

The manufacturers had neglected to put one in. The other machine produced bullets which were 1/100th larger in diameter than the Snider calibre. The press to produce paper pellets made them cylindrical, not conical as required. Many of the other components of the process were equally unsuitable..However Prevost and his engineers managed to alter and repair the machinery as it broke down and in his report for 1883, he was confident that the Factory would be able to produce 1,000,000 rounds of ammunition a year without difficulty.⁴⁴³

208. The factory was operated on a piece work system. There was a sixty hour week, with employees working from 7 a.m. to 6 p.m. with half an hour off at noon. On Saturdays, work ceased at 3. p.m. and the employees were paid off. The average salaried employee earned between \$1.00 and \$2.50 a day but the piece work employees, mostly women, ran from a maximum of 30¢ to a minimum of 15¢ a day. To this was added their piecework earnings.⁴⁴⁴

209. A year after the factory began production, a board of officers from M.D. 7 inspected the factory and tested the ammunition. They were satisfied of the quality of the product.⁴⁴⁵ In the following year, there was a further inspection by artillery and engineer officers from both Ontario and Quebec. They found that the Factory had by then cost Canada \$50,000, chiefly for machinery. It had by then produced 2,200,000 cartridges with less than 40 employees. By 1885, the factory was producing 2,000,000 rounds when it used its reserve capacity. The efficiency, if not the humanity, of this particular public enterprize was proven.⁴⁴⁶

THE MILITIA ACT OF 1883

210. One of Caron's first personal achievements as Minister was the passage of the Consolidated Militia Act of 1883.⁴⁴⁷ Since the original act had passed in 1868, there had been many amendments but these were in separate acts and there seems to have been some confusion in Parliament at least about the current state of the law. More important, Caron had determined to establish more schools and to convert all of them from the quasi-permanent condition to which the Gunnery Schools had evolved into a legal status as permanent corps. On 27 January 1883, he submitted a list of his proposed changes to Macdonald, pointing out that it provided for three infantry schools and for a force exclusively of artillery for British Columbia.⁴⁴⁸ Since Macdonald had already indicated his preference for more permanent troops and since he was then sitting as the senior member for Victoria, B.C., he could be expected to approve the changes.

211. The Bill, as it emerged from drafting, was based on the old Act but in some respects it was totally new. The Militia was now divided into an Active and a Reserve Force rather than the old tripartite division. The Active Militia could consist of corps raised by voluntary methods, corps raised by ballot and corps raised by a combination of means. The Marine Militia was similarly composed.⁴⁴⁹ A little addendum for the sake of modernity allowed the Government to raise and maintain a corps of Submarine Miners for coast protection should the exigencies of the service require.⁴⁵⁰ Section 21 would make it lawful to establish Schools of Military Instruction and to maintain a troop of cavalry, three batteries of artillery (including "A" and "B" Batteries) and not more than three companies of infantry. The total strength was not to exceed 750 men.

Officers were to be appointed at pleasure and the other ranks would serve for three year enlistments.⁴⁵¹

212. Some of the other sections remedied some long standing complaints. The problem of paying troops called out for civil power was still left to the commanding officer and the municipality to settle. However, the Government was given the right to advance the amount from the Consolidated Revenue Fund. When a riot obstructed a railway along which mails were carried and it was beyond the powers of the local authorities to control and when the cause was not due to a local situation, the Dominion Government might pay whatever part of the cost it felt to be right. When a disturbance occurred in the Northwest Territories or the District of Keewatin, the Lieutenant Governor of Manitoba might order that the Militia of the province be called out and the cost would be borne by the Consolidated Revenue Fund.⁴⁵² The new Bill also gave the right to combine military districts and to appoint only one officer to command them. It also allowed for the future change of the title of the officers commanding the districts.⁴⁵³ Having made that small move in the direction of a reduction of the staff, the Bill also allowed for the appointment of a Quartermaster-General in the Headquarters staff, who, like the Adjutant-General, would be a full colonel and would be paid \$2,600. a year.⁴⁵⁴ Section 45 established the rates of pay by rank, ranging from \$4.87 for a lieutenant colonel to the standard 50¢ for a private, all calculated on a daily basis.⁴⁵⁵ A further section provided that Militia would be on service for the whole of the period for which they were called out and that they would be entitled to pay food and shelter for that period.⁴⁵⁶ There would be no more attempts to avoid paying or feeding the men on the days that they were coming or going from camp or on Sundays. Another

new section authorized the calling out of the militia for the opening and closing of Parliament, of Legislatures, to attend on the Governor General or members of the Royal Family while in Canada and to guard armouries or other buildings where arms and ammunition were stored.⁴⁵⁷

