standards. The employment of acting schoolmistresses to teach in these schools was another austerity measure tabled by the Harris Committee. Replacing trained schoolmistresses with soldiers’ wives realized savings in smaller salaries, and accommodation allowances and pension benefits both of which were required when trained army schoolmistresses were employed. The Director-General’s fourth report indicated that phasing in non-professionals in this capacity had a negative effect on the development of infant and industrial schools.⁴⁹ Suitable candidates remained difficult to procure, and many neglected schoolwork as their priority lay with domestic and family duties. Infant schools were diminishing under this new policy.⁵⁰ Whereas at one time the army’s infant schools compared favourably to their civilian counterparts, they now lagged

schools, Royal Artillery Park, Halifax, dated 12 June 1889.

⁴⁶ *Standing Orders for Inspectors of Army Schools, Examiners & Teachers*, H.M.S.O., London, 1897: 15. Hereafter referred to as *Standing Orders for Inspectors of Army Schools*, 1897.

⁴⁷ *Ibid*: 4.

⁴⁸ N.A. RG8, I, C-Series, Vol: C 1539: 2, [3], Letter from Robert Biddulph, Director-General of Military Education, to the General Officer Commanding the Troops, dated 1 January 1889, inquiring into the schedule of the garrison schoolmaster.

⁴⁹ “Fourth Report by the Director-General of Military Education on Army Schools, 1889:” 4.

⁵⁰ *Ibid*: 8.

behind them.⁵¹ Although these schools remained a regimental responsibility, the pooling of resources at Halifax suggests integration under the guidance of a senior trained schoolmistress.⁵² In an integrated school situation, the schoolmistress of each regiment prepared separate annual requisitions for the children of her corps, while matters concerning the school as a whole remained the responsibility of the senior schoolmistress.⁵³

Other recommendations of the Harris Committee revealed that the need to restrict expenditure dictated army school policy. The committee's blatant intent on cutting costs rather than educational improvement is obvious in the following passages.

When garrison schools are established it will be possible to get rid of the greater part of school assistants whose extra duty pay at present amounts to £4037 per annum. The reduction will be possible when compulsory education for soldiers ceases and their education becomes voluntary.⁵⁴

And concerning the employment of trained schoolmistresses.

It seems to us quite unnecessary to continue employing trained schoolmistresses for such very elementary work and we recommend that in future acting schoolmistresses be employed at an annual salary of £25 without allowances or pension.⁵⁵

The orders outlining the changes in Halifax clearly reflect this motivation:

⁵¹ *Ibid*: 13.

⁵² N.A. RG8, I, C-Series, Vol:C 1539: 141, [323]. Order instructing infant school stationery and materials to be collected from the various infant schools within the Halifax garrison, dated July 10, 1889, R. Biddulph to the General Officer Commanding the Troops, Dominion of Canada.

⁵³ *Standing Orders for Inspectors of Army Schools*, 1897: 8.

⁵⁴ Williams, *Tommy Atkins' Children*: 101.

⁵⁵ *Ibid*: 101.

It having been decided to abolish the compulsory education of adults from 31st December next and to substitute Garrison and station Schools for the present Regimental Schools.[sic] I have the honour by the direction of His Royal Highness the Field Marshal Commanding-in-Chief to request that you will have the goodness to inform me what reduction in the educational staff can be affected in your Command. Soldier-Assistants will no longer be employed. Infant Schools are to remain as at present, regimental.⁵⁶

Garrison schools required fewer trained schoolmasters and even fewer soldier-assistants. Schoolmasters were no longer tied to regiments but could be moved as circumstances dictated. The demand on schoolmasters was also lightened considerably with the abolition of compulsory education for recruits—another recommendation of the Harris Committee—the argument being that it was an unproductive use of the schoolmaster's time and limited resources. Forced attendance crowded the system with reluctant students who considered school a disagreeable drill.⁵⁷ The committee also abolished the much maligned fourth class certificate of education.⁵⁸ Although the practicality of this elementary level of instruction was questioned, this act was also a cost-saving measure as the majority of adult candidates fell within the nominal spectrum of instruction and thus tended to tax the system and tie up resources with limited benefits. Closing the Normal school of the Royal Military Asylum in Chelsea was another recommendation. The Harris Committee argued that the probationary term of the army's Model School deterred qualified civilian candidates and the normal school did not

⁵⁶ N.A. RG8, I, C-Series, Vol: C 1544: 52, [123], Letter from Delavoye, Asst Director to The General Officer Commanding the Troops, Halifax, requesting anticipated reduction in teaching staff as a result of the establishment of garrison schools, dated 7 November 1887.

⁵⁷ "Fourth Report by the Director-General of Military Education on Army Schools, 1889:" 5.

⁵⁸ *Ibid*: 4.

prepare candidates for teaching adults.⁵⁹ In 1888, the request for candidates for the army's normal school program at the Royal Military Asylum, Chelsea, was cancelled.

The Circular Letter stated:

Owing to the reduction of the establishment of Army Schoolmasters, there will be no examination in October next for the appointment of assistant schoolmaster.⁶⁰

In 1889, this school which was the training centre for the army's professional schoolmasters, was closed after 43 years service. The same year, the office of the Director-General was abolished and responsibility was transferred to the Military Secretary for officer education and the Adjutant-General for the other ranks.

Army schools were framed to meet the institution's special requirements.

Britain's military population was mobile. To be successful the system had to be universal with strict supervision to ensure correct operation. A rigid curriculum throughout army schools was essential to the system's operation as it enabled students to continue courses and subjects in an unbroken line from one station to another.⁶¹ Enrollment in civilian schools was discouraged by the military authorities on the grounds that curriculum, text books and standards varied enough to cause inconsistency if not complete ennui of effort. Army children would be shifted from one civilian school to another as regiments were transferred. A rigid curriculum within the army school system ensured that children

⁵⁹ *Ibid*: 5.

⁶⁰ N.A. RG8, I, C-Series, Vol: C-1544: 81, [193]. Order issued by Robert Biddulph, Director-General of Military Education, dated 29 March 1888.

⁶¹ "Fourth Report by the Director-General of Military Education on Army Schools, 1889:" 6.

received consistent instruction throughout the far reaches of the empire:

The curriculum in all Army Schools at home, in India and in the Colonies must be uniform, so as to enable the education of the children to continue on the same lines and in one progressive course, no matter which Army School they may for a time attend.⁶²

The importance of maintaining a standard curriculum was formally recognized by the mid-1880s:

. . . in order to secure to children transferred from one School to another continuity of teaching in Class subjects, it will be obligatory, in future, upon schoolmasters to take up the teaching of subjects in the order in which they appear on Army Form C312. . .⁶³

The short term attendance of army children in civilian institutions also distorted these schools to some degree. Civilian schoolmasters had little knowledge of military life and were less inclined to invest much time and effort in transitory army children. It was imperative, therefore, that schooling remain within the sphere of army influence. Subjects such as chemistry, physics, animal physiology, botany, French, and Latin did not conveniently fit within the army school curriculum.⁶⁴ The grown children were examined during the yearly examination in the categories of “elementary subjects,” reading, writing and arithmetic, “class subjects” recitation, English, geography, history, singing. The boys were taught “special subjects” of algebra, Euclid, and mensuration

⁶² “Fourth Report by The Director-General of Military Education on Army Schools”, as cited in Williams, *Tommy Atkins’ Children*, 1971: 103.

⁶³ N.A. RG8, I, C-Series, Vol: C 1543: 68, [159], Circular letter for inspectors, sub-inspectors and local inspectors of army schools, Lt-Col. P.E. Orr for the Director-General, dated 29 May 1885.

⁶⁴ Williams, *Tommy Atkins’ Children*: 104.

while the girls were tested in the appropriate sewing standards.⁶⁵ The schoolmaster prepared the schedule of examinations, which included all the children on the register according to the standards in which they were working. On transfer, every child was expected to produce a certificate of merit for the teacher at the new station, signed by the commanding officer, documenting the subjects they had passed. Children not achieving certificates were furnished with a progress report.

