

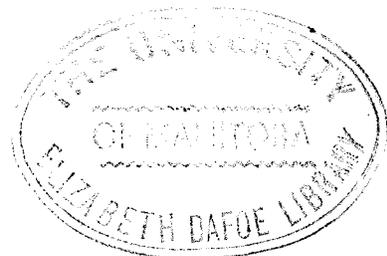
A HISTORY OF ST. JOHN'S COLLEGE, WINNIPEG

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PREFACE

I wish to thank the Warden, Dr. C. C. Landon and the staff of St. John's College who gave me access to the College files, minute books, and library material. I have also relied heavily on the resources of the University of Manitoba Library, the Manitoba Provincial Library, and the Public Archives of Manitoba. A special debt of gratitude is owed to Professor W. L. Morton, whose kind advice and words of encouragement have assisted me greatly in the writing of this thesis.

ABSTRACT

The purpose of this thesis is to present a thorough discussion of the origins of St. John's College, and a narrative of its subsequent one hundred years of development, dating from its establishment by Bishop Robert Machray in 1866. The approach is generally chronological. Following a discussion of the College's origins as the outgrowth of mission schools, the Red River Academy, and Bishop Anderson's St. John's College, the emphasis of the narrative gradually shifts towards the relationship between the College and the University of Manitoba. Financial difficulties experienced over the years are pointed out and an attempt is made throughout to trace the changes in the teaching staff and in the scope of the curriculum.

ABBREVIATIONS

- A.C.M.S.....Archives of the Church Missionary Society
C.M.S.....Church Missionary Society
P.A.M.....Public Archives of Manitoba
S.J.C.....St. John's College
S.J.C.F.....St. John's College Files
S.P.C.K.....Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge
S.P.G.....Society for Propagation of the Gospel

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INTRODUCTION

Bishop Robert Machray opened St. John's College on November 1, 1866. During the preceding half century of educational work in the Northwest, the Church of England, through its missionaries, had provided schools for the Protestant population, native and European, whether Presbyterian or Anglican. The Reverend John West's school at Red River in 1820 was the first of several parish schools conducted by the Church of England until the Province of Manitoba established public schools after its creation in 1870. To the parish schools were added the only provisions for Protestant secondary education, the privately owned Red River Academy of the Reverend David Jones and John Macallum which commenced in 1833, and its successor, the forerunner of Bishop Machray's College, Bishop David Anderson's St. John's College, operated by the Church of England from 1849 to 1859.

By providing schools, the churches, on their arrival, performed an indispensable service to the European population of the Red River colony. Attempts by the Hudson's Bay Company after 1812 to establish schools with lay teachers, for the children of the employees and of the Selkirk settlers, had failed. The teachers, if not lured from their positions by the lucrative fur trade, were unwilling to withstand the

terrors of famine and company rivalry. The first school in the Red River settlement, that of John Matheson, a young Scottish Presbyterian, opened on January 16, 1815, but closed on June 15 when he permanently vacated the area after company warfare forced a temporary dispersal of settlers.¹ Isolation of the community made the establishment of schools imperative, none the less. While the sons of northern post officials were frequently sent to England to receive their education, the remoteness of Lord Selkirk's settlement and the poverty of its inhabitants made such a practice there prohibitive. Schools in Upper Canada were also beyond reach. The Company's failure to establish schools on a permanent basis left an education vacuum which was filled only after the clergy's arrival at the settlement. The Company and the settlers thrust on the Church the responsibility of education - a responsibility which it retained in later pioneer settlements of the Northwest.

Although unsuccessful in satisfying the settlers' demand for a Presbyterian minister and teacher, Lord Selkirk, on his visit to the colony in July, 1817, set aside two Red River lots north of Fort Douglas, one for a Protestant church and graveyard, the other for a school. The lots,

¹C. J. Jaenen, "Foundations of Dual Education at Red River 1811-1834," Transactions of the Historical and Scientific Society of Manitoba, Series III, Number 21 (1964-1965), 39.

divided by Parsonnage Creek, each had a frontage of ten chains, or two hundred and twenty yards, and a depth of ninety chains, or 1980 yards.² Today the river frontage of these lots is occupied by St. John's Cathedral and St. John's Park.

The first clergymen to reach the Red River settlement were French Roman Catholics sent by Bishop Plessis from Lower Canada - Fathers J. N. Provencher, S.J.N. Dumoulin, and G. E. Edge - who arrived together in 1818. Under Father Provencher's direction a school was set up in St. Boniface, across the river from Selkirk's settlement, primarily to serve the French speaking population, both White and Metis. This school, the original St. Boniface College, began operation in the winter of 1818. Fathers Dumoulin and Edge established a similar school at Pembina. Under the guidance of J. N. Provencher, who served as Bishop from 1822 to 1853, Roman Catholic Schools developed in French and Metis communities along the Red and Assiniboine rivers.

Anglican interest in extending missions to Hudson's Bay Company territory was sparked by the Evangelical movement, which was strong within the Church of England at the beginning of the nineteenth century. Two Church societies which were supported by the Evangelicals - the Society for Promoting

² Alexander Ross, The Red River Settlement: Its Rise, Progress and Present State with Some Account of the Native Races, and Its General History to the Present Day (London, 1856), p. 43.

Christian Knowledge, formed in 1698, and the Society for Propagating the Gospel in Foreign Parts, formed in 1701 - were supplemented in 1799 by the founding of the Church Missionary Society. The first Anglican clergyman to serve in the interior of the Northwest, the Reverend John West, was an adherent to the Evangelical movement and a keen supporter of the work of the Church Missionary Society in overseas missions.

Born in 1778, and educated at St. Edmund's Hall, Oxford, Rev. West had fifteen years' experience in English curacies before his arrival in the Red River Colony as Chaplain of the Hudson's Bay Company on October 4, 1820. On November 1, he opened a school for the children of the Red River settlement. Mr. George Harbidge, who accompanied him from England, filled the position of schoolmaster. In his Journal Rev. West recorded:

I got a log house repaired about three miles below the fort [Fort Douglas] among the Scotch population, where the schoolmaster took up his abode and began teaching from twenty to twenty-five children.³

These quarters did not long prove satisfactory, however, and Mr. Harbidge moved his classes temporarily to the new Hudson's Bay Headquarters, Upper Fort Garry, in 1821.

³ John West, The Substance of a Journal during a Residence at The Red River Colony, British North America: and frequent excursions among the North-West American Indians in the years 1820, 1821, 1822, 1823 (London, 1824), p. 22.

The establishment of Indian missions always remained John West's primary concern. While Mr. Harbidge conducted classes for Selkirk's settlers, Rev. West spent most of his time visiting the Indians along the Red and Assiniboine rivers and the rivers from Lake Winnipeg to Hudson Bay. In his Journal he wrote of the "great difficulty in conveying to their minds any just and true ideas of the Saviour".

Undiscouraged, he added:

This difficulty produced in me a strong desire to extend the blessing of education to them, and from this period it became a leading object with me to erect in a central situation a substantial building which would contain apartments for Indian children, be a day school for the children of the settlers and enable us to establish a Sunday School for the half cast adult population.⁴

He envisaged that a mission school in the Red River settlement would become the centre of all Anglican Missionary activity in the Northwest. As a first step, he brought Indian children, who had been entrusted to his care by their parents, to the settlement and undertook to build suitable quarters for them, with a view of training them as native catechists who would eventually spread the gospel among their own brethren.

Building a permanent mission centre was no easy task. Presbyterian settlers who resented Rev. West's reading aloud from the Anglican prayer book at church services, and

⁴Ibid., pp. 26, 27.

Hudson's Bay Company traders and officials who did not share his concern for Indian education, were often either indifferent or hostile to his plans. Unperturbed, he continued his efforts to establish the centre. In 1821, he wrote, "Every additional child I obtained for this purpose, together with the great inconvenience of having no place appropriated for public worship, gave a fresh stimulus to the exertion of erecting the proposed building".⁵ Difficulties eased somewhat when the Church Missionary Society accepted his invitation to place the Chaplaincy of Red River under its jurisdiction. With financial assistance from the Society, the new building known as the Church Mission House, serving as both a church and school, was completed in 1822. In the same year, it was supplemented by two smaller structures which raised the maximum Indian accommodation to fifteen girls and fifteen boys.⁶ Occupying part of the land which Lord Selkirk had set aside for the Church, namely the southeast corner of the present St. John's Cathedral Cemetery, the school served as the only Protestant centre of education in the Northwest. Indian children, supported financially by the Church Missionary Society, and other children, admitted to classes after paying a small tuition fee, attended the school. Mr. Harbidge and his wife, the former Anne Bowden,

⁵Ibid., p. 59.

⁶Ibid., p. 150.

provided instruction in reading, writing, religion, and agriculture.⁷

Before his final departure from the Red River settlement to rejoin his family in England in 1823, John West had sown the seed for Anglican involvement in the Northwest. He had established the beginnings of a training centre for native missionaries which Bishop Anderson and Bishop Machray were later to develop as an essential function of St. John's College. Four of the Indian children whom he had enrolled in the Mission School later became missionaries or teachers of their Indian brethren. James Hope, one of Chief Withewacapo's sons, whom Rev. West had brought from York Factory to the Red River settlement in 1820, was a teacher and catechist in the Red Deer Lake area during the 1840's. Another former pupil, Charles Pratt, filled a similar role in the vicinity of Fort Qu'Appelle. Two other former pupils of John West's mission school, Henry Budd and James Settee, after several years of missionary work among their own people, became the first native clergymen in the Northwest when they were ordained by Bishop David Anderson, the first Bishop of Rupert's Land.