213. Under the category of military law, there were fewer changes although some of the penalties were increased. An officer failing to turn out to aid the civil power was now liable for a fine of \$100. There was a new offence of aiding or counselling desertion with a punishment of six months imprisonment with or without hard labour.⁴⁵⁸ The power of court martials was strengthened to provide for the obligatory attendance of witnesses and their co-operation during the trial. If a witness was obstructing his Court, the President could certify the offence to a judge who had power to try such offences who could then investigate and, if satisfied that an offence had been committed, could give sentence as if the offence had occurred in his own court.⁴⁵⁹

214. Piloting the Bill through Parliament was not an easy task. On militia matters, party lines tended to loosen. The numerous Militia colonels each sought an opportunity to give their views on the force and some others appeared to have set speeches to be delivered annually. Debating the Militia was also an opportunity to address the electors of Buncombe County. There were a great many interests which could be aroused. Rural members could unite against urban members, Imperialists against nationalists and prohibitionists against everyone else. The debate, prolonged over several days, gave a chance to many members to say what they knew and thought about the Canadian militia. They managed to cover a very wide range of views.

215. William Vail, an earlier Minister of Militia, led the attack on the establishment of new schools by insisting that the whole need had been filled by the Royal Military College.⁴⁶⁰ He was followed by Colonel O'Brien, a Conservative and commanding officer of the 35th Battalion, who also attacked the College but from the other direction - it did not do enough. to train officers for the actual Militia. Unlike most of the speakers who followed him, O'Brien felt that Canada should spend more on its Militia, even if it was only to increase the amount to the \$1,000,000 which he believed had been promised at Confederation. One interesting point which he did raise was the need for a fixed period of drill. When the drill was announced only a week or two in advance, employers would not let their men go.⁴⁶¹ George Ross, the self-made Reformer from Middlesex, enjoyed his last Parliamentary session by making a whole-hearted assault on "the mere trappings and flummery of military service", and the "enormous burden" which would be entailed by the new schools. As for a Quartermaster-General, "If an invasion occurs, the hon. gentleman the Minister could obtain a Quartermaster-General in a day who would know at what point to send the supplies; but this Bill will probably give us a Quartermaster-General whose greatest duty will be, I suppose, to draw his salary."⁴⁶² A large proportion of those who spoke against the establishment of the permanent corps maintained that the money would be better spent on the raising of pay and length of training of the Volunteers. Darby Bergin, a doctor and the commanding officer of the 59th Battalion, spoke with some experience when he reported that the men regarded the camp as a holiday and their pay as pocket money. From his viewpoint, he wished to have the power to dismiss an unsuitable soldier summarily - "a man of bad character, a drunkard, a profane

wretch, one who makes the night hideous and disturbs every man in the camp."⁴⁶³

216. To all of this, Caron replied with an appropriate urbanity, thanking Members for their interest, answering the criticisms, pointing out that Canadians were only spending 19¢ per capita for defence while Americans were spending \$1.19 for federal defence alone and reminding George Ross that, as usual, he had not bothered to read the Bill. Caron presented himself as a most economical man. He had asked for a Quartermaster-General not because he wanted one but simply to avoid amending the Act another time. A standing army of 750 men would not create much of a stir in the world. As for the camps, the British officers were all agreed that Canadians learned more in a short time that they could ever have imagined. In any case, to increase it might be the extravagance that Ross had condemned.⁴⁶⁴

217. In committee stage, Caron was forced to hold over the section on the new schools until their cost could be worked out. Noah Shakespeare, the other member for Victoria B.C. and supporter of many causes including the presidency of the Anti-Chinese Association, sought to broaden his electoral appeal by demanding inclusion of a section making it an offence to drink liquor in camp. He had heard, he told fellow members, that officers gave liquor to their men. At this, there was a chorus of denial from the bevy of Militia colonels and Colonels O'Brien and Williams rose to deny ever having seen such a thing.⁴⁶⁵