The Director-General's Fourth Report also reported favourably on the 1888 decision to appoint trained sub-inspectors to cover those colonial stations where none existed. Prior to this date, the sub-inspectors' duties in many of these colonies were performed by regimental officers appointed by the general officer commanding. Their technical knowledge in inspection work and detail in school economy lacking, these men could not be expected to fulfill the demands of the job adequately. As a result, reports on school operations and evaluations of the teaching staff in many colonies were not always consistent or reliable. School efficiency suffered in these stations. The appointment of sub-inspectors to the colonies was an attempt to rectify this weakness by providing more efficient, reliable schools abroad.⁶⁶ A trained sub-inspector was assigned to serve the West Indies, Bermuda and Halifax group.⁶⁷ Honorary Lt. J. Annett, a Sub-Inspector of Army Schools stationed in Bermuda, became the first professionally trained inspector to serve the garrison of Halifax. Annett was responsible for the annual inspections of army

⁶⁵ *Standing Orders for Inspectors of Army Schools*, 1897: 30, 6, 7.

⁶⁶ "Fourth Report by the Director-General of Military Education on Army Schools, 1889:" 15.

⁶⁷ *Ibid*: 9.

schools at Halifax, Bermuda, Jamaica, and other depots in the West Indies.⁶⁸ These inspections, designed to ensure a degree of uniformity of judgement and practice, were critical to providing a basis on which the system could operate effectively. The standing orders stipulated:

Having regard to the liability of adults and children to move from one garrison school to another in the course of a year, it is expedient that the school year be as uniformly identical as practicable throughout the service, so that the efficient working of adults in their classes for certificates, and of children in their standards, may be prejudiced as little as possible by such transfers.⁶⁹

Annett inspected the Halifax schools during the early spring. His yearly inspection duties included the examination of the men for second and third class certificates and assessment of their progress, examination of the grown children's, infant's and sewing schools, the qualifications of the schoolmaster, schoolmistress and teaching staff. Army children attending civilian schools were presented for examination during this inspection to assess whether they were achieving the standard for their age.⁷⁰ He also reported any unauthorized school closures.⁷¹ Halifax was a station where only a "yearly" inspection could be carried out by the sub-inspector. Periodic school inspections, encouraged by the Director-General, and the half-yearly inspections were difficult for Annett as an absentee sub-inspector. The half-yearly inspections, undertaken

⁶⁸ N.A. RG8, I, C-Series, Vol: C 1194AA: 256, letter dated 10 September 1889.

⁶⁹ *Standing Orders for Inspectors of Army Schools*, 1897: 10.

⁷⁰ N.A. RG8, I, C-Series, Vol: C 1539: 110, [254], memo dated 3 June 1889 ensuring that every army child attending civilian school is brought forward for examination by the army sub-inspector., R. Biddulph to Officer Commanding the Troops, Halifax.

⁷¹ *Standing Orders for Inspectors of Army Schools*, 1897: 11.

by officers of the regiments under the regimental school system, remained the responsibility of the station in which the garrison schools were established and continued to be conducted by an appointed staff officer. As this duty required some experience, it was recommended that continuity in this office be maintained. The garrison or station commander submitted the half-yearly inspection reports to the sub-inspector who, in turn, forwarded them to the Office of the Director-General of Military Education. If the sub-inspector was not able to carry out his yearly inspection, this task was accomplished by the staff officer.⁷² On the death of Annett, J.M. Gilmore, Inspector of Army Schools, was taken on the strength of the command, arriving at Halifax on 8 November 1892.⁷³ Gilmore's assignment co-incided with the abolition of the post of sub-inspector and 21 inspectors of the rank of honourary Lieutenant were assigned as assistants to the Inspector of Army Schools.⁷⁴ Operating out of Halifax, Gilmore traveled to Bermuda and the West Indies to carry out annual inspections of army schools at those stations.⁷⁵

The fifth report of the Director-General of Military Education in 1893 recognized the deterioration of the army school system which was attributed partly to changes flowing from the recommendations of the Harris Committee. Although the report

⁷² N.A. RG8, I, C-Series, Vol: C 1539: 146, [332], Memo from R. Biddulph to the General Officer Commanding the Troops, Dominion of Canada, dated 15 July 1889 and instructing that the half-yearly inspections in Halifax to be conducted by an appointed staff officer and the results reported to the Director-General's Office.

⁷³ N.A. RG8, I, C-Series, Vol: C 1194AA: 406, Order dated 9 November 1892

⁷⁴ N.A. RG8, I, C-Series, Vol: C 1194AA: 385, Copied notation from the *London Gazette*, dated 17 May 1892. At this period there were ten sub-inspectors serving in Great Britain, seven in India, and four assigned to other colonies.

⁷⁵ N.A. RG8, I, C-Series, Vol: C 1194AA: 413, memo dated 6 January 1893.

conceded that the new garrison school system allowed for a better streaming of students and better instruction, like its predecessor it was critical of the overall result, for the same reasons. Garrison schools were too large and impersonal and often did not have the support of the commanding officers. The lost benefits of their direct personal interest were borne out.⁷⁶ As late as 1893, the standard of education within each regiment or corps still depended largely on the interests taken in the school by the commanding officer and other senior officers of the unit.⁷⁷ It was noted that many of these officers had little interest in garrison schools where they no longer held any authority.⁷⁸ In addition, the frequent change of command weakened the responsibility for garrison school management. The garrison school's location also deterred many of the soldiers from attending. Frequent rotation of units and teaching staff also broke the continuity of the schools.⁷⁹ Furthermore, the expected reduction in teaching staff as a result of the abolition of compulsory adult education in the service was not as dramatic as predicted.

The fifth report demonstrated the need for adult schooling in the army. Compulsory education, introduced within the civilian community with the 1870 Education Act, fostered a misconception that all men joining the ranks would do so equipped with a sufficient education and adult schools in the army could be dispensed with. The expected higher level of education affected the army only marginally as the

⁷⁶ "Fifth Report on Army Schools by the Director-General of Military Education, 1893:" 2.

⁷⁷ *Ibid*: 5.

⁷⁸ *Ibid*: 3-4.

⁷⁹ "Fifth Report on Army Schools by the Director-General of Military Education, 1893:" 4.

considerable proportion of men recruited from the “labouring classes” were still unable to read and write efficiently.⁸⁰ Increased standards in the educational qualifications required of many non-commissioned ranks also ensured the continued need for adult instruction. An example cited was the third class certificate which was equivalent to the knowledge of a child from nine to eleven years of age.⁸¹ The report considered the general state of army education as unsatisfactory as the standards did not reflect current requirements, which was not in keeping with the changing role of the army:

The conditions of modern warfare render it imperative that all ranks shall be taught to think and, subject to their general instruction and to accepted principles, to act for themselves.⁸²

The report indicated that children’s schools were also losing ground to their civilian counterparts. A change in the civilian curriculum in the early 1890s introduced a wide field of alternative class subjects considered too costly and unsuitable for the army to adopt. This new curriculum was possible only in schools where masters and students remained stationary.⁸³ Army school curriculum had to remain rigid to enable a consistent integration of students into any number of army schools throughout the United Kingdom, India or the colonies. But consistency came at the price of curriculum, an inflexibility the report conceded.⁸⁴

⁸⁰ *Ibid:* 8-9.

⁸¹ *Ibid:* 8.

⁸² *Ibid:* 8.

⁸³ “Fifth Report on Army Schools by the Director-General of Military Education, 1893:” 11.

⁸⁴ *Ibid:* 15-16.

