DEO, LEGI, REGI, GREGI:
UNIVERSITY OF KING'S COLLEGE, 1920-1945

by

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Of King's College, the Church University of the Maritime Provinces, what shall I say? Its history has been one of lost opportunities, splendid results, financial struggles, misrepresentations, misunderstandings and great possibilities.

Clarendon Lamb Worrell, Bishop of Nova Scotia, 1917

TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF FIGURES

ABSTRACT

The period from 1920 to 1945 was critical in the University of King's College's history. During this quarter century, the university was destroyed by fire, moved from Windsor to Halifax, federated with Dalhousie University, experienced a worldwide economic depression, and had its buildings requisitioned during the Second World War. Yet the university's immediate postwar years saw record enrolments, academic innovation, and bright prospects. How was this possible? This thesis argues that the University of King's College survived largely because of its cultural portability, which stemmed from the ability of university members to adapt to changes without losing their collective identity. This identity, which centered around traditions of Englishness and Anglicanism adapted to a Canadian setting, functioned as a protective mythos for the university: drawing inspiration from the school's history, staff and students at the University of King's College placed trials within an existing framework of struggle and survival.

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CHAPTER ONE
Introduction

On 18 October 1783, barely a month after the signing of the Treaty of Paris formalized the separation between Great Britain and the newly titled United States of America, five Anglican clergymen gathered in New York. Their purpose: to discuss the proposal that a grammar school and "public seminary, academy or college" should be established in Nova Scotia.[1] These educational institutions, they argued, would also function as tools with which to diffuse Anglicanism and loyalty to the British Crown throughout the province. In the absence of such schools, young men who sought higher education but could not travel to Europe would have to attend colleges in the United States, where they would surely "imbibe principles […] unfriendly to the British Constitution."[2] Prominent among these clergymen was Charles Inglis, a Loyalist who by 1789 became North America's first bishop.[3] In this capacity, he was instrumental in founding the grammar school and college proposed in 1783, and in 1789 King's College, Nova Scotia was born, opening its doors to students one year later. From the college's inception, its administrators capitalized upon education as a powerful force through which to stimulate and safeguard Nova Scotian loyalty to Church and Crown.[4] As unwilling actors in an Age of Revolution, fearful of once again being assailed by the sinking sands of sedition, the early

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[1] Dorchester Papers, "King's College and Episcopate in Nova Scotia: Plans Submitted to the British Government in the Year 1783 by Sir Guy Carleton, Lord Dorchester," in *Collections of the Nova Scotia Historical Society, For the Year 1887-88*, vol. 6. (Halifax: Nova Scotia Printing Company, 1888), 129.

[2] Dorchester Papers, 123.

[3] Mindful of the ongoing debate over the capitalization of the term 'Loyalist,' I adhere to the guidelines of the *Journal of the American Revolution* Style Guide, as well as to the precedent set by the sources consulted, in my decision to capitalize 'Loyalist.'

[4] For the sake of brevity, and to avoid repetition, I use 'college' and 'university' interchangeably to refer to the University of King's College, despite the fact that the institution became a university in 1802 with the receipt of its royal charter.

administrators of King's College actively melded education, Anglicanism, and Loyalism, turning King's College into the proverbial solid rock upon which to stand.

This thesis considers one chapter in the life of the University of King's College. It takes a primarily cultural approach. Clifford Geertz, in his 1973 book, *The Interpretation of Cultures*, describes culture as "webs of significance," and observes that these webs are both products and shapers of humans and human experience.[5] Symbols, rituals, and history are all integral to understanding these intricate networks of meaning. For Geertz, analysing culture consists of "guessing at meanings, assessing the guesses, and drawing explanatory conclusions from the better guesses."[6] This thesis centres around such guesses. There are many cultures to consider when studying an academic institution. Most broadly, for the University of King's College these include religious and national cultures. Many other cultural bodies operate within these overall structures, among them Protestant (especially Anglican), student, professional, and athletic cultures. This thesis primarily highlights the experiences of students within these cultures, but, cognisant that students existed within the complexities of Geertz's "webs," I supplement information about students with accounts of professorial and administrative bodies. Finally, though students were (and are) undoubtedly shaped by the views and ideals of the adults and governing bodies within universities, I view students as active fashioners of the many cultures they existed within, rather than simply passive receptors of existing custom. To paraphrase Paul Axelrod, universities—though agencies of social control—were not prisons.[7]

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[5] Clifford Geertz, *The Interpretation of Cultures* (New York: Basic Books, 1973), 5.
[6] Geertz, *Interpretation of Cultures*, 20.
[7] Paul Axelrod, *Making a Middle Class: Student Life in English Canada During the Thirties* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1990), 172.

As the early days of the college have been comparatively well studied, this thesis begins its exploration in 1920 and continues to 1945. A time of dramatic change both regionally and nationally, these years were especially significant for this small, Nova Scotian university. They began in fire, with the burning of the school in 1920, and ended in global conflict, when the university was converted into HMCS *Kings*, a training establishment for prospective naval officers during the Second World War. This thesis considers these twenty-five years as a turning point in the history of the college, demonstrating that, despite the immense changes the school experienced during this generation, it was also a time of remarkable continuity. Overall, it offers an institutionally driven, archivally rooted social history of the school during this period. What, it asks, was it like to attend the University of King's College from the 1920s to the mid 1940s? What is the university's story?

Historical Overview

The University of King's College, from shortly after its inception to the current day, is an institution that takes great pride in its history. It is unwise, then, to jump into an account that begins in the college's fourteenth decade without first offering some historical context about the institution's origins. Anglicanism and Englishness—themes that will reoccur countless times throughout this work—have always been critical aspects of the college's identity. The men who gathered in 1783 to propose a Nova Scotian college were all Anglican Loyalists. Of their number, only Charles Inglis was involved in the eventual formation of the schools, but he was the principal actor in their establishment. King's Collegiate School, founded the year before King's College in 1788, was a necessary precursor to the college, for without this preparatory experience very few boys would have met the college's entrance requirements. About two hundred young men who did meet the requirements attended the college in the thirteen years

before the school became a university, among them the respective sons of Charles Inglis and Benedict Arnold.[8] Because of delays provoked by British participation in the French Revolutionary Wars, King's College did not receive its royal charter until 1802, when it became the University of King's College. The charter named a Board of Governors for the college, which consisted mainly of Loyalists and men with strong ties to Britain.[9] Indeed, the new university, as one King's Governor promised, would educate students in "the purest principles of Religion, Morality, Loyalty and attachment to the British Government in Church and State."[10]

Given King's College's strongly Anglican nature, it is worth considering the status of the Church of England in North America before and during the American Revolution, a conflict that Judith Fingard has called a "decisive watershed in the shaping of colonial Anglicanism."[11] The Church of England in the continental colonies had long suffered from a lack of clergy: with no North American bishop to ordain priests, the colonies either had to send local candidates for priesthood on the long voyage to England for ordination or to import English clergy.[12] Most

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[8] Henry Y. Hind, *The University of King's College, Windsor, Nova Scotia, 1790-1890* (New York: Church Review, 1890), 26, and Mark DeWolf and George Flie, *1789: All the King's Men: The Story of a Colonial University* (Halifax: Alumni Association of the University of King's College, 1972), 38.

[9] It is worth noting that efforts such as Inglis' were not undertaken only in Nova Scotia. Two other Anglican King's Colleges were founded by Inglis' Loyalist contemporaries: the King's Colleges of New Brunswick and present-day Toronto. Both were chartered in 1827. Unlike King's College, Nova Scotia, the two were absorbed into larger universities in the 1850s.

[10] John Wentworth, quoted in Fenwick W. Vroom, *King's College: A Chronicle, 1789-1939: Collections and Recollections* (Halifax: Imperial Publishing, 1941), 26.

[11] Judith Fingard, *The Anglican Design in Loyalist Nova Scotia, 1783-1816*, Church Historical Series, No. 93. (London: Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge1972), 1.

[12] William White, *Memoirs of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America, from its Organization up to the Present Day: Containing, I. A Narrative of the Organization and of the Early Measures of the Church; II. Additional Statements and Remarks; III. An Appendix of Original Papers* (New-York: Swords, Stanford & Co., 1836), 18-19.

English priests did not find this idea compelling, given North America's large percentage of Dissenters.[13] The lack of a resident bishop had been discussed in North America since the 1600s, but it was only in 1787 that Inglis was appointed Bishop of the Diocese of Nova Scotia.[14] By then, the United States had broken with the Church of England and formed the Episcopal Church in its image, in efforts to erase the relationship between Christianity and monarchial government. In Nova Scotia, the Anglican church had been officially established in 1758, but, though it enjoyed a privileged position because of English support, it was not widely supported by Nova Scotia's populace, even once Inglis became bishop.[15]

For most of the eighteenth century, Nova Scotia offered scanty educational opportunity. Though plans for schools and colleges associated with the Church of England had been discussed since 1768, these never came to fruition, and such ideas were dropped entirely at the start of the American Revolution.[16] When Inglis arrived in Nova Scotia in 1787, the only private education offered in Nova Scotia came from eight schools run by an English missionary organization, the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts (SPG), and these were scattered about the province.[17] Inglis would later remember that he had "found the country destitute of the means of education" and that Nova Scotia lacked even a decent grammar school.[18] Conscious of the "pernicious consequences" this situation could provoke, Inglis worked quickly to establish

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[13] Brian Cuthbertson, *The First Bishop: A Biography of Charles Inglis* (Halifax: Waegwoltic Press, 1987), 23.
[14] Cuthbertson, *The First Bishop*, 23.
[15] Fingard, *The Anglican Design,* 1.
[16] Thomas B. Akins, *A Brief Account of the Origin, Endowment and Progress of the University of King's College, Windsor, Nova Scotia* (Halifax: MacNab & Shaffer, 1865), 1-3.
[17] Cuthbertson, *The First Bishop*, 139.
[18] Quoted in Vroom, *King's College*, 20.

King's Collegiate School and King's College.[19] As both institutions were created to emulate English institutions, their creators exemplify a post-Revolution Britishness that Maya Jasanoff has described as "unusually portable."[20] Themselves steeped in the educational traditions of Western Europe, the founders of King's College aimed to reproduce these traditions in British Nova Scotia.

King's College, then, was formed both to educate Nova Scotia's sons and to benefit the Church of England. For Inglis, one crucial way it could accomplish this was by producing what Henry Roper has termed a "home-grown priesthood."[21] Inglis, as bishop, could ordain these candidates for priesthood. Indeed, as his biographer Brian Cuthbertson has noted, "Inglis […] envisioned King's College as the nursery for a native clergy."[22] More clergy were needed, for in Nova Scotia Anglican Loyalists once again found themselves a minority congregation, despite having official recognition as the Established Church.[23] This awareness of minority status no doubt influenced the college's early administrators as they attempted to fortify and protect the Anglican character of the institution, while producing the clergy needed to bolster a minority denomination. By producing local priests, the college could strengthen Nova Scotia's attachment to Anglicanism and to England, as Anglican priests were required to take the Oath of Supremacy acknowledging the British monarch as the Supreme Governor of the Church of England.

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[19] Quoted in Vroom, *King's College*, 20.
[20] Maya Jasanoff, "The Other Side of Revolution: Loyalists in the British Empire," *The William and Mary Quarterly* 65, no. 2 (2008), 211.
[21] Henry Roper, "The Anglican Episcopate in Canada: An Historical Perspective," *Anglican and Episcopal History* 57, no. 3 (1988), 259.
[22] Cuthbertson, *The First Bishop*, preface.
[23] Fingard, *The Anglican Design*, 114.

The influence of English educational institutions on the college was profound, both physically and ideologically. The layout of the college's buildings was in the fashion of Oxford and Cambridge's buildings, and the college's statutes were modelled upon Oxford's, insofar as they were appropriate to a college in Nova Scotia. One statute, which decreed that students needed to wear academic robes (in the style of Oxford's) even off college premises, clearly showed the English influence.[24] The college's curricula were also modelled upon the Oxford standard. "No person shall be elected or appointed a Scholar," one statute read, "[…] who shall not have a competent knowledge of the Greek and Latin languages, or who cannot construe Virgil, Horace, the Greek Testament, Homer […] or such other books as are usually [read by] boys in the higher classes in the Public Schools in Great Britain."[25] The college's administrators also endeavoured to persuade English professors to teach at the school, though they were not successful.[26] Furthermore, they struggled to obtain an Oxford or Cambridge graduate to fill the role of president, and until 1804 had to make do with the Rev. Dr. William Cochran, former classics professor at King's College, New York, who had not attended either English university.[27] Finally, after considerable effort, an Oxford-educated president was secured in

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[24] University of King's College, *Statutes, Rules and Ordinances of the University of King's College, Windsor, N.S.* (Halifax: John Howe, 1803), 25.

[25] Original has "readby". University of King's College, *Statutes, Rules and Ordinances*, 16. There was a significant obstacle to this plan: even well-known books like these were difficult to obtain in Nova Scotia in the late 1790s. Eventually John Inglis, Charles Inglis' twenty-three-year-old son, journeyed to England in quest of books, where he solicited donations from many individuals (including William Wilberforce). Only with access to the proper books could King's College emulate the classics-steeped educational programs at English universities.

[26] Akins, *A Brief Account*, 15.

[27] Vroom, *King's College*, 47.

1804.[28] In this way, the administrators of King's College consciously shaped this Nova Scotian institution into a miniature, North American Oxford.

The administrators of King's College did not just *outwardly* imitate English institutions, they also wrote the connection with the Church of England into the law of the college, in a set of statutes written after the college was chartered in 1802. Controversially, certain items in the statutes mandated that all incoming students "take the oaths of allegiance, and supremacy, and […] subscribe the thirty nine [*sic*] articles, and the three articles of Religion" before admittance to the college.[29] The college's presidents and professors were also required to take these oaths, in which the doctrine of the Church of England and the British monarch as head of the Church were accepted.[30] In addition, members of the college were forbidden from attending worship services in any ecclesiastical tradition other than that of the Church of England.[31] In recognition of anxieties about the exclusionary nature of these statutes, a few years later the newly-appointed Archbishop Charles Manners-Sutton compromised by approving the removal of the requirement that the oaths be taken at matriculation. He refused, however, to approve the removal of the statutes that mandated that the oaths be taken before the conferral of a degree (a practice in harmony with that of Cambridge), thus giving Dissenters four years to warm to the Church of England.[32] The revised statutes were adopted by the Board of Governors on 2 May 1807, but no evidence suggests that they were even printed, let alone circulated, and copies of the initial

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[28] Akins, *A Brief Account*, 27.
[29] University of King's College, *Statutes, Rules and Ordinances*, 16.
[30] University of King's College, *Statutes, Rules and Ordinances*, 9, 10.
[31] University of King's College, *Statutes, Rules and Ordinances*, 28.
[32] Vroom, *King's College*, 38.

statutes continued to proliferate.[33] This was detrimental to the college's reputation, and the number of students declined.[34]

In October 1829, the offending statutes were finally repealed, and, for the first time in almost thirty years, the college was open to non-Anglicans.[35] King's College's reputation of Anglican exclusivity, however, was long-lasting, and its repercussions can be seen in Nova Scotia's landscape of higher education to this day. Indeed, as Nova Scotian politician Sir Adams Archibald later remarked: "How different would have been the condition of collegiate education in the Province if the Governors of King's College had been content that youth of every creed should be entitled, if duly qualified, to all the education and all the honours the college could bestow. King's ought not only to have been the oldest, as it is, but the only college in Nova Scotia."[36] In seeking to bolster the Anglican Church in Nova Scotia by codifying its doctrine into the laws of their educational institution, the early Board of Governors of King's College had unleashed a Pandora's box of educational sectarianism, and by 1860 Nova Scotia boasted the most colleges per capita in the British Empire, most aligned with a different denomination.[37]

The early years of King's College are the most relevant to this thesis, as they demonstrate that the college emerged as an institution inseparable from conceptions of Anglicanism and Englishness. They show, too, the reactionary efforts of governors of a small school affiliated with a minority denomination. Throughout the 1800s, King's College remained a small, primarily Anglican university, with a decided air of denominational exclusivity. Many of these years were difficult ones, concentrated on trying to secure the college on solid footing. Some

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[33] Hind, *The University of King's College*, 46, and Akins, *A Brief Account*, 19-20.
[34] Vroom, *King's College*, 44, and Akins, *A Brief Account*, 29, 35.
[35] Akins, *A Brief Account*, 37.
[36] Quoted in Vroom, *King's College*, 43.
[37] Henry Roper, "Traditions Lecture," *University of King's College*, 5.

decades were especially hard, and Henry Youle Hind describes the King's College of the mid-1800s as "not merely languishing, but almost in a comatose condition," citing its poor financial and academic situation, and highlighting major cracks in the unity of the governing board and the student body.[38] Despite its difficulties, the college had its notable students (among them Thomas Chandler Haliburton and Sir John Inglis) and its standout professors (including Sir Charles G.D. Roberts). It continued to experiment with its curriculum, such as by inaugurating a Bachelor of Engineering degree in 1871. Women began to enter the college in the early 1890s, and the first graduate completed her degree in 1896. Though the college shrank almost to extinction during the First World War, with the exodus of most of its students, it had largely regained its student population by 1920, when this account begins.

Primary Sources

This thesis is principally based on primary sources from the King's College Archives. Foremost among these is the college's student newspaper, the *King's College Record*, which offers some 6,250 pages of material for 1920-1950.[39] First published in January 1879, almost one century after the school's founding, the *King's College Record* was intended to be a vehicle of student expression, a means of publicizing the school, and a way to bring students and alumni closer together.[40] Its genesis came during a period of incredible growth in the North American student publishing world.

Little has been written on the history of university journalism, but one helpful resource is journalist and publisher S.S. McClure's *History of College Journalism*, published in 1882.[41]

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[38] Hind, *University of King's College*, 115.
[39] Though this thesis only covers from 1920 to 1945, several articles from 1946-1950 look back on previous years, making the papers from these additional years worth consulting.
[40] *King's College Record*, January 1879.
[41] S.S. McClure, *A History of College Journalism* (Illinois: O. Brewer & Co., 1882).

McClure, by writing hundreds of letters to colleges and universities across North America, created a book detailing the state of contemporary college journalism. His work includes a list of college publications—15 Canadian (four from the Maritimes) and 209 American—and student-written summaries of the journalistic histories of twenty-three institutions (with the Ontario Ladies College representing Canada). The similarities within these summaries are striking, and many depict false starts, periods of dormancy, name changes, and financial difficulties. The *King's College Record*, by contrast, remained remarkably consistent during its life, though it certainly had financial difficulties. Inauguration dates of the twenty-three university papers described range from 1850 to 1880, but the majority (57%) fall in the 1870s. The students who launched the *King's College Record* in 1879, then, were stepping into a rich history and thriving contemporary state of college journalism. It was, moreover, a distinctly American tradition: America's first college paper (the *Dartmouth*, 1799) was published almost one hundred years before the United Kingdom's first paper (the University of Edinburgh's *Student*, founded by Robert Louis Stevenson in 1887). College journalism, then, was one of the few traditions at King's College that did not follow the example of English universities. Oxford, in fact, did not publish its first student newspaper (the *Cherwell*) until 1920, over forty years after students at the University of King's College began the *Record*.

The *Record* began as a monthly publication, and its first editions, which included features such as short stories, articles, sports recaps, and university news ("Vindsoriana"), set the tone for all subsequent issues. Notable among the founding members of the paper was Fenwick W. Vroom, later to become the college's longest-serving professor and a prominent figure among Nova Scotian Anglicans in his capacities as King's College's Professor of Divinity and Archdeacon of Nova Scotia. The first editions of the paper were well received, both by members

of the King's community and by editors of other college papers who wished the fledgling newspaper success, and the *King's College Record* continued to publish about five times per schoolyear until 1950, after which it transitioned into a yearbook of the same name.

From 1920 to 1945, the paper's editorial board generally consisted of female as well as male students, though male students formed the majority. For some, this offered valuable preparation for entering a journalistic profession. By the 1920s, as Douglas Fetherling has observed, increasing numbers of those involved in the newspaper publishing world had originally been involved with their university newspapers.[42] Student participation at King's, as in some other universities, was incentivized by a points system, in which submissions to the paper earned points that could eventually win the writer a "Literary 'K'" at the end of the year.[43] The papers were sometimes themed—for example, after 1924 most years during this period saw the publication of an "Alumni Number," in which graduates of the college authored articles. In addition to providing a new source of submissions, this bolstered the relationship between students and alumni, an important concern for an institution that depended greatly on the support of its graduates. This success of the Alumni Number also demonstrated, as the 1925 editor of the *Record* noted, "our contention that King'smen are King'smen ALWAYS."[44]

Unlike many other university newspapers during this period, the *King's College Record* was often more similar in style to a literary magazine than to a newspaper proper. Like other university papers, though, it relied heavily on advertising for funding. As Michael Stamm has

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[42] Douglas Fetherling, *The Rise of the Canadian Newspaper* (Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1990), 111.

[43] At Dalhousie University, students earned a "Literary 'D'".

[44] Capitalization in original. "Editorial," *King's College Record*, January-February 1925.

noted, the history of newspapers is a history of advertising just as much as of journalism.[45] In addition to student fees, the *Record* was supported by several local businesses, and students were encouraged to patronize these businesses in return. While many advertisements were like those in other college and city papers, some businesses specifically catered to groups known to be at King's—advertisements from J. Wippell & Co. Ltd., clerical tailors and robe makers, for example, feature prominently. The *Record* had a good relationship with other student newspapers throughout Canada and even internationally.[46] Numerous university papers appeared in the *Record*'s "Exchanges" section, in which selected article segments and news from other papers were reprinted.[47] Other newspapers often returned the favour, and the editors of university papers were quite conscious of the role that student publications had in molding an institution's reputation. They recognized, too, the eventual historical value of these publications. As one King's student put it, the *Record* served as "a faithful historian for Alma Mater."[48]

The college's student newspaper was clearly a valuable addition to the social and literary life of King's College, but the *Record* was not without its difficulties. Financial worries, unsurprisingly, beset the student newspaper on occasion, especially during the Depression and the Second World War. In fact, at the war's end, the paper was over $800 in debt, which it gradually crawled out of in the postwar years.[49] Being the editor of a student newspaper was a difficult job, and soliciting enough submissions to produce the paper on time was occasionally a

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[45] Michael Stamm, *Dead Tree Media: Manufacturing the Newspaper in Twentieth-Century North America* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2018), 5.
[46] King's received papers from universities in places such as America, Britain, and New Zealand.
[47] The papers and magazines of other colleges were very popular with King's students, who were allowed to borrow them ("Exchanges," *King's College Record*, March 1940).
[48] "King's---Then and Now," *King's College Record*, March 1942.
[49] "King's College," *The Year Book of the Diocese of Nova Scotia*, 1948.

challenge (see fig. 1.1). The problem was humorously encapsulated by another university paper, the *Idaho Argonaut*, reprinted in the *Record* in 1924:

> A college editor should be a superman, endowed with the patience of Job, the editorial ability of Horace Greeley, the managing and directing ability of Chas. Schwab, the diplomacy of Woodrow Wilson, and the judicial qualities of former Chief Justice Marshall; he needs the humor of Lincoln, the dignity and philosophy of Socrates, the religion of John Wesley, and the agnostic tendencies of Ingersoll; he should have the literary ability of Shakespeare, and the lack of conscience to perpetrate the atrocities of Amy Lowell. In addition to these few qualifications he needs the physique of Jack Dempsey, the nerve of a hold-up man and Edison's ability to do without sleep […] He should be absolutely foreign to the needs of rest, sleep, eating, recreation, the love of society, the inclination for glory in athletics, school activities and love. Having these few qualifications he should be able to qualify as a fairly competent editor […][50]

This perhaps did not even matter, some King's editors bemoaned, since students seemed to find the editorial the least interesting part of the paper anyway. Despite the recognized importance of a student newspaper, at King's College (like at all universities) it was impossible for such a paper to escape criticism, especially of a Goldilocks variety (too short, too serious, etc.)[51] Nevertheless, the *Record* seems to have been generally appreciated and enjoyed by King's students during this period.

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[50] "The College Editor," *King's College Record*, March-April 1924.

[51] The *Record* did not shrink from publishing its critics. As Frances Robinson complained in the November 1937 *Record*: "I thought, when I first saw the "Record", / "Aha! at last it has come. / It looks rather thin as to pages, / But surely it's fat as to fun." / But I hunted in vain through its pages; / At last I gave up in despair. / Not a verse, not a light touch of humour, / Not even one joke was there, there. / See here, you intelligent authors, / Pause, and think solemnly thus; / "These pages of dry-as-dust essays, / Why, they are a Record of us!"

Figure 1.1. The Trials of an Editor.

Source: *King's College Record*, March 1938.

The *Record*, as an agent of cultural production, illustrates aspects of the university's student culture. Canadian newspapers, Fetherling writes, function as "engines of democracy and culture," however imperfect they may be.[52] Student newspapers were intended to foster school spirit and a closer collegial culture, primarily by ensuring that students stayed connected, even after graduation. A student newspaper, as one American college editor described it, "comes as a friend and brings news from home, college, faculty, students [and] alumni."[53] In its goals, the *Record* was atypical of a commercial newspaper. University papers, as *Dalhousie Gazette* editor John W. Grant asserted in 1942, had a "distinctive flavour," and the loss of that flavour would be

[52] Fetherling, *Rise of the Canadian Newspaper*, 117.
[53] McClure, *History of College Journalism*, 19.

detrimental to the character of the universities and student culture.[54] While commercial newspapers had to cater to customers or they would lose subscribers, university papers did not have this fear and thus could express independent opinions, even opinions contrary to mass student attitudes. Instead of reporting local, national, or international news, the *Record* focused on the literary endeavours of its students. While it was a more serious publication overall than many other college publications, it did generally include some lighter matter.[55] It is largely unproductive to consider this source as a typical newspaper, because of the paper's specificity to the collegial setting. Student newspapers communicated values, and the *Record* was instrumental in conveying ideals such as Englishness and Anglicanism to students, faculty, alumni, and the Nova Scotian community more broadly.

Little is known about how students received and reacted to the information in their newspaper. At Dalhousie, many students gathered in the gym store to get their copy of the *Gazette*, and quite a few generally remained to read and discuss the latest issue.[56] I have not found any indication of where and how King's students received their newspaper. It is certain, however, that the paper was discussed by King's students, most of whom lived in residence. In its reception, the *Record* again functioned differently than a commercial newspaper. As print culture scholar Leslie Howsam has noted, newspaper readership forms a sort of communion, as

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[54] "No. 18," *Dalhousie Gazette*, 27 February 1942.

[55] This is especially interesting to consider when comparing the *Record* and the *Gazette*, which were very different sorts of papers. The *Gazette* focused more on campus news, offered gossip columns and multitudes of jokes, and was in many ways a lighter read than the *Record*. King's College's paper, though it often included a small section of jokes, focused less on day-to-day campus news and more on short stories and longer articles on topics of local, national, or international interest. When reading the two papers side by side, the initial impression can be that student life at the two campuses was quite different, but it is important to remember that this may be influenced more by the nature of the sources than by the nature of the experiences.

[56] "The Gym Store," *Pharos*, 1946.

readers unknown to each other and scattered around a wide area gather at roughly the same time to absorb the same content.[57] Indeed, as Alexis de Tocqueville observed in *Democracy in America*, reading the same newspaper connects anonymous readers, as newspapers "deposit the same thought in a thousand minds at the same moment."[58] At King's, conversely, not only did the students know each other, but most absorbed and discussed the information within a communal setting. Occasionally, they responded to an article through letters to the editor, but this was far less common than at many other universities, most likely because the *Record* was published on a monthly rather than a weekly or daily schedule. Overall, though the paper's goals and forms of reception were different than a commercial paper, the paper was influential in articulating the school's ideals, bringing its students, faculty, and alumni closer together, and contributing to student culture.

This thesis draws on several newspapers in addition to the *Record*. Foremost amongst these is the *Dalhousie Gazette*, a paper that was (and still is) deeply connected to King's College. The *Gazette*, informally begun in 1866-67 and formalized as the official medium of student expression shortly thereafter, is recognized as the oldest continuously-published student newspaper in North America. By the 1920s, Dalhousie students were publishing twenty short issues per schoolyear, all of which have been scanned and are available online.[59] From 1920 to 1945, this offers approximately 2,400 pages of material, which I have used to supplement information in the *Record.* The *Gazette* features a wealth of King's news (especially after 1923, when King's College moved to Halifax) and King's students often contributed to Dalhousie's

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[57] Leslie Howsam, *Old Books and New Histories: An Orientation to Studies in Book and Print Culture* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2006), 58.
[58] Quoted in Stamm, *Dead Tree Media*, 31.
[59] Digitized in anticipation of Dalhousie's two-hundredth anniversary in 2018, the *Gazette* was scanned and uploaded in 2012 and 2013 (Dianne Landry to Catherine Charlton, 25 March 2021).

newspaper as well as to that of their own college. Indeed, most King's students regularly read the *Gazette*.[60] I also consulted Pine Hill Divinity Hall's *Pine Hill Pepper Box*. This paper was revived from a slump in 1944, and was published monthly. Only five copies survive from 1944 and 1945.[61] These are mostly of a humorous nature, featuring poems and sketches as well as articles. The paper, as Pine Hill (and later Dalhousie) president Rev. Dr. A.E. Kerr described it, was "the 'Punch' of Pine Hill."[62] In its goals, the *Pine Hill Pepper Box*—like the *Record*, the *Gazette*, and most student papers—was distinct from a commercial newspaper: it generally focused on campus rather than regional or world news, and was intended to be a fun read.

Like all sources, student papers have their limitations. Neither five nor twenty issues per schoolyear of a student newspaper encapsulates the whole of student experience, nor do the views of the paper's staff necessarily represent the views held on campus more broadly. Moreover, not every sentiment could be expressed in newspapers required to follow standards of decency or to submit to wartime censorship guidelines. Therefore, it is best to supplement and test the accounts in these papers against other vehicles of student expression and identity formation, such as society minute books, yearbooks, enrolment files (which often include student correspondence) and diaries. One standout source of this nature, *An Appetite for Life: The Education of a Young Diarist, 1924-1927*, is an early diary of Canadian diplomat Charles Ritchie, who attended King's College in the mid-1920s. I have supplemented student sources with administrative records, including the minutes of King's College's Board of Governors and its Alumni Association, as well as academic calendars, athletic records, and photographs. Finally, to ascertain how King's College was represented from the outside, I have turned to

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[60] "U.K.C. Notes," *Dalhousie Gazette*, 1931.
[61] Sarah Wallace to Catherine Charlton, 7 July 2022.
[62] A.E. Kerr, "A Message From the Principal," *Pine Hill Pepper Box*, November 1944.

sources like local newspapers (most helpfully the *Herald*, *Chronicle*, and *Church Work*), the yearbook of the Diocese of Nova Scotia, and even films, namely, the 1943 *Corvette K-225* in which King's College has a small but important role. Taken together, these sources provide a solid footing on which to build an understanding of life at King's College.

Literature Review

Primary sources, rich as they are, cannot be studied in a vacuum. Before embarking on a history of an educational institution, it is first important to consider how universities have been typically approached by scholars. The historiography of higher education has its roots in the nineteenth century, though the greatest proliferation of work came during the second half of the twentieth. In 1895, the publication of English historian Hastings Rashdall's *Universities of Europe in the Middle Ages* legitimized the study of higher education. While commissioned histories of individual universities dominated the field at first, the meteoric rise of social history turned the focus of many higher education historians to a 'new' educational history, one that prioritized analysis and interpretation. Bolstered by the inauguration of several new journals, such as the 1988 inception of Canada's *Historical Studies in Education*, scholarly interest in Canada's institutions of higher learning flourished. The scholarship grew increasingly rich, as proponents of the 'new' history began analysing topics such as students, gender, and socio-economic background. The first—and one of the best—examples of a comprehensive, Canada-wide social history of universities during this period is Paul Axelrod's 1990 book, *Making a Middle Class: Student Life in English Canada During the Thirties*. In this extraordinarily helpful book Axelrod provides an overview of Canadian university life during the Depression, highlighting the middle-class origins, values, and aims of most university students, and dispelling the myth that universities were havens for an educated elite.

