

FROM COLLEGE TO UNIVERSITY

D. C. HARVEY

IN the concluding paragraphs of a preceding article, the opposition of the Anglicans to the transference of Dr. McCulloch from Pictou to Halifax, the misgivings of the Roman Catholics, and the conditional support of the Baptists were emphasized, in order to explain the later attitudes of these particular denominational groups towards Dalhousie College, when its Trustees made it a close preserve of the Church of Scotland.

The opposition of Anglicans to non-sectarian education was instinctive, though in a sense paradoxical; and it grew out of their interpretation of the rights and duties of an Established Church. It was latent in the philosophy of English and Scottish education, and it manifested itself from the earliest dawn of the Pictou and Dalhousie ideas. It was conspicuous in the amendments to the original Pictou Academy bill, and in the unsuccessful negotiations for the union of Dalhousie and King's. It was patent in the controversy between *Pacificus* (Dr. Cochran) and *Investigator* (Dr. McCulloch) in 1818. It hardened their hearts in their refusal of a permanent grant to Pictou Academy between 1828 and 1831, and it softened their objections to the conversion of non-sectarian Dalhousie into a Church of Scotland institution.

The misgivings of the Roman Catholics were due partly to their traditional policy of separate schools, but also to the uncompromising character of McCulloch, and to their memory of his controversy with Rev. Edmund Burke.

The support of the Baptists was conditional upon their being represented on the staff of Dalhousie College; and, as Rev. E. A. Crawley was the best qualified Baptist applicant for the position, it may be said that Baptist support was conditional upon the appointment of Mr. Crawley. Both C. D. Archibald and his father, S. G. W. Archibald, had practically committed themselves to that effect, although only Speaker Archibald was a Trustee of Dalhousie and he had reckoned without the other members of the Board. But so sure was Crawley of the appointment that he sent a memorandum to C. D. Archibald, outlining a staff and curriculum for Dalhousie, and suggesting the date on which it should open. In this memorandum and Dr. McCulloch's analysis of it, we get an illuminating commentary not only upon the immediate conflict of ideas between McCulloch and Crawley but also upon the historic conflict between Dalhousie and King's.

Crawley had proposed that there should be at least three, but preferably four, distinct chairs of literary instruction: Moral Philosophy together with Logic and Rhetoric; the Classical Languages; the Mathematics; and Natural and Experimental Philosophy. But, unfortunately, while assigning the first chair to the Principal, he laid special emphasis upon the chair which he had ear-marked for himself. "Classics", he wrote, "would demand special attention. The neighboring Colleges of Windsor and Fredericton excel in these, and Dalhousie College, regarded as it probably will be in some sort as a rival institution, needs to be well sustained in order to bear in public estimation a favourable comparison."

This emphasis on the Classics seemed to McCulloch but an echo of the old policy of King's, and disregarding the other excellent suggestions of Crawley, with which he must have been in complete agreement, he rather ungraciously replied, in part, as follows:

To Mr. Crawley's Curriculum as necessary for obtaining a degree I have nothing to object. It is that which has been accounted necessary in European Colleges, but upon his subordinate details I have something to remark. Presuming that he has appointed himself the Professor of Greek and Latin, I think that by alluding to the eminence of Windsor and Fredericton in relation to these languages he is magnifying his office beyond its real value and farther than the state of Society in Nova Scotia admits. That he who teaches these languages in Dalhousie College should know his business well, its respectability requires; but that boys should in Halifax or elsewhere spend six or seven years upon Latin and Greek and then four more in College partially occupied with the same languages is a waste of human life adapted neither to the circumstances nor the prosperity of Nova Scotia. In the present state of this province all that is requisite is a professor who can give his pupils specimens of just translation and instil into them ideas of accuracy of interpretation. Afterward, if they choose to devote themselves to the study of languages, their collegiate instruction will contribute to their success, but should they direct their attention to the real business of life they will not have just cause to complain that they have spent their youth upon studies foreign to their success. If Dalhousie College acquire usefulness and eminence it will be not by an imitation of Oxford, but as an institution of science and practical intelligence. To Mr. Crawley's division of branches I would also object. If I be not mistaken, they have been produced not as a specimen of the fair and usual division of labour in similar institutions, but in accommodation to the calibre of applicants. This I will explain when we meet. His proposal that the College should commence with three or four professors appears to me to involve an expenditure of money without adequate advantage. For the latter classes there could be no pupils till they had passed through their subordinate studies. For the Languages and Logic there might at first be

students, but other classes could not well be opened with advantage. Besides between ourselves I doubt whether any of the present applicants be prepared to make a respectable appearance except Mr. Crawley. It seems to me therefore that the interests of the College and also of the public would be best subserved by announcing that the several classes would be opened as the students were prepared for them, and in the meantime if the Governors chose to nominate any of the present candidates to professorships the latter would have a reasonable time to prepare for a respectable appearance.

It is also my decided opinion that for the curriculum that Mr. Crawley proposes the present state of Dalhousie College will not admit of four professors, and also that whenever a fourth is nominated it ought to be for Natural History, that is Geology, Mineralogy, Zoology, Botany &c. This is requisite to render the College a scientific institution. To give it splendour and to give its students general intelligence it ought to contain every kind of natural production to be found in the province and also as much as possible from other quarters.