Rev. West's successor, the Reverend David Jones, during his years at Red River from 1823 to 1838, continued to extend the influence of the Red River Mission School far

⁷Ibid., pp. 150, 151.

afield by educating Indians from remote areas. A most notable example was the attendance, commencing in 1825, of two Indian boys, christened Kootamey Pelly and Spogan Garry, who were sons of a chief who lived on the banks of the distant Columbia River.⁸ Kootamey Pelly died in 1830, but his brother remained at the Mission School until 1832, when he returned to his people. Four years later, Rev. Jones received a report from Fort Vancouver that Spogan Garry was instructing his tribe in Christianity.⁹

A significant development during David Jones's fifteen years at Red River was the extension of the work of the Church of England by the establishment of additional parishes and churches. In 1824, he started the parish church at Image Plain, later to be known as Middle Church or St. Pauls. In 1833, on the site of the present St. John's Cathedral, he built a new stone church which became known as the Upper Church. The Reverend William Cockran, whom the Church Missionary Society had sent to Red River in 1825 to assist Rev. Jones, began to organize a parish at Grand Rapids in 1827 and completed the erection of a church there in 1831, called Lower Church. This building was the forerunner of the present stone church of St. Andrews, constructed in 1849.

A parish school system developed as elementary schools

⁸Sara Tucker, Rainbow in the North (London, 1856), p. 70.

⁹Ibid., p. 72.

appeared in each parish of the Church. The schools and churches received greater support from the Company and inhabitants than John West's establishment had received. One reason for the increased support was the increase in the Anglican population during the 1820's, when many Hudson's Bay traders and officials of the Anglican faith retired from their positions and built homes along the Red River. Another important factor was the popularity of Rev. Jones with the Presbyterians. Unlike Rev. West, he was willing to modify the church services to accommodate their wishes.¹⁰ The parish school at the Mission House at Red River gained wider acceptance when Mr. Harbidge, considered incompetent by Company officials,¹¹ was recalled to England in 1825. The school expanded under his successors, William Garrioch (1825-1830) and William R. Smith (1830-1835). In 1827, Rev. Jones reported to the Church Missionary Society that about twenty-eight day scholars of Scottish or half-breed origin attended the school.¹² In 1835, the Mission School was moved to the Indian settlement north of the Lower Church. Forty-nine pupils remained at the Upper Church in the day school under Peter Garrioch.¹³

¹⁰Ross, The Red River Settlement, p. 131.

¹¹E. H. Oliver, Ed., The Canadian North-West, Its Early Development and Legislative Records (Ottawa, 1914), Vol. 1, George Simpson to A. Colville, May 31, 1824, p. 259.

¹²A.C.M.S., Mission Book, Incoming Letters, David Jones to Secretaries, July 1827.

¹³A.C.M.S., Mission Book, Incoming Letters, David Jones and William Cockran, "Report on the State of Religion, Morality and Education at the Red River Settlement and Grand Rapids," June 5, 1835.

Parish and mission churches and schools continued to develop in the 1840's, with the assistance of Church Missionary Society funds, as more clergy arrived. The Reverend John Smithurst, from his arrival in 1839 until his departure in 1851, devoted all his efforts to the church and school at the Indian settlement north of the Lower Church. The Reverend William Cockran carried on at the Lower Church until 1846, when he was replaced by the Reverend Robert James. Further north, the young English deacon, Abraham Cowley, established a mission and school at Partridge Crop (Fairford) in 1842. Two years later, the Reverend James Hunter and his assistant, the Indian Catechist, Henry Budd, conducted a mission at The Pas.

The visit of Bishop George Jehoshaphat Mountain of Montreal to the Northwest in 1844 brought a symbol of unity and authority to the work of the Church and stimulated further development and expansion. During less than three weeks' stay in Red River, the Bishop confirmed eight hundred and forty-six people.¹⁴ Also, he ordained two clergymen, Abraham Cowley to the priesthood, and the headmaster of Red River Academy, John Macallum, first to the diaconate, and then to the priesthood. After Bishop Mountain's departure, there was a growing demand for the creation of a Northwestern diocese with a resident bishop to direct its missionary and

¹⁴Armine W. Mountain, A Memoire of George Jehoshaphat Mountain, D.D., D.C.L. (London, 1866), p. 245.

educational efforts, and conduct confirmations and ordinations. This demand was satisfied in 1849 by the formation of the Diocese of Rupert's Land and the arrival of its first Bishop, David Anderson.

A deepening involvement in education characterized the work of the Church of England in the Northwest during the twenty-nine years preceding the formation of the Diocese of Rupert's Land. Until the opening of a Presbyterian school in 1849, all responsibility for Protestant primary education lay in the hands of the Anglican Church. While performing its important service to the community in its parish schools, the Church, with the aid of scholarships from the Church Missionary Society, continued the training of Indian catechists and teachers begun by John West. However, as long as all secondary education available to the Protestant population remained under private control, there was little opportunity for the Church to develop a fully trained native clergy. This deficiency was removed in 1849 when Bishop Anderson established St. John's College. During its decade of operation, Bishop Anderson's College provided, under Church auspices, both secondary education and instruction in advanced theology. This dual function remained when Bishop Machray revived the College in 1866.

CHAPTER I

THE RED RIVER ACADEMY AND BISHOP ANDERSON'S COLLEGE

The forerunners of Bishop Machray's College were the privately owned boarding school, the Red River Academy, and its successor, the College begun by Bishop Anderson in 1849. The Red River Academy was founded at the Upper Church by the Reverend David Jones in 1833. Shortly thereafter, when a private school operated at Frog Plain by the retired Hudson's Bay Company employee, John Pritchard, merged with it,¹ the Academy became the only source of secondary education available to the Protestant population in the Northwest.

Since his arrival in Red River in 1823, Rev. Jones had planned to set up an academy which would be a boarding school for sons of Hudson's Bay officials and traders. In 1832, his proposal in a letter to Governor George Simpson to set up such a school, "for the moral improvement, religious instruction and general education of boys; the sons of gentlemen belonging to the fur trade",² had received the Governor's complete approval. The school which was proposed by Rev. Jones in his letter, was to be self-supporting, "an undertaking perfectly apart from the views and interference of the Church Missionary Society". The pupils were to be

¹W. L. Morton, Manitoba, A History (Toronto, 1957), p. 72.
²A.C.M.S., Mission Book, Incoming Letters 1822-1833, David Jones to George Simpson, May 8, 1932.

"habited uniformly as in all public schools". Fees, including the costs of tuition, clothing and board and room, totalled £30, plus an entrance fee of £5. In view of unfavourable influences which he felt were present in the Red River community, Rev. Jones insisted that the pupils be isolated, "entirely apart from the natives of the country . . . with no opportunity of speaking other than the English Language and . . . such children as may have relatives at the settlement may have but a very limited intercourse with them."³ At Governor Simpson's urging, Rev. Jones expanded his plans to provide accommodation for girls. In a letter to him in 1832, Governor Simpson listed as prospective pupils seventeen boys and sixteen girls, all children of Hudson's Bay Company employees stationed at Red River or at remote Northwestern posts.⁴

With his private funds, in 1833 Rev. Jones erected the Red River Academy, a two storey wooden structure consisting of two wings joined by a covered walkway, a little south of the Upper Church. He filled the position of headmaster himself. His wife supervised the girls' school until her sudden death in 1836. Expenses were covered by tuition fees and an annual grant of £100 instituted in 1835 by the Council of the Northern Department of Rupert's Land.⁵

³Ibid.

⁴A.C.M.S., Mission Book, Incoming Letters 1822-1833, George Simpson to David T. Jones, July 14, 1832.

⁵Oliver, The Canadian North-West, Vol. 2, "Minutes of the Northern Department of Rupert's Land," Red River, June 3, 1835, pp. 721, 722.

Rev. Jones obtained the services of a classical tutor for the Academy, John Macallum, in 1833. A Scotsman, native of Fortrose in the County of Ross, who had graduated with a Masters of Arts degree from King's College, Aberdeen, on April 2, 1832,⁶ Mr. Macallum provided competent instruction at the Academy from his arrival in 1833 until his death sixteen years later. From 1836 he sat on the Council of Assiniboia. For a time, he also served as coroner of the settlement. In 1844, after Bishop Mountain had ordained him to the ministry, John Macallum added the curacy of the Upper Church to his other duties.

All efforts to find a lady teacher of equally high calibre to instruct the girls were unsuccessful. Few of the ladies appointed lasted at the Academy more than a year. The first lady, a Mrs. Lowman, left in the middle of the school year to marry the Chief Factor. Her successors often had similarly short careers. Those who did not find a husband during their first year in the settlement usually returned to England.⁷ The education of the girls doubtless suffered from the resulting confusion and from incompetent instruction.

Surviving records of the studies pursued at Red River Academy are sparse, but the general pattern of courses is

⁶ T.C.B. Boon, The Anglican Church From the Bay to the Rockies: A History of the Ecclesiastical Province of Rupert's Land and its Dioceses From 1820 to 1950 (Toronto, 1962), p. 29.

