

FATHER ATHOL MURRAY
AND
THE FACULTY OF ARTS
AT
NOTRE DAME COLLEGE, WILCOX, SASKATCHEWAN
BY
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A Thesis
Submitted to the Faculty of Graduate Studies
in Partial Fulfilment of the Requirements
for the Degree of

MASTER OF ARTS

Department of History
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Winnipeg, Manitoba

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ISBN 0-315-71822-6

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ABSTRACT

This manuscript brings to the 'legend' of Reverend Athol Murray documentary scrutiny with focus on the Faculty of Arts at Notre Dame College and Murray's dream to bring to western Canadian youth "the inescapable tradition" of western civilization. Studies to the present, regarding Athol Murray and the institution to which he was associated, did not have access to the resources of: the University of Ottawa; the University of Saskatchewan, the chancery offices of both Regina and Toronto or the notes of Mary Weeks who wrote the first national story on Notre Dame for MacLeans in 1935.

The thesis contributes to the existing history of this western Canadian educator by illuminating more precisely Murray's career background which had been mainly his own oral reminiscences. It further illustrates in detail his efforts in developing an Arts programme in 1933 and in gaining approval for this experiment. Next, it outlines an historical context for Murray's educational ambition to bridge 'faith and reason', philosophy and religion within the framework of Catholic college objectives. Finally, it provides a documented account of the style of the parent-affiliate relationship between Notre Dame and the University of Ottawa, the institution which awarded graduates of Notre Dame a baccalaurate of arts.

The conclusions of this study suggest that Father Murray's 'larger than life' enthusiasm, so unrestrained and even embarrassing at times, was the catalyst which sent the parish priest westward. This same enthusiasm attached to his educational ideals for an Arts programme and expressed so eloquently because of his French classical education, carried the Arts programme down through the many tough years until his death in 1975. His vision for leadership development for western Canadian youth centered in the neo-scholastic movement (Thomism) initiated by Pope Leo XIII. He invigorated this philosophy within a context of sport, artwork, British cultural emphasis and a non-sectarian, 'mixed school' setting he felt demonstrated a spirit of 'open mindedness.' His efforts to develop a solid Arts faculty were exhausting and the results rarely satisfactory to the University of Ottawa. But he avoided foreclosure because of his dynamic character, the romance associated with Notre Dame, the solid accomplishments of many of his graduates and the 'goodwill' of Ottawa University which harboured a 'duty incumbent' to provide opportunity for western Canadian youth.

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

On a spring morning of 1973, I visited Notre Dame College at Wilcox, Saskatchewan. The visit included the usual scotch drink and story telling of Athol Murray whom I had met in association with the Olympic hockey teams of the 1960's. At noon, to my surprise, Athol Murray announced to the assembled lunch-time students and staff, that not only was I coming to teach at Notre Dame but also that I would write a history of the school. These predictions came true. However, that the history is now complete is due to not a little assistance and encouragement from many people.

I am greatly indebted to the history department of the University of Manitoba for its generous cooperation in making this study possible, at a distance between Winnipeg, Wilcox, Saskatchewan and Richmond, British Columbia. In particular, thesis director Dr. Gerald Friesen has given me strong encouragement to delve more deeply than intended at first and shown me much kindness as well.

Notre Dame College and its staff assisted in securing research materials and indeed, adjusted some of my personal teaching timetable in order that I could arrange commitments with the University of Manitoba. Distinctly, Sister Edith McCullough who taught and was principal of Notre Dame high school on and off since 1927, and now resides in New Westminster, B.C., was always available to clarify uncertain details of the early years. Alumni and associates of Athol Murray cooperated enthusiastically and many sent materials to the school for its archives. Specifically, Bill and Lois Mooney made available their collection of tapes and other resources collected over the years. Father Edward Synan of Saint Michael's College, Toronto, in sending to me his unpublished papers on 'neo-scholasticism' provided a clear historical context to Father Murray's philosophy. As well, the archivist of the University of Ottawa and the Chancery offices of both Regina and Toronto, in allowing access to records regarding Athol Murray and the school, lent research for a part of this history that had been unavailable until recently.

Finally, the preparation of this study could not have gone forward without the able assistance of typists Ms. Pat Selinger of Wilcox, Ms. Hazel Omoth of Milestone and in particular, Ms. Maureen Smith of Vancouver.

Terrence M. O'Malley

July 23, 1990.

INTRODUCTION

The history of the Faculty of Arts at Notre Dame of Wilcox, Saskatchewan will be examined in three parts. First, the thesis explores the career of its founder, Father James Athol Murray, up to the time of the founding of the Arts Faculty in 1933. Second, it examines Murray's effort to acquire and keep post-secondary status for Notre Dame. Finally, it outlines the objectives and nature of an Athol Murray education.

The addition of a Faculty of Arts programme to an existing high school in Wilcox, Saskatchewan, in 1933 was not an unusual event in this period of Western Canadian history. It occurred regularly throughout the prairies as the young communities matured.(1) The event was historically interesting because the school and the founder have become 'legendary' material for the prairie West. In the language within athletic circles in the 1980's, Athol Murray was an 'impact' player whose personality, deeds and growing legend still cut a swath throughout western Canada and beyond. The 'storytelling' about Murray and the Notre Dame school is inescapable. It is the purpose of this thesis, however, to analyze the Murray legend, and in particular the Faculty of Arts at Notre Dame, to better understand this famous western Canadian educator and the institution he created.

When Athol Murray started the Programme in Arts at Notre Dame in 1933, Saskatchewan was crushed physically and financially. The sons and daughters of pioneers who had experienced success and gained independence in the three decades

before 1929 were devastated by the Depression. These facts were poignantly recalled to a Chronicler by a farmer. He lamented:

The Dirty Thirties! Just put in your book that you met Henry Jacobson and he's seventy-eight years old. Might say I never took a backward step in my life until that Depression whipped me, took away my wife, my home and a section of good land back in Saskatchewan. Left me with nothing. Write that down. (2)

Father Murray's own parish suffered. He wrote to his Archbishop:

In the few years I have been at Wilcox, its Catholic population has fallen back from nearly fifty to about twenty families. Bank of Commerce authorities, as well as relief officers, point to Drinkwater, Rouleau (40 empty houses in the village alone), Wilcox and Milestone as the hardest hit in Saskatchewan. (3)

Progressive and CCF politics had developed in this prairie context, but in the early 1930's, state intervention and deficit financing were not a part of government imagination. Governments provided relief as "grants in aid" or direct expenditure on labour camps or the works of the Prairie Farm Rehabilitation Administration.

The decade of the thirties when Athol Murray formed his arts programme was one of trial and discord and historians agree that governments fumbled their way through the depression hoping to "wait out" the cycle. However, individuals in Saskatchewan could not wait out the crisis. They moved away or acted. Murray's goal was to support young students by involving them in post-secondary study.

Athol Murray held together an Arts programme for forty-two

years until his death in 1975. The story of his determination to succeed in such an unlikely underpopulated area has caught the imagination of writers for years. Some of that interest is the result of the mystique of the 'Hounds', as he called his students, and the fierce loyalty of his "alumni." The 'Hounds' have toured many parts of Canada and most every hamlet of Saskatchewan with baseball and hockey teams. Alumni are living throughout the country and many graduates are leaders in their communities. The interest in Notre Dame has to do also with the strong and even charismatic personality of Murray himself and his often outrageous outpourings on political issues. He once told Prime Minister Pierre Trudeau publicly that he needed a haircut. Another time he was quoted as having issued a "call to arms" if the Saskatchewan government enacted its medicare legislation. If the saying about educators, "a teacher affects eternity," holds true, then the Murray educational experiment has had an impact upon many citizens of the prairies and beyond its boundaries. But Murray's impact on the prairies began with his own career in Ontario and Quebec.

Father Murray moved to Saskatchewan in 1923. Immigration to the western provinces had created tensions within the Catholic Church between the predominantly French Canadian hierarchy and non-French parishioners. Murray was available for loan and this fact is the culmination of a rather unorthodox and early career in Ontario and Quebec. He was also selected by the incumbent Regina archbishop, Oliver Mathieu, because of his bilingual and classical College training in Quebec, in particular at Laval University.

Murray carried with him to the west a Scottish heritage, Roman Catholic upbringing, a classical training in the Arts with its emphasis on philosophy, and the style of an elite Ontario family (both Presbyterian and Catholic) that was prominent in industrial and community affairs. He was given the responsibility of Chancellor at Regina in order to provide English speaking balance to this Chancery district. He ended his tenure as chancellor to become director of "boyology" programmes for South-Saskatchewan youth. At this time, however, a dying Mathieu appointed Murray to the Wilcox parish of Saint Augustine which had already a thriving primary and secondary school under the auspices of the Sisters of Charity of Saint Louis. This moved Murray, who was "too singular in his ways", away from the Chancery office during a sensitive transition period. It was now 1927, six years prior to the opening of Notre Dame's Faculty of Arts. Murray's experience had a significant influence upon his leadership of the "Arts" experiment in Wilcox.

The correspondence of Murray during the first years in Wilcox indicates that he recognized the need for local leadership formation. He convinced his father in 1929 to leave his personal library to Notre Dame. He encouraged capable students to pursue University education and many high school graduates of the area did attend colleges and universities in Saskatoon, Regina and Ontario. Although the world financial crisis was embedded deeply in Saskatchewan well before 1933, in the spring of that year Murray suddenly and forcefully sought formal affiliation with the

University of Saskatchewan and, failing that, with the University of Ottawa. At this time, some students of his parish were denied access to post-secondary schooling in Regina and Murray believed this was unjustified because their parents had raised funds in the late 20's to ensure their children's access to university. And thus, to address this problem and to continue efforts to provide for students in his care, Father Murray extended the parish high school programme to include post-secondary instruction.

A college requires extensive planning. Murray had to make provision for staff, students, lodging, teaching facilities, and library as well as financing. His effort and enthusiasm however carried the day for the experiment about which many were skeptical. This included the Archbishop of Regina, James McGuigan, who withheld formal approval but ignored the fact of its establishment because of "the desperation of the times." The University of Ottawa allowed "probationary" affiliation and Murray did not officially legitimize his programme until 1938 and then, only after averting a serious effort by the Regina Chancery office to cancel the project.

The Notre Dame Arts programme had to co-exist with educational developments within the Province of Saskatchewan. Educational institutions began to dot the Saskatchewan prairies in the first decade of the century, and, by 1920 there was a pressing need for high schools. This requirement was often met with private schools, as happened with Notre Dame in Wilcox, Saskatchewan. There, the local parish priest was familiar with the Sisters of Saint Louis of

Quebec. He convinced both the congregation of the Sisters of Saint Louis and the local parish community that a viable school was possible. All worked diligently to establish the school. But a post-secondary institution was another matter. This, in the view of senior Church officials in Regina, would require a degree of centralization. Also the chief institution of post-secondary education was the University of Saskatchewan at Saskatoon, which was granted a monopoly of degree granting authority in 1907. This situation gradually became less satisfactory as the Province matured. As a result, a number of affiliate junior colleges started, some in association with the University of Saskatchewan and others outside of its jurisdiction. Murray's educational experiment was affiliated with the University of Ottawa. His educational objectives were therefore tied to the curriculum and requirements of the University of Ottawa.

The objectives and nature of Athol Murray's Arts' programme were established in accordance with the framework of the Catholic University of Ottawa and Canadian Roman Catholic ideals for higher education. However, it is noteworthy that Murray called Notre Dame a "non-sectarian college under Roman Catholic auspices." His objective was "pastoral;" he had to meet the needs of his parish. Another goal was to develop leadership emphasizing the British tradition. The nature of the Faculty of Arts at Notre Dame had two aspects; one was the formal requirements for a degree which were set by the parent institution, the University of Ottawa; the other was a vision of personal formation which was fashioned by Athol

Murray's educational philosophy.

The desperate prairie situation of the late 1920's and the decade of the thirties had to be met. Murray, the pastor, initiated "intellectual activity" for his student parishoners because no one could afford to move from home. But Murray had leadership formation in mind too. Saskatchewan, he believed, could not expect to import future leaders from the United States or eastern Canada. Leadership had to be developed from within the province. In Murray's mind there was no finer area in Saskatchewan than the Wilcox district with its predominantly English speaking residents and "cultural advantage" from which to recruit and develop future leaders.

The foundation of this leadership formation was a "liberal arts" education. As an affiliate of the University of Ottawa, the College relied on that institution to set standards and curricula and to mark exams. The evidence indicates that Murray worked hard to attain the requirements of affiliation although he was continually constrained by limited resources. The process of affiliation had its difficulties also. He did provide, however, a very basic liberal arts programme and met the required core courses demanded by Ottawa which emphasized in particular, philosophy. The rector set his hopes upon Notre Dame becoming for western Canadian students what 'Antigonish' had been for maritime scholars.

Associated with formal training within a liberal arts curriculum was a Murray-style vision of formation. However, Murray did not describe his educational philosophy in writings as a professional academic or philosopher would. He wrote sporadically

however, as time permitted, and, these writings make it possible to summarize Murray's educational philosophy and vision. In this study, the review of his approach relies on the keynote statements he uses in brochures and publications over his period of stewardship of the college. From his letters and public statements it is possible also to establish the relationship between Father Murray's educational philosophy and the goals established for the neo-scholastic movement initiated by Pope Leo XIII in 1879. Both Louvain University and the University of Ottawa supported the neo-scholastic school of philosophy. Although Murray realized that formal training and pursuit of a degree were important, his greater purpose was to leave his students with a vision to live by..., "a vision of greatness," as he called it. It was the habit of Father Murray to provide also in art and architecture symbolic reference to the ideals essential to this vision encompassing the tradition of western culture and the people who reasserted these ideals through history. This dramatic material context for text and philosophic principle or, what has been termed the 'training of the Catholic mind,' had a lasting effect upon his students.

The resources concerning Athol Murray and Notre Dame College are extensive. Researcher Ted Wood, a lecturer in history at Campion College of the University of Regina and in the Notre Dame Arts Faculty, catalogued in 1981 the holdings of the College and also solicited letters and materials throughout Canada. His work put in order not only the personal papers of Athol Murray but also

many of the publications, news articles, interviews and memorabilia collected over the years. Since he initiated this research work, a number of important new resources have been located which relate directly to this thesis. They include correspondence associated with the University of Saskatchewan president, Dr. Walter Murray; The Chancery Office of the Archdiocese of Regina and Toronto, including Murray's

personal parish diary 1927 - 1933; the records of the University of Ottawa and of St. Paul's University, Ottawa; the papers of Sir Arthur Doughty, Dominion Archivist, 1904-1935; the papers of Mary Weeks, freelance writer, who published the first national story about Notre Dame in Macleans; February, 1936; and miscellaneous correspondence with friends from the Orillia-Penetanguishene area of Ontario where Murray first served as a priest. These materials are in the Notre Dame Archives and are being organized by Frank Germann former teacher, principal and registrar of the College. The greater part of this thesis is based on these primary resources.

There is significant written material concerning Athol Murray and the Notre Dame College. The basic historical source regarding Athol Murray and the Notre Dame Faculty of Arts is a chapter within Laurence K. Shook's volume on Catholic Post-Secondary Education in English Speaking Canada, A History, 1971. It is valuable in that it sets the work of Athol Murray within the entire Catholic post-secondary structure in Canada. The resource materials used for Shook's chapter, mainly interviews with Murray and some published materials on the school, are part of the archives at Notre Dame.

Other sources which place the Notre Dame Liberal Arts programme in historical context are: R.Harris, Changing Patterns in Higher Education, 1966; and, A History of Higher Education in Canada, 1663-1960, 1976. T. Slat-terly's Loyola and Montreal, 1962, provided some background regarding the classical college style of the Jesuits. P. Jasen's PhD thesis, The English Canadian Liberal Arts Curriculum: an Intellectual History, 1800-1950, 1987., described the changes within the liberal arts curriculum in English Canada. With regard to the neo-scholastic movement, a most useful source was an unpublished five lecture series, 'Five Lectures on Neo-scholasticism,' By Edward A Synan, circa, 1968. Professor Synan, follows the resurgence of scholasticism from the end of the nineteenth century to its fall from favour with Vatican II in the 1960's. Cardinal Desire Mercier's, A Manual of Modern Scholastic Philosophy, 1938, was the required text for the University of Ottawa's philosophy courses. A basic text used at Notre Dame, Messner's Social Ethics, 1949, provides detail on the concept of 'natural law.' J. McCormack's The History of Education, 1934, is the primary text of a course of the same title taught by Athol Murray. It was within the framework of the scholastic movement and its prescribed texts that Athol Murray developed his educational philosophy. Some further texts providing commentary are; J.Owens, Human Destiny, Some Problems for Catholic Philosophy, 1985., C. McCool, Catholic Theology in the Nineteenth Century., A. Freemantle, The Age of Belief, 1954. J. Maritain, The Peasant of the Garonne, 1968.

The first comprehensive biography, Pere Murray and the Hounds; The Story of Saskatchewan's Notre Dame College, 1977 was authored by Jack Gorman. This was "based on conversations with people who knew him and on thirty years of personal contact" as well as collected manuscripts and archival material. This book is comprehensive in that it covers Murray's whole life but it contains no references to primary documentary sources. Father Emil Tremblay, CSSR, taught one year at Notre Dame and published two serious works; Man With A Vision, 1981 and Tower of God, 1981. The former book has biographical chapters and emphasises the educational values of Murray. Its resource material included taped interviews with Athol Murray as well as archival material. The Tower of God reflects the inspiration behind and within the Tower of God erected on the campus. Recently, Alice (Stefan) Henderson has published Notre Dame of the Prairies, 1987, a story of the girls at Notre Dame since its beginnings in 1920 as a private high school run by the Sisters of Charity of Saint Louis. It is a collection of the reminiscences of students and teachers, mainly female, up to Murray's death in 1976, and includes many photographs as well. This story succeeds in bringing to light the role of the Sisters of Charity of Saint Louis and the girls at Notre Dame who are so often overlooked because of the forceful character of Athol Murray and the predominance of hockey as a school sport.

There are numerous essays, proposals and recommendations regarding the Arts programme and the educational goals and style of Athol Murray. These were written following Murray's death in 1975

and the decision by the University of Ottawa to end affiliation with Notre Dame at the conclusion of the 1975-1976 academic year. In March of 1976, Notre Dame and the University of Regina arranged to accept "a full year at the College (Notre Dame) plus a considerable number of Regina extension courses offered at Wilcox." Within this framework, Notre Dame continued to offer an Arts programme until 1981.

Throughout all of this period and up to the present many studies and proposals were put forward in order to establish a post-secondary program. Dr. Christopher Mansbridge, Dean of Arts at Notre Dame when Athol Murray died provided the first submissions. They were: "Athol Murray College of Notre Dame, Past and Prospects, A Global View," August 1976; "Athol Murray College of Notre Dame, Future Programming", February 1978; "Perspectives on a Notre Dame Rationale", October 1978; "University Programme Development". October 1978; "Additional Remarks on Programme Development," October 1978. These studies provided background for a college submission to the University of Regina in 1979. This latter submission was titled: "Request, By Athol Murray College of Notre Dame, Wilcox, For Federation with the University of Regina." Associated with these proposals, Louis Xhignesse, associate professor of the Department of Sociology, of the University of Regina provided advisory and liaison work with Notre Dame from June 1977 to June 1982. Professor Xhignesse' work is bound and labelled: "Post-Secondary N. D. Programs, work by Louis Xhignesse, 1977-1982." All of these

proposals give very brief histories and as well, brief analyses of the work and life of Athol Murray. They are useful sources for following the history of the college since the death of Athol Murray.

However, when Notre Dame withdrew from Arts for two years in 1981, the College undertook serious research into its own history. It hired researcher, Ted Wood, to put the archives in order and to write well documented papers regarding Athol Murray. Mr. Wood's work included: "Some Observations on the Notre Dame Arts Programme," March 1981, "Athol Murray, A Study in the Virtue of Magnificentia," February 1982; and "Father Athol Murray's Educational Ideals," March 1983. The writings of Mr. Wood provide the first seriously researched analysis of Father Murray's educational ideals and methods. At the same time that Mr. Wood researched and put in order the Archives of Notre Dame, the Board of Regents arranged a "task force" to recommend programs for post-secondary work at Notre Dame. The result was Report of the Task Force on Post-Secondary Education at Athol Murray College of Notre Dame. April, 1982. The chairman of that report was Father James Hanrahan, the president of Saint Thomas More College, Saskatoon. This report recommended the establishment of the Notre Dame Institute with a program in Human Development and Sport. The objective was to arrange an agreement between the Basilian Fathers and the Board of Regents to collaborate in establishing the goals of the Notre Dame Institute. There are a number of planning reports which provide short historical overviews. They are: "Submission to

the Government of Saskatchewan, Department of Continuing Education Regarding Developmental Grant Post-Secondary Education," : January 1982; "A Proposal for the Establishing of a Quest Programme at Notre Dame College." (no date); "The Notre Dame Institute, Origins, Purpose and Programs," (no date). The Notre Dame Institute was active with academic, 'quest' and community service programs until the spring of 1986. Since 1986, there has been no post-secondary activity at the College.

The Faculty of Arts at Notre Dame College has provided a focus around which to study the Athol Murray legend. This thesis examines Father Murray's own career formation, his efforts to secure recognition for his Arts programme and the objectives and nature of Athol Murray's Faculty of Arts programme. The purpose of this thesis is to discover and understand more clearly this legendary Canadian prairie educator, Reverend Athol Murray, by a close examination of Murray's Arts project.

FOOTNOTES

1. DAWSON, C.A., Pioneering in the Provinces, The Social Side of the Settlement Process, U. of T. Press, 1940. page 197.
2. Government Publication, The Prairies of the Dirty Thirties, Province of Manitoba, 1976. (Back Page)
3. N.D.A. P.P.A.M., "Chancery Office Correspondence," File

Folder # Uncoded, 'Murray to McGuigan,' March
9, 1933.

ATHOL MURRAY'S CAREER FORMATION

The objective of this chapter is to analyze the formative years of Athol Murray and relate them to the establishment of the Notre Dame Arts Programme at Wilcox, Saskatchewan in 1933. The evidence regarding the formation of Athol Murray is drawn from oral testimony for the most part. Anyone who visited Father Murray and had two hours with him in his office received a Murray version of his life. The author of this paper received an autobiographical talk in the spring of 1973. The commentator and crew of a CBC documentary called Telescope received a similar history in 1971.⁽¹⁾ Many of the important landmarks of his early years, recorded during that television interview, were repeated to me two years later, as well as developed in the biographical book by Jack Gorman, Pere Murray and the Hounds.⁽²⁾

Athol Murray's personal recollections highlighted a Toronto upbringing, Scottish ancestry, family accomplishments, his mother's death when he was four, substitute parenting in Nova Scotia and Quebec, subsequent education at the Jesuit institutions of St. Hyacinthe and Laval in the province of Quebec and summer holidaying at Stoney Lake, Ontario. He discussed his apprenticeships at newspaper work, for the Toronto Star, and at law with the Toronto firm of J. J. Robinette. In a chance browsing through a book store, he discovered a Latin book, The Confessions of St. Augustine.⁽³⁾ In that book he translated two quotations, one of which is today a keynote statement for the school with which he is now associated -- "To him who does what within him lies, God will not deny his Grace," and, "Hovered over me, faithful from afar, Thy mercy Lord."

"That hit me!" (4) claimed Father Murray and, as was characteristic of him, when something struck him as a truth to be pursued, he sought after it with an unbridled enthusiasm. As a result of this inspiration, he recalled entering the priesthood at St. Augustine's seminary at Scarborough, Ontario, and, following ordination, his assignment to parishes in Orillia and Penetanguishene, both locations rich in historic associations with Champlain, Huron-Iroquois conflict and the Jesuit martyrs. He recalled acting as host in Toronto for Archbishop Mathieu of Regina, which led to him being 'loaned' to the Archdiocese of Regina for the position as chancellor to Mathieu. Immediately, he formed a boys club in Regina called the Argos" (5). Four years later, he requested of the dying Mathieu an assignment to St. Augustine's parish, Wilcox, Saskatchewan. Six years later, the Catholic primary and high school, Notre Dame of the Prairies, affiliated with the University of Ottawa in order to offer Ottawa's Faculty of Arts programme to Notre Dame students. Father Athol Murray was its 'rector.'

With this resume of experience and events, Athol Murray assumed leadership for the Notre Dame Arts program in 1933. His temperament and character, however, have been described clearly by those to whom he was directly responsible. Archbishop Neil McNeil of the diocese of Toronto, with whom he had been associated for nine years, sent him to Regina with the following letter of recommendation to Archbishop Mathieu:

I am glad to be able to share Rev. Athol Murray for the service of your Grace. This young priest is zealous and talented, but has a lively imagination and temperament and needs to be guided and at times restrained in his

projects and his talk. He is inclined to criticize others. On the other hand, his energies can be directed into good channels, and he needs activity as an outlet for his abundant energy.⁽⁶⁾

Eleven years later, in June of 1934, Archbishop James McGuigan of Regina, had to write to the Apostolic Delegate to Canada and Newfoundland, Rev. Andrea Cassulo, concerning Father Murray. He stated the following about Murray:

He is a good priest without balance or judgement. He has something of the romantic spirit about him and cannot easily fall in line with the usual ecclesiastical order of things.

Under Archbishop Mathieu, who loved him very much, he was for a time chancellor, but he was so singular in his ways of acting and in his relations with non-Catholics that he had to be removed from the Chancery. Even before he came here he did things in Eastern Canada which caused much comment. I have never found Father Murray badly disposed in any way. He has a good heart, but no judgement.⁽⁷⁾

On three occasions in this one letter, Archbishop McGuigan pointed out to the Apostolic delegate that Athol Murray was "a good priest with a good heart but no judgement." It was "not through bad will but through exaggerated enthusiasm." that his own immediate superiors often questioned his actions. What Father Murray's superiors have called 'exaggerated enthusiasm' might as readily have been termed 'charisma'. Murray's 'lively imagination' constantly formulated "dreams to overcome (shortcomings of this world) combined with powerful communication skills."⁽⁸⁾ For Athol Murray, the present was rarely tolerable and the pursuit of projects expressed with a straightfoward but inspiring vision (the trademarks of the charismatic leader) filled his experience.

Thus as Athol Murray began his Arts project at Notre Dame, he carried with him an interesting heritage, family, and educational background. In the eyes of his superiors, he was talented, a good heart but even more an "enthusiast" who would become carried away with his projects.

The family of Athol Murray, with its Scottish heritage and many accomplishments, was a firm source of inspiration to Father Murray. His grandfather, William Allan Murray arrived in Canada in 1854. Father Murray related the event to author Jack Gorman: "My family grew up with the legend that the old boy arrived at the wharf in old muddy York and rolled two kegs of gold onto the jetty."⁽⁹⁾ He arrived from Ireland with his spouse Jane Anne (MacNamara) Murray and son James Peter Murray who was born in Limerick, Ireland, October 17, 1852. Father Murray's grandfather was a convert to Catholicism.⁽¹⁰⁾ However, the Murray clan reached back into Scotland.

Drawing upon interviews with Father Murray, Jack Gorman writes about the two main branches of the Murrays of Scotland-- The Murrays of Tullabardeen and the Murrays of Polmaise. The Polmaise Murrays were Catholic; the Tullabardeen Murrays were ardent Presbyterians and followers of John Knox. Athol Murray's ancestry was Tullabardeen and its castle's name was Athol.⁽¹¹⁾ The Catholic Murray's of Scotland didn't, it seems, have a direct relationship to the immediate Murray family. However, Athol Murray, realizing that his grandfather was a convert to Catholicism assumed a "pen name" Alan Polmaise,⁽¹²⁾ perhaps romanticising this connection to

the Catholic Murrays of Scotland begun by his grandfather William Allan Murray.

The journalist who first gave Notre Dame national coverage, Mary Weeks of Regina, noted Murray's admiration for Scottish heritage:

Tradition stretches away behind Father Murray. Always the Murray clan, of which the present head is the Duke of Athol, fought for a cause. A sword, swung by Murray, at the battle of Bannock (burn, sic) in defense of his King, Charles the First, hangs in the halls at Notre Dame, not a token of war, but as a symbol of chivalry -- of the best there is in man.⁽¹³⁾

During a personal visit with Athol Murray in 1973, the author of this paper was reminded that the "Scots built Canada". The impromptu Canadian history lesson that followed was brought to mind as research in the Murray papers revealed his attempt to inspire the early "Arts" program with Scottish names for halls and residences.⁽¹⁴⁾ Although the names were not permanently adopted at the College, it was clear that his Scottish heritage was a most influential source of inspiration for Father Murray.