The report considered one of the main factors in the deterioration of the army school system lay with the structural reorganization. It concluded that standards began to decline with the retirement of Colonel A.C. Gleig in 1881. Colonel Gleig's twenty-five year term as inspector of army schools ensured a sense of continuity and intimate knowledge of the administration and maintenance of the army school system. On Gleig's retirement, his duties were assigned to an Assistant Director of Military Education and a succession of staff officers with no prior experience in military education, who managed military schools on a four year assignment. The short-term tenure was insufficient for an acting officer to thoroughly learn the highly-specific nature of the duties or address questions related to examination, inspection, and general supervision of army schools which the system had enjoyed with the knowledge and insight acquired through the long term of office by the former Inspector.⁸⁵ Support staff turnover was even more frequent. The lack of continuity with this the succession of staff officers foreshadowed a decline in efficiency of military schools. Schools were directed by a series of assistant adjutant-generals with limited experience in the field of army education and insufficient technical knowledge to properly perform the duties. The system's short-comings became even more acute with the abolition of regimental schools in 1888. Under the new system of garrison schools, the Director General of Military Education required the assistance of an officer competent with the workings and personnel of the department.⁸⁶ The constant movement of both garrison and administration elements under the garrison school system

⁸⁵ Williams, *Tommy Atkins' Children*: 102.

⁸⁶ "Fifth Report on Army Schools by the Director-General of Military Education, 1893:" 17.

removed the traditional continuity held between this senior officer and the Director-General's position. The rapid turnover of both garrison and administration staff required a consistent, competent knowledge of personnel within the department, which, given the reorganized structure, was no longer possible.⁸⁷ Limited resources also fostered extreme measures as aspects of school administration became garrison and, in the case of infant and industrial schools, regimental responsibilities. The minimal time that most garrison commanders could dedicate to their schools in light of other priorities meant that reports on these schools suffered. The decline in standards became manifest in Halifax through a number of changes in responsibilities which previous administrative bodies had fought to maintain. In 1889, commanding officers of regiments and corps were permitted to appoint pupil teachers and monitresses for their infant and industrial schools, in effect a retrogressive move back to the system as it was operating before the 1860s. The power to make such decisions without headquarters approval, indicated that regimental infant and industrial schools had reverted to the realm of the internal economy of the regiments.⁸⁸ Strict control of the schools was critical for the garrison system to operate effectively. In this light, Gleig's retirement effectively removed any element of consistent regulation and combined with the administrative re-organization, had a detrimental effect on army schools. Evidence of decline within the army's school system was so compelling that the Director-General's Fifth Report concluded: "... and there are grounds for stating that

⁸⁷ *Ibid*: 17.

⁸⁸ N.A. RG8, I, C-Series, Vol:C 1539: 17, [38], Memo dated 17 January 1889 empowering commanding officers to appoint pupil teachers and monitresses in regimental infant schools. R. Biddulph Director-General of Military Education.

after this time Army schools deteriorated in efficiency.”⁸⁹ In 1892, the Assistant-Director of Military Education became the Director of Army Schools. Although the new director was also an appointed staff officer, the position was established on a more permanent basis, carrying a first tenure of five years with provision for a second and third term of appointment of equal duration if the candidate proved to be well-suited to the position. Thus a fifteen-year term provided the continuity needed in the army’s education system and the appointed officer was of some standing within the service.⁹⁰

The Director-General’s fifth report also stated that the placement of acting schoolmistresses had failed and advocated reinstating trained schoolmistresses once more.⁹¹ The report reiterated its long standing support for the goal to be attained in educating soldiers, stating that only with the development of intellect in addition to physical skills and endurance, could the highest results of overall military operations be obtained.⁹²

On 15 November 1905, the bulk of the garrison sailed for England. Two months later, the fortifications at Halifax were turned over to the Canadian Department of Militia and Defence. The last imperial troops left Halifax in 1906.⁹³ The years of financial expediency taking precedence over educational necessity had a damaging effect on army

⁸⁹ “Fifth Report on Army Schools by the Director-General of Military Education, 1893:” 16.

⁹⁰ Williams, *Tommy Atkins’ Children*: 102.

⁹¹ “Fifth Report on Army Schools by the Director-General of Military Education, 1893:” 21.

⁹² *Ibid*: 28.

⁹³ Raddal, T.H. *Halifax Warden of the North*, 1980 edition, McClelland and Stewart Ltd., Toronto: 230-

schools.⁹⁴ Adult schooling was now optional, although certificates of education still remained a set prerequisite for peace-time promotion for non-commissioned ranks. The advantages of streaming and a rigid curriculum which ensured consistent teaching throughout the far reaches of the Empire were off-set by the loss of flexibility to deal with the needs of detached local units which no longer qualified for teaching staff. The garrison station was now responsible for the adult and the grown children's schools while the regiment retained control of the infant and industrial schools. In terms of its traditional objectives, the system was at "sixes and sevens" with itself.

⁹⁴ Williams, *Tommy Atkins' Children*: 114.

CONCLUSIONS

The object of these institutions is to implant in the Children's Minds, early habits of morality, obedience and industry, and to give them that portion of Learning, which may qualify them for non Commissioned officers.¹

(General Order, dated February 17, 1812)

The common assumption seems to have been that anti-social behaviour could be eradicated from society by teaching children the basis for right conduct.²

(Herbert Schlossberg, 2000)

Education was viewed by the upper social strata of nineteenth-century Britain as a tool for socialization and a means of moral reformation.³ The examination of schools within the British army not only extends our understanding of their development, but also provides insight of the nature of the institution itself within the time frame of the nineteenth century, a period of intense class conflict. The army became a forum for many issues of the emerging British industrial society that crossed with the values of the traditional aristocracy. The question of schooling the other ranks caused considerable debate within the broader issues of "army reform," as the topic was subjected to dramatically opposing views within the officer class. As an aspect of change, army schools were captive to the larger struggles of the old aristocratic military hierarchy against demands for reform and greater professionalism. A strong influence at the beginning of the nineteenth century, the struggle diminished after the Cardwell Reforms of the first Gladstone administration seventy years later. Ultimately the common soldier was transformed into a professional.

The role of schooling in the socialization of the lower classes has been a consistent topic of debate. Analysts such as Janet Fyfe, Herbert Schlossberg and Lisa Pine conclude that schooling served as a deterrent to crime, as well as an effective agent

¹ N.A. RG8, I, C-Series, Vol: 1168 : 6, General Order dated Montreal, 17 February, 1812, on the establishment of regimental schools in the British army, originally dated Horse Guards, 14 November, 1811.

² Herbert Schlossberg, *The Silent Revolution and the Making of Victorian England*, Ohio State University Press, Columbus Ohio, 2000: 260.

³ *Ibid*: 260.

of behaviour control, moral reformation and social change.⁴ Schlossberg maintains that Victorian society considered education as a solution for all of its social problems.⁵ Pine asserts that socialization of youth was a distinct goal of most nineteenth-century European societies.⁶ Other historians, although conceding the contemporary views of schooling as a means of social engineering, debate its effectiveness. John Stack attributes the decline in child imprisonment in mid-Victorian society to humanitarian efforts of the reform movement rather than socialization by industrial schools.⁷ E.A.G. Clark, writing of the British industrial and ragged school movement, cautions that the socialization theory tends to obscure other aspects and minimizes the efforts and devotion of many workers in the Evangelical Movement.⁸ Harold Silver's view that education remains uncontroversial until brought into consideration with other social phenomena, introduces a more intense interpretation.⁹ When considered within a Marxist framework that defines society in terms of class struggle, education becomes contingent on conflicts between the classes. By disseminating middle class values to the lower classes, socialization becomes

⁴ Janet Fyfe "Books Behind Bars: The Role of Books, Reading and Libraries in British Prison Reform, 1701-1811," *Contributions to Librarianship and Information Science* No. 72, Westport Connecticut, 1992: 210.

⁵ Herbert Schlossberg *The Silent Revolution and the Making of Victorian England*, Columbus, 2000: 259-260.

⁶ Lisa Pine "Nazism in the Classroom" *History Today*, 43, (3), April, 1997: 22

⁷ John Stack "Reformatory and Industrial Schools and the Decline of Child Imprisonment in Mid-Victorian England and Wales," *History of Education*, 23, (1), 1994: 73.

⁸ E.A.G. Clark, "The Diffusion of Educational Ideals: The Case of Ragged and Industrial Schools, 1841-1857," *Educational Administration and History*: 22-23.