⁷ Ibid.

evident. In a report to the Church Missionary Society in 1835, Rev. Jones and Rev. Cockran included the following summary of the courses offered to the twenty-five girls and thirty boys then in attendance:

The course of instruction for the young ladies' school embraces reading, writing, arithmetic, geography, the use of globes, history and catechical information. In the young gentlemen's school progress is made in reading, writing, arithmetic, bookkeeping, algebra, mathematics, Latin, Greek, etc. The younger ones read Delectus and study grammar, history, etc. while the newcomers are in the New Testament and Catechisms of various sorts.⁸

Clearly, a wide range of subjects was taught. The girls' courses were rather general in character, but the boys, instructed by Mr. Macallum, himself a product of classical schools, followed a programme heavily weighted in the classics. The traditional emphasis on classical education at St. John's grew from this period.

Rev. Jones, finding his duties and responsibilities as chaplain, parish priest, and headmaster of the Academy too much to bear, after his wife's death in 1836, severed all his ties in the colony and returned to England. The Hudson's Bay Company expressed continued support for the Academy. On June 27, 1837, the Minutes of the Council of the Northern Department of Rupert's Land recorded the Company's offer to purchase the Academy buildings from

⁸ A.C.M.S., Incoming Letters 1834-1837, David Jones and William Cockran, "Report on the State of Religion, Morality, and Education at the Red River Settlement and Grand Rapids," June 5, 1835.

Rev. Jones at a maximum sum of £500 and to lease them to Mr. Macallum at the rate of ten percent per annum if he would agree to a five year lease, "it being highly desirable that that institution should not be broken up".⁹ The deal was concluded, and John Macallum became headmaster of the Academy.

The Academy continued almost unchanged under Mr. Macallum's direction. The Bishop of Montreal reported, after his visit to Red River in 1844, that Macallum's Academy was superior to schools found in most remote settlements.¹⁰ The generally high quality of instruction at the Academy is suggested by the subsequent careers of some of its students. Many former pupils were successful in obtaining advancement in the Hudson's Bay Company's Service. Chief Factors William and Henry Hardisty and the Inspecting Factor Wm. McMurray are notable examples. Some attained prominence in government. John Norquay, who became Premier of Manitoba in 1878, was another of Macallum's students. The most striking success in the academic sphere was achieved by Alexander Kennedy Isbister, the half-breed son of a Hudson's Bay Company officer, who received an M. A. degree from Edinburgh in 1858. Subsequently, while serving as Head Master of the

⁹Oliver, The Canadian North-West, "Minutes of the Council of the Northern Department of Rupert's Land," Norway House, June 27, 1837.

¹⁰A.C.M.S., Mission Book, Incoming Letters, Bishop Mountain to the Secretaries, December, 1844.

Stationer's School in London and Dean of the College of Preceptors, Mr. Isbister wrote several text books and edited an English educational journal. After his death in 1883, much of his fortune was used to institute the Isbister Scholarships in Manitoba.

Despite the Academy's successes, a general decline in enrolment was evident in the 1840's. Bishop Mountain, during his visit at Red River, saw that the Academy had "fallen off in numbers, probably because of the excessive demand for education in the early days in the class of person for whom it was designated".¹¹ Alexander Ross pointed out in his book, The Red River Settlement, that the Academy made no appeal to the local Presbyterian Scots, for "they were of too low birth and fortune, as that seminary was exclusively for the children of the Governor, Deputy-Governors and Chief Factors, the great nabobs of the fur trade".¹² Other reasons for decline are also evident. The strict disciplinary rule of the school was well known in the settlement. Although Mr. Macallum probably felt that such strictness was necessary to impose a classical education on children of the frontier, some parents found it over-harsh and removed their children from the Academy.¹³ The problem of finding a suitable lady teacher remained unsolved.

¹¹Ibid.

¹²Ross, The Red River Settlement, p. 132.

¹³Margaret Arnett MacLeod, Ed., The Letters of Letitia Hargrave (Toronto, 1947), Letitia Hargrave to Mrs. Dougald McTavish, September 1, 1845, p. 200.

An open conflict between Mr. Macallum and his lady teacher in 1845 did not help the reputation of the Academy.¹⁴ John Macallum's increased duties at the Upper Church, after his ordination in 1844, may have made his running of the Academy more difficult. This was at least partly offset, however, by the work of his assistant at the Academy, a Mr. Lumsden. Conditions improved slightly in the late 1840's. A Red River historian, J. S. Hargrave, estimated the enrolment shortly before Mr. Macallum's death in 1849 to be more than fifty paying pupils.¹⁵ John Macallum died on October 3, 1849, the same day that David Anderson arrived in Red River as the first Bishop of Rupert's Land.

The Diocese of Rupert's Land, comprising all the land whose waterways drain into the Hudson Bay or the Arctic Ocean, was set up by Royal Letters Patent under the Great Seal, on May 21, 1849. Its formation was facilitated by a large grant from the estate of James Leith, a chief factor of the Hudson's Bay Company, who, in 1838, bequeathed £12,000 to be spent on the Indian missions of Rupert's Land. After his will had been disputed for more than ten years, the English Courts ruled that the money be used to set up an endowment fund for the Bishopric of Rupert's Land. The Hudson's Bay Company, in turn, promised to add to the interest

¹⁴Ibid.

¹⁵J. J. Hargrave, Red River (Montreal, 1871), p. 114.

from the endowment the sum of £300 annually. The resulting annual income for the Bishopric was £700.¹⁶

On May 29, 1849, David Anderson was consecrated Bishop of the Diocese at the age of thirty-five years. He had received a good classical education at Edinburgh Academy, and subsequently he had taken a B. A. degree at Exeter College, Oxford, in 1836, the year before his ordination to the diaconate. Following his ordination to the priesthood in 1838, he served as curate at St. Andrews Church, Liverpool, and St. George's Church, Everton until 1841. During the next six years he gained experience in the field of education by serving as Vice-Principal of St. Bees College, Cumberland. In 1848, the year before his consecration, he was made perpetual curate in All Saints, Derby.

The Church Missionary Society saw in Bishop Anderson an effective means of implementing its programmes. The Society was especially anxious that the Bishop direct the training of native catechists, and ultimately a native clergy, to work with the Indians. On May 25, twelve days before Bishop Anderson left England, the Committee of Correspondence of the Society resolved:

1. That adverting to the shortness of time which intervened before the departure of the Bishop to Rupert's Land it is expedient to make an immediate grant out of our Jubilee Fund to the North West

¹⁶Ibid., pp. 110, 111.

American Mission, and that the sum of £500 be apportioned out of that fund for the establishment of a Church Missionary Seminary in Rupert's Land for the education and training of native teachers under regulations to be agreed upon between the Committee and the Bishop

2. That the Committee will be prepared to appoint one of the additional ten missionaries to be sent out in connection with the Jubilee Fund to act as tutor of the proposed institution, if a suitable person for that office can be selected

3. That a limited number of native catechists or other pupils be maintained at the proposed institution at the expense of the Society, with a view to their ordination and employment in the mission.¹⁷

Under these resolutions, John West's plans for the establishment of a mission training centre at Red River would be fully realized, and a college for the education of a native clergy would supplement the existing training centre for native catechists, the Church Mission School.

Bishop Anderson arrived at the Lower Church in the Red River Settlement on October 3, 1849, clearly intending to make his headquarters at the new stone church which he named St. Andrews.¹⁸ However, the news that John Macallum's unexpected death at Upper Church on the same day had left the Academy in a state of dissolution, apparently changed the Bishop's plans. He saw an opportunity to combine the settlers' interests in higher education with those of the Church Missionary Society. Establishing himself at Upper Church, he immediately proceeded to take over the Academy and alter it to meet the expressed purposes of the Society.

¹⁷Boon, The Anglican Church From the Bay to the Rockies, p. 65.

¹⁸Ibid., pp. 68, 69.

The arrangements were complete by October 26. The Bishop took on the supervision of the School, and his unmarried sister assisted in the care of the pupils. He used a grant of £700 sterling from the Society for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge to pay necessary expenses, apportioning £300 to complete the purchase of the Academy property from the Macallum estate, another £300 for extending and improving the buildings of the Academy, and the remaining £100 to start a library.¹⁹

Bishop Anderson envisaged that the School, and ultimately a theological College at the Upper Church, would become part of a permanent administrative and training centre for the Church's work in the Northwest. The Upper Church, which Rev. Jones had erected in 1833, served as the Cathedral for the Diocese until a new building was completed in 1862. Shortly after his arrival, the Bishop appropriately named the parish in commemoration of St. John the Evangelist. He renamed the Academy "St. John's Collegiate School", and the proposed theological College which would grow from it, "St. John's College". For College, School and Cathedral he chose a motto as significant today as it was in his time, "In Thy light we shall see light"²⁰ (psalm 36, verse 9).

¹⁹Ibid., p. 70.

²⁰David Anderson, "A Charge Delivered to the Clergy of the Diocese of Rupert's Land" (London, 1851), p. 42.

The crest of St. John's College, which includes this motto and the eagle, symbolic of John's evangelism, emphasizes the dual role of these institutions in the Diocese.

St. John's Collegiate School brought two dominant purposes of education, the missionary and the academic, under one roof. Both the Indians, supported by the Church Missionary Society, and the fee paying sons of settlers and Hudson's Bay Company officials attended the School. Unlike the Academy, Bishop Anderson's School made no provision for girl students. A Mrs. Mills began a girls' school nearby in the house known as St. Cross, which the Reverend William Cockran had just vacated.