The existing histories of the University of King's College fit the general pattern of university histories, and offer laudatory accounts of the university's struggles and growth. An early history of King's, *Memoranda Respecting King's College, at Windsor, in Nova Scotia*, was published in 1836 by Bishop John Inglis, and was designed to demonstrate the important and indissoluble links between the institution and Anglicanism. Following Inglis' efforts, three historians during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries published full-length books on King's College. Thomas B. Akins, in 1865, laid the groundwork for future studies of the college with his *Brief Account of the Origin, Endowment and Progress of the University of King's College, Windsor, Nova Scotia*. Here, Akins cites many of the college's foundational documents at length, and considerations of the restrictive statutes and early efforts at college union predominate. As Akins' work is an institutional history, there is little mention of students' lives.

Henry Youle Hind marked the college's 100th anniversary with the 1890 publication of *The University of King's College, Windsor, Nova Scotia, 1790-1890*. Another institutional history, Hind's work expands upon that of Akins, offering a more comprehensive account of the college's history, and including some information about students. Detailing the difficulties and triumphs of King's College throughout the century, Hind, like Akins, focuses primarily on the statutes and union. Half a century later, for the college's sesquicentennial in 1941, the Venerable Archdeacon Fenwick W. Vroom published *King's College: A Chronicle, 1789-1939*. Although an institutional history, Vroom's work is based on personal reminisces as well as archival sources, and thus gives helpful insights into student life and customs. Like Akins and Hind, Vroom prioritizes the university's early history, especially the statutes and amalgamation attempts. Vroom's history is the only full-length account that includes a description of the 1920

fire, though the 1920s and 1930s as a whole only receive a few pages of attention. Of the three book-length histories of King's College, Vroom's is the most nuanced and engagingly written.

The later twentieth century saw additional scholarship on the college, including Mark DeWolf and George Flie's 1972 pictorial history, and a 1970 master's thesis by John G. Leefe that considers the administrative and financial sides of King's College's connection with Dalhousie. Also helpful are numerous articles by Henry Roper, which range from considerations of the university's earlier days to studies of twentieth-century curriculum and academic freedom. Most recently, the establishment of a scholarly inquiry investigating the existence and extent of the university's historical connections with slavery has inspired greater academic and public attention to the origins of King's College. Overall, the five books written on the college's history generally give laudatory views of the college and its mission (the college's early proponents were, for Hind, a "heroic band"), but give very little information on the decades under consideration in this thesis. The aspects of the university's history covered in the most detail are the university's restrictive statutes and the many efforts to amalgamate King's with other Nova Scotian universities, particularly Dalhousie. This is no doubt partly because these were events that remained relevant in how the college was perceived, but it is also due to a layering effect: as the college's historians tended to begin their accounts at the beginning of the school's history, King's College's origins and early years have received far greater coverage than its later years.

The University of King's College is only one of many universities in Halifax. Most important to this thesis are the university's (social) relationships with Dalhousie University and Pine Hill Divinity Hall. P.B. Waite's 1998 history, *The Lives of Dalhousie University*, is an essential starting point for all considerations of Dalhousie, and also includes helpful tidbits of information pertaining to King's College. Waite does not focus primarily on student culture, but

his coverage of Dalhousie's administrative and financial history provides invaluable context. Waite occasionally draws on research by Paul Axelrod to discuss student life in the 1930s, namely, Axelrod's 1985 article, "Moulding the Middle Class: Student Life at Dalhousie University in the 1930s." Here, Axelrod highlights the generally middle-class socio-economic origins of Dalhousie students during this period, in addition to providing an overview of student politics, mores, and social life. As the Dalhousie and King's student bodies participated in so many of the same activities during this decade, this sheds important light on King's College. Though four histories of Pine Hill were consulted, none offer more than a sentence or two about the four years King's College spent at Pine Hill, an issue I have circumvented by consulting Pine Hill's Board of Governor and Senate minutes, as well as its student newspaper. These histories do, however, show the numerous similarities between the two institutions, not least their small size, frequent moves, and goals of service to the Church.

Christianity—specifically Anglicanism—is a vitally important theme in the history of King's College. Roper considers this topic in several of his works, notable among them two considerations of Christianity and curriculum at King's College and Dalhousie. In a 1989 article considering the firing of Dalhousie/King's psychology professor Norman J. Symons, Roper highlights the tensions between emerging scientific findings and Christian belief, observing that professors were expected to behave as model Protestants in the 1920s, even if this would interfere with their teaching. In a review article from the subsequent year, Roper observes how sociology, taught in this case by King's professor Samuel H. Prince, was a useful avenue through which to steer Christianity into endeavours focused on bettering the human condition. Regarding societal betterment, Mariana Valverde, in her 1991 book, *The Age of Light, Soap, and Water: Moral Reform in English Canada, 1885-1925*, provides an excellent overview of the Protestant

underpinnings to the social purity movement. Catherine Gidney, meanwhile, has authored several helpful considerations about the Canadian university and mid-twentieth-century understandings of morality and Protestantism, noting English Canadian universities' liberal Protestant moral vision and the important role of the university in molding upright citizens *in loco parentis*. Finally, scholars including Clifford Putney and Bruce Kidd have highlighted the deeply rooted relationship between Muscular Christianity and sport, specifically in considerations of masculinity and religion at the turn of the twentieth century.

Anglicanism goes hand in hand with considerations of Englishness. One notable event that inspired sentiments of loyalty to England in many Canadians during this period was the 1939 Royal Tour of Canada, the significance of which Barbara J. Messamore and Mary Vipond consider in their respective articles on the subject. The Royal Tour, coming only a few months before King's College's Sesquicentennial, was an important moment for many students and staff at the university. *Canada and the British World: Culture, Migration, and Identity*, edited by Phillip Buckner and R. Douglas Francis, provides a helpful overview of the evolution of Canadian conceptions of national character, especially the gradual disinclination of Canadians to identify with British culture during and after the postwar period. Individual essays within this work, such as David E. Torrance's consideration of Rhodes Scholarships in the early to mid twentieth century, illustrate how British values were communicated in Canadian society (in this case in its universities). Finally, the role of tradition in communicating Englishness is also important. Eric Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger's 1983 work, *The Invention of Tradition*, illuminates the importance of tradition in society, while recognizing that tradition is actively and continually fashioned and refashioned. More recently, Roper has considered the role of tradition specifically at King's College, observing the continuity between past and present.

A university's location is vitally important, especially so in the case of King's, which experienced many changes in location during this period. Given the importance of Halifax as a university city, and of the significant role of its harbour during the Second World War, this thesis considers histories of Halifax. The starting point for research about Halifax is Thomas Raddall's engagingly written history of the city, *Halifax, Warden of the North*, which covers the period under examination in detail. To this is added multiple short histories of Halifax, as well as considerations of Halifax during important and eventful moments in its history, such as Stephen Kimber's popular history of wartime Halifax, *Sailors, Slackers and Blind Pigs: Halifax at War*, which expertly weaves together stories of Haligonians to create a gripping and informative narrative. In addition, Michael Boudreau's 2012 book, *City of Order: Crime and Society in Halifax, 1918-35*, offers a useful perspective on Haligonian ideas of morality, control, and societal good in the interwar period. Overall, King's College's locations played key roles in shaping the university's character.

Overview

Chapter Two begins in February 1920, when the University of King's College in Windsor was destroyed by fire. It traces the college's journey through the remainder of the decade, from initial hopes of rebuilding in Windsor to association with Dalhousie University in Halifax in 1923 to moving into 'New King's' in fall 1930. It examines student life during these years, arguing that the school's emphasis on upholding its traditions helped it transition to a new location successfully. The spirit of the college, strongly influenced by the perceived uniqueness of the school's English and Anglican history, was therefore—despite momentous change—largely the same in 1930 as it had been in 1920. This sense of historical importance helped facilitate cultural portability. The post-Revolution nature of the university's founding was

already viewed by many as only the beginning of a rich, romantic history, and students and faculty alike adopted the fire and its aftermath into an idealistic and exciting tale built on nostalgia, resilience, and exclusivity. In the 1920s, then, King's College was able to turn disaster into triumph by locating cultural power in the ashes of its post-fire weakness.

The 1930s, considered in Chapter Three, was a time of comparative stability for students at King's College, despite the Depression. Now moved into their new buildings, students and staff could finally trade an improvised situation for one of greater permanence. As no major event dominated the story of the college in this decade, this chapter focuses on student makeup and student life more generally, by examining student experience at King's College in academics, athletics, and social life. While Chapters Two and Four highlight the atypicality of King's College, this chapter argues that the educational aims of King's College during these years was similar to those of most Canadian universities. This was a period in which the school's traditions continued to develop, and it aimed, like other universities following English ideals, to produce well-rounded, productive citizens who would be credits to society. To accomplish this, students were encouraged to take advantage of the fullest education possible—one that encompassed not only academics, but also athletics and involvement in communal life. This period shows that the school was influenced by Canadian as well as English ideals: despite its claims to distinctiveness, student life at King's College in the 1930s was guided by the same goals that steered other Protestant Canadian universities.

Chapter Four explores the impact of the Second World War on the university. As little has been written about these years, this chapter provides more administrative context than the others. Those who attended King's College from fall 1941 to winter 1945 had a significantly different experience than students in other Canadian universities, as the college's inhabitants had

to move out for four years when the school's buildings were requisitioned for the Royal Canadian Navy. This chapter considers the years before, during, and after the college's temporary move, noting the ease with which members of the King's community adapted to their altered situation. As it had before, the transportation of tradition from one location to another helped retain students' sense of the college's character. Moreover, low wartime enrolment may have helped, not hindered, the college's survival, as it allowed for an increased homogeneity. The portability highlighted in Chapter Two was again evident, but this time the college's move was less anxiety-provoking. Secure in the memory of the successful move of 1923, the university was able to navigate the uncertainty of the wartime 'exile' comparatively easily.

1920 to 1945 was a pivotal period in the history of the University of King's College. On more than one occasion, the college was in real danger of permanently closing, but ultimately it emerged at the culmination of the Second World War as a revitalized institution, ready to meet the challenges of the days ahead. How was this possible? I argue that King's College's survival during this period can be attributed to its portability. This portability was enabled by the ability of those in the college to adapt to trying circumstances without losing their collective identity. Though certain circumstances required the college to sacrifice a degree of administrative autonomy, it was able to submit to this without compromising its cultural individuality. This identity—based in reality but also actively fashioned—centered around the small, English, and Anglican character of the institution, and functioned as a protective mythos around the college. It drew inspiration from the school's history, and thus the staff and students of King's College were able to place the difficulties they experienced within a teleological framework of struggle and survival. As one alumnus described it, two years after the fire: "Our heritage becomes a challenge to the performance of deeds which in comparison with the past may have at least the

lustre of likeness, if they may not add lustre to those which inspired them."[63] In other words, in trying times King's College could look to its past and be comforted that worse hardships had been overcome. In weakness, therefore, the school found its strength.

[63] Charles LeV. Brine, "Alumni Oration," *King's College Record*, Encaenia 1922.

CHAPTER TWO
Trial By Fire: University of King's College in the 1920s

On a cold Thursday afternoon in February 1920, the University of King's College caught fire. Students, hurriedly escaping from the building, fought to subdue the blaze. But it was too late: by the time Windsor's firefighters arrived and set up their equipment, the university's main building lay in ruins.[64] The destruction of King's College was a terrible blow to all associated with the institution, many of whom wept as they watched the historic building crumble.[65] The plight of Canada's oldest chartered university was a news event that swept North America. Many newspaper reporters emphasized the university's past, placing the blaze in the context of the storied history of a Loyalist institution founded in the aftershocks of the American Revolution. As a result, coverage of the event was generally evocative and sentimental, and journalists portrayed the disaster as an obstacle to be heroically overcome. "Hail to old King's," proclaimed Halifax's *Sunday Leader*. "May she soon rise from her ashes more glorious than ever."[66]

King's College did rise again, but the re-birth was not a smooth delivery. After the fire, the college's future was uncertain, and for several years students and staff teetertottered between states of hope and discouragement. Ultimately, the university was rebuilt in Halifax, not Windsor—divorced from its historical surroundings and forced into a largely unwanted union with Dalhousie University. Moreover, even after university federation in 1923, King's College remained housed in temporary facilities until 1930. This chapter focuses on the university's cultural life from 1920 to 1930. What impact, it asks, did the exceptional events of this decade have on the psyche of the university? I argue that the trials of the 1920s reinforced the

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[64] For detailed accounts of the fire, see DeWolf and Flie, *1789: All the King's Men* (p. 44-45), and Vroom, *King's College* (p. 146-148).
[65] "King's College Destroyed by Fire," *Halifax Herald*, 6 February 1920.
[66] "Hail to Old King's," *Sunday Leader*, 15 February 1920.

importance of the university's esprit du corps. Examining the 'King's Spirit' in terms of its uniqueness, portability, and usefulness, I argue that adherence to tradition helped the university transition relatively smoothly from an autonomous school in rural Windsor to an affiliated school in Halifax. Furthermore, I suggest that many associated with the university successfully capitalized on the decade's difficulties by weaving the fire and the following upheaval into the tapestry of an already strong historical tradition: a romantic narrative built on nostalgia, resilience, and exclusivity. Ultimately, tradition proved a vital force in the college's cultural life during this decade. In an uncertain world, tradition functioned as a pillar of stability.

Manhood, Learning, Gentleness: The Character of a College

'Tradition' signifies beliefs and the practices associated with them that have survived over generations. While some traditions are ancient, the origins of most are more recent. Eric Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger consider the origins and characteristics of newer traditions in their foundational 1983 book, *The Invention of Tradition*. Here, they define 'invented tradition' as "a set of practices, normally governed by overtly or tacitly accepted rules and of a ritual or symbolic nature, which seek to inculcate certain values and norms of behaviour by repetition, which automatically implies continuity with the past."[67] This continuity is generally not rooted in pure fact, and instead shows how the inventors of tradition attempt to understand the present by linking it to history. Tradition, as Hobsbawm and Ranger explain it, should not be confused with custom or convention.[68] Though these practices are fundamentally linked to tradition, custom and convention centre around practicality, while tradition's roots are ideological. Tradition is accompanied by symbols and rituals, often acted out in the public sphere. Importantly,

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[67] Eric Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger, eds, *The Invention of Tradition* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983), 1.
[68] Hobsbawm and Ranger, eds, *The Invention of Tradition*, 2-3.

participation in tradition usually involves "emotionally and symbolically charged signs of club membership."[69] For our purposes, examples of this could include singing university songs or participating in school athletics, and this will be examined most closely in Chapter Three.

Tradition has always been important to universities, and the University of King's College is no exception.[70] But does the university properly fit Hobsbawm and Ranger's definition of invented tradition? King's College was the first chartered university in what is now Canada. As such, it borrowed heavily from existing universities—especially Oxford—to establish its social and academic cultures. It would be appropriate, then, to characterize King's College's traditions as invented, though *adaptation* was the mechanism through which this tradition was born. From its inception, King's College was to a great extent fashioned as a North American Oxford. Loyalty to Crown and steadfastness in religion were believed to be the principles on which this tradition was founded. As Vroom asserted in his 1941 history of the college, these principles did not come "automatically," but rather "by heredity": "[t]hey were the principles of King's College, New York."[71] The university's Loyalist history was used in the decades and centuries after the school's founding as Hobsbawm and Ranger have described history's usual role in tradition: "a legitimator of action and cement of group cohesion."[72] Remembering the Loyalist

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[69] Hobsbawm and Ranger, eds, *The Invention of Tradition*, 10-11.

[70] Mount Allison University provides an excellent example of invented tradition. As John Reid argued in 1989, in the postwar period Mount Allison's governing body re-framed the university as an institution that had traditionally been a small, liberal-arts institution, though this had little basis in fact.

[71] Vroom, *King's College*, 3. Henry Roper, in his 2019 essay, "King's College, New York, and King's College, Windsor: Their Connection in Fact and Legend," contextualizes this assertion. Though there were certainly commonalities in the Loyalist ideologies of both universities, Roper argues that no evidence suggests an institutional link.

[72] Hobsbawm and Ranger, eds, *The Invention of Tradition*, 12.

experience during the American Revolution, many early administrators of King's College looked primarily to England as a provider of tradition.

Tradition and university character were subjects close to the hearts of King's students, and they regularly featured in the pages of the *King's College Record*. One recurring theme was the perceived uniqueness of King's College's character. This is not to imply that other Canadian institutions of higher learning did not stand for many of the same ideals as did King's. Rather, it shows that at King's there was a real feeling of separateness and exclusivity. To borrow the not-so-humble assessment of one King's alumnus: "as Nova Scotia is still the brightest star in the constellation of Canada, so King's has not ceased to be the central glory of that flaming sphere."[73] This sense of uniqueness was later echoed by the university's president, T. Stannage Boyle, who declared: "King's stands for things distinctive […] [o]ther Colleges may quite sincerely make the same boast, and yet it remains true that King's claim is peculiar and unique."[74] Similar claims to distinctiveness appear countless times throughout the *Record* during this era, pointing to a strongly-held belief in the exceptionality of King's College.

This belief stemmed in large part from the importance that King's faculty and students placed on tradition. For them, tradition and esprit du corps went hand in hand. Those associated with King's evidently believed in the school's unofficial motto, "Manhood, Learning, Gentleness," a Shakespearean phrase that adorned the cover of every issue of the *Record*. These qualities, many thought, were "the foundation stones upon which the spirit of King's rests."[75] The school's official motto, "Deo, Legi, Regi, Gregi," encapsulated similar ideals: a true scholar, many believed, ought to be loyal to Church and Crown. Such principles were diffused

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[73] "Alumni Oration," *King's College Record*, Encaenia 1921.
[74] "Why King's Will Follow Her Own Star," *King's College Record*, Encaenia 1922.
[75] *King's College Record*, March-April 1923.

throughout the cultural life of the school, to the extent that they were often absorbed unconsciously.[76] Exhortations that King's students live up to these standards frequently graced the pages of the school paper, where students were reminded that the King's reputation was well-known outside the school and should be upheld.[77] Moreover, the spirit resulting from these ideals needed to be cherished, for without attention it would suffer. One *Record* writer describes it well:

> Born of sentiment and tradition, the Spirit of King's came into existence, and fed by loyalty and devotion, descended through the years and generations, becoming ever stronger and deeper. It is a strange and wonderful thing, this spirit of a college. It is something between a creed and a code, something which glows like a flame, and which runs still and deep like a river. But most of all it is like a plant which must be watered and cared for so that "velut arbor aevo", the spirit of a college, fed by the loyalties of her sons, shall grow and thrive.[78]

The King's spirit, born of history and tradition and nurtured by those associated with the school, was believed to indicate the college's uniqueness.

But what, exactly, were the defining characteristics of this tradition? Probably the strongest was a deeply held belief in the university's Protestant character. This was not unique to King's—as Catherine Gidney has demonstrated, liberal Protestantism permeated the social and academic cultures in English Canadian universities during the interwar years.[79] Tellingly, until the 1950s most people at these universities generally understood that "Christian" meant "Protestant".[80] Most Canadian universities could assume that incoming students would be somewhat biblically literate. At King's, this was ensured by writing Christianity into the curriculum: in the early 1920s, all degrees—not just Divinity—required 'English Bible' courses

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[76] "Why King's Will Follow Her Own Star," *King's College Record*, Encaenia 1922.
[77] *King's College Record*, Christmas 1922.
[78] "Deo, Legi, Regi, Gregi," *King's College Record*, December 1930.
[79] Catherine Gidney, *A Long Eclipse: The Liberal Protestant Establishment and the Canadian University, 1920-1970* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2004).
[80] Gidney, *A Long Eclipse*, xxiii.

in first and second years.[81] Religious education was believed to be essential to the school's raison d'être: King's College's charter, after all, had enshrined the idea that the university was created partly "[f]or the education of youth in the principles of true religion."[82] Religious education, as professor Samuel H. Prince declared in 1930, was the university's "supreme commission."[83] Overall, it is clear that students and staff generally considered the school a useful tool in the promotion of Christianity.

King's College's Christianity was distinctly Anglican, setting it apart from many other Canadian universities. Both King's College and the associated King's Collegiate School were formed to be, in the words of John Inglis, "efficient Handmaids to the Established Church."[84] This mission had historically helped keep the school alive in rocky financial times, as Nova Scotia's Church of England recognized that it needed locally-sourced clergy, and consequently lent its support to the university's maintenance.[85] The Anglican makeup of the school was still clear during the 1920s, when the college was billed as "The Church University of the Maritime Provinces": in the 1922-23 schoolyear, for example, in a province that was only around 15% Anglican, Anglican students formed nearly 80% of King's student body.[86] Additionally, over half of the university's full-time professors were Anglican clergy.[87] Attendance at chapel was

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[81] University of King's College *Calendar*, 1920-21, 1921-22, 1922-23.
[82] Hind, *The University of King's College*, 26
[83] "The King's Chapel," *King's College Record*, December 1930.
[84] John Inglis, *Memoranda Respecting King's College, at Windsor, in Nova Scotia. Collected and Prepared for the Purpose of Making Evident the Leading Object in Suggesting and Establishing That Institution* (Halifax: Gossip & Coade, 1836), 2.
[85] Henry Roper, "Traditions Lecture," *University of King's College*, 5.
[86] William S. Learned and Kenneth C.M. Sills, *Education in the Maritime Provinces of Canada* (New York: Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching, 1922), 14-15, and P.B. Waite, *The Lives of Dalhousie University Volume 1, 1818-1925: Lord Dalhousie's College* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1994), 260.
[87] Learned and Sills, *Education*, 17.

compulsory, though non-Anglican students were allowed (with special permission from the president) to attend their own services elsewhere.[88] King's, though it followed the High Church tradition, was "in no sense a High Church propogandist" in either teaching or practice, despite the fact that some people treated it as a party institution.[89] William Katerberg has noticed that Anglicanism during this period was characterized in part by fragmentation within its ranks.[90] The way some onlookers viewed King's during the early twentieth century illustrated this to the extent that the Bishop of Nova Scotia, Clarendon Lamb Worrell, in 1920 felt compelled to warn against such fragmentation:

> It is said that the average layman today does not care for extremes, and I believe that the man who will accomplish most for the Cause of Christ is the man who is above party feeling and seeks to preach the Gospel without regard to the shibboleths of party. This is the character of the teaching at King's.[91]

Though there were certain fissures in the Anglicanism surrounding the school, its predominance among the students and faculty nevertheless helped contribute to an ecclesiastical atmosphere, which—like school spirit—was greatly informed by ritual and tradition.

Englishness and Empire were also central to the university's ethos. The school's original cornerstone, after all, bore the inscription "Fear God; Honour the King," thereby illustrating the foundational nature of devotion to Empire in a physical as well as spiritual sense. The "atmosphere of Old Britain," one student wrote in 1924, "saturate[s] [King's] traditions and life."[92] As Phillip Buckner and R. Douglas Francis have observed, the myth that the First World

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[88] "Regulations Relating to Students," University of King's College *Calendar*, 1920.
[89] Clarendon Lamb Worrell, "The Bishop's Charge" *The Year Book of the Diocese of Nova Scotia*, 1920.
[90] William Katerberg, *Modernity and the Dilemma of North American Anglican Identities, 1880-1950* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2014).
[91] Worrell, "The Bishop's Charge" *The Year Book of the Diocese of Nova Scotia*, 1920.
[92] *King's College Record*, October-November 1924.

War destroyed Canadian allegiance to Britain was just that—a myth.[93] The war may have weakened the connection, but most English Canadians were still quite happy to be considered part of the "British family."[94] This was especially true of King's College, which took great pride in its Loyalist origins. At its genesis, the college's founders—themselves steeped in the educational traditions of Western Europe—had borrowed English educational traditions to raise the infant school in the image of its English parents. Indeed, in later years the college would unofficially style itself as "the Oxford of North America."[95] Articles in the *Record*—especially in the immediate aftermath of the fire—frequently stressed that the university was the oldest in the British colonial empire, and students no doubt appreciated the expressions of sympathy and encouragement sent after the fire on behalf of Oxford's King's College and the Prince of Wales.[96] Advertisements for the school almost always mentioned its royal charter and Loyalist heritage, and often noted that its tradition of academic gowns was a distinctly English custom. Moreover, in 1927, as Canada celebrated sixty years of nationhood, many associated with King's could not resist pointing out that King's was turning 138, thus making it "one of the oldest institutions in one of the youngest of nations."[97] King's College, as one alumnus professed, had obtained its wealth of tradition precisely because of "its intimate connection with the Glory that is England."[98] King's College's traditions, like its history, were intricately intertwined with notions of Englishness.

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[93] Phillip Buckner and R. Douglas Francis, eds, *Canada and the British World: Culture, Migration, and Identity* (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 2014), 1.
[94] Buckner and Francis, eds, *Canada and the British World*, 1.
[95] Alexander M. Kinghorn, "King's College, Halifax: The Overseas Commonwealth's Oldest University," *Aberdeen University Review* 38, no. 120 (1959), 25.
[96] *King's College Record*, February 1920 and Encaenia 1921.
[97] *King's College Record*, May 1927.
[98] "Alumni Oration," *King's College Record*, Encaenia 1922.

This perceived gloriousness of England was not a glory built on equality of recognition: in the eyes of the alumnus speaker, it had been England's sons, not its daughters, who had given the nation an exceptional reputation.[99] Here, too, we see an aspect of the King's character—it was a character rooted in ideas of maleness. The university had admitted its first female students in 1891, and by the 1920s female students were a strong minority of the student population (of which the total during this decade was never more than 100). Broadly, the King's character before, during, and even after the 1920s was conceived of as distinctly masculine. This is most evident in the school's emphasis on manhood, learning, and gentleness. Interestingly, the ideal of "manhood" was not something considered unattainable for women. The duty of the university, one writer declared in the early 1920s, was "to turn out men *and women* with the stamp of manhood, learning and gentleness," indicating that women who embraced male virtues could in fact live up to this motto.[100] The archetypal King's student, was, however, a male student—especially one of English extraction and Anglican persuasion.

The ideal student, regardless of gender, was expected to be virtuous. Virtue was a hot topic in Canada in the decades surrounding the turn of the twentieth century. Efforts at moral reform, such as the social purity movement and prohibition, aimed to push Canadians towards healthy and righteous lives. Importantly, as Mariana Valverde explains, such Canadian social reform movements were generally led by educated, city-dwelling English Canadians, and were significantly influenced by reform movements in England.[101] Staff and students at King's College recognized the importance of morality within the context of college life. The university's

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[99] "Alumni Oration," *King's College Record*, Encaenia 1922.
[100] Emphasis mine. *King's College Record*, January-February 1921.
[101] Mariana Valverde. *The Age of Light, Soap, and Water: Moral Reform in English Canada, 1885-1925* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1991), 16.

reputation, as President A.H. Moore avowed in 1926, depended in great part upon the behaviour of its students, namely, their "social and moral rectitude."[102] The typical English Canadian university during this period, as Gidney has observed, was normally conceived of as a "moral community," in which standards of conduct were expected to conform to Protestant ideals.[103] Students were expected to live temperate and honourable lives, and to instill their characters with traits such as truthfulness, trustworthiness, and loyalty. Many at King's took this to heart, and President T. Stannage Boyle could write in 1922 that the cultivation of gentlemanliness or gentlewomanliness was "a kind of 'lay-religion' among the students."[104] Not all students exhibited model behaviour all the time, of course, but overall it is evident that moral behaviour was valued and encouraged at King's.

Another factor integral to the nature of King's was the college's small size. Again and again during this decade, students and professors spoke of the valuable intimacy of a small, residential college. The residential system had been based upon that of older, English universities, and King's students and staff took pride in this connection. The small ratio between faculty and students, many believed, allowed for improved training of students' minds, as it allowed students to form friendly as well as intellectual relationships with their professors. Many administrators saw the close-knit community as ideal for shaping students into model, moral citizens, guided by the examples of their professors. Those who did not need to defend the school

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[102] "Small Colleges and the Personal Equation," *King's College Record*, October-November 1926.

[103] Gidney, *A Long Eclipse*, 144.

[104] "Why King's Will Follow Her Own Star," *King's College Record*, Encaenia 1922. One example of an exception to this rule is found in a March 1926 poem from the *Dalhousie Gazette*: "I'm told there's a fellow at King's / Who sits on a staircase and sings / By way of a frolic / The most alcoholic / And unreproducible things."

could more easily see the downsides of a small atmosphere, and praised the opportunities afforded at larger schools, among them less sectarianism, greater exposure to diverse ideas, and increased access to first-class professors and materials.[105] At King's, however, the small, residential-style environment was considered part and parcel of the school's heritage and charm, and its guardians made the most of this status.

This sense of charm was linked to the beauty of the college's buildings in Windsor, a beauty that was replicated in the reconstructed buildings after the fire. The Georgian-style buildings of both 'Old King's' and 'New King's' were meant to be symbolic, and to inspire ideas of strength, dignity, and tradition (see fig. 2.1).[106] "The buildings," as one *Dalhousie Gazette* writer paraphrased Kipling to describe them in 1930, "are the Wardens of the Honour of the College."[107] The notion that the buildings were only a vessel for virtue reflects a deeper conception of the university, namely, its intangibility. King's College, as President Boyle wrote in 1922, did not boast worldly wealth. Instead, it possessed "riches invisible," treasures of a spiritual rather than physical sense.[108] Many believed that the college's buildings—no matter how beautiful or historic—were not the essence of the college. King's true riches, rather, were thought to rest in the school's traditions, heritage, and inhabitants.

Tradition was not just a set of empty conventions: these practices communicated ideals. As President A. Stanley Walker once professed, "[t]radition, after all, is something more than a

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[105] Walter C. Murray, "College Union in the Maritime Provinces," *Dalhousie Review* 2, no. 4 (1923): 482.
[106] "'Gazette' Writer Tells of Beautiful Additions to Campus," *Dalhousie Gazette*, 5 November 1929.
[107] "'Gazette' Writer Tells of Beautiful Additions to Campus," *Dalhousie Gazette*, 5 November 1929.
[108] "Why King's Will Follow Her Own Star," *King's College Record*, Encaenia 1922.

slavish following of ancient ritual."[109] Symbols were useful because of what they represented. Hugh MacLennan, writing in the 1940s about the value of mythologies, used the symbol of Britannia as an example: Britannia was inspirational because "she symbolized the truth of a real situation: England's greatness, even her existence, dependant on her mastery of the sea."[110] King's College's symbols were similarly laced with meaning. Some of the principal traditions at King's College included wearing academic gowns, Latin grace (the text likely borrowed from an Oxford college), the seniority system, and Encaenia, the year-end graduation ceremony. As King's student B.C. Strople put it in 1944:

> As Kingsmen we have these things as a rich heritage and contribution to our life […] These are important, but not in themselves. These observances are outward and visible signs of something inward and spiritual. Can we catch the vision? It is there. Traditions, yes, traditions of courtesy and respect are found in our seniority system. The academic gown is symbolic of the high calling of those in advanced education […] These good things are more than mere traditions; they are ideals to work and strive for, ideals which give us meaning and hope for our age. Each of us students […] has a part to play in seeing that little acts of symbolism are alive with something deeper than pathetic and empty formalism.[111]

Only three years earlier, Vroom had also acknowledged the importance of value-laden symbolic practice, taking the complexities of King's convocation ceremony as an example and linking the ceremony to the university's history. "The question sometimes is asked," Vroom writes, "whether it is worth while to keep up such meaningless stage-play. But it is not meaningless. It is a survival and a commemoration of the spirit of the founders and benefactors."[112] Expressions of

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[109] A. Stanley Walker, "University of King's College," *The Year Book of the Diocese of Nova Scotia*, 1942.
[110] Hugh MacLennan, "The Tyranny of the Sunday Suit," in *Cross-Country* (Toronto: Wm. Collins Sons & Co., 1949), 160.
[111] B.C. Strople, "The Senior's Message," *King's College Record*, Michaelmas 1944.
[112] Vroom, *King's College*, 111.

tradition at the University of King's College, then, existed on both practical and ideological levels, and helped promote the continuance of spirit.