In this strong attitude, slightly tinged with bitterness, McCulloch was consistent and the steel of his outlook had been tempered by frequent controversy. However much he may have been concerned with the problem of a native ministry, perhaps because of this concern, he had from the beginning of his labours in Nova Scotia insisted that clergymen and members of all other professions should be thoroughly educated, and that their education should, in the now conventional phrase, be related to life. Though it is the burden of his address to the Pictou College Society in 1806, and of his inaugural address in Pictou Academy, it is perhaps nowhere so clearly elaborated as in the controversy between *Pacificus* and *Investigator* referred to above. Part of this controversy is concerned with the exclusiveness of King's and the necessity of an open seminary for Dissenters; but, for our purposes, its interest lies in the conflicting views as to the aims and disciplines of education. In 1818, as in 1838, McCulloch raises the standard of science, and contends that however alluring *otium cum dignitate* may be in an old society, it cannot find place in a new society such as Nova Scotia, where student or professor has to be a Jack of all trades, with his feet on the ground, his mind alert to contemporary problems, and his will strengthened to assist in their solution. The following extracts from his replies to Dr. Cochran show clearly that, while he was not averse from classical learning, he viewed it in perspective with other subjects that would bear more closely upon the active purposes of life:

I would not be understood as disregarding classical literature. An acquaintance with Latin and Greek is essential to a good

education. Every scholar should possess a moderate knowledge of these languages. But after all, they are merely the bricks and mortar of education: after they have been provided, the fabric must be reared; and it appears to me that the time devoted to these should be proportioned to the period to be afterward expended upon higher studies. For a long time, few cases will occur among us in which a critical knowledge of the learned languages will be of great importance; and none of those persons who receive a regular education have the prospect of spending their days in literary retirement. They must look forward to the discharge of duties, high and important to the interests of the community. Upon these duties, therefore, the system of education should be made to bear; and in order to this end, instead of enabling them to display their pedantry by interlarding Latin and Greek phrases with the chit chat of life, it would be more profitable to give them an accurate acquaintance with the operations of their own minds, to teach them to classify their knowledge and communicate their sentiments, and to furnish them with those just views of the various social relations and duties, and that knowledge of mathematical and physical science, which would be every day useful to the community and honourable to themselves.

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I shall not quarrel with Pacificus for his attachment to classical literature. It is an essential ingredient in a good education, and the basis of that enlargement which the mind acquires in its subsequent studies. Still, there is a danger that it may be overrated, and cultivated to the neglect of other parts of learning which are really of much greater importance in the active employments of life. Of this what Pacificus himself says upon the subject appears to me a very good proof. Old England has indulged a love for the classics; by which means the sons of her nobility and gentry acquire an early and familiar acquaintance with Greek and Roman literature; and to this he ascribes "much of that invincible courage and fortitude, the generous, noble, and expanded sentiments, and the devoted love of civil liberty, which our beloved mother-country has often displayed." Now, instead of ascribing all this to classical learning, I should have supposed that it would have been more natural to have referred it to that mass of sound principle which always exemplifies itself where the doctrines of Christianity are known and believed. I thought we had been past those days in which just views of civil liberty were expected from either Greece or Rome. I dare say when Pacificus considers the real situation of the Greeks and Romans, he will find them just about as destitute of rational liberty as of rational religion; and when he turns to more modern times, he will find nations where the sons of the nobility and gentry cultivated classical literature, and yet their princes were tyrants and the people slaves.

These, however, are not the only uses of classical learning. "If we want men of business in Nova Scotia," says Pacificus,

“I should think classical learning more calculated to form useful clergymen, lawyers, physicians, legislators than the cold and barren abstractions of metaphysics”; that is, than to give them “an accurate acquaintance with the operations of their own minds, and to teach them to classify their knowledge.” Really, after this it is not wonderful that Pacificus should class together authors who have undermined the very principles of reason and religion, and authors who have laid the foundation of sound philosophy; and then affirm that he has never seen the great practical utility which has redounded to the world from the speculations of either. If all professional men and legislators were classical scholars, they would, doubtless, be the better qualified to discharge their official duties; but I would farther observe to Pacificus that they would find classical learning valuable, particularly from its indirect communication of those qualifications which he affects to despise; and after all that he has said, I believe the community will join me in affirming that to a lawyer or clergyman a sound judgment is more valuable than a sackful of words. I am by no means an enemy to classical literature; but it ought to have its own place, and that only; and it farther appears to me that, in the present state of this country, a well regulated education will be that which bears upon the active purposes of life.

McCulloch was consistent in both theory and practice. In Pictou Academy he taught natural history and illustrated his lectures by museum collections and experimental apparatus. From a visit to Scotland in 1826 he returned more and more convinced of the necessity of popularizing science; and to this end, in addition to his work in Pictou, he gave two series of lectures in Halifax, and others in Prince Edward Island and New Brunswick. At the same time he set the example of taking part in practical affairs as a citizen, and was to no small degree the intellectual leader of the reform movement before the advent of Huntington and Howe, during which period he gave expression and meaning to Scottish radicalism. From first to last he stood for a thorough practical education, with emphasis upon both thorough and practical; and he insisted that an opportunity to obtain such an education should be denied to none because of creed or class. Though much embarrassed by the sectarian atmosphere with which he was surrounded, against his will, and though pledged to refrain from political controversy when he was transferred to Dalhousie, his last public utterance of which we have any record was a vigorous defence of the democratic ideal of a career open to talent.

In his opening address for the winter session of 1843, within eight months of his death, he “entered largely into the vast advantages and benefits which education was calculated to impart,

and the high destiny to which man through the cultivation and extension of the faculties of mind was capacitated to attain."