The academic achievement of the Collegiate School was considerable, probably much higher than that of John Macallum's Academy. Bishop Anderson described the subjects of study in a book, Notes of the Flood at Red River 1852, which he wrote in the spring of 1852 when the flood of that year forced him to abandon the buildings at St. John's for a short time.²¹ The description in the book indicated that Mr. Macallum's emphasis on classical studies was continued at St. John's, but that modern languages were introduced as well:

In the classics one had studied with me the whole of the ethics of Aristotle, never before perhaps

²¹David Anderson, Notes on the Flood at Red River 1852 (London, 1852), p. 27.

perused in Rupert's Land; several had read in Herodotus of Cyrus and Babylon: and just as the calamity approached we had entered on Thucydides, and, in the introduction of the philosophical historian, had discovered many a parallel to our own condition . . . We had just been reading of the seige of Plataea, and the engines brought to bear upon its walls, when we were ourselves assailed by a power which no human skill could enable us to resist. . .

To this study of the classics had been joined that of the modern languages. Four could read the gospels in Italian, the greater part of the school could do so in French, and my senior scholar could read, in Luther's own translation, the German of the Gospel of St. John. Combining thus, the ancient with the modern tongues, and those of modern Europe with the two leading dialects of our own land, we recited at our last examination a psalm in the original Hebrew, and the Lord's Prayer in eight different languages including that of the English version.²²

The study of classics and languages, the Bishop contended, would be useful to his students in mission work. "They may in some future day," he remarked, "be able to analyze more clearly the framework and structure of the Indian tongues, from a deeper insight into the principles of comparative grammar".²³

A curriculum weighted in the classics and languages did not prevent the study of mathematics at St. John's. In the field of mathematics, the Bishop stated, "Euclid, and the whole of algebra and trigonometry, are thoroughly known, and some progress has been made in the elements of the differential calculus."²⁴

²² Ibid., pp. 5, 6.

²³ Ibid., p. 6.

²⁴ Ibid.

Bishop Anderson maintained a high calibre of instruction at the Collegiate School. Drawing from his own broad educational background, he conducted many lessons, himself, in classics, mathematics, foreign languages, and religion. From 1850 to 1852 he shared the teaching duties with a young Englishman, Mr. Pridham. After Mr. Pridham's departure, the Bishop was fortunate to have the teaching services of Thomas Cockran, a graduate of Durham University and a son of the Reverend William Cockran. The progress of the students was stimulated by the growth of the School library which the Bishop had founded on his arrival in the colony. In 1855, Bishop Anderson reported that the library had grown to include over eight hundred volumes, two hundred and fifty received from various friends of the School, the same number from the Society for the Propagation of Christian Knowledge, and the remainder from his own collection.²⁵

In 1850, The Bishop introduced two scholarships to be awarded annually in the School on a basis of merit. Each holder of the scholarship received £10 sterling, exemption from tuition fees, and the distinction of dining at the teachers' table. The first two winners of the scholarship, Colin Campbell MacKenzie and Roderick Ross, subsequently attended Cambridge University - "the first of a long procession of students going to the English universities from

²⁵P.A.M., Ross Papers, Bishop David Anderson to James Ross, November 7, 1855.

St. John's".²⁶ Colin MacKenzie later attained prominence as the first Superintendent of Education for the Province of British Columbia. The educational standing of St. John's was first recognized in Canada when one of the scholarship winners of the following year, 1851, James Ross, enrolled as a student at the University of Toronto.

Shortly after the opening of the Collegiate School, Bishop Anderson began the work of the College by teaching theological subjects to candidates for the ministry. In 1850, he instructed two English deacons, John Chapman and W. H. Taylor, who were preparing for ordination to the priesthood, and the Indian catechist, Henry Budd, who was preparing for deacon's examinations. In his Notes on the Flood at Red River, 1852, the Bishop indicated the nature of the training given, when he reported that on May 26 the Collegiate teacher, Thomas Cockran, then a candidate for deacons' orders, would write two examinations, one in Church History, and the other on the Articles, and that on the following day, in an examination on the Evidences, he would be required to sketch the outline of a sermon dealing with one of three Biblical texts.²⁷

With the view of assuring a broad basis of support from the Red River community and the Anglican clergy, Bishop Anderson in 1855 organized a Board of Trustees who would

²⁶Boon, The Anglican Church From the Bay to the Rockies, p. 69.
²⁷Anderson, Notes on the Flood, p. 67.

serve as "guardians of the property connected with the Collegiate School and the keepers of the Diocesan Library".²⁸ The board, comprising the Bishop, his two Archdeacons, William Cockran and James Hunter, the Reverend Abraham Cowley of the Indian Settlement, the Reverend W. H. Taylor of St. James and the Reverend C. Hillyer, along with Governor Caldwell, Judge F. G. Johnston and Mr. J. S. Clouston, met on May 22, 1855 and officially took on these responsibilities. All library books and property under the control of this board were to "bear the stamp, device, and motto of St. John's College".²⁹

In his charge to the clergy of Rupert's Land on May 29, 1858, the Bishop emphasized that St. John's was indeed a college as well as a school. He elaborated:

. . .And yet I feel that the very name of the college may at times perplex and bewilder from the scanty number which we can assemble in this land, and the little claim that we can make to anything approaching to college life. But as I think of and use the word, I revert to bygone years, and the meaning of the term in early years. In this sense I would employ it, as embracing not the pupils and scholars alone, but the Bishop and clergy also, forming a missionary college in a dark land. I would regard each clergyman as a member of that college, and it thus becomes a centre uniting us all.³⁰

The Bishop's ideal of unity was only partially achieved. In future years, the common memories shared by graduates of

²⁸David Anderson, A Charge delivered to the Clergy of the Diocese of Rupert's Land, May 29, 1856 (London, 1856), p. 44.

²⁹Ibid.

³⁰Ibid.

St. John's served as a unifying force to many who became missionaries in diverse parts of the Northwest, but distance and mission duties greatly limited any participation or active interest in the College.

The role of St. John's as a theological college was unparalleled in the Northwest. Unlike the Church of England, the Roman Catholic Church made no attempt to train a native clergy in its classical school, St. Boniface College, but relied on Eastern Canada and France for its supply of priests. Of the twenty clergymen whom Bishop Anderson ordained between 1849 and 1864, nine were born in the Northwest. One of these, William Cockran, had received his academic training in England. The remaining eight were products of the mission schools and St. John's College. Four, Henry Budd, Sr., James Settee, Henry Cochrane, and Henry Budd, Jr., were pure blood Indians, while the others, Thomas Cook and three future Archdeacons, Robert MacDonald, Thomas Vincent, and John A. MacKay, were half-breed sons of Hudson's Bay Company employees. Some English-born clergymen also received theological instruction at St. John's before ordination. The success of St. John's as a theological college in these years was the direct result of Bishop Anderson's personal efforts to maintain a high quality of instruction.

Other duties, especially after 1855, forced the Bishop to curtail much of his own work at the College. Thomas Cockran, after his ordination in 1853, remained as College

tutor and master of the Collegiate School for six years, in the pay of the Society for the Propagation of the Christian Gospel. In 1856, when the Bishop left for a year's stay in England on an appeal for the Rupert's Land Diocesan and Mission Fund to raise money to build St. John's Cathedral, Thomas Cockran, although in ill health at the time, assumed complete charge of the School and College. The Bishop returned to find the Collegiate School weakened by a decrease in enrolment, but his own frequent absences on visitations left him little time to regain what had been lost. After Cockran's departure in 1859 to join his father, then Archdeacon at Portage La Prairie, the Bishop, finding St. John's with no qualified teacher and a much depleted enrolment, reluctantly closed its doors for his remaining years in the Diocese.

Changes in the community and in the school itself contributed to the decline in enrolment which precipitated the closing of St. John's. By giving the School the character of a missionary establishment, and abandoning the concept of an exclusive private school which Governor Simpson and Rev. Jones had agreed upon in 1832, the Bishop lost the support of some of the wealthier traders and settlers. Also, the increased emphasis at the School on Anglicanism undoubtedly did little to endear Presbyterians to the School. An improvement of transportation facilities, following the arrival of the Anson Northup on the Red River

in 1859, enabled some of the traders and Red River Settlers to send their children to better known eastern schools. Bishop Anderson blamed the School's decline on a lessening of the community's interest in classical education. In the Nor'wester in 1860 he recalled, "Parents continually requested that their sons might not learn Latin and Greek, and so far from finding any demand for the higher education the effort was sustained for some years at heavy pecuniary loss".³¹ Poor prospects for employment in the fur trade, a decline in the numbers of white settlers in the 1850's, and a large increase in the Half-breed population,³² may account for this change in general attitude.

For a time, the centre of education moved a few miles north of the Red River Settlement. After St. John's closed in 1859, most of its students moved down the Red River to Samuel Pritchard's private school, The Elms, at St. Pauls, the successor to the one which his father, John Pritchard, had established in 1833. This school, the Bishop stated in the Nor'wester in 1860, attained a standard "far higher than the level of parish schools in England and but little below the rank of the grammar schools of Canada."³³ When higher education for girls in St. John's parish ceased with the closing of St. Cross School in 1858, its students

³¹The Nor'Wester, February 14, 1860.

