

SOME FACTORS IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF
CANADIAN UNIVERSITIES PRIOR TO CONFEDERATION

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ABSTRACT OF THESIS

Purpose. The purpose of this thesis was to investigate the part played by various factors in the growth and development of English-language colleges and universities in the four provinces of Upper Canada, Lower Canada, Nova Scotia and New Brunswick prior to Confederation in 1867.

Sources of data. Information was obtained from relevant documentary materials including the dispatches of the Colonial Secretaries and Lieutenant-Governors, the proceedings of the various Legislative Assemblies, the speeches of church leaders and politicians, proceedings of the governing bodies of the colleges and universities, and miscellaneous memoirs and letters.

Outline of Study and Conclusions. Three factors were of considerable importance in the foundation and development of early universities in Canada. Considerations of politics, religion and geography all played a significant part.

It was early considered politically expedient to provide facilities for higher liberal and professional education in Canada, lest the future leaders of the nation be otherwise compelled to seek higher education in the United States where they might return imbued with republican ideals.

To a governing class which believed in the concept of an established church, patriotism and adherence to the Church

of England were closely related. It was therefore argued that higher education should be under the control of the Church of England even although dependent to a large extent on the provision of public funds. The growth of the nonconformist denominations led inevitably to dissension in the field of education, and protests were increasingly heard in the Legislative Assemblies where the first stirrings of agitation towards responsible government were becoming apparent.

Geographical considerations, also, were of obvious importance in the choice of location and in the later development of universities in a vast land with a widely scattered population and poorly developed communications.

These three factors, at all times closely inter-related, were responsible to a large degree for the eventual growth of secularism and for the excessive multiplicity of institutions which still characterizes Canadian higher learning.

The influence of politics, religion and geography having been discussed, attention was finally turned to a consideration of the attempts made by the universities to adapt themselves to the changing conditions and demands of society in the years prior to Confederation.

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

The purpose of this thesis is to discuss and assess the relative significance of the part played by various factors in the growth and development of English-language colleges and universities in the four provinces of Upper Canada, Lower Canada, Nova Scotia and New Brunswick prior to 1867 when they came together in confederation to form the Dominion of Canada.

A brief history of the establishment and development of colleges and universities prior to confederation is given; and following this, an attempt is made to assess the part played by each of the major factors contributing to the establishment, and influencing the development of institutions of higher education.

Many factors were of significant influence. The role of the churches in the early development of higher education was of great importance, an importance probably equalled only by the role of the government. The idea of a church-state relationship, modelled on the English concept of an Established Church, was carried to the North American colonies by many of the early settlers and government and church leaders. The interests of state and church were seen as one.

Conditions in the North American colonies, however, were not the conditions existing in the mother country. The inhabitants

of the North American colonies had inherited a wide variety of traditions. They included Loyalists, French settlers of comparatively long standing, farmers, fishermen, merchants, and, as time passed, a rising middle class eager for self-government.

This lack of unity was also reflected in the variety of religious denominations claiming the adherence of the inhabitants, and in their varied racial backgrounds. Geographically, too, the people were divided.

Even in the year of confederation, Canada was hardly a nation except in name. All the four provinces were largely rural, although there were signs of urban development. The population was still largely local, with but little movement from province to province. There were few urban centres of any importance--the only cities approaching the modern concept of a city in numbers being Montreal, Quebec, Toronto, Kingston, Ottawa, Hamilton, and Halifax.

With due consideration given to these facts, it is perhaps surprising to find that by 1867 all the larger colleges and universities of eastern Canada had been founded with the exception of Western Ontario and McMaster.¹ For a country still not far removed from the pioneering state, Canada was singularly well furnished with institutions of higher learning in 1867, even if the instruction offered in these institutions varied

¹A. R. M. Lower, Colony to Nation (Toronto: Longman's, Green & Co., 1946), p. 343.

considerably in scope and standard.

With the development of these colleges and universities, and with the gradual refinement of society, these colleges and universities had perforce to adapt themselves to meet changing conditions and changing demands. Chapter VI deals with this aspect of development.

The information contained in this thesis is based on relevant documentary material, such as the proceedings of the various Legislatures, the despatches and correspondence of the various governors, the despatches of the Colonial Secretaries, private letters, and speeches, and, where obtainable, the proceedings of university bodies. Much information and opinion, contained in the histories of many of the individual colleges mentioned, has also been utilized.

CHAPTER II

A BRIEF HISTORY OF THE GROWTH OF HIGHER EDUCATION

In Upper Canada the first steps towards the provision of higher education were taken as early as 1797 when the Legislature set aside a portion of the Crown lands for the support of grammar schools and a university. The small value of this land prevented any advance for some years, but by 1819 land values had increased and agitation for a university was renewed.

One of the staunchest advocates of higher education was John Strachan who became chairman of the General Board of Education in 1822 and who, being already a member of both the Legislative Council and the Executive Council, wielded great influence. Unfortunately, Strachan's influence was too often sectarian in nature. He visited England where in 1827 he obtained a Royal Charter for the proposed Provincial University to be known as the University of King's College and which was to be situated at York. Strachan's Charter made it perfectly clear that the institution was to be founded in connection with the Church of England, a minority denomination in the province. The sectarian character of the proposed institution aroused religious and political animosities which prevented the effective functioning of the university for many years.

Despairing of a more liberal charter, the Methodists

in 1836, opened at Cobourg an institution known as Upper Canada Academy which eventually developed into Victoria College. A similar move by the Presbyterians led eventually to the establishment of Queen's College at Kingston. An Anglican Divinity School was opened at Cobourg, and in 1837 Bishop Macdonnell founded a Roman Catholic institution at Kingston known as Regiopolis College. This college received degree granting powers in 1866.

The Council of King's College resisted the pressure of the Imperial Government to surrender their exclusive Charter; moreover, the modifications in the Charter which the Council suggested were not acceptable to the Assembly, and so the agitation continued. The Assembly and the Legislative Council could not agree; and the Imperial Government made it clear that it had no intention of dictating to the Provincial Legislature. However, the election of a moderate majority to the House of Assembly in 1836, made way for the passage by both Assembly and Legislative Council of the Act to amend the Royal Charter in 1837. Financial and political considerations even then retarded the opening of the university; and it was not till 1842 that the cornerstone was laid and the following year that instruction began.

In 1841 the Methodists' Upper Canada Academy was incorporated as Victoria College and received a Legislative grant which later became annual. Queen's College, established at

Kingston by the Presbyterians, began instruction in 1842.

In the continuing dispute concerning university education, three parties emerged: those, led by Strachan, claiming the entire provincial endowment for a university under Anglican control; those, for whom Egerton Ryerson was the main spokesman, who claimed a share of the provincial endowment for denominational colleges; and a third group headed by Robert Baldwin which claimed that the entire endowment should be used to support a single non-denominational or secular university.

Attempts to unify the colleges were made, but the realization of this aim was hindered by the non-cooperative attitude of Strachan and by difficulties inherent in the locations of Victoria and Queen's Colleges at Cobourg and Kingston respectively.

In 1843 Baldwin introduced a Bill in the Legislature to establish a single provincially endowed university free from denominational control and consisting of the four existing colleges: Kings, Regiopolis, Queen's and Victoria. The Bill never became law, as the Legislature was abruptly dissolved by the Governor-General, Sir Charles Metcalfe, and the ensuing election returned a Conservative majority.

Draper, the Conservative leader and Attorney-General, introduced another Bill in 1845 which, although similar in many ways to the Baldwin Bill of 1843, gave more power and support to the several colleges at the expense of the university. The

Bill was allowed to drop, and the university problem remained unsettled. A third attempt to reach agreement ended with the failure in 1846 of the Hall-Draper Bill which embodied, with a few changes, the Draper University Bill of 1845.

A further attempt to reach a compromise solution was John A. Macdonald's Bill of 1847 which advocated the sharing of the endowment among the existing colleges and also made some provision for the future endowment of other colleges. This Bill was finally withdrawn.

The Liberals under Baldwin returned to power in 1848 and took immediate steps to secularize the university and bring it under state control. In spite of bitter opposition from churchmen of all denominations the passage through both Houses of the Legislature of Baldwin's University Bill of 1849 was facilitated by the revelation of financial mismanagement in the affairs of Kings College.

The Act of 1849 set up the University of Toronto as a secular institution under state control and having complete control of provincial endowment.¹ The denominational colleges

¹G. G. McNab, The Development of Higher Education in Ontario (Toronto: The Ryerson Press, 1925), p. 66

McNab points out that as the Government appointed a majority of the members of both Caput and Senate, it had control of the University. The property of the University was vested in an Endowment Board which could make expenditures only for the maintenance of the University and Upper Canada College.

The Caput, in which was vested the executive control, consisted of the President, the Deans of Arts, Medicine and Law, and one member appointed annually by convocation.

refused to affiliate with the University and in fact two new denominational colleges were founded: the Anglican Trinity College which received university powers in 1853 and the Roman Catholic College of Bytown, which received university powers as the University of Ottawa in 1866.

The Hincks Bill, which became law in 1853, provided for a collegiate organization within the university, making the university a legislative and examining body only, and relegating the work of teaching to the colleges, creating for that purpose University College. Thus this Act modelled the University of Toronto on the pattern of the University of London. The outlying colleges then affiliated, but the influence of University College remained paramount, resulting in scant attention being paid to these affiliated institutions. The continued dissatisfaction by the outlying colleges concerning especially the inequitable division of the university funds led eventually in 1861 to the appointment by the government of a Commission of Enquiry into the management of the University of Toronto. However, during the next few years, the Legislature was fully occupied in the preparations for Confederation, and no immediate action was taken on the university question.

The pre-Confederation history of higher education in Ontario then, is a history of dispute, often bitter and personal in nature, concerned with the allocation of the provincial endowment and the interests of denominationalism and secularism.

At the time of Confederation, Lower Canada, which was then renamed Quebec, had two universities offering instruction in the English language: McGill University in Montreal and the University of Bishop's College in Lennoxville. The history of higher education in this province is therefore the history of the establishment and development of these two universities.

The first step towards the provision of higher education in Lower Canada was the establishment by an act of the Legislature in 1801 of the Royal Institution for the Advancement of Learning. This Act provided that all property which should thereafter be given, bequeathed or purchased for educational purposes was to be vested in the trustees of the Royal Institution.

On his death in 1812, James McGill, a prominent merchant of Montreal, bequeathed to the Royal Institution for the Advancement of Learning, in trust his house and grounds and in addition, a sum of £10,000 for the erection and endowment of a University or College to be established within ten years of his death.

Various factors hindered the realization of McGill's purpose; but in 1821 the projected college received a Charter, and in 1829 the college was formally opened although classes did not yet begin. The Montreal Medical Institution became the Medical Faculty of the University, and for some years this Medical Faculty was the only faculty of the University in active operation. The University Charter was amended in 1836, but

progress remained slow due to seemingly interminable wrangling between the Governors of the University and the Board of the Royal Institution.

The rebellion of 1837 temporarily diverted attention from the university question; but by the following year a beginning was made on the college buildings which were completed early in 1843.

A Code of Statutes for the government of the College was prepared by the Governors who, without prior consultation with the Board of Directors, forwarded it to the Governor-General for submission to the Crown for ratification. Difficulties concerned with religious instruction in the College delayed official approval of the Statutes for six years, but classes duly began as planned in 1843.

The Charter was amended in 1852 to rid the College of the curse of dual-management; and with the Principalship of Sir William Dawson (1855 - 1893), the University went from strength to strength.

The University of Bishop's College grew as a result of a desire on the part of the Anglicans in Lower Canada to establish a university directly under the auspices of the Church of England. Bishop's College, in Lennoxville, was incorporated in 1843 by an Act of the Parliament of Canada. From the beginning the College had two main functions: to train clergy for the Anglican Church and "to offer to the country at large the blessings

of a sound and liberal education upon reasonable terms". The Act did not give the College the power of conferring degrees. After a long and arduous struggle, this power was eventually obtained through the Royal Charter of 1853.

The development of institutions of higher education in Nova Scotia was singularly marked by political and religious strife.

The University of King's College developed from King's College, at Windsor, which was the first college to be established in Nova Scotia. It obtained the privileges of a university in 1802 by Royal Charter. The fact that it was exclusive in character and yet received public funds led to widespread dissension and to the appearance of rival institutions, of which Dalhousie University was the most notable. Attempts at affiliation with Dalhousie failed and the annual Imperial grant was withdrawn. By an Act of the Provincial Legislature in 1853, King's College was placed under direct control of the Church of England and all political ties were severed.

Dalhousie University developed from the desire of Lord Dalhousie, Governor of Nova Scotia, to create a single non-sectarian University to serve the whole province. Early attempts at union with King's College, Windsor, having failed, Dalhousie College began instruction in 1838 and received university powers by an Act of the provincial legislature in 1841. From this time

on, the university had only a sporadic existence, and for years it operated as a mere secondary school. A successful effort was made, however, in 1863 to re-establish Dalhousie College as a teaching institution with university powers.

The Baptists of Nova Scotia early entered the field of education. At a meeting in Wolfville in 1828 a resolution was passed by representatives of Baptist churches to establish a seminary for the higher education of Baptist youth. In the following year Horton Academy went into operation at Wolfville, and it was from this institution that Acadia University later developed. The Nova Scotia Baptist Education Society called for a general improvement of education in the province:

There is therefore at once a loud call and an open field for all who feel the importance of a liberal education, to engage in the important work of forming and animating an enlarged system of instruction such as the country urgently needs, and is sought in vain within its borders.²

The failure of the Rev. E. A. Crawley's application in 1838 for a professorship at Dalhousie gave the erroneous impression that Dalhousie had become a Presbyterian institution, and the Baptists took immediate steps to organize a college of their own at Wolfville. In 1839 Acadia University opened as Queen's College, and in the following year obtained a charter of incorporation from the provincial Legislature conferring university

²The Universities of Canada - Their History and Organization, Appendix to the Report of the Minister of Education, 1896, (Toronto, 1896), p. 182

powers on the college.

At Confederation, the Roman Catholics had one institution in Nova Scotia with university powers. St. Francis-Xavier's College was founded at Antigonish in 1854 by the Rt. Rev. Colin F. McKinnon, Bishop of Arichat, for the higher education of students aspiring to the priesthood and to the learned professions. Although denominational in its management, it was aided by a provincial grant, and eventually received the rights and privileges of a university by an Act of the provincial legislature one year prior to Confederation.

Upon the division of Nova Scotia in 1784 New Brunswick became a separate province. Early demands for the provision of facilities for higher education led to the issue of a provincial Charter in 1800 for the incorporation of "The College of New Brunswick" at Fredericton on fairly exclusive Anglican lines. After numerous delays, a Royal Charter was granted in 1828 reincorporating the institution under the name of "King's College" and conferring upon it university powers. This charter, though more liberal than the first, still gave the institution an Anglican flavour and left control of the college seemingly in the hands of the Anglican church. For this reason, among others, the university was subjected to frequent and bitter attacks. This agitation led first to the Act of Amendment to the Charter in 1846 which made certain changes in the College constitution,

and finally to the Act of 1859 by which the College became the secularized University of New Brunswick.

The Methodists in the Maritime provinces also felt the desire to participate in the provision of higher education. The scene of their first endeavours was Sackville where they founded an Academy in 1842 on a site donated by Mr. C. F. Allison, a merchant of that town. For several years, it operated as a secondary school and, though situated in New Brunswick, shared in the grants of the Nova Scotian Legislature.

In 1858 the New Brunswick Legislature passed an Act empowering the corporation in control of the Academy to "found, establish, maintain, and manage a collegiate institution at Sackville, to be designated and known as the Mount Allison Wesleyan College".³ Four years later, the institution assumed these university powers and operated under denominational control but on strictly non-sectarian principles.

The College of St. Joseph, although founded in 1864 at Memrancook by the Roman Catholic Congregation of the Holy Cross, was not incorporated by an Act of the provincial legislature until 1868, and thus at Confederation did not enjoy university powers.

At Confederation, then, the four provinces of the Dominion of Canada had fourteen institutions of higher learning with

³Ibid., p. 198.

university powers. Upper Canada at this time had the University of Toronto, the University of Trinity College, Victoria University, the University of Ottawa, the University of Regiopolis and Queen's University. Lower Canada had McGill University, and the University of Bishop's College. Nova Scotia boasted no fewer than four such institutions: the University of King's College, Dalhousie University, Acadia University, and St. Francis-Xavier's College; while New Brunswick had the University of New Brunswick and Mount Allison University.

Few of these universities had enjoyed a smooth or uneventful development. The growth of most of them had been characterized by intermittent turmoil and strife. All had faced constant financial difficulties and few, by 1867, were as yet on sure economic foundations.

What were the causes of this strife? They were many and varied. In the succeeding chapters, the part played by political, religious and geographical factors in the rise and development of these universities will be examined and discussed at some length.

CHAPTER III

THE POLITICAL FACTOR

Upper Canada

The Constitutional Act of 1791 divided the old colony of Quebec and created the two provinces of Upper Canada and Lower Canada. In Upper Canada the government consisted of a Governor sent out from England, a small Executive Council whose members were appointed by the Crown to advise the Governor, an appointed Legislative Council and an elected Assembly.⁴

The Assembly was at first the weakest part of the government, and real power lay in the hands of the Councils controlled by a small privileged group known as the Family Compact. As time passed, resistance to this minority rule developed and was centered around grievances concerning land, religion and education.

This growing resistance led gradually to armed rebellion under Mackenzie in 1837 and to the subsequent mission of Lord Durham. Durham's Report, published in 1838, recommended the introduction of responsible government which had long been advocated by Robert Baldwin; and also the union of Upper and

⁴A. R. M. Lower, Colony to Nation (Toronto: Longmans, Green and Company, 1946), p. 217.

Lower Canada. The latter proposal was put into effect in February, 1841, by the Act of Union; the struggle for responsible government was not yet won. Sydenham, who became Governor in 1839, gradually destroyed the Family Compact's control of the Executive Council, and regularly sought the advice of this Council. True responsible government, however, depended on the formation of political parties. The alliance of the two reformers, Robert Baldwin and Louis Lafontaine, led to a Reform majority in the Assembly in 1842 when the Executive Council became in reality a cabinet with members chosen from the Reform Party. This situation was accepted by Sir Charles Bagot, Governor (1842-1843), but his successor, Sir Charles Metcalfe, attempted to put back the constitutional clock. By intervening in the elections in 1844, he succeeded in defeating the Reformers.

The attainment of responsible government was finally guaranteed by the advent to power of a Liberal Government in England and the appointment as Colonial Secretary of Lord Grey who firmly believed that Responsible Government meant Cabinet Government. Lord Elgin, who was appointed Governor in 1847, determined to put Lord Grey's policies into immediate effect. The Tory Ministry was swept out of power at the election, and Baldwin and Lafontaine again formed a Reform Ministry with

Cabinet Government. The principle of responsible government was firmly established in 1849 when Elgin braved the bitter hostility of the Tories and signed the Rebellion Losses Bill.

It is against this background of political events that developments in the field of higher education must be viewed.

In Upper Canada, there were two broad aspects of the political factor: as an influence in the early establishment of the universities, and as a complicating factor in the later development of the struggle by the dissenting denominations, initially against the Anglican monopoly of the provincial university endowment and secondly against the virtual monopoly of the public endowment by a secular institution in Toronto. The whole situation was rendered more complicated by the fact that these educational-political battles were fought at a time when the concept of responsible government was developing and the emergence of a conscious Canadian nationalism was becoming apparent. As the Imperial Government gradually lessened its control of internal colonial policies, so were the educational problems left to be decided by a responsible colonial government open to the full force of political pressure in the Assembly. University education occupied a major position in the business of this colonial government.

These two broad aspects of the political factor gave rise to several attendant problems, to each of which a solution

had to be sought. Because the University endowment was a public endowment, the Legislature asserted its right to dictate the principles on which this endowment was to be employed, and the consequent direct involvement of the government in university matters was seen at different times both as a safeguard and as a threat.

It is well to remember that the province of Upper Canada, created by the Constitutional Act of 1791 was peopled largely by United Empire Loyalists from New England where for many years universities had flourished. To these people, who for some years to come would be fully occupied in taming the country, some form of higher education was welcome; to the colonial government authorities, it was a necessity.

The first Lieutenant-Governor of Upper Canada was John Graves Simcoe, a soldier and scholar who wished to see developed in Canada social conditions similar to those of the Old Country. His ideas regarding the necessity of providing university education were clearly brought out in a series of letters written during his term in office. In a letter to Sir Joseph Banks dated London, January 8, 1791, he wrote:

In a literary way, I should be glad to lay the foundation stone of some society that I trust might hereafter conduce to the extension of science. Schools have been

shamefully neglected--a college of a higher class would be eminently useful and would give a tone of principle and manners that would be of infinite support to the government.⁵

A little over a year later, on April 28, 1792, Simcoe sent a despatch to Henry Dundas drawing his attention to the need for "an immediate and due provision for the education of the superior classes of the country". He pointed out that:

Upper Canada having no revenue at present from whence these necessary purposes can be supplied, necessity will compel and the cheapness of education in the United States without some internal establishment will invite the gentlemen of Upper Canada to send their children thither for education by which means from habit, from intercourse, and from assiduous design in their instructors, their British Principles will be perverted, and one of the strongest holds that Great Britain has, and which promises to bind Upper Canada for ages to her side, loyalty which glories in the honest pride in having withstood all the tempests of rebellion, will be totally undermined and subverted by different principles being instilled into the rising generation; to whom their parents and connections now look forward with fondness and hope as the means of transmitting the remembrance of their honourable principles to the remotest posterity⁶

⁵J. G. Hodgins, Documentary History of Education in Upper Canada, 1792-1876 (Toronto: Warwick Bros. & Rutter, 1894-1904), Vol. I, p. 11.

⁶E. A. Cruickshank (ed.), The Correspondence of Lieutenant-Governor John Graves Simcoe (Toronto: Ontario Historical Society 1923-31), Vol. I, p. 143.

The Duke of Portland, on the other hand, thought that "for classical instruction, it would seem that Quebec or Montreal would be most suitable in the present condition of Upper

In pursuance of his belief in the English church-state relationship, he further suggested that his projected university should be in the capital city and should have a head and professors "all of whom should be of the Church of England, and the medical professor perhaps excepted, clergymen".⁷

Dundas' reply was not encouraging,⁸ but later that year, Simcoe reiterated his forthright views to him. Yet again he stressed the importance to the young colony of religion and education:

Canada". Strachan for some time apparently acquiesced in this plan for a College to serve both provinces. In 1814, he wrote:

"A College or University has long been a desideratum among the friends of the Canadas to which the French as well as English youth might have full access with perfect freedom as to religion. In such a place the arts & sciences ought be taught with effect & the young men both French and English mixing together a greater cordiality would be promoted between the two nations the language of the Conquerors would gradually obtain the ascendancy & the country become what alone can render it valuable to the Crown an English Colony . . . Such a College . . . would be most valuable not only in softening & melting our population into one but in seperating us from the contagious & profligate example of our present enemies."

(G. W. Spragge, The John Strachan Letter Book: 1812-1834 (Toronto: The Ontario Historical Society, 1946), pp. 58-9.

⁷Ibid.

⁸Ibid., p. 179.

Dated Whitehall, July 12, 1792. Dundas wrote: "In answer to your remarks on the necessity of establishing schools and an university for the education of youth, I am of opinion that for some time to come at least, the first only will be requisite. The same reasoning applies in this particular as in another which has been mentioned in the former part of this letter vizt that the country must make the university and not the university the country"

These momentous concerns will not only involve in themselves the comfort and happiness of the settlers in this country, and be the surest means of rendering it populous, but will chiefly contribute to that intimate union with Great Britain which if duly improved and properly supported, as necessity requires, at the present season, I see no reason why that union should not become permanent for ages.⁹

Simcoe's views found a more willing recipient in Jacob Mountain, the first Anglican Bishop of Quebec. To the Bishop, Simcoe urged the need for training facilities for the Anglican clergy in Canada and reported that he was confirmed in his opinion that:

It is policy and justice in Great Britain to establish sufficient seats of learning, not only to begin, but to complete the education of the children of the principal people of this country, so as to qualify them for the proper exercise of those leading functions in the church and state to which they have a birth-right and which they will attain with or without education.¹⁰

Simcoe saw clearly that the people of Upper Canada had the means of governing themselves and that if they became enlightened, they would remain forever a part of the British Empire.

Liberal education seems to me, therefore, to be indispensably necessary; and the completion of it in the establishment of a university . . . in my apprehension would be most useful to inculcate just principles, habits, and manners into the rising generation; to coalesce the different customs of the various descriptions of settlers, emigrants from the Old Provinces of Europe into one form. In short, from these

⁹ Hodgins, op.cit. I page 12
Dated Niagara, November 23, 1792.

¹⁰ Ibid., Vol. I, p. 12. Simcoe papers Vol. III, p. 349.
To Dundas' observation that the country must make the university and not the university the country, Simcoe points out that "Upper Canada is a new country, but not a new people."
(Dated Kingston, April, 1795.)

distinct parts would there establish one nation--and thereby strengthen the union with Great Britain and preserve a lasting obedience to His Majesty's authority¹¹

In his reply, Bishop Mountain, though favourable to Simcoe's plans, nevertheless suggested the expediency of establishing schools rather than a university, lest a university fail through the lack of well prepared students.¹²

A further letter to Bishop Mountain in the same year revealed that Simcoe's views were unchanged,¹³ and although he had lost hope of anything being done by the early months of 1796,¹⁴ nevertheless he had made one last attempt in a dispatch to the Duke of Portland in July, 1796 in which he suggested the gradual sale of the public lands:

For public purposes, the first and chief of which I beg to offer with all respect and deference, to your Grace, must be the erection and endowment of a university from which more than any other source or circumstance whatever, a grateful attachment to His Majesty, morality and religion will be fostered and take root throughout the whole Province.¹⁵

¹¹Ibid.

¹²Cruckshank, op.cit. Vol.V, pp. 256-7
Dated Powell Place, June 25, 1795.

¹³Ibid., Vol. V, p. 260.
Dated Navy Hall October 18, 1795. "My views in respect to a university are totally unchanged. They are on a solid basis and may or may not be complied with as my superiors shall think proper, but shall certainly appear as my System to the judgment of Posterity."

¹⁴Ibid., Vol. V, p. 264.
Simcoe to Mountain, dated York, February 27, 1796. ". . . in particular I have no idea that a university will be established tho I am daily confirmed in its necessity."

¹⁵Hodgins, op. cit., Vol I, p. 14.
Dated York, July 20, 1796.

Simcoe, then, saw the Anglican Church and the provision of higher education under Anglican control as the best support to stable government, to loyalty to Britain and as the surest safeguard against the infiltration of republican ideas from the United States. As McNab¹⁶ points out, however, Simcoe failed to see that his ideal system of education with its strict church control was unsuitable to a new country where Anglicans were in a minority; and further that he did not realize that the public endowment he recommended would lead to the eventual secularization and popular control of the endowed institution.

Simcoe retired as Lieutenant-Governor in 1796 with his dreams of a university still unfulfilled, but an important step forward was taken by the adoption of a Joint Address to the King by the Legislative Council and House of Assembly on July 3, 1797, praying for the establishment in the province of a grammar school in each district and also of a "College or university where the youth of the country may be enabled to perfect themselves in the different branches of liberal knowledge".¹⁷ The Duke of Portland reported to President Russell¹⁸ that the King would

¹⁶G. G. McNab, The Development of Higher Education in Ontario (Toronto: The Ryerson Press, 1925), p. 9.

¹⁷Hodgins, op. cit., Vol. I, p. 16.

Support for these institutions was to come from a fund formed by the appropriation of "A certain portion of the waste lands of the Crown."

¹⁸Russell was at this time administrating the government of Upper Canada.

comply with the request "first by the establishment of free grammar schools in those districts in which they are called for; and secondly, in due course of time by establishing other seminaries of a larger and more comprehensive nature for the promotion of religious and moral learning and the study of the Arts and Sciences".¹⁹

The arguments propounded by Simcoe in favour of the establishment of a university were not lost sight of after his departure from the country. A writer in the Christian Recorder of April, 1819, reflected the Anglican views which naturally had close resemblance to those held by Simcoe at an earlier date. The writer saw higher education as the sure means "to preserve our excellent Constitution and our connection with the British Empire, or give that respectability to the country which arises from an intelligent Magistracy . . ." and he reiterated the fear of the consequences of sending Canadian students to the United States for higher education:

If they are sent to the United States, there is much reason to fear that they will return with sentiments

¹⁹Hodgins, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 17.

Dated Whitehall November 4, 1797. It is important to note that the Legislature's address contained mention of "a college or university" whereas the Duke of Portland's despatch mentioned "other seminaries". Misunderstanding of this led to much irrelevant and heated argument later in the battle between the supporters of the Toronto monopoly and the supporters of the denominational colleges.

unfriendly to our different establishments, as the whole system of education, even its primary school books, in that country is pervaded with pernicious politics, breathing hatred to our parent State.²⁰

Like Simcoe, Lieutenant-Governor Maitland was a firm believer in the ecclesiastical establishment on the English pattern. Maitland, like Simcoe before him, saw clearly the need for the provision of higher education and in a despatch to the Colonial Secretary in December, 1825, seeking permission to make the proposed exchange of lands, he maintained that:

Education, it is evident, must have an ascendancy to a certain extent in every country, and to provide for that education being received under circumstances that must produce a common attachment to our constitution and a common feeling of respect and affection for our ecclesiastical establishment, is an object so evidently desirable that I need not press it upon your Lordship's attention.²¹

It is not surprising to find many of these same arguments fiercely and repeatedly put forward by Bishop Strachan, that indefatigable and unscrupulous champion of higher education and of the Anglican Church. Although we cannot but admire the unquestioned zeal of Strachan, it must be admitted that his stormy temperament often introduced unnecessary rancour and personal hostility into the debate that developed on the whole question of university education. In March, 1826, he communicated to Maitland his views on the immediate necessity of establishing

²⁰Ibid., Vol. I, p. 157.

²¹Ibid., Vol. I, p. 205.
Dated York, U.C., December 19, 1825.

a university, views which reflected closely the political motives advanced by both Simcoe and Maitland, but which were distorted by religious prejudice against dissenters. He regretted the movement of Canadian students to the United States where "the school books from the very first elements are stuffed with praises of their own institutions and breathe hatred to everything English". Concerning professional training, he lamented that "more than three-fourths of the present practitioners have been educated or attended lectures in the United States and it is to be presumed that many of them are inclined towards that country". He carried his argument a stage further by alleging, with no substantiating evidence whatsoever, that the majority of the leaders of the dissenting churches "come, almost universally, from the Republican States of America, where they gather their knowledge and form their sentiments". "It is evident," he concluded, "that, if the Imperial Government does not step forward with efficient help, the mass of the population will be nurtured and instructed in hostility to all our institutions, both civil and religious."²²

It is important to note that this often repeated fear of American influences undermining the constitution of Canadian loyalty to Britain was by no means confined to the Anglicans or to supporters of the Church-state principle. It was seen

²²Ibid., Vol. I, pp. 211-13.

equally in the views of the Legislative Assembly and of the Methodist Church. A Commission, set up in 1839 by Lieutenant-Governor Arthur at the request of the House of Assembly, to report on the state of education in Upper Canada and to suggest improvements, deplored the lack of facilities for professional education and noted especially that:

The baneful effect of a want of a School of Medicine will be sufficiently appreciated, by merely mentioning that its result is that the medical student is forced to seek that instruction which he cannot obtain here, in the neighboring Republic, from which he returns, not infrequently, imbued with hostility to the Constitution under which he is to live²³

Even when Upper Canada had several functioning colleges, the relative cheapness of university education in the United States kept alive this fear of the infiltration of American political influences and in 1843 this fear of American competition was sufficient for Egerton Ryerson to give as one reason for Victoria College's excess of expenditure over receipts "the moderate charges to students, a reduction which has been found necessary to prevent many Canadian youths from going to the United States to obtain their education".²⁴

One further aspect of the political factors influencing the establishment or support of colleges is the point raised by a Roman Catholic petition to the House of Assembly in

²³Ibid., Vol. III, p. 246.

²⁴Ibid., Vol. V, p. 92.
Ryerson to James Hopkirk, dated February 8, 1843.

January, 1849, seeking financial aid for the college of Regiopolis. The petitioners pointed out the benefits that would accrue to the nation as a whole if facilities were to be provided in Upper Canada for the higher education of French Canadians along English lines, and maintained that:

It is well known that there are, at present, in the lower part of the Province, many of our French Canadian brethren both anxious and able to give all the benefits of an English education to their sons but who have been hitherto deterred from doing so by the want of an institution in Upper Canada where they might receive such an education without fear of detriment to their religious faith.²⁵

This was undoubtedly a valid point but it is disturbing to find in several other Roman Catholic petitions of a similar nature an arrogant tone thinly veiling a virtual threat of disloyalty should they not gain what they seek. Macdonnel, in asking for aid to Regiopolis College, pointed out first of all that the Roman Catholics were poorer than other denominations, being mainly Irish immigrants "who trace their present and former wretchedness to oppression and misrule in the land of their birth, and who, in consequence thereof, arrive in this country not always with the most friendly feeling towards the British Government". He continued:

Moreover, there is no people in the world over whom their Clergy have a greater influence. The great consideration then, of a wise government should be to direct that influence into the proper channel by treating both the clergy and the people in such a manner as to convince them of the paternal

²⁵Ibid., Vol. VIII, pp. 110-11.

feelings of the government towards them. In this, the British Government has failed constantly in Ireland, and against the same misfortune the government of this country ought to provide in time with the most anxious care and attention.²⁶

Higher education is seen here, then, as one means by which natural unity might be achieved. It is unfortunate that the idea should be propounded as a demand rather than as a suggestion.