218. To introduce the statutory levels of pay, a resolution had to be passed and this gave another opportunity to debate the staff and militarism. The lines were drawn between those who demanded extra money for the men in the ranks and those who condemned extravagance and

members from the both parties were represented on each side. One participant, J. Alderic Ouimet, the member for Laval, the colonel of the 65th Mount Royal Rifles and a friend of Caron, even went so far as to urge an increase for the hated staff. He then went on to explain that he saw the great purpose of the Militia as the building as a national spirit. "... I look upon the Militia as a national institution, the promotion of which is the best means of creating among our population a national feeling, a real Canadian feeling."⁴⁶⁶

219. When the House returned to the Bill, George Ross had managed to work out the probable cost of the new schools as \$200,000. Caron congratulated him on coming so close.⁴⁶⁷ Encouraged, he went on to press that the General Officer Commanding should be selected from among the Canadian Militia. He was answered by a somewhat blunt statement from Colonel O'Brien:

We do not want an officer at the head of this force to have any political character; there is enough politics in the force now. If the Major General were one of ourselves, who has never seen any but Canadian service, he would certainly occupy a different position from a man in the regular army. I speak from my own personal experience; and I hope that the clause will be left as it is. I would like to take this opportunity of saying that the effect upon the force of last year's inspection and supervision by the gentleman who now commands it, was most satisfactory, and that the camps of 1882 were much superior to those of any previous year. I make that statement because I think it is due to the officer that it should be made in the most public way, and by someone who knows something about it.⁴⁶⁸

220. Having been talked out of one change, Ross tried another. As an ex-Most Worthy Patriarch of the Sons of Temperance of North America, he was even better fitted than Noah Shakespeare to espouse the cause of prohibition in the Militia and he demanded that the Act be amended to forbid the sale of spirituous beverages in any canteen. Caron tried to suggest that they could not go farther than

forbid the sale by regulations. He might even have read Ross the opinion of another would-be enforcer of prohibition, Colonel Jackson, then the Deputy Adjutant-General of M.D. 1 who had complained sadly in 1881:

However stringent the rules, experience shows that the average canteenman can always distribute spirits under the guise of beer or pop in such a manner as to avoid detection except perhaps by those officers who wink at the violation of rules they profess to think unnecessary, and who are themselves, in some instances interested in the sale of liquor.⁴⁶⁹

221. The House adjourned before there had been discussion of the amendment proposed by Ross and when it reassembled a week later, he had apparently been persuaded that regulations would be sufficient to ensure complete prohibition. He was sure, he told his fellow members, that many more parents would now allow their children to join. He was not yet finished with the Bill, however, for pointing out that in 1882, \$218,000 had been spent on just 318 permanent troops while 20,000 militiamen only got \$227,000, he moved that the entire proposal for the permanent corps be struck out. Besides, recruiting the men would take them from active industrial pursuits. He was soon supported by his leader, with Alexander Mackenzie maintaining that the Bill would create a standing army in Canada. Caron said that Ross's resolution was not fair and if it passed, he might as well withdraw his whole Bill. On that being established, the amendment was defeated by a vote of 113 to 60 on party lines and Bill 31 was passed.⁴⁷⁰

222. It remained to put the new terms of the Act into effect. Major J.G. Holmes of "A" Battery was sent to British Columbia as an Acting Deputy Adjutant-General with the evident intention that he would be on hand to take command of the new artillery battery which would be authorized for the West Coast.⁴⁷¹ The commanding officers for the three

infantry schools and the cavalry school were selected from among Militia officers and staff. Lieutenant Colonel Turnbull had joined the Militia in 1855 at the age of 20 and ever since had been trying in one way or another to escape from civil life to become a cavalry officer. Throughout the seventies, he made repeated trips to Europe to attend cavalry manoeuvres and courses and in 1879, he offered to raise a cavalry regiment in Canada for service in South Africa, a gesture for which the British authorities offered generous praise but no further response. Of the three Infantry School Commandants, two were officers on the staff and the third was Lieutenant Colonel Otter, commanding the Queen's Own Rifles in Toronto and Luard's confidant, Lieutenant Colonel George Maunsell, the enthusiastic Deputy Adjutant-General. He was 47 in 1883, a former British Army officer who had been brought to Canada in 1864 and who had been Adjutant-General of the New Brunswick Militia at the time of Confederation. The third was Lieutenant Colonel the Count Louis Gustave d'Odet d'Orsonnens, was the grandson of a Swiss officer in de Meuron's Regiment. It had been intended that he join the Swiss Regiment in the Neapolitan service when Garibaldi intervened and d'Orsonnens had to content himself with the Canadian Militia in which he was active during the Fenian raids. He also played a part in the movement which sent the Papal Zouaves to Rome and his title was bestowed by Pius IX. D'Orsonnens was obviously intended to create a national balance among the commandants but his background was hardly typical of French Canada. On 21 July 1883, all four officers left for England for training and attachment with various units of the British regular army.