The Murray family of Toronto had noted accomplishments and this, like his Scottish heritage, was for Father Murray a source of inspiration. "On Father Murray's desk," wrote journalist Mary Weeks in 1935, "stands a bronze bust. It is of his grandfather, W. A. Murray, who established the great Murray-Kay retail business of Toronto, and the Canadian clan of Murrays."⁽¹⁵⁾ Father Murray's father, James Peter Murray, "gained business experience under his father," and later, in 1891, was founder and first president of the Toronto Carpet Manufacturing Company. Athol Murray, in a letter in

1930 to Canada's National Archivist, Sir Arthur Doughty, described his father: "Old dad was an active, energetic enthusiast of unsparing aggressiveness; his achievements were many on behalf of Canada." (16)

James Peter Murray's influence was felt in many areas. He was active in business and in creating through societies, clubs and associations a better environment for business. He supported the British tie through the Imperial trade and defense leagues. He sponsored both the 'Arts' and athletics. He was active in the Roman Catholic Church, and was for a time a director of the 'Catholic Truth Society.' He was educated at St. Michael's College, Toronto and St. Hyacinthe Seminary, Quebec. He published articles in his areas of interest. Married and twice widowed, first in 1881, a second time in 1896 he had six children. (17)

The relationship between father and son is recorded sparingly among the papers of Athol Murray. The fact that Athol Murray's mother (Nanno Josephine Hayes) died when he was four, however, had a profound influence on his formation. Specifically, this untimely death meant also a separation in his developing years from his father, three sisters, and two brothers. Murray would grow up with relatives and at private schools. Nonetheless, there is evidence that Murray was close enough to his father to request that he pay for his seminary training when he was twenty-two. (18) He also requested that his father provide his personal library for Notre Dame in 1929. (19) He was acquainted with details, it appears, of his father's likes and dislikes. For example, he could write to

Senator Charles Murphy that his father "despised Rowell"⁽²⁰⁾ (N. W. Rowell, chair of the Royal Commission on Dominion-Provincial Relations, 1937). Their style of conversation together was, apparently, argumentative. In a recent interview with Lude Palm, one of Athol Murray's original "Argos" from Regina and personal driver from 1927 to 1930, Palm recalled a visit of Father Murray's dad to Wilcox. Palm had to drive the father to Winnipeg following the visit. Father Murray came along and "without exaggeration", stated Palm, "they argued continuously from Wilcox to Winnipeg."⁽²¹⁾

It could be presented adequately that James Athol Murray was similar in temperament and style to his father, James Peter Murray. Both were considered enthusiasts, energetic, quick to be critical, argumentative, loyal to family, church, country and British heritage, visionaries, builders and achievers. The adage -- "The apple does not fall far from the tree--" could apply to father and son in this family.⁽²²⁾

Because he had recently started a new company when his wife died, the elder Murray had to find substitute parenting for his young family. This started young Athol Murray on an educational journey which would significantly enrich his abilities. "My life was associated with extraordinary names,"⁽²³⁾ stated Athol Murray. On the other side of the ledger, he once pointed out to an interviewer rather poignantly ---"I was growing up pretty much alone. I've always been alone!"⁽²⁴⁾ One of the local residents and farmers of Wilcox area surmised that during Athol Murray's

Wilcox life, it was clear "he hated to be alone."⁽²⁵⁾

Athol Murray was the youngest member of his family and at the time of his mother's death was three years from beginning school. The first two years following the death of his mother, were spent at Bayfield, Nova Scotia, near Antigonish where a " fervently Presbyterian great aunt cared for him."⁽²⁶⁾ Murray recalls visiting the workshop of inventor Alexander Graham Bell near Bayfield. His father took him to Loyola College in Montreal, but, as he was still too young to attend school, he was placed in the care of a Jesuit priest, Father Quirk. This 'clever' priest was a full-blooded Iroquois Indian who was not allowed to teach at Loyola because of the prejudice of the time.⁽²⁷⁾ It was under this tutelage that Murray developed an interest for and love of the Canadian Jesuit Martyr history. Fr. Quirk had constructed a mechanical dramatization of the Jesuit Martyrdom at Midland, Ontario. "Well, I played with this thing for a year," said Father Murray, "... " this is where the hand of God came in..."⁽²⁸⁾ To Father Murray this meant understanding the connecting factors which brought him to Quebec including the first Archbishop of Toronto, a Frenchman who not only convinced grandfather Willam Allan Murray to send his son James Murray to St. Hyacinthe's, Quebec in 1862 for a bilingual education, but further brought over the Basilian fathers from France to start Saint Michael's College in Toronto. After Loyola, Athol Murray attended St. Michael's College as a day student for two years. He completed his high school at St. Hyacinthe's, Quebec "to the end of rhetoric."⁽²⁹⁾

Convinced by a friend, Frank Coulon, a Franco-American from New Hampshire, to attend Coulon's alma mater, Laval University, Athol Murray studied philosophy and received his baccalaureate in Arts from Laval. Murray was in Quebec for 10 years and at first "hated it", but learned, in time, the language and to "love the French." "That training of mine was wonderful,"⁽³⁰⁾ he concluded. To the author of this paper, he revealed in 1973, that of the many blessings he had received, a most valued was his "French classical education. It gave me the ability to dramatize what was important in order to get it across." What became important for Father Murray were the ideals nurtured at these schools and a philosophy compatible with their Catholic faith and theology. Athol's education in Quebec associated him with what has later been called the 'neo scholastic' movement, the resurgence of the work of Saint Thomas Aquinas into a systematic philosophy attempting to bridge 'faith and reason.'⁽³¹⁾

After graduation from Laval in 1910, Athol Murray spent four years in Toronto before entering the priesthood in 1914. During this time, he worked for the Toronto Star newspaper which was edited by Bill Hewitt. He put off studying law which had been suggested to him by his Laval friend, Paul Coulon, because "I didn't have the money and I didn't want to sponge on dad."⁽³²⁾ However, Murray later changed his mind and spent two years at Osgoode Hall in the study of law accompanied with clerking for the firm of J. J. Robinette. Neither professions were "fulfilling" although he found the work interesting...and "enjoyed the drama..."

and loved the study of law, particularly its historical foundations in Rome and in England." (33)

During this period, "while I wasn't aware of what it might be, there was this yearning in the back of my brain to do something else." (34) His father was pressing that he enter the priesthood according to E. Tremblay in Man With a Vision but Athol Murray felt he did not have "spiritual values adequate to be a priest." (35) He pondered this inadequacy during these years following graduation and only after spotting The Confessions of St. Augustine, in Latin, did he change his mind. (36) He immediately sought for entrance to a seminary. He stayed in Ontario rather than return to Quebec because the new Scarborough seminary was to be dedicated to Saint Augustine of Africa -- his new found mentor. (37) "And somehow old Augustine has stayed with me down the years," stated Murray. (38)

There is very little documentation regarding his years at St. Augustine's seminary. After four years of training in theology, Murray was recommended for ordination which took place in May of 1918. His first parish was in Orillia, Ontario and it was at this time that the Murray energy and enthusiasm first began to result in projects.

One aspect of his education, outside of his formal training, played an important part in his development. Father Quirk of Loyola sparked an interest in the love of the Jesuit Martyrs. After Loyola, the young Murray was invited by a cousin to Stoney Lake, Ontario between Peterborough and Lake Simcoe. Father Murray recalled the first visit:

The very first day, I fell and broke my arm and they paddled me down to an American doctor who was camping alone, to fix my arm. And he laughed; he was perhaps the world's greatest chemist from Johns Hopkins, Baltimore, but he said, "if there is no doctor, I'll fix your arm." And when I whined about having to go back to Toronto on the very first day, he said, "well, I've got a little silk tent here and if you are ready to wash dishes and catch bait for me, you stay right on." That meant we camped together for the next twenty-five years, til he retired... But he had a library; we used to tour the Northern Lakes of Ontario, but he always carried the books, Francis Parkman, with the stories of the Jesuit Martyrs. And here's this old doc, Edward Reneouf, more or less of an agnostic, but insisting that I read all this stuff, and, of course, my education leapt.(39)

As a result of this education, his fascination for Huron and Jesuit history knew no bounds. So when he went to Orillia and found that the early legacy of the area had been largely forgotten, he was appalled, for in typical Murray hyperbole, he claimed: "I reeked with the history of the area." (40)

He wasn't ordained a month and he was writing his Archbishop Neil McNeil, that he was fund-raising for the Rideau Camp-- a summer retreat camp for Saint Augustine Seminarians and alumni. He had collected \$50.00 from Sir George Garneau of Quebec, who appreciated the "efforts for racial harmony".(41) In the seminary itself, the effect of the conscription issue during World War 1 had created not a little tension between French and English seminarians. But the great flu epidemic of 1918 provided an outlet for Father Murray's tireless energy and his efforts made him a local hero at Orillia.(42) He "adopted" five orphaned boys as well, whose parents were casualties of the epidemic. Riding on the crest of his heroics, he assisted in resurrecting another cancelled project due to war which was to erect a bronze monument to

Champlain and Brebeuf in Couchiching Park, in Orillia, where "Champlain spent his winter among the Hurons in 1615".(43) He aided the community in raising twenty thousand dollars from the Quebec and Ontario governments and five thousand from Ottawa. The remainder for the \$30,000 dollar monument derived from public donations. It was Murray's first exceptional dramatization in bronze and the cost was substantial in order that it be "done right." He would continue with projects of this sort throughout his life.(44)

In a year he was moved to Penetanguishene, Ontario, to St. Anne's church. During his four years at this parish, he sought to have the famous Fort Ste. Marie reconstructed and to initiate a movement to have the Jesuit Martyrs "canonized at Rome and eventually by 1932 this happened".(45) As well, he organized the Tercentennial for the coming of Champlain in 1615, which had been delayed also by the war. He even recommended to his Archbishop the purchase of an 800 acres and an abandoned army barracks and claimed that there was a "community 'plant' more complete than St. Augustine Seminary. There is no place in all of Canada that would make a better home of a great Catholic College."(46) The archives tell of a few touching incidents whereby he encouraged young lads to further their education. Some he marched off to St. Hyacinthe, Quebec, others like the Yuffy brothers were so inspired by his encouragement that they gained law degrees and now practice in Windsor, Ontario. What was to become a habitual practice of religious tolerance was well in place by this time and the Yuffy

brothers, who were Jewish, "recall his advice without a trace of condescension, prejudice or proselytism".(47) "But I have a feeling Father Murray was a little too much for that conservative community,"(48) recalled a parishioner of that period. And one day, in October of 1922, Father Murray offered to Archbishop McNeil his "resignation from the active ministry of the priesthood. The circumstances, now quite public, both here and at Lafontaine, warrant it."(49) The circumstances may have been his exaggerated enthusiasm to locate the exact site of the martyrdom of the Jesuit fathers. There was controversy over the location and Father Murray felt he knew the location and that he would prove it by organizing an "underwater search at a spot in the small (Wye) river where he was sure he could find the treasure."(50) The treasure was a trunk cast into the river (according to legend) when the Iroquois attacked the Huronian camp. The search yielded a "pile of junk... but it didn't discourage the ardent archeologist".(51) However, the story made news in the Montreal Gazette, June 19, 1922. It headlined: **BURIED TREASURE STORY DISCREDITED**"(52)

However, Father Murray, certain that he had the spot where Brebeuf and Lalement met their deaths would prove it "to his colleague who lived by faith..."(53) A parishioner of the time recalled:

He arranged to have a chronically disabled person, a paralytic, I think, brought to the location and attended by a nurse and the two martyrs would be invoked to ask Almighty God for a cure as a sign from heaven that this was exactly where they gave their lives for Christ and the gospel.. (Prayers for the sick were recited) There was no manifestation, but Father Miller remembered how dead serious his archeological brother-priest was. Father

Miller recalled: 'You ought to see the look I got because I smiled.' (54)

The narrator of this story was 'quite firm in his assertion that the location he had seen that day was later... verified (as the) location that Brebeuf and Lalement met their deaths. (55)

Such was the intensity of the young Father Murray concerning the Jesuit Martyr history that this incident may have embarrassed him enough to resign. However, his resignation was not accepted.

In November, 1922, he was assigned to the parish of St. John's in Scarborough, Ontario. The one piece of documentary evidence regarding his St. John's stay was a parishioner's letter to Toronto Archbishop McNeil that Athol Murray had promised to buy two rare books and still owed \$20.00. It disparaged Father Murray's financial management. "I understand his position regarding money" stated the parishioner, "and was not surprised at having to wait for it." The story was a familiar one. While at Penetanguishine, Murray's great project, the Tercentenary, was also "a financial disaster" and caused problems for his parish. (56) Before a year was out, Father Murray was 'loaned' to the Archbishop of Regina, following a visit of the Regina prelate to Toronto. Upon arriving at St. Augustine's parish at Wilcox, Saskatchewan, aware of his weakness, perhaps, he put all financial matters in the charge of a parish committee.

Athol Murray arrived at Regina as Chancellor to the Archbishop in October, 1923. Much of his training prepared him to assist Mathieu in the role of bridging the growing French-English tensions of the time. Mathieu had been his rector at Laval, Quebec and the

records indicated Murray got along famously with his prelate. (57) However, the documentation for this period 1923-1927 is very scanty. Murray started a boys club called the "Argos" - eventually gathering together many of the finest athletes of Regina. Many went on to professional careers in sport. He made three cross Canada trips with these players, camping out and bunking in with friends and family both in Eastern and Western Canada. He sponsored, once again, Indian pageantry along Saskatchewan's Qu'Appelle Valley commemorating fur trading and missionary history. He was a member of the Saskatchewan Education Council, perhaps an automatic appointment due to his position of Chancellor. Finally, in 1927, Murray was selected for a new position "Director of Boys Activities." (58) But Father Murray never acted in this position because he was appointed to Wilcox shortly following this announcement.

Murray's recollections indicated the growing tensions within the diocese over a successor to Archbishop Mathieu. Mathieu had taken ill and the French-English succession issue had arisen again. Murray would ease the tension by having the Archbishop move him out of the Chancery office to St. Augustine's Parish Church at Wilcox. (59) His removal as Chancellor, however, may have had more to do with his temperament which was "so singular in his way of acting" (60) to have allowed him to remain in the politically sensitive post of Chancellor.

Father Murray recalled that the Regina posting had been "the five happiest years of my life..in the surroundings of this dear

and saintly man." (61) It acquainted him with the whole fabric of South Saskatchewan society as well as the hierarchy of his diocese. In a taped interview with several fathers of the Regina Church he advised them to move outside of their own insular parish and acquaint themselves with all the influential members of their community. (62) This particular habit of Father Murray's proved very useful when he required support for his Arts project at Wilcox. It would be six years before he received affiliation with the University of Ottawa and before students would come under his direct teaching. However, the preparing of the ground for the Arts programme is the subject of the next chapter.

Murray would call the events which landed him in Wilcox, "the hand of God," that is the way God often turns misfortune or misadventure into good, "evil into good." (63) His devotion to and interest in the Canadian Jesuit Martyrs and Saint Augustine, Murray felt, provided special intercession. The Jesuit Martyrs caught his imagination from the beginning at Loyola. He claimed:

And oh.... the enthusiasm I got out of that. I was thrilled... the heroism. And I got to know Brebeuf, Lalement as familiars. Not a keep was entered not a river entered but a Jesuit led the way. And in my imagination I see a great big canoe with a Jesuit in front with a cross. And I don't know... I... I... grew up largely because of this in the atmosphere of the heroic... and these great great heroes. I loved them, and they inspired my life and... I figured that was natural!! I knew nothing about this mass man mediocrity we have today. We... we were born to be heroes! (64)

Murray brought to Wilcox, especially, an enthusiasm to be heroic and for this he was grateful to the Canadian Martyrs. Saint Augustine, on the other hand, with his poignant lines on potential,

grace and God's faithfulness, "To him who does what within him lies, God will not deny his Grace" and " Hovered over me, faithful from afar, thy mercy Lord," seemed to catapult the young Murray over a gnawing barrier that he was not "spiritual" enough to be a priest. He moved along, after this awakening with the sense that if he did his best, God would help him overcome his weaknesses.

Father Murray's formative years and career preparation provided the building blocks for his later adventure with a Faculty of Arts programme at Wilcox, Saskatchewan. He carried to western Canada with him: a Scottish heritage, a prominent Toronto family background, bilingual ability, a 'liberal arts' training of the 'neo scholastic' mould in Quebec, and the experience of short careers in reporting and law. As a young priest he entered into adventurous projects immediately and stirred 'comment' even embarrassment along the way. The opportunity to accept a posting in Regina under Archbishop Mathieu set the 'enthusiast' or, it could be suggested, the charismatic Murray into sports with his 'Argo' club and into an influential foothold within the Regina chancery district. In all, it was a full resume of training and practical experience.

However, the premature death of his mother, set the young Murray away from home for supervision. Yet many of his substitute parents enlarged his perceptions and enriched his training. The prebysterian great aunt lent a sensitivity towards religious tolerance; the Jesuit, Father Quirk, introduced a love for Jesuit martyr history and with it, a sense of the heroic; Dr. Edward

Reneouf, led him literally through the Francis Parkman histories by canoe, and his education 'lept'; and lastly, the example of his own father's determination and accomplishments shaped much of his own pursuits. With all of this experience, it appears, moreover, that Father Murray secured a confidence that God's grace would see him through his life and be faithful always in overcoming his weaknesses.

FOOTNOTES

Abbreviations: N.D.A. Notre Dame Archives
P.P.A.M. Personal Papers of Athol Murray

1. N.D.A., P.P.A.M. "CBC Telescope", 1971, File Folder # Uncoded.
2. Ibid., The other two keynote statements are "Luctor et Emergo (struggle and emerge) and "Every human life is insignificant unless you yourself make it great".
3. Ibid.
4. Ibid.
5. This survey of events has drawn been mostly from an outline of his CBC Telescope interview, however, the event of hosting of Archbishop Mathieu is from a taped interview with Fr. Jim Wiesgerber and Fr. Stan Skzakt of the Regina diocese. ibid., "Pere to Fr. Jim Wiesgerber and Fr. Stan Skezakt," 1962.
6. N.D.A., P.P.A.M. "Chancery office correspondence re: Notre Dame," File Folder # Uncoded, Archbishop N. McNeil to Archbishop O. Mathieu, Oct. 8, 1923.
7. N.D.A., P.P.A.M. "Chancery office correspondence..." op.cit., McGuigan to Rev. Andrea Cassulo.D.D. June 15, 1934.
8. Conger, Jay A., The Charismatic Leader, Jossey-Bass, 1989, page 37.
9. Gorman, Jack, Pere Murray and the Hounds, Grey Publishing, Sidney, B. C. 1977, page 8.
10. Ibid. This conclusion is gathered from fact that William A. Murray married a MacNamara and that his son, James Peter Murray was educated in Catholic schools. Gorman's book is in error in stating that Athol Murray's father was a convert. The author learned in conversation that he had also told Wilcox residents, Terry McGarry and John Weisshaar, that his grandfather was a convert.
11. Gorman, Jack, op.cit., page 8.
12. Ibid.
13. Weeks, Mary, "Father Athol Murray, Man with a Vision," unpublished article, 1935. N.D.A. P.P.A.M. "Mary Weeks, journalist re: Athol Murray File Folder # Uncoded, page 5.

14. N.D.A. P.P.A.M., "Chancery Office Correspondence re: Notre Dame," File Folder # Uncoded: The correspondence is with the letter head titles of halls and residences with Scottish names.
15. Weeks, Mary, op.cit., page 5.
16. N.D.A. P.P.A.M. Athol Murray Correspondence re: Sir Arthur Doughty, File Folder # Uncoded, Murray to Sir Arthur Doughty, Jan. 30, 1930.
17. See Appendix re source.
18. N.D.A. P.P.A.M. "CBC Telescope," 1971, op.cit.
19. N.D.A. P.P.A.M. "Athol Murray to Sir Arthur Doughty." op. cit., Jan. 30, 1930.
20. N.D.A. P.P.A.M. "Chancery Office Correspondence," Murray to Senator Charles Murphy, op. cit., April, 1934.
21. N.D.A. P.P.A.M. "Lude Palm to Terry O'Malley, File Folder # Uncoded., April 30, 1988.
22. Appendix A and Appendix B compare the accomplishments of father and son.
23. N.D.A. P.P.A.M., Murray Tape to Father Jim Wiesgerber and Father Stan Skezakt, op.cit.,
24. N.D.A., P.P.A.M., "CBC Telescope," 1971, op. cit.
25. Authors personal recollection of a discussion with Leonard and Verna Kvisle, of Wilcox, Spring, 1983.
26. Gorman, Jack, op.cit., page 10.
27. N.D.A. P.P.A.M. "CBC Telescope," 1971, op.cit.
28. N.D.A. P.P.A.M. "Pere tape to Father Wiesgerber et al" op. cit.
29. N.D.A. P.P.A.M. "Tape Athol Murray to Father Weisgerber et al" Op. cit.
30. Ibid.
31. Personal interview with author in 1973.
32. N.D.A. P.P.A.M. "CBC Telescope," 1971, op.cit.

33. Gorman, Jack, Op. cit., page 14. Many quotes from Jack Gorman's book came from taped interviews with Athol Murray by Sterling King of Estavan. The transcript has not been located.
34. Gorman, Jack, Op. cit., page 14.
35. Tremblay, E, Man With a Vision, Icon Press, 1981 page 22.
36. N.D.A. P.P.A.M. "CBC Telescope, " 1971, Op. cit.
37. Ibid.
38. Ibid.
39. Ibid.
40. Ibid.
41. N.D.A. P.P.A.M. Correspondence Murray and Toronto Diocese. FILE FOLDER # UNCODED. "Athol Murray to Archbishop N. McNeil," June 7, 1918.
42. N.D.A. P.P.A.M. "CBC Telescope," 1971, Op. cit.
43. N.D.A. P.P.A.M. Correspondence to 1954. Murray to Frank (Coulon). FILE FOLDER #1, Dec. 20, 1930.
44. Note Appendix on Athol Murray.
45. N.D.A. P.P.A.M. "Athol Murray to CBC, 1972." Op. cit.
46. N.D.A. P.P.A.M. "Athol Murray to Toronto Archbishop McNeil, " Op. cit., May 11, 1921.
47. N.D.A. P.P.A.M. Correspondence re Penetanguishene and Orillia, FILE FOLDER # UNCODED. Mr. Murray Yuffy to T. O'Malley. Sept. 10, 1987.
48. N.D.A. P.P.A.M. Correspondence re Penetanguishene and Orillia, "Recollections of Father Athol Murray from the family of Mr. and Mrs. M. Teefy" Op. cit., No Date (Approx. 1981.)
49. N.D.A. P.P.A.M. "Athol Murray to Toronto Archbishop McNeil" Op. cit., Oct. 9, 1922.
50. N.D.A. P.P.A.M. Correspondence Re Penetang ... "Recollections of Father Athol Murray by Charles Abel," Sept. 15, 1981, Op. cit.
51. Ibid.

52. N.D.A. P.P.A.M. Correspondence re Penetanguishene and Orillia, Montreal Gazette, June 21, 1922. Op cit.
53. N.D.A. P.P.A.M. Correspondence Re: Penetanguishene and Orillia, "Recollections ... by Charles Abel," Op. cit.
54. Ibid.
55. Ibid. In visiting the Huronia Museum, the author learned that the exact location of the martyrdom of the Jesuits remains unresolved.
56. N.D.A. P.P.A.M. Correspondence Re: Penetanguishene and Orillia, "Recollections ... by Charles Abel," Op. cit.
57. Note Footnote #7 in text.
58. N.D.A. Chancery Office Correspondence ... Op. cit. News clipping with no date. Approx. Aug. 1927.
59. N.D.A. P.P.A.M. The audio-tapes of "CBC Telescope," 1971 and "Murray to Father Weisgerber et al ..." follow this outline. Father Jim Weisgerber recently suggested to the author that the move to Wilcox may also have assisted to ease local French-English tensions. However, it is a fact also that St. Augustine's parish dissatisfaction was the result of a substantial debt accumulated under its pastor, Father Benoit. See "Codex Historicus ..." Op. cit., page 156.
60. Check Footnote 7 - McGuigan statement re: Athol Murray.
61. N.D.A. P.P.A.M. Correspondence to 1959 "Murray to Frank (Coulon) Dec. 20, 1930. Op. cit.
62. N.D.A. P.P.A.M. Murray Tape to Father Jim Wiesgerber and Father Stan Skezakt, Op. cit.
63. N.D.A. P.P.A.M. "CBC Telescope," 1971, Op. cit.
64. Ibid.

CHAPTER 2

THE BEGINNING OF THE FACULTY OF ARTS
AT NOTRE DAME COLLEGE, 1933

On September 26, 1933 The University of Ottawa telegraphed an affiliation acceptance to Notre Dame College of Wilcox, Saskatchewan. In a small prairie town, 27 miles south of Regina, students would be offered the Arts Programme of the University of Ottawa and a Bachelor of Arts Degree from that same institution. It was the culmination of a campaign that had begun barely six months earlier. This chapter examines the educational setting in which Notre Dame Arts College was founded, including the status of higher education in Saskatchewan. It further examines Father Murray's struggle to ensure that the college received affiliation with the University of Ottawa and won the full approval of his superior, the Archbishop of Regina.

One must recognize at the outset that Father Murray founded a small post-secondary Arts college and that the High School which exists today bearing the name, Athol Murray College of Notre Dame, was not his personal dream. Furthermore, most interest in this prairie high school and Arts programme centres upon the personality of Athol Murray. Recently yet another feature article appeared in "Western Report Magazine." (1) It highlighted the school and its history following the death of Athol Murray in 1975. The story of this man on the prairies continues to capture the attention of many Canadians, and western Canadian prairie history rarely has had a more interesting character. However, this is not a biographical study; sympathetic biographic studies exist in Jack Gorman's Pere Murray and the Hounds and Emil Tremblay's Man with a Vision. (2) When Athol Murray arrived in Wilcox in August 1927, others had

already laid the foundation for the Arts college. A religious order, The Sisters of the Charity of St. Louis had been running a convent school, Notre Dame of the Prairies, since 1920. The parish Pastor Reverend Father Benoit initiated the school. Mother Edith, who arrived in Wilcox in the same year as Athol Murray, 1927, and was a teacher with the Sisters of charity of St. Louis recalled the event:

I remember very well ... in May, 1919, while I was a novitiate in Bienville, Quebec, Father Benoit came to talk to us about the need for Sisters in the mission at Wilcox. He said the parishioners at Milestone, Rouleau and Wilcox were willing to pool their efforts to build a convent in Wilcox. He was told there may be Sisters available in two years.(3)

The parishioners started work on the convent on July 1919 and when the first boarders arrived in September, 1920, it was almost completed. Since the convent was ready prior to the arrival of its first sisters, the convent sisters of Moose Jaw commuted, a Soo Line rail ride of 45 miles, until resident sisters arrived November 10, 1920.(4)

Rev. Father Benoit noted, in his diary, that October 11 was the date of arrival. He recorded enthusiastically:

A red letter day for the parish of Wilcox as the Sisters have arrived to take over the Boarding School. This morning classes were held for the first time and the school is practically full already. Thank God for His generosity in giving us Sisters when so many were more worthy of that great favour than we are - The Sisters of Charity of St. Louis with Reverend Mother Pascal at their head, have started the work which we hope will never cease in this Parish until God calls the world to account.(5)

In the first year there were 25 boarders, boys and girls, and

many day scholars from grades 1 through 8. In the fall of 1921 there were 35 boarders and 18 day scholars.(6) At first the school was named and incorporated by the Saskatchewan Legislature as St. Augustine's Academy but the name was changed in 1922 to Notre Dame of the Prairies. The school grew grade by grade and in June, 1927, witnessed the graduation of the 'star class', the first grade 12 graduates of Notre Dame of the Prairies. Sister Edith recalled the event:

Father Benoit gave the address and awarded medals; guest speaker was Mr. E. Collins, L.L.D.: Archbishop Mathieu presented the diploma. They had the nicest little souvenir booklet, just a couple of pages, with the date, the time, their names inside. The cover was silver, with the old rose colored lettering. A strip of leather held it together signifying their class colors. The class flower was the American Beauty rose and the motto Excelsior.(7)

Wilcox had a very fine primary and secondary school by 1927. "Father Murray arrived August 14, 1927," continued Sister Edith, "in an old dilapidated car with a whole load of boys from his Argos hockey team in Regina. They ended up staying with him in the rectory and going to classes in our school."(8) It would be six years before he applied for an Arts affiliation and by that time about "100 students attended Notre Dame."

During these first years Athol Murray was always interested in the school. Mother Edith remembered a particular habit which he continued over the years in order to foster among his students an intense love and almost reverence for books:

He would come up about once a week with The Saturday Evening Post ... to read the news and a story. He would read part of a story and then to

encourage them to take an interest in reading would tell students to read it themselves ... Father Murray also got them interested in sports.(9)

Murray was proud and appreciative of the efforts and sacrifices exerted in order to establish the school. In his diary for the 1929/1930 period he recorded that "adequate survey for the period from the parish point of view commends recognition of a splendid success in education. Vindication of Father Benoit's great effort in establishing a convent school found plentiful agreement in the fine showing made by pupils of this school."(10) At another time, he wrote enthusiastically of the Sisters of Charity of St. Louis in a letter to Justice P.E. Mackenzie in an effort to solicit support:

Notre Dame, however, is something very significant. It is the culmination of the efforts of a distinguished religious order, The Sisters of St. Louis, to have this foremost in their five Western Canadian houses (Medicine Hat, Moose Jaw, Swift Current, Radville and Wilcox) given fullest recognition. That would seem but the due of those devoted women who are giving their life energies to educational work.(11)

The people of the parish were praised also in a letter to Archbishop McGuigan of the Archdiocese Regina. In the depth of the Depression, Murray notes:

"that the parishes have been able to survive has been an extraordinary achievement - and that in addition they have kept Notre Dame functioning with a student body of 100 pupils and with the finest record of any private school in Sask. (which the Department acknowledges) is without parallel. That they have done this is not my work nor Father McDonnell's (of Milestone parish) but due to the altogether heroic sacrifices of the people."(12)

Thus when Athol Murray arrived at Wilcox, Saskatchewan, a very

fine high school institute was in place. It was recognized by the Department of Education and many of its graduates went on to post-secondary studies. But when Father Murray wished to expand into the Arts, the college would of necessity be affected by the post-secondary educational setting in Saskatchewan. In establishing post-secondary education in Saskatchewan, the Provincial Legislature passed an act in 1907 which endorsed the principle of centralizing all University work in one institution with a monopoly of degree-conferring powers. The University of Saskatchewan was awarded this monopoly and guarded it tenaciously. It allowed Junior colleges to provide classes up to the end of second year; for example, Campion College of Regina. However, when Campion College applied and lobbied for degree-granting status, the position of the University of Saskatchewan remained emphatically clear. Its President, Walter Murray, stated this position in a letter to the then Premier of Saskatchewan, C.A. Dunning:

To give Campion College power to confer degrees is to invite applications from a variety of sectarian schools and possible professional schools in Law, Medicine, Dentistry and I know not what other ... to grant power to confer degrees has always led to claims for provincial grants

The President of the University did not want to reverse the policy of centralization of all university work. Centralization's purpose was to prepare young people of different backgrounds for co-operation and leadership of the province. The President stated further:

The University cannot go further than it has gone in recognizing the work of Junior Colleges

to the end of second year ... What course is open to Campion?