The fact that the university endowment was granted by the Provincial Legislature from the Crown Lands necessarily involved close governmental influence over the development of the projected university. At first, initiative quite naturally came from the Lieutenant-Governors. Simcoe's influence has already been noted and Maitland, though a staunch supporter of higher education, was completely out of sympathy with popular sentiment. Moreover, the House of Assembly had but limited power; although it lost no chance to express its views. The Assembly clearly stated its position in 1828 when it returned an ominously guarded reply to Maitland's announcement of the granting of a Royal Charter to King's College:

An university adapted to the character and circumstances of the people would be the means of inestimable benefits to this Province. But to be of real service, the principles upon which it is established, must be in unison with the

²⁶Ibid., Vol. VII, p. 271.

Letters from Angus Macdonnell to Governor-General dated Montreal, April 25, 1846.

general sentiments of the people.²⁷

Matters improved later when, in 1828, Maitland was succeeded as Lieutenant-Governor by the more liberal-minded Sir John Colborne, and when Sir George Murray became Colonial Secretary. Murray fully realized and acknowledged that the House of Assembly did in fact reflect the public opinion of the Province:

I have observed that your predecessor in the government of Upper Canada differs from the House of Assembly as to the general prevalence of objections to the university, founded upon the degree of exclusive connection which it has with the Church of England, it seems reasonable to conclude, however, that on such a subject as this, an Address adopted by a full House of Assembly, with scarcely any dissentent voices, must be considered to express the prevailing opinion in the Province upon this subject.²⁸

The willingness of the Imperial Government to be guided by the wishes of the people of Upper Canada as reflected in the House of Assembly advanced a stage further in 1831 when Goderich, successor to Murray, in a despatch to Colborne requesting King's College Council to surrender their Charter and endowment, stated:

The Legislature of Upper Canada have already been invited to consider in what manner the university can be best

²⁷J. G. Hodgins, Documentary History of Education in Upper Canada, 1792-1876 (Toronto: Warwick Bros. & Rutter, 1894-1904), Vol. I, p. 241.

Report of Committee set up to examine Charter March 15, 1828. Following this report, the Select Committee drafted an Address to the King seeking amendments to the Charter. A Select Committee of the British House of Commons was set up which recommended various liberalizing amendments. Vol. I, pp. 253-55.

²⁸Ibid., Vol. I, p. 257.

constituted for the general advantage of the whole society; and His Majesty has studiously abstained from the exercise of his undoubted prerogative of founding and endowing literary or religious corporations until he should obtain the advice of the Representatives of the people for his guidance in that respect.²⁹

The principle of responsible government was first put forward in a speech by Peter Perry moving an address to the King in the House of Assembly on April 15, 1835,³⁰ and when, following the rejection by the Legislative Council of the Assembly's Bill radically amending the Charter of King's College, Colborne's compromise proposal for a new Charter was rejected as too sectarian by the Colonial Secretary, Glenelg took the opportunity expressly to remind the Legislative Council that "if there be any one subject on which, more than others, it is vain and dangerous to oppose the deliberate wishes of the great mass of the people, the system of national instruction, to be pursued in the moral and religious education of youth, is emphatically that subject".³¹ He also reminded Colborne that Goderich had referred the whole matter to the discretion of the Provincial Legislature and that it should still rest with them.³²

²⁹Ibid., Vol. II, p. 55. ³⁰Ibid., Vol. II. pp. 184-5

³¹Ibid., Vol. II, pp. 213-4.

³²Ibid.

See also Sissons, C. B., Egerton Ryerson: His Life and Letters, Vol. I, p. 275, 293-4. The Colonial office gave every indication of standing firmly on this principle of non-intervention. Ryerson was informed by Grey in February, 1836, that the Imperial Government could give no grant to Upper Canada Academy because in

This doctrine of non-interference by the Imperial Government in purely provincial matters was seen, too, in the issue in October, 1841, to Queen's University of the Royal Charter which contained no provision for the maintenance of a Chair of Theology at Queen's from the funds of King's College, as had been provided by the Provincial Incorporation Act which had been disallowed.³³ Similarly, when Bishop Strachan left for England in April, 1850, to obtain a Royal Charter for Trinity College, the Imperial Government refused to grant the Charter, despite Strachan's vigorous protests, without the assent of the government of Upper Canada;³⁴ and later in March, 1851, the Colonial Secretary again stressed the determination of the Imperial Government not to interfere in what was essentially an internal Canadian problem.³⁵

future the Legislature was to have full control over the Casual and Territorial revenues.

The following month, however, Ryerson was informed by the Under-Secretary at the Colonial office that Glenelg "will not fail to direct the Lieutenant-Governor of Upper Canada to recommend to the favourable attention of the Legislature of that Province the claims of the Upper Canada Academy to their protection and support".

³³Ibid., Vol. IV, p. 83. ³⁴Ibid., Vol. IX, p. 91.

³⁵Ibid., Vol. IX, p. 263.

"It appears to me, therefore, that there is no ground for the interference of the Imperial Government; and believing the local government and Parliament to have no indisposition to deal justly by the Church of England, I consider it better that it should be left to them to determine on what terms the proposed College or University should be chartered than that a Charter should be issued in this country under Her Majesty's direct

The doctrine of non-interference adopted and rigorously maintained by the Imperial Government inevitably meant that the difficulties of the university question must be settled by the Colonial Government, and indeed the university question became the storm center of colonial politics. Even with the gradual evolution of responsible government, however, the Lieutenant-Governors, and later the Governors-General, played a prominent part in seeking a solution to the vexed problem. Maitland was acknowledged as being a staunch advocate of high learning,³⁶ but was, as has been seen, out of sympathy with the wishes of the Assembly. Colborne, concerned with seeking a solution acceptable to the Assembly, took steps, with the expressed

authority."

See also Sir Richard Bonnycastle, Canada and the Canadians in 1846 (Toronto: 1846), Vol. II, p. 39.

Bonnycastle summed up the attitude of the Imperial Government thus:

"The home government, foreseeing clearly that this vexed question is one of paramount importance, has declared itself not neuter, but passive; has given at large its opinion, favourable to general education, conducted upon the most liberal acceptance of the charter; and has left it to the wisdom of the Canadian Parliament to decide."

³⁶Ibid., Vol. I, p. 157.

A writer in the Christian Recorder, April, 1819, says:

"The character of the present Lieutenant-Governor, Sir Peregrine Maitland, who has nothing more anxiously at heart than the promotion of religion and education throughout the province, gives currency to this rumour." (i.e., the immediate establishment of a university.)

support of the Assembly to establish Upper Canada College which was intended as a temporary substitute for a university. This college was, in fact, established and endowed by order of the Lieutenant-Governor while a later Bill passed by the Assembly and granting the College university powers was rejected by the Legislative Council.³⁷ Colborne, alive to the urgency of the matter, took a leading role in procuring the necessary teachers³⁸ and later announced his intention to do his utmost to protect his college and the principles on which it had been founded.³⁹

³⁷Ibid., Vol. I, p. 305.

Hodgins suggests that the reasons for this rejection were that the Legislative Council regarded the measure as too comprehensive in nature and that the Bill had probably been framed in the Assembly partly to put on record what the Assembly understood should be a non-exclusive and Provincial Institution and partly as a protest against the Charter of King's College.

³⁸Ibid., Vol. I, p. 286.

In a letter to the Rev. Dr. Jones, Vice-Chancellor of Oxford University (March 31, 1829) asking for aid in the procurement of teachers, Colborne wrote:

"As a generation may pass away in corresponding across the Atlantic, I and the Trustees of the College give you full power to select our Principal, and the two Classical Masters and the Mathematical Master."

Sir George Arthur, the last Lieutenant-Governor of Upper Canada later (June 8, 1839) wrote this of Colborne's establishment of Upper Canada College to the Colonial Secretary:

"Soon after Sir John Colborne assumed this Government, his attention became directed to the state of education in the Province; and, as the theme had long been a favourite one with him, he applied himself with vigour to the task of effecting such ameliorations in a defective system as was in his power." (Vol. I, p. 289.)

³⁹Ibid., Vol. I, p. 296.

Colborne was in an impossible position; and this no doubt accounted at least in part for his intemperate outburst against the Methodists who took the first steps towards the foundation of Upper Canada Academy in 1830,⁴⁰ and also for his unfortunate suggestion to Glenelg, in 1835, that immediate sanction be given to the opening of King's College on his suggested sectarian lines.⁴¹ Probably because of some growing disagreement with the Colonial Office, Colborne retired early in 1836. Although welcomed as a liberal when he first took office, he seemed to have failed to grasp fully the significance of religious differences and to have become more conservative as his term of office progressed. His departure brought this comment from *The Courier*, a Conservative paper:

Had it been in his power, a university would have followed the establishment of the College (i.e., Upper Canada College); but as long as a majority of our Legislators can neither read nor write, nor speak English, we must place the realization of this golden dream among the baseless visions of Utopia.⁴²

Sir Francis Bond Head, Colborne's successor, was also faced with the problem of the continued hostility of the

⁴⁰Ibid., Vol. II, p. 11.

See also Sissons, Egerton Ryerson: His Life and Letters, Vol. I, p. 272.

Colborne later lent his support to Ryerson's fund-raising campaign for Upper Canada Academy, and when Ryerson made a trip to England in November, 1835, he took a letter of introduction from Colborne "commending the Academy to the consideration of the Government".

⁴¹Ibid., Vol. II, pp. 213-4.

⁴²Ibid., Vol. II, p. 277. Dated January 16, 1836.

Legislative Council and the Assembly, but was able to seize the initiative by dissolving the Assembly and securing the election of a moderate majority in 1836.⁴³ This resulted in the 1837

⁴³See Sissons, Egerton Ryerson: His Life and Letters, Vol. I, p. 301.

Head was completely hostile to any democratic principles. He was resolved never "to surrender to a democratic principle of government . . . so long as the British flag waved in America".

Head remained hostile to the Methodists and to their Academy. In April, 1837, Grey wrote to Ryerson informing him that instructions were to be sent to Head to "advance (as a loan) to the trustees of the Upper Canada Academy, from the Casual and Territorial Revenue of the Province, the sum intended to have been granted by the Bill in question". By November, Ryerson complained that:

"We have not yet received a farthing of the Government grant to our Academy. The Governor's reply still is, there is no money in the Treasury; but he has given us his written promise, & offered his word to any of Banks, that it shall be paid out of the first money in the Treasury, which had not been previously appropriated. But, strange to say, there is not a Bank or Banker in Upper Canada who will take the Governor's promise for one hundred pounds." (Ibid., Vol. I, p. 389.)

The continual obstruction by Head led Ryerson to charge him with failure to carry out the instructions from Glenelg and with breaking promises repeatedly made. (Ibid., Vol. I, p. 413) This unwillingness to follow instructions was probably the determining factor in Head's decision to resign. (Ibid., Vol. I, p. 430). In fairness, it should be remembered that Ryerson was not the easiest man to deal with. There is evidence of personal animosity between Ryerson and Arthur: see Arthur Papers, Vol. III, p. 203.

The Bill, to which Ryerson referred, would have authorized a loan of £4,100 for ten years to the Academy. The Bill was suggested by the Imperial Government and passed 31 - 10 by the Assembly, but then rejected by the Legislative Council. Ryerson wrote to Glenelg on April 18, 1837:

". . . an object recommended by your Lordship; and

Amendment of the King's College Charter. Head was recalled soon after the suppression of the Rebellion, and his successor, Sir George Arthur, had only a short term of office.

Arthur's administration did not witness any striking advance towards the opening of the university. During his term financial malpractices in the affairs of the College were revealed; a thorough investigation was held on Arthur's initiative.⁴⁴ He also realized the wisdom of postponing indefinitely the building of the university and stated his views to Colborne:

I have it, therefore, in view materially to reduce the annual expense attendant on the management of the affairs of the university--in fact it seems to me necessary for an indefinite period to postpone the building of the University and it would appear desirable carefully to enquire into the practicability of rendering Upper Canada College provisionally a substitute for it--adequate for perhaps many years to all the demands of this community for instruction in the higher branches of learning and science this is under the consideration of the House.⁴⁵

declared by a majority of three-fourths of the Assembly, to be of great importance to the Province, . . . is defeated by a majority of the Council, consisting of ten or twelve persons present, and a majority of whom, whenever the questions of religion and education have come before them, have really shown a disposition to leave the inhabitants in total ignorance rather than that they should be instructed by any other than a high Church agency. I had hoped the successive liberal and parental despatches of His Majesty's Government on educational and religious questions, and past experience, would have prevented this repetition of ultraism on the part of a majority of the Legislative Council." (Ibid., Vol. I, p. 372.)

⁴⁴Arthur Papers, IV, No. 967.

⁴⁵Ibid., III, No. 753.

Arthur to Colborne, April 30, 1839. Arthur later reported to Glenelg (who by this time had resigned) that, "I have further

There is ample evidence, too, of hostility in the personal relationships of Arthur and Bishop Strachan, a hostility that would not be diminished by the revelation of Strachan's connection with the financial malpractices.⁴⁶

After the short administration of Lord Sydenham whose aim was apparently to secularize King's College and set up Theological Colleges around it,⁴⁷ that of Sir Charles Bagot⁴⁸

prevailed upon the Legislature to pass an Act for appropriating part of the university funds for the support of District Schools which is a highly popular measure--and to postpone the university for some years." Arthur to Glenelg May 14, 1839. (Arthur Papers, Vol. III, No. 768.)

⁴⁶Arthur Papers, Vol. III, No. 841.

⁴⁷Hodgins, op. cit., Vol. VI, pp. 7-10.

⁴⁸G. P. de T., Glazebrook, Sir Charles Bagot in Canada (Oxford University Press, 1929), p. 127.

Bagot was under strict instructions from Lord Stanley, the Colonial Secretary, to prevent all possible friction between the Assembly and Council. A despatch from Stanley to Bagot on October 8, 1841, stated categorically:

"... but I should strongly impress upon you my opinion, that, in matters purely Domestic, or where you are not bound, either by absolute Instructions, or by a sense of the paramount duty which you owe to Imperial interests, it would be a matter of great regret, that measure should be repeatedly & deliberately affirmed by large Majorities of the Assembly, & subsequently rejected by the Legislative Council. Your efforts will, on all occasions, be directed to promoting & maintaining harmonious action between the two Branches of the Legislature."

Glazebrook (Ibid., p. 38.) points out that Bagot hurried on Draper and Strachan in choosing the college staff, and that although he died before the actual opening of the college "the vigour with which he had pursued this object helps to destroy that imaginary picture of Sir Charles Bagot as a bored and exhausted diplomatist".

was noteworthy for the opening of King's College in 1843. But leadership was now distinctly passing to the leaders of the Assembly and the Governors-General, who for some years had been cast in the role of conciliator between the Council and the Assembly, now became of less importance. Metcalfe and his successor, Lord Cathcart, indeed did not hesitate to intervene to good effect and to express a personal opinion;⁴⁹ but the real initiative had now passed to the Assembly leaders such as Draper and Baldwin, and to the church leaders of the various denominations.

In other ways, too, the university question was linked with the government and, therefore, was open to political

⁴⁹Hodgins, op. cit., Vol. V, p. 103.

Metcalfe's secretary to Ryerson, January 20, 1844:

"His Excellency does not see any objection to your stating through the press of his continued approval of the general principle and objects of the late university measure (i.e., Baldwin's Bill); these he conceives to be the abolition of exclusiveness and the extension of the benefits of the Institution to at least all Trinitarian Churches, either by amalgamation, or by separate endowment."

In March, 1846, Cathcart took the initiative in seeking the views of the various churches concerning King's College and the present state of its Charter. (D.H.E. Vol. VI, p. 80.)

Concerning his visit to Metcalfe, Ryerson wrote:

"His Excellency's object in desiring me to wait upon Him had reference to the University question, on which he intends, with the aid of Mr. Draper, to have a measure brought into the Legislature which I think will be satisfactory to all parties concerned." (Sissons, Egerton Ryerson: His Life and Letters, Vol. II, p. 52.)

influences. The right of the Legislature to view the accounts and reports of the universities consequent on these universities having received financial aid from public funds was indeed challenged by the Council of King's College in 1830.⁵⁰ However, it was subsequently acknowledged by Arthur who in April, 1839, notified his intention to the Legislative Council to "cause a full report upon the affairs of the university of King's College and of Upper Canada College, to be annually prepared and published for the general information of the people of this Province; and, in addition to such reports, I shall at all times, be willing to communicate to the House such further statements respecting these important Institutions, as may be applied for".⁵¹ In the case of Victoria University, the Charter required it to "report annually to the Government the entire state of the College, including the use made of its funds, and a specific list of our textbooks",⁵² while its governing body included, ex-officio, five members of the Legislature.

The thorny question of the wisdom of state financial aid to colleges without a corresponding supervision was appreciated,⁵³ but on the other hand, there was inconvenience in the too close

⁵⁰Ibid., Vol. I, pp. 293-4. ⁵¹Ibid., Vol. III, p. 163.

⁵²Ibid., Vol. XIV.
Nelles to Editor of Globe July 11, 1859.

⁵³Ibid., Vol. VI, p. 11.
Rev. Robert McGill to Hon. William Morris, June 1, 1842.



connection between the government and King's College in that the head of the government was ex-officio Chancellor of the University with power to appoint the Professors.⁵⁴ The disadvantages of this close connection were seen and stated by the Council of King's College in answer to Cathcart's request for their views in 1846. The Council drew attention to the anomalous position that had pertained since the union of the Provinces in 1840, and the transfer of the capital from Toronto to Montreal that had since denied the President of the College easy access to the Chancellor;⁵⁵ while attention was also drawn to the fact that this unfortunate connection tended to give a political flavour to the character of the Institution.⁵⁶ Following the Methodist Memorial to the House of Assembly in 1860, the Rev. John Cook, President of Queen's University, again drew attention to the undesirable feature of the constitution of University College whereby the Governor-General appointed the Professors: "The appointment of Professors belongs to the Government of the day, and there is no restraint, on religious grounds, on the liberty of choice."⁵⁷ This connection, too, placed the Governor-General in an embarrassing position when the situation arose

⁵⁴Ibid., Vol. I, p. 222. ⁵⁵Ibid., Vol. VI, pp. 81-3.

⁵⁶Ibid., Vol. VI, pp. 81-3.

This close connection was apparently opposed by Strachan in 1827, but insisted on by Bathurst.

⁵⁷Ibid., Vol. XV, p. 99.

wherein his duty as Chancellor clashed with his duty as Governor-General.⁵⁸

The Assembly's assertion that a university endowed from public funds should be run on principles acceptable to the people at large was seldom denied. This principle was again asserted by the Assembly in reply to Colborne's speech from the throne in January, 1830,⁵⁹ and was supported by Ryerson the following year when lauding the institution of the proposed Methodist Upper Canada Academy⁶⁰ and when defending it against Colborne's

⁵⁸Ibid., Vol. V, p. 32.

During the discussion of the Baldwin Bill of 1843, Strachan wrote to Metcalfe trying to enlist his support as Chancellor of King's College.

⁵⁹Ibid., Vol. I, pp. 292-3.

"Without the faithful observance of those equal rights and liberal principles as a foundation, and the stability of that foundation duly secured against the varying policy of different administrations, we cannot but regard such institutions as threatening to entail, under the appearance of some present good, those exclusive and dominant establishments which have perpetuated so much happiness in European nations, and the introduction of which into this country, the people are wisely most solicitous to avert."

⁶⁰Ibid., Vol. II, p. 7.

Upper Canada Academy "is the first literary institution which has been commenced by any body of Ministers in accordance with the frequently expressed wishes of the people of Upper Canada. The Methodist Conference have not sought endowments of public lands for the establishment of an institution, contrary to the voice of the people, as expressed by their representatives"

attack.⁶¹

Much the same sentiment was expressed, albeit in a more inflammatory tone, by William Lyon Mackenzie in his, *Sketches of Canada and the United States*, published in 1833.⁶² Even Bishop Strachan admitted that institutions, to be successful, must be in harmony with enlightened public opinion, but then maintained that opinion is too often unenlightened and warped!⁶³

As the battle continued, it became increasingly obvious that, as Principal Nelles asserted in 1860, "The only National

⁶¹Ibid., Vol. II, p. 11.

Concerning Colborne's establishment of Upper Canada College, Ryerson wrote:

"When Seminaries are established and placed under the sole direction of the Clergy of one Church, without even consulting the popular branch of the Colonial Legislature, I cannot see how they are justly entitled to the character, confidence, or patronage of free public institutions."

⁶²Ibid., Vol. II, p. 121.

He referred to the "splendid incomes" given to the masters at Upper Canada College, and continued:

". . . All these advantages and others not now necessary to be mentioned, are insufficient to gratify the rapacious appetite of the "Established Church" managers, who, in order to accumulate wealth and live in opulence, charge the children of His Majesty's subjects ten times as high fees as are required by the less amply endowed Seminary at Quebec . . . The College never was intended for the people, nor did the Executive endow it thus amply that all classes might apply to the fountain of knowledge."

⁶³Ibid., Vol. VI, p. 88.

Strachan to Cathcart, April 2, 1846.

System will be that which the nation accepts,"⁶⁴ and, in fact, there had been a change in the basic problem at issue. Hodgins had rightly pointed out that the introduction of the Baldwin University Bill in 1843 marked a new epoch in educational affairs in Upper Canada:

The Bill, it is true, did not pass; but it embodied the popular principles of university freedom from denominational control of a provincially endowed institution--of college confederation, and of what should be the national character of the public Education of our country.⁶⁵

The basic question up to this time had been the right of the government to give the endowment to the exclusively Anglican King's College; after 1843, the question was more concerned with whether the government had the right to give it to any church institution.⁶⁶

All these factors tended to increase the frequency and bitterness with which university affairs dominated the attention of the Legislature. Politics and the university question were inextricably linked and would remain so until a solution could

⁶⁴Ibid., Vol. XV, p. 301. ⁶⁵Ibid., Vol. V, p. 49.

⁶⁶Ibid., Vol. VII, p. 250.

This point was forcibly put in the "Address to the People of Canada by the Central Committee, at Toronto, for Promoting University Reform." A full-scale attack was launched against the proposed MacDonald University Bill. "You have been asked to squander this noble Endowment, legally secured to you, without distinction of party, or creed, among the leaders of a few Religious Denominations, whose cupidity has made them, the willing prey of a needy administration."

be reached acceptable to all parties. This led quite naturally to several developments: one being the renewal of the suggestion that the university should have representatives in Parliament as was the British custom.⁶⁷

But far more important was the growing realization of the danger of political influences in the university and a general desire to keep politics and education apart. This latter desire, though laudable in itself, was unfortunately applied indiscriminately by supporters of all points of view, and often became mere hypocrisy. Thus, we find the Legislative Council, in giving their reasons for the rejection of the Assembly's 1835 University Bill, maintaining that:

Everyone can decide for himself the speculative question how far it would tend to promote the interests of science to advance religion, morality and social order, and to maintain discipline within the University, and how far it would be likely to add to the harmony and good understanding between the Government and Legislature, to have a University of which the principal officers should be appointed and removed by votes of Legislative Assemblies, and of which the interests and affairs must, in consequence, become mixed up with party politics and dissensions.⁶⁸

The Council of King's College, in expressing their views to Cathcart in 1846 suggested that their Charter should be

⁶⁷Ibid., Vol. I, p. 138.

This idea had first been suggested by Maitland who submitted in June, 1819, to the House of Assembly the "propriety of providing for a distinct representation of the contemplated university, when founded, in conformity to the established practice in the Mother Country". (See also: Vol. XIV, p. 202.)

⁶⁸Ibid., Vol. II, p. 209.

altered to admit of no political influence;⁶⁹ and in a letter to Cathcart, Bishop Strachan strongly advocated the setting up of a Royal Commission of Enquiry as one means of reaching a settlement:

The whole of this University question would thus be drawn from debate in a popular Assembly, to a more tranquil, and, for this purpose, a more competent tribunal; without the excitement of those feelings which animate, and occasionally discompose, the deliberations of the Representative Branch of the Legislature.⁷⁰

The Episcopal Methodist Church Conference in 1856 in refusing to accept a government grant made in the previous year to their College at Belleville, put forward strong arguments against even the risk of government interference and control consequent upon the acceptance of public money:

Grants render the institutions which receive them dependent on the government of the day,--are a dangerous exercise of patronage, and often invidious distribution of Public Funds. While we are in favour of Legislative aid to higher Seminaries of learning, not intended to impart a sectarian education, we disapprove of such aid unless it be given under some general system similar to that regulating the distribution of the "Literature Fund" in the State of New York, which makes provision for all, but conveys especial favour on none, and moreover is free from the influence, or control, of any Executive Government.⁷¹

⁶⁹Ibid., Vol. VI, p. 84. ⁷⁰Ibid., Vol. VI, p. 85.

⁷¹Ibid., Vol. XII, p. 318.

Resolution by Board of Management of Belleville Seminary, August 9, 1855. Later grants were, however, apparently accepted annually. John Langton, Vice-Chancellor of the University, writing in 1856, also called attention to the dangers of interference by the Government in the day to day working of the university. He mentioned one case where the government "ordered the bursar to lend £15,000 to a bankrupt railway, which would

There was the danger, too, that if the university question retained the centre of the political stage, the protagonists on each side might gradually become identified, even unwittingly, with various groups in the Assembly, and that consequently the whole question might become a party political issue in the worst sense. Realization of this danger was indicated in the resolution carried by the College Conference of Belleville and Kingston District in March, 1861:

That the history of the present agitation of the university question, affords ample evidence of its non-political character, and that, while our efforts shall be unremittingly directed towards securing equal educational advantages for all classes, we shall continue to avoid all compromises and complications that will make us subservient to any political party.⁷²

have been entirely lost had not another company a year afterwards bought them out and somebody in the House (not having our case in view) put a clause into the Act that they should pay the debts of the bankrupt". (W. A. Langton, (ed.), Early Days in Upper Canada: Letters of John Langton, pp. 280-3)

Of the Governor-General, he wrote:

"The Governor-General is about the best friend we have, but he is a very difficult man to deal with and brings old country notions to apply where they will not fit. A governor general is a trump card certainly but in some respects the least reliable card in the pack, first, because he must do after all what his ministry wants and he can never tell from day to day who they may be"

⁷²Ibid., Vol. XVI, p. 218.

Sissons, Egerton Ryerson: His Life and Letters, Vol. II, p. 143, suggested, with reference to the Macdonald Bill of 1847 that:

"Perhaps never was the Guardian (i.e., the Methodist paper) more definitely committed to the support of a party than during

Lower Canada

As in Upper Canada, so in Lower Canada after the Constitutional Act of 1791, the government consisted of a Governor, an Executive Council, a Legislative Council and an elected Assembly. In this province, allied interests began to form parties for the purposes of mutual benefit and protection. The British commercial interests of Quebec and Montreal formed the basis of the "tory" or "official" party which was predominant in the legislative council and from which the executive council was selected. This party, then, was the dominant factor in the government, although it was with difficulty that its representatives could secure election to the House of Assembly. The French Canadians likewise became a political party in defense of their national institutions; and leadership of this party gradually passed from the "noblesse" to the lawyers and notaries. The French Canadian party had a large majority in the elected Assembly, but relations between British and French were fairly happy till the third decade of the century when the "chateau clique" began to undermine the rights and influence of the French Canadians. The opposition to the government led by

these months when the question was being agitated and during the election campaign which ensued."

In 1861 Macdonald openly urged the Wesleyan Methodists to come out into the political open in time for the elections. (p. 428) Having played for the support of the Colleges in preparation for the election of July 1861, after the election, and in spite of what appeared to be a safe majority in both sections of Canada, he seemed to hesitate. The Government resigned in the following year.

Papineau resulted in armed revolt and the Durham Report. The union of the two provinces in 1841 and the alliance of Baldwin and Lafontaine, led gradually to the dominance of the Reform Party and eventually to the attainment of responsible government.

The history of the establishment and development of McGill University provides an example, par excellence, of the ill effects of political influence.

As in Upper Canada, so in Lower Canada, political considerations were of significant influence in the demand for an institution of higher learning in the province. As early as October, 1799, the Rev. Dr. Jacob Mountain, the Bishop of Quebec, voiced these considerations in a letter to the Governor-General, Sir R. S. Milnes:

Let me be permitted, then, to suggest the danger which may result to the political principles and to the future character as subjects of such of our young men among the higher ranks as the exigency of the case obliges their parents to send for a classical education to the colleges of the United States . . . In these Seminaries, most assuredly, they are not likely to imbibe that attachment to our constitution in church and state, that veneration for the Government of their country and that loyalty to their King, to which it is so peculiarly necessary in the present times to give all the advantages of early predilection in order to fix them deeply both in the understanding and the heart73

⁷³C. Macmillan, McGill and Its Story 1821-1921 (London: John Lane, 1921), pp. 19-20.

See also: W. S. Reid, The Church of Scotland in Lower Canada (Toronto: Presbyterian Publications, 1936)
Reid points out that "the year 1797 saw the first definite attempt made to found a university in Lower Canada, when

Much the same line of reasoning was advanced by Bishop Strachan, one of the executors of McGill's estate, in a letter to members of the Legislature of Lower Canada in 1815, in which he pointed out:

. . . that the necessity of sending young men out of the province to finish their education has been found both dangerous and inconvenient; that reason and policy equally demand that our youth be educated in the province, or in England, if we wish them to become friendly to our different establishments and to the Parent State; that few can defray the expense of sending their children to England and, if they could, the distance from parental authority is dangerous to their morals; and that there is at present no Seminary in which the English youth of Canada can obtain a liberal education⁷⁴

This type of argument was apparently accepted as valid by the Colonial Office,⁷⁵ but there the matter rested. The establishment of a college failed to stir to action either the provincial or the Imperial governments; and yet, as will be seen,

William Grant moved a resolution in the House of Assembly that a university was needed in the province". This, however, had no worthwhile result. Reid also points out that Milnes, in forwarding Bishop Mountain's letter to Portland, the Colonial Secretary, advocated the granting of part of the waste lands for the support of grammar schools and a college at Quebec. Two years after the establishment of the Royal Institution, Hobart informed Milnes that the King approved of the granting of land for the erection and endowment of public seminaries in Montreal and Quebec. Nothing, however, was achieved.

⁷⁴Ibid., p. 48.
Letter dated February 14, 1815.

⁷⁵Ibid., p. 53.
Lord Bathurst wrote to Sir Gordon Drummond, then administering the government of Lower Canada, on December 30, 1815:

"The benefits of such an establishment are such as must be felt both in the Colonies and in the Mother Country, and

the development of the college had perforce to depend entirely on the support and assistance of these two governments.

Agitation for the provision of educational opportunities in the province of Lower Canada led first of all to the passage, by the Provincial Legislature in 1801, of the Act establishing the Royal Institution for the Advancement of Learning. This Act further provided that all property which should hereafter be given, bequeathed or purchased for educational purposes was to be vested in the trustees of the Royal Institution.⁷⁶ However, there was long delay by the Imperial government in the appointing of the trustees; and when McGill died in 1813, they had still to be appointed. Procrastination, in fact, was characteristic of the early development of McGill; and the reason for this was clearly and correctly stated by Strachan in 1815 when he said, in urging the Provincial government to take action, that "if the Provincial Parliament waits for something to be done by the King all will be lost, for the Government have too many things to call their attention".⁷⁷

From the first, the development of McGill was hamstrung by political control and political considerations. The provincial

when felt cannot but ensure on the part of both a hearty co-operation and liberal support."

⁷⁶Ibid., p. 25.

⁷⁷Ibid., p. 46.

legislature would not appoint the trustees required by the 1801 Act without orders, nor were they willing to make financial grants to aid in establishing the College without authority from the Colonial Office. Why the Legislature should have been so hesitant in making a grant, it is not certain, because, as Strachan pointed out, "It is not probable that the Roman Catholics will object to such an arrangement--they have already three Seminaries said to be well-endowed--but if any of them be poor the Legislature ought to grant them pecuniary relief".⁷⁸

The trustees of the Royal Institution were eventually appointed by orders of the Colonial Office in 1818, two years after their names had been given to Drummond who was then administering the provincial government.⁷⁹ The trustees nominated by Lord Bathurst, the Colonial Secretary, were: the Chief Justice of the district of Quebec, the Chief Justice of

⁷⁸Ibid., p. 46.

It seems that Strachan was correct in his judgment of the situation. When the statutes of the College were under consideration in 1843, an attack on the College was expected in the Legislature. The threatened attack did not materialize, and Metcalfe wrote to the Colonial Secretary in January, 1844:

"No attack was made on McGill College in the shape of a Bill during the late Session. The Institution perhaps owes its escape to the prudence of the French Canadian party, who, having several Roman Catholic Colleges that are exclusive, are not disposed generally to join in attacking other Institutions on account of their exclusiveness lest the same weapons should be turned against their own." (Macmillan, p. 198.)

⁷⁹Ibid., p. 57.

the district of Montreal, the Right Rev. Jacob Mountain, Bishop of Quebec, the Right Rev. J. O. DuPlessis, superintendent of the Roman Catholic church, the Rev. Dr. Alexander Sparke, a representative of the Church of Scotland, John Richardson, a member of the Executive and Legislative Councils, William Coltman, a member of the Executive Council, and John Reid, one of the Judges of the Court of King's Bench.⁸⁰

Even when this initial step had been taken, further progress was prevented by the law suits necessary to obtain the transference to the Royal Institution from the heirs of the estate and endowment fund bequeathed by McGill. To pay the legal costs involved in the lengthy litigation, the Board had constantly to appeal for aid to the provincial government, and matters were further complicated by an apparent misunderstanding between the Provincial and Imperial governments concerning the expenditure of monies from the confiscated estates of the Jesuit order.⁸¹

⁸⁰Ibid., pp. 56-7.