223. While there might be little criticism that the officers chosen to be commandant were unsuitable, some of their subordinates were chosen with at least some atten-

tion to political favour. Major Henry Smith had been eliminated as a Brigade Major under the Liberals and Major Beaufort Vidal had identified himself as a Conservative ever since coming to Canada as a young man. However they were said to be efficient officers. The main criticism centred around Captain C.J. Coursol of the 65th. In his case, Luard protested to the Governor General directly. Although he had not been consulted about the appointments, he had seen a list and Coursol had immediately struck him as unsuitable. When attached to "A" Battery to obtain his certificate, he had been arrested for drunkenness on duty. It would be too bad to impose such an officer on a Commandant trying to organize an efficient school.⁴⁷² Lorne accepted Luard's opinion and passed it to Macdonald with a strong endorsement based on personal knowledge of Coursol. "If such nominations are not given to trained men - Imperial - or Kingston Cadets - the Schools will be very bad." He also noticed with regret that Caron had again stopped taking Luard's advice and hoped that the Prime Minister would take an interest.⁴⁷³ Macdonald's explanation was that all the officers were very good - five were Royal Military College graduates, five had served under Strange or Irwin at the Artillery School and four had been in the British Army. The exception, of course, was Coursol but the French Canadian ministers had made such a point that he had had to yield. Young Coursol had only been guilty of a little indiscretion at New Years. Most important, he was the son of the member of Parliament for Montreal East and grandson of Sir Etienne Taché "and connected with most of the families of the old noblesse remaining in Canada". With this, both Lorne and Luard had to be content.⁴⁷⁴ The junior officers appointed to the Schools were sent to Halifax for an attachment with the British garrison there.

224. The breakdown of relations between the General and the Minister made the arrangements for the Schools rather more difficult. After some discussion, it had been decided to locate the Infantry Schools in old British barracks at Toronto, Saint Jean in Quebec and at Fredericton, with the Cavalry School in Quebec. They were in urgent need of repair before they could be occupied and Luard tried to get Baron to move.⁴⁷⁵ With the summer, however, the cabinet met rarely and Ministers left for their holidays. He also tried to get a ministerial decision on uniforms. Luard still worked for a more simple, more serviceable dress which would be cheaper for the officers and eliminate pipeclay and yellow chrome for the men. The matter was urgent since it would be easier for the officers than in England to work out what they wanted together and then to obtain it more cheaply from English tailors.⁴⁷⁶ A final service which the officers in England could perform would be to recruit old British soldiers who would serve as instructors. He sought permission from the Minister to have leaflets printed showing the terms to be offered.⁴⁷⁷ Throughout August and September, Luard tried to get a direction from the Minister on these questions. He seems to have been particularly concerned about uniform for this was a matter on which the officers would have to spend their own money. Walker Powell had already talked some of them into buying the expensive uniform for staff officers and this he did not approve of at all. Luard was most anxious that his new Infantry School officers would be an example of neat and inexpensive dress to the Militia.⁴⁷⁸ In correspondence with Otter throughout the summer, he described his growing frustration and helplessness.⁴⁷⁹ "I have sent to Maunsell the Minister's telegram saying there is ample time -- but he always does think there is ample time - and then hurries at the end."⁴⁸⁰

225. On 10 August 1883, "C" Battery was authorized for Victoria on Vancouver Island but Holmes remained its only officer. The same order created a regiment out of the three batteries, to be called the Regiment of Canadian Artillery.⁴⁸¹ The appointment of Colonel Irwin to the command of the new regiment was a recognition of his ten years of service and of his decision to remain in Canada rather than to return to England. There was also a slight suggestion of political influence. In February of 1882, Irwin had recommended a similar arrangement as a means of obtaining uniformity between the two batteries then in existence and of offering promotion to other officers.⁴⁸² At that time, Caron had recommended against the change. "Between ourselves," Caron told Macdonald, "Col. Irwin has not had the same success with A Battery as Strange has had with B. He seems to have been rather careless of our Canadian soldiers."⁴⁸³ Later in the year, however, Irwin had enlisted the support of his father-in-law, Robert Hamilton, a prominent merchant in the square timber trade and an old friend of Macdonald.⁴⁸⁴ "Hamilton is such a good fellow we must try to aid him",⁴⁸⁵ Macdonald told Caron and less than a year later, Irwin was promoted, and a letter was to be sent to Hamilton to explain what had been achieved.⁴⁸⁶