⁹ Harold Silver *Education as History: Interpreting Nineteenth- and Twentieth- Century Education*, Methuen and Co. Ltd., London, 1983: 1.

a form of cultural aggression and a conspiracy to impose control over the lower classes. In this light, education has been interpreted by analysts such as M.G. Jones, R. Johnson, Susan E. Houston and Michael Katz as a form of class oppression that controls the thoughts and behaviour of the working classes.¹⁰ W.B. Stephens attacks this extreme interpretation of education being a contrived conspiracy of the ruling classes. He argues that most social institutions could be interpreted as a form of social control and expostulates that the theory of socialization of schools tends to reduce the recipient classes to an ambiguous mass and creates the illusion that they were largely passive and powerless in questions concerning their education.¹¹ David Wardle's interpretation of education was that although the late eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century British establishment employed it as an effective form of socialization and a means of dealing with political and religious challenges, it was increasingly viewed as an instrument of social change rather than as a means of preventing it after 1850.¹² Kevin Stannard, an economic determinist, views schooling within the wider context of social and economic changes, more as a process of social change rather than one of social

¹⁰ M.G. Jones *The Charity School Movement*, 1964 Edition as cited in D. Wardle *The Rise of the Schooled Society: The History of Formal Schooling in England*, Routledge and Keegan Paul, London (1974): 74; R. Johnson, "Educational Policy and Social Control in early Victorian England, *Past and Present* (1970) as quoted in E.A.G. Clark, "The Diffusion of Educational Ideals: The Case of Industrial and Ragged Schools, 1841-1857," *Educational Administration and History*: 23. Also, M. Katz, *Class Bureaucracy and Schools*, Praeger Publishers, London, (1971): 18; *Improving Poor People: The Welfare State, The "Underclass," And Urban Schools as History*, Princeton University Press, Princeton (1995): 132-133; S. E. Houston, "Victorian Origins of Juvenile Delinquency: A Canadian Experience," *Education and Social Change: Themes From Ontario's Past*, M. Katz and P. Mattingly, (editors), New York University Press, New York (1975): 83-109.

¹¹ W.B. Stephens *Education in Britain 1750-1914*, Macmillan Press Limited, London, 1998: 15-16.

¹² David Wardle *The Rise of the Schooled Society: The History of Formal Schooling in England*, Routledge and Kegan Paul, London, 1974: 76, 86.

control.¹³

Schooling within the context of the British army represented more than an index of reform, it was an effective agent of social change; change that as much as reform itself was steadfastly opposed by those allied to the reactionary views of the Horse Guards. This conflict of ideals co-incided with the revolution in the transmission of knowledge and information through the written word in the nineteenth century, and all the uses and abuses to which print culture was put. The challenge that approving literacy posed to the establishment found its expression in censorship of reading materials such as books constructed as amoral or radical, and was reflected in the reading texts used in army schools.

The eighteenth and nineteenth centuries witnessed considerable change in the opinion and policies governing schooling. Attitudes towards schools constantly reflected these changes. But it has been through these mediums of change that we have come to understand the rationale - which also changes - behind schools. Schooling was originally perceived for the benefit of the individual, an ameliorative influence on the soldier's material and spiritual needs. The reluctance to embrace school development was due in part to an inherent resistance to change on the part of more traditional elements of the military establishment. Despite the resistance by this conservative element, reports stemming from the 1835 Punishment Commission and the 1861 Newcastle Commission demonstrated that schools came to be regarded increasingly by the military authorities as

¹³ Kevin P. Stannard "Ideology, Education and Social Structure: Elementary Schooling in Mid-Victorian England," *History of Education*, 19, (2), 1990: 105-106.

a means of socialization to improve behaviour, discipline and efficiency of the rank and file. This use of schooling as a means to achieve control over the lower ranks often obscured the humanitarian motives. Because schooling was believed to influence the moral and intellectual condition of those instructed, it was applied with greater force in the case of the soldier than to others of his social standing. Reading and writing became a regular course of instruction and an integral part of army discipline.¹⁴ Policy emanating from these commissions provided direction in the process. Schooling became more than socialization. It was increasingly regarded by the military as a means of achieving social control through manipulation to effect submission, subservience and obedience. It deadened subversive agitation by promoting the acceptance of the existing political and social order. Authorities also hoped that the common soldier would not only subscribe to this campaign of inculcation but set it as an example for his class and community.

The challenge in the study of British regimental schools in Canada is to integrate it into, and relate it to, the general evolution of schools and schooling. Research into schools of serving British regiments revealed four distinct phases. The first was largely informal, during which schools were formed through individual initiative to train non-commissioned officers to perform their duties as well as for humanitarian reasons. The success of these early schools depended entirely on the interest and resourcefulness of the commanding officers. These institutions varied considerably in efficiency and effectiveness, both in the lack of regulations governing schools and the various attitudes

¹⁴ Great Britain, Parliament, House of Commons, *Sessional Papers*, "First Report by the Council of Military Education on Military Schools," H.M.S.O., London, 1862: v.

as to the usefulness and purpose of the school within the regimental organization.

The second phase was introduced in 1812 through legislation which formally established an organized educational system through regulations. The British military acknowledged an obligation to its children through these schools, which removed them from the negative influences of barrack life. The adoption of Bell's Madras method of mutual instruction established a nominal standard. Although a rudimentary form of instruction, Bell's program was instrumental in that it was the first serious attempt to provide the military with a uniform system for its regimental schools. Although standards were established through regulations, progress remained slow as military authorities only gradually entered into the task of their direct administration. Schools continued to depend on the paternal and benevolent efforts of the officers and ladies of the regiment, and demonstrated considerable diversity in management and efficiency.

The third phase comprised the formation of a capable class of professionally trained schoolmasters accompanying the regiments in Canada. Reverend Robert Gleig's reforms established consistent teaching standards with the formation of the normal and model school programs and the Corps of Army Schoolmasters in 1846. The humanization of teaching methods, the training of teaching staff and the development of infant schools all contributed to the army's evolving concept of childhood and adolescence as more than merely preparation for adult life. The reforms of 1846 and 1850 further refined these agencies of education as autonomous stages of human development and cultural experience. Schoolmasters, however, did not have a significant effect for some time, as the two-year training schedule and the limited number of student

candidates resulted in a slow dispersal of graduates to the regiments. Although schools serving units on foreign service were similar to those in the United Kingdom, they did possess some differences and distinct challenges which made for local initiatives. Distant units were more dependant on their own resources. Some regimental schools, either through interest or administrative competence fared better than others. The detached nature of duties associated with colonial service caused additional strain on the existing school system. As Colonel A.C. Gleig pointed out in 1872:

At the same time it must not be forgotten that where . . . it is necessary to distribute troops in small detachments, whether for military reasons or for the sake of obtaining barrack accommodation, there must always be a great deal of makeshift in their mode of life and particularly in that of the married people; and it must be expected that under such circumstances school arrangements will be more or less crude, and school applications more or less rude except at the headquarters station of Corps.¹⁵

Assistant schoolmasters or soldier-assistants, rather than trained schoolmasters, often accompanied the regiment on foreign service. The continued employment of serjeant-schoolmasters by some units into the 1860s remained a necessity and, as a result, two distinct systems were operating simultaneously within the army school structure. The establishment of infant and industrial schools in 1850 formally recognized the army's obligation to infants and female students.

Schools in Canada posed additional challenges. The proximity to the United

¹⁵ Great Britain, Parliament, House of Commons, *Sessional Papers* "First Report of the Director-General of Military Education on Army Schools, Libraries and Reading Rooms," 1872, H.M.S.O, London. Report of Colonel Gleig for 1871, dated March 1872, Appendix III.: vii. Colonel A.C. Gleig, a nephew of the former Chaplain-General R.G. Gleig, was appointed an assistant inspector of army schools in 1856 and later became Inspector of Army Schools, N.T. St. John Williams, *Tommy Atkins' Children: The Story of the Education of the Army's Children 1675-1971*, H.M.S.O., London, 1971: 102.