"He maintained that the time had passed when men considered that rank and wealth entitled them to a monopoly of intelligence, and that it was sufficient for the lower orders to read their Bible, obey their superiors, and discharge the duties of their several avocations in life—when they were considered by the wealthy and the powerful as merely links in the chain of creation between them and the lowest orders of animated nature—when the great and rich thought like those who reared the pyramids of Egypt, to raise a monument of fame, built on the degradation of their fellow men."

Such was the last kick of Nova Scotia's most original and creative educational reformer at a system which he, almost single-handed, had overthrown; and such in brief were the leading educational ideas of the first Principal of Dalhousie.

But the conflicting views of McCulloch and Crawley on academic organization were of minor importance at this time in comparison with the conflicting views of the governors as to the proper constitution of the staff. Although Crawley's proposed organization of the College curriculum and McCulloch's criticism of it were in the hands of S. G. W. Archibald in April 1838, he and the other governors of Dalhousie did not meet to discuss the problem until August 6th, at which meeting only the Lieutenant Governor, the Speaker of the Assembly and the Treasurer were present. The Bishop, who had been active in all meetings that were held between 1833 and 1836 when there was a prospect of union between King's and Dalhousie, attended no longer; and Chief Justice Halliburton regarded himself as technically disqualified by his removal from the Council. It was therefore a rump board of only three members who were responsible for the policy pursued in Dalhousie College between 1838 and 1842.

At this meeting they decided to open the College on October 1st; to begin with only three chairs: the classical languages, mathematics and natural philosophy, and moral philosophy, logic and rhetoric; to accept Dr. McCulloch as President of the College with the latter chair; and to receive applications for the other chairs until September 15th. On September 15th, they met to consider applications from Baptists, Anglicans, Presbyterians of both the Kirk and the Secession, but they chose both professors from the Church of Scotland applicants alone: Rev. Alexander Romans as professor of the classical languages, and Rev. James MacIntosh as professor of mathematics and natural philosophy. In this choice it was generally believed that S. G. W. Archibald had been overruled and that

Sir Colin Campbell and Mr. Wallace, whether from policy or conviction, were determined to keep control of Dalhousie College in the hands of the Established Church of Scotland, although they could not do otherwise than accept the Seceder and Antiburgher McCulloch as President. Had Lord Dalhousie been alive, the point in dispute could have been referred to him; but he had died on March 21st, while the Pictou Academy Bill which led to the opening of Dalhousie was still before the Assembly; so that Sir Colin and Wallace were able to disguise their preference for Kirk professors as respect for that nobleman's memory. In any event, the decision was unjust to the Baptists and unfortunate for the cause of non-sectarian education, as it gave Mr. Crawley some ground for promoting a rival institution, and undermined the confidence of the general public in the liberality of the future administration of Dalhousie College.

Born an Anglican, Crawley was a graduate of King's College, a good classical scholar, and had practised law in Halifax before he broke with St. Paul's Church and threw in his lot with the Baptists. In 1828 he had assisted in the founding of Horton Academy and then had gone to Andover, Mass., to study theology. After ordination he returned to Nova Scotia as pastor of Granville Street Baptist Church in 1831. In June 1838, he attended the Baptist Convention at Chester, and was described by Brother William Ralston as "a lawyer subdued by grace." But when his application for the chair of classical languages in Dalhousie College was rejected by Sir Colin and Wallace, he employed all his legal talents, unsubdued by grace, to destroy the temporary cooperation that had been obtained among dissenters, and succeeded in rousing the Baptist people to heroic efforts on behalf of a college of their own. His first move was to publish a series of four very able letters in the *Novascotian* in which he recounted the story of his rejection, condemned the grounds on which this rejection had been made, and pointed out what was generally accepted, that the Kirk up to that time had done least of all denominations for the cause of education in Nova Scotia and therefore deserved least of all exclusive rights in an institution supported by provincial funds. His next step was to appeal to the Baptists of Nova Scotia and New Brunswick to found a college of their own. This he did in two equally able letters, marshalling his arguments with great skill so as to win support not only from the Baptists, who had been reluctant to join forces with Dalhousie College, but also from those who had favoured it whole-heartedly before their academic representative had been rejected. As a result of these letters and the organized activity of Baptist leaders that followed, Acadia College, first called Queen's,

was opened on January 20th, 1839, with a larger student body and more enthusiastic support than Dalhousie College was to receive for many years to come.

In the meantime Dalhousie College struggled into existence under a serious handicap. Though the Governors, in saying that Romans and MacIntosh should be appointed *for the present*, implied that the arrangement was only temporary and that the legislature at its next meeting might enact new legislation to ease Sir Colin's conscience, the precipitate action of Mr. Crawley forestalled any such solution of the problem, and left "non-sectarian" Dalhousie to open under a cloud of rank sectarianism. It commenced teaching on November 1st, with a dozen students, which number was increased to sixteen later in the term. There was no formal opening: none of the pageantry that accompanied the laying of the cornerstone, and nothing but a cold advertisement in the newspapers to signalize the event. Throughout the seven years of its first period of regular instruction, it was unable to overcome the initial handicap imposed upon it by Sir Colin and Mr. Wallace, and exploited by Mr. Crawley. Neither the attempts of its friends to save it by new legislation providing for a representative board of governors, nor the reiteration of the idea of non-sectarianism in the Act of 1841, could undo the damage that had been done. By 1845 the example of the Baptists had been followed by the Roman Catholics and the Methodists, and this denominational mood brought assistance to the Presbyterians of Pictou, although no theological classes were to be allowed in the reorganized Academy.¹

1. The Baptist Education Society petitioned for an act of incorporation for the Queen's College in 1839 and received it in 1840. In 1841 the name "Queen's" was changed to "Acadia". From 1839 to 1840, the Society received the usual grant of £300 for Horton Academy. In 1841 it was granted this sum of £300 *plus* £200 to assist in liquidating its debts. In 1842 it was granted £444 annually for three years, and in 1845, £250 annually for the period of the School Act of that year.