226. On 21 December, 1883, the three Infantry Schools were officially authorized under the title of the Infantry School Corps.⁴⁸⁷ A later order indicated that each school would be designated a company, with "A" Company at Fredericton, "B" Company at St. Jean and "C" Company at Toronto.⁴⁸⁸ The first course at the Infantry Schools began on 1 April 1884. As with the Schools of Gunnery at their inception, the students were to attend for a short course of three months which might be extended to twelve. The men were to come from units and were to be attested by local company commanders. An order was given that commanding

officers were not to appoint members of their corps as non-commissioned officers just to give them rank and higher pay at the Schools of Gunnery but the fact that it was regularly repeated suggests that it was not adequately heeded.

Commissioned officers were paid \$1.00 per day for attending the school and non-commissioned officers 50¢.⁴⁸⁹ The cavalry school was somewhat slower to become organized, its regulations only appearing in October, 1884.⁴⁹⁰

227. There was no difficulty in enlisting the men but Colonel Turnbull soon found that 40 men were not enough to operate a unit. His men were so fully employed in house-keeping duties, fatigues and guards that there were few left over to be instructed.⁴⁹¹ The pay of the men in the permanent corps had been reduced to 40¢ a day although they were now provided with rations and a small increase when they re-enlisted after three years. At Quebec, "A" Battery in 1884 started a small school for the children of the other ranks, charging 25¢ per child per month.⁴⁹² The infantry schools had begun to show the different personalities of their commandants before they were a year old. Colonel Maunsell had pioneered in taking his hundred men to the annual militia camp, had provided them with a library and canteen (where no ardent or spirituous liquors would be sold,) and had worked out Standing Orders with which he was eminently satisfied. The other two commandants had somewhat less ambitious reports but Colonel d'Orsonnens reported that he had run a special course for university and college students during the summer of 1884. Both he and Colonel Otter were already concerned about the suitability of some of the men being sent them from some of the units.⁴⁹³

228. The only one of the new units which failed to make an appearance was "C" Battery in British Columbia.

When it was authorized, Members of Parliament had warned that it would be more expensive than the other batteries because of the high cost of both labour and living on the West Coast and Caron had attempted to reassure them by limiting the strength of the battery to 100 men compared to the 150 authorized for the others.⁴⁹⁴ In 1883, British Columbia was in a railway boom and there were no men willing to join a force which paid a mere 40¢ a day. As the battery failed to materialize, Caron became embarrassed and recalled an earlier suggestion that British artillery pensioners might be induced to settle in the western province. The men would not only be already trained, they would also have a life pension of a sufficient size to deter desertion to the United States. Almost two years were used up in haggling with the British authorities to obtain free transportation to Canada but in July of 1887, posters were put up inviting recruits for "C" Battery. Even then there was failure for, through a mistake, the posters invited only unmarried pensioners to apply and there were very few who wished to apply.⁴⁹⁵ Eventually, the men for the battery were obtained by drafting men from "A" and "B" Batteries in the East.⁴⁹⁶ The battery really only came into existence at the end of 1887.

GENERAL LUARD IS REMOVED

229. When Luard returned in the late summer of 1882, Lorne and Macdonald hoped that a measure of reconciliation had been patched up. Unfortunately, it did not seem possible for Caron and Luard to remain long at peace.

230. In 1869, the Dominion of Canada Rifle Association had been established. Although its first president was Lieutenant Colonel A.D. Botsford, its guiding genius was Colonel Casimir Gzowski, who became president of the

Association in 1870 and remained in officer until 1884.

A wealthy and capable engineer, Gzowski was very interested in the Canadian Militia and a munificent contributor to many of its activities. His contributions helped the Association to send Canadian teams to Wimbledon to compete with the best of British marksmen.⁴⁹⁷ Although the Rifle Association lacked the enormous impact of the Artillery Association in improving the training of the Militia, it did play a substantial part in maintaining enthusiasm among militia officers and men.