States made Canadian garrisons particularly susceptible to desertion. The solution was the deployment of a unique regiment at border stations. The Royal Canadian Rifle Regiment differed from other units serving in Canada. These veterans, many with families, provided a trustworthy force that garrisoned frontier posts where desertion was common. In this way the British authorities not only recognized service families but applied them to the struggle against desertion in Canada. However, the disjointed nature of the regiment's duties created a number of problems for the army's school administration. The needs of the large number of children concentrated within this regiment were extremely complex and forced the military authorities to address a number of childhood issues, schooling being a major concern. The numerous detachment schools illustrated many of the inherent problems within the army's school system. Detached duty and the large population of children were not compatible within the existing educational framework. The unit was forced to employ untrained members of its rank and file which considerably undermined the quality of school instruction. Inspection throughout the 1860s showed the poor state of the regiment's schools and revealed that the unit was unable to provide adequate instruction for the large population of children.

Timing may have been a factor in the problems encountered with the regimental school structure. The unit's formation in the early 1840s during a period of general decline in the state of army school standards may have contributed to the weakening of the regiment's schools. Whereas other regular regiments were destined to return to the United Kingdom, the Royal Canadian Rifle Regiment was compelled to stay on colonial service. Distance from a central authority, and lack of adequate resources led to

increasing problems with the unit's schools.

The British shift from colonial to imperial defence coincided with an era of intense social change which was reflected in reorganization and reforms within the British army in the last quarter of the nineteenth century. The abolition of the purchase system and the introduction of the short-service soldier also had a significant effect on army schools. As soldiering evolved into an increasingly complex profession, the demand for literacy and administrative competence became pronounced. Growth in the sophistication of weapons and tactics awakened the professional aspects of soldiering and shifted education from reading, writing and arithmetic to specific topics.¹⁶ Children's schooling was relegated a minor role, demonstrating that their needs were ancillary to the army's main focus of attention - the professional development of the soldier.

Recommendations resulting from the numerous commissions were important in determining the course of army school reform in the second half of the nineteenth century. These changes, however, were tempered with fiscal restraint. Financial rather than educational considerations began to determine the army's school structure after 1870. The relatively peaceful era allowed successive administrations to continually limit funding, which confounded any attempt to improve army schools and had a detrimental effect on the quality of education.

The controversial recommendations of the 1887 Harris Committee marked the fourth phase in the evolution of army schooling. The closure of the army's normal

¹⁶ N.A. RG8,I, C-Series, Vol: C 753: 75, General Order, dated Montreal, 6 February 1855.

school, the abolition of regimental schools for the wholesale implementation of garrison schools and the employment of untrained schoolmistresses in the infant and industrial schools, illustrated the degree to which education was dictated by economic constraints. Financial stringency had clearly become a determining factor in the provision of education. It also set a process in motion for army schools that proved irreversible and permanent. Schools in Halifax were typical of those normally associated with garrisons on foreign service. As no superintending schoolmasters were assigned to the Nova Scotia Command, the administration and inspection of the schools remained a regimental responsibility. As such the garrison experienced the negative effects of the army's bureaucratic reorganization and cuts. The British army had pioneered a system of education modelled by many English and colonial schools. It was one of the first organizations to establish a normal school program and to provide a professional corps of schoolmasters and schoolmistresses. Whereas by the 1850s and 1860s children's schooling was equal or superior to many civilian schools, years of financial expediency and bureaucratic reorganization in which the Director-General of Military Education and his staff was no longer required to possess special knowledge in education led to a recognizable deterioration of army schools. Standards had improved only marginally and the better-educated recruits anticipated as a result of Britain's 1870 Elementary Education Act did not materialize as quickly as anticipated. Soldiers continued to be drawn from the lower classes, which necessitated a renewed need for an elementary form of adult instruction. Illiteracy persisted within the military organization. It would not be until

1933 that an entire battalion of the British army could be certified as literate.¹⁷ The latter part of the century also witnessed a marked decline in children's attendance at army schools, largely through the decrease in the married establishment and the number of children sent to civilian board schools.¹⁸

In retrospect, however, something significant in educational reform had been achieved. Despite its traditional reluctance to be involved in any form of administrative and policy implications of schooling, the British army was drawn into creating and managing schools largely because of the failures of the informal British school system of the day. Moreover, it sought legislation to provide central administrative authority to address the deficiencies of the voluntary system that had developed casually within its organization and to assign responsibility for education to a regimental authority. In so doing, the army, one of the more conservative of British institutions found itself subscribing to a program of basic education in reading, writing and arithmetic which was regarded as radically liberal for the period.

In addition to stimulating further research on the topic of army schools, the objective of the writer is to set this phenomenon of army school development within the larger context of social reform. I wish to examine in subsequent study the practical and theoretical aspects of Victorian policies of socialization and the administrative reforms

¹⁷ The first battalion to be determined as completely literate was the first battalion of the Gordon Highlanders, consisting of 917 men at that time. Byron Farwell *Mr. Kipling's Army*, W.W. Norton and Co., New York, 1981: 151.

¹⁸ M. Trustram, *Women of the Regiment: Marriage and the Victorian Army*, Cambridge University Press, 1984: 99.

that were created to implement them.

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Education in Canada has traditionally been studied within the context of constitutional history, primarily in the struggle between federal and provincial powers concerning minority, religious and language rights. Although there has been some attention to educational development within the sphere of social history in the last twenty years by authors such as Susan E. Houston and Alison L. Prentice, *Schooling and Scholars in Nineteenth Century Ontario*, and *Family, School and Society in Nineteenth-Century Canada*, as well as Bruce Curtis, *Building the Educational State: Canada West, 1836-1871*, emphasis has been on civilian institutions and private schools. There has been no thorough evaluation of British army schools within Canadian garrisons. Brenda Dunn, staff historian with Parks Canada has researched aspects of military education in Halifax in "Education and the British Army in the 1860s." Although studies such as Byron Farwell's *Mr. Kipling's Army*, (1987), and Allan Skelley's *The Victorian Army at Home: Recruitment and Terms and Conditions of the British Regular, 1859-1899*, (1977) have devoted informative chapters to education, research in nineteenth-century British elementary education has offered little on the development of army schools and their role in the regimental community. Myna Trustram's *Women of the Regiment: Marriage and the Victorian Army*, (1984), placed the development of children's schools and the evolution of the concept of the service family within the British army. Administrative histories such as *Adult Education: The Record of the British Army*, by Major T.H. Hawkins with L.J.F. Brimble, *The Story of Army Education (1643-1963)* by Colonel A.C.T. White, V.C.; and *Tommy Atkins' Children: the Story of the Education of the*

Army's Children 1675-1970 by Colonel N.T. St. John Williams, provide some insight into the development of army schools. The extended periods covered in these volumes permit only a cursory look at the earlier aspects of army schooling, and do not address schools in Canadian garrisons. They refer to the development of education in the British army as a simplistic, linear progression, and do not consider the complexities or distinct challenges associated with colonial service. Another recent work which held a unique and intriguing perspective was Janet Fyfe's "Books Behind Bars," (1992) This study documented the development of reading and education as a tool of social reform in Britain's penal system. The parallels between common soldier and criminal in terms of restrictions and subjugation did not escape contemporary attitudes. Fyfe's work was useful in revealing a number of striking similarities and attitudes common to both facets of society. Fyfe; and Herbert Scholssberg, *The Silent Revolution and the Making of Victorian England*, (2000) present one side of the debate concerning the interpretation of schooling as a socialization process. Analysts such as M.G. Jones and Michael Katz present the more extreme views of education as a means of social control, while W.B. Stephens, in his work, *Education in Britain 1750-1914* (1998) opposed the contrived conspiracy theory. The notion of schooling becoming more a process of social change rather than one of social control appears in Kevin Stannard's work, "Ideology, Education and Social Structure: Elementary Schooling in Mid-Victorian England:" (1990), Harold Silver, *Education as History: Interpreting Nineteenth- and Twentieth- Century Education* (1993) and David Wardle, *The Rise of the Schooled Society: The History of Formal Schooling in England* (1974).