Figure 2.1. University of King's College, Windsor, Nova Scotia.

Source: "University of King's College: Then and Now," *CBC News*. Original in the University of King's College archives.

Contemporary perceptions of King's character were perhaps best displayed through the poetry the school inspired. A great many King's students and alumni in this decade expressed their feelings for their university through poetry. Fondness for the poetic form was common during the 1920s, and many issues of the *Record* in this decade began with a poem, most of which consider the King's character. Seventeen poems on this theme were printed in the *Record* from 1920 to 1930, and their thirteen different authors were generally students, though the writings of some alumni feature. While some poems were written for specific occasions, such as Encaenia or in reaction to the 1920 fire, others were written in general tribute to King's (or, as it

was often called, ‘Alma Mater’). Most are written quite sentimentally, and sing the university’s praises. Many written after the fire express deep grief, and convey the authors’ faith that King’s needed to and would rise again. The following example is generally representative of the larger body of King’s poems during this decade:

> “Old King’s”
>
> King’s stands for all that’s just and true,
> Her sons are the manliest ever,
> Her story is written in tongues of flame
> All down through the ages telling her fame,
> Of honour and earnest endeavor.
>
> Calmly she smiles on those who fear
> That her brightest dawn has departed.
> She has not the wealth which the world admires,
> And she holds no love for its gross desires,
> Only clings to the noble hearted.
>
> “Deo, Legi, Regi, Gregi,”
> Towards her motto she’ll ever aspire;
> Tradition demands that she plays her part
> With as fair a name and as pure a heart,
> And as loftly and true a desire.[113]

Written by a student in 1924, this poem touches on many themes prevalent in the poetry of this decade, including masculinity, honour, strength, longevity, financial struggle, nobility, tradition, primacy of God and King, and an emphasis on immateriality. It also shows a fascinating element of many of these poems: the tendancy toward fire imagery. This is perhaps used to greatest effect in 1927 poem by another student author, which begins: “Old King’s! About thy college slopes / Still burns the flame of Memory’s fire, / Of bygone days, of unborn hopes, / Of glorious dreams, and sweet desire.”[114] Here, the author offers both a literal and

[113] “Old King’s,” *King’s College Record*, October-November, 1924.
[114] “Memorabilia,” *King’s College Record*, December 1927.

figurative recounting of the fate of Windsor's King's College. Another important theme is the university's distinctiveness, portrayed as being produced by history, tradition, and lofty ideals. Because the university was considered a beacon of truth, ensuring its survival was thought crucial. As one author expressed it: "From dust arise! Redeem thy sacred trust!"[115] Overall, these poems are overwhelmingly heartfelt, and offer compelling evidence that students and alumni felt a strong and enduring connection to their university and to the ideals they believed it represented.

King's students expressed their traditions, and the school spirit born of these traditions, in many ways besides poetry. One favoured method of collegial unity was very typical of other Western universities during this period: to engage in ear-splitting renditions of the college yell.[116] (Not all were equally enthusiastic—unimpressed by this practice, the yell itself was described by one professor as a "modern abomination" that "grate[d] harshly" on the ear.)[117] The spirit of King's was also recognized from the outside. City, denominational, and university newspapers both local and further afield lauded King's for its spirit, both in the aftermath of the fire and on other occasions throughout the decade. 'King's spirit,' evidently, was an entity both professed from within and acknowledged from without.

Lest we get carried away and begin to imagine at King's College an all-encompassing, universally accepted belief in the primacy of tradition and the ideals it conveyed, it is worthwhile to remember that no cultural body, however small, is completely homogeneous. For some students and faculty, convention was enough of an explanation, and "[b]ecause we have always done so" would have been a perfectly acceptable response to questions about the adherence to

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[115] Charles LeV. Brine, "To My Alma Mater," *King's College Record*, January-February 1925.
[116] University of King's College yell: "Ki-i Ki-iki-ipi-ki-i / Ki-o-ki-o Ki-ipi-ki-o / Ki-ah-ki-ah Ki-ipi-ki-ah / King's University! / Rah! Rah! Rah! / Rah! Rah! Rah! / Rah! Rah! Rah! / King's." "Lyrics for College Songs and Yells," Dalhousie University Reference Collection.
[117] "Alumni Oration," *King's College Record*, Encaenia 1923.

certain traditions.[118] But perhaps the most interesting account of tradition at King's College can be found in a brief comment in the diary of Charles Ritchie, a King's student in the mid-1920s. He writes in 1924: "After lectures I ran into Professor Walker [later President Walker] in the corridor. He said that he had met all the most brilliant men in Nova Scotia and that they did not amount to a row of ninepins and that all this bunkum about King's College being an ancient institution was tiresome drivel. Of course, he is an Oxford man and very brilliant, but I think he was just letting off steam."[119] An emphasis on tradition and history, however useful in inculcating and preserving school spirit, could lose charm with constant repetition. Despite certain cracks, this spirit, based in part on a belief in the university's uniqueness in location, size, and storied history, ultimately served King's well. As we will see, in times of upheaval, tradition was abundantly useful.

Tradition in Transit: Transplanting Culture

Following the 1920 fire, King's College was in crisis. Already financially strapped, the college faced an uncertain future. After some deliberation, it was announced that King's would rebuild on its original foundation. This was not without precedent. In 1871, King's Collegiate School had burned down, to be rebuilt six years later, though schooling was halted for two years. Thirteen years after the Collegiate School's destruction, the professors' houses at King's College were also toppled by fire, and these were soon rebuilt. Destruction and regeneration were part of the university's history. The plan to rebuild was greeted with delight by King's students and alumni, both of whom had urged that the university remain in Windsor.[120] The threat of

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[118] Vroom, *King's College*, 152.

[119] Charles Ritchie, *An Appetite for Life: The Education of a Young Diarist, 1924-1927* (Toronto: Macmillan of Canada, 1977), 18.

[120] *Board of Governors King's College Windsor Sept. 1st 1913 to [May. 31st 1921]*, University of King's College Board of Governors.

amalgamation weighed heavily on students' minds, but now, as one student happily declared, it was forever put to rest.[121] By mid-1921, King's had released plans for "The Vision of The New King's" (see fig. 2.2) and had launched a "Million Dollar Campaign" to procure the necessary funds.[122] Architect Andrew Cobb was hired to design the new buildings, which he intended to style in the same "classic grace and dignity of old King's."[123] Donations began to arrive, some of which were given on the condition that the university was rebuilt at Windsor.[124] Despite the auspicious beginning, it was not to be: the fundraised money was insufficient, and ultimately King's was forced to leave its home and throw its oar in with Dalhousie University in Halifax. This, many associated with King's believed, was a severe—and possibly deadly—blow.

[121] *King's College Record*, Encaenia 1920 and December 1920.
[122] *King's College Record*, Encaenia 1921 and January-February 1921.
[123] "The New King's College," *Church Work*, 15 September 1920.
[124] *King's College Record*, February 1920 and *Board of Governors King's College Windsor Sept. 1st 1913 to [May. 31st 1921]*.

Figure 2.2. “The Vision of the New King’s,” 1921.

Source: *King’s College Record*, January-February 1921.

Following the First World War, the mood at Canadian universities was optimistic: veterans had returned, and many felt that the universities had a new lease on life. David M. Cameron has described how enrolments, revenues, and confidence grew rapidly at Canadian universities during the 1920s.[125] The same could not be said of many of Nova Scotia’s universities, especially King’s College. The Maritimes of the 1920s was, unlike the rest of Canada, experiencing a period of stagnation and decline, prompting a communal sense of unfairness that would find expression in the Maritime Rights Movement. Maritimers moved to the United States in droves in search of brighter prospects, and with them went over a third of

[125] David M. Cameron, *More Than an Academic Question: Universities, Government, and Public Policy in Canada* (Halifax: Institute for Research on Public Policy, 1991), 33.

Acadia University's graduates, a trend no doubt reflected in the migration patterns of many other Nova Scotian university graduates.[126] Something, it was alarmingly clear, had to be done.

For King's the answer came from the United States. There was a certain irony in this development: King's, which had been founded in part by Loyalists leaving America, would be saved by American money. The Carnegie Foundation, begun by philanthropist Andrew Carnegie in 1905, during the 1920s and 1930s had taken Canadian universities under its wing.[127] Hearing of the struggles of the universities in the Maritime provinces, especially those in Nova Scotia, the Foundation commissioned a survey to consider education in the Maritime provinces.[128] The Learned-Sills Report, as the resulting account came to be known, was a carefully thought-out document. Taking into consideration Nova Scotia's small population in relation to its plethora of universities and colleges, it very practically recommended that these should be joined in federation, with the resultant Nova Scotian university located in Halifax.[129] This recommendation very nearly came to fruition, but in the end sectarian sensibilities prevailed, and only King's, bowing to necessity, made the move.[130] The union of King's and Dalhousie was, to a great extent, a marriage of convenience. This marriage, however, would not prove unhappy.

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[126] E.R. Forbes and D.A. Muise (eds), *The Atlantic Provinces in Confederation* (Fredericton, N.B.: Acadiensis Press, 1993), 262.
[127] Cameron, *More Than an Academic Question*, 36.
[128] Learned and Sills, *Education*.
[129] Learned and Sills, *Education*.
[130] King's College, as Barry Moody describes it in *Give Us an A: An Acadia Album*, "succumbed to the siren call of Halifax" (59), while Acadia stood firm in its principles and remained in Wolfville. This is not an accurate representation of King's situation. The issue of university federation and the implications of the Learned-Sills Report are described at length elsewhere. For good general considerations, see James Cameron's *For the People: A History of St. Francis Xavier University* or John G. Reid's *Mount Allison University: A History, to 1963*. For accounts more specific to the experience of King's College, see John G. Leefe's M.A. thesis, "The

University federation in Nova Scotia was by no means a novel idea. The topic had been floated since 1818, when Lord Dalhousie created his own college in Halifax. By 1920, King's had been involved in considerations of university federation with Dalhousie no fewer than six times. Over half a century before, Hugo Reid, in his *Remarks on University Education in Nova Scotia*, had neatly summarized the situation: Nova Scotia's universities were wasteful in their excessive number, overly sectarian, and poorly located away from central hubs.[131] For Reid, it was ridiculous that Nova Scotia's only chemistry professor would continue "[w]asting his sweetness on the desert air" in Windsor when a more populated city such as Halifax could profit from his instruction.[132] In subsequent years, especially in the early 1920s, many others took up the cry for federation.[133] Failure to unite the Maritime colleges would be, former Dalhousie professor Walter C. Murray wrote in 1923, "an unpardonable offence."[134] Dalhousie students by and large agreed, as did the Anglican Church.[135] In fact, the Most Reverend Clarendon Lamb Worrell, Bishop of Nova Scotia, urged in 1920 that the college be a "living organism" rather than "a sacred relic" catering to those who were overly attached to Windsor.[136] Would it not be more worthwhile, many asked, to have one excellent university in Halifax rather than a dozen mediocre ones scattered around the province?

Supporters of King's College, Windsor were not so easily convinced. The financial burdens that had often plagued the school, they argued, would not magically evaporate upon

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University of King's College: An Examination of Its Relationships with Dalhousie University" or Fenwick W. Vroom's *King's College*.

[131] Hugo Reid, *Remarks on University Education in Nova Scotia* (Halifax, 1859), 5.

[132] Reid, *Remarks*, 11.

[133] Notably Walter C. Murray, Sir Robert Falconer, and Hugo Reid.

[134] Murray, "College Union," 494.

[135] *Board of Governors King's College Windsor Sept. 1st 1913 to [May. 31st 1921].*

[136] Worrell, "The Bishop's Charge," *The Year Book of the Diocese of Nova Scotia*, 1920.

arrival in Halifax. In fact, removal so far from Windsor would likely only increase the financial strain on current and prospective students. Of course, these difficulties would only matter if the school *still had* students, which some seemed to consider doubtful.[137] "We *feel sure*," the Class of 1923 valedictorian noted in his address, "that King's in Halifax will *never* be able to compete against King's in Windsor."[138] President Boyle came through with a stirring article, "Why King's Will Follow Her Own Star," that summarized opinions nicely (see Appendix B). Here, he noted that the move would break with King's charter, which specified that the university was to be in Windsor, and noted that many individuals believed that the university might be better off dead than at Halifax.[139] The students were on his side. One *Record* article from late 1920 describes how King's students protested amalgamation in a torch-light parade through Windsor that included a jazz band and banners ("King's for Windsor or King's without students," among others), and culminated in the burning of "a coffin representing the enemies of King's" in a public park.[140] "It was," the article concluded, "a real King's night, expressive of our feelings and convictions, and as the sparks mounted higher and higher, college songs and yells re-echoed across the common."[141] Even if this account is possibly more creative liberty than truth, it does demonstrate that King's students were generally against amalgamation.

The truth was that King's students were discouraged. Following the fire, the students had proved remarkably resilient, carrying on despite disruption and poor learning conditions. The Learned-Sills Report, in fact, had remarked upon this adaptability, diagnosing student morale as

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[137] "Valedictory," *King's College Record*, Encaenia 1923.
[138] Italics in original. "Valedictory," *King's College Record*, Encaenia 1923.
[139] "Why King's Will Follow Her Own Star," *King's College Record*, Encaenia 1922.
[140] *King's College Record*, December 1920.
[141] *King's College Record*, December 1920.

undamaged.[142] Societies were up and running, and the university was relatively sound in a cultural sense. For some, however, characteristic optimism began to fade by 1922. After two years of promises—a cornerstone in Windsor had already been laid—hopes of rebuilding in Windsor had largely vanished. Hints of bitterness began to appear in the *Record*. One student blamed the Church of England's failure to support the school, putting it bluntly:

> King's is bankrupt. Forget her glories; remember her miseries. It is fashionable. She has served the Church of England in the Maritime Provinces and in Canada and the Church of England is quite indifferent to her. Quite indifferent. Nay, apathetic and weary, and here and there hostile.[143]

Blame was less likely to be cast on the shoulders of the school's alumni, many of whom gave generous financial donations to set the university back on its feet. Giving was encouraged in both typical and atypical ways, however, with more than one writer turning to poetry to promote alumni support. One such poem published in the *King's College Record* concluded with a vaguely threatening appeal:

> Can ye, will ye, watch her dying,
> With her oldest charter lying
> Hidden in some obscure corner
> And your college but a name?
> Fear ye not those years will haunt you,
> Ghosts of her Alumni taunt you,
> All the gifts of life she gave you,
> Must she seek return in vain.[144]

Others chose the Board of Governors as the target of their discontent. The financial campaign, these students noted pointedly, would have been more effective had it been conducted in a timelier matter.[145] W.B. Morehouse, valedictorian of 1922, took the assault further, levelling a

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[142] Learned and Sills, *Education*, 17.
[143] *King's College Record*, Christmas 1921.
[144] "Our Alma Mater," *King's College Record*, March-April, 1922.
[145] *King's College Record*, January-February 1922.

damning critique at the University's governing officials. Such is the uncharacteristic venom of this critique that it is worth quoting at length. Finishing a moving portion of his speech about the resiliency of the King's spirit, Morehouse launched into the following attack:

> But, Ladies and Gentlemen, we reckoned without our host. Those sentiments which I have expressed were such as flourished in the lovers of King's, the destiny of King's was wrapped in the hands of those who would chant jazz music at her funeral, or who else [*sic*] were incapable of putting forth the necessary effort to carry out the trust reposed in them by the founders of this Institution. You see before you today a great debacle, you see an ancient Institution on its last legs, because those who should have saved her refused to expend the necessary effort and were unwilling to make room, so that somebody else might have a chance to fulfill that duty, which they had no intention of performing. I am not going to attempt to point out the errors and the blunders that these men have made, they are legion, they are of an order which would put to shame a high school boy of any standing, there are hardly enough words in the dictionary to describe the colossal procrastination of many of these men, who held the destiny of King's in their power. At the time when they should have gone to the country with confidence and determination, when every appeal should have been a clarion call, arousing our constituency to arms, at a time when they should have been prepared to assail the impossible, they spent days, weeks and months in telling the world what they would do, if they could, but which their listeners knew, they couldn't if they would. *For these men the Class of 1922 has the utmost contempt, we scratch their names off our books as worthy of no further consideration*.[146]

The valedictory of 1922, one imagines, was not soon forgotten. Clearly, tensions were rising.

Such anti-federation and pro-Windsor beliefs betrayed a deep uneasiness held by King's students and staff alike. We have seen how important the 'Spirit of King's' was to the university's inhabitants. Post-fire considerations of this spirit, however, sparked a degree of anxiety, centered around one question: if the school moved, would the spirit go with it?[147] Perhaps King's would lose its character in the transition—perhaps what had made it so unique would be destroyed. Some took the view that loss of spirit was likely inevitable, possibly

[146] Italics mine. "Valedictory," *King's College Record*, Encaenia 1922.
[147] *King's College Record*, March-April 1923.

retainable only in the unlikely event that the entire student population moved with King's.[148] Others believed that the loss of this spirit and abandonment of tradition would be an unpardonable tragedy, a sacrifice not to be offset even by a far brighter financial future.[149] Many affirmed their deep conviction that students needed to do all in their power to transport this spirit: maybe the spirit would not survive the transplant, but that was no excuse to stop fighting for it.[150] The spirit of King's, as one student expressed it, was the "guiding star" of the university; for the university to properly survive, so too must its star.[151]

In September 1923, King's began life in Halifax. To borrow a metaphor from an earlier Dalhousian, the "flirtation" that had been ongoing between Dalhousie and King's for over a century had (at long last) "ripened into marriage."[152] The road to this scholastic shotgun marriage had been rocky, but the seventh time was the charm, if charm it can be called. Every undergraduate student but two moved with the school to Halifax, a showing lauded by President Boyle as exemplifying the student body's "reputation for loyalty to the institution."[153] Halifax likely would have seemed somewhat foreign to the transplanted King's students at first: in contrast to the quiet and genteel nature of Windsor, Halifax's population of nearly 60,000 would have required some adjustment. Nor was Halifax a particularly inspiring place at first glance: dingy, overcrowded, and suffering from a post-war slump, the city was, to quote one who knew

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[148] "Why King's Will Follow Her Own Star," *King's College Record*, Encaenia 1922.
[149] *King's College Record*, Christmas 1922.
[150] *King's College Record*, Encaenia 1922.
[151] *King's College Record*, Encaenia 1923.
[152] *Dalhousie Gazette*, 24 April 1903.
[153] President's Report, 7 May 1924.

it well, "a town Dickens could have used."[154] The students, however, were somewhat removed from Halifax's busy downtown—having as yet no buildings of their own, they had been quartered at 'Birchdale,' a former hotel owned by Dalhousie and situated at the bottom of Coburg Road. They would stay there for the next seven years.

Halifax and Dalhousie welcomed the exiles royally. King's students, faced with the inevitability of the move, made a virtue of necessity and became reconciled to their reality, if not to the idea of it. They felt the importance of this first year, noting that it was one of the most crucial: to survive, King's must begin as it meant to go on—not doing so could be fatal.[155] While King's had lost its complete autonomy in terms of classes (most students, after first year, would be educated at Dalhousie), worries about cultural absorption were quickly put to bed. Future graduates, President Boyle believed, would be just as much "King'smen" as those of the past, despite the lack of a King's-issued degree.[156] In a cordial welcome printed in the *Gazette*, King's students were reassured that both universities would continue their distinct student traditions, and that Dalhousie-King's could be rivals or partners according to the occasion.[157] In this long-awaited union, the whole was indeed to be greater than the sum of the parts, but the parts would retain their individuality—one would not subsume the other.

King's students came to Dalhousie dragging their heels; once there, they soon saw the benefits of the arrangement. In a very short time, previous hostility gave way to heartfelt enjoyment. King's, with a 1923 population of about eighty-five, could reap the social and

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[154] Thomas H. Raddall, *In My Time: A Memoir* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1976), 93, and Hugh MacLennan, "An Orange From Portugal," in *Cross-Country* (Toronto: Wm. Collins Sons & Co., 1949), 23.
[155] *King's College Record*, October-November 1923.
[156] T. Stannage Boyle to W. Lawson Forster, 31 March 1924 (UKC.REG.4.F).
[157] *Dalhousie Gazette*, 10 October 1923.

scholastic benefits of union with a student population of over 800. The fire that had necessitated this became for many "a calamity with a silver lining."[158] For some, this came in the form of increased romantic opportunities: as one poem cheekily suggested, the opportunity to meet new girls had prompted a sudden shift in feelings about the benefit of college federation.[159] King's students certainly felt the vibrant social opportunities offered by a larger school, as invitations to dances, teas, societies, and fraternities poured forth in rapid succession. And the benefit was not just one-sided. With the arrival of King's in Halifax, Dalhousians gained several professors, for whom they were grateful.[160] Some of these professors—sociologist Samuel Henry Prince, for example—were on the cutting edge of modern academics, and Dalhousie students could now benefit from their expertise.

King's also influenced Dalhousie by example. Impressed with the quality of King's literary club, the Haliburton Society, Dalhousians were inspired to form their own club in its image, the Unicorn.[161] Dalhousie and King's students were quick to make friends with each other, fostering increased harmony between the two schools.[162] King's students increasingly warmed to their new situation, and by 1930 the general sentiment was one of deep appreciation for the move, and gratitude that the cultural individuality of both universities had been retained.[163] For King's, two especially important traditions had been maintained: Encaenia, and

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[158] *King's College Record*, January-February 1924.
[159] *King's College Record*, October-November 1923.
[160] "Message From President MacKenzie" and "Dal's New Professors," *Dalhousie Gazette* 10 October 1923.
[161] The Haliburton Society continues to this day, though as of August 2020 it is known as the "UKing's Literary Society". The Unicorn fizzled out after two years, but its counterpart for female students, the Midlothian Club, continued for decades ("A Haliburton Club?" *Dalhousie Gazette*, 17 February 1927, and "Form Literary Club," *Dalhousie Gazette*, 3 March 1927).
[162] *Pharos*, 1931 and 1927.
[163] *King's College Record*, October-November 1930.

the wearing of traditional academic robes, which Dalhousians did not do.[164] Recognizing that their traditions could remain in place and their spirit continue in Halifax as in Windsor, King's students felt confident in applauding their adoptive surroundings.

Figure 2.3. The New King's, Halifax, 1929.

Source: *Pharos,* 1929.

On October 2nd, 1930, hundreds of students, faculty, and supporters gathered for the formal opening of the new King's College, a charming trio of buildings on Dalhousie's Studley

[164] A poem from the fall of 1923 speaks to this cultural difference nicely: "ONE Day / I WAS going to a lecture / OVER at Dalhousie / AND suddenly / I Noticed / THAT a large crowd / WAS following. / THERE were old men / AND dogs / AND maiden ladies / AND kids / AND tram cars / AND I wondered why / THEY were following / WHEN suddenly / I thought / OF my gown; / AND I remembered / THAT we / ARE IN Halifax / NOT Windsor" (*King's College Record*, October-November 1923).

campus, modelled in the Georgian style of their precursors (see fig. 2.3).[165] "The new buildings," observed Vroom retrospectively, "[were] something of a balm for sore hearts, and an encouragement to shout *semper floreat Alma Mater* with all the vigour of the good old days."[166] There was one important difference from the 'good old days': unlike the original buildings, King's College in Halifax was designed to be fireproof![167] The university flourished in its seven years in Halifax, and the 1930-31 schoolyear saw a record enrolment of 110. King's, as one of its professors would later assert, had, "like the Phoenix of mythology, [risen] from her ashes, renewed in strength and beauty."[168] The successful transition assuaged the doubts of those who had feared the college would die a swift death in its new location.[169] But the university had survived not just physically, but also in spirit. As President Boyle put it short years after the fire: "There must be something worth while about a College situated as we are now that can nevertheless in spite of handicaps hold its student body. One is inclined to believe that the very conditions under which we are doing our work had made for a better esprit du corps."[170] By all accounts, the unique traditions and spirit of King's had made the transition unweakened. Even those outside King's clearly saw this, and in 1930 the *Halifax Herald* remarked on the occasion of an alumni reunion that "the spirit of Old King's walked abroad in Halifax."[171] One alumnus summed the matter up nicely: "we have not taken the Windsor out of King's, but [have] put

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[165] "Formal Opening of New King's," *King's College Record*, October-November 1930.
[166] Italics in original. Vroom, *King's College*, 156.
[167] University of King's College *Calendar*, 1930-31.
[168] Vroom, *King's College*, xii.
[169] "Valedictory," *King's College Record*, Encaenia 1925.
[170] President's Report, n.d. Likely 1923 or 1924.
[171] "King's Graduates Laud Traditions of their Alma Mater," *Halifax Herald*, 30 August 1930.

Halifax into it."[172] Despite anxieties about the cultural consequences of removal to Halifax, the spirit of King's proved to have one unforeseen quality—portability.

A Storied Past: Romance and Realism

Origin stories are always compelling, and Nova Scotians during the 1920s found the history of King's College's beginnings especially so. For one local publication, King's College was the province's greatest link with its past, "for its very stones recall the tremendous struggle for Empire that swept thru the land" so many years before.[173] Furthermore, 1920s Nova Scotia was a perfect location for the continuation of this romantic conception, as interest in heritage, folklore, and history grew exponentially during this period. The federal government helped fuel this interest by increasingly designating locations as historical sites. In 1923, for example, the year King's left for Halifax, the school's original location in Windsor became a National Historic Site, and six years later the Historic Sites and Monuments Board of Canada recognized the founding of the college as an event of national significance.[174] Seldom was the name of King's referenced in newspapers without some reference to its influential and eventful history. The fire of 1920 proved to be a pinnacle in what was considered a romantic tale of chaos and loyalty, struggle and triumph, and indomitable spirit. The fire and subsequent re-establishment of King's, then, both fashioned and were fashioned by this romantic narrative of struggle. As Hugh MacLennan once observed: "A mythology which is based on reality is one of the most valuable assets a people can possess."[175] This was especially true for King's, and the university's mythic narrative proved surprisingly useful.

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[172] "Foreword," *King's College Record*, October-November 1930.
[173] *Hants Journal*, 11 February 1920.
[174] "Address By Archdeacon Vroom," *King's College Record*, Encaenia 1929.
[175] Hugh MacLennan, "The Tyranny of the Sunday Suit," in *Cross-Country* (Toronto: Wm. Collins Sons & Co., 1949), 160.

The struggles of the American Revolution may have been over, but King's students in the 1920s had the opportunity to situate themselves at an historic juncture: to prove their mettle and fortitude by their reaction to adversity. As a journalist from the *Sunday Leader* professed in the immediate aftermath of the fire, King's may have struggled in its past attempts to obtain funds and students, but the "romance which attaches to time-honored institutions" remained intact.[176] Meanwhile, the *Halifax Herald* proclaimed that the university's "very name is tenoned and mortised in tradition and romance."[177] The *Herald* elsewhere likened the fall of the university's bell during the fire at King's to "the last moan of a brave soldier who had fought a good fight."[178] Similar battle imagery was evident in calls to action to rebuild the university after the fire. The moment of crisis, many avowed, was merely the midwife for opportunity. King's students, as they were figured in the romantic narrative, needed to become a fighting people worthy of their heritage, ready to throw themselves wholeheartedly into the struggle to keep the university alive. To ensure their school's survival, students ought to "be fired with a determination that will go forth into battle for one of the most glorious institutions that has ever given ideals to men."[179] Such evocative language was used with good effect to stir the hearts of listeners, and to inspire alumni and sympathizers into generosity in the many financial campaigns over this decade.

The union between Dalhousie and King's College was by no means completely smooth. All honeymoons come to an end, and there were plenty of issues to be ironed out, specifically regarding the administrative and financial sides of the university.[180] With federation, King's College had lost its degree-granting powers in all but Divinity, a situation that rankled. While

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[176] "Hail to Old King's!" *Sunday Leader*, 15 February 1920.
[177] *Halifax Herald*, 6 February 1920.
[178] *Halifax Herald*, 6 February 1920.
[179] *King's College Record*, Encaenia 1922.
[180] For a helpful account of these problems, see John G. Leefe.

King's did not retain administrative autonomy, however, it compensated by stressing its cultural autonomy. Situating the post-fire struggle within the romantic narrative helped emphasize the continuity of the history and spirit of the college. Students were often reminded, whether by faculty, fellow students, or outsiders, that they were "heirs to the traditions of a storied past," and that the fate of the university and the traditions it held rested largely on their shoulders.[181] Amid the political and social unrest of the 1920s and the challenge posed by the destruction of the school, the traditions of King's College served the university well: the school's perceived uniqueness and portability gave students and staff ideals to cling to during this difficult period. By weaving the fire and the subsequent upheaval and struggle into the romantic narrative of King's, students and staff made effective use of their heritage.[182]

Conclusion

For three joyful days in the summer of 1930, alumni of King's College filled the university's newly constructed buildings. Returning to King's from all over Canada, over two hundred former students gathered in Halifax to spend their days reminiscing, attending dinners and events, having 'singsongs', and reuniting with old friends.[183] A deep sense of nostalgia for Old King's permeated the event—the new buildings, of course, reminded onlookers of those in Windsor. Many alumni took advantage of an excursion to the site of Old King's itself, to view the ruins of the old school.[184] But not all were ruled by a desire to turn back the clock. In 1930, in fact, the university's governors severed the connection to Windsor in a very tangible way, by

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[181] "Foreword," *King's College Record*, December 1927.
[182] This tradition continues to some extent even today. At King's 2021 Encaenia (held in May 2022), President William Lahey referenced the fire and consequent rebuilding in Halifax as examples of triumph in times of hardship.
[183] Vroom, *King's College*, 157.
[184] *King's College Record*, October-November 1930.

deeding its Windsor buildings and land to King's Collegiate School. King's College, clearly, was in Halifax to stay.

Tradition, as Henry Roper reminds us, can be a double-edged sword: it has the power both to inspire and to kill.[185] At King's College in the 1920s, it undoubtedly acted as an instrument of inspiration. This chapter considers the unique character of the University of King's college, and argues that the school's spirit and tradition were ultimately portable. The college's culture of 1930 in Halifax, after all, looked remarkably similar to that of 1920 in Windsor. This cultural portability largely stemmed from the fact that those associated with King's were able to weave the events of the 1920s into the broader historical narrative, effectively writing another chapter in the romance of King's. Overall, this reliance on tradition allowed King's College to emerge from the turbulence of this decade stronger than before. Amidst a stormy decade, students and staff of King's College clung to traditions as if to a life preserver. Ultimately, it bore them safely to shore.

[185] Roper, "Traditions Lecture," 1.