³²George F. G. Stanley, The Birth of Western Canada (Toronto, 1960), p. 13.

³³The Nor'Wester, May 14, 1860.

moved to Miss Davis's School at St. Andrews.

While the Church of England suffered a setback in higher education, its churches, parish schools, and missions rapidly increased. During his episcopate, Bishop Anderson extended the number of clergy in the Northwest from five to twenty-two.³⁴ By the time of his final departure from the Diocese in 1864, ten Anglican churches, most of them with parish schools, were ribboned from the Red River Settlement northward along the Red almost to Lake Winnipeg and westward along the Assiniboine to Portage La Prairie. Presbyterian churches, which began with the arrival of the Reverend John Black in 1851, had developed in only two localities, Kildonan and Little Britain, by this time. Anglican missionaries, many of them trained at St. John's, carried the word of God through the interior of the vast Diocese from James Bay to the frontiers of the Russian territory of Alaska.

The remarkable successes of Bishop Anderson's St. John's College assured its later revival. With its function as a mission centre and its heritage as a classical school, it produced, under Bishop Anderson's direction, competent lay scholars and an able native clergy. Bishop Anderson proved the feasibility of establishing a theological college in the Northwest, and determined the form of institution it

³⁴Boon, The Anglican Church From the Bay to the Rockies, p. 88.

would take. It was left to his successor, Bishop Robert Machray, to organize support in the English Church and in the Red River community in order to put the College on a sound footing.

CHAPTER II

BISHOP MACHRAY AND THE COLLEGE - THE FIRST TEN YEARS 1866-1876

On June 24, 1865, over nine months after Bishop Anderson had resigned from the see, Robert Machray was consecrated Bishop of Rupert's Land. His strong character, insatiable energy, and outstanding leadership and administrative skills dominated Anglican work through the crucial period of western expansion until his death in 1904. One of the greatest achievements of his long career was the revival and subsequent development of St. John's College as the major centre of Anglican education in the Northwest.

Born of Presbyterian parents at Aberdeen in 1831, Robert Machray joined the Church of England at the age of twenty-one while attending college, and adopted the views of Low Church Anglicanism which he retained in future years. At the time of his consecration, only thirteen years later, he could claim little pastoral experience, but an impressive academic background. He had studied at King's College in Aberdeen, and thence at Sidney Sussex College, Cambridge, where he topped his class in mathematics and was elected a foundation scholar. In 1858, two years after his ordination to the priesthood, he proceeded to study for his M. A. degree at Cambridge where he was made Dean of his college the same year. While holding this position, he devoted some

of his time to parish work, and became an active supporter of the work of the Church Missionary Society. In two long interviews with Prebendary Venn, of the Church Missionary Society, just prior to his departure, the new Bishop was instructed to strive to make the churches and missions more self-supporting and to re-establish a training centre for a native ministry.¹

Bishop Machray, after reaching the Red River Settlement on October 13, 1865, quickly realized the necessity for re-establishing an Anglican college. It was apparent that the progress of the Indian missions could be increased considerably, if more native clergy were trained in a diocesan college as the Church Missionary Society had proposed. Since the Sioux massacres of 1862 had closed steam boat traffic to the United States, there was little opportunity for students to travel to distant schools. A demand grew for superior secondary education to supplement that offered in Mr. Pritchard's St. Paul's school and Miss Davis's school at St. Andrews. Bishop Machray was alarmed at the ignorance of the proper observances and rites of the Church of England which was exhibited in the Red River Settlement. He saw that reviving Bishop Anderson's St. John's College would benefit both the Church and the community. Determined to revive the College, he wrote to Prebendary Bulloch, of

¹Robert Machray, Life of Robert Machray D.D., LL.D., D.C.L., Archbishop of Rupert's Land, Primate of All Canada, Prelate of the Order of St. Michael and St. George (Toronto, 1909), p. 101.

the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, on November 10, 1865:

I believe that the whole success of my efforts here will depend, under God, upon the success of what I purpose - to establish a college for the training of those who wish a better education, in the fear of God, in useful learning, and in conscientious attachment to our church.²

The Bishop's appeals for assistance to achieve this goal were successful both at home and abroad. His old school companion from Aberdeen, the Reverend John McLean, left a position at St. Paul's Cathedral, London, in the Canadian Diocese of Huron, to accept the Wardenship of St. John's College. After his arrival at Red River in October 1866, Rev. McLean also served as Archdeacon of Assiniboia and incumbent at St. John's Cathedral. Samuel Pritchard, who was a deacon of the Anglican Church, agreed to move his private school and join it with St. John's in return for a teaching position in the Collegiate School. He turned over his incumbency in the Church at St. Paul's to Bishop Machray.

Financial assistance for Bishop Machray's College came from diverse sources. In the "Conference for Clergy and Lay Delegates from Parishes," held at Red River on May 30, 1866, the ten clergy and eighteen lay delegates gave unanimous approval for the proposed College. Then they undertook to raise funds to endow a College scholarship in memory of Archdeacon Cockran to be known as the Cockran Scholarship.

²Ibid., p. 145.

Towards this fund the members of the Conference immediately subscribed £116.³ Within a year the sum had risen to £330.⁴ The Church Missionary Society undertook to pay Archdeacon McLean's salary, and to support up to four or five students in the College. Annual grants of £100 each were soon forthcoming from both the Hudson's Bay Company and the New England Company, along with an additional £200 from the Church Missionary Society.⁵

To assure the Bishop complete authority to re-open the College, Archdeacon Cowley and the Reverend W. H. Taylor, the two surviving members of Bishop Anderson's Collegiate Board, met with Bishop Machray on May 30, 1866, and formally turned over to him any authority which the Board may have possessed over the College buildings and library.⁶ The Bishop then proceeded to renovate the dilapidated schoolhouse at St. John's which would provide temporary classrooms for the College. St. Cross, the house built almost twenty years earlier by Archdeacon Cockran, was made ready to house the Warden and some of the boarding students. A nearby house occupied by Mr. Pritchard was to accommodate the other boarders.

St. John's College re-opened on November 1, 1866. Three

³Hargrave, Red River, p. 395.

⁴Ibid., p. 415.

⁵Ibid., p. 414.

⁶S.J.C.E., "Minutes of the Meeting of the Collegiate Board," May 3, 1866.

senior students, Gilbert Cook, the Church Missionary Society Catechist George Bruce, and the School Master, Samuel Pritchard, were enrolled in theology courses. Nineteen boys attended the College School as boarders or day students. By January, one more theology student and seven additional boys were in attendance.⁷

The three instructors offered a wide range of subjects. In the theological department, the Bishop instructed in ecclesiastical history and liturgiology, and the Warden taught systematic and pastoral theology. In the College School Mr. Pritchard instructed the boys in English, book-keeping, and arithmetic. During the first year, 1866-1867, five of the boys studied higher mathematics under the Bishop. Fifteen studied Latin and two studied Greek under the Warden's direction.⁸ In addition to their regular studies, seven boys, three of them Indians, were in the Warden's junior divinity course.⁹

The constitution of St. John's College, drawn up by Bishop Machray early in 1867, indicated the character which the College would take. Four aims or purposes were enumerated:

First - To train fit persons for the Sacred Ministry and for discharging the duties of Catechists and Teachers in Parishes or Missions within this diocese of the Church of England.

⁷Machray, Life of Robert Machray, p. 137.

⁸A.C.M.S., Mission Book, Incoming Letters, J. McLean to Prebendary Venn, April 16, 1867.

⁹Ibid., February 4, 1867.

Secondly - To provide instruction in the higher branches of education usually taught in the Universities, for such students as may be desirous of the same; and thought fit for usefully prosecuting them.

Thirdly - To combine with these primary objects such kindred efforts, including a Preparatory College or Collegiate School, as may be found desirable and expedient.

Fourthly - To perform such acts, matters, and things as are incidental or otherwise conducive to the attainment of the before-mentioned objects of any of them.¹⁰

The constitution further affirmed that the College would be a "centre for Diocesan and Missionary effort," and that, in addition to their teaching duties, all instructors at the College were expected to help the Bishop "in every possible way". The constitution indicated the close ties between College and Cathedral with these words, "We have at present united with the headship of this institution the Rectory of St. John's Parish in which our Cathedral Church stands . . . and . . . we hereby enjoin all in Holy Orders that hold office in this institution to be ever willing and ready to assist."¹¹ The constitution made provision for the College's relations with the Diocesan Synod which had yet to be established. The College was to be governed by the statutes set down by the Synod, subject to the consent of the Bishop. The day-to-day management of the College and

¹⁰"S.J.C. Board Minutes," March 2, 1867.

¹¹Ibid.

School remained in the hands of the College Board, which was comprised of the three instructors.

Minutes of the College Board reveal the strict routine followed by the College School. The academic year was divided into two terms, commencing on January 29 and August 1. Hours of instruction were from 9:00 A.M. to 12:30 P.M. and from 1:30 P.M. to 3:00 P.M.¹² All pupils wrote half yearly examinations immediately before the six week midsummer and Christmas vacations. The list of regulations read out at the beginning of each term suggests a likeness to English public schools. The regulations emphasized that pupils were to be polite and respectful to their instructors, both within school and without. For boys boarding in the College, the hours from 6:30 to 7:30 A.M. and from 6:00 to 8:00 P.M. were set aside every weekday for compulsory study.¹³

Reports from instructors and boarding house heads on the behaviour and progress of each boy were regularly received by the Warden, who, in turn, sent a report to the parents.