As orders regulating regimental schools in Great Britain also applied to battalions on colonial service, regimental schools in Canada paralleled those in the United Kingdom. Units arrived bound by pre-existing regulations while any new directives were issued within the North American Command. Despite regulations outlining a centrally administered system, the substance of formal instruction practised by serving regiments during the early nineteenth century is difficult to document owing to the military bureaucracy's ambiguous policy towards schooling, to say nothing about the detached duties associated with foreign service and the inconsistent attitudes and practices within particular regiments. Successful schools were dependant on encouragement at the regimental level and the degree to which soldiers took advantage of the educational resources.

In any study of nineteenth-century army schools in Canada, it is imperative to examine the role of the Royal Canadian Rifle Regiment, which has been documented but never fully considered. This regiment, composed of veterans, provided a steady force to maintain the many border stations where desertion was a constant problem for military authorities. Little has been written on this unit whose existence constituted a critical contribution to education and garrison life. Early works consist of articles by Major G. Tylden in *The Journal of the Society of Army Historical Research*, (1956) and Ronald Way in *The Canadian Geographical Journal* (1956) and *The Beaver* (1957). Paul Couture, staff historian with Parks Canada has written a profile of this regiment, which devoted some attention to its regimental schools. Katherine McKenna has also recently dealt with childhood education in her study: "Family Life in a Military Garrison: History

of the Routines and Activities of the Royal Canadian Rifle Regiment at Fort Wellington, Prescott 1843-1854."

Because so few secondary sources exist, most information was drawn from primary documentation. These sources fall under two categories—primary and printed primary sources. Primary sources include the C-Series of the National Archives, specifically the British military and Naval records covering British military affairs in Canada from 1767 to 1899. This collection contains a wealth of material such as general orders, circular memoranda, returns and official correspondence that provides an institutional account of the educational development of the rank and file and their children, and demonstrates the attention that education and the service family commanded from the military authorities. Schoolmasters, inspectors and officers responsible for maintaining regimental schools were required to keep certain records. Reports such as Superintending Schoolmaster John Little's 1863 work on the state of schools within the North American Command (Vol: 535, p: 207-235), found throughout the series, provide detailed information on schools and prevalent attitudes held by the authors, in addition to factual accounts. The sections of this group which proved particularly useful in the study of British army schools in Canada include the collections of correspondence, records and supporting documents in the Offices of the Military Secretary of the Commander of the Forces in the Canada (1767-1870) and Nova Scotia (1762-1899) Commands. The Canadian collection consists of the memoranda, reports, returns, instructions, warrants and letter books from the Military Secretary's Office arranged in subject files. Sections concerning barracks and chaplaincies were useful as

was the regimental correspondence of serving units. The Military Secretary's correspondence for the Nova Scotia Command proved to be another valuable section, specifically the alphabetical index, which identified those general orders and regulations pertaining to schools, and the correspondence of the garrison instructor, assigned to Halifax in 1870. A final section listed as "Miscellaneous Records" containing bound volumes of general, garrison, district and regimental orders was also particularly useful.

The amount of data held in the British Military and Naval Records Series necessitated many hours of searching and transcribing from microfilm. The record section containing general orders from the Canadian Command from 1812 to 1870 proved particularly valuable (Volumes C-1168 to C-1194P). Similar documents for the Nova Scotia Command ranging from 1762 to 1899, possess an index which greatly facilitated research (C-1194U to C-1194AA). A survey of the official correspondence of regiments serving in Canada particularly those of the Royal Canadian Rifle Regiment (Volumes :765 to 790), was a decidedly relevant collection for the study. Although the War Office records were well-documented and indexed in works such as "An Alphabetical Guide to Certain War Office and Other Military Records Preserved in the Public Record Office," limited distribution has led to relative inaccessibility. Many regulations and circular memos generated by the military bureaucracy related to schools are not readily apparent. Excerpts and fleeting references to paragraphs, sections and sub-sections of these documents are scattered throughout the correspondence of the command structure. A number of entries within these records have yet to be tapped. Relying on conventional documentary sources to reconstruct schools of the past,

however, is unsatisfactory and a complete picture cannot be drawn solely from official correspondence. Information concerning army schools can be gleaned from officer's accounts only if the topic was considered noteworthy. Where literate officers were the only witnesses to leave a relevant record, their concerns were primarily with administrative affairs and only peripherally with school issues. Sir Charles Chichester's diary, 1843-1844 (MG24, F31) and John Bernard Geale's regimental order book for the Royal Canadian Rifle Regiment, 1851-1852, (MG24, F68) proved useful sources concerning garrison life and school organization. Such information, elusively tucked away throughout volumes of papers and memoirs, remains difficult to abstract. Printed primary sources include standing orders, reports and commissions. Regimental standing orders, which applied army regulations to the circumstances and traditions of each unit, are valuable as they not only outline the organization and the operation of schools but also reveal regimental attitudes towards schooling and the levels of tolerance for children, families, etc. and the considerable variation encountered amongst the units. The enquiries of formal commissions, such as the 1835 Punishment Commission and the 1861 Newcastle Commission are invaluable in that they defined prevalent attitudes in the schooling of both the rank and file, and the lower classes and furnished recommendations which, in turn, lead to legislative action. Although extremely useful, tracking and untangling the codes for the reports of the numerous commissions proved to be a lengthy process. *The British House of Commons General Alphabetical Index, 1852-1899*, housed the locations of the reports and the corresponding *Readex* Microfiche set of British Parliamentary Papers. Reports by the Council of Military Education and later, the

Director-General of Military Education on the state of army schools from 1860 to 1900, monitored these recommendations within the army's school system.

Inconsistent inspection and reporting on the schools within the North American command throughout the nineteenth century has resulted in gaps in the official record and as a result, research has had to address the maintenance, problems and to a degree, prevailing attitudes through documentation concerning schools in similar foreign stations.

Contributions by the students concerned would provide an accurate picture of army schools. One of the more frustrating voids in the source material of British schooling is the absence of material illustrating the pupil's perspective. Unfortunately few rank and file left accounts of their daily routine. Works such as Palmer, *The Rambling Soldier*, (1977) and McGuffie *The Rank and File* (1964) portray what was considered important to the common soldier and introduce accounts providing unique insight into their lifestyle and good starting points in the search for such references. William Cobbett writing of his military service at the end of the eighteenth century (*The Autobiography of William Cobbett: The Progress of a Plough-boy to a Seat in Parliament* 1967) and Thomas Faughnan who recounted his military experiences nearly a century later (*Stirring Incidents in the Life of a British Soldier: An Autobiography*, 1891) provide valuable insight into daily life in the ranks and an inkling of their schooling experiences. However, even when we are supplied by good narratives, accounts by such individuals must be judged as exceptional and can not be considered as indicative of the experiences and attitudes of the common soldier. Crucial details are often lacking. The

perspectives of the children of the regiments are even more meagre. Although we occasionally absorb information from anecdotal evidence, much of their experiences, as with their destiny, remains a mystery.

The citation of sources has followed the format of the Chicago system by which full citation in the original instance is done on a chapter-by-chapter basis.

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Appendix: A

Requisition of books and school supplies from the military prison in Kingston for the Royal Canadian Rifle Regiment school at that station.¹

Books:

2 Manual of Ancient History	12 Elements of Geography
2 Manual of modern History	12 Glieg's History of the British
Colonies	
1 Readings in Science	24 Gleig's History of England
1 Geography Generalized	12 Gleig's History of India
1 Book of Trees	12 Brown's History of Greece
1 Book of birds	16 First Book of Lessons
1 book of Beasts	10 Second Book of Lessons
1 Book of Insects	18 Third Book of Lessons
24 Scripture History	18 Fourth Book of Lessons
18 Carpenter's Spelling Book	8 Fifth Book of Lessons
24 First Book of Arithmetic	15 Arithmetic Tables
1 Key to Arithmetic	12 McLeod's Explanatory
Grammar	
12 Hugh's General Geography	
Maps:	
1 Map of the World	1 map of the British Isles
1 Map of Europe	1 Map of Asia
1 Map of Africa	1 Map of America
1 Map of Australia	
School Requisites:	
36 copy books	18 pewter inkstands
12 sheets of blotting paper	1 ebony inkstand and bottle
24 slates	3 round rulers
200 slate pencils	12 lead pencils
100 quills	3 desk knives
144 steel pens	3 black ink powder
25 holders	1 red ink quart bottle
4 pieces of India rubber	

¹ Letter from Colonel McCoy to the Office of the Military Secretary, Montreal, dated 27 July 1855, N.A. RG 8, I, C-Series, Vol:C 777 : 106-114.