CHAPTER THREE
A Full Education: Moulding the Mind, Body, and Spirit in the 1930s

In September 1930, after seven years of anticipation, King's College's students and faculty moved into their new home on Coburg Road, a stone's throw from Dalhousie University. Despite their excitement, the move was bittersweet. The students, housed for seven years in Birchdale, a dilapidated yet charming former hotel on the Northwest Arm, had grown to love the place despite its many shortcomings. The new King's College was beautiful, but, while appreciative of the more comfortable surroundings, many students looked wistfully back at the familiar, homey atmosphere of Birchdale. When the old hotel was torn down shortly after their move, it was with a deeply felt sadness that students and staff surveyed the ruins of the place that had housed them for almost a decade. It was a very tangible burning of bridges, as Birchdale was conceived of as a link between the historical King's in Windsor and the newborn King's in Halifax.[186] As this connection was now quite literally in ruins, it was imperative that King's looked to the future. As the *Record* proclaimed in 1931: "*The new era has begun for King's*."[187]

Some students and staff feared that this new stability would subdue the fighting spirit that had characterized the college's collective outlook for the past decade. As many believed, it was struggle and hardship, not prosperity, that bred spirit. Certainly, there was hardship on the broader scale—the Depression hit Canada hard, notably in the Maritimes, where unemployment was above the national average. Nova Scotia's economic hardships of the 1920s, however, had unexpected benefits in this situation: Halifax, as Thomas Raddall put it, "had nothing new to suffer."[188] Economic fluctuations, though, were likely not foremost in students' minds. As

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[186] *King's College Record*, April 1931.
[187] Italics in original. *King's College Record*, October 1931.
[188] Thomas H. Raddall, *Halifax, Warden of the North* (Halifax: Nimbus, 1993), 268.

Margaret Conrad has suggested, during the Depression many youths were far more interested in cultural developments than they were in politics or the economy.[189] Those who could still attend university in the 1930s did not intend to let the Depression spoil the experience. As Axelrod has illustrated, Canadian students during the 1930s viewed the future as "uncertain, not hopeless."[190] As for Canadian universities themselves, the 1930s were difficult but by no means a death knell, and the approximately 33,000 students within their walls carried on.[191]

King's students were no different. Enrolment remained relatively stable during the 1930s, and the dramatic events of the previous decade were not repeated. Vroom, in his 1941 history of the college, was content to sum up the decade as one in which there was "nothing of notable historical value."[192] In other words, after the new buildings were finished in 1930, and until the outbreak of war in 1939, no significant event defined the college during these years. If the student experience at King's College during the 1920s was atypical on the national scale, the evidence suggests that the 1930s was far more average. This chapter explores university life more generally than Chapter Two. It examines the education offered at King's College in a comprehensive sense, exploring academics, sports, and social life. It observes that the University of King's College, like most Western universities in the 1930s, aimed to produce respectable, well-rounded individuals who would become productive members of society. A true education, in the view of Canadian educators and students, needed to train the body and soul as well as the

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[189] Margaret Conrad, "'But Such Is Life': Growing Up in Nova Scotia in the Interwar Years," *Journal of the Royal Nova Scotia Historical Society* 2 (1999): 22.
[190] Axelrod, *Making a Middle Class*, 20.
[191] This represents 3% of college-aged Canadian residents. Paul Axelrod, "The Student Movement of the 1930s," in *Youth, University, and Canadian Society* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1989).
[192] Vroom, *King's College*, 158.

mind. In this, Canadian universities followed English social and educational ideals, adapted to Canada. The development of tradition during these years at King's, then, occurred in a Canadian environment typical of the nation's average English Protestant university.

The Gentleman Scholar: Academic Life

The prerogative of the university, both past and present, is academics. It is difficult to fully understand the student experience if we do not know who students were, what they did at school, and where they came from. At the University of King's College, as at Dalhousie, the academic year ran from late September to the end of April, breaking for a day at Thanksgiving, two weeks at Christmas, and for Good Friday.[193] Male and female students were admitted to classes under the same standards and only in special cases was a prospective student under the age of sixteen allowed to take classes.[194] At both Dalhousie and King's, with some exceptions, proof of matriculation in a variety of examinations was required before students were admitted. While all degrees had their own required matriculation subjects, every student needed to pass the four core subjects, central to all degrees: English, History, Algebra, and Geometry. Though many students came from city high schools, the majority arrived at King's from academies (most frequently King's Collegiate School and Rothesay Collegiate School) or after taking at least a year at another university. In 1933 Dalhousie—and, by consequence, King's—tightened its entrance requirements, which initially caused a drop in enrolment at both universities.[195]

The average student body at the University of King's College in the 1930s was 101 students, though enrolment varied from a low of 87 (1935-36) to a high of 115 (1931-32) (see

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[193] University of King's College *Calendar*, 1930-31.
[194] The information here and in the next paragraphs is from University of King's College *Calendars*, 1930-1939.
[195] Waite, *Lives of Dalhousie,* vol. 2, 66.

Appendix A).[196] An average of 29% of students were either studying or planning to study ministry in the University's School of Divinity, which was vitally important to maintaining desirable student numbers. As Appendix A shows, even in years when the total student body decreased, the number of candidates for ministry remained consistently in the high twenties or low thirties. In terms of total student body, King's College was small compared to Dalhousie, the population of which stayed within the 800-1000 range during the 1930s.[197] At King's, female students generally comprised between 20-25% of the student body, which was similar to the gender breakdown at Dalhousie and the average Canadian university.[198] Most King's students came to the university from homes in Nova Scotia or New Brunswick, with the majority drawn from Halifax and Cape Breton (see fig. 3.1.).[199]

As Axelrod has argued on many occasions, the typical Canadian university student during the 1930s came from a middle-class background, and the students of the University of King's College generally fit this pattern, with some outliers.[200] Being middle-class did not

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[196] President's Reports to the Board of Governors, 1931-1939.

[197] Waite, *Lives of Dalhousie*, vol. 2, Table 1. Waite's figures, however, include King's students.

[198] This average comes from student enrolment forms at the University of King's College from the years 1930, 1933, 1936, and 1939. For gender and Canadian averages, see Axelrod, *Making a Middle Class*, 87, 21.

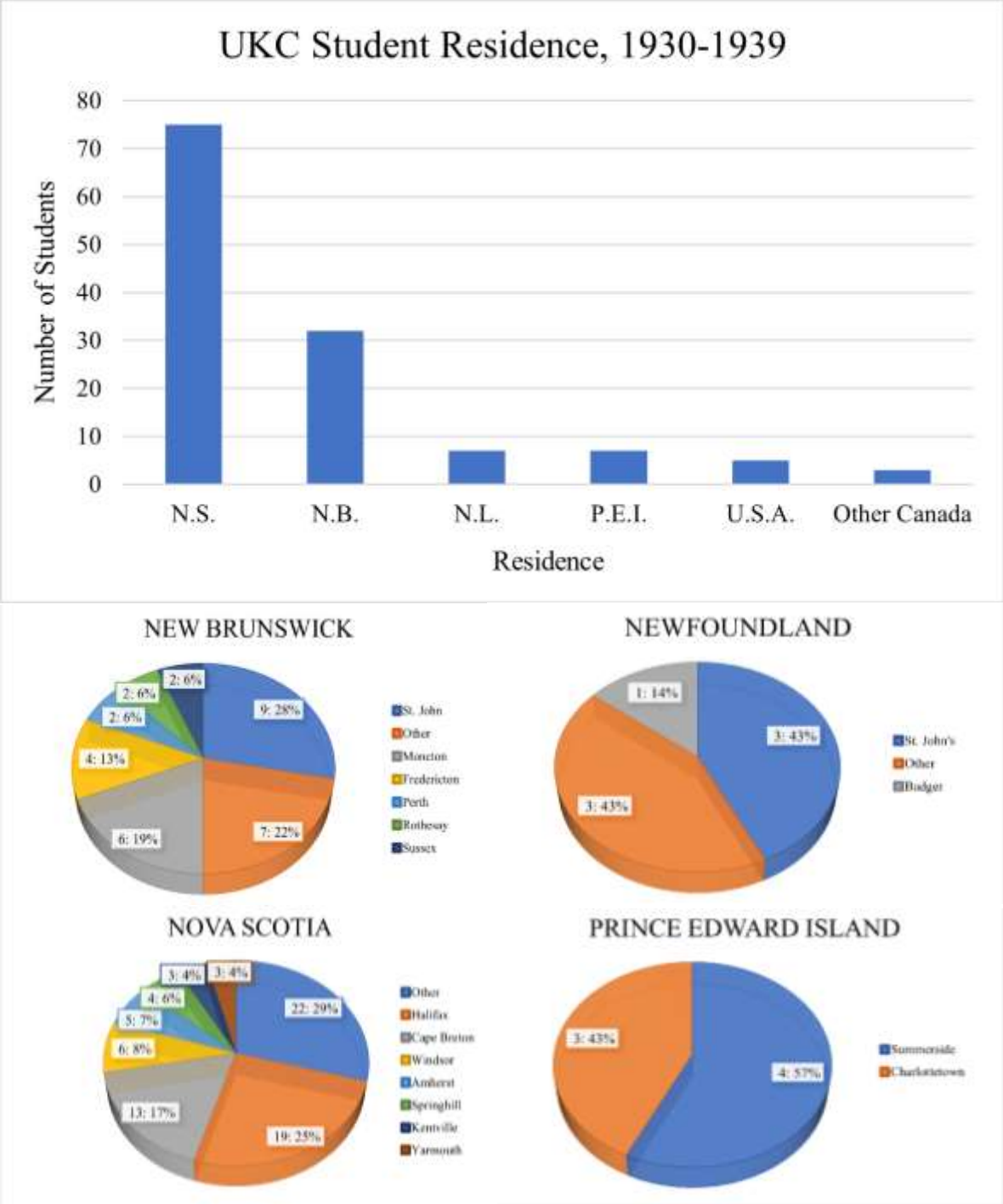
[199] Based on student enrolment forms at the University of King's College from the years 1930, 1933, 1936, and 1939.

[200] For more on this, see Axelrod, *Making a Middle Class*, "Moulding the Middle Class," and "The Student Movement of the 1930s." "Middle-class" has always been a broad category, and its precise dimensions are difficult to define. For Axelrod, a "middle-class" family signifies one in which the breadwinner was not a manual worker, and encompasses families that lived modestly as well as those that lived comfortably (*Making a Middle Class*, 170). P.B. Waite, in his history of Dalhousie, offers a rather less academic measurement of class: napkin rings. "Upper-class families," writes Waite, "had fresh napkins every meal; lower-class families neither knew nor cared about napkins; middle-class families had napkins, cared very much, and washed those symbols of their respectability once a week" (Waite, *Lives of Dalhousie*, vol. 2, 80).

necessarily mean living an entirely comfortable financial life-style—it was not unusual for students at Canadian universities during the depression to be, as Axelrod describes it, "both middle-class and poor."[201] Certainly, this was the case for many King's students, over half of whom required financial assistance to attend university, a number that was slightly higher among Divinity students.[202] While King's offered some scholarships and financial prizes, in extreme cases of financial need—and where the student in question showed especial merit—the administrative faculty sometimes turned a blind eye to outstanding accounts.[203] The average student at the University of King's College, then, was male, middle-class, and a Maritimer.

[201] Axelrod, *Making a Middle Class*, 26.
[202] Correspondence, 23 February 1937 (UKC.E.1.1.254.Letters "N").
[203] See, for example, President Moore deciding to let the account of Elaine Harrison, "a young lady of brilliant ability," stand (*Board of Governors' Minutes*, 29 June 1934).

Figure 3.1. Students' Residences on Enrolment at King's College, 1930-1939.



Source: Based on student enrolment forms at the University of King's College from 1930, 1933, 1936, and 1939. For Nova Scotia's graph, only locations with three or more students have their own categories.

The typical King's student was also White. It is difficult to know if any students of colour attended the University of King's College in the 1930s, but judging from pictures of King's clubs, teams, and graduates, it appears unlikely.[204] There was historic precedent for non-White students at King's, however, and we do know that Simon Gibbons lived in residence while attending King's in 1876-77, shortly before he was ordained as Canada's first Inuit priest.[205] Though he initially experienced prejudiced behaviour from some King's students, Gibbons ultimately was accepted and liked, and he later married a classmate's sister. Returning to the period under consideration here, in 1939, King's joined with other Anglican universities in pledging to provide room and board for a priest from Japan, though it is unknown whether this priest was Japanese or a foreign student in Japan.[206] Dalhousie, while not especially racially diverse, did have a handful of Black students during this period, though they were generally from

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[204] This seems to hold true for 1920 to 1945, with one notable exception: James Calbert Best. Best, son of Nova Scotian activist and writer Carrie Best, arrived at King's College in 1945 to pursue studies in the newly launched Journalism program. Like his mother, 'Cal' fought Nova Scotian discrimination: three years before Viola Desmond was arrested for sitting in a Whites-only section of New Glasgow's Roseland Theatre, Carrie and Cal Best had been arrested for the same 'offense' at the same theatre. Respectively the founder and assistant editor of the *Clarion*, mother and son later gave Desmond's case extensive coverage in their paper. A residence student, Best was very active in academic and extracurricular activities during his degree, winning prizes, joining sports teams, and acting as manager of the football team and editor of the *Record*. He was popular and well-liked, and it was an excellent letter of recommendation from President Stanley Walker that helped start his career in the Civil Service. Moreover, he was sufficiently valued as a student that King's administrators allowed him—against their policy—to remain at the university and even to receive his degree without his tuition having been fully paid. (UKC.REG.1945.Best., and "Bachelor of Arts and Diploma of Journalism," *King's College Record*, Encaenia 1948).

[205] Leonard F. Hatfield, *Simon Gibbons: First Eskimo Priest* (Hantsport, Nova Scotia: Lancelot Press, 1987), 25-26.

[206] *Board of Governors' Minutes*, 13 April 1939 and 8 June 1939.

the British Protectorates or the Caribbean, not from Nova Scotia.[207] King's students, given their link with Dalhousie, had the opportunity to attend lectures held at Dalhousie by prominent scholars such as Dr. T.Z. Koo (a widely-respected lecturer and vice-president of the World's Student Christian Federation), Asiatic politics expert Dr. Chen Hanseng, or Black civil rights leader Dr. Howard Thurman.[208] They could also, however, have attended (and possibly participated in) the widely-enjoyed 1933 minstrel show performed by Dalhousie's Glee Club.[209] King's students, it seems, were more likely to encounter students of racially diverse backgrounds at Dalhousie rather than at King's.

Students came from all sorts of educational backgrounds, but during the 1930s the one institution that churned out the most prospective King's students was King's Collegiate School, which remained in Windsor.[210] Founded to create an educational pathway to the University of King's College, this goal continued to be realized in the 1930s. The school's sister institution, Edgehill, also sent the greatest number of female students to King's.[211] These schools gave the university a built-in promotional network, but it was not sufficient, and King's College's administrators worked hard to promote the institution. President Moore's correspondence during these years includes a great deal of communication with local newspaper editors regarding

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[207] T.J. Murray, *Noble Goals, Dedicated Doctors: The Story of Dalhousie Medical School* (Halifax: Nimbus, 2017), 251.

[208] Both Dr. T.Z. Koo and Dr. Howard Thurman were brought to Dalhousie through the efforts of the Student Christian Movement ("Dr. T. Koo, Brilliant Chinese Scholar, to Speak to Dalhousie," *Dalhousie Gazette*, 22 November 1935, "Chinese Expert," *Dalhousie Gazette*, 15 January 1937, "Lecturer Coming," *Dalhousie Gazette*, 22 January 1937, and "Thurman Speaks," *Dalhousie Gazette*, 5 February 1937).

[209] "Minstrel Show is Brilliantly Done," *Dalhousie Gazette*, 1 March 1933.

[210] UKC student enrolment files.

[211] UKC student enrolment files.

advertising and reporting King's events in local papers.[212] He was not alone in his efforts. In 1936, cognisant that the student population at King's was on the decline, many alumni of the university banded together to form "King's Clubs" in main centres throughout the Maritimes, with a view to promoting the university.[213] These proved successful, and one key component of the campaign included mailing promotional literature to prospective students (after surveying the student body and discovering that newspaper ads had not motivated any to come to King's, this personal connection was thought superior).[214] This approach was well-suited to the small, familial college. The president also undertook visiting tours of key high schools and academies, both in New Brunswick and throughout Nova Scotia, travelling as far as Glace Bay, N.S. and Sussex, N.B.[215] Preaching in churches throughout Nova Scotia and in Saint John also served publicity purposes, albeit less directly.[216] Mobilizing religious support was important, and the area's Anglicans were encouraged to promote the school ("If all the Anglicans […] worked to send their friends to Kings, what a bumper class we should have next October!")[217] Profoundly unhappy with the increasing tendency of Maritime universities to offer financial incentives to prospective students, President Moore criticized the practice of entrance scholarships as "grossly unethical," arguing that it created an expectation that universities that offered scholarships would ultimately give students the degree, regardless of whether or not the students truly deserved

[212] UKC.E.1.1.281.Publicity.
[213] President's Report, 10 November 1936.
[214] President's Report, 10 November 1936. This approach seems to have continued, as I received handwritten letters from faculty as well as a Christmas card while a prospective King's student in 2017.
[215] President's Report, 10 November 1936.
[216] President's Report, 21 November 1933.
[217] "King's College Notes," *Church Work*, April 1938.

one.[218] This method of "buying" new students was detrimental to smaller, financially cautious schools such as King's, and President Moore lamented that "institutions which have higher ideals in the matter of student enrolment" should suffer from this trend toward purchasing students.[219]

King's College's professors, like its students, were a small group. Most lived close to the university, either in one of the residences or in a house near by.[220] Consequently, students and professors formed close relationships, with professors taking a participatory interest in student societies, athletics, and chapel life. In 1932, the salaries of full and assistant professors ranged from $2,500 to $3,500.[221] Many of the professors were known outside the university's community, and some were called on to give lectures or sermons throughout the province.[222] One of the most well known was the Venerable Archdeacon Fenwick W. Vroom, a prominent Anglican churchman and the university's dean of Divinity. King's did employ one female professor during this period, Edith Mabel Mason, an assistant professor of modern languages who also served as dean of the women's residence. As Roper has observed for 1923, more than half of the Dalhousie-King's faculty were Canadian (with slightly under half Nova Scotian), and of these eleven had degrees from Dalhousie or King's.[223] Similar patterns hold true for King's faculty of the 1930s. Of the significant number of professors who had completed a degree (usually their bachelors) at Dalhousie or King's, most also had at least one degree from an

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[218] President's Report, 7 November 1934.
[219] President's Report, 5 November 1935.
[220] *King's College Record*, February 1932.
[221] 30 March 1932, *Board Governors King's College Windsor, N.S. Sep. 1st 1921 – Nov. 3rd, 1932.*
[222] President's Report, 7 November 1939.
[223] Henry Roper and J.W. Clark, "Religion and Intellectual Freedom on the Dalhousie Campus in the 1920s: The Case of Norman J. Symons," *Dalhousie Review* 69, no. 2 (1989): 177.

English university. This tendency towards hiring scholars educated in England was not unusual. Hugh MacLennan, applying for a job at Dalhousie in 1932, recalls being informed that an equally credentialed Englishman had applied for the same job, and that as a result it was unlikely that MacLennan would receive the position. Englishness, MacLennan was informed, "ma[de] a difference."[224] He was instead advised to go to the United States, where he would have a better chance of being hired. Though this exchange did not occur at King's, it is indicative of the extent to which scholars from England were prioritized in the hiring processes of Canadian universities.

King's College, due to its affiliation with Dalhousie, was able to offer students a wider array of course options than it had in Windsor.[225] After first year, students took all their courses at Dalhousie. The exception was in Divinity, which remained under King's jurisdiction. Many of the cultural ideals espoused by King's were filtered through a liberal arts curriculum. As this curriculum (minus Divinity) was the same as Dalhousie's, it will not be considered at great length here.[226] Male students attending King's were most likely to indicate an interest in pursuing careers in ministry, medicine, and law, while the few female students who indicated their professional career choices sought eventual accreditation in teaching.[227] Some may have chosen such a path in recognition of the difficulties many women faced due to their small

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[224] Hugh MacLennan, "On Discovering Who We Are," (Toronto: Wm. Collins Sons & Co., 1949), 39-41.

[225] Wider course offerings and degree options did not escape criticism. One King's student sniffed at the tendency of certain universities in the United States and Canada towards program expansion. New faculties, he argued, should be evaluated according to their intellectual value, not simply usefulness. Failure to do would soon lead to "so-called students […] getting degrees of B.B.M. (Bachelor of Biscuit Making)" (*King's College Record*, March 1931).

[226] For information on Dalhousie's curriculum during the 1930s, see Paul Axelrod, "Moulding the Middle Class: Student Life at Dalhousie University in the 1930s," *Acadiensis* 15.1 (1985).

[227] There were some exceptions. Within this sample, one female student indicated an interest in law, while another wanted to study medicine. Still another aimed at a Bachelor of Household Science (Student enrolment records, 1930, 1933, 1936, 1939).

numbers in male-dominated professional fields—as Axelrod has noted, women were more likely to choose a profession where they would face acceptance rather than difficulties because of their gender.[228] The School of Divinity offered a strong foundation for ministry with courses such as apologetics, church history, dogmatics, and Hebrew. Though many King's students chose educational paths that would lead to clear careers, the majority attended university to take 'Arts and Science,' which provided a solid liberal arts foundation. This was consistent with students at Canadian universities more broadly, 54% of whom were enrolled in Arts and Science in the mid-1930s.[229] As Axelrod explains, in the 1930s "careerism" did not influence the educational decisions of university-goers as much as it would following the Second World War.[230] In this regard, King's students fit the typical Canadian pattern, notwithstanding the popularity of the School of Divinity.

Students enrolled in arts at the University of King's College, as at Dalhousie, were required to take a broad range of classes, including Mathematics, History, and English, as well as two courses in either Greek or Latin.[231] King's, which had started teaching modern languages in 1841, by the 1930s offered French, German, and Spanish. While some Canadian universities and secondary schools were moving away from the importance of classical languages in the liberal arts curriculum, Dalhousie's President, Carleton Stanley, firmly believed in the value of classics, and Latin or Greek remained on the timetable for Dalhousie and King's students.[232] At Dalhousie and King's as it was throughout Canada, the liberal arts curriculum was intended to produce

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[228] Axelrod, *Making a Middle Class*, 92.
[229] Axelrod, *Making a Middle Class*, 67.
[230] Axelrod, *Making a Middle Class*, 36.
[231] All curriculum information in this and subsequent paragraphs, unless otherwise marked, is from the Dalhousie *Calendars*, 1930-1939.
[232] Axelrod, *Making a Middle Class*, 51.

clear-thinking students, young men and women who would contribute to the betterment of society. As Axelrod has noted, the curriculum in Canadian liberal arts programs was intended to inculcate virtues such as inquisitiveness, responsibility, and patriotism, without turning students into radicals.[233] In the classroom, students were expected to behave respectfully, and proper attire was assumed. For King's students, unlike Dalhousians, this meant wearing academic gowns to lectures. The Dalhousie/King's liberal arts curriculum, as Axelrod observed in his 1985 case study of Dalhousie, was more traditional than avant-garde.[234] For most King's students—namely, those taking arts classes at Dalhousie—their education pointed towards a model of inquisitive yet traditional gentility.

Considering literature, the King's College library, a cozily-furnished affair complete with couches, easy chairs, and a fireplace, was opened in early 1932, making books more accessible to students.[235] Following the example of other universities, the library adhered to the "progressive policy" of an "open shelf system," which allowed students to browse books arranged on shelves in the library instead of having to ask a staff member to bring the desired book from a storage area.[236] Students and staff were pleased with the system, and lauded its ability to stimulate interest in "the best books"—indeed, student visits soon numbered in the thousands.[237] In the classroom, King's students, like Dalhousians, were primarily exposed to the standard English literary tradition. Core courses covered literary developments in the

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[233] Axelrod, *Making a Middle Class*, 54.
[234] Axelrod, "Moulding the Middle Class," 101.
[235] "Editorial," *King's College Record*, Christmas 1931.
[236] "The Library," *King's College Record*, Encaenia 1934, and *King's College Record*, Christmas 1931.
[237] *King's College Record*, Christmas 1931, and "The Library," *King's College Record*, Encaenia 1934.

Renaissance and Elizabethan periods, among others, and the importance of Shakespearean works was evident. Several historians, among them David Torrance and Catherine Gidney, have observed that English literature as a discipline grew in importance during the Edwardian period, a period when the tradition of such literature was thought to be useful in promoting an enlightened vision of society.[238] Similar ideas persisted in the 1930s, and, as one King's student declared in 1931: "A university is a failure—no matter how many teachers, doctors, preachers it turns out—if it has not developed a love of, and acquaintance with good literature."[239] Certainly, many King's students show evidence of having been steeped in such literature. The school's Anglicanism also played a role in inculcating a respect for the beauty of language and literature: one Dalhousian (a nominal Anglican) later observed: "[the Church of England] anointed me with language; yea, verily, it steeped me in it."[240] One literary society at King's during the 1930s, the Radical Bay Club, prioritized English literature, and this small group of male students and professors often met to read and discuss literature ranging from *Alice in Wonderland* to Kipling to their staple, Shakespearean plays.[241]

But where was Canada? In the 1930s, Canada was still struggling to determine and assert its own national identity, and Canadian and American literature was not generally prioritized in the curriculum of the nation's universities.[242] Efforts at a discovery of national character were complicated by the nation's close ties to Britain. Canadians in the interwar period, as Buckner

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[238] David E. Torrance, "Instructor to Empire: Canada and the Rhodes Scholarship, 1902-39," in *Canada and the British World: Culture, Migration, and Identity*, eds. Philip Buckner and R. Douglas Francis (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 2014), 253, and Gidney, *A Long Eclipse*, 4.
[239] *King's College Record*, Christmas 1931.
[240] Robert MacNeil, *Wordstruck: A Memoir* (New York, N.Y: Viking, 1989), 49.
[241] *Radical Bay Club Minute Book, 1901-1947*.
[242] Axelrod, *Making a Middle Class*, 51.

and Francis among many others have noted, still felt the connection between Canada and Britain keenly.[243] One former Dalhousie student, who spent his childhood in 1930s Halifax, later reflected that because he had been raised on English literature it always seemed to him that the landscape of England had a "spiritual legitimacy" that Canada's own landscape lacked, because the Canadian landscape was not the location of stories.[244] "England," as he put it, "became more real than our own world, because of the books we lived in from childhood."[245] In 1884, King's College had taken a step towards a greater focus on English literature by hiring up-and-coming Canadian writer and poet Charles G.D. Roberts for its newly created professorship in English and French, instead of filling their vacant chair of classics. Roberts, as Roper has observed, became an important influence in establishing a tradition of Nova Scotian literary output, and was considered by many as "the father of Canadian letters."[246] In the 1930s, however, Canadian literature was skimpy in the Dalhousie curriculum, mainly because the well-known Canadian writer and Dalhousie English professor Archibald MacMechan had died in 1933.[247] In the early 1930s, MacMechan had taught a course on "Literary Movements of Canada" with his own book (*Headwaters of Canadian Literature*) as the basis, but after his death the course was not offered

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[243] Buckner and Francis, eds, *Canada and the British World*, 1.
[244] MacNeil, *Wordstruck*, 17-18.
[245] MacNeil, *Wordstruck*, 18.
[246] Henry Roper, "A 'High Anglican Pagan' and His Pupil: Charles G. D. Roberts, Robert Norwood and the Development of a Nova Scotian Literary Tradition, 1885-1932," *Dalhousie Review*, 75 (1995): 54.
[247] MacMechan's influence on the emergence of Canadian Literature in the twentieth century cannot be overstated. In addition to his own influential works, his students at Dalhousie included future acclaimed authors of Canadian literature such as L.M. Montgomery and Hugh MacLennan. A memorial in the *King's College Record* (Autumn Number, 1933), lauds MacMechan as one who did "more than any man since Haliburton to make the province known to the outside world."

again in the 1930s, although the Dalhousie *Calendars* always provided a list of English courses that included some Canadian content.

This lack of prescribed content was offset in part by efforts of King's students and faculty to engage with the literature of their own (or adopted) nation. Nowhere is this better illustrated than in the labours of the Haliburton Club (with which MacMechan had been closely associated). This student society—by many accounts the most popular society at King's—was founded in 1884 with the express purpose of forming, fostering, and promoting Canadian literature. This club was an integral part of conceptions of tradition and culture at King's. A later professor, writing in the 1950s, described the club as "the soul of King's," and warned that if students failed to embrace and nurture it, this soul would "shrivel and die."[248] The club's maleness was also an important aspect of the group, and the Haliburton Club was described on more than one occasion in the *Record* as King's College's "last stronghold of masculinity." Though it is unclear from its contexts whether such a phrase is reacting to specific incidents, Axelrod has observed that many university men in the 1930s felt threatened by increasing numbers of female university students, which some perceived as a menace to the ideals and benefits of masculinity.[249] In reaction, they increased attention to male sports and clubs. While this provides a possible explanation, the female population at King's remained relatively constant throughout the decade, and remained firmly in the numerical minority. More likely, as we saw in Chapter Two, the character of King's was generally conceived of as male, and the Haliburton Club was partly an expression of this.

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[248] W.L. Muir, "Fifty Years and a Foreboding," *King's College Record*, 1951.
[249] Axelrod, *Making a Middle Class*, 18.

Haliburton Club meetings in the 1930s included student presentations of original papers, musical performances, and singalongs, and some meetings saw student turnouts as high as forty, an astonishing number considering the student body during these years hovered around one hundred.[250] The society was active in the promotion of Canadian—especially Nova Scotian and Maritime—literature and scholarship, and sometimes incentivized students' academic production on topics like "The Maritime Provinces as a Background for Literature" with financial prizes.[251] Their efforts clearly succeeded, as the yearly lists of original papers read at Haliburton Club meetings was long, and boasted many titles denoting Canadian and Maritime subjects. Many of these papers achieved further reach through publication in the *Record*. Moreover, in a 1934 article marking the society's 50th anniversary, the writer notes one non-literary benefit of the club: considering the duty of universities to produce men and women capable of clear and graceful expression, the public speaking experience gained in the club was decidedly useful.[252] Many students, clearly, thought sufficiently highly of the value of Canadian literature (whether read, written, or properly delivered aloud) in mental and social formation that if such literature was not offered in their curriculum they picked up the slack and taught themselves.

Naturally, not every student was quite so academically inclined. Certainly not all who enrolled at King's stuck out the course. For various reasons, including illness, poor academic performance, and accelerated graduation, many graduating classes held far fewer students than those who had enrolled four years prior. The Class of 1934, for example, sunk from forty to sixteen, while the graduating class two years later diminished from about twenty to a mere

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[250] "Haliburton Club," *King's College Record*, Christmas 1932.
[251] *King's College Record*, Encaenia 1934.
[252] "Editorial," *King's College Record*, Encaenia 1934.

three.[253] Axelrod has characterized the average Canadian student's academic performance in the 1930s as neither excellent nor terrible.[254] King's, to be sure, had its share of brilliant students—the decade, after all, saw not one but two Rhodes scholars come from King's—and a very respectable number of King's students graduated with awards, distinctions, and prizes.[255] The experience of some other students, however, was quite the opposite. Most students failed at least one course in their university careers, and a not-insignificant number failed several or simply flunked out entirely.[256] Marks in the nineties were extremely rare, nor were marks in the eighties particularly common.

There were many reasons for academic problems. One student, writing in the aftermath of the "deplorable" results of Christmas exams, took issue with the examination system of Canadian universities as a whole, noting the unequal academic preparation of incoming students and arguing that too much importance was given to examinations, which "overshadow[ed] the essential aim of a University: the promotion of true learning and general culture."[257] The solution, the writer suggested, was the adoption of the Oxford tutorial system and the abolishment of exams. King's, after all, was established after the Oxford tradition. Why should it not borrow one more practice from its English parent?[258] Others found different reasons to explain the high failure rates, such as student laziness or too many extracurriculars. Indeed, descriptions of the university activities of graduating students shows a student body so involved

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[253] "Valedictory," *King's College Record*, Encaenia 1934, and "Valedictory," *King's College Record*, Encaenia 1936.
[254] Axelrod, *Making a Middle Class*, 49.
[255] Allan Findlay (1936) and Roderick Ennes Smith (1938). *King's College Record*, March 1938.
[256] Student enrolment records.
[257] "Editorial," *King's College Record*, February 1932.
[258] "Editorial," *King's College Record*, February 1932.

in extracurriculars that it seems almost miraculous that any schoolwork was done at all. Upcoming examinations, as a result, generally provoked a far more studious atmosphere on campus as students burned the midnight oil. 1933 B.Sc. graduate Frederick Cole, for example, was "a tower of strength from year to year [on various King's sports teams] with occasional lapses when an exam threatened or work seemed to pile up."[259] Other students struggled similarly, like Lillian Keating, who "broke under the strain" of preparing for her exams and failed to complete her coursework in History.[260] Students were generally glad to see the back of exams, the end of which some celebrated with "much clicking of heels and 'whoops'."[261] Criticized though they sometimes may have been, exams were at King's College and Dalhousie for better or for worse, and students had to play by the rules.