231. One of Gzowski's achievements had been to establish a competition for militia units in which teams were required to wear their full equipment and to fire a course which was intended to simulate active service conditions. In 1882, the competition was held at Rockcliffe Ranges in Ottawa. General Luard, an enthusiastic marksman, attended in civilian clothes. The team from the 8th Royal Rifles from Quebec City had been drawn up for inspection when Luard noticed an officer approach from the tents to give a man a towel. This, it seemed, to the General, was cheating, for the men were supposed to be in possession of their full kit, and he snatched the towel from the officer's hand. Immediately Major Erskine Scott, the acting commanding officer of the Rifles came over to explain. Luard exploded into an angry tirade and placed Scott under arrest.

232. It was a somewhat impetuous act. Major Scott was a prominent citizen of Quebec, a good Conservative and a friend of the Minister. The action was much discussed in the press and Luard added to the heat by sending his own letters to various newspapers. In a letter to the Mail of Toronto, he compared the incident to a jockey adding weights and in the Montreal Star he also described it as comparable

to a crooked horse race. Having seen the breach of faith, the Government would have held that he had connived at it if he had not acted. Scott, on his part, reacted with great indignation. After twenty years in the Militia, his honour had been gravely impugned and he refused to offer any excuses to Luard. Eventually the General demanded a General Court Martial for Scott, the first that had ever been ordered for an officer in the Canadian Militia. He got little help. Colonel Laurie, the retired officer who had been judge for the competition, refused to make any comment, saying that he had been too busy holding back the crowds to see anything. Meanwhile Scott remained under arrest.

233. Having to deal with an angry Luard and an even angrier Scott, Caron did not take long to decide. Scott, he ruled, had not been under military law during the rifle match and the fact that the Department made a financial contribution to the Dominion Rifle Association did not make it a military body. Scott must therefore be released from arrest. When Luard complained about Caron dealing personally with a matter of discipline and of receiving letters directly from Scott, the Minister replied that since Luard was personally involved in the case, only the Minister could deal with it. Luard was infuriated at the thought that Scott would be getting away with what he felt to be a dishonest and dishonourable act. The problem was complicated by the fact that Lieutenant Colonel Stuart of the 8th, who had been sick for sixteen months, finally died on 11 March 1883 and Scott was due to take command of the regiment. Luard tried in vain to have the other major in the battalion, Charles A. Pentland, accept the command but Pentland refused the offer and the Deputy Adjutant-General, Lieutenant-Colonel Duchesnay, refused to recommend him. Duchesnay was in direct correspondence with Caron on the matter and doubtless

knew who would have the greater influence on his future.⁴⁹⁸

234. The Scott affair helped to restore the relations of the Minister and the General to their previous hopeless state. In drafting his new Militia Bill for 1883, he originally wrote that the Officer Commanding the Militia, could be one who "had held" a British commission. This was noticed by the Governor General who immediately wrote a lengthy letter of protest. The provision would be a way of evading the approval of the Commander in Chief and other military authorities in England. It had been defended as offering a larger field of choice for it would include officers like Major General Strange who had retired in Canada. Lorne disagreed. Some of his reasons may have struck the Canadian ministers as more frank than complimentary. The present system, he assured them, offered the least temptation to act for other than military reasons. The Canadian Government could always refuse an officer named by the Commander in Chief but the initiative rested with him. Secondly, the system fostered unity among the forces of the Empire and gave the Canadian Militia every five years a new officer capable of comparing its efficiency with that of forces elsewhere. It also meant that the five year term could be enforced. Just how narrow the field of choice would have been had been repeatedly demonstrated in recent years when each time the office became vacant, a few senior officers like Strange, Laurie and others who had retired to Canada had always been put forward. "It may be safely inferred from this experience that the natural pressure of a friendly, personal or political nature will, for the present, be too strong to allow of any appointment to the Chief Command in Canada being made from the wider field afforded by the Imperial Army, and that the choice will be narrowed

to the few men who are, by accident, residents in the Dominion."⁴⁹¹

235. The camps for 1883 were held in the last week of June save for M.D. 3. It was a wet summer, the turn out of men was unsatisfactory in many instances but the most common complaint was that the equipment was worn out. For some time, this had been brought to the attention of the readers of the Militia Report. The leather knapsacks were periodically tarred to preserve them. This was not merely bad for the leather; it also meant that on very hot summer days, the tar melted and they stuck to the men's backs.⁵⁰⁰ The other leather equipment was worn out and rotted. In M.D. 5, two battalions arrived at camp with only a few men but with their full complement of officers. Only in the Maritimes were there good reports although the New Brunswick men had misbehaved themselves in camp and had fired blanks through the train window on their way home.⁵⁰¹ For Luard, it must have been a discouraging summer and his temper was not normally good.