Originally the Governor had been named a trustee, but his name was withdrawn.

⁸¹Ibid., p. 61.

As early as May, 1816, Bathurst, in a despatch to Drummond, had ordered the transfer of the Jesuit estates to the Royal Institution "in order that the Royal Institution for the Advancement of Learning may possess present means for establishing and maintaining the seminaries which it may be necessary to found" . . . (p. 59). The Imperial government later opposed using these funds for aid to McGill. The estates were finally given to the provincial government in 1831.

To aid them in their suit against the heirs of McGill for possession of the estate and endowment, the Board of the Royal Institution applied for, and obtained, a Royal Charter for the proposed college in 1821, although possession of the estate was not obtained till 1829 and of the endowment fund till 1837.

The Governors of the College appointed by the 1821 Charter well illustrated the degree of political control and influence that later was virtually to stifle the growth of the college. The governors were to be the Governor and Lieutenant-Governor of Lower Canada, the Lieutenant-Governor of Upper Canada, the Chief Justices of Montreal and of Upper Canada, the Bishop of Quebec and the Principal of the College.⁸² More significant in the later affairs of the College were those parts of the Charter giving visitatorial powers to the Board of the Royal Institution and those concerning the making of regulations and the appointment of professors:

. . . and that the said McGill College shall consist of one Principal, . . . of four Professors to be also elected in manner hereinafter mentioned . . . And we do will . . . ordain and grant that the Principal and Professors of the said College shall be from time to time elected by the said Governors or the major part of them as shall be present at any meeting to be holden for such election; . . . provided always, that the persons by whom such election shall be made shall notify the same respectively to us, our heirs and successors, through one of our or their principal secretaries

⁸²Ibid., p. 78

of State, by the first opportunity, and in case that we, our heirs or successors, shall disapprove of any person so elected . . . the person so elected as aforesaid shall immediately . . . cease to hold the office of Principal or Professor to which he shall have been elected as aforesaid, and the said Governors shall thereupon proceed to the election of another person to fill the office of such Principal or Professor respectively, and so from time to time, as often as the case shall happen.⁸³

It was hoped that instruction would begin in 1829 when the Board had finally obtained possession of the McGill estate, and accordingly a committee was established to draw up a Code of Statutes for the government of the College, but as the Board had still not come into possession of the endowment fund, this hope was not at that time realized,⁸⁴ at least with regard to instruction in Arts and Science. The affiliation with the College of the Montreal Medical Institution as the Faculty of Medicine meant, however, that, technically at least, the College was now in active operation. The lecturers of the Medical Faculty temporarily filled the four professorships to which the College was restricted by its charter. New statutes for the Medical Faculty were submitted and duly received the approval of the Imperial Government in May 1832.

At about this time, the evils of dual control of the College--that is, the control of the Board of the Royal Institution and of the College Governors--began to be apparent; while the restraining influence of the Charter was all too

⁸³Ibid., pp. 282-3. ⁸⁴Ibid., p. 71.

obvious. From this time on, the history of McGill College was one of constant frustration, stemming from dissension, often personal in nature, between the Governors and the Board, and of procrastination and lack of interest on the part of the Provincial Legislature and the Imperial Government.

At a meeting of the College governors on January 4, 1834, it was agreed to seek amendments to the Charter which would give the Governors power to establish additional professorships, and which would also revise the list of Governors of the College. Under the suggested amendments the Governors would include the "Governor in Chief; the Lieutenant-Governor or person administering the Government; the Lieutenant-Governor of Upper Canada; the Lord Bishop of the Diocese, the Chief Justice of Montreal; the Chief Justice of Upper Canada; the Speaker of the two Houses of the Provincial Parliament of Lower Canada; the Senior Executive Councillor residing in Montreal; the Archdeacon of Quebec; the Solicitor-General; the Principal of the College; the Rector of Montreal; together with four other Governors to be named by the Governor in Chief, the Lieutenant-Governor or the person administering the Government".⁸⁵

An amended charter was drawn up and submitted to the Colonial Office where, however, approval was not given. It is

⁸⁵Ibid., p. 95.

interesting to note that approval was not given despite the fact that at the Governor's meeting when the suggested amendments were discussed, among those present was the Governor in Chief, Lord Aylmer. The fact that the governors were mainly political appointments was no guarantee whatsoever of support from either the provincial or the Imperial Government. The list of governors suggested in the draft of the amended Charter would indicate also a definite trend, which later became more apparent, towards religious exclusiveness in the statutes of McGill--a trend that was not calculated to win support from the Imperial government at this time.

The procrastination of the Colonial Office and its refusal to approve the amended Charter inevitably led to dissension between the Governors of the College who felt themselves to be placed in an impossible position by the dictates of the operative 1821 Charter, and the Colonial Office whence neither understanding nor sympathy emanated. The Governors, at a meeting on November 14, 1834, asked the Governor in Chief to bring to the attention of the Colonial Secretary "the great inconvenience which it is feared may result from the necessity of referring to His Majesty's Home Government, as required by the Charter, every appointment of a Professor or even of a Principal".⁸⁶

⁸⁶Ibid., p. 98.

The discord between the Governors and the Board of the Royal Institution began to be more marked at about this time, and for more than a decade the two bodies were rarely in agreement.

The Board having expressed their disapproval of the Governors' suggested amendments to the Charter, the Governors drew up new amendments at a meeting in November, 1836. To meet to some extent the views of the Board, it was now suggested that the governors should always include an elected representative of the Church of Scotland. It was worthy of note that the Governor of the Province who attended the Governors' meeting "declined under existing circumstances to give any opinion on the subject, and his vote was not recorded".⁸⁷ Indeed he was in an embarrassing position, and he had perforce to take the safest way open to him--that of being non-committal. The amendments, submitted to the Governor-General without prior consultation with the Board, were held by the Governor-General and were not transmitted to the Colonial Office.⁸⁸

The Colonial Secretary, in all the negotiations, acted with commendable care. He was not willing to permit the College to become religiously exclusive⁸⁹ and steadfastly refused to

⁸⁷Ibid., p. 106. ⁸⁸Ibid., p. 107.

⁸⁹Ibid., pp. 107-8.

Strachan in a letter dated November 10, 1836, to the Colonial Secretary had claimed that McGill had intended the College should be essentially Protestant.

entertain any thought of amending the existing Charter of 1821. With a governing body composed mainly of men involved in the work of government, it was not surprising that the affairs of the College had often to take second place. For instance, no Governors' meetings were held during the political troubles of 1837. In addition to this, the disagreement with the Board continued, and Macmillan points out:

Apart from the disagreements arising from a dual management, other causes contributed to the bitterness of the controversy. The period was not conducive to harmony. Downing Street was not a name to conjure with, and 'Downing Street rule' had become in Canada a synonym for indifference or coercion. The suspicion that the Royal Institution was but the mouthpiece, or at least the meek and unprotesting agent, of Downing Street only added to the irritation. The suspicion was not well founded, for the Royal Institution did not willingly submit to dictation from the Home authorities. But a new and sturdy Canadian spirit was evident in education as well as in politics . . . The year 1837 was a year of turmoil, with a cry for the privilege of solving Canadian problems in a Canadian way by those who were familiar with the requirements and conditions, and were not dwelling thousands of miles away. In such a period, aside from the waste of time, it was doubly distasteful to the Governors and to those interested in education to have to submit all appointments and all plans to the Home Government for ratification. The friction was, on the surface, between the Governors and the Royal Institution, but its roots lay deeper. Its cause was not far removed from the cause of the political rebellion of the hour.⁹⁰

But still the Governors could not break through the frustrating attitude of indifference on the part of the Provincial and Imperial governments. A memorial sent by the Board and the Governors to the Colonial Office seeking aid in the

⁹⁰Ibid., pp. 112-3.

endowment of additional professorships was apparently ignored; a further attempt to gain approval of the amendments to the Charter suggested in 1834 and in 1836 simply brought the answer from Lord Durham that he was "too busy to consider the question";⁹¹ and a petition in February, 1839, to the Lieutenant-Governor and Council for a provincial grant to aid in the cost of building likewise was to no avail.⁹² A further attempt by the Governors in the summer of 1839 to obtain aid from the provincial government fared no better; and regarding the amended charter, the Governor-General was careful to pay due respect to the opinions of the Board, rather than to act on the recommendations of the Governors. The Board, in fact, was determined to maintain as much power as possible over the Governors, and thought that all appointments should be ratified by the Crown.⁹³ Many further appeals for government aid were submitted by both the Board and the Governors, but without result.

When the buildings were nearing completion, the Board prepared to transfer the Estate to the Governors. However, the Board's attempt to retain wide powers over the Governors provoked the Governors into drawing up a bill for submission to Parliament "to abolish the Royal Institution, and to provide

⁹¹Ibid., p. 116. ⁹²Ibid., p. 125.

⁹³Ibid., pp. 130-1.

for the better government of McGill College". Two attempts, in 1842 and in 1843, to secure the passage of this Bill failed, succeeding only in worsening the already bad relationship between the Board and the Governors.⁹⁴

With the college about to open in September, 1843, the Governors duly prepared a Code of Statutes which they promptly submitted, without the prior approval of the Board, to the Governor-General for transmission to the Colonial Office. The Governor-General, Metcalfe, wisely took exception to two of the statutes which would have made the College exclusively Church of England in character. With the example of long conflict on this same matter in Upper Canada before him, Metcalfe was well aware of the potential dangers of the situation:

. . . and a design manifested to connect the Institution, in that respect, exclusively with the Church of England, will most probably deprive it of that support from the Provincial Legislature without which it will necessarily be crippled⁹⁵

⁹⁴Ibid., pp. 139-40.

⁹⁵Ibid., p. 143.

In reply to Metcalfe's despatch, Lord Stanley replied on October 13, 1843:

"It is evident that these questions cannot be decided without the intervention of the Legislature of Canada and that it must rest with the Provincial Parliament to determine whether pecuniary aid shall or shall not be afforded to the College . . . It could answer no useful purpose, but may lead to a most embarrassing controversy if, by the confirmation of those Statutes . . . Her Majesty should hazard a collision on such topics as these, between the Royal Authority irrevocably exercised and the future recommendation of both or either of the Houses of local

His position as Governor-General and also as a Governor of the College was a source of particular embarrassment to him, and in fact he had frequently and deliberately absented himself from meetings of the Governors: "I doubt the expedience of the Governor-General's taking a part as one of the Governors of an Institution in which he may be overruled by a majority, and apparently sanction measures which he disapproves."⁹⁶ On Metcalfe's advice, the Imperial Government refused to approve these statutes.⁹⁷

Yet another attempt by the Governors to limit the power of the Board by seeking an investigation into the whole matter by the Legislature again failed to achieve any result, and the dissension continued; while frequent appeals to the Imperial government for aid merely brought this pointed reply from the Colonial Secretary, Lord Stanley:

I cannot but regret that the circumstances of this Institution should have hitherto prevented the Province from deriving the benefit which its founder contemplated;

Legislature. Consequently, until I shall be apprised of the results of their deliberations, the decision of the Queen will be suspended." (MacMillan, p. 197.)

In a later despatch, dated January 17, 1844, Metcalfe pointed out that no attack on the College had materialized from the French Canadian party who had their own exclusively Roman Catholic Colleges but, he added:

"It is not certain that the Institution may not be attacked in any future session, for the Presbyterian and dissenters of all classes are bent on destroying the exclusive character which it has acquired in the hands of the Church of England." (p. 198.)

⁹⁶Ibid., p. 151. ⁹⁷Ibid.

and as the chief obstacle at present consists in the want of funds, I am of opinion that measures should be taken to procure the requisite assistance from the Legislature.⁹⁷

The internal dissension within the College which led to an investigation by the Board in November, 1844, again illustrated the helpless situation which had been brought about by dual control and by the lack of interest of the provincial and Imperial governments. No step could be taken without the consent of the Imperial government; while appeals to the Provincial government fell on deaf ears. Even Bishop Mountain's memorial to the Colonial Secretary seeking the dismissal of Principal Bethune had to wait a year for a reply.⁹⁸ Metcalfe, the Governor-General, steadfastly refused to become involved in the difficulties to any great extent; while the Governors of the College, fearing that the Legislature might institute an investigation, loudly proclaimed that as the College was a private institution, it was not subject to interference or investigation by the Assembly--an Assembly from which they had repeatedly sought financial aid, albeit in vain.⁹⁹

A further attempt by the Governors to make the character of the College more rigidly exclusive was thwarted only by receipt of a letter from Gladstone, then Colonial Secretary, asking for the retirement of Principal Bethune, and intimating

⁹⁷Ibid., p. 160. ⁹⁸Ibid., p. 173.

⁹⁹Ibid., p. 176.

his intention of taking no further action concerning the statutes, "at least till the conclusion of the present session of the Canadian Legislature, thinking it not improbable that the proceedings of that body may tend to throw some light on the questions connected with the College, by which I may be guided in the consideration of my own course in this important matter".¹⁰⁰ The Statutes which had been forwarded to the Colonial Office in 1843 were finally approved, in September, 1848, with the exception of those concerning the sectarian character of Theological instruction and college prayers.¹⁰¹

With the approval of the College Statutes, the Governors and Board agreed to seek amendments to the existing charter, suggesting that, as a means of ending the evils of dual control, the members of the Board should henceforth be Governors of the College; that the visitatorial power be transferred from the Board to the Governor-General; and that the Governor-General should have the power to approve Statutes and Rules of the College at his discretion and without reference to the Imperial government. As amended, the Charter was finally approved in August, 1852.

The history of the early development of McGill is a lesson, then, in the folly of too great political control; a degree of control which hindered every attempt at progress and

¹⁰⁰Ibid., p. 180. ¹⁰¹Ibid., p. 198.

which delayed every step in development. Tied by a Charter which provided twin bodies of control, McGill was faced with the indifference of the Provincial Legislature, and with the procrastination of the Imperial Government which, in an age of developing Canadian nationalism and autonomous government, was hesitant of committing itself on any issue for fear of wounding colonial aspirations. Though not subjected to prolonged attacks in the Assembly, McGill was as much hindered by political considerations as were the universities of Upper Canada.

Of the University of Bishop's College at Lennoxville, little need be said in this chapter. Established primarily through the influence of Bishop Mountain of Quebec and the Rev. Lucius Doolittle, rector of Lennoxville and Sherbrooke, the College was from the first intended to train the future clergy of the Church of England and to "offer to the country at large the blessing of a sound and liberal education upon reasonable terms".¹⁰²

The College received a charter of incorporation by Act of Legislature in 1843, but this charter did not confer the power of granting degrees. A grant of £250 per annum was obtained from the Legislature in 1847, and in later years this was renewed and, in 1850, increased to £300 per annum.¹⁰³

¹⁰²D. C. Masters, Bishop's University (Toronto: Clarke, Irwin & Company, 1950), p. 13.

¹⁰³Ibid., p. 28.

Some slight difficulty was experienced in obtaining the desired Royal Charter which would confer degree granting powers. Elgin's ministers in Canada at first refused to give their support to this request, and the Imperial authorities refused to act on any measure regarding Canada without the advice of the Canadian government.¹⁰⁴ Eventually, however, the Royal Charter was issued on January 28, 1853. More appeals to the Legislature for aid were made and met usually with success, the Legislative grant being raised, in 1855, to £450 per annum.

Here, then, was a university in immediate connection with the Church of England which was permitted to develop quietly and steadily, with aid freely and willingly granted by the Provincial Legislature. Its development up to the time of Confederation was characterized by none of the dissensions which had nearly destroyed McGill College. The history of the two English-speaking colleges of Lower Canada presents a marked contrast, but, then, the University of Bishop's College had been established and allowed to develop without undue pressure from political influences.

Nova Scotia

Nova Scotia's government was broadly similar to those of

¹⁰⁴Ibid., p. 33.

the two Canadas,¹⁰⁵ and in the struggle for responsible government the name of Joseph Hume stood out from all others.

The struggle began with the trial of Hume on charges of libel in 1835. In 1836 he was elected to the Assembly and, as leader of the Reform Party, pressed forward his campaign against minority rule. In August, 1837, a despatch from the Colonial Office to the Governor ordered that the control of the Family Compact over the Executive Council be reduced, and, as a result of this, four members of the Assembly were appointed to the Executive Council. The influence of the privileged minority was further weakened by the creation of a Legislative Council to which three members of the Assembly were appointed. The rebellions in the Canadas hindered the cause of responsible government for a time, but another step forward was taken in 1846 when the Colonial Secretary, Lord Grey, instructed the Governor to accept the advice of whichever party held a majority in the elected Assembly.

The 1847 election resulted in a Reform majority and the Reformers were then invited to choose the members of the Executive Council. Nova Scotia had achieved responsible government.

Many of the same aspects of the political factor which

¹⁰⁵In both Maritime provinces, the Executive Council initially combined the functions of the Executive and Legislative Councils in the Canadas.

played so important a part in the development of higher education in Upper Canada may just as readily be discerned in the development of higher education in Nova Scotia.

In March, 1783, a group met in New York and drew up a paper for presentation to Lord North, showing the necessity both for Anglican Episcopacy and for a College in Nova Scotia. The authors of this "Plan of Religious and Literary Institution for the Province of Nova Scotia" maintained that the Anglican form of worship was best adapted to the British Constitution and that public commotion had usually been associated with enmity to religion. It was therefore important to the government, they urged:

. . . that the means of religious instruction, as well as of literature, be afforded in as ample a manner as possible; that the rising generation, especially, may grow up in such sentiments and habits as will qualify them for discharging the domestic, civil and political duties of their several stations, as the only sure foundations of internal tranquillity, attachment to government, and political strength and consequence . . . It will be also highly beneficial and expedient, both from the present state and the immediate prospect of extensive settlement of that province, that the youth be furnished as soon as possible with such means of necessary education and liberal instruction as may qualify them for public utility--filling the civil offices of government with credit and respectability,--inspire those principles of virtue and public spirit, that liberality of sentiment and enlargement of mind which may attach them to the constitution, happiness, and interests of their country . . . For this purpose a public seminary, academy, or college should, without delay, begin to be instituted at the most central point of the province (suppose at Windsor,) consisting at first of a public grammar school for classical and other branches of education, conducted by a teacher of approved abilities, temper, judgment and sound morals, professing the principles and living in the communion of the Church of England.

They further recommended that the President be a clergyman of the Church of England, although they were willing to accept assistant professors of any Protestant denomination. It was further suggested that the Rector of the Grammar School and the President of the Seminary should first be appointed by the Governor and Council; later by the Governor alone on the recommendation of the superior of the clergy and the trustees of the institution. Salaries were to be paid by the Crown for five years after which time they should be shared by the Crown and the province. They finally expressed the opinion that the proposed plan "infringes none of the civil or religious rights of any description of professing Christians which it is wished may be inviolate whilst consistent with the principles of the constitution, and the order and good government of the province".¹⁰⁶

Later in the same year (1783) a group of five men, headed by Charles Inglis, wrote from New York to the Governor of Nova Scotia, Sir Guy Carleton. In their letter they included many of the suggestions contained in the "Plan of Religious and Literary Institution for the Province of Nova Scotia", but were more explicit in their reasons advanced for the establishment of an institution of higher learning. They also appealed to the Governor's well-known interest in promoting the "population, prosperity and internal happiness" of the province.

¹⁰⁶Nova Scotia Historical Society: Collections, See the article on Sir Alexander Croke, Vol. II, pp. 115 et seq.

They suggested "the founding of a College or Seminary of Learning on a liberal plan in that province, where youth may receive a virtuous education and can be qualified for the learned professions". This would "diffuse religious literature, loyalty and good morals among His Majesty's subjects there . . . If such a seminary is not established, the inhabitants will not have the means of educating their sons at home, but will be under the necessity of sending them for that purpose either to Great Britain or Ireland, which will be attended with an expense that few can bear, or else to some of the states of this continent, where they will be sure to imbibe principles that are unfiendly to the British Constitution".¹⁰⁷ This letter was enclosed by Carleton when he wrote to Lord North later in the month urging him immediately to consider the matter.

The man who probably did more than any other to secure the founding of an institution of higher learning was Charles Inglis who, in 1787, was consecrated first Bishop of Nova Scotia. He arrived at Halifax from England on October 15, 1787, and lost no time in promoting the cause of education. Resolutions were passed by the Legislature urging the speedy establishment of a central school under the care of "an exemplary clergyman of the established Church, well skilled in classical learning, divinity, and moral philosophy", and stating that "the

¹⁰⁷Ibid., pp. 123 et seq.

neighbourhood of Windsor would be the most proper place for the School".¹⁰⁸

Charles Inglis remained throughout his life a staunch believer in the principle of an established church;¹⁰⁹ and his uncompromising beliefs were to have an immense influence on the university question in Nova Scotia. He was not without some willingness to compromise on some points, but he was unswerving in his loyalty to his church. He regarded the prime objective of the proposed College to be the training of clergymen for the church, and assumed that his view was shared by the government.¹¹⁰

¹⁰⁸Memoranda respecting King's College, at Windsor, in Nova Scotia, Collected in February 1836, (Halifax: 1836), p. 3.
Inglis was able to report to the Archbishop of Canterbury on December 26, 1787, that:

"Soon after the assembly voted the sum of £400 to be appropriated to the use of an Academy, in the manner which Your Grace will see directed in the Proceedings of the Assembly which accompany this letter"

¹⁰⁹Ibid., p. 4.

In a letter to the Archbishop of Canterbury, January, 1788, Inglis wrote:

"There are two great objects which I have in view--one is, a proper Establishment of the Church in this Province, by an Act of the Legislature; the other is, the Establishment of a College, without which Church matters must be in an imperfect state. The last has been talked of, and one step towards it has been taken."

¹¹⁰Ibid., p. 4.

" . . . a Seminary of Learning is now become indispensably necessary for the Established Church. His Majesty has been pleased to appoint a resident Bishop; to whom is also committed the pastoral charge of the adjacent Provinces. One great object

The Governor, Sir Guy Carleton, for his part gave Inglis full support in his educational crusade,¹¹¹ even though Inglis made it abundantly clear that, in his thinking, education must play a role secondary to that of religion. Thus, he stated in a letter to Carleton on April 5, 1788:

The plan mentioned by Your Lordship, of one or more universities, from whence as from a common source, light and knowledge might be diffused among subordinate Seminaries in the several Provinces, and co-operating in the same design, is truly noble, and worthy of an enlarged and benevolent mind--I cannot sufficiently applaud or express my approbation of it. This is the very thing that is wanted to make an Episcopate extensively useful, and to disseminate the principles of the Church of England.¹¹²

Plans for the projected college were speedily made and implemented. In November, 1788, the Academy was opened at Windsor,¹¹³ and two months later, Inglis was able to report to

of his appointment, is to ordain Candidates for Holy Orders, to supply vacant churches with clergymen, who cannot be supplied from Europe. But if there is no Seminary, we cannot expect any to be duly educated, and qualified for Orders; and consequently none can be Ordained. So that in fact, the want of a Seminary will totally defeat, in this respect, one principal object which Government had in view, by appointing a Bishop, as well as the benefits thereby intended for the Church of England.

¹¹¹Ibid., p. 4.

In a letter to the Archbishop of Canterbury dated March 1, 1788, Inglis wrote:

"I have a letter from Lord Dorchester, dated January 9, in which he says, 'You may rely on every assistance on my part, in the execution of your office. The Education of Youth, is a point, 'he tells me', he has much at heart; and desires my assistance in forming and executing, a general system of instruction, throughout the King's Provinces.'"

¹¹²Ibid., p. 5. ¹¹³Ibid., p. 6.

Richard Cumberland, the King's Agent for Nova Scotia, that:

Our Academy goes on extremely well. At the next meeting of our Assembly, I shall endeavour to have the allowance of £400 a year for the Academy made permanent. If I succeed in this, I shall then beg leave to apply for your assistance, which you were so good as to offer, in applying to Government for help to enlarge the plan of this Seminary, and place it on a more respectable foot.¹¹⁴

The plans of Inglis met with considerable success. In a letter to the Archbishop of Canterbury in May, 1789, Inglis was able to report:

An Act of the Legislature is passed, by which the sum of £400 sterling in perpetuity, is appropriated to the Seminary, which is to be erected into a College, when matters are ripe for it, and called King's College. The Governors, of whom the Bishop is one, are constituted a Corporation. The President is always to be a Clergyman of the Established Church of England; and the sum of £500 is granted for purchasing a tract of land near Windsor, on which to erect a suitable ediface . . . The Legislature has great merit in this business. No other British Colony in North America, ever did so much to promote Literature. The Province has gone to the utmost extent of its ability, and we must now look to the Parent State for help to complete the design. This Institution will be of great service to the Church . . .¹¹⁵

The "Act for Founding, Establishing, and Maintaining a College in this Province" was passed in 1789 and an ex-officio Board of Governors was appointed, consisting of the Governor and Commander-in-Chief of the Province; the Lieutenant Governor; the Bishop of Nova Scotia; the Chief Justice; the Secretary of the Province; the Speaker of the House of Assembly; His Majesty's Attorney-General; and His Majesty's Solicitor-General.¹¹⁶

¹¹⁴Ibid., p. 6. ¹¹⁵Ibid.

¹¹⁶F. W. Vroom, King's College: A Chronicle 1789-1939 (Halifax: 1941), p. 21.

The President was always to be a clergyman of the Established Church of England.

Writing on May 5, 1790, to Richard Cumberland, Inglis again stated his hopes for the young college:

With respect to our seminary, one of my principal motives for pushing it forward was to prevent the importation of American Divines and American policies into the province. Unless we have a seminary here, the youth of Nova Scotia will be sent for their education to the Revolted Colonies-- the inevitable consequence would be a corruption of their religious and political principles.¹¹⁷

It is virtually impossible at this point to disentangle the political and religious factors involved in the early development of King's College, Windsor. The interests of the government and of the Established Church were one and the same, and this was readily taken for granted by both church and state.

In a letter to Inglis, dated June 5, 1790,¹¹⁸ Grenville, the Colonial Secretary, reported that £1000 had been included in the government estimates towards the cost of erection of a College in Nova Scotia as a mark of the attention of Parliament towards the encouragement of Religion and Learning within the colonies. Grenville also reported that the King had promised to grant a Royal Charter for the College, and that a land grant would soon be made towards a permanent endowment. He also outlined a scheme whereby scholarships would be awarded to

¹¹⁷Ibid., p. 21.

¹¹⁸Memoranda, op. cit., p. 10.

enable Nova Scotian and Canadian students to finish their studies at Oxford and Cambridge, after which they would, if properly qualified, "be admitted into Holy Orders, that they may supply such vacancies as may occasionally arise in the Ecclesiastical Establishment in British America."¹¹⁹

The endowment was granted by the Assembly in 1797, and in 1801, Sir John Wentworth, who in 1792 had succeeded John Parr as Governor, wrote a letter on behalf of the Governors of King's College, to the Duke of Bedford, to be presented to the King, asking for the granting of a Charter to the College:

At the request of the Governors of King's College now assembled here on the annual visitation of the Institutions (sic) I beg leave, with the utmost respect, herewith to transmit their Humble Petition for His Majesty's most gracious favour, and condescension, to grant a Charter and Endowment to the College. This institution is now arrived at a state in which such establishment would perfect and bring into extensive usefulness all the preceding munificence which His Majesty has been pleased to bestow, and must be the source of increasing gratitude and loyal fidelity to all its members; and those who may be there educated, from whom it may be naturally expected the purest principles of Religion, Morality, Loyalty, and attachment to the British Government in Church and State, will with sound literature be best disseminated and perpetuated in the Province.¹²⁰

The requested Charter was finally received in 1802. It created a corporate body consisting of Governors, President and Fellows. The Governors were to include the Bishop of the Province and the Judge of the Court of Vice-Admiralty in

¹¹⁹This scheme was later abandoned.

¹²⁰Vroom, op. cit., p. 26.

addition to the Governor, the Chief Justice, the Speaker of the House Assembly, the Attorney-General, the Solicitor-General and the Provincial Secretary. The Bishop was also designated official Visitor, and the Archbishop of Canterbury, Patron.

The power of making statutes for the government of the corporation was vested in the Board of Governors which met and appointed a committee to draft statutes and report back. This committee consisted of Bishop Inglis, Chief Justice Blowers and Dr. Croke, the Judge of the Court of Vice-Admiralty. The Committee, in fact, never met. The Bishop was ignored; while Blowers was dominated by Croke who formulated statutes which were repugnant to the Bishop's sentiments.¹²¹ These statutes required every student at matriculation to sign a form of acceptance of the Thirty-nine Articles of the Church of England; and this requirement came at a time when the Assembly represented Roman Catholics, Methodists, Presbyterians, Baptists, and Anglicans who were the smallest group of all. Money was to be taken from all creeds to found a college whose doors would be closed to every creed but one.

Even Inglis, who was not known for his liberal outlook, protested at this statute, but his protest was suppressed when the statutes were printed. He accordingly exercised his right according to the charter and appealed to the Patron of the

¹²¹Ibid., p. 36.

College, the Archbishop of Canterbury. The statutes were vetoed by the Patron and new statutes, acceptable to the Bishop, were adopted in 1807. These gave to all students the right to matriculate, but confined the awards of honours and degrees to persons subscribing to the Thirty-nine Articles. To this extent, then, the injustice of taking money from all and giving honours only to some, remained. Moreover, the spirit of exclusion remained. Every student was obliged to swear to the observance of all the statutes--one of which provided that he should attend the religious exercises of the Church of England within College walls; another forbade him "to frequent the Romish mass or the meeting-houses of Presbyterians, Baptists, or Methodists, or the conventicles or places of worship of any other dissenters, or be present at any seditious or rebellious meetings".¹²²

As Archibald points out:

Croke's code required apostasy; the Bishop's only indifference. Croke excluded all non-Churchmen; the Bishop treated anyone who had sufficient contempt for all religion to abjure his own creed, as entitled to matriculation, and considered him in that respect as equal to a churchman.¹²³

Whether or not the revised statutes may be regarded as an improvement, the fact remains that for many years the only printed copies available for distribution were copies of the original statutes as formulated by Croke. This provoked

¹²²Nova Scotia Historical Society: Collections, Vol. II, pp. 115 et seq.

¹²³Ibid.

continual opposition to the College in a province where the vast majority of inhabitants were not members of the Established Church.¹²⁴

It has been seen, then, that in the foundation of King's College, Windsor, both religious and political factors were closely associated. The interests of church and state were identical; there was no evidence of great opposition to the College before the publication of the obnoxious statutes of 1803.

It would seem to be fairly safe, then, to claim that the foundation of the College benefitted considerably from its political connection. The College owed most to Bishop Inglis, but he could have achieved little without political support. The ex-officio Board of Governors in itself was not necessarily an assurance of governmental support, as too much depended on

¹²⁴D. C. Harvey, The Heart of Howe (Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1939), p. 73.

This argument figured largely in Howe's Third Resolution against the Council moved in the House of Assembly in 1837. He referred to the "difficulties thrown in the way of a just and liberal system of education" by the exclusive Executive Council. He continued:

"Another mode by which members of the Council have sought to strengthen and extend their own power and influence, has been by monopolizing the education of the country. For many years four-fifths of the population were shut out by religious tests from the only institution at which anything like a liberal education could be procured; and to which, from its position, and the costly habits encouraged at it, but few except the sons of the councillors and great officers of the Government could be sent."

the individual outlook of each member of the Board and especially of the Governor.

Writing to the Archbishop of Canterbury on March 16, 1790, Bishop Inglis claimed that certain difficulties he was experiencing with regard to the College "proceed from a variety of causes, the chief of which is Governor Parr's indifference about it, and his example too much influences a majority of the Governors . . . He holds literature in great contempt, and often hints that it does a great hurt to mankind . . . It is with difficulty that I can get him and the other Governors to meet on any business relative to it (the College) and when met, the business goes on heavily. At present, I seem to roll a Sisyphean stone".¹²⁵

Parr's successor was Sir John Wentworth, formerly Governor of New Hampshire, and a staunch supporter of the Established Church. He instantly gave whole-hearted support to the College; but even then an ex-officio Board still presented difficulties. Writing to Bishop Mountain of Quebec in October 1805, Inglis pointed out that:

. . . All the Governors, myself excepted, are men who hold civil offices, which fill up their time. They live at Halifax forty-five miles from the College. Four of them are lawyers, and for their convenience, the Annual Meeting is fixed for the week in which the Supreme Court is held

¹²⁵Vroom, op. cit., p. 32.

Of all the Board of Governors, only the Bishop was present at the laying of the cornerstone in 1791.

in Windsor. Even thus several have it not in their power to attend, and the number that does attend is generally so hurried with Law business that very little time can be devoted to the College.¹²⁶

Nor did this political link stand the College in very good stead later when the Earl of Dalhousie became Lieutenant-Governor in 1816. Dalhousie was a keen supporter of education, but he was well in advance of his time in his desire to open the opportunity for higher education to all denominations. As Lieutenant-Governor, he was ex-officio President of the Board of Governors of King's College, but, having read a copy of the outdated statutes, he was determined to press on with the establishment of a separate institution more closely in line with his liberal views. Thus, in addressing the Council at Halifax on December 11, 1817, he stated:

I wish again to call the attention of His Majesty's Council to the subject of the Castine duties which still lay unappropriated . . . I formerly thought that it might be applied to the removal of King's College to a situation here more within our reach; but I am better informed now, and I find that if that College were in Halifax, it is open to those only who live within its walls and observe strict College rules and terms . . . It has occurred to me that the procuring of a College in the same plan and principle of that of Edinburgh is an object more likely than any other I can think of to prove immediately beneficial to this young country . . . These classes are open to all Sects of Religion, to strangers passing a few weeks in the town . . .¹²⁷

¹²⁶Ibid., p. 39.

¹²⁷H. Y. Hind, The University of King's College, Windsor, Nova Scotia (New York: Church Review Co., 1890), p. 50.