In academics, the University of King's College was fairly typical of Canadian universities in the 1930s. Students generally came from modest, middle-class homes, and aimed to improve their position within the middle-class through a university education. One aspect of academic life that distinguished the King's College from many other Canadian universities was its School of Divinity and the close relationship between students and faculty—in a college with a population of around one hundred, it was impossible to retain anonymity. Students acquitted themselves tolerably but not exceptionally well in academics, with outliers on both sides. The education they received was heavily influenced by the English tradition, though some students countered the curriculum's deficiencies in Canadian literature by actively embracing the genre themselves. Overall, the academic scene at King's during the 1930s was decidedly typical of

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[259] "Frederick Cole," *King's College Record*, Encaenia 1933.
[260] Student enrolment records, R.L. Nixon to Murray Macneill, 4 May 1934.
[261] *Radical Bay Club Minute Book, 1901-1947*, 2 May 1935.

Canadian universities more broadly, in which students and staff believed that academic training was an important producer of clear-thinking, rational, and moderate leaders.

Physical Education: Athletics in the University

Student sport at King's began in very English fashion the 1850s with the Three Elms Cricket Club, and interest in sports increased throughout the century, though the cricket club eventually fell out of favour.[262] Increased organization in sports occurred throughout Canada in the early 1900s, and the universities of the Maritimes responded by creating the Maritimes Intercollegiate Athletic Union in 1910. Sports at King's became more codified in the years following the college's move to Halifax, as more opportunities and resources were available to students, including the use of Dalhousie's gymnasium and football field.[263] Indeed, King's students were allowed to join many of Dalhousie's athletic teams, and the names and faces of King's students were regularly found in the sports pages of the *Dalhousie Gazette.* Donna M. Rae has argued that the increased availability of the automobile and the improvement of Nova Scotia's roads in the early-to-mid 1900s greatly influenced the Nova Scotia sporting scene in these years. [264] Her findings are well exemplified by King's College's sports teams, which frequently "motored" off to play universities across the province.

The 1930s was an exciting time for sports, especially in Canada, which was coming into its own in the athletic world. Increased urbanization, transportation, communication, and sports technology improved Canada's athletics during these years, and out-of-work Canadians in the

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[262] UKC Athletics: Library Finding Aid.
[263] *Dalhousie Gazette*, 5 October 1933.
[264] Donna M. Rae, "The Impact of the Automobile on Selected Sports in Nova Scotia, 1910-1939," M.Sc. Thesis, Dalhousie University, 1985.

Depression often turned to amateur sport to fill their empty hours and boost morale.[265] Canada cheered its athletic stars in their endeavours, and communities rallied behind local stars—Halifax's own Aileen Meagher, a veteran of Dalhousie's track team, for example, won Canada fame in the 1934 Empire Games and the 1936 Summer Olympics in Berlin.[266] Like Meagher, many of Canada's sports stars had honed their skills within the sporting communities of Canadian universities.

At the University of King's College, like at many other Canadian universities, students and staff recognized the importance of athletics in the formation of an upright character. Maxwell Leo Howell and Reet Howell, in their 1985 work, *History of Sport in Canada*, observe that sport generally reflects a culture's ideals and customs.[267] Other scholars have considered the profound relationship between sports and religion, noting parallels between saints and stars, shrines and stadiums, the worshiping congregation and the passionate audience. Moreover, many of the goals of athletics and religion—in this case, Christianity—are shared, such as character improvement and the value of hard work.[268] It is no surprise then, that many Canadian sports were influenced by the Church. Basketball, for example, gained rapid popularity in the early

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[265] For the history of Canadian sport, particularly its character and evolution in the early twentieth century, see Maxwell Leo Howell and Reet Howell's *History of Sport in Canada*, especially Ronald Lappage's chapter on Canadian sport in the 1920s and 1930s. Nancy Howell and Maxwell Leo Howell's 1969 book, *Sports and Games in Canadian Life, 1700 to the Present*, also offers a thorough overview of Canadian sporting history.

[266] The *Dalhousie Gazette* celebrated Meagher's achievements poetically: "Once a young woman named Meagher / In the hundred-yard dash was a steagher; / Her limbs more athletic / Than slim or aesthetic, / Carried her feagher beyond peagher." *Dalhousie Gazette*, 15 March 1937.

[267] Maxwell Leo Howell and Reet Howell, *History of Sport in Canada* (Champaign, Ill: Stipes Pub. Co., 1985), vi-vii.

[268] For a useful overview of sport and religion, see Charles S. Prebish, *Religion and Sport: The Meeting of Sacred and Profane*, and Shirl J. Hoffman, *Sport and Religion*.

twentieth century—created by an instructor at a YMCA school, the sport was promoted by programs at YMCAs across Canada. Sportiness, it seemed, was close to godliness.

Athleticism was also inextricable from ideas of masculinity. Idealizations of 'Muscular Christianity' had emerged in 1850s England, in response to concerns about the perceived feminization and increasing physical weakness of boys. To combat these apparent problems, many believed that Christians needed to reinvigorate religious practice with a healthy dose of athleticism. Though the movement was past its zenith by the 1930s, the belief in the important link between Christianity, health, morality, and manliness was still a widely held cultural ideal. As Axelrod has observed, organized sports on Canadian university campuses at the turn of the twentieth century offered an ideal breeding ground for muscular Christians.[269] They did this by promoting (both implicitly and explicitly) ideals of athleticism, good sportsmanship, morality, and a disciplined and healthy lifestyle. Such qualities would improve the athlete's game, which in turn would benefit his or her life. As such, considerations of athletics during this period, especially at a denominational university like King's, must bear this relationship in mind.

Of all the sports played at King's in the 1930s, football received the most attention in the pages of the student newspaper. It seemed to hold a special charm for students, and its popularity was felt at many universities—Dalhousians, for example, rallied behind the sport, and described it as "a game which develops character perhaps in greater degree than any other form of recreation."[270] The King's football team (which played by Canadian rather than American rules) had lots of opportunities to develop character, as it had a widely-acknowledged tradition of losing.[271] The players were gracious losers, however, and showed impeccable sportsmanship.

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[269] Axelrod, *Making a Middle Class*, 14.
[270] "Football," *Dalhousie Gazette*, 15 October 1930.
[271] *King's College Record*, December 1930.

The team had problems to surmount that bigger universities often did not have to reckon with: the team had to be drawn from a pool of only about seventy to eighty male students, it lacked funds, it did not have a proper football field of its own, and Dalhousie's football field was almost constantly in use, so it was difficult for the team to get into condition before a season.[272] This situation improved slightly in fall 1933, when some ground in front of King's was levelled and prepared for a much longed-for football field.[273] The King's team (see fig. 3.2) did manage to deviate from its tradition of losing several times throughout the decade, and it won some well-earned competitions, such as its section of the Intercollegiate League in 1931.[274] Win or lose, football remained an important aspect of King's athletics in the 1930s.

Figure 3.2. University of King's College Football Team, 1935.

Source: *King's College Record*, Encaenia 1935.

[272] "Editorial," *King's College Record*, Winter 1933.
[273] "New improvements," *King's College Record*, Autumn 1933.
[274] *King's College Record*, Christmas 1931.

Football may have been given the most attention in the *King's College Record*, but it was certainly not the only sport that claimed the allegiance of King's students. During the 1930s, several sports gained traction on campus, such as basketball.[275] Despite several excellent showings throughout the decade, however, there were years in which the team "reluctantly joined the hockey teams in upholding that fine old King's tradition."[276] Hockey, which some believed had been created around 1800 by King's students, joined basketball in student interest, and interest in both increasingly began to outweigh attention to rugby.[277] Throughout the decade, other sports and events that King's students participated in included baseball, softball, running (the annual "Six Mile Road Race"), and boxing. Soccer was introduced near the end of the decade, and students seemed keen, though some had grown up playing rugby and were largely unfamiliar with soccer.[278] In any case, as Peter Walker has observed, it was not until after the Second World War that soccer in Nova Scotia came into its own.[279]

Though most of these teams were made up of male students, there were some opportunities for women's sport at King's. Basketball was the most popular athletic pursuit of King's female students, the "co-ed team" having been established around 1920. While basketball was the main sporting opportunity for female students (of whom there were only around twenty any given year), these women were also welcomed onto several Dalhousie teams, and thus

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[275] The Halifax Explosion of 1917 helped popularize basketball in Halifax. The blast destroyed many of Halifax's ice rinks, but most of the city's gymnasiums—generally located in church basements—survived. Because ice rinks were not a rebuilding priority, basketball soon became Halifax's most popular winter sport (A.J. Young, *Beyond Heroes: A Sport History of Nova Scotia* (Hantsport, Nova Scotia: Lancelot Press, 1988), 172-73).
[276] "Sport," *King's College Record*, Spring 1935.
[277] *King's College Record*, February 1932.
[278] "Sports," *King's College Record*, December 1938.
[279] Peter Walker, "Shin Guards and Scrums: British Sport in Nova Scotia" (M.A. Thesis, Saint Mary's University, 2006), 40.

enjoyed the wider range of athletic opportunities offered by a larger university. Though some Canadians in the 1930s were still uncomfortable with women in sports, the women's basketball team at King's seems to have been well supported and free of controversy.

Considering the teamwork and physical rigour required by sports such as football and hockey, two new sports surprised King's students with their swift rise in popularity. Badminton appeared on the King's campus in the early 1930s, and soon became a feature of the school's athletics program. By 1933 most students played the game either recreationally or in King's teams entered in Halifax's Church Badminton League (in ladies', men's, and mixed doubles categories).[280] By 1936 King's students were more invested in badminton than any other sport, a development that mirrored the increasing popularity of the game in Nova Scotia, a province which by 1937 held badminton competitions in most cities and villages.[281] A similar sport, ping pong, arrived at King's in 1934, though its legitimacy as a sport was at first doubted ("Gone is the day of the burly men! Alas!" proclaimed the *King's College Record*, making sure to place any reference to the "sport" in quotation marks).[282] Similar doubts were seen elsewhere—the *Dalhousie Gazette,* for example, noted the following year that ping pong until recent years had been considered "beneath the dignity of a real athlete."[283] Nevertheless, the game quickly gained a host of devoted followers, both in universities and throughout Canada, and cemented itself in the athletic life at King's, despite its perceived lack of manliness. As the *King's College Record*

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[280] "Sport," *King's College Record*, Autumn 1933, and "Sports," *King's College Record*, February 1934.
[281] "Sport," *King's College Record*, February 1936, and Ronald Lappage, "The Canadian Scene and Sport 1921-1939," in *History of Sport in Canada*, eds. Maxwell Leo Howell and Reet Howell (Champaign, Ill: Stipes Pub. Co., 1985).
[282] "Sport," *King's College Record*, Autumn 1934.
[283] "Sport Review," *Dalhousie Gazette*, 17 January 1935.

put it in 1934: "It was feared that ping-pong would amount to nothing more than a fad. We now fear that it may become a major sport."[284]

There was one athletic organization on campus that felt quite secure in its manly character, and that was the Canadian Officers' Training Corps (C.O.T.C.). From 1931, for the first time since the beginning of the Great War, there was sufficient interest in military training at King's that the university was able to form a C.O.T.C. company separate from that of Dalhousie.[285] Indeed, in the first year of its restoration approximately half of the male student body at King's participated, attending drill, lectures, and parade. Such activities, however, were not unquestioned, especially with the First World War in the memory of all King's students. For some, the C.O.T.C. was nothing less than—as a 1935 editorial in the University of Saskatchewan's student newspaper put it—"a school for murder."[286] King's students, like students at universities across Canada, exhibited an interest in pacifism, and thus grappled with the implications of military training. Nevertheless, student opinion at King's generally sided in favour with the organization, arguing that it was financially beneficial (participants received a small paycheque), fun, and good for the formation of physical and mental discipline.[287] About two-thirds of King's students considered involvement in the organization a "good thing," and believed that an at least cursory knowledge of militarism was a valuable aspect of a good education, considering its historical importance.[288] Only a small number of students at King's objected to the group on moral and pacifist grounds, while the others who did not join simply

[284] "Sport," *King's College Record*, Haliburton 1934.
[285] "COTC," *King's College Record*, Christmas 1931.
[286] "'Sheaf' is Outspoken on War," 25 October 1935.
[287] *King's College Record*, Autumn 1932.
[288] "The Student and C.O.T.C.," *King's College Record*, Easter 1933.

cited lack of time.[289] As Daniel Byers has illustrated, Canadian university administrators appreciated and supported the C.O.T.C. particularly because it helped teach duty to nation, athleticism, discipline, and deference to authority.[290]

The "King's Tradition" in sports was far more than a reputation for losing well. Sports were lauded by students and staff as beneficial in maintaining school spirit and keeping students "in corpore sano."[291] Their value in teaching character, sportsmanship, and creating healthy, vibrant individuals was also applauded. As Axelrod has noted, Canadian universities during this period generally followed the English tradition of amateurism, which emphasized the noble character of sport for sport's sake as opposed to a sullied professionalism.[292] Universities, as one 1935 article in the *King's College Record* argued, ought to "lead the land" in athletics.[293] By this the author did not mean that university teams should necessarily rise to star status, but rather that they should exemplify well-bred sportsmanship—"take a beating with a smile"—in all their doings.[294] More than idealism was at work however: a lack of funding for athletics on Canadian university campuses in the early twentieth century no doubt made adherence to the English amateur tradition imminently practical.[295]

Students and administrators at the University of King's College also recognized the importance of sporting achievement as a form of publicity. As Ronald A. Smith has noticed,

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[289] "The Student and C.O.T.C.," *King's College Record*, Easter 1933.
[290] Daniel Thomas Byers, "The Canadian Officers' Training Corps: Support for Military Training in the Universities of Canada, 1908-1935" (M.A. Thesis, Wilfrid Laurier University, 1993), vi.
[291] "Editorial," *King's College Record*, Encaenia 1931.
[292] Axelrod, *Making a Middle Class*, 101.
[293] "Wherein Can the University Lead?," *King's College Record*, Autumn 1935.
[294] "Wherein Can the University Lead?," *King's College Record*, Autumn 1935.
[295] Axelrod, *Making a Middle Class*, 103.

strong showings in athletics increased the visibility of universities, and were essential in presenting the institutions as places of virile physicality as well as intellectual achievement.[296] King's College benefitted from this idea, as summaries of its sporting achievements regularly graced the pages of local newspapers. One King's student, considering the football team in 1931, acknowledged that in the "age of newspaper and radio publicity it is impossible to estimate the value of such a team to the College."[297] Overall, however, the value of university athletics was not limited to good publicity, important though that was. In the eyes of those associated with King's College, a strong foundation in athletics was crucial to the formation of individuals educated in the fullest sense of the term. All work and no play could make dull men and women of university students, and students joined sports teams to improve their characters as well as their bodies. This also added to their cultural and spiritual development, as students consciously and unconsciously absorbed ideals of Englishness and Christianity. Most students at King's College in the 1930s participated in the athletic life of the university, the formative nature of which was likely just as instructive as that of the classroom. In this, they were little different from most other Canadian university students. As Axelrod observes, Canadian university athletics were influenced by both British and American sporting traditions, but the resultant product was fundamentally Canadian.[298]

Campus Cultures: Student Life and Societies

King's College's students during the 1930s were wholly invested in the cultural life of their university. Here, they were like most Canadian students. As Vincent Massey encapsulated it

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[296] Ronald A. Smith, *Sports and Freedom: The Rise of Big-Time College Athletics* (Cary: Oxford UP, 1988), viii-ix.
[297] *King's College Record*, Christmas 1931.
[298] Axelrod, *Making a Middle Class*, 112.

in the early 1930s: "well-balanced academic and social activity is the characteristic quality of Canadian Universities."[299] During the Depression, Canadians increasingly turned to cultural products, such as radio, magazines, and movies, for enjoyment and distraction. This was especially true for university-aged youth. As Margaret Conrad has observed, the interwar period was a time when "young people in Nova Scotia shared one overriding preoccupation: popular culture as defined by the mass media. It shaped their vocabularies, their dreams, and their self-images."[300] This was true across the country—at the University of Saskatchewan, for example, students (who were by no means the country's wealthiest university students) spent over $11,000 a year on shows.[301] Not everyone was happy with these developments—Carleton Stanley, Dalhousie's president in the 1930s, complained that students had never been so surrounded by distractions, whether from "movies, comic strips, jazz music [or] other alleged amusements."[302] Canadian university students had a host of extracurricular activities to choose from, and they threw themselves wholeheartedly into the cultural life of colleges, joining societies, going to dances, and making friends. As Axelrod notes, though the Depression dampened spirits on Canadian campuses to a small degree, it also made students increasingly resolved to enjoy their time at university, which was something of a haven during this trying period.[303] As one King's student put it, university life was "to some extent an artificial one," a time when young adults could seize the opportunity to enjoy themselves before entering into "the great struggle for existence."[304] As a temporary respite from an uncertain world, the social life of Canadian

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[299] Qutoed in Axelrod, *Making a Middle Class*, 100.
[300] Conrad, "'But Such Is Life'", 23.
[301] Axelrod, *Making a Middle Class*, 121.
[302] Quoted in Axelrod, *Making a Middle Class*, 98.
[303] Axelrod, *Making a Middle Class*, 127.
[304] "Editorial," *King's College Record*, November 1938.

universities offered opportunities for formative experiences. All students had to do was capitalize on the opportunities before them.

The University of King's College offered a range of student societies. Among the most popular were the Haliburton Club and the Quintilian Society (debating), though others, such as the Dramatics Society, enjoyed considerable support. As was the case with some athletics, students were permitted to join Dalhousie-run societies as well, which offered greater variety. Axelrod has drawn attention to the important nature of university extracurriculars, noting that these activities allowed students to express their own interests while also imbibing the social norms of middle-class respectability.[305] Such instruction often came cloaked in fun and good humour, and the minute books of the King's College Radical Bay Club—written in excellent comedic style—perfectly attest to this. For this club, fun as well as literary enlightenment was the order of the day (see fig. 3.3), and participants took great pleasure in storytelling, good tobacco, rousing singsongs, and the delights of refreshments.

[305] Axelrod, "Moulding the Middle Class," 102.

Figure 3.3. The Radical Bay Club in the University of King's College residence, 1932.

Source: *Radical Bay Club Minute Book, 1901-1947*, 8 March 1932.

Of all the extracurricular activities, dancing was almost certainly the most popular. King's students could attend Dalhousie dances as well as their own—a significant boon, since Dalhousie was characterized by a student in 1934 as "dance mad."[306] King's students who so desired could easily have danced the term away. Some of them did: one father, writing to President Moore in 1935, apologized for sending King's College a daughter who had largely wasted her time on "[t]oo much show and dancing."[307] Dances were often held in gyms or local

[306] *Dalhousie Gazette*, 6 December 1934.
[307] Student enrolment records, G. Leighton to Dr. Moore, 6 June 1935.

hotels, and professors and their wives served as chaperones.[308] The dance floor was an important factor in the college's gender relations, as it offered an opportunity to facilitate finding dates. The energetic dancing of King's student Carl O. Holm, for example, made him so popular with female dancers that it was included in his graduation description.[309] Dancing, as Beth L. Bailey has observed, was a key arena in which students could learn, test, and hone their social skills.[310] Consequently, dances were instructive as well as enjoyable.

Unlike certain denominational colleges that did not approve of dancing, King's College embraced both dancing and religion. The student body was 73% percent Anglican during the 1930s, though only about 15% of university students nation-wide were Anglican.[311] A handful of other Protestant denominations were also represented at King's, most often Presbyterians, Episcopalians (generally American), and members of the United Church.[312] One lone student represented Catholicism. This denominational character was reflected in most of Nova Scotia's universities, and it certainly influenced many prospective students. John Orlando, for example, a former Dalhousie student, indicated in 1930 that he wished to attend King's because he was Anglican.[313] This also worked the other way: as King's President Walker wrote to a prospective student in 1939: "I would like to put before you as a church girl the claims of our church

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[308] Gym dances could have unexpected consequences—the King's College basketball team once had the misfortune of competing in Dalhousie's gym after the floor had been waxed for a dance. The court, which was as a result "more fitted for skating than for basketball," caused many players to fall as they slid and stumbled around the court (*King's College Record*, Easter 1933).
[309] *King's College Record*, Encaenia 1934, and Axelrod, *Making a Middle Class*, 127.
[310] Beth L. Bailey, *From Front Porch to Back Seat: Courtship in Twentieth-Century America* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1988).
[311] Of the Anglican students, about half labelled themselves "Church of England" and half used "Anglican". One used "Anglo-Catholic," while another simply wrote "English" (Student enrolment records and Axelrod, *Making a Middle Class*, 31).
[312] Student enrolment records.
[313] Student enrolment records, John Orlando to R.L. Nixon, 23 June 1930.

university."[314] King's, then, was recognized and advertised as an Anglican university, though non-Anglican Protestants were also welcomed.

As an Anglican college, and especially as one that trained Divinity students, chapel was a significant aspect of college life. As Gidney has illustrated, this was true of denominational colleges across Canada, in which daily chapel was an integral part of campus culture.[315] Professors and visiting speakers often preached at the university, and special services were held there on occasions such as Armistice Day. President Moore encouraged students to attend chapel, noting the importance of spiritual development alongside intellectual and physical development, and encouraging students to use their newly built chapel as a place for reflection and devotion.[316] S.H. Prince thought similarly, and illustrated this point in one sermon by comparing student church-going to student support of athletics: "A student's part in college is more than merely to stand on the side-lines of a campus and cry: 'Rah! Rah! Rah!' It also consists of standing in the side-stalls of the college chapel and crying, 'Holy! Holy! Holy!'"[317] Ideals of character, Gidney shows, were inextricably linked to Christianity at Canada's English denominational colleges.[318] A beautiful chapel had been constructed for the spiritual edification of the staff and students of King's College, and all were encouraged to make the best possible use of this opportunity.

Unlike Canadian colleges that encouraged rather than mandated churchgoing, at King's attendance at daily morning and evening chapel services was compulsory (at least on paper), as

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[314] Student enrolment records, A. Stanley Walker to Edith Greek, 18 March 1939.
[315] Gidney, *A Long Eclipse*, 28.
[316] "Foreword," *King's College Record*, Roberts Number October 1935.
[317] "The King's Chapel," *King's College Record*, December 1930.
[318] Gidney, *A Long Eclipse*, 39.

was attendance at the 11:00 a.m. Sunday service.[319] As we saw in Chapter Two, non-Anglican students were permitted (and expected) to attend services at their own denominational churches. In the early 1930s, before the installation of a chapel bell in 1933, students were summoned to morning services by gong or buzzer, which was not particularly appreciated, and it was a happy day on campus when a proper bell was installed. Some, in jest or otherwise, blamed the buzzer system for poor chapel attendance. According to one poet, in contrast to the old days at Birchdale—which had a bell and where it was enjoyable to be summoned to chapel—the infernal racket of the buzzer system was a jarring awakening, grating on the ears, and not an incentive to attend services.[320] One stanza forcefully expressed the situation: "Give us back our chapel bell! / Banish the infernal gong! / Send the buzzers back to——* / Where the ghastly things belong!"[321] Being summoned to chapel by bell was considered a tradition by King's students, and they were not particularly impressed that it had been modified to an extent that detracted from the good memories associated with this tradition.

While some students prioritized chapel attendance—Frederick Godfrey of the Class of 1932, for example, was an excellent supporter of early morning services—others seem to have been content to leave this aspect of campus life to Divinity students.[322] Chapel attendance, while technically mandatory, was not particularly enforced, and turnout was sometimes poor, with the exception of Divinity students, who were the stalwart supporters of the chapel.[323] The lack of

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[319] University of King's College *Calendar*, 1930-31.
[320] "Lament on the Passing of an Old Custom," *King's College Record*, March 1931.
[321] "Lament on the Passing of an Old Custom," *King's College Record*, March 1931.
[322] "Frederick Godfrey," *King's College Record*, Encaenia 1932.
[323] President's Report to the Synod of Fredericton, May 1939; President's Report, 23 November 1937; "Changing Traditions," *King's College Record*, April 1931; "Valedictory," *King's College Record*, Encaenia 1931.

policing of chapel attendance is helpfully illustrated in a 1939 exchange between an incoming student and King's bursar R.L. Nixon.[324] When Eleanor Taylor took exception with the compulsory nature of the chapel (as indicated in the school calendar) and stated her intention not to attend services unless she was so inclined, she received a warm letter from Nixon in response. He assured her that she need not worry: King's did not track chapel attendance (although Divinity students were expected to attend), student attendance at chapel was a matter of the student's own conscience, and Nixon himself expressed a distaste for mandated religion. Overall, while the chapel was certainly an important part of university life for many students, those who chose not to partake of it were free to do so.

Some students found other ways to promote religion on campus, such as by joining Christian groups such as Dalhousie's Student Christian Movement (SCM) or the King's College Missionary Society. Such organizations were heavily influenced by the social gospel movement, a movement united in the desire to make earth 'as it is in heaven' by working for social improvement. Social gospellers, Gidney has noted, believed that sin was not simply an individual matter, but a negative element infused in society.[325] As such, the welfare of communities had to be improved and society transformed in order to truly reveal the Kingdom of God. The SCM, as an important element of campus life in Canada during this period, was a soldier in the fight for social improvement, and its members worked to organize charitable campaigns, sponsor lecturers, and champion social justice. It is indicative of the widespread acceptance of the group that many of Dalhousie's faculty, including President Stanley, financially supported the group.[326]

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[324] Student enrolment records, Eleanor Taylor to R.L. Nixon, 2 September 1939, and R.L. Nixon to Eleanor Taylor, 7 September 1939.
[325] Gidney, *A Long Eclipse*, 4.
[326] Axelrod, "Moulding the Middle Class," 117.

At King's, the Students' Missionary Society, with the mandate of promoting missionary work, was especially active in the community, holding services in jails, hospitals, and nursing homes, providing Sunday School teachers to Halifax's churches, and even working to send two Divinity students to work in Canada's Western Mission Fields.[327] The religious culture at King's College, importantly, was not just mandated by its administrators in rulebooks: many faculty and students actively supported the Church and its mission.

Moving from the religious to the secular, two topics of debate that characterized student cultural life on Canadian campuses in the 1930s were the relative merits and demerits of hazing and fraternities. King's was no different, and considerations of these topics abound in the student newspapers of the 1930s. Most non-denominational Canadian universities, including Dalhousie, embraced or at least tolerated fraternities in the 1930s, recognizing their use in helping provide student housing and community.[328] The majority of those associated with King's, however, were firmly in the no fraternity camp, noting on several occasions that such external, "Greek Letter" societies had no place on the campus of a small, residential university.[329] The societies and athletic opportunities already offered at King's were, the Board of Governors moved in 1939, quite capable of providing for the cultural and athletic edification of its students.[330] Though Dalhousie set the example, King's would not follow. King's administrators and most students preferred, for various reasons, that the cultural formation of students would remain the task of the university, not be farmed out to other groups.

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[327] "Missionary Society," *King's College Record*, Encaenia 1931, and "Student Missionary Society," *King's College Record*, May 1936.
[328] Axelrod, *Making a Middle Class*, 106.
[329] "Foreword," *King's College Record*, Autumn 1932.
[330] *Board of Governors' Minutes*, 9 February 1939.

Hazing was another hot topic in the 1930s, and was widely discussed on Canadian campuses. In his consideration of hazing at the University of Toronto at the turn of the century, Keith Walden has highlighted how hazing functioned as a value-laden and instructive ritual.[331] Hazing had a long history, and consisted of university freshmen being subjected to pranks and humiliations by upper-year students, in order to inculcate proper respect. Charles Ritchie, a King's student in the mid-1920s, for example, described being "summoned before a tribunal of sophomores" for wearing spats, a privilege denied to freshmen.[332] In a conciliatory gesture, his spats were only confiscated for the term instead of being burned, which was the usual punishment for the offense. A 1932 incident at the University of Alberta involving a student's nervous breakdown due to hazing, and the subsequent successful lawsuit against the university made major news across Canadian campuses and proved the end of hazing at many universities, including Dalhousie and King's. President Moore was delighted to see the practice go, as he felt strongly that it was "beneath the dignity of a college which quarters the arms of Oxford on its shield."[333] King's students, with some exceptions, decided that hazing must stop, and in 1932 decided of their own accord to abandon the practice (though it later returned).[334] Universities were meant to form respectful students, but there was no need to humiliate them into respect.

Activities like hazing were fostered easily enough in the communal setting of a residential college, in which resident staff members were each responsible for watching over

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[331] Keith Walden, "Hazes, Hustles, Scraps, and Stunts: Initiations at the University of Toronto, 1880-1925," in *Youth, University, and Canadian Society* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1989).
[332] Ritchie, *An Appetite for Life*, 18.
[333] "Foreword," *King's College Record*, Autumn 1932.
[334] "Alexandra Society Meeting," *King's College Record*, Encaenia 1933.

groups of 24 students.[335] Room and board at King's cost from $265 to $290 a year, in addition to tuition, fees for students' activities, and a caution deposit.[336] Most King's students were residential, and several male Dalhousie students (lacking a residence of their own) lived in King's men's residence if room permitted. Though we do not know if Dalhousie students generally sought to live at King's for reasons other than practicality, it is worth noting that all but two of Dalhousie students living at King's in 1930 were Anglicans.[337] Additionally, Dalhousie students living at King's were very involved in King's cultural life, and were sometimes referred to as "King'smen." This shows that King's traditions and cultural life were also accessible to those who were not King's students proper, and demonstrates the consistently close relationship between Dalhousie and King's.

In fact, the 1930s diaries of one Dalhousie law student, Edward "Ted" MacLatchy, offer an excellent example of the life of a typical Canadian university student during this decade.[338] MacLatchy lived off-campus with his roommate Bob (later to gain recognition as Nova Scotian Premier Robert L. Stanfield), and he checked off practically every box of the student experience at Dalhousie and more broadly during the 1930s. For MacLatchy, a typical year at university entailed activities such as writing for the student paper, attending sports games, playing tennis and ping pong, going to movies, dances, and school events, going to church, participating in debating and other clubs, listening to the radio, going on dates, and smoking. Most of his income came from his grandfather's estate, and tuition and board were consistently his largest expenses. For our purposes, perhaps the most interesting aspects of his life are how involved he was in

[335] Student enrolment records, President Moore to Dr. G. L. Stentaford, 4 August 1930.
[336] Student enrolment records, R.L. Nixon to Rev. George H. Shiery, 2 July 1936.
[337] President's Report, 1 October 1930.
[338] Edward Symons MacLatchy diaries and account books, MS-2-809, Nova Scotia Archives.

student culture and how the life of an off-campus student allowed considerably more freedom than that of a residence student. The older MacLatchy got, the more he began to experiment with alcohol, and he records trying hard liquor for the first time. He stayed out late, but noted that the "Shirreff Hall girls" had to get back in time for curfew, which often "broke up the party" after a dance or event.[339] He participated in frequent poker games with other students in his boarding house, although, as he was also studious, he complained in 1936 that "Bob and the boys" had been playing poker in their shared room for seven nights in a row and he was "getting sick of it" hampering his studying.[340] Overall, MacLatchy's diaries illustrate how non-resident students had more control over their activities than did residence students.