Appendix: B

Royal Canadian Rifle Regiment School Report submitted by the regimental schoolmaster Thomas Polden, dated February, 1864. The report incorporating the headquarters schools in London as well as detachment schools at Niagara-on-the-Lake, Fort Chambly, St John [Saint Jean], Toronto, Kingston and Ile-aux-Noix garrisons, demonstrated the extended nature of the schoolmaster's resources and responsibilities. This February report (received on March 15), prompted the Council of Military Education to request two days later that the unit's detachment schools submit their own monthly reports as the Council required more information on these schools than could be furnished in the standard monthly regimental school report form. National Archives, N.A. RG8, I, C-Series, Vol: C-783: 26-28.

Station London Canada West

SCHOOL REPORT for the Month of February 1864.

Last Inspected Oct 1st 1863 by Ensign C. J. Superintending Schoolmaster

		ABSTRACT					REMARKS
		Sergeants	Corporals	Privates	Drummers	TOTAL	
Head Quarters		2	12	1	11	26	<p>The conduct and attention of the classes have been <u>very fair</u>.</p> <p>Number and Subjects of Lectures delivered during the Month, and by whom?</p> <p><u>none</u></p> <p><u>As the School, a communication, is of a very preliminary nature, and the children are at hand the Committee to a very early date, which accounts for the low average, due to a want of regular attendance.</u></p>
Detachment at							
School							
Of other Corps							
HEAD QUARTER SCHOOLS.							<p>HOURLY OF ATTENDANCE</p> <p>Special Class { from _____ to _____ from _____ to _____</p> <p>N. C. Officers ... from <u>35</u> to <u>57 1/2</u></p> <p>Privates from <u>25</u> to <u>57 1/2</u></p> <p>Drummers from <u>25</u> to <u>57 1/2</u></p> <p>Grown Children { from <u>1</u> to <u>25 1/2</u> from <u>2</u> to <u>25 1/2</u></p> <p>Infant and Industrial School { from <u>2</u> to <u>4 1/2</u> from <u>1</u> to <u>2</u></p> <p>Private Tuition — whether any is given?</p> <p><u>not any</u></p>
Large daily attendance of ordinary Classes		1.2	4.2	.25	1.25	13	
Ditto							
Large number of hours of School attendance per man weekly, not including Special Class		2.50	2.62	1.87	4.94	11.93	
Ditto of Special Class							
CHILDREN.							<p>Report on the 4th Class Schoolmaster (if any)</p>
Head Quarters		Grown Children		Infants		TOTAL	
		Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls		
Detachment at							
School							
Of other Corps							
Large daily attendance at Head Quarters' School		33.91	0.29	45.5	56.85	136.55	
INDUSTRIAL SCHOOL							
Head Quarters							
Detachment at							
School							
Of other Corps							
Large daily attendance at Head Quarters' School		33.91	0.29	45.5	56.85	136.55	

Schoolmasters, or Acting Schoolmasters, and Assistants	Employed		Pay per Day	Amount	Class	Name of Schoolmistress, Pupil Teachers, and Monitors	Rate of Pay	REMARKS
	From	To						
John P. ...	1st	2nd	4 1/2	16.4	2nd	John P. ...	2 1/2	
John P. ...			4 1/2	16.4	2nd	John P. ...	2 1/2	
John P. ...			4 1/2	16.4	2nd	John P. ...	2 1/2	
John P. ...			4 1/2	16.4	2nd	John P. ...	2 1/2	
John P. ...			4 1/2	16.4	2nd	John P. ...	2 1/2	
John P. ...			4 1/2	16.4	2nd	John P. ...	2 1/2	
John P. ...			4 1/2	16.4	2nd	John P. ...	2 1/2	
John P. ...			4 1/2	16.4	2nd	John P. ...	2 1/2	
John P. ...			4 1/2	16.4	2nd	John P. ...	2 1/2	

This average is to be obtained by adding the number of hours actually attended by adults weekly, and dividing by the number of these adults who attended.

Approved: Wm. J. ... Schoolmaster.

Regiment B. C. Tyler

Station London CPD

CHILDREN, INFANTS, AND INDUSTRIAL SCHOOLS.

[illegible]

INDUSTRIAL SCHOOL.

Description of work done during the Month

2. Cont. - arch from gate across the front children's school -
1009 after afternoon and the Infant Boys given an after
noon Infant School for some already specified.

Nature of Religious Instruction given, and by whom; the days and hours during which the Chaplain and other Clergymen attend.

Little known by the Schoolmaster and Assistant on St Pauls
Hault. Life of Garrison &c.

The Episcopalian Chaplain attends on Sundays from 11 to 12 PM.

. Roman Catholic

Neobrylaxia

Incense. 9 2/10 -

Art. 10

Class Schoolmaster.

Appendix: C

Superintending schoolmaster John Little's inspection report of the Royal Canadian Rifle Regimental schools in Kingston, November, 1864. Little's findings indicated that the unit possessed a dysfunctional school system. National Archives, N.A. RG8,I. C-Series, Vol: C-783: 144-150, dated November, 3, 1864.

R. 26584

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School Inspection Report of the R. C. Kiefer
Stationed at Kingston C. Dr.

Inspected, 1st, 2nd & 3rd November 1866.

Telegraph School
from Children, present 74

There are two barnack-houses set apart for this school which join, and open into each other. They are neat and comfortable, well-fitted up with desks and forms for pupils, book-presses, and seat and desk for the teacher, and are well lighted and ventilated.

1st Class 27. Reading

The reading with 8 exceptions was fluent, but the pupils, more by exception, were unable to give the meaning of the words met with in the lesson.

Copy-books

His writing tolerably well, that of the others was cramped and small.

Dictation

An easy sentence was read to the class, 11 wrote fairly and spelled correctly. The writing of the others was indifferent and the spelling the same.

Geography

The class was questioned on the physical geography of Europe and Canada, about half the class answered fairly. No answers from the others.

Grammar

They can put names and distinguish the parts of speech, and a few can inflect the noun and verb.

Arithmetic

Seven succeeded in working a question embracing Compound Multiplication and division, the others failed. Ages appear to range from 11 to 15 years.

3rd Class 27. Reading

The reading was fair, but more of the class could give the meaning of the words occurring in the lesson, nor did many understand what they read.

Copy-books

The books were clean, but the writing was small and irregular.

Dictation

In writing a short sentence from dictation, 7 spelled correctly, the writing in general was bad.

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The whole class failed to work a question in Compound Arithmetic Multiplication. The pupils were asked as compelled to work their rules.

The class was questioned on the geography Geography of England; the answering was poor.

Scarcely any thing is known of this branch, Grammar but & being able to name the parts of speech.

Ages from 8 to 13 years.

Brook-classes were brought together and ques- History tioned on the history of Canada, the answering was tolerable.

The class read a lesson out of Child's Geography, 3rd Class 20 present all, except three, read with labour, having to - Reading - spell many of the words.

The pupils write large hand, but this is be- Copy books cause the teacher has no higher class of books available. The writing was bad; - books clean.

This subject appears not to have been long - Dictation taken up; easy words were written by the class, and fair progress seems to be made.

Questions in the two first Compound rules were Arithmetic set for the class, but six worked them out. The Tables of Weights, Measures &c. do not appear to be known, and Dictation has not been taught.

Hein answered a few leading questions on Geography & knew the geography of Canada, and 12 named the parts of speech. It may be said these subjects are unknown to the class, Ages 7 to 13 years.