It is difficult to decide exactly what were Dalhousie's motives in creating a new, liberal and non-sectarian college. His basic ideas were at variance with those both of the exclusively Church of England King's College at Windsor, and of the Presbyterian Pictou Academy whose statutes had become decidedly more illiberal after amendments by the Council in 1816. The Council could see no need for a third institution of higher learning, but probably concurred out of deference to the Lieutenant-Governor, and from a desire to see a college established in the capital city of the Province. Dalhousie was not a democrat and probably never foresaw the full consequences of his actions. He denied that there was any intention of interfering with any institution already established ¹²⁸ and in an address at the laying of the cornerstone of the new college on May 22, 1820, he again clearly stated his views of the College's functions:

It is therefore particularly intended for those who are excluded from Windsor; it is founded upon the principles of religious toleration secured to you by the laws and upon that paternal protection which the King of England extends to all his subjects ¹²⁹

Here, then, was a College established if not for political ends, at least by the political power of the Lieutenant-Governor. The political connection of the college was furthered strengthened

¹²⁸D. C. Harvey, An Introduction to the History of Dalhousie University (Halifax: 1938), p. 18.

¹²⁹Ibid., p. 19.

by the choice of governors made by Dalhousie; and it was this ex-officio political Board of Governors which all but wrecked the whole university scheme.

The men chosen were ex-officio the Lieutenant-Governor, the Chief Justice, the Bishop of Nova Scotia, the Treasurer of the Province, the appointed Minister of the Scottish Church, the Speaker of the House of Assembly and their successors in their several offices.¹³⁰ Many of these governors were also ex-officio governors of King's College, Windsor, and although, with the exception of Bishop Stanser, they did not hesitate to act as governors of both colleges, their sympathies were with King's College. This growing hostility to Dalhousie College was clearly expressed by Haliburton who, writing anonymously in 1823, deplored the establishment of a second college. He continued:

. . . Had these funds been appropriated to the endowment of new Professorships at King's College at Windsor, to the enlargement of its library, and the erection of new buildings, which are much required for the accomodation of its officers and students, the public would have been greatly benefitted and the cause of Literature much better served than it is at present¹³¹

For some years the developments at King's and at Dalhousie were of mutual interest and concern. In May, 1818, the Board of Governors of King's College had suggested the repeal of two of their more obnoxious statutes, but their appeal to the

¹³⁰Ibid., p. 27. ¹³¹Ibid., pp. 29-30.

Archbishop of Canterbury was not successful. The Archbishop's reply was firm:

To this proposition I cannot consent. The College was founded for the purpose of educating the youth of Nova Scotia in the principles of the Established Church; and the degrees conferred by it must be conferred in support of such principles¹³²

Another appeal, to the New Archbishop¹³³ in 1829 finally secured the abrogation of statutes as requested by the Board.¹³⁴

The first attempt at union of the two colleges was made in 1823. The Board of Governors of King's College formed a Committee to investigate the matter, and the members of this Committee reported in the following year. They agreed that one college was ample for Nova Scotia and were generally favourable to the proposed union. The Dalhousie governors also were in favour. The whole matter was allowed to drop, however, when Dr. Cochran of King's College and Chief Justice Blowers came out in strong opposition. Their reasons for opposing the union were not strong; but Dr. Inglis had meanwhile secured a favourable response in England to his appeals for aid to King's College. Many of these promises of aid had apparently been given on the

¹³²Vroom, op. cit., p. 45.

¹³³Archbishop Manners-Sutton died in 1828 and was succeeded by Archbishop Willian Howley (1828-1848).

¹³⁴Hind, op. cit., p. 69.

The Archbishop agreed to all the suggested changes except one requiring no acceptance of the Thirty-Nine Articles for Professors and Fellows. This was therefore retained.

clear understanding that the College would continue its close church connection.¹³⁵ The old political argument was again used in a paper prepared by the Rev. C. Benson as part of this appeal for funds:

There are other establishments rising up, which are not conducted upon the same principles, and from them even the children of the members of the Church of England must, if this University fall, be compelled to derive their education. Or if they do not resort to Dissenting establishments of Nova Scotia, they must gather their knowledge and form their sentiments in the Republican Colleges of the United States of America. Thus nurtured and instructed, it is natural to conceive that they will imbibe opinions which are anything but favourable to the religious and political institutions of England.¹³⁶

The real value to King's College of a political Board of Governors was demonstrated beyond question when the College was able to resist the pressure from Lord Glenelg, the Colonial Secretary, to unite with Dalhousie. As early as July, 1831, Glenelg spoke of an impending reduction of the Parliamentary grant and told the Lieutenant-Governor, Sir Peregrine Maitland, to consult with his Council about the possibility of moving the College from Windsor so that it might be united with Dalhousie College at Halifax. The following year, he announced that the Parliamentary grant for King's College would be £1000 in 1833, £500 in 1834 and that it would thereafter cease. This pressure from the Imperial Government for the union of the colleges

¹³⁵Memoranda, op. cit., p. 19.

¹³⁶Hind, op. cit., p. 67.

culminated in a demand for the surrender of the King's College Charter in 1835.

Hind¹³⁷ draws attention to the unique situation in which "the Governors of the Province, probably acting in accordance with their convictions, practically opposed the Secretaries of State and sided with Bishop Inglis, in support of a college founded in the interests of the Church, and through many trials and difficulties steadfastly asserting her right to continue the work her benefactors had outlined".

King's College survived this threat, but did not prosper. Inglis again visited England in 1838 where he appealed for support from the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, a body which was well aware of the importance to the Church of the College's work.¹³⁸ In 1843, however, the Board was disturbed by the receipt of a letter from the Provincial Secretary seeking its opinion regarding the establishment of a non-sectarian Provincial University.¹³⁹ When the Society for the Propagation

¹³⁷Ibid., p. 81.

¹³⁸Ibid., p. 82.

The S. P. G. Report for 1837 said:

"The vital importance of the College to the Church of England in Nova Scotia may be shown by a single fact; namely that at a visitation held on May 18, 1837, in St. Paul's Church, Halifax, of thirty clergymen who attended from the several parishes in the Province, no less than twenty-six were educated at Windsor. And if the College were abolished, the only means of supplying an indigenous clergy would be at an end."

¹³⁹Ibid., p. 90.

of the Gospel announced in 1845 the impending end of its grants to the College, the Board of Governors sought further aid from the Imperial Government; but Gladstone refused their request, suggesting that the Governors seek help in their own province.¹⁴⁰

The Alumni Association, which later saved the College from extinction, was formed in 1846 and incorporated the following year. Its members resolved to raise £2000 "to be applied towards the support of the College so long as it shall continue to maintain its connection with the Church"¹⁴¹--church control over the College being demanded by the Bishop and accepted by the alumni.

The last financial link of the College with the Provincial Legislature was broken when, in 1851, an Act was passed to repeal the Act of 1787 which had endowed the College with £400 per annum. The ex-officio political Board of Governors now became not only a hinderance but also an incongruity, especially as the Governors were not necessarily members of the Church of England. Steps were soon taken to remedy this situation,¹⁴²

¹⁴⁰Ibid., p. 91.
Gladstone wrote:

"I can readily understand that the loss of this grant will be most detrimental to the interest of the College; but I cannot bring myself to believe that any difficulty will be experienced in obtaining, either from public sources, or from the liberality of private parties in the Province, the necessary means for maintaining the College in active operation."

¹⁴¹Ibid., p. 93. ¹⁴²Ibid., p. 99.

and eventually the Act of 1853 abolished the old political Board of Governors, leaving the institution in the hands of its friends and supporters. The House of Assembly then placed King's College on the same footing as other denominational institutions and voted £1000 per annum.

Meanwhile, Dalhousie College struggled on through a precarious existence. After the breakdown of the 1824 negotiations to unite Dalhousie and King's College, nothing more was done until 1828 when efforts were again made to obtain a Principal for the College. This inactivity not surprisingly stirred up adverse comment as much provincial money had been voted and no apparent achievement had resulted.¹⁴³ The second attempt to unite Dalhousie and King's was abandoned in 1836 when an attempt was made to unite Dalhousie and Pictou Academy, which by an Act of 1832 had been reduced to the status of a grammar school. This union was finally achieved in 1838 when Dr. McCulloch was appointed Principal of Dalhousie College, and the provincial grant to Pictou was transferred to Halifax.¹⁴⁴

¹⁴³Harvey, op. cit., p. 34.

¹⁴⁴Adam Shortt, & A. G. Doughty, Canada and Its Provinces (Toronto: Glasgow, Brook & Co., 1924), Vol. XIV, p. 516.
MacKay points out concerning the endowing of the grant to Pictou Academy:

"Finally, even the annual grant was stopped, although the House of Assembly, representing the people, four-fifths of whom were now disqualified from obtaining a university degree within the province, voted unanimously in favour of the grant. . .

Bright hopes for the future were, however, dimmed by the old ex-officio Board of Governors who now insisted that all professors, McCulloch excepted, should be members of the Church of Scotland; thereby making Dalhousie a denominational institution in direct opposition to the known wishes of the founder. This immediately encouraged the rise of denominational colleges, and within two years the Baptists founded Acadia (1840), the Roman Catholics, St. Mary's (1841), and the Methodists, a college at Sackville in 1843. There the situation remained until the winning of responsible government and the appointment of a new board of governors in 1848.

Howe's Twelve Resolutions of 1837 caused the Colonial Secretary to instruct the Lieutenant-Governor to make his executive and legislative councils more representative of the differing economic and religious interests of the province. The Act of 1841, in like spirit, provided for a representative board of seventeen members, and laid down the principle that no religious tests would be imposed upon either teachers or students. This board proved to be unwieldy and incompetent, and in 1845, two years after McCulloch's death, the college was closed, not to be reopened till April, 1849, although a new board of governors

The conflict between the House of Assembly and the irresponsible executive council on this question largely contributed to the movement that in 1848 resulted in making the government responsible to the House of Assembly."

had been appointed in the previous year.¹⁴⁵

In Nova Scotia, as in Upper Canada, the development of the various institutions of higher learning was partly dependent on financial aid from the provincial legislature. The Assembly in Nova Scotia was cooperative in this regard, and it should be recalled that grants had been willingly given at an earlier date to King's College, Windsor, an institution with an avowed tie to the Church of England. The Assembly occasionally had been moved to protest against this provincial aid to a denominational institution; but the protests were comparatively mild until later years.¹⁴⁶

The rapid establishment of denominational colleges inevitably gave rise to a marked reaction and consequently a strong protest at the now general practice by the Assembly of making annual grants to each of the denominational colleges.¹⁴⁷ And yet Nova Scotia was not ready at this time for a non-sectarian college. Harvey¹⁴⁸ is certainly correct in stressing the

¹⁴⁵Harvey, op. cit., p. 65.

¹⁴⁶Ibid., p. 35.

At first the majority of Nova Scotians were Anglicans. When the religious balance altered, the protests of the Assembly were more often heard.

¹⁴⁷These grants are listed in Harvey, op. cit., p. 58.

¹⁴⁸Harvey, op. cit., pp. 60-1.

See also: R. S. Longley, Acadia University, 1838-1938 (Wolfville: 1939), p. 32.

Most of the Baptists, for instance were members of the

paramount importance in Nova Scotian elections of religion--a force which could often radically alter traditional political alignments.

The danger of higher education becoming inextricably bound up with political rivalries was greater in Nova Scotia than in Upper Canada, as religious differences in this province had traditionally been more important in politics. The danger of this factor's being unduly emphasized was, however, generally recognized by church and political leaders and on several occasions attention was drawn to it.¹⁴⁹

The chief problem faced by the Colleges was that of finance, and efforts to secure additional funds through the Assembly necessarily involved the Colleges again in provincial politics. An appeal to the Assembly in 1841 for additional aid was only partially successful; and the whole question of provincial aid to colleges was again debated in 1842 when

Reform Party; but many of the influential Baptists in Halifax were strong Conservatives. The political division of the denomination was made more complete by the fact that many of the Reform leaders favoured a provincial university rather than sectarian colleges. The majority of the Baptists accepted Howe as their political leader and Johnston and Crawley as their educational leaders. When political and educational interests clashed, the denomination was divided.

¹⁴⁹W. Annand, Speeches and Public Letters of Hon. Joseph Howe (Boston: 1858), Vol. I, pp. 580, 589.
Howe pointed out:

"Experience has taught me this; that we may make education a battle ground, where the laurels we reap may be wet with the tears of our country." (p. 589)

McLellan introduced a bill to give all collegiate institutions in the province an equal amount. Howe opposed this, but the Bill was finally passed.¹⁵⁰

William Annand in February, 1843, introduced a series of resolutions aimed against the continuance of public aid to denominational colleges, and suggested instead the establishment of non-sectarian provincial university. By supporting these resolutions, Howe placed himself in direct opposition to the Baptist leaders, especially J. W. Johnston, the Attorney-General and a governor of Acadia. However, before a decision could be reached the House was adjourned. The matter was now hotly debated, and the editors of the Christian Herald were moved to warn Howe against continuing opposition to Acadia:

Although the Baptists of Nova Scotia have never been a political people, yet such measures as are now attempted to be imposed on them can have no other possible effect than to awaken in them the most watchful jealousy over their own interests and to teach them not only to try public men by their actions instead of their professions but also to compel them to form a compact and active union in enforcing their claims for fair and equal justice.¹⁵¹

The question was discussed also in the Executive Council of which Johnston and Howe were members. Longley suggests that Howe, by this time, was dissatisfied with the Coalition Government and was quite prepared to use any important issue with

¹⁵⁰R. S. Longley, Acadia University, 1838-1938 (Wolfville: 1939), p. 51.

¹⁵¹Ibid., p. 51.

which to split the Council.¹⁵² Government policy with regard to denominational colleges was the centre of debate in the election campaign which was narrowly won by Johnston. Howe's resignation from the government, in 1844, assured continued government support for the denominational colleges.

From 1845 to 1848 the Legislature was fully intent on the struggle for responsible government,¹⁵³ and by the time that educational matters were again considered in 1849, Howe had made his peace with denominationalism, even if only as a necessary evil of a transitional period. In refusing to support W. A. Henry's attempt to abolish provincial grants to all colleges in 1849, he declared:

We know by experience that a large portion of our people favour the denominational mode of education. Though my own opinions are unchanged, I think it would not be wise to revive sectarian bitterness in the country again if it can be avoided. It would be equally unwise to break down seminaries doing much good before we have replaced them by something better . . . 154

The last threat to Acadia and the other denominational colleges occurred in 1864, during the government's last attempt to establish a provincial university at Dalhousie where the cooperation of the Presbyterians had led to a reorganization of that college.

¹⁵²Ibid., p. 53.

¹⁵³Annand, op. cit., Vol. I, p. 585.
Howe said:

" . . . I scarcely thought of the subject of education from 1845 to 1848."

¹⁵⁴Ibid., pp. 585-6.

This threat, however, never materialized, and the denominational colleges were intact with the advent of Confederation in 1867.

New Brunswick

The reform movement in New Brunswick was quieter and less spectacular than in the other provinces. This was due in part to the poorer means of communication between the various settled sections of the province, and in part to the dearth of newspapers to disseminate new ideas among the people.

In 1832 during the governorship of Sir Archibald Campbell, the membership of the Executive Council was reduced to five in number, and a separate body appointed as a legislative council. This was the first weakening of the power of the Family Compact.

The struggle for responsible government was led by L. A. Wilmot who was first elected to the Assembly in 1834. The struggle was long and confused, but eventually successful; and the first cabinet, or party ministry, was formed in 1854.

In 1784 Nova Scotia was divided and the province of New Brunswick was formed, a province characterized by a singular lack of unity--either geographical, racial or religious.¹⁵⁵ It was not long before demands were made to the Lieutenant-Governor for the provision of higher education in the new province. As early as December, 1785, the Governor-in-Council was

¹⁵⁵D. G. G. Kerr, Sir Edmund Head, A Scholarly Governor (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1954), p. 23.

petitioned regarding "the necessity and expedience of an early attention to the establishment in this infant province of an academy of liberal arts and sciences".¹⁵⁶ In response to this request, Governor Carleton and his advisers drew up a charter modelled on that of King's College, New York, and set aside nearly six thousand acres of land in the parish of Fredericton for the use of this institution which was at first essentially a grammar school. By 1787 this academy was in operation, and by 1793 it had seventeen scholars over nine years of age; but this was regarded by Carleton simply as a beginning for a later college. It was in this year (1793) that a legislative grant of £200 was voted to the academy.

Thus, early in its life the academy was tied to politics, having been conceived by the Governor and supported by the Legislature. It had as yet, however, no charter, the granting of which was long delayed by the political turmoil that rocked the province for a decade and both hardened and accentuated the "anti-Jacobin" sentiments of the Governor and his immediate circle. It was partly as a result of this hardening of sentiment on the part of the Governor that the earlier drafts of the charter, which had envisaged the opening of the college to students of all denominations, were replaced by the draft of 1793 which restricted privileges to Anglicans. It

¹⁵⁶A. G. Bailey, (ed.), The University of New Brunswick Memorial Volume (Fredericton: The University of New Brunswick, 1950), p. 15.

was in that form that the charter was finally granted on February 12, 1800,¹⁵⁷ setting up the college as the "College of New Brunswick" modelled on the universities of Oxford and Cambridge, and stipulating that the President must be in Holy Orders of the Church of England, and that all Professors must be members of that church.¹⁵⁸

This restriction of college entrance to members of the Church of England was one reason for the early difficulties experienced by the College, and the new governor, Douglas, readily saw that the Provincial Assembly would not vote an adequate annual grant unless dissenters were given rights equal to those enjoyed by adherents of the Church of England.

It was largely through Douglas' efforts that a more liberal charter was adopted in December, 1828, by which the college was renamed King's College, Fredericton, and by which students of all denominations were permitted to attend. Control of the college remained in the hands of members of the Church of England, but the way was left open for the appointment of

¹⁵⁷Kerr, *op. cit.*, p. 23.

Unlike Nova Scotia, there was no established church in New Brunswick, but the government supported King's College, many of the schools were virtually Anglican, and so were all government officials prior to 1848 when L. A. Wilmot became the first non-conformist Attorney-General.

¹⁵⁸Bailey, *op. cit.*, p. 18.

The college did not at first undertake work at the Collegiate level. First degrees were conferred on February 21, 1828.

professors adhering to other denominations.¹⁵⁹

The close political ties of the College caused it to be attacked in the 1830's and early 1840's as part of a general attack on the Tory position which seemed, to the reformers, a barrier to the attainment of democratic self-government.¹⁶⁰

This criticism culminated in the Act of Amendment to the Charter in 1846 when the College Council was broadened to include non-Anglicans; although the Head of the College had still to be a clergyman of the Church of England. This partial capitulation to the demands of the Reformers merely delayed the conflict and prolonged the criticism which now became bitter and ill-informed.¹⁶¹

These attacks led eventually to the appointment of a

¹⁵⁹S. W. Fullom, The Life of General Sir Howard Douglas (London: Murray, 1863).

The necessary financial support was obtained largely as a result of Douglas' work.

¹⁶⁰Bailey, op. cit., p. 24.

See also: J. Hannay, History of New Brunswick (St. John, New Brunswick: 1909), Vol. II, p. 23.

The House of Assembly appointed a committee on grievances and resolved to send two members to England with a petition to the Crown. They urged that alterations should be made in the charter of King's College as would make the institution more generally useful and in accordance with the wishes of the people.

¹⁶¹Bailey, op. cit., p. 25.

In April, 1851, a leading St. John newspaper urged the legislature "to cut the head off King's College, we mean the £1,100 per annum taken from the pockets of all denominations that the sons of a particular denomination may graduate". Students of all denominations were allowed to graduate.

commission of investigation;¹⁶² and the attacks even continued as the 1859 Act to Establish the University of New Brunswick was fought through the House of Assembly. The attacks at this time were directed ostensibly against the narrowness of the curriculum; but were basically on political grounds.¹⁶³

However, the Act of 1859 was liberal in the extreme and reflected clearly the wishes of the Assembly. All trace of Anglican influence was removed, while provision was made for free instruction of some students from each county and from the cities of St. John and Fredericton. In addition, the 1862 Amendment Act extended this principle and remitted tuition fees for teachers remaining in the profession.¹⁶⁴

¹⁶²Kerr, op. cit., p. 102.
Commission appointed by Governor Head.

In a letter to Lewis, October 18, 1852, Head declared his willingness to do all he could to save the college from popular attack, "for if popular agitation against their mis-application of public money begins in earnest it will be impossible to obtain any funds for superior education, whereas by popularizing the instruction in some degree and convincing the assembly that we wish to make it practically useful, I think it may be preserved and profitably applied".

¹⁶³Bailey, op. cit., p. 30. ¹⁶⁴Ibid., p. 36.

CHAPTER IV

THE RELIGIOUS FACTOR

Upper Canada

Religious considerations played a role equal in importance to that of politics in the establishment and development of universities in Upper Canada prior to 1867. It has already been noted in the previous chapter how closely related were these two factors in influencing the development of the universities. While in many respects it is virtually impossible, due to the fairly widespread acceptance of the church-state concept of society, initially to distinguish the two factors, nevertheless, as time passed, they became more readily distinguishable.

Governor Simcoe, in urging the early establishment of a university, envisaged one in which the influence of the Church of England should predominate.¹⁶⁵ It was to "complete the education of the children of the principal people of this Country, so as to qualify them for the proper exercise of those leading functions in the Church and State to which they have a birthright and which they will attain with or without education".¹⁶⁶

¹⁶⁵Cruckshank (ed.), The Correspondence of Lieutenant-Governor John Graves Simcoe (Toronto: Ontario Historical Society, 1923-31), Vol. I, p. 143.

¹⁶⁶Ibid., Vol. III, pp. 348-9.

Simcoe saw clearly the value to the Anglican clergy in Canada¹⁶⁷ of a university, and drew attention also to the need for clergy to be trained in Canada rather than in England.¹⁶⁸ Simcoe, however, left office having failed to achieve the opening of a university; but his opinions were echoed to a large extent by a later governor, Sir Peregrine Maitland, who regarded the main aim of university education as being to "produce a common attachment to our constitution and a common feeling of respect and affection for our ecclesiastical establishment".¹⁶⁹

Strachan stressed the value of a university in training clergy, as well as lawyers and doctors, and moreover insisted that "it is of the greatest importance that the education of the colony should be conducted by the clergy".¹⁷⁰ The

¹⁶⁷Ibid., Vol. III, p. 351.

"The Episcopal Clergy in Great Britain from pious motives as well as policy are materially interested that the Church should increase in this Province. I will venture to prophecy its preservation depends upon an University being erected therein."

¹⁶⁸Ibid., Vol. III, p. 350.

". . . how unlikely it is for Clergymen educated in England, with English families and propensities . . . could obtain that influence with their Parishioners which may essentially promote the objects of their mission."

¹⁶⁹J. G. Hodgins, Documentary History of Education in Upper Canada, 1792-1876 (Toronto: Warwick Bros. & Rutter, 1894-1904), Vol. I, p. 205.

¹⁷⁰Ibid., Vol. I, p. 213.

He deplored the lack of religious teaching in the United

narrowness of Strachan's views and his unwarranted, unfair and bitter attacks on the other Protestant denominations unfortunately did much to keep alive sectarian strife. The appeal which he issued in 1827 when in England to obtain a Charter was typical of the man. Uncompromising in tone, it was well calculated to cause bitter feelings. He saw the projected university as the "rallying point of the Protestant faith, the promotor of sound religious principles and profitable instruction through both Provinces",¹⁷¹ and continued:

It is chiefly on religious grounds that this Appeal for the University of Upper Canada is made, which, while it offers its benefits to the population, will, for a century to come, from the peculiar circumstances of the country, be essentially a Missionary College, and the number of Clergymen which it will be called upon to furnish will be more than double what any other profession can require.¹⁷²

In Chapter II it was seen how the exclusive character of Strachan's Charter for King's College, obtained in 1827, had prevented the opening of instruction due to political pressure. Fear of the consequences to society of a political-

States:

"Now in the United States, a system prevails, unknown to, or unpractised, by any other nation. In all other countries morals and religion are made the basis of future instruction, and the first book put into the hands of children teach them the domestic, the social and the religious virtues; but in the United States politics pervade the whole system of instruction."

¹⁷¹Ibid., Vol. I, p. 219.

¹⁷²Ibid., Vol. I, p. 215 et seq.

religious establishment was widespread in the Assembly, as their remarks to Colborne in 1830 indicated:

Without the faithful observance of those equal rights and liberal principles as a foundation, and the stability of that foundation duly secured against the varying policy of different administrations, we cannot but regard such institutions as threatening to entail, under the appearance of some present good, those exclusive and dominant establishments which have perpetuated so much unhappiness in European nations, and the introduction of which into this country, the people are wisely most solicitous to avert.¹⁷³

It was largely as a result of this feeling that steps were taken to grant university powers to Upper Canada College.

The Act establishing Upper Canada College stipulated that:

. . . the said College shall be deemed and taken to be an University . . . That no religious test or qualification whatever shall be required of, or appointed for any persons admitted or matriculated as scholars within the said College, or if persons admitted to any Degree in any Art or Faculty therein . . .¹⁷⁴

Upper Canada College failed to prove attractive to those outside the Church of England because of the undue influence of that church in the affairs of the college. As a direct result of this dissatisfaction, the Methodists took steps in 1830 to establish a rival institution, Upper Canada Academy, the purposes of which were clearly stated in the resolution passed at the Methodist Conference of 1830:

This Academy shall be purely a Literary Institution. No system of Divinity shall be taught therein; but all students shall be free to embrace and pursue any religious

¹⁷³Ibid., Vol. I, pp. 292-3.

¹⁷⁴Ibid., Vol. I, p. 301.

creed, and attend any place of religious worship which their parents or guardians may direct.¹⁷⁵

In support of the College, Ryerson was careful to point out that the members of the Methodist Conference "have not sought endowments of public lands for the establishment of an Institution, contrary to the voice of the people, as expressed by their representatives; much less have they sought to acquire such endowments to erect 'essentially a Missionary College' for the purpose of carrying on an extensive warfare upon the territories of their religious neighbours".¹⁷⁶

The Presbyterians were more immediately concerned with facilities for training their ministry. At first they attempted in vain to procure the appointment of a Presbyterian Professor of Divinity at King's College,¹⁷⁷ and their separate college did not come into existence until several years later; while the Roman Catholic Regiopolis College was incorporated by act of the legislature in 1837, although it did not receive university powers till 1866.

¹⁷⁵Ibid., Vol. II, p. 2.

¹⁷⁶Ibid., Vol. II, p. 7.

The Methodists did, however, later appeal for aid. In a letter to Sydenham dated July 13, 1841, Ryerson drew attention to the Methodists desire to incorporate within Victoria College facilities for training ministers. Till this time, students had studied while travelling and preaching. The desirability for training facilities was obvious "when viewed in relation to a ministry . . . which has been, far and wide, cultivating the moral wilderness of the Country, at a time when the more favoured clergy of other churches have been studying the Classics". (Vol. IV, p. 109.)

¹⁷⁷Ibid., Vol. II, p. 13.

It has already been seen in Chapter III that the Legislative Council and Assembly could not come to any agreement concerning the future of King's College, and that the Imperial government was loath to interfere. After the elections of 1836, in which a conservative majority favourable to the Lieutenant-Governor, Sir Francis Bond Head, was elected to the House of Assembly, the question of amending the Charter of King's College was referred to a Select Committee of the House, and their proposals were passed to the Council which finally accepted them with some reluctance.

The report of the Select Committee of the Legislative Council is interesting for its revelation of the Council's views on the place of religion in higher education. The Committee rejected the idea of excluding religious teaching from the university as had been done at London University:

By clause twenty-six, Christianity appears proscribed with a virulence not unworthy of a Dioclesian. There is only one attempt on record in a Christian country, and that a very recent one, of establishing an University on the principle that everything connected with the Christian faith shall be excluded . . . and it may be confidently affirmed, that the inhabitants of this Province are not prepared to approve of an Institution for the education of their children, from which religion is altogether excluded.¹⁷⁸

The attempts of the Presbyterians to gain admission to the Council and teaching staff of King's College were not at first successful, although the Legislative Council had declared

¹⁷⁸Ibid., Vol. III, p. 61.

support for the appointment of a Presbyterian Professor of Divinity,¹⁷⁹ and the 1837 Amendment Act had declared that members of the Council and teaching staff need no longer necessarily be members of the Church of England.

Strachan vigorously denied, in answer to the protests of William Morris, that the Legislative Council was hostile in any way to the Presbyterian church, for the Council "unanimously adopted a Report of the Select Committee, of which you were a member--recommending that a Theological Professor of the Church of Scotland, should be appointed as soon after the College went into operation, as might be convenient". At the same time, however, he also pointed out that "it would not be easy to find in this vicinity gentlemen belonging to the Scotch church of sufficient standing and leisure to allow them to become efficient members of the Council of the University of King's College".¹⁸⁰

As McNab¹⁸¹ points out:

The Assembly had at last, on the eve of armed revolt,

¹⁷⁹Ibid., p. 69.

¹⁸⁰Ibid., Vol. III, p. 91.

In reply, Morris wrote from Perth, January, 1838:

"I thank the Members of the Council for their liberality. But you know how that recommendation originated in the Select Committee; and to convince you how little value I attach to it, I need only say that I fear the fatal words 'after' and 'convenient' will exclude, during your lifetime, at least, the old-fashioned Geneva gown from the precincts of the College Avenue."

¹⁸¹Op. cit., p. 45, p. 45.

secured large concessions in the revision of the University charter, but whether they were concessions in reality or appearance only remained to be seen.

The Report of the Commission appointed in May, 1839, by Lieutenant-Governor Arthur, at the request of the House of Assembly, to investigate the state of education in Upper Canada and to suggest improvements, drew attention to the lack of facilities for training students in theology, and suggested the setting up of a seminary for each denomination rather than of different chairs within King's College--a reversal of opinion since the 1837 report.¹⁸²

The Presbyterians had by this time probably given up hope of a Chair of Divinity at King's College, and had taken steps to establish their own theological college. At a Synod meeting at Kingston on December 18, 1839, it was resolved:

. . . that this Meeting learn with great satisfaction the proposal by the Commission of Synod to erect a College in Kingston for the instruction of young men, with a view to the Holy Ministry in connection with the Church of Scotland, and the education of youth generally in the various branches of Literature and Science, upon sound religious principles.¹⁸³

The purpose of the college was explained further by the Rev. John Mather in his opening address at this same meeting:

That it is to be a Presbyterian University we wish to be distinctly understood, but, at the same time, we wish it to be equally distinctly understood, and particularly by this Meeting, . . . that it is not to be a Presbyterian University in the sense that the youth of other Communions are to be excluded from its classes, or subjected if they

¹⁸²Ibid., Vol. III, p. 247.

¹⁸³Ibid., Vol. III, p. 294.

attend them to the smallest interference with those forms of worship, or systems of church government, in which they have been brought up.¹⁸⁴

While the Methodists had already begun instruction at Victoria College, the Presbyterians at Queen's and the Roman Catholics at Regiopolis, it was not till 1843 that King's College was finally opened for instruction. Even at this late date, Strachan had not wavered in his rigid views:

It is, however, melancholy to contemplate the Legislature lending itself to destroy an Institution calculated to cherish affection to the Government and the purest principles of Religion . . . The wise and uniform practice of Christian nations has ever been to give a Religious character to their Literary Institutions, nor is there a College, an University in Christendom, founded on any other principle: the infidel attempt, called the 'London University' has signally failed as all such godless institutions of Babel ever must.¹⁸⁵

The religious factor had influenced the universities in several ways. The religious exclusiveness of the original Charter of King's College in 1827 had inevitably led the Methodists, Presbyterians and Roman Catholics to establish their own institutions. Each denomination had sought not merely facilities for training its clergy, but also facilities for general college education in a religious atmosphere.

The failure of the attempts to reconstitute the university in such a way that all denominations would be satisfied may be blamed largely on the arrogance and religious bigotry of

¹⁸⁴Ibid., Vol. III, p. 295.

¹⁸⁵Ibid., Vol. IV, p. 283.

Strachan.¹⁸⁶ As William Morris had foretold, the University Amendment Act had achieved little reform in practice, and in fact, if not in theory, King's College was still under Anglican control.¹⁸⁷ The various attempts at college unification usually had the support of the Presbyterians and Methodists, and sometimes of the Roman Catholics, but were staunchly opposed by Strachan. Baldwin's bill of 1843 which vested the powers,

¹⁸⁶ Glazebrook, *op. cit.*, p. 126.

Glazebrook points out that Bagot, who was instrumental in opening the college, was working under instructions from Lord Stanley who had a fairly liberal approach to the sectarian problem. A despatch to Bagot on October 8, 1841, read in part:

"You will give every encouragement in your power to the extension, within the Province, of Religious education, and of Secular Instruction, and you will not fail to bear in mind, that the habits & opinions of the People of Canada are, in the main, averse from the absolute predominance of any single church; and that while the Churches of England & of Scotland are by Law established & endowed, and must be steadily and anxiously cherished, the Church of Rome also, to which a large portion of the Population belongs, is recognized by the Law, and secured in the enjoyment of Rights, which you will be bound to protect; and that the cooperation of Wesleyan Methodists and Protestant Dissenters is not to be refused, or discouraged by the Executive."

¹⁸⁷ Hodgins (ed.), *op. cit.*, Vol. V, p. 58.
Ryerson in 1843 pointed out:

"That portion of the press, in the interest of the Council (i.e., of King's College) denounces the Administration lately resigned for attempting to 'wrest the University from the Church of England'. This very language proves that the University has been made what the original Charter was amended to prevent."