Residence regulations included a lights-out time and bans on intoxicants, and students were expected to maintain respectful and orderly behaviour. King's College's male and female deans of students ensured that appropriate behaviour was maintained. Some, it is true, found this difficult. Helen Creighton, a good friend of President Walker and later to gain fame as a Nova Scotian folklorist, was hired as King's dean of women in 1939. She lived in Alexandra Hall with King's female students and participated in college life in many ways, including eating in the dining hall and attending chapel (both requiring academic robes).[341] Though she enjoyed working with the rule-followers among the students, she did not take naturally to the role of disciplinarian, and it took her a while to become comfortable addressing students who broke residence rules. Eventually she found her feet, and even loosened some of the residence

[339] MacLatchy diary, 8 November 1934.
[340] MacLatchy diary, 23 February 1936.
[341] Clary Croft, *Helen Creighton: Canada's First Lady of Folklore* (Halifax: Nimbus, 1999), 73.

regulations. Overall, the residences at King's aimed to embody an atmosphere of "happy home-like, community life," a goal that largely seems to have succeeded.[342]

As with any home, this one had its fair share of both enjoyment and complaining. Students grumbled about the food, and were not at all amused when the Board of Governors announced in 1932 that radios would be forbidden. Radios, students argued, had "definite educational value," and they begged the faculty to consider the lectures, world news, and sermons available to edify the student population.[343] The Board of Governors, however, remained unmoved. Even without radios, though, there was plenty of fun to be had in residence, and pranks, student get-togethers, and "At Homes" abounded. University student gatherings, whether in or outside the residence, often featured dancing, card games, refreshments, storytelling, and rousing renditions of college songs.[344] Most students fit into residence life well, and letters of recommendation written by the university's staff—most often its presidents—praised students for qualities such as fine character, pleasing manner, efficiency, studious habits,

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[342] "Editorial," *King's College Record*, Autumn 1932. This was not always the case. King's, even historically, had been plagued by student misbehaviour. The nineteenth century was an especially difficult time, when a lack of supervision led to rowdy and disorderly students who lowered the university's reputation (Hind, 57; Vroom, 103). Even in the 1920s, Charles Ritchie reported the following of a friend who lived in the King's residence: "I don't wonder he likes it. When I went up to his room this morning he was still in bed, half-naked, smoking a cigarette at 12:15. His room was a hell of a mess too. He says no one bothers there and you can do what you like" (*Appetite for Life*, 13). Clearly, by the 1930s the university's administrators had increased supervision of students in residence.

[343] *King's College Record*, Encaenia 1932.

[344] In 1941, some of these were recorded by the dean of women, Dartmouth folklorist Helen Creighton, for their cultural value. The recordings are now held in the Nova Scotia Archives as well as the National Archives in Washington. Listeners can hear King's students (gathered around a piano in the President's Lodge) sing with gusto, with much laughter and merriment in between songs.

and for setting a shining example to others.[345] Some students, naturally, did not adapt well, necessitating either kindly chats from the president or dean, sterner admonitions, or, more rarely, an invitation to leave the residence. One student, a certain E.M. Caldwell, was a special concern for the president, who along with faculty and students viewed him as a man who lowered the quality of residence life, due in part to his lack of respect and his "coarse, blatant and obstreperous" nature.[346] Such students did not help King's produce high-quality men and women, and, if faculty believed that a student would harm others more than others would improve him or her, the offending student had to go.

University faculty, in particular the president and the deans of residence, acted as moral guides, effectively becoming pseudo parents for students living away from home. King's enrolment forms, like some other Canadian universities, required references for moral conduct. The two longest-serving deans during this decade were professors R.L. Nixon and Edith Mabel Mason, both of whom appear to have been greatly admired. Professor Nixon, as one student valorized him, was "a wise friend and a trusty counsellor […and] representative of all that is best at King's."[347] Another student praised Nixon's wisdom in not keeping too tight a hold on the reins of the men's residence, blending "tolerance and leadership" in the knowledge that a certain amount of revelry and good-natured fun was far better allowed than constrained.[348] Miss Mason's death in 1936, meanwhile, rocked the student body and occasioned an incredible outpouring of praise for this universally loved and respected member of the community. Gidney has argued that Canadian universities in the mid twentieth century functioned as moral

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[345] Student enrolment records.
[346] Student enrolment records, Caldwell file, 1930.
[347] "Valedictory," *King's College Record*, Encaenia 1935.
[348] "Valedictory," *King's College Record*, May 1937.

communities.[349] This moral supervision was especially evident in the female residences at King's, which had slightly more restrictions than male residences.

University presidents, generally, came in the mold of the paternalistic and caring Christian gentleman.[350] During the 1930s, President Moore (1924-1937) and President Walker (1937-1953) were excellent examples. Both seem to have cared deeply for their students, and they took an active interest in befriending and offering council to students, as well as corresponding with worried parents. They also did not hesitate to tell students the truth, and were known on occasion to advise students to leave school, work for a few years, and return when they had developed a work ethic and an appreciation for education. Though away from home, students remained under parental care in the form of university faculty. Gidney has observed that Moore and Walker shared the qualities exhibited by many presidents at English Canadian universities during this period, most of whom had similar cultural and educational backgrounds. Many (including Moore and Walker) were ministers, and shared the idealistic liberal theological belief that morality and religion could be advanced through culture.[351] Like their presidential peers across Canada, Moore and Walker would have believed that their role was to be a moral guide for their university.

In times of distress such care was especially valuable. 1936 was a difficult year for the university, as it saw not only the death of Miss Mason, but also the death of a young and promising member of the King's community, Arthur Chase. Grief had to be navigated in a communal setting. After a short illness, the nineteen-year-old only-child died on February 29th, 1936. One of the most popular students at university, his death left a gaping hole in the

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[349] Gidney, *A Long Eclipse*.
[350] Gidney, *A Long Eclipse*, and Axelrod, "Moulding the Middle Class," 85-86.
[351] Gidney, *A Long Eclipse*, 9.

community, which was "over-shadowed by a great cloud" when news of Chase's death reached King's.[352] "Seldom or never," noted President Moore, "have I seen a community so deeply stirred by the common touch of sorrow."[353] Chase, an excellent student academically, had given much of himself to the college, whether on the sports field, the dance floor, in debating, or in work with the student newspaper. Many students sat vigil in the college's chapel the night before a deeply moving morning requiem service, and more than a fifth of the student body, along with several professors, travelled to Kentville to attend the funeral.[354] Six of Chase's fellow students laid him to rest, and his academic cap and gown were buried with him. The tightknit nature of the small college rendered tragedy more keenly felt, but also allowed students and staff to share their suffering within a supportive community.

In politics, the King's community was rather tranquil. Its student body, like those of most Canadian universities, did not tend towards radicalism in politics during the 1930s. This was true of both French and English universities, in which students were not especially inclined to excessive political involvement.[355] Though thoughtful considerations of Communism appeared sporadically in the King's student newspaper throughout the decade, these were articles primarily intended to promote thinking and an expanded political knowledge, and not meant to prompt students to radical political action. If there was one movement that did inspire Canadian students during this decade, it was pacifism. Inspired in part by the anti-war Oxford Pledge of February 1933, students on both Canadian and American campuses increasingly saw value in promoting peace. A late 1933 article in the *King's College Record* summarized the position at

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[352] "Arthur Lechmere Chase," *King's College Record*, Alumni Number April 1936.
[353] "President's Address to Convocation," *King's College Record*, May 1936.
[354] "College Notes," *King's College Record*, Alumni Number April 1936.
[355] Axelrod, *Making a Middle Class*, 142-143.

Canadian universities: students across the nation were declaring that they would not take up arms should war occur.[356] Two years later, a questionnaire of Dalhousie and King's students revealed that a strong majority were against participation in war.[357] Despite such ideas, however, the general tone on campus appears to have been closer to conservatism and contentment than to unconventional action, and, as Thomas Socknat has observed, the peace movement lost steam in the late 1930s when faced with growing conflict overseas and the resultant concerns about defense.[358] A tradition of respectability persisted at King's, and this respectability required moderation in politics.

During these years, King's imperial connection remained strong, perhaps accounting in part for the lack of radical political action. In 1935, President Moore was awarded one of the medals created in honour of King George V's Silver Jubilee.[359] Staff and students alike mourned the monarch's death only a year later, and sorrow permeated the campus, which honoured the King's life with special memorial services.[360] Their sorrow was shared on university campuses all over Canada, many of which memorialized the King in their student newspapers. In 1939, when the new King George VI and Queen Elizabeth (crowned after the embarrassing abdication of King Edward VIII) toured Canada, King's put on its best showing. Students and staff worked together to obtain funds for a campus flagpole, so they could fly the flag as the King and Queen passed the school. On June 15th, 1939, as over 100,000 Haligonians cheered the monarchs—the *Halifax Herald* called the day the "Greatest in History"—the faculty of King's College stood at

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[356] "Current College Comment," *King's College Record*, Autumn 1933.
[357] "Ballot Results," *Dalhousie Gazette*, 17 October 1935.
[358] Thomas Paul Socknat, *Witness Against War: Pacifism in Canada, 1900-1945* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1987).
[359] "College Notes," *King's College Record*, Roberts Number October 1935.
[360] "Editorial," *King's College Record*, Winter Number February 1936.

attention in full academic regalia as the monarchs were driven past the college, which had been granted university status by King George VI's great-great-grandfather.[361] King's College, then—despite the fact that its traditions developed within a Canadian setting—still looked to England.

Conclusion

In late August 1939, King's College celebrated its Sesquicentennial.[362] Almost 200 men and women—the largest university reunion ever seen to that point—gathered to honour the university and reunite with old friends. Widely described in the local papers, this event stressed King's extraordinary and unique history. For 150 years, the university had played a key role in producing young men and women trained not only intellectually, but physically and spiritually. Education, King's staff and students evidently believed, ought to be comprehensive. In a 1940 obituary for student Robert Walter, tragically killed in a shooting accident, Walter was described as "a true Kingsman, an athlete, a gentleman, a scholar."[363] Such descriptors, those at King's believed, signified true educational success. The development of King's traditions, then, occurred in an academic environment that embraced the educational goals typical of Canadian universities. By emphasizing not only academics but also athletics and student life, Canadian universities aimed to produce well-rounded graduates who could leave school prepared to take their places in respectable, middle-class society. "The University," as one King's student put it, "is the great common room of the household of knowledge, culture, and athletics."[364] Time spent

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[361] "Visit of Royalty Makes Day Greatest in History," *Halifax Herald*, 16 June 1939, and "King Sees University Created by Forbear," *Halifax Herald*, 16 June 1939.

[362] The efforts of a Wolfville poet, printed in the *Dalhousie Gazette* of 28 October 1938, shows the extent to which King's was known for its history: "While Acadia has one centennial, / At Dalhousie they're almost perennial. / But the ancients at King's / Show their scorn of such things / By talking about their millennial."

[363] "A.R.B. Walter, B.Sc. 1940," *King's College Record*, November 1940.

[364] "Wherein Can the University Lead?" *King's College Record*, Alumni Number 1935.

at King's was believed to be a transformative experience in the lives of students: they might enter the common room as young, impressionable students, but they aimed to leave it as well-rounded men and women ready to improve the world.

The world would need such individuals in the coming years. By the end of the 1930s, stirrings of conflict and discord increasingly provided a backdrop to the lives of students at King's and at universities throughout the world. The King's Sesquicentennial, held only a week before Britain and France united against Germany in a declaration of war, was the pre-war university's last hurrah. Like a pendulum swinging back and forth, the fortunes of the University of King's College soon changed. The 1920s had been unusual in the extreme, but the 1930s had brought the university stability in a new home. World War Two would shatter the newfound sense of permanence. The pendulum swung, and once again the inhabitants of the University of King's College—for the second time in a generation—prepared to pack their bags and leave.

CHAPTER FOUR
Years in Exile: Navigating Charted Waters in the Second World War

In August 1939, the newspaper articles celebrating King's College's Sesquicentennial were sandwiched between pieces detailing the increasing inevitability of world conflict in light of rising German aggression under Hitler. On September 3rd, Haligonians joined the millions around the world who listened as radio broadcasters announced Britain and France's declaration of war on Germany. Most listeners considered it inevitable that Canada would soon take its traditional part at the side of Britain, though the patriotic excitement that had accompanied the declaration of the last major Canadian conflict was not repeated.[365] By the end of September over 58,000 Canadians had volunteered for wartime service, among them students and alumni from universities across Canada. Halifax, always a city of critical military importance, readied itself for war for the second time in a generation. The University of King's College—itself founded in the aftermath of a world war—did likewise.

This chapter considers the impact of the Second World War on the University of King's College, covering the 1939 fall term to the end of 1945. It divides this period into three sections: King's at King's (1939-1941), King's in Exile (1941-1945), and King's Reunited (1945). It examines the cultural life of the university at each distinct point in its wartime and immediate postwar experience, noticing themes of loyalty, resilience, and portability. Overall, it illustrates the extent to which King's depended on others during the war. In these years (most profoundly in the second period under consideration) the university's capacity for adaptation and cooperation

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[365] A 1939 observation by Stephen Leacock aptly describes Britain's peculiar hold on Canada: "If you were to ask any Canadian, 'Do you people *have* to go to war if England does?' he'd answer at once, 'Oh, no.' And if you then said, '*Would* you go to war if England did?' he'd answer, 'Oh, yes.' And if you asked 'Why?' he'd say, reflectively, 'Well, you see, we'd *have* to.'" (Jonathan F Vance, *Maple Leaf Empire: Canada, Britain, and Two World Wars* [Don Mills, Ont.: Oxford UP, 2012], 147).

enabled its survival. Yet again, its traditions and conceptions of Englishness proved a mainstay in the college's life: most staff and students believed that it was their duty to King and Canada to give up their school for the duration, and this made the sacrifice more tolerable. Furthermore, the school's low enrolment during this period may have made its adaptability easier, as a small, tight-knit student body was consequently more portable. In the early 1940s, there was far less anxiety about the future of the school than in the post-fire 1920s. The University of King's College had emerged from its last move intact, and its inhabitants were secure in the belief that it could do so again.

Carrying On: A University at War, 1939-1941

King's students, like university students across Canada and the world, viewed the Second World War in the shadow of the Great War. As Jonathan F. Vance demonstrates in *Death So Noble*, the mythic ideology that valorized the heroic sacrifices of Canada's youth in an attempt to make sense of the human loss of the First World War remained strong in the interwar years.[366] Most university students in 1939 were born during or shortly after the previous world war, and had spent the most recent years of their life in the atmosphere of an increasingly uneasy peace. Articles in the *King's College Record* had hinted at the upcoming conflict throughout the previous decade, especially since the rise of Hitler in 1933. In fact, several pieces during these years dealt expressly with the suffering that Hitler's policies were inflicting upon Europe's Jewish population, and their authors were deeply concerned about the impacts of Hitlerian racial prejudice. King's students urged action, though acknowledging that "[h]umanity, having passed through the chaos of the Great War, seems to be living in a dazed condition, agreeable to cater to

[366] Jonathan F. Vance, *Death So Noble: Memory, Meaning, and the First World War* (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 2000).

any one, not having practical solutions of its own."[367] The *King's College Record* shows that many scholars and faculty had been prescient in their intellectual considerations of the political situation during the 1930s.[368] But the reality of war, however well predicted, was still difficult.

King's College was located in a city that had a unique relationship with war.[369] Halifax, as Hugh MacLennan once described it, is a city that "periodically sleeps between great wars."[370] Certainly, by September 1939, Halifax was wide awake. In almost no time at all, long lines formed at recruiting offices, Haligonians experienced their first blackout drill, and thousands of residents volunteered for a newly formed Civil Defence Corps. As Helen Nugent has observed, these immediate preparations stood in stark contrast to the more blasé air of Canadians farther from the East Coast, many of whom only began to consider the possibility of enemy attack after the Japanese bombing of Pearl Harbour in December 1941.[371] For non-Maritime students arriving in Halifax for their term at King's, residence in the city meant that the reality of war was unavoidable. Due to Halifax's deep harbour and strategically important location, the city soon became a "crossroads of the world."[372] In the words of one British naval officer, Halifax in the

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[367] "The Wandering Jew," *King's College Record*, Autumn 1933.
[368] Considerations of Germany's leader were not always quite so serious, even throughout the war. In the *King's College Record*, as in many student papers, Hitler appeared in many jokes.
[369] Much has been written about Halifax and the Second World War. For the most thorough account, see Stephen Kimber's 2003 book, *Sailors, Slackers and Blind Pigs: Halifax at War*. William Naftel's 2008 book, *Halifax at War: Searchlights, Squadrons and Submarines, 1939-1945*, offers a less comprehensive but equally helpful account, and Naftel's subsequent photo history, *Wartime Halifax: The Photo History of a Canadian City at War 1939-1945* perfectly complements textual histories. The works of Graham Metson (1981) and Thomas Raddall (1993) are equally useful. Most recently, Lezlie Lowe's 2022 account of women's volunteer efforts in Halifax offers much needed insight into the wartime experiences of women and minority groups.
[370] Hugh MacLennan, *Barometer Rising* (Toronto: Wm. Collins Sons & Co., 1941), 7.
[371] Helen Nugent, "'A Worrisome Time': Life in the Maritimes During World War II," *Journal of the Royal Nova Scotia Historical Society* 1 (1998), 37.
[372] Raddall, *Halifax*, 279.

early years of war was possibly "the most important port in the world."[373] Tens of thousands descended upon the city, most of them servicemembers and their families. This soon caused the city's pre-war population of around 60,000 to more than double, leading to a housing shortage of the acutest nature. As students at a primarily residential college, King's students were spared the concern of finding housing, though their male peers at Dalhousie were not so lucky, as there was no men's residence at Dalhousie. Even in residence, however, King's students were not far removed from the wartime anxieties produced by life in a militarized city.

The coming of war was accompanied by a flurry of letters from anxious parents worried about the safety of their children at King's. Mrs. Alice Comeau, of Springhill, wrote to bursar R.L. Nixon in early September 1939, inquiring as to safety procedures for students in the instance of air raids. Nixon hastened to assuage her worries, noting that Halifax was protected by blackouts, a fleet of aircraft, and that King's re-enforced concrete buildings were far enough from military objectives that attendance at the university was quite safe.[374] Unlike many European universities, which would later suffer gravely from aerial bombardments, King's College's administrators could rest comparatively easy regarding the physical safety of the school's students and buildings. The impacts of war were felt in other quarters, as King's enrolments suffered, operating costs (and subsequently residence charges) increased, and blackouts became more frequent.[375] The war also seems to have had a negative effect on student spirit in the first schoolyear of the conflict, as the wartime atmosphere caused "considerable unrest" in the college's residences.[376] Nixon (also dean of residence) observed that "the whole

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[373] Graham Metson, *An East Coast Port—Halifax at War, 1939-1945* (Toronto: McGraw-Hill Ryerson, 1981), 7.
[374] UKC.REG.1939.Comeau.
[375] *Board of Governors' Minutes*, 1939-1941.
[376] Nixon to Van Horne, 23 July 1940 (UKC.REG.1933.Van Horne).

tone of the place seems […] to have sunk this year," though he admitted he could not be sure if that was entirely because of the war.[377] Whether due to the war or not, it is undeniable that this was a time of considerable adjustment and revaluation for many members of the college.

The history of war is often a history of opposites. Existence in times of conflict can be excruciating yet exhilarating, terrible yet transformative: in Dickensian superlatives, the best and worst of times. This is particularly true of the history of the wartime university. In the obligatory Second World War chapter found in most Canadian university histories, one observes a reliance on words like "crisis," "formative," and "turning point." In wartime, concerns of classroom and conflict were often jarring in their alienness, and the role of the university was increasingly scrutinized. Literature focusing on Canadian higher education in the Second World War is at once sparce and ubiquitous. While there are many American, British, and other non-Canadian-focused books that focus broadly on higher education during the Second World War, Canada has no such book. Instead, it has dozens of university histories, many of which contain a chapter on the war. The same themes recur throughout, most notably the universities' struggle for survival during wartime. King's College during the Second World War fits this pattern neatly.

Most of King's student societies carried on reasonably well in the first two schoolyears of war. As at some other Canadian universities, athletics did not share the same happy fate. King's hockey players suffered disappointment in the 1939-40 schoolyear, as the scheduled times of intercollegiate games conflicted with students' military training, forcing them to withdraw from a league in which the team had had promising prospects.[378] In September 1940 some Maritime colleges, including King's, banned intercollegiate sports for the duration, an occurrence that

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[377] Nixon to Wetmore, 20 March 1940 (UKC.REG.1933.Wetmore).
[378] "Hockey," *King's College Record,* March 1940.

caused considerable unhappiness. This, combined with other athletic disappointments, caused the year to begin, as one student put it, "with a dark cloud hanging over our athletic interests."[379] Another, disgusted by the end of football, reflected that the college that year was "like a morgue."[380] In the absence of larger, organized athletics, students continued to enjoy sports among themselves. In 1940-41, for example, the students were introduced to volleyball, and enjoyed the game so much that they fell into the habit of rounding off each day with a game before bed.[381] Athletics, which as Chapter Three demonstrates was stressed as a fundamental part of a full education, began to be impaired during the first years of war.

Athletics may have been curtailed, but male King's students were encouraged—and later compelled—to adopt more military-minded athletic pursuits. As Canadian universities adapted to their newfound role as educational institutions in wartime, most saw one student group explode with popularity: the Canadian Officers' Training Corps (C.O.T.C.). Initiated in Canada by McGill University in 1912, the C.O.T.C. was modelled on a British program formed in 1906: the University Officers' Training Corps, a student club (operated by the British Army) that trained university students to be military officers. As Paul Axelrod and Charles Levi have noted, Britain was better prepared for its second war than its first, and as such authorities were determined to prevent another male exodus from its universities. Learning lessons from the last war, they hoped

[379] "Sports," *King's College Record,* May 1941.
[380] "Sold Up the Hill," *King's College Record,* November 1940.
[381] *King's College Record,* March 1941.

to accomplish this by providing male students with military training at their universities.[382] Canada followed suit.[383]

At Dalhousie (and, by extension, at King's), participation in the C.O.T.C. was incentivized by the creation of a new university credit, "Military Science," which counted as a one-year university course, eligible to undergraduates and graduates alike. Because of the University of King's College's close relationship with Dalhousie, collegians from King's joined the Dalhousie unit, which was divided into two companies: the Dalhousie ("A") Company, and the King's ("B") Company. Participation was voluntary, and completion of the course did not bind students to enlistment in the services proper. The course itself provided infantry training and was divided into three components: Monday night drill, a mid-week lecture, and field work later in the week.[384] Though rifle ranges were available in Bedford, a small provisional range was also constructed on campus, in the basement of the Dalhousie Archives. Headed by Dalhousie Classics professor Major R.E.D. Cattley, the Dal-King's C.O.T.C. intended to prevent a recurrence of the First World War's slaughter by producing highly trained officers.[385] As Major Cattley explained: it was "the feeling of the military authorities and officers of this unit that too

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[382] Paul Axelrod and Charles Levi, "Universities, Students, and the Conduct of War in Canada and Britain: A Comparative Perspective," in *Cultures, Communities, and Conflict: Histories of Canadian Universities and War*, ed. Paul Stortz and E. Lisa Panayotidis (Toronto; Buffalo, N.Y.: University of Toronto Press, 2012), 260.

[383] For a consideration of the C.O.T.C.'s history prior to the Second World War, see Daniel Thomas Byers' 1993 Master's thesis, "The Canadian Officers' Training Corps: Support for Military Training in the Universities of Canada, 1908-1935." Anne Millar's 2015 Ph.D. thesis, "Wartime Training at Canadian Universities during the Second World War," offers an exhaustively researched account of Canadian universities' military contributions during the war.

[384] "C.O.T.C. Offers Advantages," *Dalhousie Gazette*, 6 October 1939.

[385] "Students of Dal Enlist in C.O.T.C.," *Dalhousie Gazette*, 6 October 1939.

many young men with brains were killed as privates in the last war."[386] This was a mistake that Canadian authorities did not intend to repeat.

The *Record* offers little information about the C.O.T.C., but the *Dalhousie Gazette* provides clues about student opinions regarding military training. In 1939-40, members of the Dal-King's C.O.T.C. generally responded favourably to the group's increased presence on campus. Relieved that such service was not mandatory, most male students at Dalhousie and at King's responded "cheerfully and voluntarily" to this chance to prepare themselves for active service if they were needed.[387] Moreover, the C.O.T.C.'s field work sometimes provided entertainment for Dalhousie students and Haligonians alike. In October 1939, for example, a "Mock War" saw the King's unit attempt to capture the Dalhousie "Maginot Line" in a three-hour battle, and hundreds of interested onlookers watched from Coburg Road as "the northeastern corner of Studley campus became a veritable '[No] Man's Land.'"[388] Battle, as Jonathan F. Vance and many other scholars have observed, was often likened to sports and games, and this was no exception.[389]

The voluntary nature of participation in the C.O.T.C. would not endure. Prime Minister Mackenzie King's June 1940 *National Resources Mobilization Act* made single men responsible for home military service, with the first conscripts beginning training in October 1940. To keep Canada's brightest minds at their studies, authorities agreed that university men could postpone their service if they trained at their educational institutions. As a result, the voluntary C.O.T.C. involvement of the previous year metamorphosed into mandatory training for able-bodied

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386 "C.O.T.C. Offers Advantages," *Dalhousie Gazette*, 6 October 1939.
387 "Students of Dal Enlist in C.O.T.C.," *Dalhousie Gazette*, 6 October 1939.
388 "Mock War Saturday," *Dalhousie Gazette*, 20 October 1939, and "Dal, King's Play at War," *Dalhousie Gazette*, 27 October 1939.
389 Vance, *Death So Noble*.

university men over eighteen. This training consisted of 110 hours of training per schoolyear (raised to 120 in 1941-42), plus two weeks at camp after university ended for the year. King's students who underwent this intensive regime could take heart that theirs was a shared experience, as military training had been made compulsory at all Canadian universities. Though it no longer counted as a university credit, as it had in 1939-40, elements of the C.O.T.C. program strongly resembled an academic course. In addition to parades, drill, and other responsibilities, members attended lectures on subjects including map reading, military law, and hygiene.[390] Though several King's students joined the forces despite this opportunity, in the fall of 1940, forty-nine of King's male students were participating in the C.O.T.C.[391]

As noted in the previous chapter, the C.O.T.C. even in peacetime had an uneasy relationship with the pacifist movement that swept university campuses in the early 1930s. Though, as Thomas Socknat has argued, the increasing likelihood of war greatly subdued the movement for peace, there were certainly King's students inclined to pacifism during wartime, or at least to a respectful toleration of pacifist sentiment.[392] As one King's student wrote in March 1940: "There are few positions harder to maintain, which demand more courage to pursue and which when assuredly sincere, despite everything, inspire the admiration of the majority of people than that of an out and out pacifist in wartime."[393] Perhaps the best illustration of the situation at King's regarding pacifism comes in the form of two articles written by King's Divinity students in the first schoolyear of the war: Karl H. Tufts argued that Christ's example must inspire pacifism, and Douglas Henderson agreed but noted that good could not triumph

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[390] "D.I.P.O.," *Dalhousie Gazette*, 5 December 1941, and "Canadian Officers' Training Corps," *Pharos*, 1941.
[391] "President's Report to the Board of Governors," *King's College Record*, 19 November 1940.
[392] Socknat, *Witness Against War*.
[393] "Exchanges," *King's College Record*, March 1940.

over evil if good men refused to do what it took to preserve righteousness.[394] Both articles were thoughtful, well-argued, and deeply attuned to the difficulty of the problem. Conscientious Objectors refusing military training would be handled by Nova Scotia's Military Tribunals (or the university if they were under twenty-one), but, unlike at several other Canadian universities, this ultimately never became an issue at Dalhousie and King's.[395]

As members of a university that billed itself as a servant of the Church, many students and faculty considered the role of religion in a world at war. Generally, most Canadian Anglicans held views like those of Henderson, and Socknat has noticed that Anglicans were visible but not prominent among Canada's foremost pacifist voices.[396] John Hackenley, Bishop of Nova Scotia and former King's graduate, for example, drew on a long tradition of Christianity couched in warlike imagery to encourage Nova Scotian Anglicans to share the Gospel: "the Church," he wrote in a 1940 charge to parishioners, "is the army of the living God. Her warfare must have a clear objective and a sound strategy."[397] Overall, articles in the King's newspaper dealing with religion and war took a thoughtful approach, considering the implications of the relationship between war and Christianity, especially as this related to theological students.

In wartime politics King's students appear to have viewed the conflict largely through an English-oriented lens: "King's for the King," as President Walker pithily encapsulated matters.[398] Here, radio played a special role. As one Nova Scotian described it: "the crisp voices

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[394] Karl H. Tufts, "A Divinity Student Looks at War," *King's College Record*, November 1939, and Douglas Henderson, "The Divinity Student and War," *King's College Record*, February 1940.
[395] "Compulsory Training Feature of College Life," *Dalhousie Gazette*, 30 September 1940, and Axelrod, "Moulding the Middle Class," 121.
[396] Socknat, *Witness Against War*, 148.
[397] *The Year Book of the Diocese of Nova Scotia*, 1940.
[398] "University of King's College," *The Year Book of the Diocese of Nova Scotia*, 1941-1942.

of those disembodied British voices carried a special authority. They touched us three thousand miles away with the wand of Empire, with majesty and dignity […] our radio war was British."[399] For decades the students, faculty, and alumni of King's had stressed the importance of upholding the motto of the university: For God, Law, King, and People. For many, war offered an opportunity to put these ideals into action, the connection to King and Empire always strong at the college. "England alone," as one student put it in May 1941, "stands as a guiding beacon, holding aloft the standards for which we are fighting."[400] Foremost amongst these standards was democracy, especially insofar as it was believed to represent the ideal of the pursuit of truth. Challenges to democracy within Canadian universities were looked upon with deep suspicion by many; Axelrod, for example, has noted that certain Canadian university groups thought to be potentially subversive were closely monitored by Canada's RCMP.[401] King's was no exception, and in mid-1940 presidents Walker and Stanley of King's and Dalhousie respectively received a confidential bulletin from the Department of National Defence, informing them that a potential Dal-King's C.O.T.C. member was "a noted Communist" and that he must never be permitted to enlist in the Corps.[402] As Helen Nugent has noted, in Halifax—which saw thousands of servicemembers from around the world move through its port daily—a tendency to suspicion was especially strong.[403] Despite this, as

[399] MacNeil, *Wordstruck*, 192.
[400] "Editorial," *King's College Record*, May 1941.
[401] Paul Axelrod, "Spying on the Young in Depression and War: Students, Youth Groups and the RCMP, 1935-1942," *Labour (Halifax)* 35 (1995): 43-63.
[402] Underline in original. G. Dwyer for J.A. Adamson to Registrars of Dalhousie and King's, 25 July 1940 (E.1.1.65 COTC).
[403] Nugent, "'A Worrisome Time'".

witnesses to the effects of the suppression of liberty on European and Asian universities, King's students considered there to be serious ramifications for universities that ceased to pursue truth.