1. to remain content with recognition as a Junior College to the extent of 2 years in Arts, or

2. to teach the third and fourth years of Latin Philosophy without recognition of a degree - its pupils coming later to the University for the third and fourth years, or

3. to seek affiliation with St. Boniface, Ottawa, Montreal or Laval as was done for the French College at Gravelbourg.

It is possible that they may apply to the Legislature for power to confer degrees. This cannot be done without depriving the University of its exclusive power to confer degrees in Saskatchewan. This university will be obliged to resist this to the utmost.¹³

Thus, as Athol Murray began to consider an Arts programme, he had two choices: he could apply for Junior College status to the extent of second year Arts with the University of Saskatchewan, or seek an extra Provincial affiliation that would offer it a degree-granting status.

Extraprovincial affiliation in Western Canada owed much of its existence to the University of Ottawa's "generous policy to new institutions." Affiliation policy "was provoked," suggests Lawrence K. Shook in his study, Catholic Post-Secondary Education in English Speaking Canada, a History, "by an inflexible one province - one University philosophy now more or less associated with schools and Departments of Education."¹⁴ This system of association required that course curriculum and exams be prepared and marked at the parent institution. During Athol Murray's early years in Regina, Ottawa had a number of affiliations in

Saskatchewan - College Mathieu at Gravelbourg being the most widely known. When Athol Murray acted as the Regina Chancellor from 1923 to 1927 he was familiar with the post-secondary education. Thus, a path had been prepared down which Athol Murray could carry his hopes for an Arts program.

In order to establish an Arts programme under his direction, Murray would first of all have to have the personal time to attend to it; secondly, he would have to find students, facilities and staff; thirdly, he would have to have a source of financing; fourthly, he would have to have the required post-secondary library; finally he would have to request and receive affiliation approval with another University and, because he was a parish priest in the Diocese of Regina under the Archbishop James McGuigan, he would also have to have the approval of his superior.

Athol Murray in his first year as pastor was quite busy in his four-unit parish of Lang, Milestone, Wilcox and Rouleau. His parish diary account for 1927 and 1928 indicates a heavy travel schedule ("12 months -50,000 miles have slipped away in the administration of the Wilcox Parish"), (15) which was relieved with the division of the parish in July, 1928 with "Milestone and Lang now becoming a separate mission."¹⁶ This change alone would cut half of his responsibilities on the roads which were nearly impassable when the region's gumbo base turned to slippery grease in the prairie rain. However, he had assistance with his parishes and he recognized this in his diary. He states:

Mass was said without fail every Sunday in Lang,
Milestone, Rouleau and Wilcox and great blessings

have followed. Priests who made this possible were Father Shimnowski, OMI; Father Smile, OMI.; Austin Bradly, S.J.; Walsh, CSSR; Myer, OMI; Cunningham, C.S.S.R.; Forest, O'Neil, Rector of the Cathedral; Shubbert, OMI; Fiset, C.S.S.R.; Galorini, M.S.; Charest; Mulligan (who said his first Mass here), Userburg, Provincial of the German oblates.

Great credit is due to Lude Palm, who week after week never hesitated to risk life and health to put this over without material remuneration. (Palm was his driver.) (17)

Athol Murray himself did not drive at this time nor did he ever have a licence or learn to drive. The risk to the life and health of Lude Palm to which Murray alluded was caused by the poor roads and winter conditions, including blinding whiteouts, in that area. Lude Palm was an original Argo in a Sports Club which Murray founded upon his arrival in Regina in 1923 while Chancellor for Archbishop Mathieu. Palm travelled with Murray to Wilcox in 1927. Thus, Palm was one of the sources of additional labour on whom Murray relied to fulfill his pastoral duties.

Another source of labour was the network of men with whom he was acquainted during his appointment as Chancellor to the Archbishop McGuigan. However, as appeals and plans increased regarding his Arts programme, he hoped to receive direct assistance from a Father R.G. McDonnell of the Milestone and Lang Parish when McDonnell agreed to take an academic chair and to live in Wilcox.¹⁸ Murray addressed this matter with his own Archbishop McGuigan:

And then another matter, Your Grace. Father McDonnell had a long visit with me the other day. He intimated he would not be adverse with your Grace's approval to making his domicile through the week, at Wilcox. The idea would be to lend himself to the work at Notre Dame. If he is sincere in this and I believe he is, it would be a great blessing for us. He is

scholarly, well read and intellectual with considerable scholastic experience - and he is another priest. Should he approach Your Grace for permission to do this - may I plead that Your Grace encourage him in actually doing it. It would be of great help to us in a thousand ways. (19)

Father McDonnell, however, did not like to teach, though qualified, and in spite of the fact that he is named as staff officially, he never did move to Wilcox from Milestone, and soon after left the Milestone mission. He did assist in the teaching of Latin in the first year and assisted Father Murray with parish duties such as first Fridays of the month. (20) Thus Pere Murray did not receive the direct pastoral assistance he wanted nor did the Archbishop of Regina answer his letter regarding this matter. Although Murray received some relief from parish duties, it appears that as a result of his college project, the parish received less of his time. It is noteworthy that with the beginning of the college he discontinued writing diary reports for his own mission.

Father Murray always took a keen interest in the future of the high school students. His Parish diary notes post-secondary accomplishments from his first year at Wilcox. (21) But as economic conditions worsened and crops failed year after year, the students could not carry on. Mother Edith recalled the stranded students:

It was a sad province in the years of 1930 and 1931, what with the drought, dust storms and grasshoppers. Many families left their farms and moved north, others had to go on welfare. Father Murray opened his rectory to five boys who could not go back to College. They took Grade 12 in the High School. By 1931 he had 11 boys staying with him. By 1932/33 ... 16 boys were bunked in "Polmaise" and 12 in "Lochiel". (22)

Athol Murray also records in his diary the situation of the

young people of his parish in February of 1931. He wrote:

Our young people are meeting the situation with God's grace. At Brockville with the CSSR's are Joseph Kirby, Hugh Ryan, Charles Smith and Leonard McCrank. At Loretto Abbey College, Toronto - Caroline Hamel carries on her scholarship.

At St. Michael's College, Toronto are Nick and Don Metz - doing well and playing outstanding hockey.

In the west, Lude Palm is recognized as the best hockey player in Saskatchewan. At Campion, only Gordon Pickering and Milton Roddy were able to carry on. Joe Hartney and Bob O'Byrne had to mark time. Earl Hillstrom was able to carry on his studies extramurally with Father McDonnell in Milestone. Cecil O'Byrne and Fred Norton stay at Polmaise (rectory) and go to Notre Dame. (23)

Although there was an increase in the number of students around Notre Dame because of the Depression, it appears that a change in "administrative policy" at the Regina Campion College was "the incident" which loosened Father Murray's boundless energies in the quest for a University affiliation for his fledgling Notre Dame. This situation was described in Jack Gorman's Pere Murray and the Hounds:

Prior to 1930, Campion College, a Jesuit residential school in Regina offering High School and first year University, had conducted a fund raising drive among the Catholic families of Saskatchewan. Farmers in the southern part of the province were approached on the basis that any contributions made to the fund would be credited towards tuition when their sons reached the time for high school and college training. Many farmers contributed to the fund on this understanding and the drive was apparently a success. In 1932, a couple of boys from the Wilcox district, who graduated from the Notre Dame High School, applied for admission to Campion College. They brought

with them the receipts for money that their fathers had contributed to the fund raising drive years before. The boys were informed that administrative changes had taken place in the intervening years and that the present administration was in no way bound to such a commitment. And, if indeed there was such a commitment, they had not heard about it. The dejected youngsters returned to Wilcox. (24)

Father Murray's own correspondence suggested that the Depression was having an undesirable effect on Campion College, and Campion's reaction created hard feelings. In a letter to Archbishop McGuigan in January 1933 he outlined a particular case:

I am a little perturbed about (a Wilcox lad). (This lad was told) that financial stringency would prevent Your Grace carrying him any further at Campion. I immediately phoned... and asked if there was any other reason beyond the one given to warrant (this lad) not returning. (I was) assured ... that was the one and only obstacle and that the boy was well and favourably regarded by the College's authorities. So I told (the boy) to go back and I would dig him up the necessary funds to somehow get him by.

The boy had his Dad bring him back and leave him at the college; and then (I am) informed ... that he had badly fumbled his exams and would be unable to carry on. So he came back home ... It seems to me an inadequate argument for the boy to be turned down for flunking an exam at this stage of his training ... (25)

In another letter of appeal to McGuigan later on that year, asking for endorsement for Notre Dame's affiliation with the University of Ottawa, he suggests that McGuigan's support would help reduce the Regina problem. Murray stated:

It will go far to strengthen our Catholic position in "higher education" when the whole matter is opened up as it undoubtedly will be in the near future because of the ever increasing operating deficit of Regina College. (26)

Thus, by Autumn of 1933, Athol Murray claimed in a letter to Walter Murray of the University of Saskatchewan, that he had 13 students registered for Arts work. Two years earlier 10 graduates of Notre Dame enrolled at Campion but in 1932 only two could find the wherewithal.(27) The students in his care were not to be victims of the Depression or Campion's dilemma. And with the fine High School of the Sisters and sports teams under his direction, he would guarantee a supply of candidates for his programme from the Wilcox district although many would be beyond the parish boundaries, thus creating some other tensions with Campion College.

The students would need a place to live and learn. Athol Murray, one year before official affiliation, went to work on that matter. The correspondence of Murray in 1933 indicates that he was making progress in the preparation of school facilities.

In a letter to his Archbishop in January 1933, a new letterhead appeared. It headlined "Notre Dame of Saskatchewan" and on the left margin listed halls; "Polmaise," "Ravelston," "Lochiel." It is interesting that this letter to the Archbishop had a marginal note in the archbishop's own handwriting above the list of halls; "Please explain." (28) By September 20, 1933, Murray typed the names of two new halls on the paper. "Earnscliffe" and "Dalnavert." (29) The correspondence recovered for 1934 shows in April the addition of another hall, "Clonakilty." However, included also on this letterhead is a list of governors; "Laurie Anthes, Toronto; A.E. Whitmore, Regina; Sir George Garneau, Quebec; Sir John Uhrich, Regina; Larkin Maloney, Toronto; Chancellor, His

Grace, Dr. J.C. McGuigan; Visitor, His Lordship, Hector Y. Macdonald." Thus, in the eyes of Athol Murray there was a budding structure of a great little College. "Radcliffe College of Harvard," stated the news account of Notre Dame's opening on September 28, 1933, "had an origin as humble as a proverbial log, and all have heard of the romantic beginning of the great Oxford. In the Saskatchewan drought area such a story may some day be told about the little Notre Dame, the inception of which under the auspices of the Archbishop Mathieu came 12 years ago." (30)

These little buildings so romantically named represented various locations around Wilcox. "Polmaise" was the rectory for St. Augustine's church and, according to the Regina Leader Post in its announcement of the opening of the College, it housed 16 boys. "Ravelston" was the convent of the Sisters of St. Louis, and 45 younger students lived there. "Lochiel" in which, according to Murray, lived 12 students, represented the academic building housing also "lecture rooms, library and general educational equipment." (31) "Earnscliffe," a small house where the Arts girls lived was available (early in September), when arrangements were arrived at to rent from Al Humbert, "his splendid house as a residence for the older girls." (32) The latter additions, "Dalnavert" and "Clonakilty," represented the ice house and the garage (later called the Caravansary in 1936) at the back of the "Polmaise" rectory. These buildings, somewhat less in physical stature than the usual University halls, were labelled with Scottish names familiar to Athol Murray because of his Scottish

heritage. For example, "Earnscliffe" and "Dalnavert" were tributes to the Macdonalds. "Dalnavert" in Winnipeg was the home of Hugh John - my uncle by marriage - his first marriage," stated Father Murray (33).

"These Scottish names, which never really caught on," recollected Mother Edith, "were dropped and changed down through the years." (34) For example, the two bunk areas near Polmaise were known later as the "Rex Beach" and the "Tehee" - the wife of Rex Beach, the renowned American journalist who made the College famous with his writings. Although the halls remained on the letterhead for a number of years, the first page of the letterhead, which included the Board of Governors and the visitors and interested patrons of the school, was dropped almost immediately. This may have been due to Archbishop McGuigan's admonition that Murray was letting his imagination get carried away. This particular warning of the Archbishop was the result of a letter Murray wrote as a financial appeal to Senator Charles Murphy of Ottawa. It was sent out on the dressed-up letterhead and it listed the halls, the governors, visitors and chancellor. The Senator replied to Archbishop McGuigan:

May I suggest, as a friend, that the writer of the enclosed letter will get you as well as himself into trouble if he is not speedily put in his place ... The heading of the gentleman's letter paper would indicate that he is in charge of an extensive University establishment with numerous allied Colleges or halls as he calls them; and that he has a Board of Governors scattered throughout the Dominion all bearing fashionable names (35)

The Archbishop shortly afterwards cautioned Murray with regard

to his exaggerated vision: "I draw to your attention," he stated, "the fact that it is a serious mistake to call your institution a University. I rather think it puts the school to ridicule, especially in Eastern Canada." (36) Thus the soaring imagination of the Notre Dame founder notwithstanding, Murray did arrange for residences and "in this community of dwellings," claimed Father Murray, "are more than 100 persons associated with Notre Dame." (37) Not a few of these members were recruited to teach in his College as well.

In keeping with Athol Murray's vision regarding the nature of a college, he had printed a brochure on which the staff of Notre Dame are titled an "administrative council." The University of Ottawa used a similar title. The Notre Dame listing had a wide selection of staff although some did not have much to do with the Arts Program. However, for the initiation of the Arts Program the early staff was listed in a Regina Leader Post announcement and also in a letter of appeal to the Archbishop of Regina. His staff included Pat O'Dwyer, M.A. who taught English; Earl Hillstrom a graduate of Campion College who taught history; Mack Manning who was in charge of the Music and the Glee Club; Sister Edith who taught French; Father McDonnell, pastor of Milestone, who taught Latin; and Father Murray who taught Philosophy and History. It was noted above how he attempted to recruit Father McDonnell to live with him in Wilcox. Pat O'Dwyer was a recruit who had studied at "All Hallows College" in Dublin. Athol Murray had been in contact with him by mail. Earl Hillstrom was a graduate of Campion College

whom Athol Murray had known within the Wilcox community. Father Murray would incorporate Mother Edith into the College to teach French while he would switch off with her and carry the Grade 12 Religion class at the same time. In that first year there were two students in third year Arts and they studied, according to the reminiscences of Mother Edith, English with Pat O'Dwyer and French and Philosophy at night with Father Murray. All staff assisted in the high school and some high school teachers studied second year Arts. For example, Theresa Brown, who taught Grades 9 and 10, and Gene Sewell who taught high school Science and acted as a Librarian, both studied second year Arts courses. All were required to belong to the Glee Club, and Mark Manning, who was gifted at the piano, was the director, ably assisted by Hillstrom, "who was skilled with the horn", remembered Mother Edith. (38) William "Curly" Macfarlane was listed as a member of the staff as well and he assisted with sports. Thus, in this early attempt at an Arts programme for Notre Dame, Murray recruited in such a way that all facets of an education would be covered. He did this with practically no funds at all.

"Can you imagine," recalled Mother Edith in a recent interview, "that there was simply no cash around. Everyone was penniless. Our cash flow for one term for a convent with 45 girls", she continued, "was \$15.00 and that was due to one student from around Prince Albert who was able to pay that amount towards her fees." (39) At one time, Athol Murray wrote to the University of Saskatchewan President, Walter Murray, that the school "had

taken in a number of boys and girls - practically all- on a more or less barter system, each supplying a quota of food."(40) It was more of a barter system, with "scarcely a third that are able to pay board or tuition", he wrote to R.B.Bennett: "bringing instead what quotas of food they can ... Can you imagine the anxiety it entails? When things get a little dark with you, if they ever do, when a bit discouraged over administrating the affairs of Canada it may cheer you to feel that at least you don't have to face 100 youngsters 3 times a day and find them fodder practically without fodder."(41) After the first year of operations, Murray was requested to submit an accounting for the debt. He replied to a request of Reverend J.A. Cahill of the Chancery office in Regina that "financially we did not do so badly either. We owe the local grocer Chs.Becker \$250; the local coal and wood (McIlrath Lumber Co.) \$45.00; Pat Burns (Regina) \$15.00; Monarch Kit (Dunnville, Ont.) \$50.00; these current accounts can be cared for."(42)

One way Athol Murray cared for these bills was by delaying payment. To the Dean of Ottawa University he requested yearly, it appears in the records, a late payment indulgence regarding a \$200.00 examination fee. On one occasion he wrote to the Ottawa rector:

May I ask you to kindly bear with me a little longer. I promise to forward the funds in full within the next two months. That courtesy has been granted to me through so many tough years that it must seem something like a routine with the University authorities now."(43)

He paid other accounts through the generosity of benefactors. For the fact that debts were met, Athol Murray disclaimed "any

credit whatsoever", and suggested that "any investigation will find that only God's own hand could do what has been done." (44) However, the founding priest knew that "Grace has found a way of working out the issues through such fellows as Laurie Anthes of Toronto, Sir George Garneau of Quebec and A.B. Whitmore of Regina." (45) Of course, God's grace worked through Murray's own hand. When crisis developed he would pen a note of appeal to a benefactor as he did, for example, to Bennett in 1934. He wrote at that time:

My one great worry at the moment is to hang on to the girls' residence Earnscliffe - with its rental of \$200.00 a year. If your campaign expenses are not too far stretched may a little largesse to this wee "Earnscliffe" be possible ..(46)

There were as well no salaries for staff. All funds covered were essentials. The College would succeed because "of the unshakeable faith of its founder", stated Jack Gorman in his biography of Athol Murray. "Athol Murray believed firmly and irrevocably that he was God's instrument on earth and that the exigencies of money and other material would somehow be met ... This is God's business and as long as we do our utmost, he will see us through. He always has." (47)

One area from which he was not to expect assistance was the chancery office of the Regina Diocese. And this fact was stated directly by the Chancellor. "It is inevitable that a junior college incurs debts which cannot be paid by a community almost completely destitute. The Archdiocese in Regina is in no position to undertake the financial responsibility of such a venture." (48) And thus, without any reliable sources of funds, Athol Murray

financed the responsibilities of the College in any way imaginable depending often upon the power of prayer, the generosity of friends and his own wit in creating an interest in the plight of the students of the Wilcox district.

Although their condition was desperate, from the beginning, Athol Murray recognized the unlimited potential of the residents of this district. In a letter in 1930 to Arthur Doughty, Canada's National Archivist, he stated:

Now the district comprises about the finest human strata in all Cosmopolitan Saskatchewan. The people are farmer folk hailing from the Maritimes, Ontario, Quebec and essentially the United States. They are practically 100% English speaking and undoubtedly because of cultural advantage over other prairie settlements, will exercise a far-reaching influence in the coming Canadian "mentality of the West:...Western leadership must rest for years and years to come with the farmer element, rather than the flotsam of the prairie towns."(49)
However, for this leadership to excel it needed its reference

library. And so he began to build his library almost immediately upon his arrival at Wilcox and to prepare in anticipation, it appears, for an Arts programme well in advance of the devastating effect of the Depression and drought. In this letter to Arthur Doughty he outlined what he had done and what he had hoped to do in this regard in 1930. He stated to Doughty:

Dad (James Murray) saw this when he visited me; and when he died he left his entire library to the "Sisters of Little Notre Dame": of Wilcox. But somehow I have hope and vision that little Wilcox may easily emulate in the West what old Antigonish accomplished way down by the Atlantic. Already the results are altogether wonderful. Old Dad's books will help enormously. I had hoped Monsignor Mathieu might add something too - but what didn't go to Laval went to Mathieu College,

Gravelbourg. However, even at that they were mostly French.

What I want you to be kind enough to do is to help me as far as you can to build up this library. We have Canada and its Provinces, "Chronicles", "The Makers of Canada", "Parkman" and a few of the recognized Canadian master-works in French and English. I hope to persuade Alexander Fraser to let me have the "Ontario Archives". I feel satisfied that no one can help me more than your own good self. Familiar as I am with your mind and heart there is not need or urging to your remembrance what immense good was done by More, Erasmus and even John Evelyn in nursing libraries. Wolseley's Oxford work has outlasted all other service to his "King". Old Dad was an active, energetic enthusiast of unsparing aggressiveness; his achievements were many on behalf of Canada, yet, when the story is told, I doubt greatly if his gift to this wee Notre Dame will not unbalance all else. (50)

This correspondence with Doughty carried on until his retirement in 1935, and throughout a period of five years Doughty assisted building up the reference library for the school. In gratitude he wrote to Doughty: "May I assure you that your envoy of plates together with "Quebec of Yesteryear" is one of the most delightful gifts. In a sense it is 'The Canadian Archives' in miniature; at least that is how I feel about it." He moves on to talk about the build up of the Toronto reference library and continues to Doughty in appreciation that "out on the bald prairie you are making it possible for us to extend a like service to our young folk of the west. I am deeply appreciative." (51) Athol Murray was thrilled by what he had built up over the years since he arrived at Wilcox. He wrote to an unidentified school friend of 25 years that, "we've also Notre Dame - not where they play rugby but where the Little

Sisters of St. Louis try to help me convince about 100 youngsters that they have the grandest school in the world and the finest library." (52) By 1933 when The Leader Post of Regina announced the opening of his Notre Dame Arts Programme, it was claimed in the newspaper that there were 3,000 volumes. (53)

However, the report on the inspection of Notre Dame, Wilcox, by the Deans of the University of Saskatchewan was not quite so enthusiastic about the value of the library for second year Arts and Science work. They noted in their report "the library, while unusually good from some points of view, is not sufficiently developed for the purpose of second year Arts and Science." (54) But that opinion from the University of Saskatchewan did not undo the enthusiasm of Father Murray to continue to collect from sources known and unknown in order to build his library. Gorman wrote about Murray's library collection and additions to it over the years.

Murray had maintained regular correspondence with his friend Doctor Reneouf of Johns Hopkins and through him with Laura Lee Davidson, a Baltimore writer who, years earlier, had known Athol as he paddled with Reneouf on the Kawartha Lakes. She was in possession of Robert E. Lee's personal library, and when she heard of Athol Murray's struggle to establish a library in far off Saskatchewan, she arranged to ship the entire collection by rail to Wilcox. Margaret Metz remembers the day it arrived at Wilcox's tiny Soo Line station. 'The crates appeared to be the equivalent of a box car full of books: Miss Metz and others were assigned to the task of sorting, cataloguing and stacking the volumes in the Arts Room of the Notre Dame High School, a former furniture store ... Among other valuable donations to the library were those of Chief Justice Turgeon of Regina and the magnificent Medical collection

of Dr. John Uhrich of Regina." (55)

Thus, by January of 1933, Athol Murray felt he had the wit and wherewithal to begin a small college program at Notre Dame College. The support of the convent school of the Sisters of St. Louis, including the staff and library which had been built up over the years, encouraged Athol Murray to write with confidence to his Archbishop McGuigan, "that the work of Notre Dame is equipped to do commands a range well beyond its present curriculum" of high school matriculation. (56) Furthermore it was a fact also, "that a large number of its graduates cannot afford to continue their studies elsewhere ...". However, no matter how enthusiastic Murray felt regarding the possibility for post-secondary work, he still required approval of his project. The essential requirement was recognition by an official university. Athol Murray summarized in his parish diary in September of 1933 recollection of his efforts in this regard. He wrote:

In the year of the anniversary of the crucifixion a new outlook has come to Notre Dame. Early this year efforts were begun to secure university facilities. Approach was made to Saskatoon for second year Arts and to Ottawa for the last two years. Procedure was necessarily slow, appraisal had to be made, the faculty had to be weighed and also strengthened ... On Monday, September 11 Dean Ling and Dean Thompson of the University of Saskatchewan visited Notre Dame. High appraisal had already been made by Dr. J.H. McKechnie, Chief Inspector of Schools. The present purpose was to verify his findings. We still await the formal announcement from the President but we were assured by the Deans of their genuine gratification of our achievements and efficiency. We were authorized to assemble our students by September 21 with books and other equipment. The University of Saskatchewan however finally let Notre Dame down declining

the concessions promised and recommending us to go east - we did and Ottawa University graciously agreed to give us affiliation. (57)

Athol Murray's first request was directed to the University of Saskatchewan, which was under the direction of Dr. Walter Murray, a prominent educator from Nova Scotia. His appeal in March of 1933 asked to continue second year Arts (Grade 12 was considered first year Art) and associate Notre Dame as a Junior College Affiliate with graduates able then to complete their degree at either the University of Saskatchewan or with an affiliation with the University of Ottawa. According to the recollections of Mother Edith of the Sisters of St. Louis, his first effort at affiliation with the University of Saskatchewan was a result of the English speaking nature of the Soo Line communities and the heavy French language requirement of the university of Ottawa. "He knew," she recalled, "that it would be most difficult for his students to complete the four year French requirement of the University of Ottawa." (58)

In the official story of the college of Notre Dame, it is suggested "the University of Saskatchewan dismissed him without a hearing." (59) This was not the case, as recently uncovered correspondence between Athol Murray and the University of Saskatchewan President Walter Murray has revealed. There was a six month period of correspondence between the Murrays including a visiting delegation.

In the early correspondence between Walter Murray and Athol Murray a key problem is identified. Father Murray's petition was

simply one of many similar requests. The University of Saskatchewan President wrote to Athol Murray that "we have had so many applications recently that we have become somewhat chary about taking action until we can form a definite policy with regard to qualifications for approval." (60) Walter Murray then suggested correspondence work but because of the expense of correspondence courses, (\$20 each) Athol Murray requested that he adjust the correspondence course system for his staff to conduct their classes on the basis of one set of papers. Were this conceded," stated Athol Murray, "I can think of no finer arrangement. Were it withheld, I am afraid that the expense involved would militate against the greater number being able to avail themselves of the privilege." (61)

The University of Saskatchewan, fearful of setting a precedent, refused Murray's proposal. "For the university to send out a course of instruction," responded the Saskatchewan president, and to examine (your) students without further oversight of their work in the second year ... would lead to many similar demands. It would not result in the assurance of satisfactory work being done." (62)

However, the Saskatchewan University president attempted another creative method with which Notre Dame could defer payment of fees until the end of the year and somehow assist the plight of the students who were penniless. He wrote to Father Murray:

We have been thinking of ways in which we might enable you to attain some of the objectives of your proposal ... Each student might be admitted to three courses. The fee for each

course is \$20. (I might say the usual number of courses which the student may take extramurally is two but in certain cases where there is a prospect of doing them well permission to take three has been granted). If a student could pay \$10 in cash of the \$60 for the three courses for the University would be prepared to accept his note for the remaining \$50, payable within 12 months.(63)

However, the students themselves were not receptive to this proposal. "Of the 13 who had registered there is only one who I know would feel disposed to take three classes by correspondence course," (64) replied Athol Murray to this latest attempt at solving the problem. With disappointment he expressed to Walter Murray his deep sense of failure and included a cutting allusion to the fact that the university, which had a degree-granting monopoly in Saskatchewan, could not see the truth of this particular matter as once papal authority could not see Galileo's scientific theory regarding the relationship of the sun to the earth. Athol Murray stated in conclusion:

It would seem discourteous for me not to seem appreciative of your kindness, but the attitude taken by the University after the visit of Dean Ling and Dean Thompson is a great disappointment... There may be more mysteries under heaven than my poor philosophy can dream of but I think a grave mistake, dear Dr. Murray, is being made. If there is not an alternative before Thursday, I shall have to crack the news. Only my profound respect for your judgement and achievement in the university life of Canada compels me to accept the thing with resignation. I do so with the same reluctance Galileo murmured, 'e pur si muove.' (65)

Dr. Walter Murray responded once again after a meeting with all the heads of departments had concluded that there would be no change.

He wrote:

Would it be possible for you to secure the privileges which you wish through the assumption by St. Paul's of Winnipeg, or St. Michael's of Toronto, of the responsibilities for students enrolled and taught by you?" (66)

With that letter, the correspondence between Dr. Walter Murray and Athol Murray ceased.

There was reference in the Athol Murray diary to the fact that Notre Dame was authorized to assemble students by September 21 with books and other equipment. Although there is no formal authorization by the University of Saskatchewan on record, it appears that the day after the visit of Dean Ling and Dean Thompson, Athol Murray drafted a formal petition to the University of Saskatchewan. It stated:

We would like to secure the sanction of the University of Saskatchewan for our Notre Dame faculty to conduct courses in second year Arts on a Junior College basis." (67)

With the excitement of the visiting delegation from the University of Saskatchewan and the preparing of a formal petition, Athol Murray may have assumed this was a formal authorization to assemble the students. However, the official response of the visiting delegation to Notre Dame concluded differently. It stated:

We are now convinced that the request of Father Murray must be refused because his institution decidedly fails to meet the proper requirements for a Junior College. In our opinion the training of staff is inadequate for the purposes of second year Arts and Science work. The library, while unusually good from some points of view, is not sufficiently developed. And Father Murray himself admitted there is practically no equipment for science work. We therefore recommend that Father Murray be

informed that the status of the Junior College cannot be granted to Notre Dame. (68)

This decision brought an end to correspondence with regard to affiliation with the University of Saskatchewan on a Junior College level.