The College developed rapidly. Total enrolment for School and College in 1867-1868, the second year of operation, rose to thirty-six, and in the following year it reached forty-two. More than half the students boarded in the College, ten students residing with the Warden and

¹²Ibid., April 13, 1867.

¹³Ibid., May 18, 1867.

thirteen with Mr. Pritchard. Six of the boarders were supported by the Church Missionary Society. Prospects for increasing the supply of native clergy seemed bright. Junior theology students excelled in their school work and gained experience teaching in Sunday schools within the parish.¹⁴ The senior theology students attended a winter term of twenty weeks commencing in November. Usually, for the remainder of the year, they made good use of their training by combining individual study with mission work.

Growth and success did not come without overcrowding. Larger quarters were needed for both residence and classroom accommodation. The Bishop envisaged that a great increase in population following Canada's annexation of the Northwest would magnify St. John's role as an institution of higher learning in the Red River community. In an attempt to improve the College's financial situation so that further growth would be possible, he launched a campaign for endowment funds, which, he hoped, would ultimately provide independent support for the College Warden. At the same time, he began another drive for funds for a building addition to the College.

In the summer of 1868, Bishop Machray's travel through Minnesota and Canada, en route to a visitation of the James Bay and Hudson Bay Missions, yielded both money and ideas

¹⁴A.C.M.S., Mission Book, Incoming Letters, J. McLean to Prebendary Venn, February, 1867.

which assisted the future development of the College. At Faribault, in the American Diocese of Minnesota, he was impressed by the fine Cathedral and Mission College which the Bishop, Henry B. Whipple, had erected under conditions rather similar to those at Red River. During his stay in Canada, in addition to visiting colleges and cathedrals, Bishop Machray spoke about his future plans for St. John's, and raised £500 for the endowment of the Warden's Chair of Theology. In the North, Hudson's Bay officials at Moose Factory donated an additional £70 for church purposes.¹⁵

Depressed economic conditions in the Red River Settlement - the result of a devastating grasshopper plague and poor hunting conditions, - temporarily forced the Bishop to shelve his plans for College expansion. In the first Synod meeting of the Diocese of Rupert's Land, held on February 24, 1869, he indicated that he had made some progress however, in accumulating funds. He acknowledged the receipt of several donations from Britain, including £100 for the Warden's Chair from his old parish of Newton.¹⁶ Also, he announced the founding of a scholarship in memory of John Macallum.

Uncertainties accompanying the Red River Rebellion in 1869 and 1870 brought further delays to the Bishop's plans. During the Rebellion, while the future allegiance of the

¹⁵Machray, Life of Robert Machray, p. 155.

¹⁶Ibid., p. 163.

Settlement was in doubt, the Bishop, fearing American annexation, consistently supported Canadian claims to the Northwest. His immediate concern, however, was to prevent bloodshed. The Bishop and the College Warden, Archdeacon McLean, helped avert civil war in the Settlement by counselling the Canadian party not to launch a military campaign against Louis Riel and his supporters, who controlled the Upper Fort.¹⁷ Once the forces of Louis Riel disintegrated, and the transfer to Canada was finally effected, the formation of the Province of Manitoba provided a new stability and a new wave of optimism for future expansion of the Settlement and its facilities.

Provincial legislation in 1871 strengthened the educational facilities of Manitoba. The Manitoba Schools Act of that year set up a provincial Board of Education with Roman Catholic and Protestant sections to supervise local schools and allot provincial government grants. Anglican and Presbyterian parish schools were absorbed in the Protestant school system. The Roman Catholic schools retained their identity, but also received government support. The lessening of church responsibility for education was only apparent at the elementary level. St. John's College, St. Boniface College, and the newly formed Presbyterian school, Manitoba College, provided the only secondary edu-

¹⁷Ibid., pp. 200, 201.



cation in the province. The incorporation of the three colleges by the Manitoba legislature in 1871 enabled each college as a corporation to develop its own financial stability through accumulating endowments.

St. John's College, after its incorporation on May 3, 1871, was governed by the Bishop, who was named Chancellor, and the College Council. The Council, consisting of the Bishop, Archdeacons John McLean and Abraham Cowley, and three lay members, Dr. Curtis Bird, Hon. Colin Inkster, and Mr. Molyneux St. John, held its first meeting on July 31 of that year. The College Board, made up of the faculty members, continued to meet to handle the day-to-day academic business of the College.

In 1871, Bishop Machray travelled to England with an urgent appeal for College endowment funds, and a request that his diocese be divided into dioceses of more manageable size. To meet the expected surge of population in the growing village of Winnipeg and other Red River communities, the Bishop emphasized in meetings with officials of the English mission societies that he would have to devote most of his own energies to these settlements. One of his first tasks would be to expand the facilities of St. John's College for theological and secular training. Immediate financial aid for the College was required. The Bishop reminded his listeners that Bishop Whipple's College and

Cathedral at Faribault had come twenty-five years too late to hold its ground in Minnesota.¹⁸ Only a programme of immediate expansion for St. John's College, coupled with an increased supply of clergy, could prevent the Church of England from losing ground to other Christian denominations.

Bishop Machray's campaign met with considerable success. During his stay in England, he was given a total of £5270 (\$26,000) and a promise of subscriptions and collections of £130 annually.¹⁹ While in England, he also received almost enough books to double the size of the College library. The donations included several publications given by the Oxford University Press and the Cambridge University Press, four hundred volumes from John Macallum's widow, and many valuable books from other individuals.²⁰ The appeal for support met with some success in Canada also, where Archdeacon McLean collected \$8000 on a visit to Ontario and Quebec.²¹ A few months after returning from England, the Bishop announced at the Synod meeting on January 8, 1873, that he had collected sufficient money to establish an endowment yielding £200 (\$1000) annually for the Professorship of Systematic Divinity, and a general endowment amounting to about £80 per year.²²

¹⁸Ibid., p. 228.

¹⁹Ibid., p. 229.

²⁰Ibid., pp. 229, 230.

²¹Ibid., p. 220.

²²Ibid., p. 233.

Expansion work on the College began in the fall of 1872, when an addition was begun on the most substantial of the College buildings, known as St. Cross. The following summer, the College Council let a contract for \$3434 to Bell and Matheson Contractors for the erection of a large wing on the south of the building. When additions and alterations were completed in the summer of 1874, the resulting rambling two storey building presented an attractive appearance, with its "weather boards painted white" and a veranda running its whole length.²³ Robert Machray, the Bishop's nephew, later recalled, "The building contained class-rooms, library, dining hall; rooms for lecturers and masters, dormitories for the students and boys, kitchen and servant's accommodation."²⁴

A low tower attached to the river side of the College building housed a meteorological station, with a fully equipped observatory containing an anemograph and other weather instruments. The instructors operated the station with the aid of a subsidy from the Canadian government. Daily readings were transmitted by telegraph to the Dominion Observatory at Kingston and the Smithsonian Observatory at Washington.²⁵ The station remained at St. John's from its opening in 1872 until the Canadian government moved it to the Agricultural College in 1932.

²³ Ibid., p. 239.

²⁴ Ibid., p. 240.

²⁵ "S.J.C. Council Minutes," July 31, 1871.

Mounting enrolment in the School and College made further expansion of St. John's facilities necessary in the next few years. In 1874, there were about sixty students and boys in residence, many of them the sons of Hudson's Bay officers in the interior, as well as a few day scholars.²⁶ In a letter to the Church Missionary Society the following year, the Bishop reported that some applications to the College School were refused because of the shortage of space.²⁷ Cramped conditions eased somewhat when a small gymnasium was erected and temporary living quarters were made ready for students in a new two storey frame building, known as Divinity Hall. This building contained a classroom downstairs and four bedrooms upstairs. More bedrooms were provided in second storey additions above the College bakery and above the kitchen of Bishop's Court.²⁸

The growth and success of St. John's College in these early years owed much to Bishop Machray's personal leadership. His continued close association with St. John's was made possible by a reduction of his episcopal duties, following the division of the huge Diocese of Rupert's Land into four smaller dioceses. Two northern dioceses were formed - Hudson Bay, under Bishop John Horden in 1872, and Athabasca, under Bishop W. C. Bompas in 1874. In 1874 also, John McLean

²⁶ Machray, Life of Robert Machray, p. 241.

²⁷ A.C.M.S. Mission Book, Incoming Letters, Bishop Robert Machray to the Secretaries, July 6, 1875.

²⁸ S.J.C.F., Archbishop S. P. Matheson, "College and School in the Eighties," 1940.

left his positions of Archdeacon and College Warden to become Bishop of the new Diocese of Saskatchewan. Bishop Machray remained Bishop of a much smaller Diocese of Rupert's Land. In addition, he held the senior position of Metropolitan of the newly formed Ecclesiastical Province of Rupert's Land. Bishop Machray assumed the duties of College Warden in 1873, following Archdeacon John McLean's departure to visit England. The next year, on the elevation of the Archdeacon to the episcopacy, Bishop Machray formally took over the offices of College Warden and Headmaster of the College School which stayed in his capable hands for the remaining thirty years of his life.