It was not till 1844 that a Presbyterian Professor was appointed. (p. 112).

functions and priveleges of King's College in the University of Toronto consisting of King's, Queen's, Victoria and Regiopolis Colleges, was opposed by Strachan on the grounds that the main object of the bill was "to place all forms of error on an equality with truth, by patronizing equally, within the same institution, an unlimited number of sects whose doctrines are absolutely irreconcilable" and that "such a departure from all that is good is without parallel in the history of the world, unless some resemblance to it can be found in pagan Rome, which, to please the nations she had conquered, condescended to associate their impure desires with her own".¹⁸⁸

Draper's bill of 1845 which conceded more to the Church of England than did Baldwin's bill, was likewise opposed by Strachan who persisted in his claim that the endowment was meant exclusively for the benefit of the Church of England.¹⁸⁹

¹⁸⁸ Ibid., Vol. V, p. 27.

In a petition against Baldwin's bill, Strachan foretold the dire results of any attempt to unite the various denominations in one college:

"The most prominent result of such an experiment as that of uniting all Denominations of Christians, as well as persons of no religion, in the management of the same Institution, must, of necessity, be anarchy. It is certainly the first experiment of the kind ever contemplated in any Country, and to hope that a University, so managed, can proceed in harmony and with efficiency, is to set at naught all former experiences." (p. 29).

¹⁸⁹ Sissons: Egerton Ryerson, op. cit., Vol. II, p. 105.

Sissons puts the blame for the failure of Draper's Bill not so much on the Anglicans, although their opposition was significant, as on a combination of factors:

To the Anglicans who held up the British Universities as models of universities under church control, the Rev. Peter Colin Campbell, a professor at Queen's until 1845, replied in a pamphlet on the university question:

The Universities of England and Scotland were placed in connection with the Church Establishments at a time, when the whole population of these countries, with hardly an exception, were members of the same Religious Community. Those, who have since then separated themselves from the National Establishments, have done so with their eyes open, voluntarily abandoning--yea, making a merit of abandoning--the benefits of these Institutions.¹⁹⁰

In a vigorous argument against a multiplicity of universities he continued:

. . . these universities will be, not merely separate, but sectarian. The adoption of that system by the Legislature will amount to a public proclamation of the impossibility, the hopelessness, if not the undesirableness, of the various sections of the Religious Community 'dwelling together in unity as brethren'; and the surest way will have been taken of realizing the dismal foreboding, by rendering it all but impracticable for our children to understand each other better than we have done;--by furnishing each Religious Denomination, at the public expense, with the means of training the flower of its youth, . . . non reipublicae sed sibi; and of perpetuating the self-

"The truth was that Draper's influence was not sufficiently strong nor his will sufficiently resolute to overcome at once the apathy of his own loosely knit party and the organized opposition of the Reformers. It was not that the measure failed to offer a fair compromise; the verdict of John Ryerson was that it was the best measure ever proposed for settling the question. But the mutual jealousy and suspicion of the several denominations . . . and the vigorous creed of the Reformers which called a plague on all clerical rivalries and ambitions, were sufficient to prevent any reasonable settlement at this time or for long years to come."

¹⁹⁰ Hodgins (ed.), op. cit., Vol. V, p. 230.

destroying feuds by which our Province has hitherto been lacerated. We shall have established Schools, not of Science, but of Sect, . . . from which the educated, and, therefore, the more influential members of the Community, will come forth in yearly bands, only the better qualified, at the public cost, . . . to wage an incessant war with the nurslings of rival Seminaries.¹⁹¹

In March, 1846, Metcalfe addressed a letter to the governing bodies of the four colleges, seeking their opinions on the question of university reform. The Council of King's College steadfastly opposed any division of the university endowment. The Council of Queen's College suggested that each denomination should establish theological colleges only, which would be constituent colleges of the university. Vicar-General MacDonnell, for Regiopolis College, favoured the repeal of the 1837 charter but not a division of the endowment.¹⁹² Ryerson, for the Methodists, also favoured a provincial university with constituent colleges.¹⁹³

Soon after these replies had been received, the Hall-Draper bill which proposed the division of the endowment among the colleges affiliated to the University was introduced into the Assembly, but again the opposition of the King's College Council was successful and the bill was dropped. Macdonald's bill of 1847 fared no better--the chances of agreement by the four main denominations ending when Strachan withdrew his support.¹⁹⁴ It is interesting to note that the Baptists opposed

¹⁹¹Ibid., Vol. V, pp. 231-3. ¹⁹²Ibid., Vol. VI, p. 109.

¹⁹³Ibid., Vol. VI, p. 104. ¹⁹⁴Ibid., Vol. VII, p. 38.

the bill on the ground that they would not benefit from the appropriation "which being confined to four religious Denominations, withholds provision from nearly one half of the population of Upper Canada". The Baptist petition against the bill also opposed the giving of theological instruction at public expense, and continued:

. . . it would be essentially unjust,--being inconsistent with religious equality, and involving the principle of an Ecclesiastical Establishment, to which your Petitioners are decidedly opposed, for they are convinced that the alliance of Church and State, in any form, and to any extent, is incompatible with the spirit and precepts of Christianity, injurious to the interests of Religion, and highly detrimental to civil freedom.¹⁹⁵

Ryerson, for the Methodists, pointed out that Macdonald's bill was nearer the original intention of the 1797 Act and was preferable in every way to Baldwin's 1843 Act which took away all trace of religion from the university. He drew a telling parallel with the colleges of Britain:

Would Scotland have been more distinguished, and multitudes of her sons a greater blessing to mankind, in Religion, Science, Literature, and Politics, had Edinburgh contained her only university,--and that severed from every form of Christianity, and with not even a Charter recognition of it,--without any impulse and industry, from competition and emulation,--without any Religious Faith, or morals, from Christian ordinances and teaching, without any charity but a speculative and godless philosophy? Would England be bettered by exchanging her more than fifty colleges for one . . . like the nondescript Hume-and-Brougham London University College?¹⁹⁶

The Roman Catholics also favoured the bill in part. The

¹⁹⁵Ibid., Vol. VII, p. 13. ¹⁹⁶Ibid., Vol. VII, p. 43.

Bishop regarded it as dangerous for Roman Catholics to attend King's College, because, although their students were not forced to attend Catechetical lectures, nevertheless King's College taught an anti-Catholic philosophy. The only way to remove this Protestant atmosphere would be to remove all religious connections, but this was regarded as an injustice to both Protestants and Roman Catholics. The best solution was seen as being the endowment of Regiopolis College with money either from King's College or from the Jesuit estates.¹⁹⁷ The Presbyterians expressed general agreement with the Bill.

The election of 1847 returned to power the reformers under Baldwin whose University Bill became law in 1849.¹⁹⁸ By this Act, King's College became the University of Toronto, and the Faculty of Divinity was abolished. It further provided that no clergyman was to be eligible for the Chancellorship, and that there were to be no religious tests required of any

¹⁹⁷ Ibid., Vol. VII, pp. 59-65.

During the protracted battle over the university question, the Roman Catholics were the least vociferous religious group.

Bonnycastle, writing in 1846, pointed out that "a large public meeting of Roman Catholics upon the subject of the University question took place lately at Toronto, where a temperate spirit prevailed".

R. H. Bonnycastle, Canada and the Canadians in 1846, Vol. II, p. 39.

¹⁹⁸ Sissons: Egerton Ryerson, op. cit., Vol. II, p. 176.

Sanderson, writing in the Christian Guardian, bluntly stated the Methodists' opinions of the Bill:

"Taken as a whole, we conceive the present Bill to be the most objectionable one ever submitted to the country. . . Let France be a warning to us". (i.e., France had driven out religion only to embrace revolution.)

officer, teacher, or student at the university. Furthermore, on affiliation with the university, the colleges were to lose their own university powers except for the right to confer degrees in divinity, and were to be represented on the university senate. These latter stipulations were never, in fact, operative. The denominational colleges refused to affiliate fully, while the Anglicans proceeded to found Trinity College, and the Roman Catholics the College of Bytown. With the University of Toronto completely secularized, attention may now be turned again to the various denominations and their viewpoints.

It is easy to sympathize with the advocates of secular university education when the opinions of the various church groups are considered; and similarly it is difficult not to conclude that many of the religious leaders were guilty of either hypocrisy or bigotry, rather than being imbued with the spirit of Christian charity. The reactions of the different denominations to the 1847 Macdonald bill were such as to give credence to the belief that denominational participation in education would inevitably be an "additional source of discord and division . . . in a Province . . . already too much divided by feelings of National Origin, and by Religious differences".¹⁹⁹

The several aspects of the fundamental problem were touched upon in the, Address to the People of Canada by the

¹⁹⁹ C. Hodgins: (ed.), op. cit., Vol. VII, p. 66.

Central Committee, at Toronto, for promoting University Reform,-- and address provoked by the introduction of Macdonald's bill, and notable for its bitter tone:

That administration has not scrupled to ask your consent to your degradation. You have been asked to barter your dearest rights, and the noble inheritance of your children for delusive promises, which never can be fulfilled . . . You have been asked to squander this noble endowment, legally secured to you, without distinction of party, or creed, among the Leaders of a few Religious Denominations, whose cupidity has made them, the willing prey of a needy Administration . . . We do not depreciate Theological learning, but we think that it may well be taught by the several sects out of their own funds²⁰⁰

The petition of Strachan against Baldwin's bill of 1849 was particularly vehement regarding the threatened exclusion of all religion from the university. He asserted that the Church of England "can have no connection with such an Institution, for she is bound by her interpretation of Christian truth, as embodied in her Articles and Formularies, to repudiate and reject a System of Education not founded on Religious Principles".²⁰¹

His prediction that the bill would not settle the problem and that the other denominational colleges would stand aloof was borne out. He contended, furthermore, that by meeting the demands of the secularists, the bill would react to the advantage of a small minority, whereas legislation should be for the greatest number.

Strachan made no mention, however, of the fact that the

²⁰⁰Ibid., Vol. VII, pp. 250 et seq. ²⁰¹Ibid., Vol. VIII, p. 123.

Anglicans were divided in their reactions to the Bill. Baldwin, himself an Anglican, pointed out that "in declaring that there should be no Theological Chair established, it did not, necessarily, follow that the education which should be received at the university would be an irreligious one". Furthermore, he thought that the Anglican church would gain by losing its preference.²⁰² The Council of King's College also disagreed with the stand taken by Strachan, and presented a petition in favour of the bill, although they did not favour the exclusion of clergy from office in the university.²⁰³

The position of the Presbyterians was made clear in 1849 when the Governors of Queen's College announced their decision to maintain the college "in its present state as a Literary and Theological Institution".²⁰⁴ The reasons they advanced in support of their decision were representative of much of the prevailing thought at this time. Kingston was a Roman Catholic centre, and if Queen's College were not maintained in operation, "there would be no Protestant educational institution from Cobourg to Montreal".²⁰⁵ There was need also for the college in the training of their ministers:

There is reason to fear, that, if the means of Literary Education are withdrawn, it will stop the progress of nearly

²⁰²Ibid., Vol. VIII, p. 135. ²⁰³Ibid., Vol. VIII, p. 129.

²⁰⁴Ibid., Vol., VIII, p. 207. ²⁰⁵Ibid.

all the students for our church. Of these, there are now about fifteen. Many of them could not attend at Toronto. At Queen's College, every possible exertion is made to render attendance as cheap as possible to students for the Church; they are entirely exempted from fees, and the Boarding House is kept up at such a rate, that the student's expenses amount only to twelve pounds per annum. The time of attendance is so arranged as to permit young men to teach during the summer. None of these advantages could be expected of King's College as now constituted; full fees would be exacted; they would have to board in as expensive a way as other young men, and the terms of attendance are such as to prevent any other occupation, so that none would attend but those of independent means, or whose friends were in affluent circumstances. Besides, the Bursaries granted by individuals and bodies interested in the welfare of our Church would likely not be given to those attending a College not connected with that Church, and in which these persons might not place any confidence.²⁰⁶

The Methodists were equally hostile to the Bill. The Rev. George Sanderson, the editor of the Christian Guardian, gave his views which were hostile both to centralization of university facilities and to the exclusion of religion:

Not merely is sectarianism excluded, but Religion itself is outlawed; those great principles on which all Christians agree are shut out from the University by the provisions of the Bill. The leading principle of the Bill is then Infidelity.²⁰⁷

After the secularization of the University of Toronto, Strachan quickly took steps to establish Trinity College, in which all students would be residents, and in which the "first and great object will ever be to produce young men of moral worth and sound learning,--men who will in after life, do honour to their professions, and bless the Society in which

²⁰⁶Ibid.

²⁰⁷Ibid., Vol. VIII, p. 213.

they move".²⁰⁸ In spite of the strong movement for the centralization of university education, Strachan obtained his charter for Trinity College. The Provincial Secretary wrote to Strachan in January, 1851, pointing out that the Governor-General would do all that he could towards gaining the desired charter, rather than to do an injustice to the Church of England, but that "he is not, however, prepared to abandon the hope that the members of the Church, as well as of other Denominations possessing Incorporated Colleges, may yet be induced to participate in the advantages offered to Students by the Toronto University". The Governor-General was aware, too, of the split in the Anglican ranks, and that "among the most zealous supporters of the system of united education, are some sincerely attached Members of the Church of England".²⁰⁹ Furthermore, Chancellor Blanquiere, of the University of Toronto pointed out that as a member of the Church of England he had heard of Strachan's efforts to obtain a charter for an exclusive Church university in Upper Canada, but added, "I am not aware that our Church, as such, has ever been consulted, or has applied for such an Institution."²¹⁰ This provoked a bitter exchange of views between Blanquiere and Strachan who resented

²⁰⁸Ibid., Vol. IX, p. 114.

²⁰⁹Ibid., Vol. IX, p. 255.

²¹⁰Ibid., Vol. IX, p. 265.

this opposition.²¹¹

One other aspect of the dispute over centralization was the desire of the different denominations for residential facilities for their students. According to Strachan:

Residence alone, will be found highly conducive to the encouragement and preservation of correct moral conduct. It removes many from temptation, who are weak, or timid, to resist . . . Moreover, it sets up and establishes, if not always the highest, yet a respectable, standard of morals and behaviour which will become purer and more elevated as they advance in life . . . It would, therefore, seem that an opportunity of living together in society-- of which the regular attendance upon religious ordinances, the observance of correct and gentlemanly habits, and obedience to a wholesome restraint, would form prominent features. Thence we infer that, without residence within the College, the full benefit of collegiate life and education cannot be obtained.²¹²

Ryerson agreed in principle with these sentiments.

Religious influence was regarded as especially necessary in the overseeing of students away from their homes,²¹³ and Ryerson drew attention to the importance of this in his speech at the Closing Exercises of Victoria College in May, 1852:

²¹¹Ibid., Vol. X, p. 51.

In a letter to the press, Blanquiere had asserted that if Strachan would not agree to affiliate Trinity College with the University of Toronto, he would seek an address from the Legislative Council asking that the Queen refuse to grant the requested charter. This provoked a bitter answer from Strachan:

"Having been acquainted . . . with your bitter and un-Christian hostility to the Church University . . . I thought that those, who did not contribute to its support and were unfriendly to it, would, at the very least, feel it incumbent on them as gentlemen . . . to let us alone."

²¹²Ibid., Vol. X, pp. 64-5. ²¹³Ibid., Vol. X, pp. 146 et seq.

At all events, one class of citizens have much more valid claims to public aid for a College that will combine the advantages of both secular and religious education, than have another class of citizens to public aid for a College which confers no benefit beyond secular teaching alone . . . It is not the Sect, it is society at large, that most profits by the high religious principles and character of its educated men.²¹⁴

Indeed, the need for moral training became one of the main arguments of those opposing the secular and centralized institution at Toronto; but care was taken repeatedly to point out that public aid would not be used by the denominational colleges to finance theological instruction.²¹⁵

The whole question of the value of religious and moral overseeing of students was aired thoroughly in the proceedings of the House of Assembly Select Committee set up in 1859 to consider the Methodist Memorial expressing dissatisfaction at the operation of the University of Toronto. The Rev. John Cook, of Queen's University, pointed out that, "In an Institution numerously attended, there is a greater stimulus to intellectual activity and exertion,--an advantage, however, counter-balanced by the greater chance of moral corruption, there being

²¹⁴Ibid., Vol. X, p. 234.

²¹⁵Ibid., Vol. X, pp. 146 et seq.
Ryerson pointed out that:

"It is not proposed to endow, or aid, Denominational Colleges for Denominational purposes, but because such Colleges are the most efficient and available agencies for encouraging and extending the study of the higher branches of Education in the Country." (See also: Vol. XI, p. 112.)

of necessity a less close and watchful surveillance over the students."²¹⁶ In all these proceedings, Ryerson steadfastly held to his support of denominational colleges, in spite of the opinions of Professor Daniel Wilson, the lone spokesman for University College, Toronto, whose bitter attacks were all too frequently tinged with personal abuse.²¹⁷ He argued the importance of a corporate spirit which he felt could only be engendered in students living in a denominational

²¹⁶Ibid., Vol. XV, p. 99.

²¹⁷Ibid., Vol. XV, p. 235.

Wilson asked the Select Committee:

"Are you prepared to submit yourselves to the advice of Doctor Ryerson, who never was in a College in his life, but who has told us in his famous scheme of University organization . . . that he meditated it on some of the highest mountains in Europe,--a circumstance which abundantly accounts for the windy and unsubstantial character of its recommendations."

For Ryerson's answer see Vol. XV, p. 290.

The attitude of Daniel Wilson can perhaps be best shown by quoting his own comment concerning his statements to the Committee in 1860:

"These are memorials of a Canadian warfare which lasted for years. On one side were marshalled the Wesleyan Methodists led by the Rev. Egerton Ryerson, D.D., the Auld Kirk Presbyterians, latterly under the leadership of the Rev. Dr. Leitch, the High Church Episcopalians, and the Roman Catholics, all aiming at the destruction of the 'Godless University and College' that they might divide the spoils; and so fully impressed with their own pious graces and virtuous aims that they stuck at no slander, falsehood or knavish chicanery to accomplish their end. The Christian Guardian, the Methodist organ, indulged in such misrepresentations and personalities and insinuations as only a religious newspaper is equal to. I for my part, having great faith in the power of the Press, and no difficulty in finding

college.²¹⁸

In March, 1861, a public meeting on the university question was called by the Mayor of Kingston and attended by representatives of the Methodists, Presbyterians and Anglicans. Principal Leitch of Queen's College maintained that University College, Toronto, was denominational--"the Denomination being creedless"--and noted that the proportion of Roman Catholics at Queen's was four times greater than at University College:

Any conscientious Roman Catholic would much rather run the risk of having his son's Catholicism shaken at a Denominational College, than have his very Christianity sapped in the cold chilling atmosphere of a religionless College.²¹⁹

Principal Nelles of Victoria College again emphasized the need for religious influences in education as one argument against the Toronto secular monopoly:

And no worse calamity can befall any state than that her Men of Science should be generally irreligious; and this

'organs' at my service, made free use of my pen, both in prose and rhyme; and I rather think that more than one of our opponents, and some who pretended to be friends, had quite enough of it before the 'University Question' was settled and the scheme of sectarian spoliation knocked on the head . . . I found some grim satisfaction in mauling the unscrupulous assailants of our College militant, and seeing the pack turn tail at last and scuttle off ignominiously with their tails between their legs." (H. H. Langton, Sir Daniel Wilson: A Memoir, pp. 78-9.)

²¹⁸ Ibid., Vol. XV, p. 289.

²¹⁹ Ibid., Vol. XVI, p. 247.

This was probably accounted for mainly by the fact that Kingston was a Roman Catholic centre, and that Regiopolis College could not deal with all the Catholic students of that area.

must inevitably result in the same proportion as the Religious Persuasions of the Land stand aloof from the Chief Schools where Science is taught.²²⁰

However, many of the claims of the advocates of support for denominational colleges were questioned. The Congregational College of British North America petitioned the Legislature in April, 1861, praying that the non-sectarian principle might be inflexibly maintained with regard to the university endowment of Upper Canada. The petitioners challenged particularly the claim advanced by the Methodists concerning the value of moral and religious oversight of students:

In our own Province the Model and other Grammar Schools, and the Normal School, in all of which many of the Pupils are removed from parental supervision, are successfully conducted on the non-sectarian principles . . . The examples of the University College, Toronto, as compared with former 'King's College' and of McGill College, Montreal, now on a non-sectarian basis, but once exclusively belonging to one Church, incontestibly prove that, at least, an equal degree of moral and Religious Oversight can be maintained under the national, as under the Denominational, system . . . The Universities of Oxford and Cambridge afford but too conclusive evidence of the fact that clerical control, with strict Regulations as to residence, College Prayers and the like are not incompatible with the prevalence of frightful immortality among the Students; while under another system, as the Scottish Universities, and University College, London, it is admitted by all, that no greater and decisively testified by many, that far less vice and irreligion prevail.²²¹

Many factors entered the long and bitter dispute between the advocates of denominational colleges and the supporters of a secular university at Toronto. The opposing views were irreconcilable, and there was much validity in the arguments

²²⁰Ibid., Vol. XVI, p. 252.

²²¹Ibid., Vol. XVI, pp. 178
et seq.

advanced by both groups. The secularists wished to avoid the wasteful multiplicity of colleges, and genuinely feared the effects on society of the divisive influence of sectarian controversy. The advocates of denominational colleges insisted that true education must be firmly based on Christian principles, and that this could be achieved only by establishing residential denominational colleges. Their conviction was ably summed up in the words of Principal Snodgrass of Queen's College in his Inaugural Address on, "The Sacredness of Learning" in October, 1864:

When the fear of the Lord is not established in the heart, intellectual vanity and self-sufficient pride take possession of that citadel, and, in such a case, the more one knows the more unsafe and dangerous he becomes.²²²

Lower Canada

Religious considerations were important in the development of the two universities of Lower Canada. In the case of McGill, they were not dominant, but they were nevertheless partly responsible for the early troubles of the college; in the case of Bishop's College, religious considerations were all important.

In his will, James McGill had made no indication of his desire that the proposed college should reflect the influence

²²²Ibid., Vol. XVIII, pp. 166-70.

of any particular religious sect. In his lifetime, he had been connected with both the Presbyterian and the Anglican churches in Montreal, and was well-known also for his benevolent attitude to the Roman Catholics.²²³ It seems unlikely, then, that he would have intended, or favoured, religious exclusiveness in the College.

It was John Strachan, a close friend of McGill and subsequently one of the executors of his will, who first brought to the public attention the question of the religious character of the projected college. Writing in 1815 to a number of his friends who were members of the Legislature of Lower Canada, Strachan suggested a plan for the university in which he stated:

I say nothing respecting religion, but in the Chapel of the University Lectures on Theology may be given to Protestant students, which Roman Catholics shall not be required to attend . . . I have only mentioned one restriction, the Principal to be of the Church of England. This, I think necessary on many accounts. The Seminary must and ought to have a distinct religious character, and this simple regulation will confer it without circumscribing its liberality and openness to all persuasions. I think also the Principal's department should be Moral Philosophy or Theology.²²⁴

It is easy to discern in this plan the influence of Strachan's concept of an established church, especially in his suggested frequent visitations of the college by the Bishop,

²²³C. Macmillan, McGill and Its Story 1821-1921 (London: John Lane, 1921), p. 108.

²²⁴Ibid., pp. 47-8.

the Chief Justice and the Speaker of the House of Assembly.²²⁵

The first Principal of McGill was the Rev. George Jehosaphat Mountain who was first appointed Honorary Professor of Divinity and Principal in 1824, long before instruction commenced at the college. According to Macmillan, he believed that instruction should be given in a manner consistent with the English National Establishment, although he desired that the University should be open to students of all creeds with equal privileges and that Professorships should be tenable by graduates of the Scotch Universities.²²⁶

At the opening ceremonies in 1829, Mountain stated very clearly that the statutes being then drawn up were liberal, imposing no tests on either professors or students, and that therefore all offices in the College were open both to Protestants and to Roman Catholics. He explained why all the professors then appointed were in fact members of the Church of England.²²⁷

²²⁵Ibid., p. 50.

Drummond had definitely thought of the Anglican church as the Established Church of Lower Canada. In 1810 he wrote to the Colonial Secretary concerning the use of the Jesuit estates:

"I beg leave to suggest my opinion that this is the most proper source from which the means of repairing the cathedral can be drawn, and indeed, that this fund might with propriety in the future be applied to the financial support of the places of worship of the Established Church throughout the Province." (p. 58).

²²⁶Ibid., p. 74.

²²⁷Ibid., p. 80.

This stemmed from the desire of Dalhousie at some time in the past, to avoid the appearance of partiality in the choice of professors. Dalhousie, as a Presbyterian, had chosen an Anglican.

Although in theory the offices of the college were open to Roman Catholics, in practice, they were not. When, in 1834, the Governors of the College decided to seek some changes in the existing charter, the newly proposed Governing Body was again to be predominantly Protestant, although a Roman Catholic layman might become a governor by virtue of his political or judicial office.²²⁸ In 1836, in his memorial to the Colonial Office on the subject of the McGill legacy, Strachan maintained, and stated himself to be a living witness, that McGill had desired that the proposed college should be essentially Protestant.²²⁹ The Colonial Office refused, however, to accept Strachan's assertion:

. . . nor can we perceive any disposition on the part of the testator to impress on the Institution to which he so liberally contributed a character of religious exclusiveness . . . The Testator did not in his will either directly or indirectly introduce such a condition, and adverting moreover to the even-handed liberality with which his bequests were distributed between the poor Catholic and Protestant inhabitants of Montreal, we apprehend it would be impossible to impose such a restriction on mere verbal testimony as to the intention of the testator.²³⁰

In 1838, the Board of the Royal Institution determined

²²⁸Ibid., p. 163.

In the official report to Metcalfe by Bishop Mountain in 1844 after the visitation of the College, he pointed out that:

"The Chief Justice of Montreal is unwilling, as a Roman Catholic, to interfere more than he can avoid in the government of a Protestant Institution."

²²⁹Ibid., p. 107. ²³⁰Ibid., pp. 107-8.

that the college should begin instruction at least on the scale to which it was virtually restricted by the terms of the charter. Their scheme did not include immediate instruction in theology by the college, but some provision was nevertheless made for the religious instruction of the students. It was resolved:

. . . that it is not expedient that a Professor of Divinity be appointed under the Charter, but that it be intimated to the Right Reverend the Lord Bishop of Montreal on behalf of the Church of England in this Province and to the Reverend the Presbytery of Quebec or the Synod of Canada on behalf of the Church of Scotland that Lecture Rooms will be set apart and that application will be made for such an alteration in the Charter as will give all rights and privileges of the University to such Professor or Professors as they may appoint and endow, or procure endowments for, for the instruction of students of Divinity of their respective churches; and that the authorities in both churches be respectfully requested to recommend or to enforce on their students attendance on the classes of general education in the college.²³¹

In spite of the doubts of the Colonial Office, then, McGill was regarded as being essentially Protestant. The Board of the Royal Institution suggested, in 1839, alterations in the existing charter; changes, it has already been noticed, which would have made the Governors subservient to the Board. They desired particularly to ensure the Protestant character of the College:

The Board also think it important, seeing that the declared object of the Royal Charter was the promotion of

²³¹Ibid., p. 115.

An appeal by the Governors to the Provincial Government for aid in 1839 made mention of a desire for two Divinity Lecturers, one of the Anglican Church, and one of the Church of Scotland. The grant was not given.

true religion, that the body of the Governors should be Protestants, and they beg leave also to call the particular attention of your Excellency to the necessity of introducing some provision into the amended Charter for requiring not only the Principal, Vice-Principal and Professors, and all others engaged in the instruction of youth in the University, but also the Governors themselves before being admitted to office, to make and subscribe a declaration of their belief in the Holy Scriptures as the Word of God, and in the doctrine of the Trinity of persons in the Godhead, as held by orthodox Protestant Churches.²³²

As has been seen, these suggested alterations were not accepted by the Colonial Office.

The Code of Statutes prepared by the Governors in 1843 and forwarded to the Governor-General with the Board's approval for submission to the Crown also ran into difficulties which arose from requirements connected with religious instruction in the University. Two of the statutes,²³³ if ratified, would have made McGill an exclusively Anglican College, and the folly of this was clearly seen by Metcalfe who pointed out:

. . . there are strenuous remonstrances against this arrangement on the part of the Ministers of the other Protestant persuasions in the Province, and a strong feeling against it in the community; and the design manifested

²³²Ibid., p. 131.

²³³Ibid., p. 142.

One statute provided that "no Professor, Lecturer or Tutor shall teach in the College any principles contrary to the doctrines of the United Church of England and Ireland", and another stipulated that "on every Sunday during the term, all the resident members of the University under the degree of B.C.L. who have not obtained a dispensation to the contrary, shall attend the morning service in the Protestant Episcopal Parish Church of Montreal".

to connect the Institution, in that respect, exclusively with the Church of England will most probably deprive it of that support from the Provincial Legislature without which it will necessarily be crippled.²³⁴

On the recommendation of Metcalfe, consideration of the statute by the Colonial Office was postponed, in spite of the arguments advanced by the Governors in support of their suggested statutes.²³⁵ There was general agreement that something should be done about religious instruction and Theological training in the college, but there could be no agreement that one sect should have exclusive control.

The last attempt by the College governors to make the College exclusively Anglican was made in 1846 when the Governors asked for amendments in the Charter, among which was the following alteration:

That the Governors of the College consist henceforth of all the clergy of the Church of England now holding or who may hereafter hold preferment in the Parish of Montreal, and of a certain number of laymen of the Church of England resident in the aforesaid Parish to be named in the Charter.²³⁶

²³⁴Ibid., p. 143.

The Governors had also taken a further step towards exclusiveness by appointing the Acting-Principal, Bethune, as Professor of Divinity.

²³⁵These arguments are noted at length by Macmillan. (pp. 146-9.)

²³⁶Ibid., p. 177.

In October of the previous year, a rule had been made requiring that prayers in the College were to be said "by a College Chaplain appointed by the Governors, or by any other person appointed or approved by the Principal, he to be a member of the Church of England" (p. 176.)

This attempt came to nothing, and coincided with Gladstone's disallowal of Bethune's appointment as Principal.

The final decision by the Crown on the proposed statutes was made in 1848, when they were in part approved. The statutes concerned with theological instruction and college prayers were not confirmed, however, on the grounds that:

The Will and Charter are both silent on the subject of the peculiar religious tenets or ecclesiastical principles to be inculcated at the College, a silence very significant in the case of a Testator who was himself the member of a Christian Church, a silence not less significant in the case of the Sovereign . . . a silence not to be explained by any supposed forgetfulness or intentional omission of the subject, since the inculcation of 'the principles of true religion' is expressly provided for by the Charter; a silence, therefore, apparently indicating a design that Christianity should be taught, not in every form in which its great fundamental truths and precepts could be imparted to the students²³⁷

From that time on, McGill has not departed radically from this position; the forces tending towards religious exclusiveness had been defeated.

Just as religious difficulties had served at least in part to hinder the development of McGill, so were religious considerations the driving force in the establishment and development of Bishop's University.

Bishop's University owed its establishment to the work

²³⁷Ibid., p. 199.

No appointment of a Professor of Divinity had been made earlier in the year because the statutes concerned with religious instruction had not yet been approved. (p. 188.)

of George Jehosaphat Mountain, the third Anglican bishop of Quebec, and of the Rev. Lucius Doolittle, the rector of Lennoxville and Sherbrooke. Masters²³⁸ suggests that the concept of the college probably came from the example of the American Liberal Arts Colleges under denominational control; and that Mountain probably agreed to the suggestion all the more readily because of his personal dislike of Bethune who had been appointed Professor of Divinity at McGill.

Although it grew out of an institution devoted solely to the training of divinity students, Bishop's University had from the start two purposes: to provide training for future clergy and "to offer to the country at large the blessing of a sound and liberal education upon reasonable terms".²³⁹ The petition presented to Governor-General Metcalfe, in 1843, seeking the incorporation of the college, clearly indicated the principles on which the college was to be founded. The petitioners pointed out "that the said institution is intended to be in immediate connection with the Church of England and Ireland, but without excluding the youth of any other religious profession".²⁴⁰ Accordingly, the Corporation then established

²³⁸D. C. Masters, Bishop's University (Toronto: Clarke, Irwin & Company, 1950), p. 10.

Doolittle, originally an American, was a graduate of the University of Vermont.

²³⁹Ibid., p. 13. ²⁴⁰Ibid., p. 15.

was firmly under the control of the Bishop of Quebec who was given veto powers over the acts of the corporation:

No rule, order or regulation which shall be made and established by the said Corporation in manner aforesaid, shall be of any force or effect until the same shall have been sanctioned and confirmed by the said Lord Bishop or other Ecclesiastical Functionary as aforesaid.²⁴¹

Nova Scotia

In Nova Scotia religion and politics were closely interwoven as was to be expected in a province where the Church of England was legally established. The early history of King's College, Windsor, aptly illustrated this. One of the more interesting documents concerned with the early history of this institution is the, Memoranda respecting King's College, at Windsor, in Nova Scotia, collected in February, 1836, and prepared for the purpose of making evident the leading object in suggesting and establishing that Institution, by one of the Alumni, namely John Inglis.

The author's object in writing this Memoranda was to "shew that the main design, in Founding and Supporting the King's College, at Windsor, was to uphold and extend the Established Church" and to show "that all the property, owned

²⁴¹Ibid., p. 16.