In a recent publication, Notre Dame of the Prairies, Alice Henderson, the author, declared that the desire of the University of Saskatchewan to protect and strengthen its monopoly in the province led to the denial of Junior College status for Notre Dame. The author suggested further that the continuing negotiations with Saint Thomas More College for federation within the University of Saskatchewan played a part also. However, as much as the monopoly of the University of Saskatchewan and the Saint Thomas More negotiations are key aspects of the University of Saskatchewan history, the documentation in the case of Notre Dame does not support the view that these factors were central to denial of Junior College status. The correspondence between the institutions indicates that the University of Saskatchewan feared it would set a precedent, for which it was unprepared, in view of the significant increases in the number of similar applications because of the Depression. The University of Saskatchewan was also unwilling to accept the quality of facilities and staff of Notre Dame as adequate for the purpose of University work. (69)

Although Walter Murray of the University of Saskatchewan suggested extra provincial affiliation with a college such as St. Paul's of Winnipeg or St. Michael's of Toronto, there is no evidence that Athol Murray approached these institutions. However,

the recorded evidence at the University of Ottawa indicates that he initiated interest in the University of Ottawa on July 12, July 29 and once again on August 18, 1933.(70) Mother Edith recalls that he travelled to Ottawa to pursue his college objective but the only evidence of an Ottawa journey is the time he toured Eastern Canada in August 1931 to appeal for the desperate Regina Archdiocese on behalf of Archbishop McGuigan.(71) Mother Edith felt also that Father Murray knew someone on the University of Ottawa Council because of his Laval University days and this assisted in his 11th hour appeal. The University of Ottawa's rector, J. Marchand, however, in writing to Archbishop McGuigan a year later, outlines the rushed manner in which the affiliation procedure occurred. Marchand's review states:

We did not take all the possible precautions in granting affiliation, but that (Sic) the request of affiliation came to us during the vacation of 1933 at the time it was impossible to call together the Council. In the month of September we were asked to permit the students at Wilcox to register; although the affiliation was not yet in effect. We had given this authorization that was asked of us by telegram and it was only later (Oct.22, 1933) that the affiliation was given "ad experimentum" for five years.(72)

Between the times of his official request for affiliation, July 29, 1933 and the telegram of acceptance on the 26 of September, 1933, Athol Murray gathered his staff and students and began classes. In the meantime he kept up a steady stream of correspondence with Walter Murray of the University of Saskatchewan. Mother Edith recalls being worried sick that the affiliation would not be accepted. She asked Father Murray,

"'Then, what shall we do?' But Father Murray admonished me," she remembered him saying, "You sound just like the students." (73) But two days prior to the telegram of acceptance, Athol Murray wrote to Ottawa once again . He stated:

On the eve of the feast of the Canadian martyrs we are anxiously awaiting word from you that our affiliation with Ottawa University is a "fait accompli". Our classes are in full session with our students all registered and the faculty carrying on the curriculum as adopted to your program of studies. (74)

Later on in the letter, however, he refers to the letter of acknowledgement of his request by the secretary of the University as an insurance of a favorable hearing. "Father Caron has answered us that Ottawa University will grant us affiliation," he stated further, "if we can live up to the requirements." But as of the 24th of September he did not know what these were. "We can quite adequately do this," he wrote further, "I am quite sure, when you advise us just what the requirements may be."

Although documentation does not exist, it appears that Athol Murray had submitted earlier the student's names and the courses they were to follow. The University of Ottawa would normally thoroughly study student records and courses of study. But in this case the University was rushed. And so, with students registered and courses and faculty in place, a telegram of acceptance was forwarded without a detailed examination of the acceptability of the Notre Dame appeal. Mother Edith recalled the day it arrived. "Father Murray was waving the telegram above his head, in the street," she remembered, "and then he went into the church to give

thanks to God and to the Canadian martyrs of Midland to whom he had been praying for intercession and had been calling to account for his devotion and effort in having their martyrdom commemorated while he was a curate at Penetanguishene, Ontario." (75)

Father Murray had his Arts programme accepted, finally, by Ottawa University, but he required permission also from his superior, the Archbishop of Regina, for his project. It is a fact, however, that Athol Murray founded the Arts Programme in association with the University of Ottawa without the explicit approval of the Archbishop. Athol Murray wrote to the Archbishop on two occasions requesting sanction and a letter of approval and support to be sent to the University of Ottawa. (76) Thus, it is evident that Father Murray was 'open' regarding his project. The Archbishop, however did not respond directly to Murray, but the Archbishop's position was that:

in regard to the College of Notre Dame, it is simply a high school. On account of the hard times, Father Murray, last year, brought together all the boys of his district and kept them together and gave them a chance to go to school. The girls have always been taken care of by the Sisters of St. Louis. I have never really sanctioned the question of Father Murray taking care of the boys. I feared for the discipline of the school. However, I did not break it up last year because I felt that the people might think I was keeping their boys from receiving an education...

One more thing I wish to mention, that last fall, when Father Murray gathered all the boys of his district who were poor and could not go to college, it seems that he obtained an affiliation with the Ottawa University. I have never recognized this affiliation, because it never passed through my hands. I still refuse to recognize it, because the school at Wilcox,

as far as I am concerned, is only a high school or college, nothing more. (77)

The documentation indicates the Archbishop would not directly respond to the Notre Dame situation at Wilcox. He feared for the "discipline" of boys and girls at a residential school; he was aware that Campion College of Regina "did not like the idea of it"; he sympathized with the plight of youth in the depression circumstances and Murray's attempt to give them hope with 'intellectual activity'; he was aware of the possible bad feelings of the parishioners of the district if he foreclosed on the boys under Murray; and finally, he knew that Murray himself was "a little strange and extraordinem (Sic) and difficult to control:..." ("although I would not be fair to him if I did not say that he has always submitted to my decision".) But, in this case, the Archbishop did not make a decision; rather, he postponed an unfavorable reaction in the hope that with the passing of the depression, the need for Murray's project at Wilcox would pass. (78)

Murray himself offered a variety of justifications for the programme. The depression circumstances required action. The leadership of the province would develop within this English based settlement. It was a natural extension of the excellent work of the Sisters of St. Louis. He claimed "that Monseigneur Mathieu founded Notre Dame and willed that I should try to develop it upon its present ideal". In the Regina Leader Post announcement of the opening of the Arts programme, the newspaper suggested again that the school "founded by Monseigneur Mathieu seems up to his own expectation". (79)

Murray himself also claimed to Dr. Murray, of the University of Saskatchewan, the "disinterested motive behind it all". The record of the school spoke for itself, he wrote to Dr. Murray:

I do not wish to be understood as making a selfish plea in the interest of developing an institution over which I happen to preside. Little Notre Dame does not exercise an influence that cannot stand investigation. The high quality of the staff and their scientific productivity within the past ten years is evidenced fairly well by the fact that no less than eleven of our students are now completing their courses at Toronto University - mostly by way of earned scholarship. Our success has largely been due to our policy of remaining a small school - avoiding everything that might institutionalize. What Ridley and Grey Gables are achieving in the East it is our dream to accomplish through this great 'little school' in the West. I don't think our effort will be a futile gesture. (80)

In the case of Notre Dame, Father Murray saw many good reasons to pursue the creation of an Arts programme beyond his personal ambitions and beyond also the situation caused by the Depression conditions. He acted as a catalyst, it appears, as he had often in the past, as an active enthusiast attempting to better the situation in which he found himself. The fact that the Archbishop did not approve or disapprove officially left Murray moving ahead on his own. He aptly described in Biblical imagery the activist, and himself in this case, as one who does not "sit in palsied apathy beside the pool and vainly wait for an 'angel' to stir the waters". (81) He acted without explicit permission in the same manner as he had brought together all of his students and staff to start classes on the single assurance of the secretary of Ottawa University who stated that his project would receive a sympathetic hearing. (82) And thus Notre Dame received affiliation

from the University of Ottawa without the official sanction of the Regina Archbishop because of the urgency of the situation and the fact that Athol Murray had started the project moving without the official sanction of the Archbishop.

It appears the Archbishop was willing to allow the situation to carry on. However, Notre Dame's first year of Arts was almost its last. A series of incidents brought unfavorable attention to Notre Dame and started a process by which both the University of Ottawa and the Diocesan authorities of Regina sought to discontinue Notre Dame's Arts programme. The fact was, of course, that Archbishop McGuigan of the Regina Diocese had not granted official sanction for Notre Dame's affiliation with the University of Ottawa. When this matter was brought to the attention of the University of Ottawa, its administrative council expressed its embarrassment in a letter to Archbishop McGuigan:

We were not able to foresee, the Rector (Father Murray) of this College, that a single member of the council knew, could undertake such steps without having first obtained the authorization of his superior; nevertheless, in his letter of request he said explicitly, "Our Sisters of St. Louis, with the sympathies of Archbishop McGuigan, feel the time has come to apply for University affiliation." (83)

Ottawa University assumed authorization by Murray's Archbishop. Diocesan approval occurred finally in 1938.

Another incident which created unfavourable attention for Notre Dame was the result of Father Murray's letter dated April 4 appealing for financial assistance from Senator Charles Murphy in Ottawa. (84) A third incident stemmed from a newspaper article in May of 1934 which stated that Athol Murray threatened to expel two

of his students for membership in the Wilcox Young People's C.C.F.(85) This in turn provoked a reaction from the Apostolic delegate of Canada and Newfoundland. He wrote on June 8 to Archbishop McGuigan for an explanation of the "pastoral and educational activity of Athol Murray." (86) In a fourth incident, Archbishop McGuigan's reply to the Apostolic Delegate triggered an embarrassment for the University of Ottawa. The Apostolic Delegate informed the Ottawa University authorities of the Regina Archbishop's surprise "that Ottawa University would grant such an affiliation without consulting" him. (87) Finally, the University of Ottawa Council after reviewing the correspondence, decided not to accept the affiliation of Notre Dame, Wilcox, so long as your excellency (McGuigan) has not given his full agreement." (88)

During this series of incidents which carried on into July, 1934, Athol Murray prepared his usual summer activities, unaware of this opposition. He ran the Religious Vocation School once again for the diocese and towards the end of July requested permission from the Archbishop to tour Alberta with a group of "young fellows ... keen on my piloting them on a jaunt." (89) And so while Father Murray was vacationing in Alberta, an exasperated McGuigan wrote out a command to Murray to cease his educational activities. The letter stated:

After much consideration, I have come to the conclusion that you must not open your school to the boys next year. Champion College needs all the help that we can give it and, at any rate, the conditions under which your school functions are not entirely satisfactory.

There can therefore be no question of taking

boys into your residence or having any boarding school under your direction ...

I rely on you to be absolutely loyal in carrying this direction into effect. (90)

However, that same day, McGuigan travelled to Winnipeg and upon arriving there sent a night letter to his Chancellor in Regina requesting that the letter to Murray not be sent and that the Chancery office convene its counsellors in order to arrive at another solution. The telegram stated:

On reflection think Msgr. Jansen better call meeting consultor of city re Wilcox before delivery my letter consider too whether letter should not be carefully worded if so write letter and send camp master for my signature. (91)

Upon receipt of this command the Chancery office initiated an investigation. Two fathers "motored to Wilcox ... Father Murray ... was absent. The Sisters too were absent in Radville on their retreat." However, the Chancery office wrote to Archbishop McGuigan, "that they were able to gather considerable and valuable information" and included the following statements:

-... There were twenty-nine boys there (at the rectory and the church), most of them residing at a distance of from 170 - 250 miles from Wilcox. The local element was the negligible part of the group.

-...Three professors and five of these students resided in the rectory, the balance in the basement of the church.

-...That financially the undertaking was not a success. The wholesale houses would not sell on credit with the result that they were obliged to purchase their food at local stores at retail prices ...

-... That the prospect of opening this fall are not good because of the lack of further

credit and because of disgruntled feelings among the professors who received no salary and lived in a miserable condition. (92)

The committee then in compliance with the Archbishop's wishes was going to build a new case against the college and felt it "wise to approach the Wilcox situation from another angle than the one which dominates your (McGuigan's) letter. (93

McGuigan had stated in his undelivered letter to Father Murray that "the conditions under which your school functions are not entirely satisfactory." (94) Some of the unsatisfactory conditions may be interpreted from 'note taking' papers stored in the archives: perhaps the result of local interviews, these point-form records do not refer to sources but list several grievances with regard to Athol Murray's use of the rectory for a residence and the influence of having both Catholic and Protestant boys and girls in a residential school setting. The notes stated:

- ...Object to the use the church and rectory are put - no office, disorder.
- ...Destruction of property, fences and sidewalks burnt.
- ...Halls (church) no longer - used for boarders.

One list suggested some Catholic practices were not followed and there is a suggestion that the interdenominational nature of the student body may lead to 'mixed marriages'. These issues have been challenged by Mother Edith. However, the sheet of paper listed the following complaints:

- ...Meat on Friday - Fish Saturday
- ...Mixed marriages -
- ...Several not going to church
- ...Suggest that he be called in and chastised. (95)

The final report however, did not refer to any of the above grievances. It followed instead the tack suggested to Archbishop McGuigan:

If we could be sure that there was real danger of financial difficulty arising out of this project it could be suppressed on the grounds without giving offence to anyone ... (and, if we could demonstrate that) the best paying students in the diocese ... are the principal element of the student body, the *raison d'être* of his school vanishes. (96)

With this plan of action in mind, the Chancery issued an order of His Grace the Archbishop of Regina to Athol Murray stating:

Your purpose in opening Notre Dame was to give an education to poor boys of Wilcox and district. You have already had one year's experience in this new field and we want to know how you fared financially. Please send the following statements to the Chancery Office before August 15th, 1934.

- (1) A full list of unpaid bills contracted to date.
- (2) A list of all your students together with their age, grade and post office addresses. (97)

When Athol Murray returned from his vacation he replied to the Chancery Office that academically "not only were there no failures but the entire group came through splendidly." His debt for the year totalled \$405.00 and "can be cared for," he claimed. And adding a reminder to the group concerning the source of inspiration to his project, he stated that "any investigation will find that only God's hand could do what has been done ... at such a slender margin of expense. (98)

Father Murray submitted the student registration as requested. It listed twenty-five boys from grade nine through third year Arts. Within that group, nine were from Wilcox district and three of

those nine were in the Arts programme. As if aware of the intent behind the investigation, he footnoted that a student he listed as a Wilcox resident was originally a "Lestock boy but has lived with me for two years straight." Murray concluded in his submission that "four-fifths of the students were not able to defray expense even in a small way; nonetheless, they represent the finest element in South Saskatchewan. To abandon them now with conditions as they are would be tragedy indeed. We can wangle them by." (99)

The Chancery office having received Murray's submission concluded its investigation by August 30th. It submitted the following recommendations to Archbishop McGuigan for approval:

- (1) That since the University of Ottawa has cancelled the affiliation, granted in 1933 without the permission of Your Excellency to Father Murray's institution at Wilcox, it would be inexpedient to apply for a renewal of same. The principal reason for this is the fact that the higher education of the Catholic boys of Wilcox can be cared for by Champion College, in the city of Regina, only twenty-five miles distant from Wilcox. Moreover, it is inevitable that a Junior College incurs debts which cannot be paid by a community almost completely destitute, and the Archdiocese of Regina is in no position to undertake the financial responsibility of such a venture. (100)

However, it did concede that "much good can be accomplished by a Catholic high school for boys ... and we believe that if such an institution can be maintained at the present time, every effort should be put forth to promote it." (101)

Thus, by August 30th, Athol Murray's Arts experiment was at the brink of dissolution. However, the consultor's recommendations were not acted upon. A command to cease educational activity was

not delivered. It is difficult to determine whether or not Athol Murray was aware just how serious were the deliberations to close his Arts programme. The Sisters of Charity of St. Louis at that time were unaware of these particular difficulties. Recently, they were rather surprised when the critical correspondence was brought to their attention. (102) Over a month elapsed before documentation regarding this issue occurred again. It was a letter from the University of Ottawa stating that former requests for a resolution to the problem of formal consent of Diocesan authorities were still pending. The letter stated:

So far we have received acknowledgement of our letter to His Excellency but not word about the of approval for the temporary affiliation of your college to the University of Ottawa.

This being the case and to avoid further misunderstanding I would ask you to take up the case with His Excellency and let us know the conclusion. (103)

Again, the archives store no indication of response to this issue. It was only when Father Murray had to apply for final exams for his students in April of 1935 that a problem surfaced once again. Father Murray wrote to Archbishop McGuigan, now residing in Toronto, requesting his support for affiliation. Archbishop McGuigan then replied to the University of Ottawa, and his response to Murray's request revealed his long-standing attitude to the Notre Dame Arts project. It stated:

Father Murray writes the enclosed. I think consideration should be given to the students who are nearing their degrees. But I do not think that Notre Dame Collegiate as now - (sic) can ever receive the full approbation of an Archbishop for affiliation with a university.

Father Murray has a great heart, is an enthusiast but really I feel that the new Archbishop will not be as "tolerant" of the Wilcox situation as I was. I did not want to deprive these fine boys of a chance.

So, if without jeopardizing the position, you could allow the boys to write, it would be, I think, a kindly deed but I hardly think that a permanent affiliation is possible.(104)

The Administrative Council of the University of Ottawa then took its guidance in this case from the Archbishop and allowed the students to write exams in 1935. For the future, however, it decided to allow affiliation to the end of its "ad experimentum" agreement. "Very soon the board will have to deal with the question of renewal of affiliation," the council minutes stated, "and also will have to study diligently the question of (future) opportunity."(105) As a result of this decision, the question of a definite settlement of the issue was put aside until 1938.

In the period from 1934 until 1938, the Notre Dame experiment received national and international publicity for its college in both MacLeans and Cosmopolitan magazines.(106) All the same, when Athol Murray applied for affiliation renewal, the new Archbishop of Regina, Rev. J.T. Monahan, 'urged' that the affiliation be renewed. His statement regarding Notre Dame read:

Since Notre Dame has once been affiliated and has not since done anything which would deserve censure, I feel that there is but one thing for me to do and that is to urge that you continue affiliation to Notre Dame. Father Murray is unique, so is his school; he is doing good to some young people who would otherwise not get a Catholic education.(107)

Thus, almost five years elapsed before the formal approval of the

Archbishop of Regina allowed the University of Ottawa to grant an official affiliation. This was sent to Athol Murray on July 26, 1938 stating:

... the Council of Administration has decided favourably on the matter.

The affiliation of Notre Dame College is accordingly renewed for another five-year term, namely until 1943.

May your enterprise continue to prosper and realize the high ideals of Catholic education for which it stands.(108)

It is in the above described manner that the small high school of Notre Dame of the Prairies expanded into the Arts programme affiliated with the University of Ottawa. The Depression acted as a catalyst. However, the "enthusiast" Murray realized well before the Depression the potential of the area and Notre Dame High School at hand. He was able to draw together the convent school of the Sisters of Saint Louis, students and staff, library and buildings, and funds; and, with his understanding of the nature and structure of higher education, finally gain official support. Although his efforts were almost undermined by a series of incidents which brought embarrassment to his superior, Archbishop McGuigan, and to the University of Ottawa, the College held on.

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FOOTNOTES

Abbreviations: N.D.A., Notre Dame Archives
 P.P.A.M., Personal Paper of Athol Murray

1. 'How They Saved Notre Dame,' Western Report Magazine, September, 1986.
2. Gorman, Jack, Pere Murray and the Hounds, The Story of Saskatchewan Notre Dame College, Gray's Publishing, 1977.
 Tremblay, Emil, Man With a Vision, Icon Press, 1981.
3. N.D.A., P.P.A.M. "Interviews of Mother Edith with Alice Henderson", File Folder # uncoded, page 1.
4. Ibid., page 1.
5. N.D.A., P.P.A.M. "Codex Historicus of the Parish of (Milestone, Wilcox, Rouleau), File Folder # uncoded, page 38.
6. N.D.A., P.P.A.M. "Interviews of Mother Edith with Alice Henderson", op. cit., page 1.
7. Ibid., page 6.
8. Ibid., page 8.
9. Ibid., page 15. Rose McCrank, a student through primary school and the Arts, in a critical review of this work, spoke enthusiastically about his love of books and encouragement of reading.
10. N.D.A., P.P.A.M. "Codex Historicus ...", op. cit., page 165.
11. N.D.A., P.P.A.M. "Correspondence with Walter Murray, President, University of Saskatchewan", File Folder # uncoded, September 8, 1933.
12. N.D.A., P.P.A.M. "Chancery office correspondence re: Notre Dame", File Folder # uncoded, March 9, 1933.
13. N.D.A., P.P.A.M. "Selected letters and notes of Walter Murray, President, University of Saskatchewan, re: Higher Education", File Folder # uncoded, Walter Murray to C.A. Dunning, May 5, 1925.

14. Shook, Lawrence K., Catholic Post-Secondary Education in English Speaking Canada, a History. University of Toronto Press, 1970. page 7
15. N.D.A., P.P.A.M. "Codex Historicus ... ", op cit., page 162.
16. Ibid., page 163.
17. Ibid., page 163.
18. N.D.A., P.P.A.M. "Codex Historicus ... ", op cit., page 182.
19. N.D.A., P.P.A.M. "Chancery Correspondence re: Notre Dame", op cit., Murray to McGuigan, August 22, 1933.
20. N.D.A., P.P.A.M. "Recollections of Mother Edith to Terry O'Malley, April 1, 1987", File Folder # uncoded, page 1.
21. N.D.A., P.P.A.M. "Codex Historicus ... ", op. cit., page 166.
22. N.D.A., P.P.A.M. "Mother Edith interview with Alice Henderson", op. cit., page 12 - 13.
23. N.D.A., P.P.A.M. "Codex Historicus ...", op. cit., page 175.
24. Gorman, Jack. op. cit., page 38 - 39.
25. N.D.A., P.P.A.M. "Chancery Correspondence ... ", op. cit., Murray to McGuigan, January 20, 1933.
26. Ibid., Murray to McGuigan, August 22, 1933.
27. N.D.A., P.P.A.M. "Codex Historicus ... ", op. cit., page 185.
28. N.D.A., P.P.A.M. "Chancery office correspondence ... ", op. cit., Murray to McGuigan, January 3, 1933.
29. Ibid., September 20, 1933.
30. Regina Leader Post, September 28, 1933.
31. Ibid., September 28, 1933.

32. N.D.A., P.P.A.M. "Codex Historicus ... ", op. cit., page 182.
33. N.D.A., P.P.A.M. "Athol Murray: Correspondence with R.B. Bennett", op. cit., October 24, 1933.
34. N.D.A., P.P.A.M. "Recollections of Mother Edith to Terry O'Malley", op. cit., page 1.
35. N.D.A., P.P.A.M. "Chancery office correspondence", op. cit., Senator Charles Murphy to McGuigan, April 24, 1934.
36. Ibid., McGuigan to Murray, May 23, 1934.
37. Regina Leader Post, September 28, 1933.
38. N.D.A., P.P.A.M. "Recollections of Mother Edith to Terry O'Malley", op. cit., page 1.
39. Ibid., page 2.
40. N.D.A., P.P.A.M. "Correspondence with Walter Murray, ... ", op. cit., May 22, 1933.
41. N.D.A., P.P.A.M. "Athol Murray Correspondence with Prime Minister R.B. Bennett ...", op. cit., October 24, 1933.
42. N.D.A., P.P.A.M. "Chancery office correspondence ...", op. cit., J. Cahill to Murray, August 3, 1934. Murray to J. Cahill, August 13, 1934.
43. N.D.A., P.P.A.M. "Correspondence with Ottawa University, 1933 - 1975", File Folder # uncoded, Murray to Rev. Henri Poupart, June 26, 1940.
44. N.D.A., P.P.A.M. "Chancery office correspondence ...", op. cit., Murray to J. Cahill, August 13, 1934.
45. N.D.A., P.P.A.M. "Murray ... to R.B. Bennett", op. cit., August 7, 1934.
46. Ibid., August 7, 1934.
47. Gorman, Jack. op. cit., pages 43 and 52.
48. N.D.A., P.P.A.M. "Chancery office correspondence ...", J. Cahill to McGuigan, op. cit., (re: Recommendation re: Wilcox Educational Situation), August 30, 1934.
49. N.D.A., P.P.A.M. "Athol Murray to Sir Arthur Doughty ...", op. cit., September 8, 1930.

50. Ibid., September 8, 1930.
51. Ibid., Murray to Doughty, May 25, 1934.
52. N.D.A., P.P.A.M. Athol Murray: Correspondence to 1959, File Folder #1, Athol Murray to Frank (?), December 20, 1930.
53. Regina Leader Post. September 28, 1933.
54. N.D.A., P.P.A.M. "Correspondence with Walter Murray ...", op. cit., September 15, 1933.
55. Gorman, Jack. op. cit., page 49.
56. N.D.A., P.P.A.M. "Chancery correspondence ...", Murray to McGuigan, op. cit., August 22, 1933.
57. N.D.A., P.P.A.M. "Codex Historics ...", op. cit., pages 182 - 83.
58. N.D.A., P.P.A.M. "Recollections of Mother Edith to Terry O'Malley", op. cit., page 1.
59. Gorman, Jack. op. cit., page 39.
60. N.D.A., P.P.A.M. "Correspondence with Walter Murray ...", op. cit., May 13, 1933.
61. Ibid., May 22, 1933.
62. Ibid., June 29, 1933.
63. Ibid., September 16, 1933.
64. Ibid., September 18, 1933.
65. Ibid., September 18, 1933.
66. Ibid., September 19, 1933.
67. Ibid., September 12, 1933.
68. Ibid., September 15, 1933.
69. Henderson (Stefan) Alice. Notre Dame of the Prairies, MacIntosh Publishing North Battleford, 1987, pages 35 - 37.

70. N.D.A., P.P.A.M. "Correspondence with Ottawa University ...", op. cit., Murray to Gravel, July 29, 1933. This letter refers to the previous letter of July 12, 1933.
71. N.D.A., P.P.A.M. "Recollections of Mother Edith to Terry O'Malley", op. cit., page 2.
72. N.D.A., P.P.A.M. "Correspondence with Ottawa University ...", op. cit., Marchland to McGuigan, July 9, 1934.
73. N.D.A., P.P.A.M. "Recollection of Mother Edith to Terry O'Malley", op. cit., page 2.
74. N.D.A., P.P.A.M. "Correspondence with Ottawa University ...", op. cit., Murray to Rector, September 24, 1933.
75. N.D.A., P.P.A.M. "Recollections of Mother Edith to Terry O'Malley", op. cit., page 2.
76. N.D.A., P.P.A.M. "Chancery office correspondence ...", op. cit., Murray to McGuigan, August 22, 1933, Murray to McGuigan, September 30, 1933.
77. N.D.A., P.P.A.M. "Chancery office correspondence ...", op. cit., McGuigan to Rev. Andrea Cassulo, D.D. ..., 1934.
78. Ibid., all quotations are excerpts from the same letter.
79. N.D.A., P.P.A.M. "Correspondence with Walter Murray ..." op. cit., August 31, 1933.
Regina Leader Post, September 28, 1933.
80. N.D.A., P.P.A.M. "Correspondence with Walter Murray ..." op. cit., August 31, 1933.
81. N.D.A., P.P.A.M. Athol Murray, Correspondence to 1959, File Folder #1, Murray to William Arthur Deacon, November 25, 1930.
82. N.D.A., P.P.A.M. "Correspondence with Ottawa University ..." op. cit., Murray to Rector, September 24, 1933.

83. N.D.A., P.P.A.M. "Chancery office correspondence ...", op. cit., Ottawa University Marchland to McGuigan, July 9, 1934. (Translated by Ms. Kathy Loewen.)
84. N.D.A., P.P.A.M. "Chancery Correspondence ...", op. cit., Murphy to McGuigan, April 4, 1934.
85. Regina Leader Post, May 17, 1934.
86. N.D.A., P.P.A.M. "Chancery Correspondence ...", op. cit., Rev. Andrea Cassulo, D.D. to McGuigan, June 8, 1934.
87. N.D.A., P.P.A.M. "Chancery Correspondence ...", op. cit., Marchland to McGuigan, July 9, 1934.
88. Ibid., Marchland to McGuigan, July 9, 1934.
89. N.D.A., P.P.A.M. "Chancery Correspondence ...", op. cit., Murray to McGuigan, July 22, 1934.
90. N.D.A., P.P.A.M. "Chancery Correspondence ...", op. cit., McGuigan to Murray, July 29, 1934.
91. N.D.A., P.P.A.M. "Chancery Correspondence ...", op. cit., McGuigan to Chancery office (telegram), July 30, 1934.
92. N.D.A., P.P.A.M. "Chancery Correspondence ...", op. cit., Chancery office to McGuigan, August 3, 1934.
93. Ibid., Chancery office to McGuigan, August 3, 1934.
94. N.D.A., P.P.A.M. "Chancery Correspondence ...", op. cit., McGuigan to Murray, July 29, 1934.
95. N.D.A., P.P.A.M. "Chancery Correspondence ...", op. cit.,
 Note: loose notes regarding the investigation in this File Folder. Mother Edith and the sisters were aware of the Chancery office's concern over having a boarding school with both boys and girls in close proximity and the inter-denominational nature of the student body. Mother Edith claimed that Father supported the sisters wholeheartedly in keeping these matters in check. "Recollections of Mother Edith to Terry O'Malley, op. cit., page 2.
96. N.D.A., P.P.A.M. "Chancery Correspondence ...", Op.cit., Chancery office to McGuigan, August 3, 1934.