In order to be closer to his College work, the Bishop, a bachelor, moved from Bishop's Court in 1874 into two rooms in the College building. He ate his meals in the College dining room with the masters, students, and pupils, except for supper at nine when he ate with the masters only.²⁹ The progress of his students always seemed uppermost in his mind. The nature of the Bishop's leadership at St. John's is well expressed by his nephew and biographer, Robert Machray, in these words:

It was displayed, but in the most simple and unaffected manner, in the extraordinary tenderness with which he took care of the students, especially the boys at St. John's - a tenderness even more maternal than paternal, though, at the same time, he preserved order and discipline and was the last

²⁹Machray, Life of Robert Machray, p. 240.

person in the world with whom anyone would ever have thought of taking a liberty.³⁰

In addition to serving as Headmaster and Warden, the Bishop lectured in Theology, the humanities, and mathematics and conducted many lessons in the College School. Two senior divinity students, both former recipients of the Cockran scholarship, S. P. Matheson and W. Flett, assisted him in the College School. Bishop Machray's former pupils recall that he insisted on a high standard of performance from them, and that he always showed this high standard in his own teaching. A maxim which he often repeated to his pupils, "What is worth doing at all, is worth doing well",³¹ is symbolic of the superior character of instruction which prevailed at St. John's.

Bishop Machray intended St. John's College to be more than an institution of education, however. Both he and his predecessor, Bishop Anderson, envisaged a close relationship of the College and Cathedral as integral parts of a flourishing centre for the Diocese. Bishop Machray, a keen student of ecclesiastical history, found ample precedent in Britain and continental Europe for the link between colleges and cathedrals. In the nineteenth century, this link existed only in rare instances such as at Ely, where canonries were joined with Cambridge professorships.

To form a bond between College and Cathedral, Bishop

³⁰Ibid., p. 242.

³¹Ibid., p. 243.

Machray had the Manitoba legislature incorporate the Dean and Chapter of St. John's Cathedral in 1874. To this new corporation, he gave, as an endowment, the glebe of several hundred acres which the Hudson's Bay Company had given John West over half a century earlier. The incumbency of the Cathedral having fallen vacant on the departure of John McLean, the Bishop declared that the Dean and Canons of the Cathedral would serve as incumbents of the parish. The Bishop named himself Dean of the Cathedral and his two Archdeacons as Canons ex officio. Later in 1874, he attached a Canonry to the Professorship of Systematic Theology, and made the Reverend John Grisdale, formerly of St. Andrew's parish, Canon and Professor. The Reverend J. D. O'Meara, a recent addition to the teaching staff at St. John's, was made Canon and Professor of Exegetical Theology the following year. The Dean and Chapter, especially as it developed more fully in the 1880's, brought advantages to the College, the Cathedral, and the whole Diocese: the College gained a larger and more experienced theological faculty, the Cathedral gained several incumbent clergy, and the Diocese gained a band of mission clergy to conduct services in the churches that had been hurriedly erected to serve new settlements in outlying areas.³²

The divinity course improved during its first ten years

³²J. O. Murray, "The Cathedral System, Its Origin and Purpose," St. John's College Magazine (November, 1911), 5-11.

under Bishop Machray's direction. Through his efforts, an endowment fund yielding an income of £200 annually was accumulated to support the Professor of Systematic theology, and an endowment for the Chair of Exegetical theology was begun by the mid 1870's. While grants from English missionary societies and private individuals were building up these endowments, the Bishop used his own funds to establish an endowment for the Chair of Ecclesiastical History, and held this chair himself without accepting any salary. To the other two chairs he appointed men of high calibre. The Reverend John Grisdale, the Professor of Systematic Theology, had graduated in the Church Missionary College at Islington in 1870, and then served a short time in India before his arrival in Canada to accept the incumbency at St. Andrew's Church in 1873. He remained at St. John's College from 1874 until he was elected Bishop of Qu'Appelle in 1896. The Reverend James Dallas O'Meara, who became Professor of Exegetical Theology in 1875, was a Gold Medalist from the University of Toronto and the former Headmaster of Brantford Grammar School in Ontario. Under the supervision of the three theology professors, students studied for at least two years, and worked in outlying missions, such as Springfield, Stonewall, Victoria, and Woodlands before their ordination to the priesthood. Conscious of the advances he had made and eager to extend them further, the Bishop, as early as

1875, wrote to the Church Missionary Society, expressing his wish that St. John's be given the power to grant degrees in divinity.³³

St. John's shared with St. Boniface College and Dr. Bryce's rapidly developing Manitoba College a high level of academic attainment during the mid 1870's. In 1874, the Lieutenant-Governor of the Province, Alexander Morris, whose two sons attended St. John's, reported to the Earl of Dufferin that surprisingly high standards of education prevailed in all three colleges.³⁴ By 1876, when the population of Winnipeg alone had jumped to six thousand, more than three times its size at incorporation in 1873, Bishop Machray and other education leaders, mindful of future expansion, were proposing that the colleges teach a full university arts course in affiliation with a common provincial university which would set examinations and grant degrees.³⁵

The fruits of Bishop Machray's first decade of labour at St. John's may be clearly seen. The College itself had been firmly established, and a competent staff procured with the support of growing endowment funds. During this period, the College and School both maintained high academic standards, and by 1876 their combined enrolment had risen

³³A.C.M.S., Mission Book, Incoming Letters, Bishop Machray to Secretary, July 6, 1875.

³⁴P.A.M., Alexander Morris Papers, Ketcheson Collection, Alexander Morris to the Earl of Dufferin, February 25, 1874.

³⁵P.A.M., Alexander Morris Papers, Lieutenant Governor's Collection, Bishop Robert Machray to Alexander Morris, February 28, 1876.

to seventy-five. The efforts of former St. John's students who had been ordained, as well as those of the theology students and the professors themselves, enabled the Church of England to stay ahead of other denominations in its work in the province. By the end of the decade, St. John's was prepared for another undertaking - a partnership with the other colleges in the formation of the University of Manitoba.

CHAPTER III
THE ERA OF COLLEGES 1877-1904

St. John's College embarked on a crucial period of its development with the founding of the University of Manitoba in 1877. From that date, College expansion was stimulated by the increasing demands of the rapidly growing province, and more particularly by the structure of the University itself. For the first twenty-seven years, the University limited its own activities to conferring degrees and regulating courses and examinations in fields other than theology. The constituent colleges, burdened with the responsibility of providing instruction, were equally represented on the University's governing body, the Council. Bishop Machray termed the new University a "republic of Colleges."¹ The three original members, St. John's, St. Boniface and Manitoba, and from 1888 a fourth church college, the Methodists' Wesley College, were expected to provide all the instruction leading to the Bachelor of Arts degree, in addition to their own theological programmes. Two professional colleges admitted to University membership, the Manitoba Medical College, founded in 1882, and the Manitoba College of Pharmacy, founded twenty years later, completed the list of member colleges during this period.

¹Archbishop Robert Machray, "History of the University of Manitoba," Canada, An Encyclopedia of the Country, Vol. IV (Toronto, 1898), p. 255.

While the high standard of instruction which prevailed at the church colleges by the middle 1870's had created conditions favorable to the establishment of a university, secular forces outside the colleges initiated its founding. It was the Lieutenant-Governor, Alexander Morris, and others with secularist sympathies, motivated by the fear that the colleges might otherwise develop into rival denominational universities similar to those then in existence in Ontario, who exerted pressure on the Manitoba legislature for the establishment of a single non-denominational university.² The secularists' fears were not unfounded. Dr. Bryce of Manitoba College and Bishop Machray had independently expressed the wish that their colleges be given degree conferring powers in divinity.³ If a non-denominational university were not soon established, the individual colleges might have logically extended the scope of their work to include arts courses above the secondary school level, though no definite move in that direction was evident before 1877.

Although they regarded the Lieutenant-Governor's plan for a non-denominational university to be somewhat premature, Bishop Machray and Dr. Bryce gave it their support when they were assured that the right of the colleges to

²W.L. Morton, One University: A History of the University of Manitoba (Toronto, 1957), p. 19.

³P.A.M., Alexander Morris Papers, Lieutenant-Governor's Collection, Bishop Machray to Governor Morris, February 28, 1876.

confer their own degrees in divinity would be forthcoming.⁴ To secure the support of the French-speaking St. Boniface College, which was especially mindful of its own independence, the framers of the University Bill, which was put before the legislature, wrote in the preamble that the proposed University would be "on the model of the University of London," a degree granting and not a teaching university. The bill did not pass in its unamended form, however. At the urgings of secular interests, the committee of the whole in the provincial legislature concluded that it might be desirable for the University itself to offer instruction at a later date, and the words alluding to the University of London were deleted. The committee made a further change to the bill by introducing the words "at present" to section ten after the clause "There shall be no professorships or teacherships."⁵ The bill passed with these amendments on February 22, 1877, and the University of Manitoba was established.

The amendments enabling the University to change its relations with the colleges by becoming a teaching institution itself struck at the heart of the original bill, but they went unheeded for many years. The smallness of the provincial government grant to the University, amounting to

⁴Morton, One University, p. 21.

⁵Ibid., p. 22.

only \$250.00 annually in the first five years, removed any possibility that the University would engage its own instructors.⁶ Errors, whether deliberate or accidental, in both the English and French published versions of the University Act, shielded the intentions of the legislators from the public and apparently from college officials themselves.⁷ The printed versions of the Act in both languages still contained the reference to the University of London, which had been deleted by amendment, and the words "at present" were added to section ten of the English version, but omitted from the French version. Discrepancies between the correct and the printed versions went unnoticed for twelve years, as the University developed in the spirit of the original bill unamended.