The Methodists first petitioned for aid for schools in Halifax in 1839 and were granted £100. This grant was renewed each year until 1845. In 1843, an additional grant of £200 was given in aid of the Wesleyan Academy at Sackville, N. B. In 1845, the denominational grant of £250 was divided between Sackville and Halifax, £150 to the former and £100 to the latter.

St. Mary's Seminary was opened by the Roman Catholics in Halifax early in January, 1840, and first applied for an act of incorporation and financial aid in 1841. In that year it received £300 and in 1842 it was granted £444 annually for three years. In 1845 it received £250 on the same terms as Acadia.

Pictou Academy continued to receive £200 from 1838 to 1842, as the balance of the £400 granted for ten years by the Act of 1832, the other £200 having been transferred to Dalhousie in 1838. In 1840, it was granted an additional £233 annually for three years to assist in paying its debts. In 1844 it was granted £200 and in 1845 was given £250 annually on the same terms as Acadia College and St. Mary's Seminary.

Dalhousie College received £200 a year from 1838 to 1842. It was granted £400 each year for the two calendar years 1843 and 1844. It did not share in the legislative bounty in 1845.

In that year, grants were renewed or given to all sectarian colleges or academies, while Dalhousie, which was everybody's business and nobody's business, got none. In that year, also, its doors were closed to regular students, ostensibly to allow its funds to accumulate, but in reality because its fundamental idea was still too far in advance of its time.

Before discussing the prolonged and painful resurrection of Dalhousie, a word must be said about this sudden rise of external sectarianism which, combined with internal sectarianism, choked it to death in 1845. When Mr. Crawley, burning with indignation against the governors of Dalhousie, appealed to the Baptists of the Maritime Provinces to avenge their affront, he pointed out that Mr. Archibald had been in favour of his appointment, and that the Assembly of which Archibald was Speaker would probably reorganize the Board and thus repudiate their action; but at the same time he insisted that the Baptists would never again have such a favourable opportunity to assert their rights and to carry out the ideas implied in the prospectus of the Baptist Education Society of 1828. In other words, Mr. Crawley had not been a whole-hearted believer in the Dalhousie idea, even when he was so anxious to get on its staff, despite his assertion that it was only because he now believed the establishment of one strong provincial university to be impracticable that he was making his sectarian appeal.

As Mr. Crawley foresaw, the legislature early in January, 1839, called for full information as to the action of the governors of Dalhousie, heard both Mr. Crawley and Mr. Wallace at the bar of the House, and, after investigating the matter carefully, introduced legislation to provide for a new board of governors; but this legislation, because embodied in several successive bills and subjected to various amendments, did not receive the royal assent until 1841 or come into force until 1842. The discussions that took place on Howe's first bill of 1839 and the Baptist petition for an act of incorporation show clearly how few real friends of the non-sectarian idea existed at that date, and that even these few felt that Sir Colin and Mr. Wallace, however plausible their explanation of the rejection of Mr. Crawley, had made it difficult to contend that Dalhousie was still non-sectarian. Even Howe, who had declared that he would rather see the military engineers come down from the citadel and blow it up than support it as an exclusive institution, felt that he could not vote against the incorporation of Acadia under the circumstances. Only Doyle, who had at first objected to the transfer of McCulloch from Pictou lest he should prove to be partisan, steadfastly opposed the attempt to incorporate a new college.

The reluctance of the members to speak out boldly was due only partly to their misgivings as to the action of the governors of Dalhousie, for the petition of the Baptist Education Society had been calculated to disarm criticism by making its appeal less on grounds of antagonism to Dalhousie than of local need, economy and moral security. Thus was the cause of the Baptists linked with the cause of the country as against the town; and this threatened to split the reform party at the very moment when unity was imperative. In fact, it was this very question of sectarianism in higher education that divided the reformers in 1843, and led the Baptists of the rural districts to ally themselves with the remnants of the Family Compact. A force that could produce such strange bed-fellows could not be lightly disregarded by politicians, and must have been stronger than political allegiance. Certainly it was not because of either their economic or political interests that the rural Baptists followed Johnston rather than Howe in 1843. Certainly, too, no elections have ever been so bitter in Nova Scotia as those in which religious issues have been conspicuous. All of which goes to show that the people of Nova Scotia were not ready for a non-sectarian college in 1839, nor for many years to come, and that they were capable of strong effort on behalf of any educational institution only when stirred by appeals to both the higher passions of self-sacrifice and the lower passions of religious rivalry. Because the Dalhousie idea had no such basis of appeal, it languished; and the establishment of one liberal, efficient provincial university was postponed indefinitely.