97. N.D.A., P.P.A.M. "Chancery Office Correspondence ...", op. cit., Chancery office to Athol Murray, August 8, 1934.
98. N.D.A., P.P.A.M. "Chancery Office Correspondence ...", op. cit., Murray to Chancery office, August 13, 1934.
99. Ibid., Murray to Chancery office, August 13, 1934.
100. N.D.A., P.P.A.M. "Chancery Office Correspondence ...", op. cit., Chancery office to McGuigan, August 30, 1934.
101. Ibid., Chancery office to McGuigan, August 30, 1934.
102. Mother Edith, although aware that the Chancery officer was uneasy about the College because of its proximity to Campion College and the interdenominational and co-educational nature of the student body, was unaware of this investigation as well as the affiliation problems with the University of Ottawa at this time. "Recollections of Mother Edith to Terry O'Malley" op. cit., page 2.
103. N.D.A., P.P.A.M. Correspondence with Ottawa University, op. cit., Marchland to Murray, October 25, 1934.
104. N.D.A., P.P.A.M. "Correspondence with Ottawa University ...", op. cit., McGuigan to Ottawa University, April 20, 1935.
105. N.D.A., P.P.A.M. Minutes of the Administrative Council of the University of Ottawa, Vol. 5, August 1933 to October 1958: File folder # uncoded, (translated by Jacques Gauvin), May 25, 1938.
106. Weeks, Mary. "A College Built on Faith", MacLeans, February 13, 1936.
- Beach, Rex. "Miracle College of Saskatchewan", Cosmopolitan Magazine, October, 1937.
107. N.D.A., P.P.A.M. "Chancery Office Correspondence ...", op. cit., Archbishop J.P. Monahan to Ottawa University, July 14, 1938.
108. N.D.A., P.P.A.M. "Correspondence with Ottawa University ...", op. cit., Ottawa Rector to Athol Murray, July 26, 1938.

CHAPTER 3

THE OBJECTIVES AND NATURE OF
AN ATHOL MURRAY EDUCATION

The objectives and nature of Athol Murray's Faculty of Arts programme at Notre Dame rested within the formal framework of Catholic higher education. However, it is a fact also that Father Murray claimed "non-sectarian" status for his school. The nature of the Faculty of Arts programme, that is, its specific standards, process of affiliation and liberal arts curriculum was set by Notre Dame's parent institution, the Catholic University of Ottawa, and, it is clear that this aspect of association was challenging. Associated with a liberal arts training, however, was a Murray styled vision of formation. It centred in the neo-scholastic movement of the late nineteenth century which stressed Catholic and Athenian ideals and mentors. Murray worked hard to arrange an acceptable formal training for students to achieve a degree. But important also was his ambition to provide for his students 'right thinking' and a vision by which to live.

Catholic higher education in Canada has had a varied development. Lawrence Shook in his study, Catholic Post-secondary Education in English Speaking Canada,¹ divided the historical development within distinct sectors of Canada; the Maritimes, Central and Western Canada. In the west, there was a movement afoot to establish a Catholic University of Western Canada, one modelled on the Catholic University established by the ecclesiastical hierarchy in the United States; the other ideal, the inspiration of Archbishop Mathieu of Regina, emulated Laval of Quebec with many affiliate 'classical colleges' dotting the Western provinces.²

However, the monopoly charter of the University of Saskatchewan was not to be changed. If a school was not to be affiliated or federated with the University of Saskatchewan, it could not have its own charter and was required to seek an associate affiliation outside the province.

Notre Dame could and did affiliate with the University of Ottawa because Ottawa University was granted "a university charter with civic powers to confer degrees"³ in 1866. It was raised to the rank of a Catholic University with a pontifical charter granted by Pope Leo XIII in 1889.⁴ The University of Ottawa charter was a unique opportunity afforded "only because of the special circumstances preceding Confederation...Governments have not, however, been generous with degree granting charters."⁵

The University of Ottawa sought incorporation as a college in 1848 because the first bishop of Bytown...realized the necessity of an institution for the education and Christian training of the youth of the growing lumber centre and of the surrounding district.⁶ This pastoral objective is one of the many general, specific and other motives of Catholic colleges outlined by Lawrence K. Shook in his study of Catholic post-secondary education. Shook has stated:

Of the objectives, the most general and the most real is a desire to give expression, in the founding of a College, to the right of a community to religious and civil liberty... or it may be a sort of simmering under the surface against Provincial or Institutional inflexibility as when Catholic Colleges on the prairies had to work out a precarious arrangement, a sort of actio in distans with Ottawa University ... Other general objectives

which apply are these:

1. an expression of an awareness that teaching has always been accepted as a proper function of Christians.
2. that the Church has a two-fold educational mission to man, whose total development is of proper concern and to learning itself as a necessary component in human culture. Specific objectives are the task of preparing young men to enter theology and the priesthood or;
3. a specific pastoral objective -- the creating of an educational community which would promote morality and virtue among its mentors.

Other motives of a more venal kind are to make Catholic Colleges eligible for government grants -- and a final sectarian motive, rare among Catholic Colleges, but common among Protestant, is the desire to strengthen and perpetuate British culture in the narrower sense and strong ties with the British government.⁷

The Shook abstract for Catholic Colleges relates to Father Murray's objective in establishing an Arts College. The Murray correspondence and diary indicate the educator's long-term concern for his students and parishioners as well as an interest in their total development. Well before the Wilcox experiment, in Penetanguishene, Ontario, in 1921, he trooped off "a bunch of young French-Canadians down to St. Hyacinthe for four years - kids who otherwise would never have arrived anywhere."⁸ The parish diary of St. Augustine at Wilcox reveals the names of high school graduates of Notre Dame, who, encouraged by Murray, were attending Loretto Abbey, or Saint Michael's in Toronto.⁹

And so, with the deepening crisis in Wilcox because the Depression had closed outside avenues to higher education to his parishioners, Murray took it upon himself to create the necessary intellectual activity. In his appeal letter to his Archbishop for College work, he indicated his pastoral concern: "You know the work of Notre Dame and the circumstance under which it is being done, the immense thing alone of holding together in intellectual activity so many trained young Catholics who would otherwise be submerged in the huge jaws of these dark days."¹⁰

However, one motive which Shook suggests was 'rare among Catholic Colleges' is apparent consistently in Murray correspondence. He hoped to strengthen and perpetuate the British culture of the predominantly English speaking population of his district. Athol Murray in one of his letters to Walter Murray of the University of Saskatchewan outlined this purpose. Father Murray stated:

As you know, the district is easily the finest English speaking territory - along the Soo Line - of the province. Mostly the families are from Ontario or the States. Even if American sentiment seems at times to prevail more than the thought of British tradition - undoubtedly the major intellectual leadership, the classe dirigeante of Saskatchewan will find its foyer here.¹¹

In an earlier letter to the same President Murray of the University of Saskatchewan, he claimed that what these students of this district "are doing today and what they can do tomorrow will tell most if we are to bring Saskatchewan culture the ingredients of strength, beauty and truth which are their inheritance."¹² He constantly returned to

this theme in many of his other letters. He wrote to R.B. Bennett, the Prime Minister of Canada, in 1936;

Either the British scheme of things is false, and completely misrepresents the realities of human rights and values; or if it is true, its maintenance in this changing world must have supreme consequences. The evils afflicting our world today have spread so far in the very substance of humanity, have wrought such general havoc that every means of defence of the moral order and fabric of society is compromised. The work of negative forces goes so far forward that an inexorably British philosophy is required for our people to get the better of it; one so comprehensive, that at the same time it can do justice to all the diversities of unrest. Russia, Italy, Germany, Spain have shown that the British way is the only way -- for British institutions, free government, family rights, individual liberty, property rights, freedom of education.¹³

He pressed for Catholics to take a more active role in the institutions which were the product of British culture. He wrote to his own Archbishop that it was time for "British Catholics to assert themselves and demand that throughout the Empire merit should have a fair chance and should not be handicapped by accident of birth or privilege..."¹⁴ This theme of British culture was part of another letter to Sir Arthur Doughty, national archivist in the early 1930's. Father Murray wrote:

Some years ago I wrote Mackenzie King - back in /28 - urging him to implement the Grey idea of a colossal statue of the angel of peace on the Plains of Abraham. He seemed impressed (I notice he was on the original committee) but it went no further. How unfortunate! R.B. might do it. I can conceive of nothing that would more emphatically assert the idealism of the

British Commonwealth than the erection of that huge figure in that magnificent all-continental setting. Nothing could more vividly strike the imagination of the whole world. Why not discuss it with Mr. Bennett? Unless these things are done, younger Canada will have no background mutually of the things that must keep us British.¹⁵

His own students, filled with the British idea for the world, it appears, once satirized Murray's enthusiasm with a depiction of the world's races all in Scottish kilts with the caption "Notre Dame Students' Interpretation of Father Athol Murray's One World."¹⁶

It may appear a contradiction that Murray was so 'British' in his cultural outlook and yet emphasized the importance of the French fact in Canada. Father Murray, it appears, had a sense of primacy for what British culture had accomplished at home and within Canada. Both he and his father, however, were bilingual and recognized what that meant for a successful career in Canada. He stressed tolerance and 'goodwill' (16a) necessary for understanding both groups and felt that the public careers of Wilfrid Laurier and Oliver Mathieu were prime examples of work towards harmony. On the other hand, British institutions and law were the eminent cornerstones for Canadian life and to Murray it was both historical and practical to have this the focus of Western Canadian leadership development. In this way, Father Murray was in step with the sense of 'mission' or destiny of English speaking Canadians to assimilate the west as a British Canadian inheritance. (16b)

Murray's objective in starting a faculty of Arts coincides with many of the objectives outlined in Shook's abstract on Catholic

higher education. It is also important to assess Notre Dame's relationship to the Catholic Church and its pronouncements on higher education in view of Murray's stated policy of running a "non-sectarian College under Roman Catholic auspices." In general, a diocesan priest answers to his bishop, who is responsible to Rome. In most cases, a clerical congregation answers to the bishop in its district although some congregations answer directly to Rome. Often a bishop will request a congregation to accept specific duties (for example, run a school as happened in the case of University of Ottawa) in his district. Most institutes of Catholic higher education were initiated by bishops of a particular district. With regard to higher education, however, the Church's approach has changed substantially from a period prior to Confederation to the present. Lawrence Shook examined these changes and stated:

In the early days, the bishops were in complete control and governed the Catholic College in his diocese within 'per se' or 'per alias.' He called the college into existence and he provided the academic and administrative staff from among his own clergy or got a religious order to provide them for him. He was a chancellor in the case of universities and he was sometimes, though not so much in the case of colleges run by religious orders, the source of funds.¹⁷

The Church was very clear that schools should be denominational and as owner, the Church controlled every aspect of the education provided. "Mixed schools" were discouraged. At the first council of bishops in 1851, at Quebec, the statement on higher education declared:

Mixed schools are those into which Catholic and non-Catholic boys are admitted indiscriminately, and in which they are taught either no religion at all or false religion. We (the bishops of British North America) regard such schools as entirely dangerous in that they foster the spread of irreverence, or as it is commonly called, indifference.¹⁸

By 1933, at the time of affiliation for Notre Dame College, the Church had moderated its position regarding "mixed schools" as federation negotiations and agreements between Catholic and State universities were now a part of post-secondary arrangements across Canada. Pope Pius XI stated in his encyclical in 1929 on the 'Christian Education of Youth:' "Let no one say that in a nation where there are different religious beliefs, it is impossible to provide for public instruction otherwise than by neutral or 'mixed schools.'¹⁹ This reverse acceptance of 'mixed schools' is interpreted by Lawrence Shook. He writes:

He (Pius XI) had not in mind here either to praise or blame the affiliating of university colleges. He wished rather to insist that history has shown that it is possible for the Church to create great Christian schools in any age and under varying circumstances and that the prospect of the Church's having her own Christian schools today should not be abandoned.²⁰

It was with the introduction of Vatican II in 1962 and the following re-evaluation of all Church matters that control and ownership of all aspects of Catholic post-secondary institutions meant less. Instead, there was a recognition of "much similarity of objective as between Catholic and other institutions of higher learning."²¹ The international congress of Catholic Universities in

1969 in Rome, besides reaffirming that a unique "Catholic university is a true university ... which must be conceded the kind of autonomy properly attaching to any university," adopted two positions which relate to a "mixed school" environment. They state:

That the specification or the special discussion "Catholic" is not inconsistent with the nature of the university as such (being comparable to such specifications as 'state', 'national', 'private', 'land-grant', 'free', 'commonwealth', and so on), and that it serves to specify the nature of community of individuals served. The important thing is to assure that there will continue to be reflection upon human knowledge in the light of faith and revelation, and also to assure that attention will be given to the areas of knowledge sometimes neglected by other universities.

2. That they are "Catholic" as maintaining the presence of Christ in the university world and as sympathetic to the Church's magisterium properly used and within the terms of their own statutes and the academic procedures and customs of their particular country.²²

When the university of Ottawa affiliated Notre Dame within the Ottawa jurisdiction, it was under the early Church related policies regarding higher education. The Archbishop of Ottawa was Apostolic Chancellor and a foundation from the Congregation of the Oblates of Mary Immaculate owned, directed and were financially responsible for the school. The University was an autonomous Catholic University although it had considered federation with the University of Toronto as that university became a strictly civic institution.²³

Consequently, Father Murray affiliated with a traditionally organized Catholic College and the evidence demonstrates he was in harmony with

its major tenets. The pastoral objectives were part and parcel of Notre Dame's mandate, although Murray enriched his project with an emphasis on 'British thinking'. One might assume (and many did) that a Catholic parish priest associated with a Catholic high school, Notre Dame of the Prairies, and, affiliated with the Catholic university of Ottawa would want the new Arts college to be a simple denominational extension of his associate institution. Perhaps, at first, he did. In the first year, Murray gave the role of chancellor to James McGuigan, the Archbishop of Regina, a sure signal of its Catholicity.²⁴ Father Murray recognized always the authority of his bishop to cancel his project and indeed, pleaded with his superior not to force closure after the chancery office review of his first year.²⁵ Throughout this chancery review, there was no reference to the fact that Father Murray had initiated the College without the approval of the Catholic diocese of Regina, nor was there any notice of the idea that this was a non-sectarian college.²⁶ In all, although the Archbishop ignored requests for official recognition and worried about the mixed school population it appears the Notre Dame rector attempted to arrange formal ties with his bishop in the same way Ottawa University had and all assumed, without explicit reference, that Notre Dame College was a Catholic College.

However, at this point in the career of Athol Murray everyone knew his character and his testy impatience with sectarian intolerance. It was common knowledge that some of his students and athletes were non-Catholic. At the start of his Arts programme he casually mentioned to Prime Minister R.B. Bennett in a letter that

the "youngsters here are of all creeds."²⁷ His own bishop had criticized him once for being too familiar with non-Catholics while at the sensitive post of Chancellor of Regina diocese. When Archbishop McGuigan was called to account by the Apostolic delegate of Rome regarding "the discipline of the college of Notre Dame" and, "the relation between Catholic and non-Catholic people," he replied that he was aware of the problem and "feared for the discipline of the school..." but "did not break it up because I felt that the people might think I was keeping their boys from receiving an education." Murray also, the bishop stated, "had something of the romantic spirit about him and cannot easily fall in line with the usual ecclesiastical order of things."²⁸ It is clear that the Regina diocese and the Church itself were unprepared for the Murray experiment in education. Murray himself, it appears, had not clarified the relationship of the school with the Church. It is only with the resolution of the chancery investigation crisis which lasted almost a year and until exams were granted in April 1935 that Murray allowed a public announcement that Notre Dame is "the only co-educational, non-sectarian college under Roman Catholic auspices in existence."²⁹

Notice of its non-sectarian character appeared first in articles by Mary Weeks and Rex Beach in the national and international magazines, 'Macleans,' (1936) and 'Cosmopolitan,' (1937).³⁰ Murray held to this view of

his college to the end refusing even in 1969 to receive a commission appointed by the Catholic colleges and universities to make a self-study. The school did not fall under its term of reference, he said.³¹ However, there are no documents indicating why this non-sectarian pronouncement happened in 1935. In fact, in all the archive material, including hundreds of news and magazine articles and interviews nowhere is there an explicit explanation of what it means in terms of educational philosophy or process to be a "non-sectarian college under Roman Catholic auspices." It may be gathered only in bits and pieces from the various statements and actions of Athol Murray.

Because there is no documentary evidence regarding reasons behind the public announcement of Notre Dame's 'non-sectarian' status, one may only speculate regarding the motive behind it. The primary cause may be no more complicated than the reality that with many denominations in attendance at Notre Dame, it was not in a pure sense a Roman Catholic College. With the confidence of two years experience, Murray could therefore describe the situation as it was, 'non-sectarian.' A more practical motive may relate to living with the 'sectarian' pressures of the area more easily by avoiding a strictly Catholic objective. Also, many of the Board members were not Catholic. These members were also 'patrons' for the school. When it was clear that Notre Dame would not receive financial support from the archdiocese of Regina, then Murray's patrons of various faiths might more readily support a 'non-sectarian' school.

Frank Germann, a life long student, teacher, and alumnus

suggested in an interview that Murray cherished his independence and without financial support from the diocese, a 'non-sectarian' description of the school may have provided a distance from diocesan control.³² It may have been at this time that Murray began to remind his superior bishop that he was only "on loan" from the Toronto diocese and never incardinated into the Regina diocese.³³ There is evidence too that Murray felt sincerely that a 'non-sectarian' status was a large part of the "greatest college in the world."³⁴ He told Rex Beach in 1936: "there is absolute religious freedom here. Those of the Catholic faith attend their church, those of other faiths theirs. Open mindedness, that's the spirit of the thing." Rules were kept to a minimum (eleven o'clock lights out and hair cut short - "I don't want a bunch of apes crawling about the place!"). What discipline there was "comes from the individual's free impulse to do the right thing."³⁵ And, of course, it was legend about Murray that you steered wide of the rector if your free impulse led you astray. Consequently, examining the events around the Faculty of Arts programme at Notre Dame, a valid conclusion may suggest that Murray did not intend a 'non-sectarian' status for his Arts college in the beginning, but as the reality of the college support and make-up crystallized, Murray publicly called it 'non-sectarian' within the Church's auspices. And though now stated as policy, 'non sectarian' status as a process and philosophy of education remained always undefined for Athol Murray, perhaps purposely. "Openmindedness," it appears was the cornerstone of his approach. This 'non-sectarian' status remained a clear objective of the school thereafter.

Father Murray did, however, attempt to define the meaning of "under Roman Catholic auspices" for his school. When the college incorporated in 1949, he wrote into the Act of Incorporation in precise language in the preamble that the college was to be conducted "under the authority of the Roman Catholic Church."³⁶ But it was the corporate body of the corporation that "shall have the power to maintain and conduct a college ..."³⁷ The five named members of this corporation were "James Athol Murray; Honourable William Ferdinand Alphonse Turgeon; Lawrence Lee Anthes; Stanley Brock; J. Cyril Malone, K.C."³⁸ The archbishop was not named. The Act required that Catholic corporate members remain a majority and new members could be declared "provided that a clear majority of the members of the corporation shall be of the Roman Catholic faith."³⁹ In the legislative act of 1949, Father Murray ensured that his 'non-sectarian' school would remain under "Roman Catholic auspices," with authority for managing and financing the school, the Act appears to suggest, at 'arms length' from the ecclesiastical body politic.

In conclusion, it is apparent that Athol Murray's objective was to stay under the authority of his church through its laity. However, his situation put him a little ahead of his time. He found himself primarily in what the Church in its teachings called a 'mixed school' setting and Murray had to apply to his students what the church accepted in a formal manner only in 1969. Namely, there was to be a "reflection upon human knowledge in the light of faith and reason ... and maintain the presence of Christ in the university world ... and ... be sympathetic to the Church's magisterium."⁽⁴⁰⁾

Murray in his educational ideals and approach, which this study examines further on, followed this prescription of his church for 'mixed school' environments.⁽⁴¹⁾

Murray's objectives for the school rested on the 'pastoral' motives of all Catholic higher education. What the bishop of Ottawa felt necessary for his parishioners within his district in 1848, Murray also felt necessary for his own church members and the many boys under his care in 1933. While the University of Ottawa held a strictly Catholic objective for its students, Athol Murray incorporated 'British thinking' and a 'non-sectarian' status into his school. Father Murray was certainly ahead of the official position of his church by his declaration of 'non-sectarian' status. This feature developed because the school itself was in fact a 'mixed school' environment. Father Murray then, with a strength of character particular to him and firm in his conviction publicly announced this objective for his school in 1935. Athol Murray refused during his leadership to ever consider his Arts programme exclusively Catholic but ensured with the Act of Incorporation in 1949 that his 'non-sectarian' school remained under the "auspices of the Roman Catholic Church" with a 'majority' of its Board members drawn from the Catholic laity.

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The civil charter of the University of Ottawa granted the right that "other institutions established in any province of Canada may become affiliated to and connected with the University of Ottawa for the purpose of admitting therefrom as candidates at examinations for the degrees which the University is authorized to confer... (42) The Charter states further that the agreement sets the provisions entitling the affiliate "representation in the university" but the qualifications for admission and course of study "shall not be inferior to those by this act prescribed for the said university"(43)

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The University of Ottawa felt a serious obligation to outside constituents and between 1911 and 1933 granted affiliate status to seventeen institutions throughout Canada. (44) The University stated its principle behind granting affiliations. It claimed:

... that affiliations are a duty incumbent upon the University. Its very mission - the higher education of Catholic youth - imposes upon it obligations concerning those Catholics who, desirous of obtaining the advantages of higher education, cannot however, for valid reasons, attend the courses given at the University. (45)

Notre Dame's affiliation with the University of Ottawa was at

first ratified with a simple telegram of approval. Formal 'contracts' did not occur until after 1947 and letters of agreement were sufficient notice until that time. The Calendar of the Faculty of Arts, however, outlined the requirements of affiliates and other correspondence between institutions detailed particular situations, for example registration fees.

The stated requirements of affiliation were straight forward. Admission and registration of students was according to rules set out by the University of Ottawa. Fees were charged. Deadlines were set. The affiliate school could teach only full-time students and its teaching staff had to have at least five full-time qualified professors, three of whom were required to hold a Master's degree or its equivalent. The College had to teach all compulsory courses for the general Bachelor of Arts degree and optional courses were subject to the approval of the Faculty of Arts. Affiliates had to accept the responsibility, if required, for preparation and correction of exams. The parent University had the right of visitation, at the affiliate's cost, and was obligated to do so every second year. (46)

The actual arrangements between the University of Ottawa and Notre Dame, however, were anything but straightforward. The 'goodwill' of the parent institution was constant down through the years. Affiliation over such a distance was naturally difficult and the correspondence between schools reflected these difficulties. Deadlines were problems; examination improprieties happened. Course outlines and examination questions were matters of contention, and the many other conditions which keep the affiliate in step with

parent requirements had to be addressed. Nonetheless, with a dedicated staff, Father Murray managed to provide a very basic 'core' programme of liberal arts study with limited options, emphasis on philosophy and including the specific language requirements of French and Latin.

The letters between institutions are revealing. Many from Athol Murray started with an apology. Father Murray would write:

I owe you a thousand apologies. I have been wanting to get off a good letter to you for two months and from day to day planning to do it the next day; and here we are in February...

I do wish you would put me in the good graces with the University Registrar and Bursar. I am frightfully remiss in getting my registration fees to them -- I send them now through you, fifty-five dollars with the list of names.(47)

At another time the Notre Dame rector apologized:

A fine time this is in April for me to be completing your records of Fall registrations; the thing is inexcusable...(48)

or

Nothing seems to equal the strange power of making time literally 'fly' that comes from the school year sequence of class session from day to day, week to week, month to month... yet it seems but yesterday that things were getting underway for another term... Under cover, I send one hundred dollars. Part is to cover our registration fees and the balance to cover arrears on our exam fee.(49)

Murray felt so many courtesies had been granted his school that it must seem routine. He would write about his correspondence that "a letter would not be a typical Murray letter were it not craving for another favour."(50) Many favours had to do with registration of particular students. Murray would write a plea:

I know what you say about the lad from New York...I have his credits and will send them on to you. I'm afraid you are right as to their inferior standing to ours - but they (sic) youngster is very clever and keen to go through with the course in second year... (51)

Another student discharged from the army arrived late for first semester. Murray argued that the student "has worked exceptionally hard and done exceedingly well. If you could see fit to authorize recognition of his work this year it would be well warranted. It seems tough that for the sake of a month the lad should be penalized for having been in uniform." (52) While the corresponding replies to these requests of Athol Murray were not found, the evidence indicates that on some occasions Father Murray was granted leniency while at other times Ottawa would reply that it "regrets this unpleasantness but I can see no solution to the problem for his lost academic year." (53) At another time, the University of Ottawa dean reminded Father Murray that "the Academic Senate insists on the strict application of the regulations. It may be a handicap for some students but the standards must be kept for the benefit of the students in general." (54) When such statements reached Father Murray, it was his habit not to push further and to concede "it may be for the best." (55)

Each year, Father Murray submitted to the University of Ottawa, Notre Dame's time-table, subjects taught and teacher's qualifications. The correspondence between institutions reveals clearly this administrative procedure and some of the strains between affiliate and parent school. In one case, on October 2nd, 1944, the Notre Dame rector requested of the University of Ottawa:

In addition, it is desired that Sister Mary Louise (Marjorie Metz) teach Biology 30 every night in the week from 7:30 - 8:30 inclusive of laboratory work. Sister Mary Louise qualified in this at the University of Saskatchewan and has been teaching it some eight years at Swift Current. Six students are registering for it. (56)

This request suggested not a little regarding Father Murray's difficulty in providing teachers for subject matter and meeting the University of Ottawa requirements. It appears that the Notre Dame dean, only following the opening of classes, realized that he had in Sister Mary Louise a qualified Biology teacher. He therefore enhanced the school's curriculum with Biology in order to provide a wider range of options for his students. In an interview with Mother Edith, she recalled that "often there were courses taught at nine p.m. in the evening." In many cases, the Sisters did not know they were slotted for a subject by Father Murray until after the University of Ottawa granted permission for a course. "We couldn't very well decline a request of Father Murray," concluded Mother Edith, "we grit our teeth and did it." (57)

In this particular case, however, the University of Ottawa declined the request to offer Biology 30 at Notre Dame, and, most likely to the relief of Sister Mary Louise who would have taught it following her own high-school classes, extra mural and dormitory duties as well as spiritual exercises within her own community. The University stated its reason:

... the students taking Biology must take corresponding Chemistry, simultaneously... and consequently... will have to choose some other subject. (58)

Since all science subjects taught by affiliates had to have

laboratory facilities inspected by the University (a fact overlooked by Notre Dame, in this case,) the other subject to fulfill the Science requirement was Geology. Throughout the history of the Arts programme at Notre Dame, students met the Science requirement of the University of Ottawa with Geology. It did not require laboratory work. (59)

During the first years of the Faculty of Arts programme, Notre Dame students had very little variety in course work. Students were accepted with Saskatchewan matriculation in Grade 12 (which was labelled first year Arts.) It was required that students have Grade 12 Latin and French as well as the academic subjects in English, Science, Mathematics and History. The University of Ottawa required English, Latin and French for second year and philosophy for third and fourth year. Of the options, one mathematics (matriculation grade 12), a second year history and science had to be studied. Notre Dame met the science option with Geology, the history option with the History of Education. Catholic students studied Religious Knowledge. During the first seven years of the College, only three other optional courses were taught: Political Science, History of the Church and Aesthetics. (60) To teach other options, special permission had to be granted by Ottawa. The main difficulty over the years however, was meeting the Latin and French requirement. One visitor's report stated:

The main drawback is that many being short in either French or Latin have to make up for those subjects during the junior or senior years. It has happened that some candidates after their regular three years have had to take extra time to meet the language requirement of the

Faculty...(61)

Students of Western Canada had little training in French or Latin. When in 1953 a new ruling of Ottawa permitted Latin Classics in Translation in lieu of second year Latin language, it is little wonder that Father Murray called it "a great innovation." (62) Optional courses expanded significantly following 1960 but it reflected more the ability of the teaching staff than any change in curriculum emphasis. The balanced curriculum, with its set core of studies, did not give way at Notre Dame to "concentrations" in particular fields (history, literature, language, etc) - the modern trend in a liberal arts education. "Metaphysics is the thing we go for here," (63) said the Notre Dame rector and the student records show a consistency in course selection with philosophy the emphasis in third and fourth year throughout the entire history of the Faculty of Arts program. (64) The graduates received a Bachelor of Arts degree from the University of Ottawa. However, this degree was not recognized in Western Canada universities with the result that students desiring post-graduate studies travelled to the University of Ottawa or Saint Francis Xavier in Nova Scotia. (65)

The University of Ottawa visited Notre Dame every two years as required. "Visitor's Reports" gave a summation of the association and outlined any difficulties meeting affiliation requirements. The quality of staffing was always a concern for the parent institution as well as for Father Murray. The report of 1968 stated:

A strict interpretation would show that the terms for the contract for "five full time teachers" is not met because some of the teachers also have administrative duties while others are teaching

in the high school... yet it would appear that... the spirit of the contract, if not the letter is satisfied." (66)

It may be accurately assumed that on no occasion during the course of the Arts programme at Notre Dame were any professors without other duties. But, over the years, Father Murray met the requirement of three members of staff with M.A. degrees or equivalent and one visitor's report observed that "the quality of the teaching is reflected by the more than average results obtained by candidates at the sessional examinations." (67)

But Father Murray's recruiting of staff to meet Ottawa's requirements had a particular pattern. It is described by author Jack Gorman who stated:

The story of Notre Dame teaching faculty can be divided into two distinct phases. Until the end of the Second World War, staff members were attracted to the college by the romantic impression of several newspaper and magazine feature writers, the most notable of whom was Rex Beach.