A change was necessitated in 1850 when the diocese of Montreal was created. An Amendment Act of 1852 accordingly confirmed upon the Bishop of Montreal "co-ordinate powers with the Bishop of Quebec". (p. 34.)

by the College, was acquired for this object, and from members of the Church who would not have contributed towards the College, if they had not believed that it was indissolubly connected with the Church".²⁴²

Inglis stated a strong case. The letter addressed to Governor Carleton from New York, in 1783, by the group headed by Charles Inglis, sought the establishment of a Seminary of Learning "which in conjunction with the Episcopate in Nova Scotia lately recommended by Your Excellency, will diffuse Religion, Literature, Loyalty, and good Morals there".²⁴³ Dr. Barrington, then Bishop of Salisbury, recommended the establishment of a college with a view to the education of candidates for the Anglican ministry; while Charles Inglis repeatedly stressed the connection of Church and State in Nova Scotia and the necessity for a College for the training of ministers:

The greatest attention must be paid to the morals of the Students in both Schools, and every precaution used to guard them against the infection of bad principles, and bad examples. Generous sentiment of virtue, benevolence and religion, according to the principles of the Established Church, are to be sedulously inculcated . . . Separate from the above considerations, and the disgrace which must ever attend a country plunged in ignorance, and destitute of the means of Instruction,--a Seminary of learning is now become indispensably necessary for the

²⁴²Memoranda respecting King's College, at Windsor, in Nova Scotia, collected in February 1836 (Halifax: 1836), p. 1.

²⁴³Ibid.

Established Church. His Majesty has been pleased to appoint a resident Bishop; to whom is also committed the pastoral charge of the adjacent Provinces. One great object of his appointment, is to Ordain Candidates for Holy Orders, to supply vacant Churches with Clergymen, who cannot be supplied from Europe. But if there is no Seminary, we cannot expect any to be duly educated, and qualified for Orders; and consequently none can be Ordained. So that in fact, the want of a Seminary will totally defeat, in this respect, one principal object which Government had in view, by appointing a Bishop, as well as the benefits thereby intended for the Church of England.²⁴⁴

Similar sentiments were expressed on innumerable other occasions, and yet the College, when established under Anglican control, readily gained financial support from the Provincial Assembly.²⁴⁵ John Inglis, in his Memoranda recalled many instances where aid had been given to the College in the express knowledge of its connection with the Church of England; nor was there any complaint from the members of the non-Anglican Protestant groups until the publication of the obnoxious College Statutes of 1803.²⁴⁶

Most of the early troubles experienced by the College

²⁴⁴Ibid., p. 4.

²⁴⁵Shortt & Doughty, *op. cit.*, Vol. XIII, pp. 261-2.

This may readily be accounted for by the fact that when King's College was founded the population was largely of English stock and adhered to the national church, and no objection would be raised to establishing and supporting that institution from public funds. The case was altered by the large Scottish immigration, and there were soon protests against the anomaly of an institution supported by tax-payers of whom four-fifths were debarred from its advantages by the laws of its foundation. (See also: Nova Scotia Historical Society Collections, Vol. XXVII, p. 38, for later protests from the Presbyterian congregation at Halifax.)

²⁴⁶ See page 77 of this thesis.

were a result of these exclusive statutes, and in these difficulties the Bishop, with the support of the Archbishop of Canterbury as Patron, was a liberal influence, although no secret was made of the continued connection of the College and the Church.

There was general realization of the advantage to the church in having ministers trained within the Province rather than imported from England; Bishop Charles Inglis was well aware of this, and wrote to the Archbishop of Canterbury in 1788, drawing his attention to the characteristics desirable in a minister in Nova Scotia:

I take the liberty to inform your Grace--that in this country more than in any other, the support of religion and growth of the Church depend on the personal qualities of the Clergy--that in Halifax, the capital of this province, the rector will be connected with all descriptions of people from the highest to the lowest, strangers that resort here in great numbers, and therefore he should be affable, prudent, good tempered, and able to support the dignity of his office.²⁴⁷

In a similar vein, Capt. W. Moorsom, in his, Letters from Nova Scotia, wrote:

The College at Windsor is constituted upon the plan of the English Universities, and is provided with a President and three or four Professors for the various branches of a classical education; the Mathematics being but secondary. During the last five years, the average number of ordinations during the same period has been fifteen; the greater number of those who leave the College being destined for the Church . . . The Collegiate supply, however, not being

²⁴⁷S. D. Clark, The Social Development of Canada (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1942), pp. 188-9.

sufficiently numerous for the rapidly increasing demands of the province, recourse is had to external aid, and the clerical corps is recruited by Missionaries from Great Britain . . . Many of the Missionaries we have seen arrive in the province are persons of a description ill suited to the country and to the office they have to fulfil . . . In this country, the personal qualities of the ministers have far greater effect upon the number and improvement of his congregation than is the case at home. A people accustomed from infancy to think for themselves, revelling in the freedom of moral and physical independence, and treating as old women's fables that host of reverential ideas derived originally from the East, which in Europe compose a panoply to cover many a defect, political as well as ecclesiastical,--are not to be played with like children of a weaker age.²⁴⁸

In its establishment and early development, then, King's College was greatly influenced by both political and religious factors, its difficulties stemming rather from its political than from its religious connections.²⁴⁹ Its foundation well illustrated the then current concept of an established church-state relationship, and its main purpose was to provide facilities for the training of the clergy of the Anglican church who would

²⁴⁸W. Moorson, Letters from Nova Scotia; comprising Sketches of a Young Country (London: 1830), pp. 132-7.

²⁴⁹Hind, op. cit., pp. 53, 60.
There are instances where the church connection appeared to handicap the development of the college, as for example, in the breakdown of negotiations for the union of King's College with Dalhousie in 1823; and in 1818, when the Governors' attempts to repeal some of the more obnoxious statutes were thwarted by the Archbishop of Canterbury.

On several occasions, too, the pastoral duties of the College President led to some evasion of his college duties, with disastrous results to the discipline of the college. (pp. 55-7.)

These factors, however, were of comparatively minor importance.

disseminate the political and religious virtues of this concept.

The College's Church connection, in fact, was all important and probably saved it during the attempts of the Colonial Secretaries to remove it from Windsor to Halifax. When its existence was threatened, it was saved by the leadership of Bishop Inglis and the financial assistance of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, whose report, in 1837, bore testimony to the value of the College:

The vital importance of the College to the Church of England in Nova Scotia may be shown by a single fact; namely, that at a visitation held on May 18, 1837, in St. Paul's Church, Halifax, of thirty clergymen who attended from the several parishes in the Province, no less than twenty-six were educated at Windsor. And if the College were abolished, the only means of supplying an indigenous clergy would be at an end.²⁵⁰

With the ending of the Provincial Government grant in 1851, there was need to sever the political relationship of the College with the Government through the constitution of the Board of Governors; and with the passage of the 1853 Act of Incorporation, the College passed into the sole care of the Church of England and the College Alumni.²⁵¹

The early history of Dalhousie University also reveals fully the significance of religious factors. Dalhousie was not established from religious motives, but it nevertheless owed its existence to religious considerations, namely, the exclusive character of King's College, Windsor. As Lord Dalhousie explained

²⁵⁰Ibid., p. 82. ²⁵¹Ibid., p. 100.

at the laying of the cornerstone in May, 1820:

It does not oppose the King's College at Windsor, because it is well known that College does not admit any students unless they subscribe to the tests required by the Established Church of England, and these tests exclude the great proportion of the youth of this Province. It is therefore particularly intended for those who are excluded from Windsor; it is founded upon the principles of religious toleration secured to you by the laws, and upon that paternal protection which the King of England extends to all his subjects²⁵²

The early struggles endured by this college sprang mainly from a combination of political and religious factors. As has already been seen, Dalhousie's choice of governors was unfortunate, for the control of the college was placed in the hands of an ex-officio board whose members, the majority of whom were associated with the exclusively Anglican King's College at Windsor, were hardly sympathetic to the idea of secular collegiate education. It was the growing resentment against Church of England influence in the Council, and the exclusiveness of King's College that stimulated bitter sectarianism in the field of higher education. The Bill of 1838 to unite Pictou Academy with Dalhousie passed the Legislature only through the support given by the Baptists on the assumption that a Baptist, Dr. Crawley, would be appointed to the Dalhousie staff under Dr. McCulloch, now transferred from Pictou.²⁵³

²⁵²Harvey, op. cit., p. 19.

²⁵³Shortt & Doughty, op. cit., Vol. XIII, pp. 264-5. The short and turbulent history of Pictou Academy was itself a good example of the ill effects of sectarian and

The insistence of the Governors that all professors, McCulloch alone excepted, should be members of the Church of Scotland in reality made Dalhousie a Sectarian college. This failure to make Dalhousie a non-sectarian institution led inevitably and rapidly to the establishment of denominational colleges-- Acadia, St. Mary's and Mount Allison. The 1841 Act reorganizing the board of governors of the college came too late.

Sectarianism in higher education was the main question to be decided by the election of 1843, when the rural Baptists supported Johnston rather than Howe who had inveighed bitterly against the sectarian colleges. As Harvey aptly points out, this all indicates that "the people of Nova Scotia were not ready for a non-sectarian college . . . 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".²⁵⁴

political rivalry. McCulloch, a Seceder, founded the academy for the purpose of training ministers. He obtained an Act of Incorporation, and from the Assembly an annual grant to which the Council annually assented but which they consistently refused to make permanent. The later history of the Academy was chequered by dissensions between 'Kirkmen' and 'Seceders'. After a long struggle, ministers of the Established Church of Scotland succeeded in obtaining a share in the control of the Academy, and want of harmony in the management soon brought the Academy to an end.

²⁵⁴Harvey, op. cit., p. 60.

It is ironical, then, that Dalhousie College which as a non-sectarian institution had languished badly was finally revived through the action of a church. In 1856, representatives of the three branches of the Presbyterian church met in Halifax to discuss cooperation with the Governors of Dalhousie in forming a provincial university. Negotiations were protracted, but finally bore fruit in 1863 when the Legislature passed an Act providing representation on the Board of Governors of any religious group that would endow a chair at the university.²⁵⁵

Acadia University was established as a direct result of Crawley's failure in 1838 to be appointed to the staff of Dalhousie College, a circumstance which, to most Baptists, marked Dalhousie as a sectarian institution.²⁵⁶ No denominational restrictions were placed on professors or students, although one main concern of the College continued to be the training of Baptist ministers; and when the Baptists of Nova Scotia and New Brunswick united under a common Convention in 1846, Acadia was accepted as the "College of the Convention" and soon afterwards passed under the control of the Convention.²⁵⁷ Although Acadia received an annual grant from the Legislature,

²⁵⁵For an account of the negotiations, see: Harvey, op. cit., pp. 71-5.

²⁵⁶Longley, op. cit., p. 30.

²⁵⁷Ibid., pp. 61-2.

the Baptist church long remained its main source of income.²⁵⁸

Of the two Roman Catholic colleges little need be said. Regarding St. Mary's College in Halifax, there was probably some truth in Howe's assertion in 1843 that:

The St. Mary's seminary grew naturally out of the sectarian system, not that the Catholics wanted a college, or felt that they were able to sustain one; but as they were taxed to maintain other people's hobbies, they thought they might as well have one of their own. It will be kept up, and draw its contribution from the treasury, as long as the system lasts; but the opinion of its principal in favour of one central college, was expressed to the committee last winter, and the opinions of the body may be gathered from the fact that all their representatives in the house voted to abolish the present system.²⁵⁹

The other Roman Catholic institution, St. Frances-Xavier's College, followed the pattern set by the Protestant denominational colleges. Founded at Antigonish, in 1854, for the higher education of students aspiring to the priesthood and to the professions, it was denominational in its management but aided with maintenance by a provincial subsidy.

It would be difficult accurately to assess the benefits

²⁵⁸For details of the popular system of endowment of scholarships, see: Longley, op. cit., p. 67.

The early financial difficulties of the College were amusingly discussed by Howe:

"Ten thousand pounds have been expended, yet the institution is in debt; and if its professors did not lecture about the country in the vacation, while some kind friends carry around their hats, and, gather miscellaneous collections of gold rings, yarn stockings, and shingles, the thing could not be sustained even upon its present footing."

²⁵⁹Annand, op. cit., Vol. I, p. 371.

or disadvantages attendant upon the multiplicity of denominational colleges that characterizes the educational scene in Nova Scotia. While, no doubt, much of the public support accorded to individual colleges by members of a particular denomination was due at least in part to religious rather than educational reasons; and while the people of the province amply demonstrated their dislike for a non-sectarian provincial university located in the capital city, there can be little doubt but that sectarian influences in higher education were carried to excess.²⁶⁰ There was a natural tendency to confuse non-sectarian with non-Christian education, a fear which Howe tried to dispel:

A College (i.e., a non-sectarian college) would be under strict discipline, established by its governors; clergymen would occupy some of its chairs; moral philosophy, which, to be sound must be based on Christianity, would be conspicuously taught; and yet the religious men who know all this, raise the cry of infidelity to frighten the farmers in the country.²⁶¹

One question of great concern to Howe was the possible evil effects on society in general of a multiplicity of sectarian colleges:

But then these sectarian colleges are to do such great things for religion. I believe that in a short time they

²⁶⁰Annand, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 588.

Howe pointed out some admitted advantages of the denominational colleges:

"It is clear then that the denominational principle draws forth, and dedicates to the cause of education, friends which the Legislature could not command. It is equally undeniable that boys are attracted into these seminaries from the rural districts, who, but for them, would not be educated at all."

²⁶¹*Ibid.*, Vol. I, p. 382.

would banish it from the Province. One of them kept the eastern counties in hot water for sixteen years; and another has produced more strife, division, and bad feeling, than any other bone of contention, religious, social, or political. One thing is clear, that eight hundred common schools and seventeen county academies, are managed with more tranquility, on the independent system, than a single sectarian college. Suppose that five or six different religious bodies owned these, and each was scrambling for its own, what a scene of confusion would the education of the country exhibit . . . The people must have one college, as they have one supreme court; one Province building; one penitentiary; and if others want more, let them maintain them at their own expense.²⁶²

New Brunswick

From the start, religious considerations greatly influenced the development of the institution later known as the University of New Brunswick. The first draft of the charter had been drawn up in 1785 on fairly liberal lines, but Bailey²⁶³ points out that the long delay before the Charter was granted in 1800 was due partly to some difference of opinion concerning the nature of the proposed incorporation, and partly to the opposition of the Bishop of Nova Scotia who feared the establishment of a college which might prove to be a rival of the college then being founded at Windsor in Nova Scotia. The early drafts of the charter had envisaged the opening of the college to students of all denominations, but by the draft of 1793 entry was restricted to Anglicans, and in that form the charter was granted in 1800.

²⁶²Ibid., Vol. I, p. 381.

²⁶³Bailey, op. cit., p. 18.

Under the terms of this charter, the president of the college was to be a clergyman of the Church of England and professors were to be members of that church. The exclusion of non-Anglican students was one factor which materially affected the enrollment at the college, for many of these students were forced to attend colleges in the United States. The lack of students and the lack of financial resources prevented the College from offering courses at the college level, and the first degrees were not conferred till 1828.²⁶⁴

The financial and other difficulties of the college led the College Council to seek more financial aid and a Royal Charter in 1823. In 1824 the new governor, Sir Howard Douglas, arrived in the province. According to Hannay,²⁶⁵ Douglas had

²⁶⁴J. Hannay, History of New Brunswick (St. John, New Brunswick: 1909), Vol. I, p. 388.

Hannay reports that in 1822 the College, hitherto merely a high school, became a college and admitted four students with matriculation.

²⁶⁵Ibid., Vol. I, pp. 398-9.

See also: S. W. Fullom, The Life of General Sir Howard Douglas (London: Murray, 1863), pp. 264-5.

Fullom says that Douglas' first difficulty in re-establishing the college was to provide an endowment, and that "this he met by appropriations from the revenue arising from the sale of unoccupied lands, of which he possessed the disposal, and by inducing the House of Assembly to grant an equal sum. But the Colonists remembered their 'pilgrim fathers', and stipulated for the suppression of the Thirty-Nine Articles and the admission of dissenters. This aroused opposition and the application for a charter was resisted by the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Bishop of Nova Scotia".

already obtained a promise from the Imperial government of an endowment and a new charter for the college at Fredericton, but the charter was not granted till December, 1827, due to ecclesiastical opposition in England and in New Brunswick. This opposition, Harvey maintains, was for two reasons: dislike of a charter that would admit non-Anglicans, and fear of rivalry for King's College, Windsor. Fullom²⁶⁶ suggests that Douglas, although a staunch Anglican, wanted fair treatment accorded to the other denominations. Douglas made a compromise, "opening the college to all, but reserving the direction to the clergy, and limiting the stipulation of the Assembly by exacting subscriptions for degrees of divinity".

The draft charter adopted in December, 1828, which was virtually a copy of the charter of King's College, Toronto, and under which the College of New Brunswick became King's College, New Brunswick, was more liberal than the charter of 1800. Students of all denominations could now attend, with religious tests only in divinity, and while control of the college remained in the hands of the Church of England, the way was open for the appointment of professors of other denominations. This concession, however, did not satisfy the majority of the people, two-thirds of whom belonged to denominations other than the Church of England, and the college

²⁶⁶Fullom, op. cit., pp. 264-5.

was condemned to thirty years of arrested development.²⁶⁷

The college was unpopular mainly in consequence of the narrow nature of its constitution which placed all control in the hands of one denomination. This led to opposition being expressed in the Legislature, and in the 1845 session a bill to amend the charter of the college and to remove the control of the Anglican church was introduced by Wilmot and passed by a large majority.²⁶⁸ By this Act the College Council was broadened to include non-Anglicans, and the President needed no longer to be an Anglican clergyman; but the advantages of these changes in the constitution of the governing body were largely neutralized by the stipulations that the Professor of Theology be Anglican, and that divine service in College be held according to the rites of the Church of England. People still tended to think of the college as a Church of England institution, and this was one cause of the later establishment

²⁶⁷Hannay, op. cit., Vol. II, pp. 402-3.

Hannay refers to the proceedings of the Synod of the Church of Scotland in 1835. Mention was made of the serious hindrance to progress in the church caused by the lack of a native ministry. As King's College, Fredericton, was sectarian and under Church of England control, and contributions were not sufficient to maintain a Presbyterian college, students were compelled to go to Scotland for their training.

²⁶⁸Ibid., Vol. II, pp. 99-100.

The opposition to the bill was based mainly on the argument that a Royal Charter could not be amended by a Provincial Legislature.

of rival institutions.

As has been seen, the continued attacks on the college led to Head's appointment of a Commission and, subsequently, to the Act of 1859 re-establishing the college on non-denominational lines. By the terms of this Act, the president had to be a layman, the chair of theology was abolished, as were religious tests on both students and instructors. It is interesting to note, too, that careful steps were taken to avoid the label of "godless" being affixed to the college, through regulations stipulating that every student must attend the church of his choice on Sundays. It has likewise been claimed that in spite of the low cost of attendance at the college, the college nevertheless had difficulty in competing for students with the denominational colleges which had their cause advocated from the pulpits of the province.

In New Brunswick, as in the other provinces, then, considerations of religious significance played a large part in determining the development of higher education. Initially, the widely held British concept of the state-church relationship had led to the foundation of an institution open only to Anglicans, but partially dependent on public aid. This in turn had inevitably led to a period of bitter criticism, eventual reform, and the multiplication of colleges in a province whose needs could easily have been satisfied by a single institution.

CHAPTER V

THE GEOGRAPHICAL FACTOR

Upper Canada

It is obvious that in a province the size of Upper Canada the dictates of geography were of considerable importance; and this was the more so since communications and conditions for travel were uniformly bad. It is as a determining factor in the location of colleges that the influences of geography are most readily seen, more especially as geographical considerations played a part almost equal to those of religion in this aspect of the prolonged controversy in which the religious denominations were ranged against the Toronto monopolists.

The geographical factor played a significant part in the original choice of locations for the various colleges. Simcoe, writing to the Bishop of Quebec in April, 1795, stressed the need for the projected college²⁶⁹ to be situated in the capital city of York, "The residence of the Governor and the Council, the Bishop, the heads of the Law, and of the general quality of the inhabitants", where "in my apprehension would be most useful to inculcate just principles, habits and manners, into the rising generation; to coalesce the different customs of the

²⁶⁹That is, King's College in York (Toronto).

various descriptions of settlers, emigrants from the old Provinces of Europe into one form".²⁷⁰ This viewpoint was accepted by the Executive Council Committee which pointed out also that York was most suitable "both as being the seat of the Executive Government, the Legislature and the Courts of Justice, and as being by far the most convenient spot in the Province for all general purposes, its situation being nearly central, and besides its accessibility by water, the proposed high road from the one end of the Province to the other, being necessarily to pass near to or through it".²⁷¹

Accessibility also was a factor considered by the Methodists in determining their choice of Cobourg as a site for their college, a site "being retired from a large town, central in the Province and accessible both by land and water".²⁷² The location of Trinity College was decided after due consideration

²⁷⁰Hodgins, op. cit., Vol. I, p. 12.

²⁷¹Ibid., Vol. I, p. 22.

Naturally enough, bitter jealousies were aroused by the situation of the university in the capital city. See Vol. III, p. 175.

²⁷²Ibid., Vol. II, p. 3.

It is interesting to note the happy relationship between the College and the Town. In 1857 the College Board accepted a gift of land there, given on condition that the college be permanently located at Cobourg, and observed that the building programme would be regarded as "a sufficient guarantee of its intention to continue the establishment and operations of the College at Cobourg". (Vol. XIII, p. 122)

of several factors which were reviewed by Bishop Strachan in his inaugural speech, but the choice of Toronto was adhered to because the majority of subscribers had expressed the wish that:

It should be at, or near, the Bishop's See, that it might enjoy the benefits of his advice and superintendence. Moreover Toronto, from its central situation, is more generally convenient for the whole Diocese than any other place, and a greater portion of the amount subscribed within the Diocese was contributed by its inhabitants, much of it in the expectation, if not on the condition, that it should be at or near it.²⁷³

During the long controversy between the dissenting denominations and the Anglican church, and later between the denominations and the supporters of a Toronto secular monopoly of the public university endowment, the geographic difficulty was constantly apparent. If the problem was, as Ryerson later claimed, how best to use each \$1,000, then it followed that if the endowment were monopolised by an institution at Toronto, whether under religious or secular control, and if the outlying colleges received an insufficient public grant, then only the students living in Toronto or those whose parents could afford to pay boarding fees could benefit from educational facilities provided by the public endowment.

This difficulty was advanced as one major reason for the proposed cancellation of King's College Charter by the

²⁷³Ibid., Vol. X, p. 63.

Assembly's Committee on School Lands in 1831 which referred to the difficulties of obtaining a liberal education "without being removed many hundred miles from the tender care and watchful authority of their parents, as must be the case if these lands are exclusively applied to establish and support King's College, or any other extensive University, which can only be viewed as of benefit to those whose wealth enables them to bear the great expense of sending their children to the Capital of the Province." 274

The problem was obviously firmly in the mind of Macdonald when, in 1847, he put forward his University Bill²⁷⁵ which had the support of the denominations; and it was advanced by William Morris and Roderick Matheson, both members of the Legislative Council as their main reason for dissenting from the 1849 Bill.²⁷⁶ As against the desire to spread the availability of university education as widely as possible, there was also the fear that a proliferation of colleges would result

²⁷⁴Ibid., Vol. II, p. 22.

These sentiments were echoed in Durham's Report (DHE Vol. III, p. 241.).

²⁷⁵Ibid., Vol. VII, p. 36.

²⁷⁶Ibid., Vol. VIII, p. 145.

They opposed the Bill because "the endowment of a University at Toronto will not confer general benefit on the people of the Province, in as much as the wealthy classes only, and those who reside near the City, can avail themselves of the advantages of such a Seminary of Learning."

in a lowering of standards. This was a very real problem, and the failure of Baldwin's 1849 Act to find an acceptable solution was one factor which encouraged Queen's to continue as a full University rather than to affiliate with the University of Toronto.²⁷⁷

Lord Elgin saw the issue clearly and came down against the needless multiplicity of colleges. The Provincial Secretary wrote to Bishop Strachan on January 11, 1851:

The Governor-General observes that while he is most desirous that the means of obtaining Education in its highest branches should be placed as extensively as possible within the reach of the youth of the Province, he conceives that there are grave objections to the multiplication of Academical Institutions, having authority to grant Degrees in Arts, in a Country where the number of young men who can devote to study the necessary time to qualify them for such Degrees is not large.²⁷⁸

The petition from Queen's seeking an enquiry into the working of the 1853 Hincks Act maintained that the preamble of the Act "fully admits the desirableness of different University Colleges in different localities in a growing and widely extended Country like Upper Canada".²⁷⁹

Professor Weir of Queen's, in his statement before the University Committee in 1860, maintained that:

²⁷⁷Ibid., Vol. IX, p. 147.

The Queen's Board of Trustees (March 5, 1850) gave as another reason their belief that "in this department of education the deadening effect of monopoly are more apparent than in any other".

²⁷⁸Ibid., Vol. IX, p. 253. ²⁷⁹Ibid., Vol. XV, p. 32.

By having one University and a number of Colleges scattered over the Country, you would have a wholesome rivalry between them, and it would very soon become known where the best education was given. In any city, also where there is a College, there are many who will embrace the opportunity of getting a Collegiate Education, who could not go to another City to obtain it.²⁸⁰

This argument is, however, by no means clear. He rightly maintained the value of competition, but it is not certain that competition would necessarily follow from this suggested multiplicity of colleges. If there were many students who would attend a college in their own town but who could not attend elsewhere, the maintenance of several colleges in different towns would undoubtedly increase the total number of students enrolled; but even if competition proved that Queen's gave an education superior to that given by Victoria, it does not follow that an exodus of students would then ensue from Cobourg to Kingston.

Langton, the University Vice-Chancellor, in his evidence before the Committee suggested one solution to the problem, namely, that there should be one college sustained by the Senate, and that the denominational colleges could specialize in various subjects.²⁸¹ This solution, however, again ignored the geographic difficulties. A keen student of history in Kingston might have to go to Cobourg for instruction, and a student of Modern Languages in Cobourg go to Kingston.

²⁸⁰Ibid., Vol. XV, p. 120. ²⁸¹Ibid., Vol. XV, p. 191.

One partial answer to this problem imposed by geographical conditions which was early given consideration was the provision of scholarships. Thus the writer on education in the Christian Recorder of April, 1819, asserted that in the projected plan for a Provincial University:

Two scholarships are to be attached to each District, by which, at the end of every two years, the best scholar at the District School has an opportunity of obtaining a scholarship at College, which will maintain him four years . . . In this manner would the door to a liberal education be opened to the poorer inhabitants, and we might live to see the children of the farmer and mechanic filling the highest offices in the Colony, to which they had arisen by their superior talents fostered by the benevolent institutions of their country,²⁸²

Scholarships were included in the second Bill put forward by Macdonald in 1847 which provided for the sending of the two best pupils in each district Grammar School to the university of his choice at public expense,²⁸³ but this Bill was lost with the dissolution later that year. The Methodist Conference in 1851 also drew attention to the need for the wider provision of scholarships,²⁸⁴ but apparently their attempts to emulate the example of their American counterparts were not very successful. Later, however, the wholesale granting of scholarships by the University of Toronto, especially after the passage of the Hincks Act in 1853, was bitterly criticized by

²⁸²Ibid., Vol. I p. 157. ²⁸³Ibid., Vol. VII, p. 36.

²⁸⁴Ibid., Vol. X, p. 83.

the supporters of the denominational colleges.²⁸⁵ But if the effects of these scholarships were as widespread as the denominationalists maintained, at least it proved that difficulties of geography could be at least partially overcome by financial aid. In this whole question, considerations of economics and religion are closely interwoven with considerations of geography, and none is really dominant.

The tremendous distances between the towns of Upper Canada, coupled with the difficulties of rapid transportation, brought additional problems which had decided effects on the university question. In the first of his letters to Morris, the Rev. Robert McGill blamed some of the early disappointments of Queen's College on the undue haste in opening the College in March "when the state of the roads and the interruption of water communication rendered it impossible for young men at a distance to proceed to Kingston",²⁸⁶ and it has already been

²⁸⁵W. A. Langton (ed.), Early Days in Upper Canada: Letters of John Langton (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1926), p. 287.

Langton freely admitted that scholarships had been overlavishly granted. He wrote in 1856:

"We had a much larger income than sufficed for our wants and, proceeding upon the plan that anything we left would be snapped up by others and only sharpen their appetites, we spent in some things most lavishly, granting scholarships and prizes without limit, so that it was the exception rather than the rule if a student had not a scholarship or half a dozen prizes."

²⁸⁶Hodgins, op. cit., Vol. VI, p. 4.

noted that consideration was given to accessibility when the locations of the various colleges were first decided.

The difficulties of communication were further increased by the constant changing of the capital. The members of the Council of King's College, Toronto, were quick to draw attention to the difficulty of their position after the union of 1841. The Governor-General remained ex-officio Chancellor of the University of King's College, but the capital was moved from Toronto to Montreal, rendering worthwhile communication virtually impossible.²⁸⁷

At the first meeting of the new Senate after the 1853 Act, reference was made to the difficulty experienced by members of the Senate in getting to meetings called before the opening of navigation;²⁸⁸ while the journey from Cobourg to Toronto also made it difficult, through the time and expense involved, for Nelles²⁸⁹ to attend Senate meetings.²⁹⁰ This irregular attendance of the representatives of the denominational colleges caused Daniel Wilson of University College to charge them with deliberate lack of cooperation.²⁹¹ He also pointed out,

²⁸⁷Ibid., Vol. VI, p. 83. ²⁸⁸Ibid., Vol. XI, p. 136.

²⁸⁹Samuel Sobieski Nelles (1823-1887), educated at Victoria University, Cobourg, and at the Wesleyan University, Middletown, Connecticut; ordained as a minister of the Methodist Church in Canada in 1847; President of Victoria University, 1850-1887.

²⁹⁰Ibid., Vol. XV, p. 150. ²⁹¹Ibid., Vol. XV, p. 216.

equally as unfairly, that even though the Charter of Victoria College provided for five members of the government as members of the College Board, these five members seldom attended and therefore in practice wielded no sort of control.²⁹² Eventually, however, steps were taken to improve attendance at Senate meetings by providing travelling expenses and by holding the meetings at fixed times of the year.²⁹³

Lower Canada

In the development of institutions of higher education, considerations of geography were of far less significance in Lower Canada than they were in Upper Canada. In a predominantly French populated province, the city of Montreal was dominated by the English;²⁹⁴ there was no other city of any size with a large English-speaking population.

The location of the proposed university in Montreal can readily be explained by the wealth of that city, its English population and the gift of a site and endowment by James McGill. But Montreal was also the ideal site geographically, being, as Bathurst wrote, "from its central situation selected as the

²⁹²Ibid., Vol. XV, p. 221.

²⁹³Ibid., Vol. XV, p. 257; Vol. XVII, p. 21; Vol. XVII, p. 84.

²⁹⁴A. R. M. Lower, Colony to Nation (Toronto: Longmans, Green and Company, 1946), p. 152.

town best fitted for such a purpose".²⁹⁵

Geographical difficulties only obtruded themselves as a result of the effects of the Charter granted in 1821 which had set up a largely ex-officio board of governors. In 1843, for example, the Governor-General, Metcalfe, wrote to Lord Stanley, the Colonial Secretary:

I am by the Charter, a Governor of the Institution, but have not acted in that capacity; at first, simply because more urgent business prevented my going to Montreal to take a part in the proceedings of the Governors.²⁹⁶

This same problem was noted by the Board of the Royal Institution in their Report on their visitation of the college in the following year:

There are only two Governors resident in Montreal--the Chief Justice of the District, and Dr. Bethune, who is a Governor in consequence of his holding the interim appointment of Principal. The other Governors, who occasionally act, are the Chief Justice of Upper Canada, and the Bishop of Montreal²⁹⁷ both too distant from the College to take much part in the management of its affairs, and the latter having only very recently a title to do so. The Chief Justice of Montreal is unwilling, as a Roman Catholic, to interfere more than he can avoid in the government of a Protestant Institution . . . ²⁹⁸

²⁹⁵Macmillan, op. cit., p. 52.
Bathurst to Drummond, December 30, 1815.

²⁹⁶Ibid., p. 144.

²⁹⁷He lived in Quebec City.

²⁹⁸Macmillan, op. cit., p. 163.

The situation became utterly ridiculous in 1850 when all the Governors lived outside Montreal.²⁹⁹

If McGill University was calculated to provide the main source of higher education in Lower Canada by catering to these students in the comparatively heavily populated regions around the commercial city of Montreal, the University of Bishop's College was to provide higher education for the scattered English-speaking population. Situated nearly a hundred miles from Montreal and slightly more from Quebec, Lennoxville was in the midst of the English-speaking eastern townships of Lower Canada--townships which were largely isolated until the completion of the railway from Montreal to Sherbrooke in 1852.

Nova Scotia

In a small province such as Nova Scotia with a small and scattered population and only one city of appreciable size, the ideal site would be one that was convenient to the main areas of population, served by dependable transportation and communication facilities, and sufficiently convenient to the cultural influences of the province. By these criteria, the ideal site, and in fact the only site, was the city of Halifax; but in Nova Scotia sectarian influences more than balanced considerations of geography.

²⁹⁹Ibid., p. 200.

When Charles Inglis and his friends wrote from New York to Sir Guy Carleton in October, 1783, submitting a plan for founding a college in Nova Scotia, the site they suggested was Windsor, a town of about 600:

. . . a public seminary, academy or college should, without delay, begin to be instituted at the most central part of the province, suppose at Windsor³⁰⁰

Vroom³⁰¹ suggests other reasons for the choice of Windsor as the site for the future King's College. Windsor was the nearest town of any importance to Halifax, and while the Governor, members of the Council and the Judges for the most part lived in Halifax, many had houses of their own in Windsor which was well-known for its pleasant situation; and moreover Windsor was popular as a semi-rural retreat for generations of privileged Nova Scotians.