The story of Dalhousie's first active years is brief and uneventful. From 1838 until 1842, Dr. McCulloch and Professors Romans and MacIntosh seem to have taught their sixteen students regularly in the mornings, and to have encouraged the one student activity, a weekly debating society. During the first session Dr. McCulloch conducted evening classes for special students in logic and composition, and in the winter months Professor MacIntosh gave a series of illustrated lectures on mathematics and natural philosophy. During the long summer vacations Dr. McCulloch and his son, Thomas, travelled over the province collecting specimens for a museum. Throughout these four years, except in the legislature when denominational education was under discussion, the College seems to have attracted little notice, and the old Board of Governors held very few meetings to guide or observe its activities. But when the new Board, appointed under the Act of 1841, met on July 5, 1842, it immediately appointed a committee to report in detail on the condition of the College, and to draft bye-laws for

its administration. At the same time it requested Lieutenant-Governor Falkland to enquire in London for a suitable professor of modern languages. Apparently the Board had been impressed by the debates in the legislature, during which it had been repeatedly pointed out that Nova Scotia's expanding commercial relations were creating a need for young men who could read and write French, Spanish and Italian; but they may have been influenced even more by the fact that because St. Mary's College had from the first made ample provision for instruction in these languages, it was attracting most of the Halifax students to its classrooms. In any event, this decision of the Board was regarded as an instruction by the committee, which reported at their next meeting in favour of merging the chairs of classics and mathematics in order to make room for a chair in modern languages.

The Board met on November 5th and again on the 12th to confirm the bye-laws prepared by the committee, and to reorganize the staff. The most significant of these bye-laws or statutes, apart from the first which re-affirmed the principle that no religious tests could or should be applied to either professors or students, were the second and fourteenth. The second was designed to meet the criticism of Halifax parents that their children were idle almost half the year, and provided for an academic session of two terms: the first, or winter term, from the fourth Tuesday in January to the first of July, and the second, or summer term, from the first of September to the fifteenth of December. The fourteenth provided that there should be *for the present* a professor of moral philosophy, rhetoric and logic at a salary of £400 currency for the ensuing year but £300 thereafter; a professor of classical languages and mathematics and natural philosophy at £200 a year; and a professor of modern languages at £150 a year. In addition the first two professors were to receive all the fees of their students, and the professor of modern languages one half of the fees of his students. Apparently it was expected that there would be a larger attendance upon his classes.

Having confirmed the statutes, the Board reappointed Dr. McCulloch to the first chair with the title of President, gave Professor MacIntosh the combined chair of classics and mathematics, and dismissed Professor Romans courteously, as from the end of the year, with a solatium of six months' salary. It may be noted in passing that he promptly decided to open a High School in Halifax, and offered instruction in English, Latin, Greek and Mathematics as well as advanced courses in Classical Literature. As he was a native Haligonian and much respected there, it must have been

because he was weak in mathematics that he was superseded by Professor MacIntosh.

The Board met again on December 24th, and decided to open the ensuing winter term with a flourish of trumpets. They instructed the professors to prepare suitable introductory lectures to be delivered on Tuesday, January 31, 1843, in the presence of the governors, the executive council, the members of the legislature and friends of Dalhousie College. It was at this formal opening that Dr. McCulloch delivered the last radical utterance referred to above; and, as it transpired, this was the only formal public meeting of Dalhousie and its friends that was held during the first period of its active operation as a college. Before another year had passed, death had called two professors and the third had departed on leave of absence.

During the winter term of 1843, while the Board was grappling with matriculation rules, undergraduate gowns and fees, and trying to obtain a suitable professor of modern languages, Dr. McCulloch and Professor MacIntosh constituted the entire Faculty, and the student body numbered only sixteen, of whom three were studying the classics, two logic and rhetoric, five moral philosophy and eleven mathematics and natural philosophy. In the meantime the Board negotiated with a Polish candidate, Mr. Klattowski, an Italian, Mr. Mariotti, but finally chose Mr. Lorenzo Lacoste as Professor of modern languages. He arrived at the end of the first week in August and, whether from acute disappointment with the conditions in Dalhousie or from previous mental derangement, he committed suicide by cutting his throat on the beach of the North West Arm, just four days before the opening of the College. Thus, the summer term opened under a cloud, with fifteen students in attendance: four in classics, four in logic and rhetoric, three in moral philosophy, and nine in mathematics and natural philosophy. Then, on September 9th, President McCulloch died, and for the remainder of the term Professor MacIntosh carried on alone, while the Board sought ineffectually for a new president. On the last day of that term the Board met to consider applications for the chair of modern languages and finally appointed Mr. J. A. Deloutte, who was then residing in New York and was expected to arrive in time for the opening of the winter term.

Despite the tragic events of the summer term, the outlook for Dalhousie, on December 15th, was not hopeless; but on December 30th an emergency meeting of the Board was called to consider a request of Professor MacIntosh for three months' leave of absence to visit Scotland on important private business, he having arranged

with Mr. Thomas McCulloch to take charge of his classes for the time being. Though this important business was a search for preferment in the Church of Scotland after Disruption, the Board commended and rewarded Professor MacIntosh for his willingness to assume the late Dr. McCulloch's work during the last term, granted his request, and asked him to look for a suitable president for the College while in Scotland. As a result of all these events the winter term of 1844 opened without a president, without any of the original staff, and with only one substitute professor. Mr. Deloutte did not report for duty until February 12th. For the remainder of the term these two constituted the Faculty and taught eighteen students: five in classics, three in mathematics and natural philosophy, twelve in modern languages. Had Professor MacIntosh returned as expected, he could have given the late Dr. McCulloch's classes again; but he did not do so, applying instead for an extension of his leave and finally resigning at the beginning of the summer term.