The second phase comprised the Hounds themselves... graduates of the school who wanted to give something back. (68)

This pattern of staff procurement attracted professors from as far away as New York state and today, a number of Notre Dame graduates still teach at the school. However, the role of the many priests loaned to the school by the Archbishops of Regina, in particular, Archbishop Michael O'Neill, and the Sisters of Saint Louis assigned to Notre Dame cannot be underplayed. The extra priests often taught the Latin and Religious Knowledge requirements, one travelling a distance of "...sixty miles to give his

courses." (69) The sisters cared for in many cases the French requirement. In the 1953 'Prospectus for Notre Dame,' there were five priests listed on staff and four sisters. (70) However, in 1947, Father Murray wrote to the University of Ottawa dean regarding his staff. It gives a clear picture of the romantics, graduates and religious who taught at Notre Dame. He stated:

Our college is growing in strength. Father Peter D'Aoust has been allocated here and will be on the staff and act as bursar. With him will be Jack Murphy, Lucian Ouellette, (romantics - author designation to) Frank Germann (graduate), the sisters and myself - while Norm Brown (graduate) will carry on at the Toronto Medieval Institute for his second year in philosophy - to return to the staff next fall with his degree. Leonard Albers (graduate) will be ordained next year and hopes to be placed here. (71)

Murray, it appears, worked at staff recruiting and constantly had his eye on potential candidates. A letter to the Ottawa dean in 1955 outlines his methods. He wrote:

He (a Notre Dame student) is madly enthused over Thomism and keeps reminding me that St. Thomas' body is preserved at Toulouse! I have promised him that if he measures up well in philosophy that Notre Dame will send him for two years to the Medieval Institute at Toronto. (One graduate) is already there and plans, on securing his M.A., to give his life to teaching philosophy here. (Another graduate) completed there his two years course last May and plans to join either the Dominicans or Basilians. I had rather hoped to have him return here, as we financed the course for him; but if God's grace calls him elsewhere that is still all to the good; our sacrifice should earn us some kind of break with divine providence....To teach religion, his Grace is loaning us another priest this year, Father Len Sullivan (who studied at Notre Dame, Indiana, and took his theology at London.) (72)

Father Murray also did not spare himself from the lecture room

over the years and provided significant support to the staff and course requirements of the University of Ottawa. He wrote about himself in 1943.

As for myself, I am trying to teach four -hour sessions a day- and while I must admit I love it - there is no denying it is physically rather exhausting.(73)

In 1966, the demands of his teaching load had not diminished in any way and in the yearly memo to the Ottawa dean of Arts regarding staff and time-tables, Father Murray is slated to teach:

- + 2nd year * History of Education
- + 3rd year * History of Greek Philosophy
- + 4th year * General Ethics
- + 4th year * Social Ethics (74)

As a result of Athol Murray's ability to attract romantic attention to his school and loyalty from graduates as well as cooperation from his own bishop and the Sisters of Saint Louis, Notre Dame met the requirements for courses and staff for his Bachelor of Arts programme. The evidence indicated the hard work and personal sacrifice expended in meeting these requirements.

Other correspondence between Notre Dame and Ottawa addressed more tensions. In one case, there appeared to be, for the Latin course, "some fraud in the composition of final exams". As a result of this incident and a complaint of the same kind last year" (75) Notre Dame students had to travel to Sacred Heart College Regina in order to have exams supervised. Father Murray had to plead that for 1938, the invigilation of exams take place at Wilcox. He requested:

The monetary expense of moving so many students

daily is a rather heavy thing; if it be at all possible to permit us to next year sit for the examinations at Wilcox it would be deeply appreciated. As things are now there is no prospect of any crop whatsoever in South Saskatchewan...(76)

As a result, from 1938, unless a special situation existed, the University of Ottawa appointed a supervisor of exams who came to Wilcox in order to arrange and oversee all exams with Notre Dame covering expenses.

Because final exams graded a student's accomplishment for the year, they were always a potential pressure point between the University of Ottawa and its affiliate. From Ottawa's point of view, "examinations have never been the ideal yardstick for appreciation of intellectual development but as some minimum standards must be upheld and dilettantism eliminated as much as possible, many universities are still held to... the one yearly examination with fair results....(77) In writing up exam questions, the University's own teachers as well as those of other Colleges (close at hand) submit questions. "They are given to a committee where... a selection is made. Three papers are submitted to the Dean who alone makes the final choice of the papers to be put in print."(78)

For the Notre Dame teacher, this arrangement made the professor "merely a coach for final exams" and, "militated strongly against the teacher fulfilling his ministerial role." Students "tend to disregard everything but preparation for that day."(79) Some former graduates verified this observation suggesting that March 17th, St. Patrick's day, was the signal to prepare diligently. Another graduate

suggested that Father Murray himself, who taught using multiple sources would concentrate for exams towards the last month.(80) A particular letter to the Ottawa dean of Arts indicated Father Murray's style of teaching in the course, 'The History of Education,' He stated:

This large class really worked hard this year - even to the extent of making special coverage of - 'Thucydides' History, Plato's Dialogues and Montaigne's Essays, etc -and the individual graduation of each lad was astonishingly good.(81)

However, in the 1947 examination for this course, on 'The History of Education,' students were unprepared. Father Murray wrote to Ottawa in an attempt to right this problem of exam preparation which was always simmering at the surface between affiliate and parent. He recorded:

There was no little dismay this afternoon when the Second Year men read their exam papers. And in all fairness I feel there was some warrant.(82)

The problem was two fold in Father Murray's mind. Since half the class was Protestant he did not stress the Catholic educators, for example, the Jesuits and Christian Brothers. Yet of the five questions on the exam, three were "definitely 'Catholic'". Athol Murray begged for leniency:

Were the students to fail their year, whether the fault be mine in not having them alert to these exclusively Catholic aspects - or whether the thing arise from a Catholic examination down East in an entirely Catholic milieu asking questions which might seem quite normal... the actual result could cause quite an unhappy effect.(83)

Athol Murray recognized the difficulty of harmonizing affiliate teaching with actual lectures given at the University especially with Notre Dame's unique 'non-sectarian' student body. The conclusion to this particular circumstance was not in the archive documents. However, both schools moved in order to avoid future issues of this sort. Notre Dame was asked to submit exam questions for consideration by the dean because of its unique student body. By 1961, also, forty percent of the final grade was the term mark provided by affiliate professors with the exception that "if in a given subject, there was too great a margin between the professor's mark and that of the final examination, the committee on promotions still had the authority to count only the final examination." (84)

There were many procedural difficulties over the years between Ottawa and Wilcox even to the point of one curt reminder that "it must be realized that affiliation is a privilege for the college concerned and a burden (not to say a pain-in-the-neck) for the affiliating parent body." (85) Yet the University of Ottawa stuck with Notre Dame. One deciding factor was the charismatic nature of Athol Murray. Each Visitor's Report made reference to his style. The summary of 1952 stated:

Wilcox est une organization unique dont l'ame motrice est le cure Athol Murray, homme d'un dynamisme entrainant et d'un optimisme extraordinaire. Tout va bien dans le meilleur des mondes. (86)

Father Murray had a way to make people feel important and knew intimately the history of the University of Ottawa. In a letter to the registrar in 1953, he conveyed an aside:

The great work unassumingly being carried on by the followers of Father Guigues in erstwhile Bytown is well-known; not so known is the immense service rendered over the years in the liberal Arts in Western Canada....(87)

The occasion of the visiting dean of Ottawa was cause to bring together many of "the more representative Westerners" in order to have a dinner "in your honour" at the Hotel Saskatchewan.(88) Many letters from Father Murray on procedural matters had a warmth contained within, an invitation to share something of his life or an observation on current events. It identified his charismatic quality. One particular letter in 1943 submitted late registration fees and touched on five other matters, that is, personal, war events, Canadian unity, socialism and American character. It read:

Nor did it help things last month when my dentist insisted on depriving me of all my teeth. Life has variety to offer in the way of human experiences but I wouldn't wish torture like this even on Adolphe Hitler. By way of compensation however the physical relief afforded by all these extractions has been glorious and I don't begrudge the pain now that it is all over.

The winter has been extremely severe with us. The coal problem has been acute and the solution of it has rested mostly with Divine Providence - and still does. I do hope there is a let-up in this intensely cold streak.

I find a wide interest awakening across Canada involving some kind of definite national unity and purpose. We seem the only country in the world with none. Where the Americans in the States are truly 'e pluribus unum,' we in Canada are a multiplicity and even that a tissue of antagonisms. East is against West, city against city, industry against agriculture, Protestant against Catholic, Gentile against Jew - and of course the major antipathy is that of the two ethnic groups. I feel Ottawa University might yet play a tremendous role in interpreting the two groups to each other and penetrating them

with friendliness and sympathy. Canada could easily become such a splendid national entity if it could only work out its destiny in harmony and goodwill.

And then there is the menace of Socialism. The C.C.F. is dangerously strong in Saskatchewan and if the Patterson Government goes to the polls this spring it will be taking quite a risk and it knows it only too well. I had a long chat with Patterson yesterday and while he is not unduly alarmed he knows it will be a real fight. I discussed with him a very fine book just issued by the Ryerson Press in Toronto called THE COMMON PROBLEM by Yendall. Today I received twelve copies for the Arts students. It is the best thing I have seen to meet this C.C.F. menace; if you have not seen it - do let me know. I know you'll like it.

Our experience with the Americans in the West has led to wide-spread admiration. They are so dynamic and practical. The way they have built this Alcan road has been an inspiration. No red tape, no delay, just fast action. It would help Canada a lot if we could inject some of that spirit into our people. I find the ideology of the English and England and of most Canadians mostly concerned with "security" motives, - the Yanks seem swept with a yen for just sink-or-swim projects of free enterprise... they little reck about the risk. (89)

Besides the personal charm of Father Murray, there was also the sense of the romantic associated with Notre Dame. In a small isolated village, this college, with a priceless collection of rare books, a dynamic leader, a "loyal and sometimes heroic staff," was ready to meet any conditions in order to provide education for western students. One Visitor's Report observed:

There seems to be a spirit which one finds only in an institution which has to struggle for its everyday existence. Without Notre Dame, many students would be denied Catholique (sic) College education. Financial conditions alone do not exclude worthy candidates. (90)

In another report almost ten years later, the University of Ottawa visitor, after pointing out some weaknesses, enthused:

May we conclude this report with a repetition of what we had the opportunity to tell your Arts students in the fall: May the spirit of Notre Dame be kept and cherished, as an ideal of self-renunciation and detachment from earthly goods; there is no better preparation for life than the knowledge of the true hierarchy of values, where the spiritual treasure of Christian culture has kept its priority. (91)

Much of the Murray correspondence pointed out the accomplishments of Notre Dame graduates and reflected also what the University of Ottawa felt was a "duty incumbent" to provide education in areas where it could not take place. Father Murray praised the University on the occasion of its reorganization in 1965. He stated:

I feel that this is not an inappropriate occasion to pay tribute to the enormous service rendered by the University of Ottawa. And in this I refer not so much to its great work in the East - my thought is of Western Canada. True enough the great Oblate missionaries of the past did a truly magnificent work in the Nord'ouest... But what, I ask would the West have done for our Catholic population of the last sixty years without the University of Ottawa. The service rendered is altogether beyond words. (92)

Father Murray had been praising the service of the University of Ottawa for years claiming that Notre Dame men "...are living exemplification of the basic services that are fructifying on the prairies through the facilities of our affiliation with the Oblates of Ottawa." One fact in support of this claim was that "officials of our Department of Education pointed out to me last week that there are now no less than thirty Notre Dame graduates teaching in the Province with their B. of Pedagogy." (94)

The problem of college affiliation with a parent university was not unique to Notre Dame and the University of Ottawa. Every such relationship exhibited tensions and inefficiencies. As W.P.Thompson explained in reference to the Junior College - University of Saskatchewan association that "although I did my best to improve the libraries and laboratories, the qualifications of teachers, and the standards of students' examination results... I was not very successful because the president and faculty were reluctant to exert sufficient pressure on the impecunious colleges." (94a) The other side of that story has been recorded by J. Pitsula in his recent history of Regina College. Pitsula argues that the University of Saskatchewan " had no understanding of the idea of a small Regina liberal arts college functioning cooperatively with the University of Saskatchewan...a college with its own spirit and atmosphere to command the loyalty of its students and beneficently shape their development." (94b) Therefore we can conclude that many of the tensions experienced by Notre Dame College were similar to those of other colleges. What was unique about the Notre Dame relationship was the personality of Father Murray and the extraordinary 'myth' of Notre Dame itself. The man and the college legend including graduate accomplishments were sufficient to override University of Ottawa doubts.

Consequently, the charismatic character of Athol Murray, the romantic atmosphere of the school, the results of the students and graduates and the feeling at Ottawa that much good was accomplished at Wilcox, affected decisions for continued affiliations at Notre

Dame. In spite of the difficulties in keeping the Notre Dame associate in step with the parent institution, for more than four decades, the University of Ottawa renewed its affiliation with Notre Dame every five years.

The nature of an education at Notre Dame was established in part by the requirements of affiliation of the University of Ottawa. Students received a basic liberal arts degree which required core courses in language, science, history, literature and in particular, philosophy. The school could not offer much by way of optional variety in particular in the field of science, nor did it evolve into fields of 'concentration,' the modern trend of the liberal arts education. Its concentration was always philosophy and this was part of an educational vision discussed below and which had begun in the late nineteenth century. The evidence suggests that the University of Ottawa was diligent in overseeing its regulations but often stretched its "goodwill" in face of many irregularities. The meeting of fees and entrance requirements, the meshing of course outlines and examination papers, the non-sectarian nature of the student body, the unfamiliarity with French and Latin of Western students, provided a constant tension between schools. It may be that only the dynamic character of Notre Dame's rector, Athol Murray and the romantic atmosphere of the school smoothed over these problems. Father Murray had a loyal and often talented staff to assist him and the results of graduates were evidence enough for both parent and affiliate that they met their mission, "a duty incumbent," to provide higher education to western Canadian students.

Father Murray's approach to and vision of student formation, the second aspect to the nature of Athol Murray's Arts programme, related directly to his own formation and priesthood. He had a Catholic training particular to the 19th Century. However, the archive material at Notre Dame indicates that Father Murray's emphasis was in accord with the neo-scholastic movement of Louvain University in Belgium. But his approach with students matured and changed as he gained experience with post-secondary education and associated with the educational developments of other North American universities. The researcher discovers this maturing process by following the keynote statements on brochures and pamphlets or in examining the meaning behind elaborate projects and artifacts sponsored by Father Murray. In the end, the Murray vision of formation had a 'ring of its own' as the Notre Dame dean set out to capture that 'turn of phrase', artifact or event which would inspire or animate the ideals by which his students should live. Simply stated, it was a vision which attempted the dramatic blending of philosophy and religion.

Murray's first experience with post-secondary studies stemmed from his own education in Quebec. He reminisced about this schooling with the University of Ottawa dean:

As you know - I was educated at St. Hyacinthe and at Laval in old Quebec. I have always been intensely proud of the training I was given by those great men (Jesuits). They have shaped the ideals and achievement of my life. I eagerly looked forward to the emerging strength of the vast schemes they nurtured for the dignity and grandeur of our Catholic people. (95)

The courses of a classical liberal arts education, latin, grammar, humanities, rhetoric and philosophy were part of Athol Murray's training. The Laval training emphasized neo-scholastic philosophy and although the University provided a Bachelor degree in the Arts, it prepared also students for seminary courses in Theology with the practice of " training in philosophy for the sake of theology." (96) But the manner of Jesuit teaching was equally influential. Murray had attested to the dramatization of style integral to Jesuit teaching and this method, "flowering from (Jesuit) accurate analysis of human nature and motives..., encouraged imagination, curiosity, competitions, debates, acting even wit in their approach to the direct questions of grammar and theorems." (97) This formative training of Father Murray's provided method and inspiration for the Arts programme at Notre Dame from the very beginning.

The Arts courses at Wilcox followed the liberal arts curriculum of the University of Ottawa. Prescribed were: English, Latin, French, and Philosophy. Although not as structured a curriculum as in Father Murray's day, the Ottawa courses provided the means to "formulate, to vitalize the ideals that should animate society." Murray wrote to his dean that the texts of literature, classical antiquity, and philosophy provide that "survey of the culture of Greece, Rome and the Renaissance... and of authentic humanism." (98) This touch with the greats of antiquity with text and course outline was associated, at Notre Dame, with current struggles and debates whether in politics, economics or sport. As a result, the manner of attaining a liberal arts training under Father Murray was similar to the training

Athol Murray had received in Quebec. In the first brochure of the Arts programme, later to be inscribed in bronze in the foyer of Notre Dame's Varsity hall, Notre Dame emphasized its style of formation. The brochure stated:

That Notre Dame, under the guidance of Almighty God, may serve, in the generations to come, the highest interests of mankind, by drawing into a common fellowship the members of the Faculty and the student body and by gathering into a true society the teacher and the student, the graduate and the undergraduate: further, that the members of Notre Dame may discover within its walls the true education that is to be found in good fellowship, in friendly disputation and debate, in the conversation of wise and prudent men and women, in music, pictures and the play, in the casual book, in sports and games and the mastery of the body; and lastly, that Notre Dame may be dedicated to the task of arming youth with strength and suppleness of limb, with clarity of mind and depth of understanding, and with a spirit of true religion and high endeavor. (99)

Murray's own church in the late nineteenth century had encouraged Catholic higher education to reacquaint itself with the traditions and ideals of western society and in particular Saint Thomas Aquinas' bridging of Greek philosophy and Christian teaching. Father Murray wrote to the University of Ottawa dean his understanding of this development. He stated:

To me the authentic meaning of a University is that conveyed by Cardinal Newman (Idea of a University) and exemplified by Cardinal Mercier at Louvain. It was what was in the mind of Leo X111 (Encyclical: 'Aaterni Patris') and it charges the university students with a lofty and proud responsibility to show the world the product of true Christian education. (100)

This development described by Athol Murray has been historically called the neo-scholastic movement. It formed as a consequence of European revolutions of the 18th and 19th century. The conclusion of

the Catholic Church was that "speculation has something to do with practice," that there are social and political consequences of speculative thought and that a " sound philosophy is essential to the public good." (101) Neo-scholasticism was endorsed by Pope Leo XIII in the encyclical 'Aeterni Patris' of 1879 and in 1882, cardinal Desire Mercier was appointed to prepare the ground for this philosophy at Louvain University in Belgium. (102)

The goal and method of neo-scholasticism is described by Edward A. Synan in the article 'Five Lectures on Neo-scholasticism.' It stated:

Neo scholasticism aspired to organize a coherent view of man, of things, of God, such as would be accessible to any reflective adult, yet compatible with Christian faith.... Its method was to provide a single systematized, and 'perennial' philosophy such as would be capable of absorbing all the results of all of the sciences. (103)

The entry point for philosophy was the 'Manual' and at Notre Dame, in 1933, The Manual of Modern Scholastic Philosophy by Cardinal Mercier was the philosophical text required by the University of Ottawa. This text organized for third year the study of 'natural philosophy' and 'general metaphysics' to provide a solid and coherent knowledge of nature , man and God. The 'Manual' concluded with 'moral philosophy' in fourth year. (104) The aim of such an education was, according to Jesuit philosopher, Gerald McCord, "the cultivation of the Catholic mind" as "an integrative habit of mind" which seeks "the progressive integration of human knowledge by the believing mind illuminated by its intuitive knowledge of God. (105) Louvain University of Belgium was an early model of 'integrative studies', but as Canada provided

its own centres and in particular the Medieval Institute at Saint Michael's College in Toronto, Athol Murray turned to that institution for guidance. He found much to inspire his students from visitor scholar Jacques Maritain and from him coined a keynote term - 'authentic humanism' (106) which captured all for which Athol Murray stood. He also looked to other schools for trends in Catholic education. For example, the war reconstruction work of University of Chicago president, Robert Maynard Hutchins received particular notice. After the war, the Natural Law Institute of Notre Dame of Indiana provided a model to emulate. The University of Ottawa likewise received attention not only because it was "definitely Catholic" with "consequential influence on our students" but also because it played a "unique role for national unity" in the political sense as well as acting as a "tie between the two church groups" of Canada. (107) By bringing his students in association with these contemporary institutions, scholars and trends, Father Murray continued the 'integrative' studies role of Catholic education "duly adjusted to the advancement of our age" with the dream of his life "to bring Thomism into effective play in the Canadian west." (108) When neo scholasticism lost its pre-eminence with the councils of Vatican II in the 1960's, Athol Murray stayed with scholasticism although alert to the adjustments within the Catholic church following Vatican II. (109)

When Athol Murray started his Arts programme in 1933, he was filled with the dream of a "wee Oxford" which included chancellor, governors, prominent visitors with community halls and residences

bearing Scottish names. The future leadership of the west "will find its foyer here," he claimed. For this leadership to develop, a "philosophy is required," he wrote to R. B. Bennett, "...so comprehensive that it can do justice to all the diversities...free government, family rights, individual rights..."(110) Father Murray outlined a comprehensive philosophy (the neo scholastic goal) for Notre Dame in his first brochures and report cards advertising the college. The brochure suggested a direction for students around the following ideals which were placed in a pattern as to suggest priority. In diamond pattern, these were from bottom to top: chivalry, personal initiative, community spirit, and the Charismata."(111) These concepts were not explained in any treatise by Athol Murray but they do reflect his family experience and Catholic training. The meaning behind these ideals stayed with him over his lifetime with the dean using other 'turns of phrase' as he felt appropriate for the times and as his experience with trends in Catholic education widened.

Murray discussed the notion of 'chivalry' with writer Mary Weeks in 1936. He stated to Weeks that it meant "the best there is in man." Weeks explained further that Murray's scottish clan always "fought for a cause," and wrote also about Athol Murray's father: "Leader he was for good; ever his thought was new...; He loved his fellow-man deeply with warm true heart; For Canada he did a true Canadian's part." (112) The Murray clan's tradition of chivalrous spirit, therefore, provided a guiding ideal for the first Notre Dame Arts students. These pupils were to understand what it meant to be part of

and leaders for the 'good cause'. Although Father Murray dropped the term 'chivalry' around 1940, he never abandoned the idea of the chivalrous man in support of a good cause.

There is not documentation regarding the ideals of 'co-operative spirit' and 'personal initiative' written in the 1930's. However, individual formation and dedication and loyalty to one's community and country have long been themes associated with Murray. In the first major interview with Mary Weeks, Athol Murray emphasized that "here a student is an individual or he is nothing." (113) At the same time, however, the students swore a 'loyalty pact' regarding their allegiance to Notre Dame, the student's community. It stated:

I
 AM A
 NOTRE DAME
 MAN
 ALL THAT I AM
 ALL THAT I HOPE TO BE
 I OWE TO NOTRE DAME
 I PLEDGE, ALL DOWN THE YEARS
 UNBROKEN LOYALTY TO NOTRE DAME. (114)

In a periodical, ('Something to Think About', 1963) written much later in the history of Notre Dame, Father Murray outlined in a more academic manner, the relationship between 'personal initiative' and 'co-operative spirit'. He claimed:

There must be no miscalculation in recognizing
 that man and the community are two poles of the

social reality.... Unless we find a way to restore contact between the life of the society and the life of the free individual person our civilization will be destroyed by the forces it has the knowledge to create but not the wisdom to control. (115)

Athol Murray theorized that contact is restored by recognizing a "spiritual order of realities," and, there is nothing above the universal truth that man aspires "to be his true self in self-responsibility." The role of the community, an "entity possessing its own reality, values and rights," is "to help" the individual "in the performance of his task". Without ideals which have a priority ranking and deal with the whole of experience, two oppressive doctrines, 'individualism' or 'collectivism' ascend which make either the individual or collective values the "sole and absolute end of human existence. Either result is oppressive and dogmatic." The problem of contact between 'personal initiative' and 'co-operative spirit' filled the life of Murray and his students down through the years. The balance between each value is resolved in recognition of a spiritual order of realities and this theme expressed first principles, a scholastic objective. (116)

The Greek term for gift or favour is " Charismata." This appeared at the top of Notre Dame's first brochure. It was the belief of Father Murray that God exists and his spirit (gift or favour) or his grace as given through Jesus Christ is always with us. Murray cherished the imagery of God's spirit expressed by Saint Augustine: "And hovered over me, faithful from afar, thy mercy Lord." (117) Writing to his own archbishop, James McGuigan, Father Murray enthused over what he observed as God's grace at work during the depths of the

Depression. He wrote:

To me these dark days of adversity are days of wonderful adventure and thrill to the Christian of good heart. The Charismata is round about us - potent of all - as never before. Christ reigns! (118)

And therefore with Father Murray, it was under God or the Christ, the incarnate link between man and God, that one got on with the challenges of life. But this sense of being under God's providence meant more than an undefined recognition of God's assistance. It meant also a whole Christian ideal illuminating one's way. He outlined a total Christian objective for Notre Dame in an early publication. He claimed:

From its (Notre Dame) inception, the Christian objective has aimed at nothing less than a spiritual integration of humanity, its deliverance from the tyranny of material force and the domination of selfish aims, and its reconstruction in spiritual unity. (119)

Father Murray accepted the ideal that Christian principles and teachings must illuminate right and reason, or the philosophy and method that dealt with the whole experience of social reality. He explained this direction:

Implicit in the Notre Dame concept is the view that the true Christian, product of Christian education, is the supernatural man who thinks, judges and acts constantly and consistently in accordance with right and reason, illuminated by the supernatural light of the example and teachings of Christ. (120)

Thus, Athol Murray required of his students that they recognize the 'charismata' in their life. It meant that their life was under God, but not only the God of Abraham and Mohammed or the Divine Craftsman of Plato or the Unmoved Mover of Aristotle, but also the Christ and

his example illuminated by scripture and the teaching of the church.

In many of Athol Murray's personal statements regarding Notre Dame, the idea of 'charismata' as relating to God's providence or guidance was often expressed. For example, the Notre Dame Ideal written up in its first brochure, in 1933, begins: "That Notre Dame, under the guidance of Almighty God, may serve...." (121) In a later publication, the dean expressed a school role that "Notre Dame, under God, is to unify and strengthen a democratic society through a sharpened appreciation of its origins and complexity." (122) 'The Laocoon', the school journal, centred its editorial page with the axiom: "For freest action under law divine." (123) And finally, emphasizing the importance of God's providence and direction for the school, Father Murray, in 1974, claimed that "not by human design, the statue (of Christ) today is in the exact centre of the campus. The college grew around it." (124)

The ideals used to inspire the first students of the Notre Dame Arts programme, chivalry, personal initiative, community spirit and the Charismata, stayed with Father Murray throughout his leadership at Wilcox. The terms changed with time but the ideals are always recognized implicitly. One example, towards the end of his life, dealt with the result and effect of the Canada-Russia hockey series in 1972. Canada's professionals were nearly humiliated and a new hockey reality had to be met by Canada. Murray looked at it this way:

Hockey in Canada will never be the same. It is expanding explosively. Since the historic expostulation of Esposito, Canadians across Canada are insistently demanding a concentrated excellence of all out tireless effort. Here, in

the midst of our Notre Dame battle, with our long tradition of faultless endeavour, we are confronted with this new full impetus around the hockey world. It is coming in prodigious dimensions and the Hounds must rise to the challenge. We must not falter in our indispensable workouts. We must rally our energies to highest intensity. We must master the complications of power-play strategy. We must train our ingenuity in forechecking and backchecking. Above all each Hound must lift his potential to highest self-transcendence and ignite the fires of determination to do our thing under God's grace. Get with it, gang - go get 'em. (125)

Implicit in the above exhortation are the ideals of the college's first brochure, from 1933. A new cause challenges 'chivalrous' Canadians. Individuals will have to train their potential 'to the highest self-transcendence,' giving of themselves fully to the Canadian community in order to rekindle Canada's traditional hockey leadership and to do it 'under God's grace.'

This original paradigm of inspirational ideals remained on college brochures until 1940. New slogans appeared along with these underpinning concepts that were leading remarks of sportsmen admired by Athol Murray. Regina sportsman Al Richie said: "Take a look!" Renowned football coach Knute Rockne exhorted: "End what you start!" Baseball manager, Harry 'Bill' Lane of San Diego suggested "Have a good team and never lose heart." (126) The crested motto of the school today, 'Luctor et Emergo' (Struggle and Emerge) was fittingly a "part of Father Murray's vocabulary from the beginning," (127) recalled Mother Edith. It first appears on the brochures around 1940. The first crest in 1933 was simpler, however, with crossed hockey sticks at the top and lacrosse sticks at the bottom boarding the

inscription: Notre Dame: Wilcox Saskatchewan. (128) These sporting slogans underscore the fact that sport activity has always been a large part of the school curriculum.