This class read 2nd School Book, or rather 1st Class 20 present spelled it, because most of the words of the Reading lesson were unknown to the children.

Writing - rather care less. All write large hand, Copy books books clean.

Arithmetic

Singing

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Nothing known of this branch but the first two simple rules, and there the class do not know correctly. Notation has not been practised. Ages 7 to 12 years.
Singing appears to be well and carefully taught. The schoolmaster is assisted by two soldiers. The school is conducted with order and regularity. The children of all the schools were clean, neatly and simply clothed.

Infant School. Room 108

This school is held in two barrack rooms which communicate with one another, and also with the grown children's schools. They are suitably fitted up, and have all required appliances, as well as a sufficiency of light and ventilation.

There were 144 children in one room and 166 in the other. The 1st is conducted by a trained schoolmistress, of the 3rd class, assisted by a monitor; the 2nd by an assistant, the wife of a soldier, and a monitor.

The children of the 1st school are ranged in 3 classes, 12 read simple truths, 15 read a lesson in the 1st reading book; both classes read faintly, but the lessons had been previously read. The two classes can recite a little, and answered a few questions on the outlines of geography.

3 write in copy books (studies), the others use slates. 3rd class, spell the words on Mr. Seale's Card No 7, only two of this class could pronounce words of 3 letters. An object lesson on glass was given to the 3 classes by the schoolmistress; it could be seen from the answering, that this was an old lesson with them.

2nd Room

Mr. Spell the words on Card No 3, Mr. Seale, they mostly know the letters.

19. Spell on Card No 2, but 6 of these know all the letters on the card. The remainder of the school are learning the letters.

147

The Schoolmistress gave a collective lesson to the children of this school on the life of Moses. The subject appeared familiar to them. The ages of the children in both rooms range from 4 to 9.

The cleanliness and order of both rooms was satisfactory.

This is a tolerably suitable room as a School at City. Pa. used by the City. City as their school room when present 29 when quarantined in the Park.

The school is attended by grown children only. The Class read a lesson out of the 3rd Book, the 1st Class present 16 reading was indifferent and hesitating, not being able to read with any degree of correctness. Reading

Copies badly and carelessly written, more in Copy Books the Class who were writing could be pronounced fair. An easy sentence of two lines and a half was dictated; the writing was poor & the spelling bad, all had from two errors upwards. Dictation

The Class was set down as being able to write the first two Compound rules; the result of the examination proved that little was known of the two rules. Notation had not been taught. Arithmetic
Ages from 8 to 13

The reading was very indifferent, the reader 2nd Class 12. Reading having to spell many of the words in the sentence.

The writing was careless, the letters badly formed; Copy Books irregular and sprawling, the vowels spelling bad.

Nothing known of this subject, not one of the Arithmetic Class being competent to write correctly from dictation. The No 103, 250, & 313.

This subject is supposed to be taught, but Geography

Q. 26584.

both classes are quite ignorant of its simplest elements. ¹⁴⁸
 The teacher put a few stereotyped questions to the children who returned mechanical answers. It must however be admitted that the present teacher has had charge of this school but a short time, viz. two, three, the school teacher at Niagara; and when I inspected his school last year I found it in a very satisfactory state. I therefore conclude he is not likely ever to prove an efficient teacher. He has a salary of $\frac{1}{2}$ per day. As this school is in such a feeble state, I would recommend that a man of more energy & skill be placed over it.

School at Argusville
 Buildings.
 Present 37

This school is held in a very large apartment which had formerly been a dry goods store, all the fittings, except the benches are still remaining. The room is at present badly lighted, but means exist to remedy this, and which I believe will shortly be done.

This is an Infant School and conducted by the wife of the teacher in the Park School. She was likewise Schoolmistress at Niagara. Her manner of teaching is not good, nor does she seem to have much acquisitions. I do not consider her competent to have in independent charge of a school.

She draws a salary of $\frac{1}{2}$ per day.

Nothing taught but the simplest rudiments. There is a class of 6, who spell the words on Mr. Wood's Card No 3, one is aged 11 years; there are 11 in the school who have mastered the letters. The remainder are at the alphabet.

Adult School
 Present 14.
 Copy books

This school is composed of ladies of the band. The reading, except 2, was intelligent and easy. The penmanship was fine and neat, and the books are well kept.

11.9

The writing was fair, but the spelling was bad, there was not one without a mistake; but some not able to undertake this subject.

They are all working the Compound rules. Arithmetic. Their attainments are various.

Visited these schools, but having examined and reported upon them a few months ago, I make no report of them now, beyond saying that the school duties appear to be carried on as usual. The children of both schools were clean and orderly, and duly engaged at their various lessons. The male teacher was changed since I inspected the school; the present one seems to be attentive and pains taking.

On my examination of the Industrial school I was accompanied by Col. & Mrs. Moffatt, the Rev. Mr. and Mrs. Scott. There was a considerable show of materials and made up articles. Hubbard, to judge from the specimens exhibited, seems to be taught with much care, and I think with evident success.

▼ Darning and patching are equally well attended to. Mrs. Moffatt and other Officers ladies of the Corps take a lively interest in this school, and give much of their time to it, which is a great encouragement to the children, besides assistance to the schoolmistress. These ladies also take classes in the Infant school.

John Little
Superintending Schoolmaster

Appendix: D

Attendance at Regimental and Sunday Schools from The 1861 Standing Orders of the ROYAL CANADIAN RIFLE REGIMENT:

1. The regular attendance of children at the regimental school is a matter of vast importance to them in after, life, and as the public has spared no expense in placing these schools on the most advantageous footing, it is strictly enjoined upon Officers commanding detachments, to give every countenance and support to School Masters and Mistresses in the discharge of their duty.

2. At each post where a school is established an Officer will, if possible, be obtained voluntarily to visit it. He will of course not be supposed to adopt any system of his own, but see that the teachers maintain proper authority, and strictly carry out the regulations issued from the War Office.

3. It is also a great advantage when the Ladies of the Regiment will give countenance and assistance to School Mistresses, by regularly visiting the Infant and Industrial schools.

4. Officers and lady visitors also masters and mistresses are requested to take particular notice of the cleanliness of the children, particularly in the matter of their hair. The School Master will send after school hours for the parent of any child that has been found fault with for being sent dirty to school, and call their attention to this neglect. Repetitions of the offence must be brought to the notice of the Commanding Officer.

5. Parents wishing for a few days leave from school for their children, will apply personally to the School Master or Mistress, who will be authorized to give leave for any period not exceeding one week. If the application is for a longer period, it will be referred by the School Master to the Commanding Officer.

6. The practice of parents sending their children to schools in town on the ground of receiving religious instruction, or for any other reason, is forbidden. Opportunities are given regimentally twice a week for religious instruction by clergymen at every denomination, therefore there can be seldom reason for such application.

7. Any parent having a complaint to make in connection with the school, will on no account whatever go to either School Master or School Mistress but will make to the Commanding Officer through the Captains of Companies.

8. No child under 14 years of age can be withdrawn from school for the purpose of learning a trade, without the Commanding Officer's permission, neither can they be readmitted to school without the same condition.

9. It is considered that all children on attending 4 years of age, are capable of attending school.

10. Officers commanding detachments will give every assistance to Chaplains or others in establishing and conducting Sunday Schools, the attendance of children at these schools is imperative, except in cases of Roman Catholics, who must not be compelled to

attend a Protestant school, or vice versa.

11. The following is an extract from the school regulations dated War Office, January, 1859.

'School Mistresses are expected to cooperate with the Chaplain and School Master with regard to the attendance of female children at Sunday Schools.

Both School Masters and School Mistresses, unless reasonable cause to the contrary can be shewn to the satisfaction of the Commanding Officer, will accompany the school children to Church or Chapel, and will be expected to endeavour on all occasions, by their influence and example, to promote the religious welfare of those persons subjected to their influence.'

They are not however to be required to attend any form of Devine Service to which they entertain conscientious objections."²

² Great Britain, Army, *Standing Orders of the Royal Canadian Rifles*, John Lovell, Montreal, 1861 : 66-67.