At the beginning of the summer term of 1844, there was much uncertainty as to whether the College could continue teaching. Only one professor, Professor Deloutte, was on hand. The Board met on September 3rd, decided to accept Professor MacIntosh's resignation, asked Mr. McCulloch to continue his classes until the end of the year, and arranged that there should be three terms for the Professor of Modern Languages, at a fee for each student of £2 per term: the autumn term from September first to December twentieth, the winter term from January fifth to the thirty-first of March, and the summer term from April first to June thirtieth. This belated arrangement did not augur well for a large attendance, and as a result only ten students received instruction in Dalhousie during the last term of 1844; one in classics, two in mathematics and natural philosophy, and seven in modern languages. It is little wonder that Professor Deloutte grew discouraged and offered his resignation at the end of the term; but the Board still hoping, while making no apparent effort to get a president, prevailed upon him to continue until March 21, 1845, the end of his winter term. During that winter the legislature did not renew its grant to Dalhousie, and on June 3rd the Board met only to close the institution formally and to take leave of Professor Deloutte with regret. So far as teaching is concerned, Dalhousie College was again inactive during the next four years, although the Infant School and the Mechanics' Institute continued to use the building as hitherto.

Between 1845 and 1848 the legislature was too intent upon the struggle for responsible government to give any attention to educa-

tion other than that which was imposed upon it by the routine of administering the acts already in force. But when responsible government was won, it immediately undertook to revive Dalhousie. In April, 1848, Howe introduced a bill to enable the Governor-in-Council to appoint a new board of governors, consisting of not fewer than five and not more than seven members. This board was to have all the powers given to the older board, created by the Act of 1841. It was appointed on September first, met on November second, and chose Hon. William Young as chairman. It was this board, reconstituted from time to time as vacancies occurred, but always under the chairmanship of Mr. Young, that revived Dalhousie, first as a High School, then as a High School and College, and finally as a University, with Faculties of arts, science, medicine and law.

It began in a workmanlike manner by examining the history and financial condition of the College, and attempted to meet the immediate needs of the community before dissipating its energies on work of university standard that it could not maintain. It decided to appoint four teachers: one of classics, rhetoric and belles lettres, a second of mathematics, navigation, surveying, etc., a third of French, Spanish and if possible Italian and German, and a fourth of the ordinary branches of a good English education. The salaries to be offered were £175, £160, £125 and £75 respectively, together with one half of their own class fees. The pupils were to pay an annual fee of £4, and could attend any class for which they were fitted. All this was very commonplace; but it is significant that the Board of Governors recognized the necessity of fostering talent in all classes, and reserved the privilege of sending five free pupils to each class "so that children who displayed extraordinary ability in the common schools may be advanced, and their minds developed and improved." This is the true principle of scholarships, and the only one on which a democratic state should act. Its significance lies in the fact that it was a Board of Governors appointed under responsible government who perceived it.

The teachers finally chosen from a long list of applicants were Thomas McCulloch, Headmaster, Dr. Samuel Brown, H. Oldright, and J. K. Rousselle, all of whom had already had practical teaching experience in the province, and *Dalhousie Collegiate School* opened on April 11, 1849. During the year 117 pupils were enrolled, four of whom were free. They were of all religious denominations, and differed widely in age. The average attendance was 87, and the average age 12. The winter months of 1850 were enlivened by a series of twenty-four lectures on geology, delivered by J. W. Dawson,

the new Superintendent of Education. Mr. Cunnabell conducted singing classes in the school, and throughout the year work was carried on with enthusiasm. But on April 15, 1850, Thomas McCulloch resigned on account of ill health, and the Board was unable to procure a headmaster in time to prevent disintegrating forces from undermining the discipline and *esprit de corps* of the school. The position was first offered to a Mr. Harris, then to a Mr. Costley, and finally to Mr. Michael McCulloch, who was then teaching in Yarmouth Academy. He did not arrive in Halifax until November, by which time the other teachers were inclined to insubordination, and he was not able to restore the morale of the school. However, the total registration for this year was 144, the average attendance 81 and the average age $12\frac{1}{2}$, ranging from 8 to 30.

Throughout the period from 1851 to 1854 the Board was constantly concerned about the condition of the school, the decrease in the number of pupils, the difficulty of collecting and apportioning fees, and the lack of harmony among the teachers. In July 1851, they dismissed Brown and Oldright for leaving the school without permission of the governors, and in August they appointed Mr. Costley to the staff with the same status as Mr. McCulloch: but the friction continued. Unable to get a teacher of modern languages they had to re-engage Mr. Oldright, though at a reduced salary, and they called both Mr. McCulloch and Mr. Costley before them frequently to discuss the problem and to explain why the attendance had suddenly decreased from 144 to 64. In 1852 they called for a public examination of the students, and appropriated £10 for the purchase of prizes. In 1853 the same appropriation was made for the same purpose, but conditions did not improve. In June 1854, when registration had fallen to 61, the Board resolved to make a complete change in the administration of the school and notified the teachers that their engagements would be terminated on October the first. In the interval several meetings were held with and without the teachers, but as no satisfactory solution of the problem could be found, the Board adhered to its resolution and closed the school on October 1, 1854. As Mr. Costley had already resigned, and Mr. Oldright was teaching on sufferance, the Board softened the dismissal of Mr. McCulloch and Mr. Rousselle by offering them rooms in the College for private teaching, on condition that they would remove whenever the governors should notify them to do so. In thus safeguarding themselves the governors had in mind the re-opening of the school in the near future with a new staff of teachers, and as their secretary, James Thompson, was planning to spend

the winter in England, they requested him to make enquiries for a master, who would undertake to manage the institution and provide his own staff of assistants. It was largely as a result of his efforts that Dalhousie College was again opened as a High School on January 15, 1856.