However, sport as a part of Notre Dame heritage requires explanation. In the mind of Athol Murray it was a worthwhile activity in itself. It provided one kind of opportunity for students and enriched also the spirit of the school. Father Murray talked generally about the spirit of Notre Dame in its first brochure on the college. It stated:

The spirit of Notre Dame is unusually active. The students are active to the opportunities afforded here. There is no need to delve for inspiration. It is everywhere apparent here that Notre Dame students are "going somewhere" and that "somewhere" is a worthwhile goal which will be achieved. It can be the privilege of everyone at Notre Dame to aid in making Notre Dame mightier - and thus make it an even better place in which to live, work and succeed. (129)

Father Murray felt that opportunity and adversity coincided and within it, the best in an individual expressed itself. This adversity or challenge suggested Athol Murray, "comes up a lot in sport. This is where you see humanity at its best." The sporting heroes also "give life a great warmth, vigor and flash. And it is this, the invigorating thing of Notre Dame that has made my life so happy." (130) But sport meant more to Father Murray than "fine co-ordination of brain and muscle," He told Mary Weeks in a 1936 interview that teams were to be noted "for their fine honesty, their sense of fair play, their willingness to concede, with reservations, that other men, players, teams from other schools, leagues, have as fine standards of sport as themselves. One finds no boastfulness, no

braggadocio" (131) at Notre Dame.

The Notre Dame rector perceived also that "athletics provide one of the most interesting bonds between the civilization of ancient Greece and that of the modern world..." And "at Notre Dame the Hellenic idea of sport is fostered as prime agent of authentic humanism." (132) An article in the Notre Dame journal, 'The Laocoon', explained:

The word 'athletic' is derived from the Greek ATHLOS meaning 'contest' and ATHLON meaning 'the prize from the contest' and it is in the derivation that the true significance of the word can be found. A contest, as opposed to play, implies effort and exertion often to the point of pain, directed toward a definite goal. The objective for which the contestant strives is the honor of the victory. It is the pride, modest yet sincere, in a victory honestly won and the assurance of personal excellence, which attract the true athlete, rather than the material value of the reward. Athletes in ancient Greece did not consist in physical exercise for the mere enjoyment of play - an impulse common to all peoples of all periods - but they were the expression of a spirit of competition and of a desire for that perfection in performance which is attained only through untiring effort. (133)

Sport, therefore, provided a competitive challenge which enriched the life of the individual student and invigorated the spirit of the school. It always played a significant role in the education of the Notre Dame student.

Overall, the vision for Notre Dame students as outlined in the ideals of the school's first brochures represented the vision of the Catholic educator, and, in particular, the goals of the neo-scholastic movement.. It encouraged activity representing that 'integrative habit of mind' illuminated by the believing mind. But

Athol Murray was "not bound by a narrow sectarian application of his ideals," and documentation verifies the observation of researcher Ted Wood who concluded:

In fact he believed that all enduring educational enterprises in the long history of the western world had sought, in one form or another, to develop the "Catholic mind" - that is "an integrative habit of mind" illumined by a belief in God. This ideal actually predated Christianity in the philosophy of Socrates and Plato. It provided the moral and intellectual foundation of the whole of western civilization and was by no means the exclusive domain of the Roman Catholic Church. (134)

As the Arts programme matured at Notre Dame, the initial paradigm of inspiration was removed from Notre Dame brochures and various philosophers ascended to prominence. Philosophic expressions became keynote guidelines of students in 1940 and finding inspirational 'turns of phrase' remained the habit of the Notre Dame rector until his death. These new inscriptions often related to an approach to a current world situation. In the first brochure change, the prayer of Plato ranked highest. It stated:

Grant that I may grow beautiful in the inner man, and whatever I possess without may it grow in harmony with the inner life; may I deem the wise alone rich; and may my store of gold be such as only the good may bear. (135)

Murray inscribed also the insight of Aristotle:

All men by nature desire to know. (136)

Father Murray favoured highly Greek philosophy which had long been a part of Catholic education and formation. However, Athol Murray used it with underlined emphasis and it became associated with many of his inspirational messages. He claimed about himself:

My whole life is permeated by Greek thinking. Sir Richard Livingstone of England said the Greeks gave us two things: "the discovery of knowledge and the vision of greatness." Both those themes could be taken very simply. But they are not simple. They are very important for man. All our curricula in education depends upon the discovery of knowledge, truth, and truth exists. But then that vision of greatness.... Now, my boys...I...I'm not exaggerating. I've pounded that Greek thought into them over and over.... (137)

The example of ancient Greece is one of accomplishment and leadership. Murray felt that both Canada and the West required leadership and that "Greece can give it to us. If we only turn to them. We have only to see it. And we can in our turn be great, great Canadians." (138) Father Murray's habit as an educator was to alert his students to the issues of the day and to recognize the leaders who were most influential within current events. To many western leaders of the early 1940's, more was required than the victory of the 'Allies'; a broken western civilization had to be rebuilt upon high ideals. Father Murray's war-time college brochures reflected that goal. One leader of the reconstruction goal was University of Chicago president, Robert Maynard Hutchins. Athol Murray quoted Hutchins' challenge on Notre Dame advertisements:

The present world chaos is a challenge to educational institutions to unify and intensify their programs and education in order to save civilization.... and it is the duty of higher education to lay the foundations of moral and spiritual ideals with that in mind. (139)

Included in this brochure with the Hutchins' warning was an observation by Prime Minister Mackenzie King, in a speech at Princeton University in 1941.

It is surely the simple truth that more than ever before, the Universities of North America are the trustees of the liberties of North America. (140)

Father Murray alerted would-be candidates to Notre Dame of these objectives in brochures, but he also took seriously his university responsibility as outlined by Mackenzie King. The result was that in the fall of 1943, Notre Dame published its first quarterly review called 'The Laocoon'. (141)

The Laocoon provides a valuable source of research material regarding current issues, school activities and the education philosophy of Notre Dame. "The Laocoon begins;" stated Father Murray in the opening page of its first publication:

Its purpose is to advocate authentic humanism, to stimulate that intellectual wrestling that emancipates from inertia and inarticulate thought.... to free ourselves of most of our ills. (142)

With consistency, Murray advocated the power of an idea and agreed with Plato that "until philosophers are kings, or, the kings and princes of the world have the spirit and power of philosophers... cities will never rest from their evils." Now "has the time come for ideas," thought Father Murray, and during this particular period of crisis, "no matter how many airplanes we may produce, we can eventually defeat Hitler only with ideas." (143)

For Murray, the essential idea for the times and the school was "authentic humanism" and in it rested the hope for the dignity of man and world order. Jacques Maritain developed the 'turn of phrase' and concluded:

The debate that divides our contemporaries and compels us all to make an election is between two

conceptions of humanism: a theocentric conception, which is the Christian conception; and an anthropocentric conception, which has its first origins in the spirit of the Renaissance. The first conception may be described as authentic humanism. (144)

Athol Murray liked this 'turn of phrase' and it represented, of course, Catholic emphasis in education down the years as "the integrative habit of mind enlightened by a belief in God." The Notre Dame rector, however, expanded upon it and drew into its play, the "balanced assertion of (Socrates) four essentials" as authentic humanism in practice. It reminded, as well, that the ideals basic to Christianity were, at root, the founding ideas of western civilization.

WORLD INTEGRATION OF

AUTHENTIC HUMANISM

Plato's Socratic Charter:

The dignity of man and the hope of world order rest ultimately, according to Plato on the balanced assertion of four essentials--Religion, Justice, Freedom and Authority.

RELIGION

The sine qua non of all to God - Man is a religious

animal: authentic religion, free from inertia, free from parochialism, free from sectarianism and ignorance and hate is essential. Man is not self-sufficient.

Nihil sine Deo

JUSTICE

No man may exploit man. No nation, no race may exploit other nations and races. Fiat jus.

FREEDOM

Man's nature itself exacts it. "You shall know the truth and the truth shall make you free."

AUTHORITY

Whether we like it or not--right order calls for recognition of legitimate power, and for docility, intelligent not servile, towards executive direction. Aristotle grades all animals according to their degree of docibility.

The Laocoon editors submit Plato's charter as the most remarkable find of our time. You are urged to concentrate upon it and to throw your energies into drawing "world-wide" attention to it. (145)

The publication of 'The Laocoon' ceased in 1947. The reason it was cancelled is not documented, although lack of funds is cited. (146) However, the circumstances of the 'cold war' encouraged Athol Murray to arrest this "drift toward chaos" from another angle. Following the example of Notre Dame University of Indiana, he initiated the 'Natural Law Institute' in 1951. Fourth year artsmen

were "to devote their last year to intensive study of Natural Law - particularly the works of the Summa of Aquinas...." Each year, at graduation, this Institute highlighted its work with a magnificent dinner at the Hotel Saskatchewan in Regina. Prominent guests were invited and a published brochure followed. The Institute did not get off the ground, but the year end dinners continued and "Natural Law" became a "keystone" phrase for the college. (147)

Natural Law was not an unfamiliar term to students of Notre Dame at this time. It was given grand prominence in 1951. Frank Germann, a fourth year Arts student in 1944, however, wrote about it in 'The Laocoon.' He stated in his article:

Natural Law is then the participation of the Eternal Law by creatures... the universal principles from which men proceed to the government of human life. These in themselves are not sufficient, universal principles never are. They need application and further determination. (148)

Application and further determination of Natural Law developed through the study of western heritage. Murray described this method in the Natural Law brochure of 1954. He stated:

The technique of Notre Dame is to uphold, within the framework of its first principles (Natural Law) the rich heritage and code of true western tradition. With full recognition of the facts of science in the atomic age, at Notre Dame the emphasis is on the contribution to the modern mind of Greece, Jerusalem and Rome - and in a special sense and the intellectual synthesis of the XIII century - its implications duly adjusted to the advancement of our age. (149)

The concept of 'natural law' and its further application and determination remained with Father Murray throughout his career in education. In 1963, in an article about 'Natural Law and Personal

Rights' he restated his fundamental premise of the reality of universal truths. He wrote:

There is nothing in this world above universal truth - and in this lies the root of intellectual and social liberty.... (and) it is a universal truth that man desires in freedom to be his true self, as nature. That is Natural Law... (and) it is the purpose of all social organization to help him in the performance of his task. That, too, is Natural Law. (150)

For Father Murray, 'timeless truths' provided a 'clear consciousness of purpose' for his school and students and he claimed to the very end that "nothing is more powerful than ideas." (151) It was with firm conviction in these first principles that Father Murray developed his views regarding man and politics.

In the late 1950's, Notre Dame entered a new era of "brick and mortar." This involved a Varsity Hall, a new church, a Tower to God, classrooms, residences and a rink. But these would not be ordinary buildings and each is adorned with bronze, momentos, painting or stained glass which reflect the ideals by which Murray lived. The brochures of Notre Dame from this period forward related to the permanence constructed at the college and the important educational objectives were inscribed in the brochures which often described these structures.

While the depression, the war and the reconstruction of western civilization including the 'cold war' were early focal points for Athol Murray, technology, mass man, materialism and indifference to God preoccupied his later years. In a 1960 brochure he pointed out:

Western man has created the technological order, but he has not discovered how to control it. It is beginning to control him.... To avoid it,

Notre Dame insists the only course is to groom men on the assumption that, under God, man is a reasonable being... a spiritual entity... with its capacity for self-determination and its competence for self transcendence... (152)

This permanent objective of Father Murray to form great individuals in face of modern problems shows up in all later brochures. The solution was always "fundamentally spiritual... greatness is a spiritual quality. At Notre Dame we see its source in the mind of the individual." (153) The method of formation, however, remained the same. He stated this method again in 1960 and it outlined clearly, once again, Father Murray's close association with the neo-scholastic movement.

Notre Dame's disciplines are taught in such a way that the students are first of all led to acquire a solid and coherent knowledge of man, the world, and of God, relying on philosophical patrimony which is perennially valid and taking into account the investigations of later ages... (154)

Neo-scholasticism, however, lost its authoritative stature later in the 1960's with the conclusions of Vatican II. As a philosophical movement, it had marginal appeal in Europe and for the most part, only Catholic and seminary colleges in North America supported its methods. Edward Synan in his 'Five Lectures on Neo-scholasticism' suggested that "with the unwillingness of Vatican II (to recommend) that the old mandates on scholasticism and thomism in particular, should find a place in the official decrees... neo-scholasticism lost its 'de jure' pre eminence" (155) given it by pope Leo XIII in 1879. The Vatican II council in its 'Declaration on Christian Education' issued a desire rather than a directive that "the way in which faith and reason conspire in a single truth might be

more deeply perceived by following in the footsteps of the Doctors of the Church, especially Saint Thomas Aquinas." (156) Critics of neo-scholasticism had found the philosophy too authoritarian and insular; they suggested that it had serious limitations of method. Authority and philosophy do not mix. This method of Catholic formation lacked also the 'Biblical touch,' which became increasingly important following Vatican II. Thomism, however, had not been altogether discarded in Catholic education and philosophers such as Jacques Maritain and Joseph Owens were diligent in efforts to enhance its stature. Father Murray, however, was alert to this new state of affairs and although written documentation has not been found regarding his approach to this issue, metaphysics remained first in importance for Notre Dame students. (157) During a testimonial dinner shortly before his death in 1975, he " discussed his dream of gathering a handful of the world's foremost intellectuals at Notre Dame in Wilcox where they could work towards the rational proof of the existence of God. 'We have to tell the people that God is a great quarterback-almost as good as Ron Lancaster,' he said with a twinkle in his eye." (158) Philosophic truth, rigorously examined in the light of new discovery, was compatible with faith. It required the untiring effort of scholars to pursue this enlightenment.

Some have suggested that the context in which neo-scholastic philosophy has been taught has often been better than its philosophy. (159) In the context of philosophy Father Murray excelled. In this, the Murray method had a 'ring of its own.' The Notre Dame dean emphasized in art and in text what Edward Synan concluded regarding

schools with a neo-scholastic approach, namely: that there was " a tradition of trying to understand men whose achievements transcend their time.... that there is in the corps of Christian believers a studious and intelligent elite who have tried manfully to face the consequences of faith in the harsh light of erudite belief..., (and that) there remains a kind of intellectual optimism. Wisdom is accessible to those who have the energy and talent to possess themselves of it." (160)

Father Murray associated with his philosophic vision magnificent signs and monuments. They provided a visible context for his philosophy. Researcher Ted Wood coined the term "magnificentia" to describe this characteristic of Athol Murray to sponsor beautiful emblems to what is spiritually important. The term is defined as "the noble, truly princely practice of spending lavishly in order to make splendidly visible some sublime thought in sculpture or in architecture." (161) And so, at this time of indifference to God, Notre Dame constructed a Tower of God; in this age of mass marketing and resulting 'mediocrity', Murray commissioned Nicholas de Grandmaison to prepare portraits of accomplished Canadians to be hung in the Varsity Hall building. In bronze, on the doors of Saint Augustine's church the accomplishment of sending the first man to the moon is juxtaposed with the story of Christianity. The stained glass windows of Saint Augustine's church honour the great saints of his church and educators of "the Catholic mind." Plaster cast reproductions of the Parthenon Frieze adorn the upper walls of Lane Hall creating the atmosphere of Athenian heroics. It mattered little

to Father Murray that the school was always at the edge of poverty when these projects went forward. It mattered more that the long tradition of the west and the humanity who animated it have stature in the meagre surroundings of the college.

Father Athol Murray's vision of formation in terms of an ideal changed over the years with regard to emphasis and 'turns of phrase' but not in essentials. The 'Charismata' of his 1933 brochure became "God's grace, under God" and took concrete shape in the Tower of God. 'Individual initiative' changed to 'true self in self-responsibility' to his coining in later days of the statement "every human life is insignificant unless you yourself make it great." 'Community spirit' took on the sense of 'self-transcendence' while 'chivalry' was any good cause which had to be met in the changing circumstance of life. The term "authentic humanism," that 'integrative habit of mind illuminated by God', encompassed all of that early brochure's paradigm. It was followed by 'natural law,' those timeless truths which provide the foundation of an individual's life work. The inspiration to guide the lives of students and alumni later found expression in works of art. But Murray invigorated the life of his students with more than art, sport provided a fine challenge also. In all, the educational vision of Father Murray encompassed the traditional training of the "Catholic mind," which he did not perceive as exclusively Catholic but reflected rather a neo-scholastic synthesis of the thought of Greece, Jerusalem and Rome. This training he expressed in the saying: "For him who does what within him lies, God cannot deny His Grace." (162)

Murray felt he could mold leaders. But he didn't consider himself a philosopher. He worked at vitalizing the ideals which motivate and he stated towards the end of his life: "I know how to animate them with the right ideals." His summary of his life's work in 1971 -- as an animator of youthful idealists -- reflects clearly his educational method. Although not an original thinker, he understood that right ideals were the starting points for leadership, the foundation for all civilization. He promoted these ideals in a neo-scholastic framework which sought an integration of human knowledge by the believing mind. In stressing ideas he gave Notre Dame its educational vision and 'clear consciousness of purpose' which he generalized as seeking "the primacy of the spiritual and the reality of God." (163) His complete objective was to blend faith and reason, philosophy and religion as once had Saint Thomas Aquinas.

We discover through the study of the objectives and nature of Athol Murray's Arts programme the scope of Father Murray's goals, associations and activities in day to day, year to year management of post-secondary work at Notre Dame. Father Murray had objectives familiar to all Catholic post-secondary endeavours--the pastoral objective to provide for the parishioners of his district. The Notre Dame rector increased the availability of this education by announcing a 'non-sectarian' status for his school. He encouraged further British cultural associations as a model for leadership formation. With these objectives, Athol Murray attempted in education what his own church accepted formally only in 1969. Although there is no official text by Father Murray regarding the meaning of a "'non-

sectarian' school under Roman Catholic auspices," the school accepted students of any religious creed and 'openmindedness' was the spirit behind this objective. Athol Murray stayed with this 'non-sectarian' status throughout his leadership, but he did ensure in the Act of Incorporation in 1949 that a majority of the Board of Directors should be of the Roman Catholic faith.

With the examination of the curriculum and the philosophical emphasis at Notre Dame, we see a traditional 'liberal arts' programme with core requirements and emphasis in philosophy. It was in fact a training of the 'Catholic mind' which had been reflected within the 'neo-scholastic movement' of the late nineteenth century. It sought a perennially valid philosophy which bridged faith and reason and was centered in the work of Saint Thomas Aquinas. Athol Murray sought to instill in his students from this tradition the 'universal truths' by which to live as well as encourage a 'vision of greatness,' a cornerstone of the legacy of Greek culture.

In sculpture, art and bronze, he embodied the ideals and mentors of this training for his staff and students and provided an enriched context for these academic studies.

We see, finally, that the affiliation to the University of Ottawa provided structure for his work in education. To keep within the regulations required for affiliation was always challenging. The strain of an overworked staff and of meeting the financial and academic requirements was permanently a part of the school fabric. Yet through not a little sacrifice and effort, students received an opportunity for a Baccalaureate of Arts. The University of Ottawa

stretched its goodwill to the limit and Father Murray's 'charismatic' nature and the romantic character of the school helped carry it through difficulties. But both parties felt the 'good results' outweighed the problems. The sense of a 'duty incumbent' to provide western Canadian boys a chance at higher education carried the Notre Dame affiliation with the University of Ottawa through four decades.

FOOTNOTES

1. Lawrence K. Shook, Catholic post-secondary education in English speaking Canada: a History. University of Toronto Press, 1971. pp.6-7
2. Ibid.: p.28: Quoting the work of George Thomas Daly, "Catholic Problems in Western Canada," Toronto, McMillan, 1921. pp. 196-236.
3. University of Ottawa, Calendar of the Faculty of Arts, 1934, History of the University p. 6.
4. Ibid., p.6
5. Lawrence K. Shook, op.cit., p.421.
6. University of Ottawa, op.cit., p.6.
7. Lawrence K. Shook, op.cit., pp. 9-10.
8. N.D.A. P.P.A.M. Athol Murray: Correspondence to 1959, File Folder #1, "Athol Murray to Frank (?) December 20, 1920."
9. N.D.A. P.P.A.M. "Codes Historicus of the Parish of (Milestone, Wilcox, Rouleau,)" File Folder # uncoded, pp. 165- 166.
10. N.D.A. P.P.A.M. "Chancery Office Correspondence re: Notre Dame," File Folder # uncoded, Murray to Archbishop McGuigan, August 27, 1933.
11. N.D.A. P.P.A.M. "Correspondence with Walter Murray, President, University of Saskatchewan," File Folder # uncoded, August 31, 1933.
12. Ibid., July 2, 1933
13. N.D.A. P.P.A.M. "Athol Murray - Correspondence with Prime Minister R.B. Bennett (1930 - 1935)," File Folder #13, May 3, 1936.
14. N.D.A. P.P.A.M. "Chancery Office Correspondence..." op.cit., June 7, 1932.
15. N.D.A. P.P.A.M. "Athol Murray to Sir Arthur Doughty, National Archivist, (1920 - 1935)" File Folder # uncoded, Feb. 19, 1935.
16. N.D.A. P.P.A.M. "Notre Dame Publications, 'The Laocoon,' Vol VI, #2, p.13" File Folder #1.
17. Lawrence K. Shook, op.cit., p. 415

16a. See footnote 89, page 124 above.

16b. G.Friesen, The Canadian Prairies, 'Politics and Culture',
U.of T Press, 1984. pages 340-342.

18. Ibid., p. 411
19. Ibid., p. 412
20. Ibid., p. 412
21. Ibid., p. 414
22. Ibid., p. 414
23. Ibid., p. 247
24. N.D.A. P.P.A.M. "Chancery Office Correspondence: re Notre Dame," op.cit., Notre Dame College Prospectus, 1933-1934; Regina Leader Post. September 28, 1933.
25. Ibid., Murray to Chancery Office, Aug. 13, 1934
26. Ibid., Chancery Office report to Archbishop McGuigan, August 30, 1934.
27. N.D.A. P.P.A.M. "Athol Murray: Correspondence with Prime Minister R.A. Bennett", op.cit., Murray to Bennett, Oct 24, 1933.
28. N.D.A. P.P.A.M. "Chancery Office Correspondence....," op.cit., McGuigan to Rev. Andrea Cassulo, D.D. Apostolic Delegate to Canada and Newfoundland, June 15, 1934. All quotes are from this letter to the apostolic delegate.
29. Mary Weeks, "A College Built on Faith", Macleans, Feb. 13, 1936.
30. Ibid.
31. Lawrence K. Shook, op.cit., p. 340
32. N.D.A. P.P.A.M. Frank Germann Interview with T. O'Malley, File Folder, Uncoded, May 1986.
33. Remark to T. O'Malley by Archbishop C. Helpin of Regina in casual conversation. June 25, 1986.
34. Rex Beach, op.cit., 1937; Regina Leader Post, "Canada's Strangest School", Jan. 23, 1938.
35. Ibid.
36. Statutes of the Legislature of Saskatchewan, "An Act to Incorporate Notre Dame College", Chapter 128, March 31, 1939. p. 913
37. Ibid. p. 913.

38. Ibid., page 913.
39. Ibid., page 915.
40. Lawrence K. Shook, op. cit., page 414.
41. This prescription of the Catholic Church for 'mixed schools' was essentially the Athol Murray philosophy for Notre Dame's post-secondary education and is examined below in this chapter.
42. N.D.A. P.P.A.M. "Correspondence with Ottawa University, (1933-1975)," File Folder # uncoded, 'Affiliate Institutions of the University of Ottawa (Principle and Conditions of Affiliation), 1947.'
43. Ibid.
44. N.D.A. P.P.A.M. "Correspondence..." op cit., 'Calendar of Faculty of Arts, University of Ottawa, 1934-1935.' page 13.
45. N.D.A. P.P.A.M. "Correspondence..." op cit., 'To the Affiliate Institutions; Report on the Affiliation Problem Adopted by the Senate,' April 18, 1947.
46. Ibid.
47. N.D.A. P.P.A.M. "Correspondence..." op. cit., 'Murray to Poupart, Feb 3, 1947.'
48. Ibid., 'Murray to Poupart, April 26, 1944.'
49. Ibid., 'Murray to Poupart, January 15, 1941.'
50. Ibid.
51. Ibid., 'Murray to Poupart, Feb 3, 1943.'
52. Ibid., 'Murray to Poupart, January 15, 1941.
53. Ibid., 'Lavigne to Murray, September 28, 1955.'
54. Ibid., 'Poupart to Murray, September 6, 1947.'
55. Ibid., 'Murray to Poupart, September 7, 1947.'
56. Ibid., 'Murray to Poupart. October 2, 1944.'
57. Telephone interview with Mother Edith, March 11, 1990.
58. N.D.A. P.P.A.M. "Correspondence..." op. cit., 'Dean to Athol Murray, October 16, 1944.'

59. N.D.A. P.P.A.M. "Documents and Presentations : re Future of Notre Dame(1976 to present)," File Folder # uncoded, 'Request By Athol Murray College of Notre Dame, Wilcox, For Federation With the University of Regina, 1979.,' Appendix 'C'. This appendix revealed only Geology as the science requirement studied at Notre Dame.
60. Notre Dame's Registrars Office Records.
61. N.D.A. P.P.A.M. "Correspondence..." op. cit., 'Visitor's Report, 1952.'
62. Ibid., Murray to Lavigne, September 29, 1953.'
63. N.D.A. P.P.A.M. "Tape and Film Collection," File Folder # uncoded, 'CBC Telescope, 1971.'
64. Two studies which put the history of the 'liberal arts' curriculum into context are: Robin S. Harris, A History of Higher Education in Canada, 1976; and, Patricia Jasen, The English Canadian Liberal Arts Curriculum, An Intellectual History, 1800-1950. PhD Doctoral Thesis in history, University of Manitoba, 1987.
65. N.D.A. P.P.A.M. "Correspondence..." op. cit., 'Vistor's Report, 1962.
66. Ibid., 'Visitor's Report, 1968.'
67. Ibid., 'Visitor's Report, 1952' and 'Visitor's Report, 1962.'
68. Jack Gorman, op. cit., page 53.
69. N.D.A. P.P.A.M. "Correspondence..." op. cit., 'Murray to Lavigne, May 4, 1956.' Archbishop O'Neill, considered a close friend of Athol Murray, is named by Athol Murray as one of the 'architects' of the college. See appendix D.
70. Ibid., 'Notre Dame Prospectus, 1953.'
71. Ibid., 'Murray to My Dear Dean, September 9, 1947.'
72. Ibid., 'Murray to Lavigne, September 22, 1955.'
73. Ibid., 'Murray to Poupart, February 3, 1943.'
74. Ibid., 'Father Jim Weisgerber to Dean of Arts, 1966 (date incomplete).'
75. Ibid., ' Dean to Athol Murray, July 24, 1936.'

76. Ibid., 'Athol Muray to Dean, June 10, 1937.'
77. Ibid., 'Lavigne to Slavick, March 10, 1952.'
78. Ibid.
79. Ibid., 'Slavick to Dean, Second Sunday of Lent, 1952.'
80. Casual discussions with graduates of Notre Dame College: Gerry Scheibel, Bill Liskowich, Denny Messier, Greg Schmalz.
81. N.D.A. P.P.A.M. "Correspondence..." op. cit., 'Murray to Dean, May 27, 1947.'
82. Ibid.
83. Ibid., 'Murray to Dean, May 29, 1947.'
84. Ibid., 'Visitor's Report, 1961.'
85. Ibid., 'Lavigne to Slavick, March 20, 1953.'
86. Ibid., 'Visitor's Report, 1952.'
87. Ibid., 'Murray to Beauchamp, March 1953.'
88. Ibid., 'Murray to Lavigne, October 29, 1957,' and 'Murray to Legare, November 7, 1961.'
89. Ibid., 'Murray to Poupart, February 2, 1943.'
90. Ibid., 'Visitor's Report, 1961.'
91. Ibid., 'Visitor's Report, 1952.'
92. Ibid., 'Murray to Guidon, June 14 1965.'
93. Ibid., 'Murray to Beauchamp, June 1, 1952.'
94. Ibid., 'Murray to Lavigne, September 9, 1952.'
95. Ibid., 'Murray to Legare, March 27 1964.'
96. Edward A. Synan, "Five Lectures of Neo-scholasticism," Unpublished paper, Saint Michael's College, circa 1968. page 63-64.
97. T.P.Slattey, Loyola and Montreal, Palm Publishers, 1962. page 269.
98. N.D.A. P.P.A.M. "Correspondence..." op. cit., 'Murray to Lavigne September 12, 1952 and June 25, 1953.'