When Bishop Inglis prepared "A Brief Sketch of the plan on which it is proposed to Conduct the Academy of Nova Scotia, with some reflections on the properest place for its situation," he had probably seen only Halifax which was a commercial centre and a dockyard and garrison town--a fact which caused him to stress that "the greatest attention must be paid to the morals of the Students . . . and every precaution used to guard them

³⁰⁰Nova Scotia Historical Society: Collections, 1878-Vol. VI, pp. 123 et seq.

³⁰¹Vroom, op. cit., p. 13.

against the infection of bad principles, and bad examples".³⁰²

However good the reasons for the choice of Windsor as a college site, the wisdom of the choice was not unanimously agreed, and later this choice of site presented various difficulties. Saddled with an ex-officio Board of Governors, the college's growth was checked by the inability or unwillingness of these governors, who lived in Halifax, to attend the meetings at Windsor.

Bishop Inglis foresaw this difficulty as early as 1805 when the first draft of statutes was promulgated. He wrote in October of that year to Bishop Mountain of Quebec:

Your Lordship has seen the Statutes, and you can judge whether they would appear proper for Upper Canada, which nearly resembles these provinces as to population and character of the inhabitants . . . I shall confine myself to one only, which must necessarily be a check to the Institution. All the Governors, myself excepted, are men who hold civil offices, which fill up their time--they live at Halifax, forty-five miles from the College³⁰³

Again, the absence of the Board was felt when matters of discipline arose,³⁰⁴ for under the pseudo-Oxonian Statutes of Croke,³⁰⁵ punishments could be meted out only by the Board of

³⁰²Memoranda, op. cit., p. 4.

³⁰³Vroom, op. cit., p. 39. ³⁰⁴Ibid., p. 51.

³⁰⁵Dr. Croke was the Judge of the Court of Vice-Admiralty and a member of the original Board of Governors of King's College, Windsor. He was the dominant member of the Committee which drafted the initial and exclusive statutes for the College.

Governors who must be summoned by the Lieutenant-Governor.

The location of King's College at Windsor also militated against the possibility of union with Dalhousie, a union which would have necessitated the moving to Halifax of King's College which would have realized little or nothing on its property at Windsor.³⁰⁶

The Earl of Dalhousie advanced telling reasons for the siting of his projected college in the capital city of the Province:

A seminary for the higher branches of Education is much wanted in Halifax--the capital of the Province--the Seat of the Legislature--of the Courts of Justice--of the Military and Mercantile Society. Such an Institution in Halifax open to all occupations and sects of Religion, restricted to such branches only as are applicable to our present state, and having the power to expand with the growth and improvement of our Society, would, I am confident, be found of important service to the Province.³⁰⁷

The wisdom of placing the college in the capital city was accepted by Principal Baird and by Dr. Brown of Edinburgh University who wrote to Dalhousie in August, 1818:

By attaching the institution to the Capital, you secure, in addition to all other objects, the exclusive advantage of calling forth as soon as the demands of the Country may require it, a body of volunteer Labourers in three of the learned Professions whose desire of usefulness and distinction will be sufficient to engage them in preparing a course of public instruction, on some branch of service, connected either with their own immediate pursuits, or their favourite private studies.³⁰⁸

³⁰⁶Vroom, op. cit., p. 64.

³⁰⁷Harvey, op. cit., p. 18. ³⁰⁸Ibid.

Geographic considerations also played some small part in the location at Wolfville of the Baptist college. In the early years of the century, there was no seminary in the province where a Baptist minister could be trained. At first it was thought that Pictou Academy might be utilized for this purpose because, although under Presbyterian control, it was nevertheless based on fairly liberal principles. However, the distance from the Baptist communities to Pictou was too great for the existing means of transportation, and attendance at the colleges of New England, while possible, was difficult because of geographical barriers. Wolfville was eventually chosen as the site for the Academy, because it was centrally located in the Baptist areas of the province and conveniently located for students from both Nova Scotia and New Brunswick.³⁰⁹

The early struggles of Dalhousie College are explainable by political, religious and financial considerations; the struggles of the outlying colleges are explained at least in part by difficulties arising from their locations. Some of these difficulties have already been noticed; but in summary it may be stated that to be successful a college had to be so located that it could draw on an adequate supply of students, that it could depend to a certain extent on local financial support, and that its governing body and supporters could take

³⁰⁹ Longley, op. cit., pp. 13-4, 22.

a direct interest in its growth and development.

Howe, in his numerous speeches in support of a single sectarian Provincial University located in the capital city of the Province, effectively drew attention to some of the reasons for the early struggles of the sectarian colleges. For example, King's College, "placed on the outskirts of a country village" had failed in spite of lavish expenditure;³¹⁰ Pictou Academy "was founded in 1816, like the College at Windsor, in a small town, which could give but little natural support . . . and . . . planted amidst a thin population", had likewise failed dismally.³¹¹

Communications with Wolfville were poor and hardly conducive to the growth of the Baptist academy.³¹² A petition to the Assembly placed the blame for failure of the colleges on their location and their sectarian nature:

Your petitioners attributed the ruin of one such institution, and the feebleness and inefficiency of others, to the attempt to found them amidst a thin and scattered population, and to maintain them by the resources of some one of the numerous branches of the Christian family into which this Province is divided³¹³

³¹⁰Vroom, op. cit., p. 73.

Vroom points out that in the later history of this college when the initiative had been taken by the Alumni, it was the men of Halifax who did most of the work of the Alumni, as they could meet together at any time, while those from distant parts were hindered by difficulties of travel.

³¹¹Annand, op. cit., pp. 369-70. ³¹²Ibid., p. 382.

³¹³Ibid., p. 383.

The question of safeguarding the morals of the students while living at colleges away from home was frequently debated. The champions of sectarian colleges invariably favoured the location of their colleges away from the corrupting influences of the city, more especially if the college did not provide boarding accomodation for the students:

Of all places the centre of a garrison town and sea Port, like Halifax, is perhaps the most unsuitable for an establishment, which containing only lecture rooms, leaves its pupils exposed to dissipation, without one salutary check or restraint.³¹⁴

So wrote Haliburton in 1823 in his account of Nova Scotia; but these arguments were ridiculed by Howe:

But I ask those who utter these things to show me, within the bounds of Europe, one Collegiate institution of any name, or standing, that is not in the midst of a city more populous than Halifax. If, then, the boys of the whole world are subjected to these temptations, what is there in the character of our youth to warrant the belief that they are more prone to wickedness--more apt to yield to ordinary temptations? If it is meant that twenty thousand people commit more sin than twenty, I admit it. There may be a concentration of vice in all towns, but are not virtues, and restraints, and refining influences, concentrated in the same proportion? I deny that the people of Halifax are worse than their neighbours; and I appeal to you to say whether your children are not as safe now--whether they would not be as safe, drinking at the pure streams of science and philosophy, on the grand parade, as imbibing a sour sectarian spirit on a hill in Horton.³¹⁵

Finally, and with clear logic and telling force, Howe put the case for the location of the University in the capital city of

³¹⁴Harvey, op. cit., p. 29.

³¹⁵Annand, op. cit., pp. 379-80.

the Province:

But are there not other reasons which make the capital a desirable site? If a boy is intended for a merchant, he is surrounded by merchants, and warehouses, and ships, and may, while pursuing his studies, acquire a fund of valuable knowledge bearing on his peculiar pursuit. If he is to study law, all the courts are open to him, and all reserved points are argued here before the assembled judges; the pulpits are filled with able-divines; libraries, reading rooms, and institutes, offer constant stores of information. If he cherishes a martial spirit there are military exercises every day; if the navy attracts him, there are men-of-war to inspect; if he has a taste for mechanics, for art, or music, he will see and hear more to cultivate and refine his ear and his taste in Halifax in a month, than any country village can offer in seven years.³¹⁶

New Brunswick

New Brunswick, as has already been observed, was a province characterized by lack of unity--geographical, racial or religious. That the consequences of this lack of unity were not more serious to the development of higher education in the province may be ascribed, in part at least, to the influence of Sir Edmund Head, the scholarly governor of the province from 1848 to 1854, who did much to make the work of the college acceptable to the province as a whole.

Geographical considerations, as such, were not of great significance in the development of higher education and did not lead to multiplication of colleges.³¹⁷ At Confederation, New

³¹⁶ Ibid., p. 380.

³¹⁷ Bailey, (ed.), op. cit., p. 18.
The particularist tendencies of the time, growing out

Brunswick had but two universities: the University of New Brunswick situated centrally in the province at Fredericton, and Mount Allison University at Sackville.

of the geography of the Maritime region, accounted in part for the opposition to Bishop Inglis' plan to centralize higher education in the Maritime area at King's College, Windsor, Nova Scotia.

CHAPTER VI

THE CHANGING VIEW OF THE UNIVERSITY

Upper Canada

It is interesting and constructive to note what may be called the changing philosophy of the Canadian university. The expressed demand for a university, as has been seen, came in Upper Canada but a few years after the Constitutional Act of 1791. That nearly fifty years passed before any university opened its doors may be ascribed to the interplay of various factors--not the least among which was likely the fact that few even of the staunchest advocates of the establishment of a university had any clear conception of what the proper function of a university should be. Some advocates did, of course, and these were mainly the church leaders and members of the executive government who led the demand; but as the cry was taken up by others, even the term "university" began to be loosely and carelessly employed.

As time passed, the reasons advanced by the advocates of university education changed in line with the changing factors playing a part in the development of the colony. Many practical considerations had to be taken into account while the colony still remained in a pioneering state. What was the purpose of a university? What were its obligations to

society as a whole? These questions had to be answered; and the answers would largely determine the curriculum and the principles on which the universities would be organized and developed.

Lieutenant-Governor Simcoe, as has been seen, argued the need for a university primarily from a political point of view. The colony's future leaders must at all costs be educated in Britain or Canada, lest the spread of American ideas should tend to undermine the Constitution and loyalty to Britain. This argument was a strong one, and deserved serious attention. More widely interpreted, it was an argument for facilities to be provided for training all the learned professions, as any student studying for any profession in the United States might equally tend to adopt the ideals of Republicanism.

A writer in the Christian Recorder of April, 1819, maintained in so many words that "the liberal professions now require such an establishment" and introduced a novel note by advocating a system of scholarships which would enable the benefits of a university education to be spread among all classes:

In this manner would the door to a liberal education be opened to the poorer inhabitants, and we might live to see the children of the farmer and mechanic filling the highest offices in the Colony, to which they had arisen by their superior talents, fostered by the benevolent institutions of their country.³¹⁸

³¹⁸Hodgins, op. cit., Vol. I, p. 157.

Strachan, while stressing the importance of a university to train clergymen, lawyers and doctors, saw the benefits also being extended to the sons of merchants; while on the wider field, he envisaged "the great benefit arising to the Province from the conviction which every one must feel after the establishment of a university that, in removing to Canada, he is not taking his children to a wilderness which affords no opportunities for ameliorating their condition, but to a country possessing equal advantages in religion and education with that which he leaves".³¹⁹

On one point, however, Strachan was adamant, and always remained so: "It is of the utmost importance that the education of the colony should be conducted by the clergy."³²⁰ His projected university was to be modelled as far as possible on Oxford and Cambridge; the Principal and professors, except those of Medicine and Law, were to be Anglican clergy; while all other teachers and officers of the university were to be members of the Anglican church. Facilities for study in the following subjects were to be offered: classical literature, including English composition; mathematics, practical and theoretic; natural history including botany; natural philosophy and chemistry; moral philosophy and divinity; surgery and

³¹⁹Ibid., Vol. I, pp. 158-9.

³²⁰Ibid., Vol. I, pp. 211-13.
Strachan to Maitland, March, 1826.

anatomy; civil and public law.³²¹

Unfortunately, Strachan expounded his case for a university at greater length, and in doing so revealed his religious intolerance at its worst. While in England, Strachan issued an Appeal for funds in which he proclaimed:

It is chiefly on religious grounds that this appeal for the University of Upper Canada is made, which, while it offers its benefits to the population, will, for a century to come, from the peculiar circumstances of the country, be essentially a Missionary College, and the number of clergymen which it will be called upon to furnish will be more than double what any other profession can require.³²²

This Appeal and the terms of the Charter which Strachan obtained in 1827, called forth from the House of Assembly its first expressed views of the principles and purposes on which a university should ideally be based:

An University adapted to the character and circumstances of the people, would be the means of inestimable benefits to this Province. But to be of real service, the principles upon which it is established, must be in unison with the general sentiments of the people. It should not be a school of politics, or of sectarian views. It should have about it no appearance of partiality or exclusion. Its portals should be thrown open to all, and upon none who enter, should any influence be exerted to attach them to a particular creed or church. It should be a source of intellectual and moral light and animation, from which the glorious irradiations of literature and science may descend upon all with equal lustre and power.³²³

While the main university question now became centred on opposition to the 1827 Charter of King's College which so

³²¹Ibid., Vol. I, p. 214. ³²²Ibid., Vol. I, p. 215.

³²³Ibid., Vol. I, pp. 240-1.

flagrantly opposed the popular sentiments of the colony, attention was shifted for some years to Upper Canada College. Colborne, among others, realized the futility of a university unless it were assured of a steady inflow of well prepared students, and as this was patently not the case, Upper Canada College was seen as a useful feeder school to the university which would eventually be opened. He was persuaded that "a College of this kind, co-operating with the senior King's College, would produce that which is most required in the Province: religion, knowledge and good taste".³²⁴ The choice of staff would indicate a curriculum in which Classics predominated but which gave attention also to more practical subjects.³²⁵

It was, indeed, not long before criticism of the curriculum of Upper Canada College began to be heard. In July, 1831, a petition by a group of prominent citizens of York, including Robert Baldwin, was presented to Colborne, praying for such alterations to be made in the College regulations "as will enable Your Excellency's petitioners, and others in similar circumstances to have their sons educated in a College in such branches of an English Education as will qualify them for

³²⁴Ibid., Vol. I, p. 277.
Colborne to Legislative Council, January 19, 1829.

³²⁵Ibid., Vol. I, p. 286.
Colborne envisaged a total staff consisting of a Principal, four Classical masters, one for mathematics, two French, two writing masters and one drawing master.

discharging, with efficiency and respectability the scientific and other business of Tradesmen and Mechanics".³²⁶

The objectives of the Methodist Cobourg Academy, later known as Upper Canada Academy, were effectively stated by Egerton Ryerson, then Editor of the Christian Guardian, on November 30, 1830 :

The object of this proposed Seminary is not to compete with any College (University) which may be established in this Province; but rather to be tributary to it, when one shall be established for the general benefit of the Province, under the several branches of the Provincial Legislature, by imparting to youth and children the elements of a classical education, and by preparing them to enter the halls of a College, or University . . . The promoters of this measure, however, principally intend the contemplated Seminary to be a place of learning . . . where a good English and classical education may, with all possible facility, be acquired; where the rudiments of the several sciences will be taught . . . where scholars of every religious creed will meet with equal attention and encouragement; and where the terms will be made as moderate and easy as the circumstances of the Province will admit.³²⁷

This statement of objectives of the Methodist Academy was further enlarged upon by Ryerson when he arrived in England and printed a Prospectus and Appeal in December, 1835. The three-fold object of the institution was now seen as follows:

(1) to educate, upon terms equally moderate with similar institutions in the neighbouring republic of the United States and with strict attention to their morals, youth of Canada generally.

(2) to educate for Common School Teachers, free of charge, poor young men of Christian principles and character,

³²⁶Ibid., Vol. II, p. 28. ³²⁷Ibid., Vol. II, pp. 4, 5.

and of promising talents, who have an ardent thirst for knowledge.

(3) to educate the most promising youth of the recently converted Indian tribes of Canada, as Teachers to their aboriginal countrymen.³²⁸

Although Upper Canada College had been opened, and steps were being taken towards the opening of the Methodist College at Cobourg, the question of King's College was not lost to sight. Colborne advanced his views to a meeting of the King's College Council in June, 1830,--that same meeting in which he announced that no further steps would be taken towards opening the College until the Charter had been amended:

The chief object in opening a University in this Province is, not only to secure an easy access to the Institution, but to make it so attractive that no doubt may exist whether students can, in every respect, be better qualified in their native land to embrace a Professional life, than in other parts of North America.³²⁹

He also strongly advocated the provision of a full course of medical instruction.

The Second Report of the House of Assembly's Select Committee on Education, presented in December, 1833, deplored

³²⁸Ibid., Vol. II, p. 241.

See also: Sissons, Egerton Ryerson: His Life and Letters, Vol. I, p. 296.

Sissons points out that the Indians were a good talking point with the British public, but that in fact "in the course of a century, probably less than a score of students of Indian origin have entered Upper Canada Academy or Victoria College". Ryerson's knowledge of Indian affairs probably had considerable influence in commending the claims of Upper Canada Academy to Lord Grey. (p. 283.)

³²⁹Ibid., Vol. III, p. 25.

the long delay in opening King's College; mentioned the exertions of the Methodists and of one division of the Presbyterians towards establishing Colleges; and finally earnestly urged "that King's College be put immediately into operation, with such alterations in the Charter as may be deemed fit and expedient; and that it be recommended that an observatory, and Practical Professorship of Astronomy, be among the very first arrangements made".³³⁰

After the Amendment of King's College Charter in 1837, Strachan presented a general plan of Instruction to the College Council. This was broadly based on the model of King's College, London, with some variations suggested by the Scottish and American Universities, and envisaged six departments: classical and modern literature, physics, mental philosophy, theology, jurisprudence and medicine.³³¹

It was still the lack of training facilities for medicine and law, however, that was the most consistently advanced argument for the immediate establishment of a university.

³³⁰ Ibid., Vol. II, p. 146.

This demand for an observatory and a chair of Astronomy apparently stemmed from a petition of a Mr. John Harris asking for the provision of an observatory in the province. It is unusual, to say the least, that in an agricultural province, this demand should have preceded the demand for a chair of agriculture; nor does it reflect much credit on the sense of responsibility with which the Assembly approached certain aspects of the university question.

³³¹ Ibid., Vol. III, p. 93.

Lieutenant-Governor Arthur, favouring the ultimate establishment of a university, considered that "such an Institution would be productive of very great benefit, more particularly as regards the Faculties of Medicine and Law, if it could once be fairly put into operation".³³² This same object was again seen when Mr. John Prince gave notice in the House of Assembly on February 1, 1840, that he would move that an humble Address be presented to His Excellency the Governor-General "setting forth the great want which at present exists of the establishment of a Medical School in this Province, and requesting that Professorships in Medicine, Surgery and Anatomy be established in the Upper Canada College forthwith".³³³

The whole question received prominence again in the Report of the Commission set up by the House of Assembly in 1839 to report on the state of education in Upper Canada:

National Education may be divided into four departments: Professional, Liberal, Commercial, and Elementary. Of these the first two are the sphere of the University . . . For University Education, i.e., such as would qualify the student in Theology, Law and Medicine, the provision is at present, very deficient, although the regulations of the

³³² Ibid., Vol. III, p. 179.

³³³ Ibid., Vol. III, p. 227.
Mr. Prince did not apparently proceed with his intended action. It is difficult to see why, if doctors were in short supply, permission was not granted for "licentiates of Colleges in Edinburgh, Dublin, and Glasgow to practise Physic and Surgery in the Province" as sought in a motion before the House of Assembly on July 8, 1837. The motion failed on the third reading and was lost. (Ibid., Vol. III, p. 99.)

Upper Canada Law Society are eminently conducive to the advantage of that Profession; its operations must of course, be regarded as merely auxiliary to the University Education in that Faculty, and intended rather to promote, than to supersede, a course of Academic study . . . In the other Faculties, Theology and Medicine, there is no provision for the instruction of students except the incorporation of a College of Physicians and Surgens, which your Committee fear will be prevented from effecting all that is desirable, from the want of funds. Your Committee beg respectfully to state their conviction that the want of Schools of Divinity and of Medicine is productive of the most serious results.³³⁴

The importance attached to the work of the universities as professional training schools long remained dominant. One reason for the foundation of Queen's was for the "instruction of young men, with a view to the Holy Ministry in connection with the Church of Scotland;³³⁵ Ryerson, seeking more aid for

³³⁴ Ibid., Vol. III, p. 246.

³³⁵ Ibid., Vol. III, p. 294.

Rev. Robert McGill maintained in a letter to Hon. William Morris (D.H.E., Vol. VI, p. 22) that:

"The arguments which were employed by those who most actively solicited subscriptions for Queen's were chiefly drawn from the religious destitution of the Country and the necessity of educating young men for the Ministry amongst ourselves . . . General literature, indeed, was pleaded for, but chiefly as a preliminary to the other, and, though it was our design that Queen's College should afford the means of a liberal education to the sons of the wealthy who had no profession in view, as well as to those who might intend to follow the professions of Law and Medicine, yet our most prominent object was to secure facilities for educating candidates for the Holy Ministry."

The necessity of Queen's to the Presbyterian Church was further emphasized by the College Board in 1849:

"There is reason to fear that, if the means of Literary Education are withdrawn, it will stop the progress of nearly all the students for our church." (D.H.E., Vol. VII, p. 207.)

Victoria College also advanced as one reason the desire to incorporate training facilities for ministers.³³⁶ It was logical, then, that in his address at the opening of King's College in 1843, Mr. Justice Hagerman should choose to review the importance of a university to the Church, Law and Medicine.³³⁷ The increase of population and wealth of the colony, and the consequent expansion of the learned professions was among the main arguments advanced by Strachan to Cathcart in support of university education.³³⁸ It is noteworthy that a Faculty of Medicine was included in Trinity College³³⁹ and that steps

³³⁶Ibid., Vol. III, p. 109.

Ryerson to Sydenham, July 13, 1841. On his induction as Principal of Victoria College in June, 1842, Ryerson expounded at length on the type of instruction which he considered important in a College. He wished to see instruction in Ancient Languages with Greek and Roman Antiquities; mathematics and physical sciences (including chemistry, minerology, geology and astronomy); moral sciences (including philosophy, ethics, logic and the evidences of Christianity); rhetoric and Belles-Lettres; and theology. (Sissons, Egerton Ryerson, Vol. II, p. 23.) Of his desire to provide instruction in French and German, Sissons remarks:

"The desire to launch out into what was a new field in University work, the teaching of Modern Languages, probably was suggested quite as much on national as cultural grounds. Ryerson was not unmindful of the implication of the Act of Union, or of the presence of considerable German settlements in Upper Canada." (Sissons, pp. 25-6.)

³³⁷Ibid., Vol. IV, p. 292. ³³⁸Ibid., Vol. VI, p. 87.

³³⁹Ibid., Vol. IX, p. 133.

Instruction commenced in five departments: theology, classical literature, mathematical science, the Faculty of law, and the Faculty of medicine, including chemistry. (D.H.E. Vol. X, p. 64.)

were taken by Queen's, early in 1854, to confer with the Medical Practitioners of Kingston with a view to the establishment of a Medical School in connection with the College.³⁴⁰

Just as there was this constant demand for professional training facilities for the church, the law and medicine, so also there developed a demand for the provision of education that would answer the needs of a society in which commerce, business, and the practical arts were fast assuming importance.

When Colborne established Upper Canada College in 1830, one of his reasons was the desire to bring into operation a school which would enable youth to fill with credit posts in public service and commercial life.³⁴¹ As has been seen, however, the rather narrow curriculum soon elicited criticism, and changes were made "tending to increase the proportion of miscellaneous studies to retrench the time devoted to the Classics, till, at present, this latter branch occupies less than half of the time spent at the College by pupils of any standing".³⁴²

³⁴⁰Ibid., Vol. XI, p. 165. ³⁴¹Ibid., Vol. III, p. 311.

³⁴²Ibid., Vol. III, p. 318.

There was a realization also of the fact that graduates of the traditionally classical universities such as Oxford and Cambridge were not necessarily the men best fitted to teach in Canadian colleges. Writing to Lieutenant-Governor Arthur from Cambridge in 1838, J. H. Harris referred to Dr. McCaul, a graduate of Trinity College, Dublin, and recently appointed Principal of Upper Canada College, the staff of which were

Acknowledgement of the strength of the demand for university education tailored to the needs of the agricultural and commercial classes was given by Ryerson in 1843 when he maintained that "the operations of Victoria College are not less important to the Agricultural and Commercial community of Western Canada than those of the Upper Canada College have heretofore been to the Professions",³⁴³ and stressed that "this Institution is peculiarly adapted to the wants and wishes of a very large class of the community, incorporating as it does with the higher departments of learning, a thorough system of a Scientific, English and Commercial Education".³⁴⁴

One advocate of the need to harness university education to the basic economics of society was the Rev. Robert McGill who set forth his opinions with eloquence and force to the Hon. William Morris in a series of letters in 1842. He maintained ³⁴⁵ that in the present situation, there would be a dearth of students in Upper Canada, for:

mainly Cambridge men:

". . . but I am led to suppose that in some quarters at least a break in the chain of Cambridge succession will not be deemed a subject of regret--& as I believe there is more attention paid at the Irish University to some popular & useful branches than at the English ones, Dr. McCaul's appointment will probably be of advantage in carrying out the more general features of the Course which had been adopted at Upper Canada College"

³⁴³Ibid., Vol. V, p. 93. ³⁴⁴Ibid., Vol. V, p. 93.

³⁴⁵Ibid., Vol. VI, pp. 7-10.

The learned professions here do not afford numerous openings; they offer no premium to the cultivation of refined and obstruse learning; and, so long as merchandise, and agriculture, and the mechanical arts lead to wealth and independence, while the highest abilities in professional life will scarcely suffice to raise their professor in these respects above the humblest level, we must not expect that parents will very readily run into expense that can bring no very profitable return, in order to procure a liberal education for their sons.

He thought that any university should be well-equipped, and envisaged at least six chairs in addition to the normal ones: mathematics, physics, natural history, chemistry, engineering, botany and agriculture;

For, not to mention the chairs of Philology, and of Mental, Moral and Political Science, it seems to me that, in a Country like this, Natural and Mechanical Science, upon which our prosperity is so immediately dependent, should be fostered with a liberality which they have not shared in some of the older seats of learning in Britain, founded under the patronage of the Church, and chiefly for ecclesiastical purposes.

He also stressed the value of research:

Some of these chairs, it is true, might, for a time, be united, and the duties discharged by one Professor; but it should never be forgotten that it belongs to learned men in Universities not only to teach what is known in their respective departments, but to push on in the career of discovery and to extend their boundaries. For this a division of labour is necessary, and any proposal which offers an enlargement of means for this object should not be rejected.³⁴⁶

Another strong demand for the encouragement of the Commercial and Practical Arts came in a resolution passed at a Public Meeting largely attended by Baptists, Congregationalists

³⁴⁶Ibid., Vol. VI, pp. 13-4.

and members of the Presbyterian Free Church at Toronto, in February, 1846,³⁴⁷ and the following month saw a memorial submitted to the Council of King's College from citizens in the Municipal County of Bathurst District:

Engaged, as a very large proportion of the inhabitants of this Province are, in Agricultural pursuits, your Memorialists are of opinions that the study of Agriculture and Agricultural Chemistry, in addition to the ordinary branches of Education, would be of paramount importance to a numerous and useful class of the community.³⁴⁸

In announcing the "completion of progressive courses of examination, not merely in the Faculties of Law, Medicine and Arts, but also, in the Departments of Civil Engineering and Agriculture", the Senate of the University of Toronto in its Report to the Governor-General as Visitor, expressed their belief that the changes would recommend themselves to the judgment of "those who believe that Educational Institutions should keep pace with the advancement of human knowledge, and should be adapted to the present wants and future expectations of the community for whose benefit they are intended".³⁴⁹ In accordance with this demand for education in professional,

³⁴⁷Ibid., Vol. VI, p. 111.

³⁴⁸Ibid., Vol. VI, p. 115.

In their reply, the Council pointed out that a Chair of Agriculture was established by statute in 1844, but that they do not think it necessary to have a separate Chair of Agricultural Chemistry.

³⁴⁹Ibid., Vol. XII, pp. 43-6.

commercial and practical subjects, steps were taken to enlarge the scope of university chairs.

It was generally realized by the various leaders in education that the universities must respond in some way to the changing educational needs of a society that was itself undergoing rapid change, and in the economy of which science and the practical arts were assuming greater importance. This was most effectively stated by Chief Justice Robinson in his speech at the inauguration ceremonies of Trinity College in 1852:³⁵⁰

Education must be reasonably suited to the requirements of an age remarkable for its rapid advancement, and wonderful discoveries in the Arts and Science, and for the practical adaptation of these discoveries to the useful purposes of life . . . The pursuits of Commerce have become of such increased importance, its interests so varied, its arrangements so multiplied and complicated, and the competition they give rise to so keen and so incessant, that not a quicker application of the faculties, but a much wider range of knowledge, has become indispensable for those who are engaged in the active business of life . . . The Professions demand higher qualifications. Wholly new departments of Science and Art have been created; old errors have been exploded, new processes and combinations adopted; what a few years ago were subjects of speculation and cautious experiment have become established facts, and engage

³⁵⁰ Ibid., Vol. X, p. 67-9.

Nelles, Acting-Principal of Victoria College, showed the same appreciation of the importance of science. In a letter to Ryerson dated June 17, 1851, he wrote:

"I would further submit whether we ought to think of commencing operations again without a Professor, or a Teacher, of Natural Science. It is desirable to economize; but it seems to me a very doubtful economy to cripple the Faculty in this highly important member. This is evidently not the day when any College can prosper without a Master in the Laboratory." (p. 85)

attention and claim observance in the current transactions of the day.

The increased importance attached to the study of science and the professional and practical arts had a threefold result: it led to a questioning of the relationship that these studies should hold to the universities; it led to a demand for the liberalizing of these studies; and it led inevitably to the long and sometimes brilliant, sometimes bitter, debate before the University Commissioners in which the philosophical bases of the whole university question were thoroughly discussed.

It had long been taken for granted that the faculties of Law and Medicine were integral parts of a university.³⁵¹ The Roman Catholic Vicar-General, Angus Macdonnell, however, writing to the Governor-General in March, 1846, was frankly sceptical about the need for a university in the province, and suggested that the best plan would be to repeal the Charter of King's College, distribute the endowment among the four existing colleges and to set up a College of Law and Medicine somewhere in the Province.³⁵² The Macdonald University Bill of 1847 proposed to separate the Medical Faculty and to establish a

³⁵¹Ibid., Vol. VI, pp. 106-9.

Ryerson maintained in 1846 that there should be a Provincial University furnishing the highest academic and professional education, at least in respect to law and medicine.

³⁵²Ibid., Vol. VI, p. 110.

Medical School in Toronto, but this Bill never became law.³⁵³

To Bishop Strachan, a medical and law faculty were essential parts of a university; and they had formed an integral part of each plan that he had advanced for a projected university;³⁵⁴ but Ryerson seemed to waver in his opinions. Having, in 1846, expressed his opinion on the desirability of professional training facilities within a provincial university, in 1852 he suggested to Hincks when enclosing a proposed draft Bill of University Reform that the faculties of Medicine and Law at the University of Toronto should be removed from the university as they were "not so numerously attended as other Schools of Law and Medicine in Toronto, that receive no Legislative aid".³⁵⁵ He proposed that an annual Legislative grant from the University fund should be made to the Law Society and the Medical Society to enable them to organize their own education;³⁵⁶ but at the same time he intended keeping Agriculture

³⁵³The text of the Bill is given in: Ibid., Vol. VII, p. 4.

³⁵⁴Ibid., Vol. X, pp. 64-5.

In his comments at the inauguration of Trinity College, Strachan stressed the value of residence to students. His ideal was a college run "with the order and economy of a well regulated family". However, while inferring that "without residence within the College, the full benefit of Collegiate life and education cannot be obtained", the students of law and medicine were specifically excused from compulsory residence in the College.

³⁵⁵Ibid., Vol. X, p. 150. See also: Vol. XIV, p. 217.

³⁵⁶Ibid., Vol. X, p. 153.

and Civil Engineering under the control of the university.³⁵⁷
 Ryerson's eloquent plea on behalf of practical education in his
 "Address on the Nature and Importance of Education to Mechanics"
 was, however, a plea for a government endowed school of mechanic
 arts, not for the teaching of mechanic arts in the university.³⁵⁸

The argument was brought into the open again in 1856,
 three years after the passage of the Hincks Bill which had
 separated the faculties of Law and Medicine from the University
 of Toronto. A resolution was moved and adopted in the Legisla-
 tive Council on May 19, 1856:

That the means of instruction in Law is an important
 ingredient in every system of Liberal Education, and that
 an University on a broad basis, is imperfect without a
 Faculty of Law. Moreover, it is anomalous in an Univers-
 ity to undertake to grant Degrees in Law without providing
 any means for affording instruction thereon. And, therefore,
 it is desirable that the Faculty of Law be restored in the
 University of Toronto.³⁵⁹

A similar resolution concerned the Medical Faculty.
 Opposing arguments, framed, but not moved, by the Hon. Michael
 Foley, however, expressed agreement with the principles of
 the 1853 Act and asserted that a State-paid Faculty of Medicine
 would mean practical education given by non-practical men;

³⁵⁷Ibid., Vol. X, p. 154.

³⁵⁸Ibid., Vol. XI, pp. 40 ff.

In spite of this, the government paid no attention to
 Technical Education till a Commission was set up in 1870.
 The Toronto College of Technology opened in 1871.

³⁵⁹Ibid., Vol. XII, p. 253.

would be the "renewal of abuses against which the University Act of 1853 was intended to protect the Country"; would impoverish the funds provided for "academical education in Upper Canada"; and, finally, would involve the justice of a "claim to afford similar provision for every other Practical Art and Science, which becomes its own reward . . ." ³⁶⁰

The demand for the provision of liberal studies for those students intending to enter the church or the professions was seldom heard before 1854, when, in the first meeting of the University of Toronto Senate under the recent University Act, a Commission relating to degrees in Medicine was set up "to consider whether any, and what, encouragement can be held out to induce students in Medicine, Law, Civil Engineering and Agriculture to take Degrees in Arts, or become Students in that Faculty". ³⁶¹

³⁶⁰ Ibid., Vol. XII, p. 254.