236. The camp for M.D. 3 was the only one to be held in the fall, being ordered for 11 September 1883.⁵⁰² There was a late harvest and some of the battalions were very weak. The poorest turn-out was that of the 46th Battalion, commanded by Lieutenant Colonel Arthur Williams M.P. Out of an authorized strength of 26 officer and 252 other ranks, there were 24 and 151. One company had ten men in the ranks, another only three.⁵⁰³ General Luard inspected the camp on 20 September. From the first, he was not pleased. According to critical journalists, he inspected the ranks minutely, cursing at every fault and becoming almost beside himself at the sight of a great-coat improperly strapped on a knapsack. Several staff officers were ordered from the

field for failing to be mounted. An adjutant who was on horseback but in some momentary difficulty was advised to get off and walk. Coming on a suntanned soldier, Luard told him he was dirty. Turning to the officer, he told him that he was none too clean either. There was particular criticism for Colonel Williams' battalion from Port Hope.⁵⁰⁴ After the review, there was a luncheon for the General, presided over by Colonel Gzowski. During its course, Gzowski and Luard chose to comment unfavourably on the lack of interest Members of Parliament had shown in the Rifle Association. When Williams, as a Member, sought to disagree, Luard bluntly silenced him and went on to add some further views about the House of Commons and its members. He must have realized that he had spoken out of turn for shortly after, he left the gathering in some haste.⁵⁰⁵

237. Within a few days, the General's conduct at Cobourg had been condemned by both Liberal and Conservative newspapers. It was supplemented by reports of his statements at the luncheon which may have been passed on by Williams. The Conservative Toronto Empire did not surpass the Liberal Globe when it declared:

It is very clear that the Major-General does not know the country nor the people. It is clear he has no adequate understanding of his duties. It is certain that he lacks all sympathy with the sacrifices made by the militia service, officers and men, in keeping together as an organization. He is entirely wanting in tact and kindness.

.... It is very obvious that General Luard and Canada must part company. We have no desire at all to distate; but we mean just what we say. Public opinion and militia opinion, and parliamentary opinion are all pretty much the same.⁵⁰⁶

On the same date that the press reports in the Port Hope Times appeared, Williams formulated his charges against Luard for his comments about Members of Parliament and sent them to the Secretary of State.

238. For both Luard and Caron, the Cobourg affair was the culmination of a summer of frustrations and mutual annoyances. Throughout the summer, Luard had tried to get an answer on problems related to the new schools. At the end of August there was a dispute about the appointment of a temporary replacement for the Adjutant-General who was away. Luard decided to appoint Colonel Irwin who was now in Ottawa as the Inspector of Artillery. Instead, the Adjutant-General's clerk erased Irwin's name and did the work himself. When Luard protested, the Deputy Minister backed the clerk. Luard in turn protested to the Minister himself, recommending that the case showed the need for a second officer to be appointed at Headquarters.⁵⁰⁷ Then the Adjutant-General's clerk, Lieutenant Colonel Bacon authorized the Deputy Adjutant-General for M.D. 4 to leave his district without the General's knowledge. He authorized the band of the Victoria Rifles to go to the United States, again without reference to Luard.⁵⁰⁸ Throughout, Luard sought some reply from the Minister. Caron chose to ignore him, to back the Deputy Minister and to describe the temporary appointment of Irwin to act for Walker Powell during the Department's busiest season as "simply a piece of impertinence on the part of the General which should not be tolerated."⁵⁰⁹

239. The Cobourg affair was not, however, a simple basis for sending Luard home. Although Lorne warned the Colonial Secretary early in October that the Canadian Government was likely to demand the General's recall,⁵¹⁰ Luard refused to go without an investigation of Williams' charges. A year before, Luard had saved himself from premature retirement by clinging to the job in Canada. He now faced another stage in his career, for he was due for promotion to the rank of lieutenant general at some time in the near future but this could not occur so long as charges

were hanging over his head. On 23 October, a new Governor General, Lord Lansdowne, arrived at Quebec. Caron, as the minister representing the Quebec City area, was in charge of the welcoming arrangements. Luard was also present and in his report to the Prime Minister, Caron reported that the General was in trouble again.