While the Board of Governors are awaiting news from England, let us pause for a moment and see what attempts were made during these two decades to make a general convenience of the College and its grounds. We have already seen that, by 1838, one side of the basement had been used as a confectionery shop and the other as an Infant School, while the main rooms had been occupied by the Mechanics' Institute, as a museum and library, and by the various teachers of academies. During the first period of teaching the basement was not disturbed, and the professor of natural history found the museum of use in illustrating his lectures. In the spring of 1844, Mr. H. D. Rice had to vacate the basement to make room for the post office. This gave the College a rental of £100 a year until 1852, when the lease was renewed at £200 a year, on condition of enlarging and improving the accommodation. Then, in 1846, four rooms on the main floor occupied by Mr. De Fleur as a teacher of music, without authorization by the Board, were cleared out and one of them was rented to the government as an office for the Registrar of Deeds, for £25 a year. Both these public services increased the revenue of the College, and did not interfere with its legitimate work. But the Board was constantly pestered for permission to use its rooms or its grounds sometimes for purposes that would have detracted both from its proper character and from its security of title, and, though it never declined a request that bore any resemblance to educational activity, it did try to protect itself from exploitation.

In 1849, the Mechanics' Institute asked permission to erect a building on the south east corner of the grounds; and, in 1853, the Executive Committee of the Industrial Exhibition requested the use of the Parade and College building for purposes of an exhibition. Both these requests were declined politely. In 1853, also, a committee of the City Council wished to use the southern portion of the Parade as a temporary market while a new market building was being erected. This request was at first refused, but later granted under pressure. In 1854, Mr. E. G. Fuller asked permission to use the College grounds for a *circus*. This petition was rejected without hesitation. In the same year, when the Board of Health asked for the College building in case the Asiatic Cholera should arrive, the Board of Governors resolved, "That the obligations of the

Governors to the Teachers as well as towards the Postmaster General prevent their complying with the application of the Board of Health." In 1856, when the Committee of the Welsford and Parker Testimonial asked permission to erect a monument on the College grounds, the Board replied politely that they did not feel authorized to make such a grant and that if they did so they might become involved in litigation. But in 1859 they had no hesitation in granting permission to the Nova Scotia Literary and Scientific Society to hold its meetings in the College, and in the following year they allowed the Halifax Volunteers to stand their arms "in the large room upstairs". Practically none of these requests would have been made if Dalhousie had not been regarded as a public building originally erected by public funds.

In regard to the funds of the College also, this Board was much more efficient than its predecessors and exercised good judgment and scrupulous care. For the first time in history the accounts were regularly audited. Though the Board received no grant from the legislature, and had at its disposal only the proceeds of the three per cent Consols in England, amounting to £350, and rentals amounting to £125, later increased to £200, it lived within its income, paid its teachers regularly, kept the building in repair, and closed the year 1855 with a small balance to its credit. In that year it sold its Consols for £10300 currency, invested £10000 in provincial debentures at six per cent, and deposited £300 in the Bank of Nova Scotia. By 1856, therefore, it faced the world with an assured income of £800, and a reasonable hope that, with its new staff of teachers, the future of Dalhousie would be bright.

The new teachers upon whom the Board was relying arrived in Halifax from England at the end of 1855. These had been obtained with considerable difficulty because of "the exception to clergymen", the Board having set its face steadily against the employment of clergymen in order to avoid the denominational squabbles that had stultified the efforts of the former governors, prior to 1848. Mr. Hugo Reid, Principal of People's College, Nottingham, formerly of Liverpool High School and author of several text-books, was the new headmaster, and he had engaged Mr. F. G. D'Utassy, "lately of Vienna and Paris and of the University of Turin", as master of modern languages, and Mr. James Woods, "lately of London", as general assistant. The Board met Mr. Reid on November 29th, and again on December 11th to complete arrangements. A programme of studies was approved, the fees of pupils in the junior school were fixed at £5 per annum and in the senior school at £7. The salary of Mr. Reid was set at £300 stg., of Mr. Woods at £150,

and of Mr. D'Utassy at £120. In addition, half of the net fees after the deduction of certain contingent expenses were to be divided among the masters, Mr. Reid getting one half of the moiety and the other two the remaining half in equal proportions.

On January 15, 1856, Dalhousie College opened for a third period of instruction, this time frankly as a junior and senior high school; but, within a month of that date, forces were set in motion which led to the fourth and final "beginning" of instruction in Dalhousie.

In February, the three branches of the Presbyterian Church met in convention in St. Matthew's Church, Halifax, and invited the Governors of Dalhousie to discuss with them the possibility of cooperating to form a provincial university. No decision was reached at this meeting; but, when a report of it appeared in the *Presbyterian Witness*, Principal Dawson of McGill, who knew the educational problems of his native province intimately, wrote Hon. Wm. Young and offered the following formula as a solution of the denominational problem in higher education:

Let the governors give by resolution, or if necessary by getting a short act of the legislature, a *University character* to the college, and open negotiations with the Presbyterians or other churches offering to take their professors with such endowments or grants as they have, giving them the use of the building, the co-operation of your teachers, and the benefit of University degrees with free scholarships for students for the University. These would be material advantages to them, and would at once elevate your college to a position that would soon enable it to command legislative aid.

Do not fear clerical professors; in a non-sectarian provincial institution with a public trust they will be quite harmless, and proscribing them will cause only mischief.

On receipt of this letter the Governors, who were already in communication with the Congregationalists, drew up a minute embodying these ideas and sent it to both the Congregationalists and the three Presbyterian bodies concerned. Mr. Young then wrote Principal Dawson acknowledging his influence, as follows: "You have given what I am convinced is a sound opinion as to Dalhousie College. We are prepared to act upon it, and I have passed a minute throwing open its portals and not excluding clerical professors. This movement may lead to important results."