99. Bronze inscription on plaque in the foyer of Varsity Hall, Notre Dame College.
100. N.D.A. P.P.A.M. "Correspondence..." op. cit., 'Murray to Legare, March 27, 1964.
101. Edward S. Synan, op.cit., page 27 and page 66.
102. Ibid., page 63.
103. Ibid., Page 109 abnd 115.
104. N.D.A. P.P.A.M. "Correspondence..." op. cit., 'Calendar of Faculty of Arts, University of Ottawa, 1934-1935.' page 36.
105. N.D.A. P.P.A.M. " Documents and Presentations..." op. cit., 'Ted Wood, Athol Murray's Educational Ideals, March, 1983.' page 10.
106. 'authentic humanism' see footnote 119 below.
107. N.D.A. P.P.A.M. "Correspondence..." op. cit., 'Murray to Legare, June 27, 1964 and April 27, 1961.
108. Quoted from article by Ted Wood 'Athol Murray's Educational Ideals,' see footnote 105, op. cit., page 14.
109. Edward S.Synan, op cit., page 100.
110. Outlined in Chapter 2 above.
111. N.D.A. P.P.A.M. "Notre Dame Publications," File Folder # 2: (Calendars and Brochures) 'Notre Dame Prospectus,1933.' (An exact date is not provided on this prospectus but the list of staff matches the names provided to the Regina Leader Post for an announcement on September 28, 1933.)
112. N.D.A. P.P.A.M. "The Mary Weeks Research on Notre Dame, 1936." File Folder # uncoded: 'Man with a Vision,' unpublished rough draft. page 5.
113. Ibid., page 6.
114. N.D.A. P.P.A.M. "Chancery Office Correspondence re: Notre Dame,' File Folder # uncoded. This code was on an undated piece of paper which was part of a fact-finding mission of the Chancery office regarding Notre Dame in 1934.
115. N.D.A. P.P.A.M. "Notre Dame Publications," File Folder # 3, (Special Publications) 'Athol Murray, Something to Think

- About, Natural Law and Personal Rights, January 1963.'
116. Ibid.
 117. N.D.A. P.P.A.M. "Tape and Film Collection," File Folder # uncoded, 'CBC Telescope, 1971.'
 118. N.D.A. P.P.A.M. "Chancery Office..." op. cit., 'Murray to Archbishop Mcguigan, January 3, 1933.'
 119. N.D.A. P.P.A.M. "Notre Dame Publications," File Folder # 1, 'The Laocoon, Vol 1, # 2.'
 120. N.D.A. P.P.A.M. "Notre Dame Publications," File Folder # 3, (Special Publications) 'Notre Dame of Saskatchewan, circa 1950.'
 121. N.D.A. P.P.A.M. "Notre Dame Publications," File Folder # 2, (Calendars and Brochures) 'Notre Dame Prospectus, 1933.'
 122. 'Notre Dame of Saskatchewan, circa 1950.' op. cit
 123. 'The Laocoon,' op. cit., editorial page.
 124. N.D.A. P.P.A.M. "Notre Dame Publications," File Folder # 2, (Special Publications), 'Legacy Indestructable, 1974.'
 125. N.D.A. P.P.A.M. 'Notre Dame Publications,' File Folder # 14 (Alumni News Report: 1976-) 'Alumni News Report, Special Edition, 1984.' This news letter reprinted a written statement by Athol Murray in 1972 called 'Compulsion to Greatness.'
 126. 'Notre Dame Prospectus, 1933 and 1941,' op cit.,
 127. Telephone Interview with Mother Edith, February 12, 1990.
 - 128 See Footnote # 114 below.
 129. 'Notre Dame Prospectus, 1933 and 1941,' op. cit.
 130. N.D.A. P.P.A.M. "Tape and Film Collection," File Folder # uncoded, 'Athol Murray Reminisces, (T.V.) circa 1967.'
 131. Mary Weeks, 'Man with a Vision,' 1936, op cit. pages 9-10.
 132. 'The Laocoon, Vol.1, # 1. 1943.' op. cit., page 17.
 133. Ibid., page 17.
 134. Ted Wood, 'Athol's Murray's Educational Ideals,' March 1983, op. cit., page 12.

135. 'Notre Dame Prospectus, 1941,' op cit.
136. Ibid.
137. 'Athol Murray Reminisces, (T.V.) circa 1967. op. cit.
138. Ibid.
139. 'Notre Dame Prospectus, 1941,' op. cit.
140. Ibid.
141. 'The Laocoon, 1943-1947.' op cit.
142. 'The Laocoon, Vol.1, # 1, 1943,' op. cit., page 6.
143. Ibid. page 6.
144. Jacques Maritain, Freedom in the Modern World, as quoted in Ted Wood, 'The Notre Dame Philosophy, March, 1981. page 9. Part of "Documents and Presentations..." op. cit.
145. 'The Laocoon, Vol. 1, # 1, 1943. op cit., page 7.
146. Telephone conversation with Mother Edith. op. cit.
147. N.D.A. P.P.A.M. "Notre Dame Publications," File folder # 3, (Special Publications), 'Notre Dame Natural Law Brochures, 1951-1955., also, Ted Wood, 'Athol Murray's Educational Ideals, March 1983,'op. cit., pages 17-19.
148. 'The Laocoon, Vol. 1, # 2, 1944,' op cit., page 24.
149. N.D.A. P.P.A.M. "Notre Dame Publications," File Folder # 3, (Special Publications), 'Human Excellence Brochure, October 15, 1954.'
150. 'Athol Murray, Something to Think About, Natural Law and Personal Rights, January, 1963,' op. cit.
151. 'CBC Telescope, 1971,' op. cit.
152. N.D.A. P.P.A.M. "Notre Dame Publications." File Folder # 3, (Special Publications), 'The Animating Force of Notre Dame, circa 1965.'
153. N.D.A. P.P.A.M. "Notre Dame Publications," File Folder # 3, (Special Publications), 'The Notre Dame Target, circa 1960.'
154. N.D.A. P.P.A.M. "Notre Dame Publications," File Folder # 3, (Special Publications) 'The Notre Dame Ideology, circa 1961.'

155. Edward S. Synan, op. cit., page 100.
156. Ibid., page 107.
158. In a Notre Dame brochure, 'University College of Notre Dame of Canada, circa 1973,' (File Folder # 3.), Father Murray quotes University of Toronto philosopher, Dr. Joseph Owens, regarding the concepts of 'existence' and 'essence.' In understanding this relationship, one may realise a rational explanation for the existence of God. The brochure stated:

Give existence its rightful primacy.

With existence given that primacy, essence (technology) is seen as the determining and limiting factor of any finite existent of its existential act.

Notre Dame's approach is well phrased by Dr. Joseph Owens of Toronto University. In a recent address in New York he put it bluntly: " Without existence, natures or essences would be nothing, actually nothing. Nothing would be there upon which anything could follow. Existence, though not a part of these natures or essences, is accordingly accidental to them in a way that is prior not subsequent. This means that its dependence as an accidental characteristic is upon something other than the nature or essence it is actuating."

It means that the existence is from something else, and ultimately, from something in which existence is in no way accidental.

158. Jack Gorman, op. cit., page 148.
159. Edward S. Synan, op. cit., page 97.
160. Ibid., pages 113-114.
161. Ted Wood, ' Athol Murray's Educational Ideals,' March, 1983. op. cit., pages 5-6. Mr. Wood also prepared a paper titled; 'Athol Murray, A Study in the Virtue of Magnificentia,' February, 1982.
162. 'CBC Telescope,' 1971, op. cit. This is a reference to the biographical work of Saint Augustine, The Confessions of Saint Augustine. However, no one has been able to locate the exact quotation in the text. Reverend Edward Synan of the Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies at the University of Toronto suggests Augustine may not have said it. Father Synan wrote:
The reason I do not think Augustine said what the Murray text ascribes to him is that he was long in controversy

over human merit and doing what we can as against the free gift of God, i.e. grace. In any case, I have read the Confessions from start to finish without finding anything that resembles it...

N.D.A. P.P.A.M. 'Edward A Synan to Terry Morely (sic O'Malley) Esq.' File Folder # uncoded; August 10, 1988.

163. 'The Laocoon, Vol. 1, # 3.' op. cit., page 6.

EPILOGUE

Father Murray wanted his programme to continue after him. Serious attention to this matter of succession began with the Act of Incorporation of 1949 which named a Board with a simple majority of Catholic laity that was at 'arms length' from ecclesiastical authority. The University of Ottawa's Visitor's Report of 1952 questioned succession also and it was " given full assurance that Notre Dame was an institution destined to continue even when its present dynamic leader has disappeared because at Notre Dame an undying spirit has been created and transmitted to his former students who are ready to take up the flaming torch..."¹. Later, in 1968, a college promotion titled 'What Backs Notre Dame's Continuity' stated:

The first prerequisite of a university is a talented faculty. This is especially true of a college dedicated to the humanities. Men of vision and intelligence are essential to the task of developing man. For those who still view Notre Dame as founded on the faith of Athol Murray and nourished by his dynamism, this makes viability a question-mark, a contradiction of the one man show without the man.

The issue is one of evidence.... 2.

The brochure went on to demonstrate how the administration and faculty had improved dramatically and that the " human element which Athol Murray represents is being recast in more diverse form." Some were so optimistic that proposals were suggested by 1971 to have Notre Dame strictly an Arts college.³ In 1973, there was a movement among Alumni and friends of Notre Dame to encourage Father Murray to turn authority of the school to a 'body incorporate' newly appointed by Father Murray since he was "the

sole surviving member of the original Board of 1949." 4.

The preparation for succession during the latter stages of Athol Murray's life was therefore a focus at the college and behind the scenes with its Alumni.

However, the University of Ottawa began to judge Notre Dame more strictly after it had reorganized to become a provincially supported institution. It suggested in 1971 that Notre Dame seek future options.⁵ Then in 1975, the parent school turned down Notre Dame's application for renewal of affiliation and this documentation was signed on December 10, five days before Athol Murray's death. What Ottawa had often overlooked in earlier years had become decisive issues by 1975, Notre Dame's improvements to staff and physical plant notwithstanding. A summary of the document denying future affiliation stated:

The committee found an enrollment of only thirty-one students, some of them only part-time (this part-time concession was granted to Notre Dame in 1971). Of ten students in first year, three had been admitted with less than a 65% average in Grade xii and so would not have been accepted at Saskatoon or Regina. Besides feeling that the number and quality of the students did not justify a three year university programme, the committee also found the complement of five full-time faculty members too few to provide such a programme, and thought only one of the five fully qualified. The library also came in for heavy criticism.⁵

This was a great blow for the Arts programme at Notre Dame. Five days later Athol Murray was dead. The Arts at Notre Dame did not recover. The new Board responsible for the college appointed a chairman in Mr. Fred Hill and a president in Mr. Martin Kenney. An affiliation was accepted with the University of Regina on the basis

of one full college year and certain extension courses. But the programme had lost its vigour without a full degree granting programme and a "drift set in" along with a deficit of over \$351,993 over five years. In 1981, there was a temporary suspension of the Arts program in order to survey new proposals. A number of efforts were attempted to enliven the Arts or initiate another kind of post-secondary 'quest' but since 1986, the college has cancelled all post-secondary activity.⁶

This thesis intended to look behind the Athol Murray legend and, by centring its research upon the Faculty of Arts programme at Notre Dame, better understand this famous western Canadian educator. Father Murray's early formation and career provided many fateful turns ("this is where the hand of God comes in," said Murray) which brought Athol Murray to Wilcox. No turn is more poignant than the premature death of his mother when he was four. This set the young Murray upon an educational Odyssey which in fact did not cease. The classical 'liberal arts' training he received in Quebec within the context of the neo-scholastic philosophical movement of the late nineteenth century, he gave to his own charges. The love of British tradition shared with his own family, he espoused as the cornerstone for leadership formation and good government. His gift of faith in God was nurtured in a family atmosphere of tolerance; he lived with commitment to his priesthood and encouraged all that heard him that this faith was the 'quid pro quo' before all else. His love of drama whether met in classes, sport, or politics provided invigorating touches for all who shared

his life. And moreover, it was Father Murray's larger than life enthusiasm, so unrestrained and even embarrassing at times, that was the catalyst which sent the parish priest westward. This same enthusiasm carried his Faculty of Arts programme down through the many tough years until his death in 1975.

Athol Murray thoroughly understood the background to the training required for his students. He wanted for his students the necessary studies nurtured through the epochs of Western civilization and synthesized within the teaching of his church. He provided for a degree in the liberal arts but he likewise sought the preparation of the 'Catholic mind' with its search of enduring truths and values by which to live. This educational vision which sought a philosophy and principles which were perennially valid was the vision of the neo-scholastic movement of the late nineteenth century. He initiated this training within a 'non sectarian,' 'mixed-school' setting under Roman Catholic auspices. What Father Murray called "openmindedness," his church allowed in 1969 as "reflection upon human knowledge in the light of faith and reason..." Father Murray wrote little regarding this training but instead animated its values.

The rector of Notre Dame college was not a manager of the details required to run a college. But he did know how to avert a crisis that 'seat of the pants' management often creates. The correspondence with the University of Ottawa provided a clear picture of his method of averting a pending crisis by begging favours and using persuasive language. He encouraged a vision of

loftier ends and the 'duty incumbent' to provide education for western Canadian youth a more important goal than the problem of details at hand. In his last year however, he was unable to muster a defence for his programme. Documentation is unavailable but it appears that his influence with the secular University of Ottawa, which had been reorganized in 1964, had lost its edge by 1975. With the dulling of this support at Ottawa, there ended an educational experiment which was one of a kind in western Canada.

Father Murray relished the accomplishments of his graduates,⁷ but he savoured most the ideals by which he stood. The fact of the 'reality of God' filled his last years and many of his last brochures pointed towards "the rational proof of the existence of God." As the emphasis of his own church shifted from philosophy to Scripture in the formation of Catholic youth, Father Murray continued his campaign for metaphysics even during a testimonial dinner shortly before his death. (8)

Father Murray dreamt big but he also provided with art and architecture the ideals contained in philosophical and Christian history. He hung portraits also of those in the two thousand years of Christian civilization who have consistently reasserted those ideals. Over his lifetime he recognized as the Greeks had before him, the symbolic value of art in expressing high ideals. In 1933 he had encouraged Prime Minister R.B. Bennett to resurrect the Lord Grey idea "for the Plains of Abraham a colossal statue of the Angel of Peace "in order to" emphatically assert the idealism of the British Commonwealth... or Canada will

have no background mutually of the things that must keep us British."9. In 1974, Father Murray urged Mayor Drapeau of Montreal to build a giant statue of the Blessed Virgin Mary before the Montreal Olympics of 1976 as a "sign to the whole world of the reaffirmation of the traditional faith of the French Canadiens."10 The project failed. Undaunted, Father Murray strove to have built in Jerusalem a Tower of Abraham who was the common root of both Arab and Jew, in order to assist the end of "a bitter religious conflict." (11). This project included audiences with Pope Paul VI, King Faisal of Saudia Arabia and a tour of Jerusalem. Father Murray's hope was unfulfilled. But whereas he was unable to persuade others, he did convince his friends to assist in representing in art " the inescapable tradition of the West" at Notre Dame.

Following the death of Athol Murray and in the new circumstances of the Arts affiliation with the University of Regina, it was felt by the Board that there was not "a clear vision of the direction in which the college should move. Everyone wanted to carry on Pere's work, but there were many different understandings of what was basic in that work." (12). A f t e r dissolving the Arts programme, a great effort has taken place to establish the high school on sound administrative and financial footings. This in the past had been primarily the duty of the Sisters of Saint Louis and Father Murray had always counted upon their influence at the high school level. But religious vocations to teaching were declining and after 1967 many of the alumni

recruits were given responsibility for administration of the high school.

The school has been enhanced in many ways. Although 'brick and mortar' began to shape Notre Dame by 1958, the 'physical plant' of the school required further attention. Dormitories, staff residences, school facilities have greatly improved. Mr. Barry MacKenzie was made principal of the high school in 1978. With fewer religious staff available to teach at Notre Dame, staff costs have increased but teachers are 'regularly' paid a salary close to school board remuneration. However, tuition fees have risen substantially in order to offset these improvements to salaries and 'physical plant.'

In efforts to understand what was "basic in that work" of Athol Murray, the philosophy for the school was reexamined and a new 'Act of Incorporation' passed in 1983. Its purpose and philosophy stated:

The college, founded by Father Athol Murray under the patronage of Notre Dame, Our Lady is a residential and coeducational college dedicated to the primacy of the spiritual in true Christian education, with the aims of:

(a) developing individuals with deeply rooted personal values, ready to take responsibility for their own lives and able to serve the true needs of our society in Canada and the world;

(b) maintaining a program of studies and of religious, cultural and social activities, with a special emphasis on athletics, and facilitating the experience of community life in the college through cooperation and competition in the context of the prairie village of Wilcox; and

(c) recognizing its roots in the traditions of

the Roman Catholic Church but maintaining an ecumenical outlook, encouraging all of its faculty and students to seek God, put their faith in Him and live in accordance with their belief.¹³

The Board prescribed appointees to its membership which included the Archbishop of Regina who was not a member in 1949. The Act deleted the necessity that the Board have a clear majority of Roman Catholics but required that five members must be alumni. The local superior of the Basilian Fathers is also an appointee. The late Father David Bauer was the first Basilian superior in 1984. In June of 1986 the Board adopted a revision to the 'Philosophy of Athol Murray College of Notre Dame.' It stated:

Notre Dame is a Catholic residential and coeducational College dedicated to the primacy of the spiritual in true Christian education. The programme of the College is developed according to the teachings and the moral and liturgical practice of the Roman Catholic Church. Its aim is the growth of individuals with deeply rooted personal values, ready to take responsibility for their own lives and able to serve the true needs of our society in Canada and the world. This aim is achieved through the College's programme of studies and of religious, cultural and social activities, with a special emphasis on athletics, and through the experience of community life in the College, a life involving both cooperation and competition in the context of the prairie village of Wilcox. Founded by Father Murray under the patronage of Notre Dame, Our Lady, the College is certainly Catholic in character, purpose and methods, but it has always been open to those of other faiths. Long before ecumenism became popular, Notre Dame was welcoming and encouraging not just Catholics, but all students to seek God, put their faith in Him and live in accordance with their beliefs. The College of today continues both Father Murray's Catholic commitment and his breadth of vision. (14)

The high school has had a full enrollment for the past five years and not a few successes in academic and athletic endeavours. (15)

FOOTNOTES

1. N.D.A. P.P.A.M. "Correspondence with the University of Ottawa, (1933-1975)," File Folder # uncoded, 'Visitor's Report,' 1952.
2. N.D.A. P.P.A.M. "Notre Dame Publications," File Folder #3, (Special Publications), 'The Animating Force of Notre Dame,' 1968.
3. N.D.A. P.P.A.M. " Documents and presentations, re: Future of Notre Dame, (1976 to present)," File Folder # uncoded, 'Submission to the Government of Saskatchewan, Department of Continuing Education, Regarding Developmental Grant Post Secondary Education,' January 28, 1982. pages 4-5.
4. Sworn statement of Athol Murray on the 15th of September, 1973, contained in a package of Notre Dame brochures bound by alumni Bill and Lois Mooney. The document names the new Board members of Notre Dame.
5. N.D.A. P.P.A.M. "Documents and Presentations....," op.cit., page 5.
6. Ibid., page 5.
7. N.D.A. P.P.A.M. "Correspondence with Chancery Office," File Folder # uncoded, 'Athol Murray to Archbishop O'Neill of Regina,' March 26, 1959. Appendix C of this paper outlines Father Murray's impression of the achievements of some of his graduates.
8. Jack Gorman, Pere Murray and the Hounds, Grey Publishing, 1977. page 156.
9. See footnote # 13, Chapter 3.
10. Jack Gorman, op.cit., page 148.
11. Ibid., page 148.
12. N.D.A. P.P.A.M. " Documents and..." op. cit., 'Submission to the Saskatchewan Government....,' page 5.
13. Government of Saskatchewan, 'An Act to Continue the Incorporation of Athol Murray College of Notre Dame,' Chapter 04, June 02, 1983. page 2, 4.c.04.

14. Newshound, Volume 10, # 1, 1987.
15. Academically, over eighty percent of the graduate classes of Notre Dame high school have achieved university entrance standing; culturally, the choral and drama productions have had fine reviews across the western provinces; in sport, championships for hockey have been both provincial and national and all provincial title sports are activities at the school. Football, ringette, basketball and some individual activities such as track and wrestling have had provincial championships recently.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX A - Curriculum Vitae

MURRAY, James Peter, J.P., F.R.C.I. -- Born Limerick, Ireland, Oct.17, 1852, son of William Allan Murray and Jane Anne (MacNamara) Murray. Educated: St. Michael's College, Toronto; St. Hyacinthe Seminary, Quebec. Entered fathers business. W. A. Murray and Co., 1867; founded and established Toronto Carpet Manufacturing Co., Limited, 1891; proposed the slogan "Made-in Canada", 1892; exhibited Canadian Made Carpets, Chicago World's Fair, 1893; awarded Medal for fabrication, dyeing, colours and design; retired from Carpet Co., and many other industrial and commercial activities in 1911. For years advocated by letter and magazine "the Development of the Sheep Industry in Canada"; "The Standardization and marking of Canadian Grown Wools"; "The Golden Rule between Employer and Employee"; A Word for the Apprentice [Labour in Relation to Capital]* Reorganized Canadian Manufacturers' Association, incorporated, 1900; Vice-President Canadian Manufacturers' Association, 1894; Chairman, Toronto Branch, 1903; formed Insurance Committee, 1903; Ontario Vice-President, 1910; nominated for Canadian Vice-President, 1911. Organized Toronto Employers Association, incorporated, 1902; elected Honorary Life Member 1912. A prime mover in forming Canadian Branch Society Chemical Industry; for several years on Executive. As Canadian Secretary British Weights and Measures Association successfully opposed Government advocacy for general use of Metric System in Canada. One of the first members of Imperial Federation League; Vice-President, Ontario Branch, British Empire League. One of the three organizers of the Empire League of Canada; on Executive,

Canadian Defence League; on Executive, Overseas Club; on Executive South Africian Memorial Fund. [Much devoted to athletics: a charter and hon.life member Argonaut "Boys' Association; Honorary president; Western Athletic Club.]^{*} Founded Island Aquatic Association, 1887; Honorary President, many years. For twenty years on Executive of Central Ontario School of Art and Design; organized Ont. College of Art, incorporated, 1912, which absorbed the C.O.S.A. & D.; Charter member Royal Society of Art, London, England; Associate Director Canadian National Exhibition; President, Catholic Truth Society of Canada, Incorporated. Married Marie Emilie Caron. 1878 (deceased 1881); secondly, Nano Josephine Hayes, 1883 (deceased 1896); three sons and three daughters. Clubs: Columbus; Empire; Argonaut (Elected Hon. Active Life Member, 1894); National; Royal Canadian Yacht; Fellow, Royal Colonial Institute. Conservative; Catholic. [Favours: Public franchises being owned by the public, preferential trade with the Empire, adequate protection for Canadian industry, judges being nominated by the Law Society, tariff matters being taken from Government influence, uniformity in measures and weights among Anglo-Saxons, as opposed to metric system, Christian doctrine being taught in public schools.]^{*} Residence: Toronto.

^{*} Bracketed parts are added in to Who's Who and Why account.

Sources: 1 Who's Who and Why, Ed. B. M. Green, 1921 (main source) p 1052.

2 Bracketed Sources: The Canadian Who's Who, The Times Publishing Co., Toronto, 1920.

3 Canadian Men and Womem of the Time, 1912, pp 839-840.

APPENDIX B - Curriculum Vitae

MURRAY, Rev. Athol, O.C. (1968) Hon. Ph.D., LL.D. (Alta), (R.C.);
b.Toronto, Ont. 9 Jan. 1892; s.late James Peter (son of the Founder of

Murray-Kay mercantile firm in Toronto; Founder of Toronto Carpet Mfg. Co., Roy.Ont.Coll. of Art, Empire Club; reorganizer of C.M.A. and launched the motto "Made in Canada") and Nanno (Hayes) M; e. Loyola Coll. Montreal, P.Q. St. Michael's Coll., Toronto, 1903; St. Hyacinthe (P.Q.) Coll., 1904-1911 (sic) (should be 1904-1908,) Laval Univ. 1912-1914 (sic) (should be 1908-1910.) (sic) Osgoode Hall 1912-13 (incomplete), St. Augustine's Semy. Toronto, 1914-1918; Hon.Ph.D. Ottawa Univ. 1971; PRESIDENT, COLLEGE OF NOTRE DAME OF CANADA INC., since its foundation in 1927, (sic) (should be 1933), in assoc. with L.L. Anthes and J.J. Fitzgibbons of Toronto, Stanley Brock and Rene Redmond of Montreal, Jas Gilchrist and Brock Smith of Winnipeg, W.H.A. Turgeon, A.E. Whitmore and Cyril Malone of Regina; o. 1918; mem. of Extve. of Sask. Amateur Hockey Assn. 1933-50; mem., Sask. Educ. Council, 1925-29; organ. Penetanguishene Tercentenary in Ont., 1921, with an actual Treaty of Peace between the Huron and Iroquois Nations; organ. Indian pageants for Candn. Bar Assn. convention, Lebret, Sask., 1926, and for the opening of the wild animal Sitting Bull Park at Moose Jaw, 1929; initiated erection of Candn. monuments (Champlain at Orillia, Pere Le Caron at Penetanguishene, Hugonard at Lebret, Sask, Archbishop Mathieu and Sir John Macdonald in Regina); one of those who took initiative in opposing the emergence of C.C.F. socialism in Can., 1934; served in 2nd World War, 1940-45, as O.C., Univ. Air Training Corps at Notre Dame, Wilcox, Saskatchewan; el.to Candn. Sports Hall of Fame 1972, LL.D. University of Alberta 1975; Progressive Conservative; recreations: collecting mediaeval mss. incunabula and fostering

stained glass; Address: Wilcox, Sask.

Source: The Canadian Who's Who. Vol x111, 1973-1975
Al. Tunnell. 1975.

APPENDIX C - Father Athol Murray Writes about His Graduates

Nearly all the B.A. graduates have made good. Some have been exceptional. Frank Fleming is the City Solicitor of Calgary. Merv Hardie, M.P. for Yellowknife is the only Liberal to have survived the "deluge" Olive Dickenson is Woman Editress of the Globe and Mail (she held the some job for years with the Montreal Gazette). Lloyd Lockhart is the moving spirit of the the Star Weekly. Mel Clarke is Canada's Finance representative with the U.N. and rated by many as the keenest and most efficient brain in the Treasury. Peter Dempson, Telegram, is Chairman of the H. of C. Press Gallery. Ken Kirschner is the head executive of one of the largest construction firms in Edmonton. Allan Russell, Art Green and Paul Defoe are prominent lawyers in Vancouver, Tom Walsh is another front- liner in Toronto- Solicitor for the Canadian Manufacturers Association; in Winnipeg a promising legal mind is Ted Howard, solicitor for Investors Syndicate, while in Regina, Wilf Meagher and Ed Grant are drawing no little attention. Three of our boys are practicing law in the States - Ambrose Fieber in Sacramento, Willard Vick in Washington, D.C., another in Detroit. Jack Dalsey is one of the State Executive for the State of New Jersey (he was at Wilcox four years and flew a Bomber in the War-while his brother Francis is a priest with the St. Joseph Order for the Colored). Carl Brown is one (sic) top brass in Ottawa with the Air Force-was in charge of the Air lift in Suez crisis. Gordon Pickering is chairman of the new Manitoba Hospitalization Board - while we have a flock of doctors right across Canada, latest of whom is Dr. Joseph Waselinski in Regina. Dr. Nigel Pickering was

a top-notch in Vancouver but recently moved to Seattle. There is a small army of Notre Dame men in Engineering, particularly in Oil. Among these latter is Alex Begg who operates with the Saskatchewan Government (after five years at Oklahoma U.) and also comes out to teach Geology at the College. In education we have graduated twelve through the Mediaeval Institute (Bernard Sylvester and Chris Mansbridge are there right now)-and I am told that Norm Brown (brother of Carl), Ken Wallace, Richard Wood, Leo Mulhall and Carl Lennie are regarded in Alberta as among the foremost educationalists. In Saskatchewan, Don McCullough is principal of St. Paul's in Saskatoon, Bernard Garrity head of the Sacred Heart in Regina. Then there are the Dornstauders and a host of others - including Germann, Macdonald, Carr, Dan Ogle right here at Notre Dame. There are a great number of our Grads in Social Service, while Joel Rochon is the Personnel head for 7000 men at Ford's in Oakville and Pat Flanagan holds down a similar position with Weston's Electric in Hamilton. Apart from all of this of course comes the men who entered religious life and the girls who became nuns. They too are scattered across the continent - Leo Hagel with the Benedictines of New Westminster, Frank Nugent up at Anchorage, Francis Dalsey down in the States, Norm Chartrand, Leonard Albers, Francis Charette, Lionel L'Heureux, Peter d'Aoust of Regina. There are others but they slip my mind at the moment; but there is Mother Louise, M.A. now superior in Wilcox (a Metz girl), Mother Cecil, M.A., with the Sisters of the Missions, then there is Sister Florence in Radville and Sister Augustine in Calgary and quite a few others.

That gives something of a picture, It relates to the more outstanding individuals - and leaves out the sixty-seven men who deserve mention - they died in the War. Nor have I mentioned the men in the N.H.L. who came from Notre Dame - like Nick and Don Metz, Don Deacon, Garth Boesch, Vince Germann, Elmer Kreller, Gus and Bill Kyle, Jack McLeod, Les Lilly, etcetra, etcetra...

I hope I haven't (sic) bored you with this long recital.

N.D.A. P.P.A.M. "Correspondence with Chancery Office," File Folder # uncoded, 'Murray to Archbishop O'Neill, March 26, 1959.

APPENDIX D - ARCHITECTS OF NOTRE DAME

Bronze plaque by Athol Murray (circa 1960) for foyer of Varsity Hall naming the people who assisted Father Murray in building Notre Dame Arts Programme.

ARCHITECTS OF NOTRE DAME

LE GRAND MONSEIGNEUR MATHIEU

ARCHIBISHOP MICHAEL C. O'NEILL, O.B.E. M.C.

LORD R.B.BENNETT

SIR GEORGE GARNEAU, QUEBEC

SIR JOHN UHRICH

SIR JOHN FITZGIBBONS

LAWRENCE LEE ANTHES, TORONTO

STANLEY BROCK, MONTREAL

BRIGADIER E.A.McCUSKER

BEATTIE RAMSAY

BRIGADIER A.F.LORENZEN, CHICAGO

JAMES GILCHRIST, WINNIPEG

A.E.WHITMORE

HON. W.F.A.TURGEON

CYRIL MALONE

E.C.LESLIE

JACK McDOWELL, M.L.A.WINNIPEG

KENNETH MAYHEW, YORKTON

REX BEACH

JOHN ANGUS McDOUGALD

ATHOL MURRAY

LUCTOR ET EMERGO

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