It is obvious that he cannot remain any longer here without breaking up the force. Don't you think that Lord Lansdowne should write a letter by the mail to the Duke about his being recalled & pending that he should apply for 3 months leave.⁵¹¹

He had already arranged that Lord Lorne, on his return to England, would be pressing the same course on the Duke of Cambridge.

240. Lord Lansdowne was naturally anxious to settle the affair as quickly and quietly as possible but he too had to respect Luard's obduracy in refusing to resign while charges hung over his head. Unfortunately this could not be done until Colonel Williams returned from a trip to Europe.⁵¹² He was anxious that that the matter be settled before Parliament should gather, anticipating an ugly debate in which Luard's conduct would be intermingled with attacks on personalities and on the policy of appointing a British officer to command the Militia. When he had had a chance to study the papers, he suggested to the Prime Minister that Williams could hardly expect any action on the basis of a collection of extracts from newspapers. "The answer is, I suppose, that Col. Williams meditated a Parliamentary attack & that these evidences of the General's unpopularity were to be referred to & published with the papers."⁵¹³ His recommendation was that Williams be officially informed that his statements had been submitted for discussion rather than in expectation of action and that since the statements on both sides were ex parte, the Privy Council would not come

to any decision. If that was done, the Governor General was certain, Luard would take his leave or resign and the whole affair would be at an end.⁵¹⁴

241. The cabinet seem to have accepted the advice and they managed to persuade Colonel Williams to withdraw his correspondence with the Secretary of State. In return, General Luard was granted another three months leave from 1 March "on private affairs."⁵¹⁵ Three months later, it was officially announced that Luard had been appointed to the command of a brigade at Aldershot and he took the opportunity to publish a valedictory in General Orders, thanking:

...the many officers and men of the Militia of the Dominion, who have done their best towards improving the force in discipline and appearance - and, as he stated in his last annual report, there are, he is glad to say, many who have made marked improvement in these respects.⁵¹⁶

242. Although Luard had left the country, the Parliamentary debate which the Governor General had feared still took place. It seems to have been precipitated by the General himself and he placed his affairs in the hands of William Mulock, the new member for North York and a Liberal. While the outcome of the debate was less damaging to the Imperial connection than Lansdowne may have feared, it did not spare Luard. For most of a day, members from both sides attacked and defended the General and the ideas of discipline which he had sought to bring to Canada. Because Luard was said to have insulted members of Parliament, there was an added indignation on the part of some members. Mr. Coursol, whose son had had such difficulty in securing his commission, recommended that Luard was a fit person to talk to Osman Digma in the Sudan but he should never come back to Canada.⁵¹⁷ Colonel Ouimet complained of a letter in French which the General had returned to him to have translated.⁵¹⁸ Neither the Prime Minister nor the Minister of Militia chose to defend their General. Caron regretted

the difficulties which had arisen but he had no doubt who was responsible for them:

....let me say that, in Canada, we require in the command of the Militia Force a gentleman who not only will be a strict disciplinarian, as every British officer who is sent out from England is supposed to be, but also, in dealing with and meeting the members of the Militia Force, will have the suaviter in modo which, I believe, is certainly as indispensable to a commanding officer as the other qualifications which hon. gentlemen have spoken of as pertaining to a commanding officer."

On the other hand, Caron was not prepared to change the system of getting an officer from the British army.

I have always approved of the system which is followed in Canada of getting an experienced officer from the old country, until we in Canada can have men sufficiently experienced to take command of the Militia Force, but I believe it would be a great mistake if an officer on coming here from England, imagined himself independent of the Government of Canada, and as merely an Imperial officer coming from England.⁵¹⁹

Macdonald, for his part, regretted that Luard had provoked the debate for if the other matters which affected Luard were brought up, it would only be a matter of embarrassment to the General and his friends. It was not true that the General's promotion had been stopped by the charges since they had been dropped by the withdrawal of the correspondence. The fact that there was a debate at all was due to the General's decision to break an agreement and to place his papers in the hands of the supporters in the House.⁵²⁰

243. Luard was the first General Officer Commanding the Militia to be driven from Canada before his time but he was not to be the last. He had been driven into an undignified exile in Canada and then was driven out of it. A great deal of the fault was due to his own temperament, his lack of tact and his failure, so unlike that of his predecessor, to appreciate the state of politics in Canada. On the other hand, the General had tried to accomplish reform in the Militia. He had worked hard to impose notions