In fact, it was the basis on which the Congregationalists cooperated in 1856-7, and also the basis of the negotiations which led to the reorganization of Dalhousie in 1863.

During the summer, the Governors of Dalhousie and representatives of the Congregationalists discussed the project of uniting the staff and funds of Gorham College, which had recently been burned, and finally decided that it would be better not to merge the funds of the two institutions immediately, but that Professors Tomkins and Cornish should for the present be transferred to Halifax and supported by the Congregationalists, as the Board of Dalhousie could not do more at the moment than provide classrooms and assign the fees of their own students to the professors.

When arrangements were completed, Mr. Reid was elected Dean of the Faculty and the university classes were opened on October 20, 1856, with a staff of five professors and an enrollment of fifteen students. Mr. Reid and his two colleagues taught university classes in addition to their work in the schools, which were attended by sixty-three pupils. A Mr. Morton was engaged as assistant in the schools to relieve the masters at certain periods. Such was the arrangement for the session 1856-7. But, in the spring of 1857, Professor Cornish accepted a position in McGill, and the Board were faced with the problem of obtaining and supporting a successor. They invited the Presbyterians to provide a professor and support him in part, as they could offer a contribution of only £125 a year. As the Presbyterians declined to accept the proposal, Mr. Reid suggested that a competent master be appointed for the schools so as to release Mr. Woods for the classical courses in the university. The Board agreed to this suggestion, but, before a suitable master had been found, Professor Tomkins resigned, and they decided to discontinue university work for the time being.

During the next two years Dalhousie High School went the way of its predecessor, Dalhousie Collegiate School. Mr. Reid and Mr. Woods quarrelled and carried their troubles to the Board, who tried to get them together without success. In August 1859, Mr. Woods resigned and started Spring Garden Academy in competition with Dalhousie. Mr. Reid made various suggestions to save the situation; but as the Board would not adopt them and attendance in the schools had fallen to fifty-one, he also resigned on January 26, 1860. The Board then decided to close Dalhousie once more and gave Professor D'Utassy six months' notice from February 14th. In July, 1860, they met to deal with routine matters and adjourned, not to meet again, as it proved, until February, 1862, when they discussed the proposal to use two years' income of the College for collecting and arranging objects of natural history and mineralogy. This was perhaps the darkest period in the history of Dalhousie. Hitherto it had been possible to attribute the failure of the college to

the insincerity and inefficiency of the Governors: but these Governors, though they had worked hard and faithfully, had also failed, and they were now without hope. However, it was the dark hour before dawn. In the summer of 1862, negotiations were resumed with the Presbyterians, and these led to the permanent revival of Dalhousie.

In the interval since the abortive meeting of 1856, the Presbyterians had been removing obstacles to cooperation amongst themselves. In 1860 two of these bodies had united and were looking forward to ultimate union with those adhering to the Church of Scotland. Committees of both these bodies were authorized by their respective synods in the summer of 1862 to conclude arrangements with the Governors of Dalhousie College for re-establishing that institution as a provincial university. These committees met the Board on July 30th, and made preliminary arrangements for the drafting of a new bill for the regulation of the College. They were concerned about the number and mode of appointment of governors, the specific chairs to be endowed, and the previous objections of the Board to clergymen as professors. In regard to the governors, they suggested that the present number should be enlarged by one for every denomination that should support a professor, and they agreed that the existing vacancies should be filled with representatives of Baptists, Methodists and Anglicans before the bill was drafted, to which end they approved the names of Charles Tupper, S. L. Shannon and J. W. Ritchie respectively. In regard to the subjects to be provided for immediately, they suggested Latin and Greek, Natural Philosophy and Natural History, Chemistry, Logic, Moral Philosophy and Modern Languages; and in regard to the attitude of the Governors towards clergymen as professors, they elicited the statement "that no objection would be raised on that ground, but having felt the evil of professors engaging in any other employment they could not sanction a clergyman professor holding at the same time a pastoral charge."

The next meeting of the Governors was held on January 31, 1863, to consider a bill drafted in the spirit of the discussion referred to above, and, after examining the draft carefully, they decided to send it to the committees of the two branches of the Presbyterian Church. On March 18th they met with these committees to consider their comments, and they agreed to several amendments, whereupon the bill was returned to the legislature, and became law on April 29, 1863.

The Act of 1863 incorporated the existing representative board of six governors and gave them full control of the building, grounds

and funds of the College. Vacancies on the Board were to be filled by the Governor-in-Council on recommendation of the remaining members. The new features in the Act were the provision for representation on the Board of any body of Christians that would endow a chair in the university, and the right of these bodies or any individual or group of individuals to nominate the professors for such chairs as they should endow. In a word, the Dawson principle was adopted completely, and emphasis laid upon cooperation rather than competition. The university was now to be a provincial university in the sense that it was ready to serve the whole province to the fullest extent of its resources and, in so doing, to repay in a measure the citizens of Nova Scotia the time and money that they had devoted to it in the past. It is true that the Presbyterians were endowing and appointing three professors and, therefore, would have three of their own members on the Board of Governors; but, because of that, Dalhousie could not be called a denominational institution. Though the Presbyterians had saved it from oblivion, they had assumed heavy financial obligations in so doing, and had only their proportional representation on the governing body. Moreover, what they had done, all other denominations were free to do and, at the same time, to share in both the rights and responsibilities of provincial education. In other words, the difference in attitude towards the revival of Dalhousie College in 1838 and in 1863 was a difference between the spirit of plunder and the spirit of service.