Ideologically, one topic was near the heart of most university students in Canada, and King's students were certainly no exception. What, they wondered, was the role of the university and the university student in wartime? In the previous war, over 80% of the King's College student body had served in the forces, leaving the college to limp along with the few students who remained.[404] Many students were proud of this legacy of service, which they saw as evidence of the university's historic devotion to England. But in this second global conflict, was overseas service, they asked, really the best use for the trained minds produced by the university? Many King's students believed that their duty lay in completing their education, and becoming leaders both in wartime and in the postwar world. Mindful of the detrimental effects of the last war, students were also concerned about the fate of their university in the event of an exodus of students. As one student described it in March 1940:

> Our duty as Kingsmen and alumni is clear. The longer and more terrible the war, the more necessary are the tasks before us. From deeper ashes will we have to rise. Under no circumstances must the doors of Kings College [*sic*] close. During the last Great War, enrolment fell to sixteen students but the staff was maintained, the library kept up, and the tradition carried on. There must be a repetition of that heroic struggle. Of all sections of society the university student is most expected to have vision and foresight. Let us not betray that trust.[405]

The feared student exodus did come, but not in the way students had thought, and not until two years into the war. For the first two years of war at King's, enrolment decreased steadily but not alarmingly, and the students who remained carried on amid inconveniences such as the curtailment of athletics. Many students joined the services, and the male students who remained

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[404] "Dates of Historic King's," *King's College Record*, November 1939.
[405] "Editorial," *King's College Record*, March 1940.

participated in the C.O.T.C. These years, however, soon faded into the background of the Second World War experience at King's, as in 1941 a significantly different problem arose.

King's for the King: HMCS *Kings* and the Scattered College, 1941-1945

On May 5th, 1941 the Board of Governors' Executive Committee of King's College met for an emergency meeting. Canada's Department of National Defense, Naval Service had requested that King's College turn over its buildings to the Navy during the summer months to facilitate training Navy men.[406] The Navy had first contacted the university in September 1940, but the school had had no further word until 1941.[407] The Royal Canadian Navy was a critically important branch of the Canadian services, especially in Halifax, and since 1939 had seen a remarkable rise in numbers, exploding from a 1939 strength of 1,800 to 95,000 by 1945.[408] A majority of Navy members were stationed in Halifax, and as such, adequate training facilities were needed. Many buildings in Halifax would soon be requisitioned for war purposes, and the appeal of King's College's buildings was glaringly obvious. The bomb-proof and fire-proof nature of the buildings that had lessened parental fears were the same reasons why the buildings were some of—if not *the*—most suitable buildings the government would requisition during this year.[409] More than one branch of the services had its eyes on the buildings, but when the R.C.A.F. contacted King's about the possibility of billeting R.C.A.F. members (who would be taking a course at Dalhousie) for the summer, the governors of the college resolved that King's would retain its buildings unless a Minister of the Crown directly commanded that they be pressed into service.[410] Such a demand was not long in arriving, and under the direction of the

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[406] *Board of Governors' Minutes*, 5 May 1941.
[407] *Board of Governors' Minutes*, 19 September 1940.
[408] Raddall, *Halifax*, 208.
[409] "University of King's College," *The Year Book of the Diocese of Nova Scotia*, 1941-1942.
[410] "University of King's College," *The Year Book of the Diocese of Nova Scotia*, 1941-1942.

Honorable Angus L. Macdonald, premier of Nova Scotia turned Minister of National Defense for Naval Affairs, the buildings (excepting Alexandra Hall, the female residence) were taken for the Navy (for May 23rd to September 10th) for a Naval Officers Training School, with a payment to King's of $3,000.[411] On May 24th, 1941, the STADACONA section of the Navy's Officer Training Establishment moved in.[412] Shortly after, however, the agreement was reworked to include Alexandra Hall, which from July 2nd to September 10th became a training centre for Paymasters.[413] Though these arrangements were only for the summer, it seemed increasingly likely that the relationship with the Navy could be longer lasting.

The R.C.N. were delighted with the college. Macdonald, visiting the college in June 1941, concluded that, considering the national situation and the suitability of King's College's buildings, the Department of National Defense had no choice but to requisition the college for the duration to house a Naval Officers Training Centre.[414] It was not an easy decision on any side. Macdonald, a former Dalhousie student and law professor, had taught King's students in the past and knew how difficult it would be for the college that prided itself on its residential system to be forced out of its buildings. All other possible institutions in Halifax had, however, been weighed in the balance and found wanting: King's would have to be taken.[415] The college's governors agonized over the choice, looking at it from every angle.[416] They did not want to give

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[411] *Board of Governors' Minutes*, 12 June 1941, and University of King's College," *The Year Book of the Diocese of Nova Scotia*, 1941-1942.
[412] UKC Archives Photographs Finding Aid.
[413] "University of King's College," *The Year Book of the Diocese of Nova Scotia*, 1941-1942.
[414] "University of King's College," *The Year Book of the Diocese of Nova Scotia*, 1941-1942.
[415] Correspondence 1941 (UKC.BOG.8.1941).
[416] There was a small comfort in the proceedings: if the college was leased to the Navy, the Air Force would not be able to take it. The Navy men had shown themselves to be quiet and respectful tenants, and the governors of King's worried that the Air Force might not prove such

up the school's buildings, but they recognized the urgence of the situation and the right of the government to require this sacrifice of them. They recognized too, that they had little choice in the matter—regardless of whether King's went willingly, it had to go. President Walker, asking Macdonald what would happen if the plan was opposed, received the following answer: "We shall take it anyway."[417] On June 25th, 1941, Macdonald delivered the final verdict to President Walker, notifying him that the plan would proceed, and expressing his regrets about the situation.[418] King's governors, signing a lease that transferred the property (with the exception of the President's Lodge, the chapel, and the library, among select others) for the duration at a price of $30,000 yearly, chose to "submit gracefully" to the developments.[419] Short months later, on October 1st, 1941, HMCS *Kings* was born.

Predictably, reactions to the news of the naval plan came swift and strong. President Walker, though by no means in favour of the scheme, increasingly found himself playing a conciliatory role, explaining the necessity of the developments, and cautioning against opposition. He advised an optimistic outlook, noting that the naval occupation at the very least would secure the school financially in a period when many universities (including Dalhousie) were facing increasing financial problems due to the war, particularly in the loss of student tuition fees.[420] King's College, historically financially unstable and dependant on the generosity

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satisfactory borders. ("Confidential Memorandum" [Navy Lease – Drafts and Correspondence 1941, BOG.5.1.RCN.2]).

[417] "Meeting -- June 18, 1941" (Navy Lease – Correspondence 1942, BOG.5.1.RCN.3).

[418] Macdonald to Walker, 25 June 1941 (Navy Lease – Correspondence 1942, BOG.5.1.RCN.3).

[419] 2 July 1941 (Navy Lease – Drafts and Correspondence 1941, BOG.5.1.RCN.2), and *Board of Governors' Minutes*, 2 July 1941.

[420] Money had always been a contentious issue in the administrative relationship between Dalhousie and King's College, and relations were particularly tense in the wartime years. For information on the administrative and financial aspects of the Dalhousie-King's relationship, see John G. Leefe.

of donors, had been offered a rare chance at financial stability. This increased economic security would, Walker hoped, stand King's in good stead to face the postwar years. King's, he noted, in a way had simply changed curriculum—as Canada's largest-ever Naval College, it would graduate Naval Sub-Lieutenants instead of Bachelors of Arts.[421]

Not all were able to adopt Walker's pragmatic attitude. The Alumni Association was particularly horrified: "[IF] KINGS GIVES UP HER COMPLETE PLANT FOR THE REST OF THE WAR, IT MEANS THE END OF HER. Make no mistake about that."[422] Though the Association was intent on contacting all alumni of King's to protest the decision, it was persuaded against this recourse by a joint letter from Walker and the Bishop of Nova Scotia urging reason and moderation.[423] In a letter to President Walker, Fenwick W. Vroom (likely voicing the opinions of many) enumerated the virtues of Saint Mary's College as a location for a naval training centre, and wondered why on earth King's had been selected.[424] The city newspapers—not being directly affected—took a brighter view of the situation, and the good publicity the school obtained was no doubt appreciated by its administrators. As one paper described it:

> The oldest English-speaking University in the British Empire overseas is to become the newest and largest college for Naval officers in the British Commonwealth outside the United Kingdom. This is a most fitting role for an institution which for over a century and a half has been one of the great strongholds of Christian Faith and English culture. […] Kingsmen will be proud to learn that the institution that gave them so much of the higher things of life will now be employed in training the men whose sole purpose is the protection of those very things which mean so much to us. Truly it may be said that King's has answered the call.[425]

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[421] Walker and John to Alumnus, 18 July 1941 (Navy Lease – Drafts and Correspondence 1941, BOG.5.1.RCN.2).
[422] Capitalization in original. 27 June 1941 (Correspondence 1941, UKC.BOG.8.1941).
[423] Walker and John to Alumnus, 18 July 1941 (Navy Lease – Drafts and Correspondence 1941, BOG.5.1.RCN.2).
[424] Vroom to Walker, 28 June 1941 (Vroom, Archdeacon F.W., E.1.2.75).
[425] "King's Answers the Call," pasted in *Alumni Association Minutes*, Fall 1941.

Walker could be glad of non-defeatist attitudes, for, as he would urge in the early days of HMCS *Kings*: "I would present to you a future of solid optimism coupled with hard work and careful planning. Our task is like that of the navvy digging his ditch. The flies will pester us a little, no doubt—but the ditch will be dug; it must be."[426] In other words, there was no point in complaining about a situation that could not be changed.

The problem of the Navy settled, King's administrators quickly turned their minds to the problem of the university. On July 15th, President Walker sent a mass letter advising King's students of the situation, and asking them to let him know of their intentions for the fall, which would facilitate planning.[427] Many chose to follow the university, which they hoped would retain its spirit even without its buildings. As returning student Cashman Mason put it: "I am sure that I echo the wish of all when I say that any accommodation however meagre or scanty would be welcome as long as it is still KINGS."[428] Many options were considered for the location of the new King's, such as acquiring houses or building huts in Halifax, using the President's Lodge, and even sending the School of Divinity back to Windsor, though it was soon decided that splitting the school between different locations was a poor idea.[429] There were even concerns that King's would not remain a co-educational college, particularly if residence opportunities could not be provided for female students.[430] Eventually, however, the governors agreed that the "sanest and most economical" course of action would be to rent space in Pine Hill Divinity Hall

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[426] "President's Report," *King's College Record*, May 1942.
[427] Walker to King's Students, 15 July 1941 (Student Body, E.1.2.65).
[428] Capitalization in original (UKC.REG.1940.Mason).
[429] "University of King's College," *The Year Book of the Diocese of Nova Scotia*, 1941-1942, and *Board of Governors' Minutes*, 11 July 1941.
[430] *Alumni Association Minutes*, 12 November 1941.

for the male students, and look to Dalhousie's Shirreff Hall for female students.[431] Neither plan was particularly novel: King's had housed Dalhousie students in its own residences for many years, as had Pine Hill, since the larger university still had no men's residence. Pine Hill and Dalhousie both responded favourably to the plan, and each set aside separate spaces for the newcomers so that they could retain their individuality as much as possible under the circumstances. Though some male professors would move to Pine Hill with the students, King's dean of women (Helen Creighton) was let go, as King's female students would live under the supervision of Dalhousie's dean of women.[432] King's students would also come under the regulation of their host institutions in aspects such as caution deposits and residence fees.[433] Ultimately, many students followed King's to its new homes in the fall of 1941.

The Pine Hill and Shirreff Hall contingents of King's College settled in quickly to their new surroundings. They were fully aware of the element of déjà vu in their situation. As one student put it:

> King's has moved again. In 1921 there was a fire, and in 1941 there is a war—a twenty-year period, and at either end a force symbolic of destruction. Well—King's has lived through the one, and has emerged rejuvenated; now what of the other?[434]

Registration, unsurprisingly, did diminish, though this was not altogether due to the move. Sixty-five King's students had left for the services, and a rumour—despite a great deal of advertising to counter it—had caused many people in the Maritimes to believe that King's had permanently closed. As it was, the first schoolyear after the move saw Pine Hill take in twenty-four King's

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[431] "President's Report," *King's College Record*, May 1942.
[432] Walker to Harper, 13 August 1941 (Shirreff Hall, E.1.2.62).
[433] As the Shirreff Hall residence fees were greater than those of Pine Hill, the governors of King's reimbursed female students the difference to ensure that King's male and female students were treated equally financially (*Board of Governors' Minutes*, 29 April 1943).
[434] "Editorial," *King's College Record*, November 1941.

men, and Shirreff Hall absorb six female students, creating a scattered student population of only thirty-six (including six non-resident students). Though there was a possibility that Pine Hill could also be requisitioned, this never occurred, and male King's students stayed in their new lodgings for the duration. The first schoolyear of the move passed reasonably well: King's students found they could live side by side with those of Pine Hill (albeit on their own floor) and preserve their traditions, including formal dinners, the seniority system, academic gowns, and attending daily Matins and Evensong in the generously offered Pine Hill chapel.[435] Deeply appreciative of the Pine Hillers' hospitality, King's students evaluated the situation and acknowledged that it was generally positive, noting how fortunate they were to have accommodation, and recognizing that they certainly still possessed "the material to keep King's alive."[436] They were sad to see the campus on Coburg Road go, but they carried on as best they could. King's College's inhabitants, then, when asked at the end of their first year of 'exile' how they were doing, could truthfully answer: "Tolerably well, thank you!"[437]

The good relations between Pine Hill and King's continued throughout the remaining years of war. The general tone, found in letters of administrators, governing body and student society minutes, and the articles in the school newspaper, all speak to King's deep appreciation for Pine Hill's hospitality, and to the warm relations between the students and staff of the

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[435] "Editorial," *King's College Record*, November 1941. On Sunday mornings, King's students returned to their own chapel on the King's campus for 11:00 Matins.

[436] "Editorial," *King's College Record*, November 1941. Pine Hill, in fact, had much in common with King's, which likely facilitated the blending of the schools. Pine Hillers were scattered in 1917 when their residence was turned into a convalescent hospital by the Military Commission. The school changed location multiple times during its history, and it also proved portable. Additionally, its residences had already been open to male students from other universities who had no residence of their own. Finally, and most obviously, the ordination of ministers was—like at King's—of great importance.

[437] *King's College Record*, May 1942.

institutions. "The Presbyterians," (as some King's students referred to the inhabitants of Pine Hill), "[…] have shown themselves true friends."[438] Pine Hillers evidently made a concerted attempt to make King's students welcome in every possible way, and this was deeply appreciated. References to King's in the surviving copies of the school's newspaper, the *Pine Hill Pepper Box*, were always congenial. Many students became actively involved in Pine Hill societies and events: Thomas Rogers, for example, was a cast member of Pine Hill's *Romeo and Juliet* and a Pine Hill Billiard Commissioner, while Donald Corringham sang tenor in the Pine Hill Quartet.[439] In fact, the governors of King's College may have begun to believe that the situation was *too* good, especially after receiving a letter in November 1941 from the King's Student Body that gave a detailed account of the myriad of ways Pine Hill life was superior to that of King's.[440] The list was long: the food at Pine Hill (and King's students had been criticizing King's food for years) was imminently superior (something to enjoy rather than to tolerate), mealtimes were more flexible, the sick were properly looked after, bedding and towels were not only provided but laundered, sentiments of kindness and welcome abounded, and so on and so forth. King's authorities, the students warned, had better bear this in mind, or the university would fail to keep its students upon its return to its own buildings.

One interesting aspect of the relationship between King's and Pine Hill students lay in the realm of theology. Pine Hillers took theological training, and generally belonged to the United Church. While the King's student body was predominantly Anglican, only a portion of King's students belonged to the School of Divinity. For the most part, the two denominations shared enough similarities to get along amicably, and King's Divinity students were pleased to see so

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[438] *King's College Record*, March 1942.
[439] "The Graduates," *King's College Record*, Encaenia Number 1944.
[440] Student Body to Board of Governors, 19 November 1941 (Student Body, E.1.2.65).

many similarities in configuration between Pine Hill's chapel and their own. Following the loss of professors from both schools, Pine Hillers and King's theology students sat in on each others' lectures in classes such as Hebrew and Hellenistic Greek.[441] The only source of tension between Pine Hillers and King's students evident in the archival records seems to have stemmed from the side of King's. Some King's theology students were believed to have "paraded their Catholicity around the Hill in open defiance of Protestantism," giving undue attention to minor differences in theological practice such as blessing oneself, the language of grace, or the time of Communion.[442] When the subject of grace was raised at a 1943 meeting of the Student Body, after some discussion the students concluded that King's students should stand during their formal meals for the Pine Hill grace, "at least as an act of courtesy."[443] Overall, while the experience of King's students at Pine Hill was clearly excellent, a few indications hint that some King's students may not have completely reciprocated the welcoming attitude exhibited by those of Pine Hill.

Despite their removal from the King's campus, the majority of King's male students (who also took classes at Dalhousie) and female students (who lived at Dalhousie) would have been in close proximity to HMCS *Kings* most days. As such, it would have been impossible for them not to notice the naval officers-in-training, who drilled, exercised, and practiced semaphore within clear sight of interested onlookers (see fig. 4.1). Relations with HMCS *Kings* were consistently good, despite a minor hiccup at the beginning, when King's students who had left items at the university over the summer (not anticipating a naval occupation) found that many of

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[441] "University of King's College," *The Year Book of the Diocese of Nova Scotia*, 1941-1942, and PHDH-11-8 Senate, 9 February 1944.
[442] "Editorial," *King's College Record*, Alumni Number 1945.
[443] *Student Body Minutes*, 18 October 1943.

these items had been lost. While some were later located, the university found itself footing the bill for missing item claims, to the tune of $411.80.[444] Despite this, King's administrators discovered that, as with life at Pine Hill, there was opportunity for reciprocity. Sub-Lieutenants and Officers stationed at HMCS *Kings* were allowed to borrow books from the King's College library, and President Walker (still living onsite in the President's Lodge) was known to lecture on subjects such as naval history and marine law if needed.[445] The Navy, meanwhile, kept the buildings shipshape, and lent a hand by doing some painting. Many naval members seem to have felt the King's connection keenly, and this was well expressed in a 1942 song written by Probationary Sub-Lieutenant Hoagie McCauley shortly before his departure from HMCS *Kings* and printed in the *Halifax Chronicle*. The song, entitled "Good-Bye to King's," is as follows:

> Cast off forward! Fast fade our days at King's
> Not long from now we'll think of other things.
> We'll miss our friends, their comp'ny we enjoyed,
> But there's a war to win; be not annoyed.
>
> Lift up your glasses, drink a toast once more,
> To our fair Navy, who could ask for more?
> When we all fight this world of force to free,
> Our fair King's College, we'll remember thee.
>
> In our Division men from all the land
> Gather together, binding hand on hand.
> When danger threatens we will stand our ground,
> We come from King's, our service knows no bound.
>
> Men of the Navy, lift your voices high
> To our fair ship, oh, praise her to the sky.
> We will remember all they taught us here,
> To Hun or Dago we will show no fear.
>
> Fill up your glasses, once more drink a toast,
> To "Dumbo" and to "Hamy"; leaders we like most.

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[444] *Board of Governors Minutes*, 26 March 1942 and 2 June 1942.

[445] Walker to Allen, 26 August 1941 (Navy Lease – Drafts and Correspondence 1941, BOG.5.1.RCN.2), and UKC Archives Photograph Finding Aid.

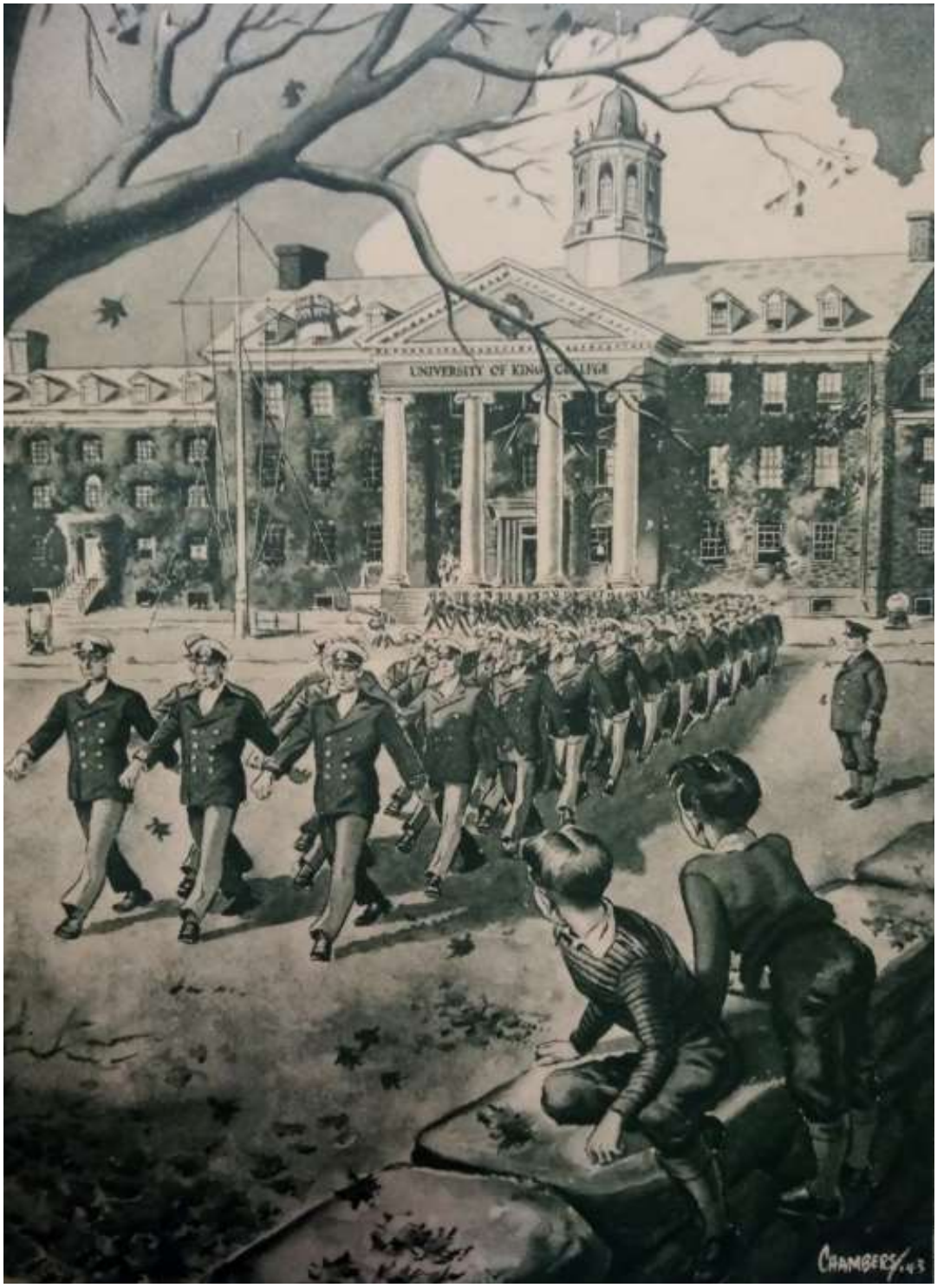
We'll never fail them wheresoe'er we be,
Ruling the waves we'll fight for liberty.

Ask any man who wears the Navy blue,
"Are you from King's?" If so, I say to you
"You're of the blood. You own the wine-dark sea."
King's leads the Navy on to Victory.[446]

Here, McCauley praises King's College, noting its importance to the war effort and promising that its legacy would not be forgotten. King's students, away from their own university buildings, at least had the satisfaction of knowing that their former home was being used and appreciated.

[446] "Good-Bye to King's," *King's College Record*, November 1942. The *Halifax Chronicle* of 10 October 1942 included a note from the editor under the poem: "Last year the Royal Canadian Navy requisitioned the buildings of King's College in Halifax for use as a training centre for future officers. That the spirit of King's, oldest university in the British Empire overseas, has impressed itself upon the minds of many a young officer-in-training is exemplified in the song written by Probationary Sub-Lieutenant Hoagie McCauley just prior to his division's departure for regular duty afloat."

Figure 4.1. HMCS *Kings* as depicted by Bob Chambers, 1943.



Source: Robert W. Chambers and Frank W. Doyle, *Halifax in Wartime* (Halifax: Halifax Herald and the Halifax Mail, 1943).

HMCS *Kings* was also putting King's College on the map in unprecedented ways. Thomas Raddall has described the growth of Canada's Navy as "a book-length romance," and he was not the only one to see the excitement of the Navy's presence in Halifax and at King's.[447] Certainly HMCS *Kings* provided a fount of good publicity for the college. This was most noticeable when the campus featured in a 1943 movie by Universal Pictures, *Corvette K-225*, which was set in Halifax and told a story of a Canadian corvette. HMCS *Kings* was highlighted in a stirring scene, in which naval members marched across the campus for Evening Quarters, their band playing *The Maple Leaf Forever*.[448] Moreover, graduates of HMCS *Kings* were carrying the college's name around the world, a fact many associated with King's College took pride in. In the words of President Walker: "Whenever a sub of the 'Wavy Navy' distinguishes himself it is odds on that he is a Kingsman, and proud of it. We too have a vicarious pride in the exploits of our 'step-sons', and we feel that the college is truly doing a war job, in that it made possible the rapid development of this Naval Establishment."[449] Considering the excellent reputation that the Navy upheld on behalf of the college, those associated with King's were happy to share a close—almost familial ('step-sons')—identity with the Navy at HMCS *Kings*.

Male students who participated in university military training (see fig. 4.2.) doubtless saw plenty of similarities between themselves and those in training at HMCS *Kings*, especially as university training expanded to include a naval option. In January 1943 the Dal-King's C.O.T.C. gained a companion in the form of the No. 16 Squadron of the University Air Training Corps (U.A.T.C.), an organization that quickly seduced fifty-two student air enthusiasts from the

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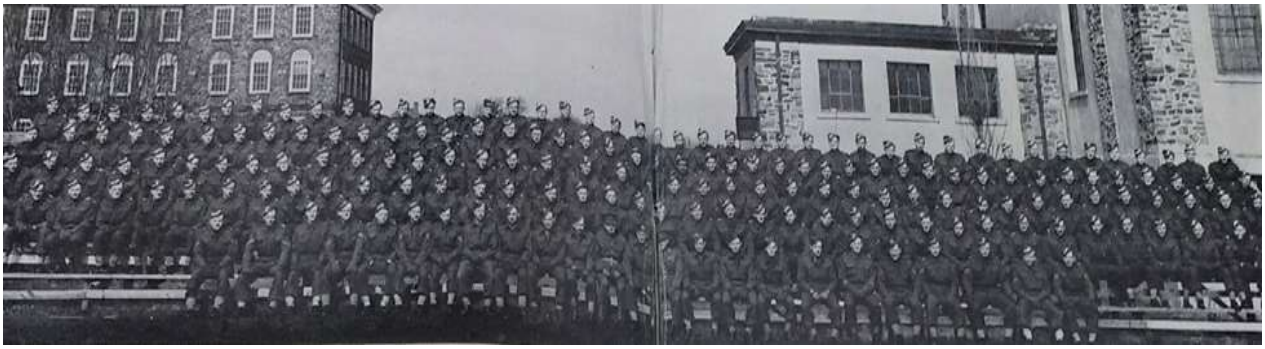
[447] Raddall, *Halifax*, 280.
[448] Richard Rosson, *Corvette K-225* (United States: Universal Pictures, 1943).
[449] Walker to Chalmers, 10 December 1942 (Navy Lease – Correspondence 1942, BOG.5.1.RCN.3).

C.O.T.C.'s ranks.[450] A branch of the R.C.A.F., membership in the U.A.T.C. allowed students who enlisted in the Air Force proper after leaving university to need only three weeks of instruction at the Initial Training School instead of the customary two-and-a-half months.[451] In fall 1943, the trio was completed with the launch of the University Naval Training Division (U.N.T.D.). The small number of students who joined the U.N.T.D. enlisted as stokers or ordinary seamen in a divisional strength of the Navy proper, and were bound to continue their service in the Navy after the completion of their studies (C.O.T.C. members, by contrast, were free to join any branch of the services).[452] By the fall of 1943, then, the Dalhousie-King's military program represented each of the three main branches of the services.

Figure 4.2. Officers, N.C.O.'s, and Cadets of the Dalhousie-King's Universities Contingent, 1942.



Source: *Pharos*, 1942.

Despite the infringements on their time caused by military training, King's students during their years away from campus continued regular student activities as best they could. Some societies suffered, but others adapted to the new situation, often helped along by financial assistance from the university. As ever, the Haliburton Club remained the most important society

[450] "University Air Training Corps – U.A.T.C.," *Pharos*, 1943.
[451] "University Air Training Corps – U.A.T.C.," *Pharos*, 1943.
[452] "U.N.T.D.," *Pharos*, 1944 and 1945.

on campus, earning the title of "King's Most Active Society in this Year of Exile" in early 1944.[453] "King's may come, and King's may go," wrote one student, "but the Haliburton, hardiest of college societies, goes on and on."[454] It was fortunate that students had at least this remnant of prewar student life to embrace, as athletics (with the exception of military training) continued to suffer due to lack of opportunity and the fact that King's gymnasium had become part of the "lower deck" of HMCS *Kings*.[455] Nevertheless, King's students at Pine Hill made good use of the resources available to them, exchanging their former rivalry with Dalhousie for "inter-nicene warfare [*sic*], or floor-fare" with Pine Hill.[456] For King'swomen at Shirreff Hall, athletic opportunity was more readily available, as they could join in with Dalhousie's women's sports. In both cases, the students of King's adapted to the modified situation.

This section has thus far focused mainly on the experiences of male students, primarily due to the tiny number of female students in residence during this period (on average only about five) and because there was less written about the female experience than the male in the *King's College Record* in these years. Upon removal to Shirreff Hall, the co-eds, like the male students at Pine Hill, found plenty to compare to their experience at King's College. Retrospect having chased away any unpleasant memories of life in Alexandra Hall, the women's former residence at King's became for a while the embodiment of an ideal, and "assumed a halo which, at the time of [their] residence there, was not much in evidence."[457] Unlike their peers at Pine Hill, who were able to continue the tradition of a Latin grace, the women at Shirreff Hall had to make do

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[453] *King's College Record*, Spring 1944.
[454] *King's College Record*, Michaelmas Number 1943.
[455] "Sports," *King's College Record*, February 1943.
[456] "Sports," *King's College Record*, February 1943.
[457] "Co-eds' Notes," *King's College Record*, November 1941.

with an English thanks.[458] Life in a female-only residence, as opposed to life in a co-educational residential college, also had its impact: "Our sole consolation of this deplorable state," one co-ed mused, "is that we may feel no dismay about our appearance in entering the dining room now."[459] Despite these changes in collegial life, those housed in the 'King's Wing' of Shirreff Hall resolved to maintain their own King's identity while also adhering to the Hall's customs.[460]

In many ways, more can be learned about the lives of King'swomen during this period from the pages of Dalhousie's student paper than that of King's. Female students at King's and Dalhousie did not undergo the military training required of their male peers. As Nancy Kiefer and Ruth Roach Pierson have argued, most Canadian universities strictly regulated the military training of their male students because of the great need for manpower and for workers in male-dominated professional fields, but favoured a voluntary approach when it came to female service.[461] This was consistent with Canadian views more broadly, which favoured women "maintaining home life," working in factories, and volunteering instead of joining the forces.[462] Dalhousie was no exception, and King'swomen, like female Dalhousians, had the opportunity to do their part for the war effort by participating in initiatives such as organizing financial campaigns, inviting local servicemen to Shirreff Hall teas, and knitting.

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458 "Co-eds' Notes," *King's College Record*, November 1941.
459 "Co-eds' Notes," *King's College Record*, November 1941.
460 "Co-eds' Notes," *King's College Record*, November 1941.
461 Kiefer and Pierson, "The War Effort and Women Students," 161.
462 Ruth Roach Pierson, *"They're Still Women after All": The Second World War and Canadian Womanhood* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1986), 135. This information comes from a Canada-wide poll in 1943. When asked how women could most effectively help the war effort, 26% of respondents (including 40% of French Canadians) identified "maintaining home life" as most important. 23% voted for factory work, 13% for volunteering, and 7% for joining the women's forces.