³⁶¹ Ibid., Vol. XI, p. 139.

See also: Sissons, Egerton Ryerson, Vol. II, p. 24. Ryerson was well aware of the advantages of a general rather than a specialized education. At his induction as Principal of Victoria College on June 21, 1842, he said:

"It is intended to maintain such a proportion between the different branches of literature and science, as to form a proper symmetry and balance of character. In laying the foundation of a thorough education, it is necessary that all the important faculties be brought into exercise. When certain mental endowments receive a much higher culture than others, there is a distortion in the intellectual character. The powers of the mind are not developed in the fairest proportions by

This was carried a step further in February, 1858, by a resolution of the Board of Trustees of Queen's College that "the General education of Students of Medicine attending the University should be improved, and the character and standing of the Profession be thus raised all over the Country". It was therefore resolved that "in order to receive a Medical Degree in the university, it should be necessary, during each year's attendance, to attend one of the literary and philosophical classes for at least one hour each day".³⁶² Nelles likewise stressed the value of liberal studies to students of theology,³⁶³ and this was later taken up in 1865 by the Synod of the Free Presbyterian Church which recommended Students for the Ministry "to take, when possible, a full course in some approved College; (say University College, Toronto, or McGill College, Montreal) and obtain the degree of B.A., before entering on their Theological Studies".³⁶⁴

studying languages alone, or mathematics alone, or natural or political science alone. The object of the Collegiate course is not to teach what is peculiar to any one of the professions; but to lay the foundation which is common to them all."

³⁶²Ibid., Vol. XIV, p. 45.

Rev. Dr. Cook, in a statement before the Commission of Enquiry later fully endorsed this move, "I think nothing would tend more to increase the respectability of the Medical Profession, or to prepare young men for entering advantageously on the study of Medical Science, than a previous attendance in a general College Course." (Vol. XV, p. 160.)

³⁶³Ibid., Vol. XIV, p. 39.

³⁶⁴Ibid., Vol. XVIII, p. 289.

Note the deliberate avoidance of any denominational college.

That there was a growing realization that universities should be in accord with the changing demands of society has already been noticed in the attempts to alter curricula in order to reflect new trends and to widen their appeal. In May, 1836, the Rev. Dr. Harris, in defending the work of Upper Canada College, drew attention also to the function of a university not merely to reflect a public demand for higher education, but to create and stimulate it:

. . . it must be obvious, with respect to the higher pursuits of learning and science, that the taste and demand for them, in a new community, must not only be encouraged, but, in a great measure, created; and this is to be done, not by a tardy supply of facilities and assistance, only afforded, when the necessity for them can no longer be denied, but by providing opportunities in advance, which may elicit latent genius, and lead the way to the loftier paths of knowledge.

He pointed out, too, that the "beneficial effects of talents, which are drawn forth, and cultivated, by a systematic course of education, are not confined to the locality, either of the school, or of the home, of the talented individual; the talents, thus matured, are the property and advantage no less than the ornament of the Country at large".³⁶⁵

This wider aspect of the value of university education to society was also stressed by the Rev. Peter Colin Campbell in a thoughtful pamphlet on the university question in which

³⁶⁵Ibid., Vol. III, pp. 316-7.

The opposite view was expressed by Rev. Robert McGill to Hon. William Morris. (Vol. VI, pp. 7-10.)

he attacked the idea of a multiplicity of universities and in which he supported the principles of the 1843 Baldwin Act:

The matter in hand is nothing less than the framing of the mould in which are to be cast the minds of our future Statesmen and Legislators, Divines, and Instructors of Youth, Lawyers, and Physicians;--the minds which, come what may, will form the intellectual and moral, as well as the constituted, power of the land, and exercise over our descendants that irresistible influence which is the inalienable possession of superior knowledge.³⁶⁶

Lower Canada

According to Strachan, a friend and executor of James McGill, the intent of McGill was to found a college where a general academic education could be obtained.³⁶⁷ Strachan, in a letter to members of the Legislature in 1815, put forward the further suggestion that as far as the recruitment of staff was concerned, "men of some talent must be selected and of great zeal for the promotion of the Sciences".³⁶⁸ As far as the internal organization was concerned, he preferred the form of the Scottish or German universities to that of the English, mainly because of the financial saving involved.

Strachan suggested that the following chairs be established: Greek and Latin; natural history and botany; mathematics and astronomy; natural philosophy and chemistry; moral philosophy, logic and rhetoric; surgery and anatomy; court

³⁶⁶Ibid., Vol. V, pp. 299 ff.

³⁶⁷Macmillan, op. cit., p. 37. ³⁶⁸Ibid., p. 47.

and public law.³⁶⁹ These suggestions indicated that Strachan entertained a fairly broad view of the functions of a university envisaging them as including the provision of professional training in Law and Medicine in addition to that of a general academic education.

Although classes, other than those in medicine, did not commence till 1843, there seems to have been general agreement on what studies properly constituted university courses. At the College opening ceremonies in 1829, the Bishop summed up the general view when he said that "he was sure they were all of opinion that a moral and religious education in Christian principles, and a scientific course of studies on a true philosophical system were what it was their bounden duty to promote."³⁷⁰

The resources of the College being strictly limited, the Governors were not able to establish the number of professorships suggested by Strachan. As has been seen, the college operated for several years with the four professorships, to which it was restricted by the terms of the Charter, all held by members of the Medical Faculty; but the Governors had, in 1834, attempted to establish chairs of classics, natural philosophy and mathematics, and Hebrew and Oriental languages.³⁷¹

³⁶⁹Ibid., p. 49.

³⁷⁰Ibid., p. 79.

³⁷¹Ibid., p. 96.

The difficulties engendered by the Charter and the system of dual management of the College prevented the effectual opening of general academic instruction. It was generally realized, however, that the term "university" could not properly be applied to a college where all professional chairs were occupied by members of the Medical faculty:

The existing arrangement appears to the Board to be clearly liable to the objection that it is contrary to the terms of the Charter and the intention of the founder since an institution of which the offices are so filled for the purpose of one science alone cannot in law or in common parlance be considered as a University where all the branches of literature are or may be universally taught, and such an Institution is erected by the Charter according to the express will of the testator.³⁷²

Both the Board and the Governors agreed on the necessity of including religious instruction in the College curriculum. The Governors wished to give to the entire University a sectarian character; while the Board of the Royal Institution merely insisted that it be Protestant rather than exclusively Anglican.³⁷³

Again, in 1839, the Governors took steps to effect the beginning of general academic instruction. Their plan at that time was to establish chairs of classical literature and mathematics, two lectureships in divinity, three medical professorships and a professorship of law "much wanted".³⁷⁴

³⁷²Ibid., pp. 122-3. ³⁷³Ibid., p. 131.

³⁷⁴Ibid., pp. 128-9.
A lectureship in law was finally established in March, 1847. (Ibid., pp. 187-8.)

This plan did not materialize but it is worthy of note that recognition was again given to the duty of a university to provide a wide range of professional training.

The Board of the Royal Institution took a rather different stand than did the Governors of the College, preferring to give first consideration to the need for general instruction, although acknowledging the need for professional training. Thus, in October, 1839, the members of the Board in refusing a grant to the Governors "in order to enable them to commence a course of Medical Instruction" wrote:

The Board resolve with regret that they cannot give sanction to this vote of the Governors, as they conceive themselves bound in the first instance to apply the means at their disposal for purposes of general instruction, and those means are so limited as to render it impossible to grant the sum demanded by the Medical Faculty without sacrificing general to one branch of professional education . . . The Board are, however, fully aware of the advantages to McGill College and to the public generally which the proposed course of Medical lectures cannot fail to be attended with.³⁷⁵

From the start it was generally recognized that the projected College should not be a mere copy of an English university, but rather that it should reflect the differing needs of a new land. The tutorial system of Oxford and Cambridge was not regarded as suitable in Canada; while care had to be taken in the selection of Professors from England:

I must further add on the subject of finding Professors, that gentlemen newly from England, and accustomed to the

³⁷⁵Ibid., p. 132.

wealthy Universities of that country, may not always possess the qualities necessary to make them useful in this projected Seminary. Learning they may have in abundance, but the industry labour (I may say drudgery) and accommodation to circumstances cannot be expected from them. There are several gentlemen in this country qualified for the first race of Professors, and after the Seminary is once set agoing there will be no risk in electing Englishmen to fill vacant chairs, because the rules and regulations being established, all must submit.³⁷⁶

The necessity for a Canadian university to adapt itself to local needs was again emphasized by Archdeacon Mountain during the opening ceremonies in 1829 when he explained that the rigidly exclusive character of the ancient English universities was not to be perpetuated in the new college.³⁷⁷

The outlook of the informed general public with regard to the needs and characteristics of a university was probably fairly accurately voiced by an editorial in the Sun in August, 1854:

All we need are persons at the helm who will take an active interest in the progress and advancement of the institution . . . It won't do to sit idly down--to follow the dignified and majestic example of Cambridge and Oxford. Montreal is not England--it is in Canada. We have a way of doing things for ourselves. It is not necessary in order rightly to accomplish an end to ask how they do it 'at home'; we can find out a mode ourselves. McGill College will never be anything until some exertion is made by those who have control of it. A languid indifference or a sickly half-dead interest will never secure to it a permanency among the institutions of the day³⁷⁸

³⁷⁶Ibid., pp. 47-8.

Strachan, on behalf of the executors of the McGill estate, to members of the Legislature of Lower Canada in 1815.

³⁷⁷Ibid., p. 80.

³⁷⁸Ibid., pp. 209-10.

In this short editorial are clearly manifested a consciousness of positive Canadian nationality; and of a need to develop along lines typically Canadian, rather than to follow forever the example of the Mother Country.

From the start, the University of Bishop's College in Lennoxville had two clearly defined functions: to train clergymen for the Anglican community and to provide cheap liberal education to students of all denominations.³⁷⁹ The four-year course was to consist of classical and English literature and composition, history, mathematics, natural and experimental philosophy, chemistry, logic, rhetoric, moral philosophy, Hebrew and divinity.³⁸⁰ In practice, it seems that not all these subjects listed in the Calendar were taught, and the usual course was heavily weighted with Greek, Latin and mathematics with but little attention paid to any form of science. An attempt, in 1849, to begin serious instruction in the physical sciences had failed through lack of necessary funds; but later the Professor of mathematics offered supplementary lectures in physics, and in some aspects of chemistry and geography.³⁸¹

Professional education, except for the Anglican Ministry, did not form part of the work of Bishop's College; and indeed

³⁷⁹Masters, op. cit., pp. 13-5.

³⁸⁰Ibid., pp. 20-1. ³⁸¹Ibid., p. 48.

the small enrollment of students would have effectively prevented this. During the first decade of the College, registrations seldom exceeded half a dozen, causing Principal Nicolls to complain in 1856 that "education, except such as fits for the field of survey or the counting house, is for the time at a discount". Candidates for the ministry were also few, a fact explained by the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, by "the inadequate appreciation of the value of a University education; and in part, so far as the students of Divinity are concerned, to the unwillingness of parents to devote their sons to a profession the temporal rewards of which are so scanty".³⁸²

Bishop's College, however, was slow to adapt itself to the changing demands of an expanding industrial society. Its basic philosophy remained, as it had always been, that of a university imparting liberal instruction under a strong Christian influence. Principal Nicolls summed up his view at the Convocation of 1860 thus:

For it is the business of a University to gather into itself all the branches of learning, to adopt and interweave with the old and well-tried, what is new and modern; to assist in its measure and according to its capability in the work of scientific discovery, but far more to sanctify scientific discovery. When man searches and investigates, argues and proves, pronounces at his study table, that this or that field or rock, produces or does not produce a certain precious metal, or indicates by calculations

³⁸²Ibid., p. 47.

the existence of some hitherto undiscovered heavenly body and points out the very spot it occupies at the moment; when the human mind thus strides onwards, let it be the University's privilege to demonstrate that the excellency of all this, is not of man, but of God; that while man discovers, he discovers what God has made, what God gives him to understand. Universities let us remember are Christian Institutions

Nova Scotia

As has been seen, the first demands for the establishment of a university in Nova Scotia were as early as 1783 when a group headed by Charles Inglis wrote to the governor, Sir Guy Carleton, suggesting "the founding of a College or Seminary of learning on a liberal plan in that province, where youth may receive a virtuous education and can be qualified for the learned professions". They further suggested that for financial aid, "recourse, in the first instance should be had to government, whose interests will be essentially served".³⁸³ In other words, the primary aim of the projected college would be to ensure the filling of civil service, professional and ecclesiastical positions in the province.

In contrast to the rather utilitarian aims of King's College, Windsor, were the sentiments expressed in a letter to the editor of the Acadian Reporter of Halifax on January 24, 1818, dealing with the need for higher education:

The infant state of this country, has hitherto rendered

³⁸³ Nova Scotia Historical Society: Collections. Vol. VI, p. 123.

an extensive attention to the business of education unpracticable: men struggling for food, have little time to spend upon the pursuits of Literature. But there is a danger that the modes of thinking and habits, which arise out of such a state of society, may remain long after it is past; and unperceptibly enfeeble the community, amidst increasing means of energy . . . But . . . it may be very easily shown, that this Province is really in great need of an open and general seminary for the higher branches of education. The learned professions are few; and comparatively few turn their attentions to these employments. But no man of sense will say, that, if any person wish to be a lawyer, physician, or clergyman, it does not concern the community whether he has within his reach the necessary means of excellence.

A review of the state of any of the learned professions in this Province, will show ample room for improvement; and, surely, our rapid amelioration in other respects, ought not to be combined with the neglect of those persons and offices which are essential to our prosperity and to which all civilized nations most carefully attend³⁸⁴

Lord Dalhousie took a broad liberal view of the purpose of a university, "This College of Halifax is founded for the instruction of youth in the higher classics and in all Philosophical studies."³⁸⁵

For this reason, then, the College was to be located at Halifax where, he declared, an institution "open to all occupations and sects of Religion, restricted to such branches only as are applicable to our present state, and having the power to expand with the growth and improvement of our Society, would . . . be found of important service to the Province".³⁸⁶

³⁸⁴S. D. Clark, The Social Development of Canada (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1942.), p. 182.

³⁸⁵Harvey, op. cit., p. 19. ³⁸⁶Ibid., p. 18.

This view of the purpose of a university was not, however, common. The Archbishop of Canterbury had a rather more narrow view and implied as much when as late as 1836 he wrote to Glenelg regretting the decline of King's College "which some years ago afforded a good education to the sons of the principal families in the Colonies, and prepared many young men for the church"387

A similarly narrow view was taken by Dr. Cochran of King's College and Chief Justice Blowers, in 1824, when they advanced, as one reason for opposing the union of King's College with Dalhousie, the opinion that if the university of King's College were engrafted upon a college of dissimilar design, classical literature might be made subservient to lectures, studies and diffusive acquirements, and classical education "lost in the more showy and dazzling employment of experiments and amusing pursuits".388

It is therefore not surprising to note that King's College was slow to broaden its curriculum. As late as 1851, it offered instruction in divinity, classics, mathematics, and modern languages only; although instruction in chemistry and natural philosophy was added when the staff was reorganized in June, 1854.389

³⁸⁷Hind, op. cit., p. 75. ³⁸⁸Harvey, op. cit., p. 31.

³⁸⁹Hind, op. cit., pp. 104-5.

In spite of the views of its founder, Dalhousie had been slow in adapting itself to popular needs, although McCulloch, among others, had clearly seen the necessity of doing so.³⁹⁰ Attention was given to the teaching of mathematics and natural philosophy but, as has been seen, the precarious existence of the college frustrated the achievement of any really worthwhile results.

Acadia University was quicker to adapt itself to the changing needs of society. The academy, which opened in 1838, and which later offered collegiate instruction, gave courses in classics, mathematics, moral and natural philosophy, and rhetoric and logic.³⁹¹ At first the promoters of a Baptist College had simply desired a Theological Seminary but after Caswell had suggested that an academy teaching such practical subjects as mathematics, grammar, composition, surveying and navigation would be of more immediate benefit to the denomination than a Theological Seminary, the curriculum was broadened to give a general pre-vocational training for those intending to enter the professions.³⁹² Science, therefore, had a place

³⁹⁰Longley, op. cit., p. 28. In 1838 he declared:

" . . . 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."

³⁹¹Ibid., p. 7.

³⁹²Ibid., pp. 20-1.

in the curriculum of Acadia from the start, the first experiment being performed there in 1839.³⁹³

The need for Acadia to break away even more from the traditional classical curriculum was realized by Principal Cramp, who, on taking office in 1851, spoke of the expanding field of knowledge and the need for an educated ministry:

The range of study is expanding every year, and the student who would avoid the reproach of ignorance must spend more time in making acquisitions for which his predecessors had no demand . . . Clerical ignorance is a sure precursor of public corruption, and society in self-protection ought to demand trained men in the pulpits . . .³⁹⁴

In the years immediately following, the teaching of science was continued and expanded,³⁹⁵ while a beginning was made in the field of adult education.

Joseph Howe probably saw more clearly than most people the need for a radical reform of the universities as regards both organization and curriculum. He was frustrated in his designs of university reform, but his opinions were nevertheless significant.

To Howe, the aim of university education was "the uniting and knitting together the hearts of the people in the love of science and liberal accomplishments".³⁹⁶ He deplored the fact that there were branches of information of great

³⁹³Ibid., p. 38.

³⁹⁴Ibid., p. 67.

³⁹⁵Ibid., p. 69. For example, geological surveys were made.

³⁹⁶Annand, op. cit., pp. 361-2.

importance which were not taught in the province, such as the political and administrative sciences and agriculture;³⁹⁷ while Annand reports Howe as saying that "looking round upon the great agricultural body, whose sympathies had been appealed to in favour of these sectarian institutions; upon those whose toil had beautified the face of his country, and made the wilderness to blossom as the rose; and who had earned, by the sweat of their brows, the larger part of the money thus foolishly expended; looking round upon that large class, he could scarcely find two successful farmers who had graduated at these institutions, and one of them had stood in the midst of an agricultural people for fifty-four years".³⁹⁸

He suggested the establishment of one provincial university with professors of moral philosophy and rhetoric, chemistry and natural history, natural philosophy and mathematics, history and political economy, modern languages, law, medicine and divinity;³⁹⁹ and his emphasis on the need of the university to provide for more practical aspects of life was again clearly seen when he argued the advantages of the capital city as the ideal site for the Provincial university.⁴⁰⁰

³⁹⁷Ibid., p. 364.

³⁹⁸Ibid., p. 371.

³⁹⁹Ibid., p. 379.

⁴⁰⁰Ibid., p. 380.

New Brunswick

New Brunswick was the province in which the greatest conscious effort was made to adapt the university to the needs of the people. The petition of 1785 had been for the "early establishment in this Infant Province of an Academy or School of liberal arts and sciences",⁴⁰¹ and the original charter envisaged "instruction in the various branches of science and literature as they are taught in other universities".⁴⁰²

The early difficulties of the College of New Brunswick were due largely to the pioneer conditions of provincial life and to the exclusive character of the 1800 Charter which limited the privileges of the College to members of the Church of England; but, as has been seen, attacks on the college continued even after its refoundation in 1828 as King's College, Fredericton, with a charter noteworthy for its liberality. The continued attacks, as Firth⁴⁰³ suggests, were one aspect of the political controversy of the 1830's. The attacks in the Assembly were aimed apparently at the narrow curriculum of the college, and came from men who in all probability had no genuine interest in any aspect of education.⁴⁰⁴ The tone of the more responsible criticism aimed at the college generally was typified

⁴⁰¹Bailey (ed.), op. cit., p. 15. ⁴⁰²Ibid., p. 57.

⁴⁰³Ibid., p. 24.

⁴⁰⁴Ibid., p. 70. The curriculum was not, in fact narrow. In 1837, instruction had begun in chemistry and natural science, and mathematics and natural philosophy.

by the comments of a local editor at this time:

To be intimately and critically acquainted with the writings of the philosophers, historians, and poets of Greece and Rome is a luxury confined to the aspirations of the few--not a necessity for the many. The many of this fast and laboring epoch, look for knowledge that contributes relief to the wants, and will meet the emergencies of the passing hour. Mental life in a new country cannot afford the time required to detect the subtleties of the Areopagitica, or to elaborate the conceits of a Sappho, or wade through the nonsense of a fabulous mythology. The present is overloaded with the practical.⁴⁰⁵

Continued attacks in the following decade led to the Act of Amendment in 1846 which broadened the composition of the College Council to include non-Anglicans, but which failed completely to stop the attacks.⁴⁰⁶ The problem was to popularize university education, and there was no general agreement on the best means to adopt.

The credit for saving the College and adapting it to the needs of the people and province must go primarily to Sir Edmund Head who became Governor of New Brunswick in 1848. He

⁴⁰⁵quoted in Ibid., p. 30.

⁴⁰⁶Ibid., p. 29.

Regarding the reasons for this continued attack, Head observed:

"It must be recollected, however, that a large portion of the settlers in New Brunswick at the end of the last century were American Loyalists who brought from an older and more advanced country a feeling for British Institutions and a desire to promote knowledge of a higher kind. These persons and many of their sons could feel a pride in the note of possessing a University of their own, which has ceased to animate the next generation not imbued with precisely the same feelings and more sensible of the immediate necessity for gaining their own livelihood and supplying their material wants."

was immediately impressed by the need to stimulate the agriculture of the province. In 1849 he wrote to the Colonial Secretary, Lord Grey, and to the Registrar of King's College, Fredericton:

I am extremely desirous that a course of lectures in Agricultural Chemistry should be delivered at Fredericton during the sitting of the Assembly . . . I look upon the diffusion of scientific information relating to Agriculture as a most important object to this Province . . .⁴⁰⁷

To pay for these lectures to be given by Dr. Robb of the College, Head suggested the allocation of part of the revenue from a vacant professorship. Grey agreed that this would be a justifiable diversion of college funds but the College Council refused, and Head eventually paid for the lectures out of his own pocket.⁴⁰⁸

While some members of the college teaching staff were sympathetic to the views of Head, Dr. Jacob, the Principal of the College from 1829 to 1859, remained true to his Oxonian traditions. In answer to the demands in the Legislature that the College be converted into an Agricultural School, he said in 1851:

. . . we must not listen to the cry which calls us from the pursuit of truth and virtue to the lower paths and grosser occupations of the multitude; we will not yield to the suggestions which would tempt us to pander to the unworthy passions, flatter the prejudices and vain conceits, or count the boisterous plaudits of factions or the casual

⁴⁰⁷Kerr, op. cit., p. 54. ⁴⁰⁸Ibid.

crowd. But we may, we must, we will, as far as it shall please God to grant us power and opportunity, exert our best endeavours to communicate knowledge intrinsically valuable, with the disposition to use it for the common benefit.⁴⁰⁹

From May to August 1852, Governor Head visited England where he held lengthy discussions on the work of the Oxford University Commission to which he contributed a brief. One of his first actions on his return to New Brunswick was to secure the appointment of a similar commission to investigate King's College, Fredericton. Head was well aware of the conservative attitude of Principal Jacob;⁴¹⁰ but nevertheless approached the College Council with a view to cooperating with them in the problem of "how far the institution meets the wants of the country in a manner commensurate with its legal position and legal endowments".⁴¹¹

Head saw, too, the need to popularize the work of the

⁴⁰⁹Bailey, op. cit., pp. 61-2.

⁴¹⁰Kerr, op. cit., p. 104.

Head's views were shared by others. Lyell, a friend of Head, wrote to Horner on September 12, 1852, that the College:

". . . was rendered useless and almost without scholars owing to an old-fashioned Oxonian of Corpus Christi, Oxford, having been made head, and determining that lectures on Aristotle are all that the youth in a new colony ought to study, or other subjects on the strict plan which may get honours at Oxford. I trust that Sir Edmund Head may succeed in his exertions to get something taught which the pupils can afford to spend their time in learning. At present they must go to the United States."

⁴¹¹Ibid., p. 104.

college. In a letter to Lewis in October, 1852, he wrote:

The Institution was entirely a mistake in a new country of this kind as you may suppose by what I have stated. My real end and object is what I say--to save the endowments if I can, for if popular agitation against their mis-application of public money begins in earnest it will be impossible to obtain any funds for superior education, whereas by popularizing the instruction in some degree and convincing the assembly that we wish to make it practically useful, I think it may be preserved and profitably applied.⁴¹²

He finally secured the appointment of the Commission, the members of which included William Dawson and Egerton Ryerson, and frequently participated in the discussions. The Commission finally reported in 1854, and reflected the opinions of Francis Wayland, President of Brown University, one of the more progressive educators of that time.

The Commissioners gave consideration to the type of system of collegiate education best adapted to the wants of the province of New Brunswick and also to whether King's College, as then established, was adapted to give effect to such a system. They were agreed that the system should be comprehensive, special and practical, and "that it ought to embrace those Branches of Learning which are usually taught in Colleges both in Great Britain and the United States,--and Special Courses of Instruction adapted to the agricultural, mechanical,

⁴¹²Ibid., p. 104.

He had already procured the introduction of a course in engineering (Bailey, op. cit., p. 76.).

manufacturing, and commercial pursuits and interests of New Brunswick; and that the subjects and modes of instruction in the sciences and modern languages, (including English, French, and German) should have a practical reference to those pursuits and interests".⁴¹³

They stressed the need for the provision of collegiate education of a high standard within the province; and sketched out a suggested course of studies embracing English language and literature, Greek and Roman classics, mathematics, modern languages, natural history, chemistry, natural, mental and moral philosophy, and civil polity.

The commissioners broke new ground with their suggestion that the College should concern itself with the further education of those students not seeking the more traditional college education. They therefore suggested the institution of three additional courses of instruction, each of which should extend over a period of two years and lead to the award of a Diploma. The first of these special courses was to be that of civil engineering and land surveying; the second was to be that of agriculture; and the third, that of commerce and navigation. Provision was also suggested for occasional students to take courses of lectures and gain certificates accordingly. The Commissioners felt that this suggested scheme would satisfy

⁴¹³Hodgins, op. cit., Vol. XVI, text of Reports pp.2-13.

the higher educational wants and interests of the province:

Thus will the Endowment and the advantages of King's College be made available to every class of interests and of intelligent and enterprising young men in New Brunswick,-- to the Mechanic and Engineer, the Farmer and the Merchant, the Manufacturer and the Surveyor, not less than to those who seek the best preparation for any one of the learned Professions.⁴¹⁴

The Act of 1859 made King's College a truly provincial university under the name of the University of New Brunswick. The President of the university was to be a layman, the chair of theology was abolished, as were all religious tests on professors and students. For some time progress was slow, but with the appointment in 1860 of Brydone Jack as President of the University, a new era began although no general broadening of the curriculum was possible until after 1867.

⁴¹⁴Ibid., Vol. XVI, p. 4.

CHAPTER VII

CONCLUSION

The lands which in 1867 came together to form the Dominion of Canada had undergone many changes in the preceding century. At the end of the 18th. century, the Maritimes were entering upon a period of rapid growth, largely dependent on fishing, ship building, lumbering and commerce. The advent of many thousands of Loyalists from the New England States had led in 1784 to the division of Nova Scotia and to the formation of New Brunswick as a separate colony. The Maritime Provinces were effectively separated from the Canadas by the northern extension of the Appalachian barrier, and communication was virtually nonexistent.

Lower Canada, even after the Constitutional Act of 1791, was slow to develop, although settlements had gradually spread up the St. Lawrence River. Montreal, a trading centre, and Quebec, a centre for ship building and the lumber trade, were the only cities of any significant size.

Upper Canada was the province which showed the most rapid development. Originally peopled largely by Loyalists from New England and later by Scottish immigrants, many thousands more immigrants from the United States were enticed into the province by Simcoe, and this post-Loyalist settlement

continued strongly until about 1810. The fur trade gave way to agriculture and commerce but transportation remained a problem as the province had no seaport.

All four provinces were directly affected by the great wave of immigration that followed the ending of the Napoleonic Wars in Europe. In 1806, Nova Scotia had a population of 65,000; New Brunswick, 35,000; Lower Canada, 250,000; and Upper Canada, about 70,000. By 1850, the population of British North America had more than tripled. This immigration brought great advantages and some problems. Pioneer settlements, especially in Upper Canada and New Brunswick, rapidly expanded. Increased contacts with Britain were developed through books, newspapers and more frequent travel. In Lower Canada, the proportion of English speaking people was increased; in Upper Canada, the population became a complex mixture of groups.

Economic development was seriously affected by a series of depressions occurring periodically throughout the 19th. century. The depression following the Napoleonic Wars did not as seriously affect the colonies as it did the Mother country. Trade picked up in the 1820's and was reflected in a boom in the timber and ship building industries which lasted until 1825 - 1826 when there followed a few years of deep depression which hit particularly hard at New Brunswick whose economy was based largely on timber. Moderate prosperity returned in the 1830's, and after 1841 a rapid upward trend followed which was

characterized by the railway mania. The boom broke in 1846 with the advent of free trade in Britain. Foreign competition hit both the timber and wheat trade, and these hardships were aggravated by increased American tariffs. This depression lasted about three years; the tide turned in 1849 and the economy forged ahead until 1857. In that year occurred yet another depression but this proved to be short-lived. The outbreak of the American Civil War brought a period of prosperity which persisted until Confederation.

It is against this background of pioneer settlements; of a developing economy punctuated by frequent depressions; and of an expanding population characterized by changes in the racial background and religious affiliations of the people, that the beginnings of Canadian culture and the development of institutions of higher learning must be viewed.

In most pioneer communities it was the influence of the church which first raised people above their everyday problems, and drew attention to the need for education. The Church of England was firmly entrenched, and in all provinces the ruling groups believed in, and accepted, the English concept of an established church. French-speaking Roman Catholics predominated in Lower Canada. The Protestant dissenting groups--Presbyterians, Methodists, Congregationalists, and Baptists--at first did much of their most effective work in the pioneer settlements of the Maritimes and of Upper Canada. It was only

later that their influence spread to the urban centres and to the more influential sections of society.⁴¹⁵

The part played by religious rivalries in the development of higher education can scarcely be exaggerated. Religious bigotry and geography made necessary a multiplicity of colleges; and this multiplication of effort inevitably retarded the general development of higher education. Initially, the churches did most to develop higher education; later church rivalry did most to retard it.

The most obvious characteristic of the development of colleges in all the provinces was undoubtedly the constant and chronic shortage of money. This is a characteristic not unknown in modern times; but it was shown to extremes in the early struggles in the various Canadian Colleges. It was caused by a variety of reasons. In Upper Canada, the money was available and had for a long time been designated for purposes of higher education. Its application to its intended use, however, was prevented by a combination of religious, geographical, and political factors which became stronger with the approach of Responsible Government. This was seen also in Nova Scotia where Anglican exclusiveness was the source of trouble. In Lower Canada, in the case of McGill College, the opening of the college was retarded more by administrative

⁴¹⁵For further details see: Lower, op. cit., pp. 192-5.

and political factors than by religious. In the case of all colleges established by church groups, there was a constant financial struggle, and especially in the case of Anglican institutions, a tendency to rely unduly on aid from the Mother country.

Because colleges were considered necessary to train ministers and other professional men who would be leaders of society, there was, perhaps, too great attention paid to collegiate, at the expense of elementary and secondary education, and the doubts sometimes expressed, revealed some concern about this matter. It must, however, surely be conceded that some provision for higher education was necessary in all the provinces. That future leaders should be protected from American Republican philosophies was a valid point; as was the need to train ministers, doctors, and lawyers.

The part played by personal animosities can perhaps be over estimated. The arrogance of Strachan and the vitriolic opinions of such men as Daniel Wilson add colour to the quarrels but it is doubtful whether they materially affected the situation. One characteristic of the development of the university question, however, was certainly bitter personal acrimony stemming from the essential differences in basic philosophy held by the main protagonists.

A more significant characteristic was the failure of the colleges as a whole readily to adapt themselves to the

changing conditions and needs of society. The reason was largely financial, as the teaching of science has inevitably been more costly than the teaching of a traditional classical curriculum; but it was also due partly to the control of many of the colleges by religious groups and the location of these colleges away from the commercial and industrial centres.

Throughout the whole course of events, however, can be seen the growing demand that Canadian universities should be in fact Canadian, and not mere copies of Oxford and Cambridge; that they should prepare students to be leaders of Canada; that their curricula should be geared to the demands of Canadian society and that a break should be made with the Oxonian traditions which, in the Canadian mind, had come to mean traditions of privilege. In spirit there was therefore a movement away from the Oxonian traditions characterized by a narrow classical curriculum and too often by opinionated professors, and consequently greater willingness to seek ideas from Continental Europe, Scotland, and the United States.

The development of Canadian universities reflects, then, the developing national consciousness that went hand in hand with the struggle against minority rule and the movement towards Responsible Government. Leitch's summary in 1863 of the History of the University Question in Upper Canada applies in a general way to each province and points out the fact that the losers in this long and often bitter struggle had been the people

of Canada:

It is with mingled feelings of admiration and shame that one looks back on the history of this long-vexed question--admiration for the longing of the people for a National System of Higher Education, and shame for the sectional and local influences that have constantly thwarted this national aspiration . . . Some malign influence defeated all the honest attempts of the Legislature to gratify the longings of the people. The national ideal was, in the early days, ever sacrificed on the shrine of local, personal, and sectarian interests . . . But no one can trace the successive stages of this university question without discovering evidences of a decided advance in patriotic feeling and integrity of purpose.⁴¹⁶

⁴¹⁶Hodgins, op. cit., Vol. XVIII, pp. 51-63.

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