Amidst this work, King'swomen still had time for fun. As P.B. Waite notes in his history of Dalhousie: "War or no war, students were students. Life and dances, work and flirtations went on."[463] Dances, as Chapter Three demonstrates, were of particular interest for the students, and many were held throughout the war in whatever locations could be obtained, such as the President's Lodge or Halifax's Waegwoltic Club. Students, however, were loath to hold the dances too far away, as there was a taxi problem during the war, and female students in their gowns and heels could not walk to dances held at distant locations.[464] The authorities of King's College, recognizing how important dances were to students, allotted extra funds during this period to ensure that dances could continue.

Dances, like attitudes toward female wartime service, are informative about ideas of gender and morality in the 1940s. This is particularly well illustrated by the explosion in popularity of Sadie Hawkins dances. Sadie Hawkins Day, inspired by a man-hunting character in *L'il Abner*, one of North America's most popular comic strips, was characterized by the reversal of gender roles. It arrived at Dalhousie and King's in 1938 and by the 1940s had taken both campuses by storm. Hugely popular on North American college campuses, the day usually featured girls-ask-boys dances. Sadie Hawkins' popularity is revealing. Once a year, for a very short period, gender roles were caricatured and reversed. Within the framework of a hunt, women took the initiative in dating (albeit aggressively), and pursued men who were depicted as excited, fearful, or even feminine. As the *Record* described the event in 1940: "Then came a day when there was great rejoicing throughout the land amongst the women of the tribe, but the men,

[463] Waite, *Lives of Dalhousie*, vol 2, 113.
[464] *Student Body Minutes*, 13 January 1943.

walked about in fear and trembling."[465] Sadie Hawkins events were used to thwart conventional gender roles, but ultimately their very unconventionality reinforced traditional gender roles.

Sadie Hawkins allowed King's female students to flout the rules which defined the conventional dating experience. But what *was* the conventional dating experience? Certainly, it did not involve female pursuit—this remained the prerogative of the male. Most female students would have dated countless men during their time at university, as during the 1930s and 1940s, youths dated many people before ultimately settling down. Beth L. Bailey describes this as "promiscuous popularity," a system in which success was rated according to the numbers of dates achieved, and which hinged on notions of competition, abundance, and scarcity.[466] In his influential 1937 study, Willard Waller called this phenomenon the "rating and dating complex," a scenario in which competition was strong and social distinctions achieved (and maintained) through the selection of partners.[467] Waller noted that men near "the top of the scale of dating desirability" could be categorized as belonging to "a hypothetical Class A," with various lower classes arranged below.[468] Ever-conscious of the distinctions between classes, those who dated tended to date according to their status. "The coed who wishes to retain Class A standing," Waller wrote, "must consistently date Class A men."[469] Charles Ritchie, though writing nearer the beginning of this system of dating, summed the situation up perfectly in a description of one of his dates: "My real feeling about her is mainly vanity; I am proud of being seen with her

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[465] "Book of Boshua," *King's College Record*, March 1940.
[466] Bailey, *From Front Porch to Back Seat*, 6.
[467] Willard Waller, "The Rating and Dating Complex," *American Sociological Review* 2, no. 5 (1937): 729.
[468] Waller, "Rating and Dating," 730.
[469] Waller, "Rating and Dating," 731.

because the other boys envy me and it puts up my stocks."[470] The likes of Ritchie were aptly described in a tongue-in-cheek 1941 *Record* article which categorized the different types of males: one, "The Glamour Boy," was described as conceited, "for no matter how pretty or plain he is, he must never escort anyone but a 'smooth looker'."[471] The competitive nature of the "promiscuous popularity" system, then, was acted out in public.

Dating was rooted in complex conventions, many centered around ideals of masculine and feminine etiquette. This concern with etiquette is nowhere more clearly on display than in a *Gazette* article from 1942 entitled "Why Shirreff Hall Girls Prefer Service Men."[472] By 1942, of course, King's female students were also living at Shirreff Hall. The article begins:

> Shirreff Hall girls prefer service men, because service men are gentlemen, and gentlemen behave as though you were a lady. When you walk into a room they rise…When you are ready to leave, they help you on with your coat. If you drop your handkerchief, your purse, or your gloves, they rush to pick them up. They stand aside, holding open the door, so that you may go through first. When you go out with a service man, you'll never have to waste an evening wondering what to do. The whole evening has been planned ahead of time for your enjoyment.[473]

Though in part a humorous entry in the long saga of jealousy between Dalhousie co-eds, male students, and servicemen, this illustrates the traditional dating etiquette required of males. For many female students at King's and Dalhousie, the fact that the city was teeming with servicemen was of great interest. Navy men in particular held a certain charm, though this was likely due to their sheer prevalence: Halifax boasted upwards of 20,000 Navy personnel during the war. Tales of Dalhousie women forming relationships with servicemen often appeared in the *Gazette*'s gossip columns, which sometimes included stories of snubbed Dalhousie males.

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[470] Ritchie, *An Appetite for Life*, 99.
[471] "Men Will Be Boys," *King's College Record*, February 1941.
[472] "Why Shirreff Hall Girls Prefer Service Men," *Dalhousie Gazette*, 20 February 1942.
[473] "Why Shirreff Hall Girls Prefer Service Men," *Dalhousie Gazette*, 20 February 1942.

Dalhousie-King's female students, in fact, were in a rather unusual North American situation. Many co-ed universities (especially those in the United States) had been hard hit by the exodus of male students, and women became a majority on campuses.[474] Female students at Dalhousie and King's, however, remained a minority, and female students enjoyed the romantic possibilities of life in a military city, albeit to the chagrin of their male peers.

These romantic possibilities brought with them moral concerns, especially for those in charge of maintaining a respectable university atmosphere. In 1944, concerned about the "moral issues" of having a Friday night dance, King's Student Body ultimately changed the date of the event.[475] Helen Creighton, a few years earlier, had been forced to remind some of King's female students that openly "petting" with their boyfriends was not appropriate behaviour.[476] In King's men's residences—now at Pine Hill—it was understood as an unwritten rule that women were not to be in men's rooms, a "tradition" students generally followed.[477] As Gidney notes, sexual purity was expected at denominational and non-denominational colleges alike during this period, and Canadian students tended to be more conservative than their American counterparts in this respect.[478] Canadian puritanism, as Hugh MacLennan perceived, partly accounted for this. "Canadians," he observed, "are probably no more virtuous in thought than Americans are, but their inhibitions keep them from turning a good many of their thoughts into action."[479] Despite the fact that many Canadian university students did have premarital sex during these years, Beth

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[474] Bailey, *From Front Porch to Back Seat*, 35.
[475] *Minutes of Student Body Meetings*, 5 October 1944.
[476] Clary, *Helen Creighton*, 74.
[477] R.L. Nixon to Bruce Ross, 20 December 1937 (E.1.1.235.Letters "M").
[478] Catherine Gidney, "Under the President's Gaze: Sexuality and Morality at a Canadian University during the Second World War," *The Canadian Historical Review* 82, no. 1 (2001): 43.
[479] MacLennan, "On Discovering Who We Are," 53.

L. Bailey notes that this would not be considered "conventional" behaviour for Canadian or American youth until the 1960s.[480] Although King's male and female students were separated during the years of HMCS *Kings*, ideas and concerns about gender—especially gender in a world at war—still played an important part in student life, perhaps most frequently illustrated in conventions surrounding school dances.

Overall, the exile of King's College during the years of HMCS *Kings* did not materially harm the college. Even though the student body was scattered, with its male students, female students, president, and non-resident students all living in different parts of Halifax, students were generally able to maintain allegiance to the traditions that made the college unique. King's, as described by one student, possessed an "eternal resilience" that made it possible for the university to continually rise "from its own ashes to a finer and greater future."[481] Adaptation, for the four years away from campus, was the order of the day. King's had survived its move from Windsor by allowing itself to become more dependant on others, namely Dalhousie and the Carnegie Corporation. Once again, it had survived a move by sacrificing independence for increased collaboration and dependence, a strategy that proved equally effective the second time around.

King's Comes Home: Return to Campus, 1945

Despite their acceptance of the wartime exile, and the ease with which King's College adapted to the change of affairs, from the moment the university left Coburg Road its members looked forward to the day of their return. As the years passed at Pine Hill and Shirreff Hall, fewer and fewer students enrolled at King's had even seen the inside of the university's

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[480] Bailey, *From Front Porch to Back Seat*, 80.
[481] "Editorial," *King's College Record*, Michaelmas Number, 1943.

buildings, and the graduating class of 1945 held the dubious honour of graduating from a college that they had never attended in its proper location. The students and faculty of King's had always taken pride in the close-knit residential character of their college, but the exile had poked holes in this aspect of their identity. ("Exile," it is worth noting, was the word of choice to describe the four years at Pine Hill and Shirreff Hall, and variations on this term and theme appeared many times in the pages of the student newspaper). Being a small college was desirable to a point, but during the exile the college had become too small, and too scattered. As the global outlook improved in 1944 and early 1945, hopes of returning to campus intensified.

In late 1944, President Walker, already planning for the next schoolyear, wrote to Angus L. Macdonald to ask if he thought it was likely that King's might have its buildings back by the 1945-46 schoolyear. Walker expected that King's, like universities around Canada, would see a sizable population of veterans enrolling after the war, and recognized the importance of planning ahead. Such plans, of course, would be much easier to make if the governors of the college knew where King's would be the following fall. Macdonald, in a reply that would have delighted all associated with King's, answered that Walker should feel "quite safe" in anticipating King's return to campus the following schoolyear.[482] Walker soon had permission to broadcast the good news, and on February 13th, 1945, dozens of local and provincial newspapers broke the news that HMCS *Kings* was being paid off, and that King's College was going home. The news was met with rejoicing all around, and students who would be returning to King's in September 1945 were delighted to learn that they would finally get to experience the culture and traditions that King's prided itself in upholding *within* the buildings of which it was so proud.

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[482] Macdonald to Walker, 13 December 1944 (Navy Lease – Correspondence 1944, BOG.5.1.RCN.5).

When King's students finished their studies in April of 1945, they did not yet enter a world at peace. When Germany surrendered and victory in Europe was finally achieved on 7 May 1945, school was not in session, and the *Record* was not there to report students' reactions. Nor could it describe the explosive riots that racked Halifax in response, riots that would leave death, injury, humiliation, and millions of dollars of damage in their wake. Three weeks later, HMCS *Kings* officially departed, and the authorities of King's College resumed use of the buildings as of 11:00 a.m. on May 31st, 1945. As many students eagerly prepared to return to the school, they took time to remember the former King's students who would never return. Over one hundred King'smen and women had joined the services during the war, fifteen of them dying (see Appendix C).[483] In a special memorial service at the King's chapel in November 1945, students, staff, alumni, and relatives gathered to remember them.[484]

Students returned to the college in fall 1945 excited, grateful, and ready to help the university in its task of resettlement. As predicted, there was a surge of interest in the university, and the 1945-46 schoolyear opened with a record-breaking enrolment of 140 students, filling the residences to capacity.[485] This surge could be attributed to several factors, in particular the arrival of veterans, the 1945 inauguration of a joint School of Journalism, and the fact that King's College once again had a proper residence. Student spirit, defying worries that the prewar spirit would be difficult to maintain among students who had never known the pre-Pine Hill King's, quickly rebounded, and King's future seemed bright. Adherence to tradition was largely to congratulate for this smooth transition, though students did not blindly return to tradition for the sake of consistency. In the words of one student: "Old men of King's College dream dreams of

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[483] "President's Report," *King's College Record*, Encaenia 1943.
[484] "Memorial Service at King's Chapel," *King's College Record*, Michaelmas Number, 1944.
[485] "King's College," *The Year Book of the Diocese of Nova Scotia*, 1946-1947.

the days of staid tradition; young men of King's see visions where tradition will have [its] place, like the keel of a ship, keeping the craft on a steady even course, but not acting as an anchor, to restrain progressive and clear thinking changes, that will benefit the students and college as a whole."[486] In the postwar world, tradition—though still incredibly important—would be King's servant rather than its master, guiding but not overshadowing the direction of the university.

After their return to campus, the King's community looked back with pride on the contribution the school had made to the war effort. Indeed, Admiral Murray himself personally thanked the university for the role it played in Canada's war effort, recognizing that because of the flexibility of King's student body, HMCS *Kings* had been able to establish itself and graduate over 3,100 officers.[487] King's staff and students had proven once again that King's College could undergo great change and emerge intact, if not strengthened and improved. "Let it not be said of King's," wrote one student in 1945, "that she could exist only when she flourished; rather let it be said that she thrived upon adversity."[488] King's, in this regard, had plenty of practice. Many, upon the university's move from Windsor to Halifax, had doubted that the college could survive such a transplanting, but the King's community proved naysayers wrong. Only two decades later, King's students were called upon to do the same. King's College, as the successful return to campus of 1945 shows, was a supremely portable institution, bound together more deeply by intangible than material bonds.

Conclusion

In the spring of 1943, an interviewer within a humour column in the *King's College Record* asked a fabled King's student what he thought about the school's future. "'All I hope,'

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[486] "Editorial," *King's College Record*, Spring 1945.
[487] "Encaenia News," *King's College Record*, Encaenia 1945.
[488] "Barbers," *King's College Record*, Encaenia 1945.

[the interviewee] replied, 'is that we don't have to move for a while."[489] King's College had demonstrated its portability on two occasions in two decades, but it was now time to settle down. The university's wartime story would be a sacrifice to remember, not to re-live. Taking a chronological approach, this chapter has examined the periods before, during, and after the exile of King's College. Overall, it illustrates the extent to which King's depended on others during the war, and that this ability to adapt to changed circumstances helped ensure the college's continuance. The wartime legacy of King's College was one of attention to duty, willingness to adapt, and devotion to service. As a local newspaper had described it in fall 1941, King's part in the war effort was "a fitting role for an institution which for over a century and a half has been one of the great strongholds of Christian Faith and English culture."[490] In doing its duty by relinquishing its buildings, many believed that the university had lived up to its heritage of Loyalism, Englishness, and Christian service. Tellingly, there was far less anxiety over the move necessitated by HMCS *Kings* than there had been about the move from Windsor. King's College had successfully weathered the storm of exile in the 1920s, and most were secure in the belief that this success would be repeated. King'smen and King'swomen, after all, had charted this course before.

[489] "Exclusive: Editor Interviews Commoner," *King's College Record*, Spring 1943.
[490] "King's Answers the Call," pasted in *Alumni Association Minutes*, Fall 1941.

CHAPTER FIVE
Conclusion

"It has been said," wrote Senior Student B.C. Strople in an address to King's College students in late 1944, "that it is not the house but the people in it that make the home. What is true of the home is true of the University of King's College."[491] This, I argue, is a key takeaway from the history of the University of King's College from 1920 to 1945. Despite the deep appreciation King's students and faculty had for their institution's buildings and location(s), the essence of the college lay not in situation or material possession, but in the traditions and cultural life embraced by its inhabitants. The school's collective identity, which centered around its Anglicanism and English-inspired traditions, enabled students and staff to reproduce King's College in as many different places as circumstances required. There were many King's Colleges from 1920 to 1945: the stately buildings in Windsor, a dilapidated former hotel on Halifax's Northwest Arm, a freshly built school on Coburg Road, and the King's floor of Pine Hill Divinity Hall. Yet through all these moves, the real King's College existed in the minds and actions of its students and faculty.

This thesis is primarily based on the *King's College Record*. This paper offers a wealth of information about the activities, interests, and viewpoints of King's students, faculty, and alumni. Supplementing this research base are many primary sources from the King's College and Dalhousie University archives, including the *Dalhousie Gazette*, the academic calendars of both schools, and individual student files. No academic work, however, can fully encapsulate something so elusive as student experience, and the sources provide only tantalizing hints at events and experiences that can never be fully understood by readers who were not there. Acknowledging this, I try to present the most salient aspects of life at the University of King's

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[491] B.C. Strople, "The Senior's Message," *King's College Record*, Michaelmas 1944.

College. Though much about the university experience must necessarily remain unknown, I endeavour to sketch the themes of this period as comprehensively as possible.

One such theme is the importance of tradition in the survival of King's College. Chapter Two considers the importance of tradition and collective identity, examining the college's move to Halifax after the fire of 1920. It explores student life from 1920 to 1930, observing that King's College was able to continue as an institution largely because of the importance its inhabitants placed on preserving the traditions born of its Anglicanism and Englishness. In this way, despite the monumental changes that occurred throughout the decade, King's in Halifax was able to fashion itself in the exact image of King's in Windsor. Moreover, because King's was founded partly out of loyalty to England in the aftermath of the American Revolution, the school had a reputation that emphasized the romance of its origins. The King's College community in the 1920s capitalized on this history, linking it with current struggles to weave the fire and its consequences into an exciting narrative that highlighted the school's historical resilience and purpose, thereby facilitating its survival.

Survival was not as pressing a concern in the 1930s. Despite the Depression, students and staff at King's College had a reprieve from catastrophe. Chapter Three considers the 1930s as a period of comparative stability for the university. It examines the fundamentals of the student experience during these years, namely, academics, sports, and social life. Students and staff clearly believed in the importance of a well-rounded education, one that would shape the body and soul as well as the mind. Such beliefs were little different from those at most Canadian universities. In the 1930s, students at King's College developed their traditions within an increasingly Canadian environment. The social and educational goals they professed, though informed by English ideals, were quite typical of those at other Canadian universities. Overall,

this period was likely beneficial, as the 1930s gave King's College a much-needed rest between pivotal events, thus allowing students and staff time to establish themselves in their new home.

The fourth chapter covers from September 1939 to December 1945, and examines the impact of the Second World War on the university. If King's College in the 1930s was similar to other Canadian universities, the King's College of the Second World War was anything but. This chapter considers the war years before, during, and after the College's stint as HMCS *Kings*, observing that, after the war, King's College was once again able to return from 'exile' with its culture intact. Secure in the knowledge that they were undergoing difficulties to benefit the English, Canadian, and Allied war effort, members of the college were able to resign themselves dutifully to the necessitated move. Unlike in the 1920s, this move seems to have prompted little anxiety about the fate of the college: having successfully moved before, most believed that King's College would do so again.

The University of King's College's survival during the 1920s, 1930s, and early 1940s was largely due to its portability. There are many explanations for this portability, including the involvement of the Carnegie Foundation, support from the Alumni Association, and the hard work of university's Board of Governors. All are important, but this thesis focusses on cultural more-so than physical survival. The college's staff and students showed a clear ability to take hard situations and turn them into events that fit into the school's narrative of a history built on resilience, adaptation, and tradition. In other words, they were experts at making a virtue of necessity. The college's collective identity, built on the twin pillars of Anglicanism and loyalty to England and nurtured by adherence to tradition, allowed it to retain individuality even when it could not maintain autonomy. The University of King's College from the 1920s to 1940s, then, was a living link with the Anglican and Loyalist ideology expressed during the American

Revolution. Without the Revolution, King's College would not exist. If Inglis and his fellow governors could have seen the college in 1945, they would probably have been more surprised by how much had stayed the same than by how much had changed. Educational institutions founded upon loyalty to tradition, it seems, are not easily severed from these traditions.

B.C. Strople, whose words open this chapter, spoke at a turning point in the institution's history. The university, in 1944, remained scattered. Short months after the *Record* published Strople's address, however, students received the welcome news that they would soon return to their educational home on Coburg Road. The postwar years would bring many changes to the college, but these changes would occur in a student body that was permanently settled. King's College had demonstrated that it was portable: the twentieth century would never again require the school as a whole to prove its portability. Students and faculty could move from worrying about institutional survival to making plans for a bright future, confident in their ability to learn from and be inspired by the college's past. As Strople optimistically concluded in 1944:

> "How shall we sing the Lord's song in a strange land?" [W]e have sung it. Let all of us, students, alumni, faculty, clergy, churchmen sing the name of King's in the spirit of the prayer for our College:
>
> > "Preserve our University, O Lord, as a bulwark of thy Church, that the youth of our land may find in it a home sanctified by religion, discipline, and sound learning. Revive in it such a spirit of sincere devotion to truth, and the problems of humanity, that it may become more and more a centre of inspiration for all walks of life. Stir up in our people, we beseech thee, a deeper sense of their responsibility as stewards of the trust committed to them, that the good work begun in thy Name may never fail; and grant that there may never be wanting persons duly qualified to serve thee both in Church and State through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen."
>
> If our hearts and minds are sincerely given to the spirit of this prayer, then there can be no question that the seeming twilight through which we are passing precedes, not the darkness, but the dawn![492]

[492] B.C. Strople, "The Senior's Message," *King's College Record*, Michaelmas 1944.

APPENDIX A
UNIVERSITY OF KING'S COLLEGE ENROLMENT, 1910-1950[493]

Schoolyear Beginning	*Residence Total (%)*	*Divinity Total (%)*	*Male Total (%)*	*Female Total (%)*	*Total*
1910	26	-	-	-	-
1911	32 (65)	-	-	-	49
1912	54 (81)	34 (51)	-	-	67
1913	58 (76)	32 (42)	-	-	76
1914	-	-	-	-	-
1915	-	-	-	9	42/57*
1916	-	-	-	-	32
1917	-	-	-	-	32
1918	-	-	-	-	39
1919	-	-	-	-	-
1920	-	25 (27)	74 (80)	19 (20)	93
1921	-	29 (31)	71 (76)	22 (24)	93
1922	-	-	-	-	~ 93
1923	-	-	-	-	~ 85-90
1924	63 (88)	-	-	-	72
1925	61 (88)	-	-	-	69
1926	52 (81)	18 (28)	-	-	64
1927	-	16 (20)	-	-	79
1928	-	19 (24)	-	-	78
1929	65 (84)	23 (30)	-	-	77
1930	100 (91)	25 (23)	84 (76)	26 (24)	110
1931	101 (88)	29 (25)	97 (84)	18 (16)	115

[493] University of King's College President's Reports, *The Year Book of the Diocese of Nova Scotia*, 1911-1951. Enrolment numbers generally include male Dalhousie students living in the King's College men's residence. The Dalhousie/King's student breakdown is only provided for the following years: Dal 9 / King's 63 (1924-25), D17/K59 (1927-28) (does not match total enrolment), D15/K63 (1928-29), D8/K69 (1929-30), D16/K84 (1932-33), D27/K139 (1946-47). For some years in which no figures were given, I have supplied missing numbers from the subsequent year's report, which occasionally compares current enrolment to that of the previous year. Starred numbers indicate that the initial and subsequent reports give significantly different totals. The approximations for 1922-23 and 1923-24 indicate a vague report: in 1922-23 enrolment was "practically the same" as the previous year, while in 1923-24 it was "slightly lower" than that of 1922-23. These totals—especially those during the Second World War—differ significantly from P.W. Waite's enrolment figures for King's College in the Statistical Appendices of *Lives of Dalhousie*, vol. 2. Even considering that the King's College presidential reports usually included Dalhousie students at King's in their enrolment totals, these figures are not easily reconciled with Waite's.

1932	81 (81)	31 (31)	-	-	100
1933 *Schoolyear Beginning*	85 (85) *Residence Total (%)*	32 (32) *Divinity Total (%)*	- *Male Total (%)*	- *Female Total (%)*	100 *Total*
1934	-	-	-	-	91
1935	-	29 (33)	72 (83)	15 (17)	87
1936	85 (90)	29 (31)	-	-	94
1937	-	-	-	-	96
1938	97 (87)	32 (29)	-	-	111
1939	-	29 (28)	-	-	105
1940	-	21	-	-	57/80*
1941	30 (83)	-	-	-	36
1942	28 (78)	18 (50)	30 (83)	6 (17)	36
1943	-	18 (38)	35 (74)	12 (26)	47
1944	-	15 (32)	28 (60)	19 (40)	47
1945	-	-	-	-	140
1946	113 (68)	24 (14)	124 (75)	42 (25)	166
1947	-	32 (19)	-	-	168
1948	-	-	-	-	-
1949	-	34 (22)	120 (77)	36 (23)	156
1950	-	-	-	-	-

APPENDIX B
NEWSPAPER ARTICLE BY PRESIDENT T.S. BOYLE, 1922[494]

"Why King's Will Follow Her Own Star"

The proposal to rebuild King's College at Windsor, to which the Board of Governors have committed themselves, means that the University is determined to follow her own Star and pursue the path she has followed for one hundred and thirty odd years in spite of temptations to turn aside in other directions. To many such a course of action may seem to be dictated by blind obedience to traditions, and to be unwise as a policy for these modern days. It is urged that centralization in university education is desirable as in other things. It is argued that it involves duplication of effort and consequent waste of means and energy. And it perpetuates a system of denominational control, which is anything but ideal in a time when Christian unity is being everywhere sought, and in some phases in a measure realized.

But to those whose efforts have succeeded in thus determining the University's destiny, while not [d]espising the possible benefits of co-operation and alliance, are none the less convinced that continued independence is the right, if not the only future for King's. Many of them are better qualified to justify their course, as they have been longer and more closely bound to the College than the present writer. Pride, loyalty, affection, are some of the cogent reasons that prevail in their minds over any thought of diminishing or disfiguring the name of the oldest university in the King's overseas Dominions. The fact that the College recently has suffered a staggering loss only calls out more eloquently the devotion and enthusiasm of her sons. To take advantage of such a catastrophe as an opportunity of forcing upon her an unwilling alliance, seems to them, not unnaturally, a thing to be resented.

Those who are friendly to the project of re-establishing King's on her old foundation, are, it seems, more zealous than those who are of contrary opinion. It is a fact that in the several past controversies, the policy of a separate King's has triumphed, chiefly because of the untiring work

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[494] *King's College Record*, Encaenia 1922. Reprinted in the *King's College Record* from the *Halifax Herald*. Introduction: "The following article by Dr. T. S. Boyle, President of King's College, is an endeavor to explain and justify the attitude of those who are desirous of rebuilding the University at Windsor. It is an attitude not shared by all, misunderstood by some, friends of King's, but it is based on a sincere desire to do what is deemed best alike to King's and for higher education generally."

in that behalf on the part of those who advocated it. Is there any valid reason for this sometimes vehement opposition to any plan other than that of separate, distinct existence at Windsor? Is there any cause why King's should abandon now a policy in which she has persisted through all the crises and struggles of more than a century past?

The obvious answer is that on each occasion the governing body of the institution after all the controversy and argument pro and con, always fell back upon the decision to maintain the College on its ancient site. Once and again the question was settled supposedly for all time, only to come up again, and again be settled in the same way. In the present crisis the problem was subjected to a more searching discussion than ever before with the same result. The united voice of the various bodies having authority in the affairs of King's was for rebuilding at Windsor.

But the answer goes deeper than that. King's stands for things distinctive. That is no mere platitude. Other Colleges may quite sincerely make the same boast, and yet it remains true that King's claim is peculiar and unique. Those who have fought for the continued independence of King's are fearful lest these distinctive things be lost. Without them she has but a slender right to live at all. Because of them, and to preserve them, it is considered well worth while to sacrifice more tangible and material advantages.

It is not easy to describe those elements in the life at King's College which go to the spiritual [upbuilding] of the men who have studied in her halls. That they result in the growth of a v[i]rile chivalry and honor is unquestioned. The high place our students hold in the regard of their fellow undergraduates elsewhere, is testimony to that fact. Every King'sman on his entrance to College finds himself in an atmosphere of high traditions. Truthfulness, honor, reverence, permeate that atmosphere. He is surrounded by a discipline to which he unconsciously reacts. To be a gentleman or gentlewoman, in the truest sense, is a kind of "lay-religion" among the students. These features persist in spite of the loss of the main residence. They are the product of generations of student life, but it is doubtful if they would survive in a changed environment, and they are altogether too valuable to be lost. They might be transplanted, if the whole student body could be persuaded to transplant itself. But the University would have to be removed whole and entire, a task despairingly great compared with rebuilding on the present site.

For, of course, in spite of the disastrous destruction wrought by the fire there is much still left. The College hill is still as beautiful as of old, when Bishop Inglis chose it—a situation unrivaled in the province, not to be matched by any other location so far suggested. The

extensive campus could not easily be duplicated, supposing the present property could be easily disposed of. There is a charm too, about the place not easily appreciated by those who have not personally come under it. Perhaps it is the relative antiquity, the ancient customs, the ghosts of past memories, but it is very real.

The student body has returned in spite of present inconveniences, uncomplaining of the various handicaps, because it is the old place still. Their loyalty to King's is ample proof that there is something here worth keeping, something of more value than we dream, not to be exchanged for material prosperity or comfort,—amid which probably those precious things would wither and die away.

Again, those who believe that King's must be restored where she was originally founded are imbued with the sense of keeping faith with the past. The College and its life and its endowments are a sacred trust. It might seem a comparatively light matter to use its funds for a new King's refounded elsewhere under the same name. But every iota of gratitude to the friends and supporters of past days must impel us to question seriously the honesty of any scheme which, however well-intentioned, results in a maimed and partial substitute for the "Mother of Universities," so described in her Royal Charter. Better, so think some friends of King's, that she should cease to function altogether, or perhaps for a time, while her revenues can be nursed upward to an amount sufficient to resume her unimpaired activity with none of her rights and powers curtailed.

It is surely beside the mark to urge the relatively small numbers at King's and her too meagre finances against her right to live and be mistress of her own destinies. She has made a contribution in educated leadership in these Provinces and to the country at large, wholly out of proportion to her size and resources. A modern writer reminds us of the enormous influence the small city states of the ancient world wielded on their own day and generation and of the permanent force they exerted on subsequent history. The small college in recent years has been coming into its own again. There is a glamor and prestige about a large university, but the present writer, who has had experience of both, has no hesitation in saying that the better training is obtainable in the small residential college, where individuality counts for more and personality develops better.

So King's does not seek to be a large institution. The kind of training she gives cannot be given where students are numbered by the thousands. Men such as she seeks to turn out cannot

be trained except in small groups. But her numbers are growing. She has had in these last three years the largest attendance in her history. Given proper accommodation for them, she could secure to-day as many students as it would be wise for her to have.

Kings to-day is facing the worst of the many crises in her career. Her problem is a financial one, and whatever path she chooses is beset with difficulty. But the burden cannot be lightened by abandoning her historic site. She knows what support she can depend upon if she remains. She can only guess what would be forthcoming elsewhere. She is not unwilling to consider any plan of unifying Higher Education in this Province. She is ready to debate any proposal entered upon on equal terms with her sister colleges. She is not rich as they in material things; but she has riches invisible which cannot be described in financial terms, a distinguished history, a wealth of fine tradition, a splendid location, a devoted staff, a student body of surpassing quality.

She stands to-day as always, Deo, Regi, Legi, Gregi [*sic*]. It is unthinkable that she is not to have a place in the educational progress of the future. It is incredible that she should be denied the means of nobly occupying that place.

APPENDIX C
UNIVERSITY OF KING'S COLLEGE HONOUR ROLL, 1939-45[495]

Otto Hjalmar Antoft
Reginald Warren Bullock
Albert Cook
Kenelm Edwin Eaton
Alfred Stuart Forsyth
Abraham Lincoln Fraser
Victor Yelverton Haines
Hugh Malcolm Henderson
Chad Noel Milliner Humphrys
Stuart Lane
Malcolm George MacLeod
Sterling Cashman Mason
David Fitzgerald Mitchell
John Roderick Ennis Smith
Fabian Meredith Rockingham

[495] Honour Roll, UKC.E.1.3.99, and "Honor Roll," *Pharos*, 1946. "Lane" is misspelled as "Lang" in original. Excepting John Roderick Ennis Smith, all appear on Dalhousie University's Honour Roll, which lists seventy-seven casualties. King's students make up 18% of the total casualties suffered by Dalhousie-King's.

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III: United Church of Canada Archives

Pine Hill Divinity Hall Board of Governors

Pine Hill Divinity Hall Senate

IV: University of King's College Archives

Alumni Association of the University of King's College

King's Students' Union

University of King's College Athletic Records Collection

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