The government of the "republic of colleges" was comprised of a Chancellor, a vice Chancellor, and a Council containing seven representatives from each of the constituent colleges, as well as three representatives of Convocation and one man each from the provincial Protestant and Catholic Boards of Education. The Board of Studies, a standing committee of Council containing representatives from each college, took much of the Council's work load, especially in academic matters. Bishop Machray, appointed the first Chancellor of the University by the Lieutenant-Governor, and re-elected periodically by the Council until

⁶Ibid., p. 31.

⁷Ibid., p. 23.

his death in 1904, provided many years of capable leadership.

In private meetings at St. John's College chaired by Bishop Machray, the representatives of the colleges agreed that the curriculum of study and the method of examination would be similar to that prevalent in English universities. The arts programme, which was revised periodically by the Board, constituted a three year course following the passing of preliminary examinations. At the end of the first year, the student wrote a set of papers known as the previous examinations. At the end of the second year, he wrote the Junior B. A. examinations. Finally, at the conclusion of the third or final year he wrote the senior B. A. examinations to receive his degree. General, special, and honour courses could be elected in the junior and senior B. A. year. The courses offered were generally an extension of what had been studied in secondary school, with a continued emphasis on classics and mathematics which would "train the logical and literary faculties of the students."⁸

Bishop Machray, a strong supporter of the idea of a non-denominational university, thought the prospects of the new University were very promising. In an address to the Synod of 1877, he summed up his own satisfaction with the new university in these words:

⁸Ibid., p. 38.

.... On the whole, it has a constitution about as satisfactory as could be devised in the immediate conditions of things. It unites all the denominations and colleges in the examinations for degrees in Arts, Sciences, Medicine, and Law, by its recognition of the denominational colleges, with their own internal government secured to them it satisfies those who feel the first importance of a religious character and control, while it does not prevent the affiliation of colleges independent of such direction. It also at the same time secures for the different denominations, with the consent of their governing bodies, the power of establishing in their colleges a faculty for conferring theological degrees. I feel very much gratified with the result. All is gained that I desired.⁹

Beneath the aura of optimism and high purpose associated with its founding, the University had small beginnings in St. John's, as in the other colleges. The Bishop's nephew, Robert Machray, later recalled going to the house of the University Registrar, Major Jarvis, in October, 1877, with five others from St. John's, destined to be the first students to be matriculated in the University.

... The small band of six, nothing loth, but hardly realizing the dignity of their position as the first undergraduates of a university destined some day to be great, walked from St. John's across the snow to Point Douglas, Winnipeg where the Major lived. Finding him at home, the writer, Robert Machray who acted as spokesman, told the Major of the nature of the business on which they had come, whereupon he smiled and looked a little blank, observing that there was no university register yet in existence. However, he was equal to the occasion, produced a half-sheet of ordinary writing-paper and bade them inscribe their names upon it! Thus and thus were the beginnings of the University of Manitoba...¹⁰

⁹Machray, Life of Robert Machray, p. 275.

¹⁰Ibid., p. 277.

Enrolment slowly increased. Total enrolment in arts courses at the three constituent colleges stood at seven in 1878, and rose to sixteen in 1879 and twenty-seven in 1880.¹¹ Of the students writing University examinations above the preliminary level, St. John's accounted for seven in 1879, and six in 1880. Seldom did a student devote full time to the arts course. Most of the Johnians studied arts and theology simultaneously. Three, R. Machray, J. C. Flett and A. Pinkham, in addition served as lecturers in the College School.

The University instruction at St. John's was given by members of the Faculty of Theology, which had been set up in 1877 when the two year degree course leading to the Bachelor of Divinity degree was introduced. The Bishop continued as Warden and Professor of Ecclesiastical History, while Canon Grisdale continued as Professor of Systematic Theology and became deputy Warden. Canon O'Meara remained Professor of Exegetical Theology. The Reverend Walter Beck, precentor of St. John's Cathedral and diocesan inspector of choirs, was the first to provide lectures in church music. In 1879, he was succeeded by the Reverend S. M. Lake. In addition to their other duties, the professors of theology and some of the masters of the School taught arts courses; the Bishop himself took charge of the

¹¹Archbishop Robert Machray, "History of the University of Manitoba," Canada, An Encyclopedia of the Country, Vol. IV (Toronto, 1898), p. 259.

mathematics teaching. Records of examination results in the College Minutes reveal that the professors placed a great emphasis on mathematics and classics. The arts subjects listed for examination at Christmas 1878 were as follows: Homer, Sallust, Pro Archia, Latin Prose, Macbeth, Green's History, arithmetic, Euclid, algebra, and French. The Bachelor of Divinity examinations could be written only by theology students who had passed the previous examinations of the University in Latin, Greek, and mathematics. Seven papers were written for the first year B. D. examinations, and nine were written for the second year.¹²

The distinction of producing the first graduate of the University was given to Manitoba College when W. R. Gunn was the sole B. A. graduate in 1880. The following year six students graduated, including two from St. John's, W. T. B. Kennedy and R. F. McLennan.¹³ In that year also, the College Council of St. John's agreed to grant its first B. D. degrees to S. P. Matheson, George McKay, Robert Machray and James Flett, who had recently completed their courses, and to three other students when they passed the second year examination in Hebrew.¹⁴

Notwithstanding its early accomplishments, the Bishop perceived that the tiny theological and classical College

¹²"S.J.C. Board Minutes," April 17, 1880.

¹³Alexander Begg, History of the North-West (Toronto, 1894), Vol. 2, p. 393.

¹⁴"S.J.C. Council Minutes," April 17, 1880.

would have to expand considerably to keep its position as a major theological training centre in the fast developing Diocese, and the newly organized Ecclesiastical Province of Rupert's Land. The western boom and the beginnings of western migration, following the arrival of the railway from Minnesota in 1878, greatly increased the need of the Anglican Church for clergymen in Manitoba and the Northwest. The Church in eastern Canada failed to send out any considerable number of Anglican clergymen to accompany the influx of settlers. St. John's College bore the great responsibility of training and supplying the additional men. The responsibility for training Indian missionaries remained also. The Reverend W. A. Burman, before graduating from St. John's, established a new mission for the Sioux in 1879, but many more missionaries were needed.

Two attempts to found other Anglican colleges in the Northwest were to meet with only slight and temporary success. In 1879, Bishop McLean founded Emmanuel College at Prince Albert as a theological college and a secondary school preparing students to write University of Manitoba matriculation examinations.¹⁵ The Bishop served as the Warden and chief instructor, ably assisted by the Reverend John A. MacKay, a graduate of St. John's. In 1882, the

¹⁵ Jean E. Murray, "The Early History of Emmanuel College," Saskatchewan History, IX (Autumn, 1956), 87.

College secured a charter from the Canadian government as the first University of Saskatchewan. Seven clergymen were known to have received all, or part, of their training there before Bishop McLean's death in 1886. In 1887, his successor, Bishop W. C. Pinkham, finding the College too advanced for the country, allowed it to revert to an Indian boarding school under Rev. MacKay's direction. Theological courses were not re-introduced in Emmanuel College until 1908. The other western college, St. John's College, Qu'Appelle, was opened in 1885 by Bishop Anson as an agricultural school and theological college, but closed nine years later, lacking resources to continue.¹⁶

Never having much confidence in the establishment of colleges in the Northwest territories, Bishop Machray always maintained that St. John's College, Winnipeg, would have to bear most of the responsibility for training clergy in his vast ecclesiastical province. Rapid expansion of College facilities was essential to his plans. The cramped, makeshift quarters providing classrooms and residential accommodation in the old bakehouse and laundry buildings, he insisted, would have to be replaced by a new substantial building away from the College School.¹⁷ The burden on the professors of divinity reached a new height in the fall

¹⁶L.N. Murray, "St. John's College, Qu'Appelle 1885-1894," Saskatchewan History XI (Winter, 1958), 29.

¹⁷Report of the Synod of the Diocese of Rupert's Land (Winnipeg, 1878), p. 10.

of 1880 when they were required to teach a multiplicity of subjects offered in all three years of the arts programme. Examination lists show two St. John's students in third year, three in second year, and eight in first year.¹⁸ The Bishop was anxious to see endowments established for the teaching of arts subjects. The constant fear in his mind that the influence of the Anglican Church might be surpassed by other denominations was heightened when the new St. Boniface College was built in 1880, and the new Manitoba College structure was erected in 1881. Expansion was essential for survival.

Between 1878 and 1882, Bishop Machray concentrated his efforts on raising funds for buildings and endowments. Severe economic depression dogged the appeal for funds in England by Canon Grisdale early in 1878, but, in spite of the depression, the Bishop, while in England to attend the Lambeth Conference in the fall of 1878, carried on the campaign with considerable success. Before returning to Winnipeg in 1879, he raised £2500 from individuals in England and sizable grants from the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, amounting to £1000 for the St. John's College building fund, £500 each for the endowment of the chairs of Exegetical Theology and Ecclesiastical History, and £300 for

¹⁸"S.J.C. Board Minutes," Examination Results, Christmas 1880.

divinity student scholarships.¹⁹ Soon after his return to Winnipeg, local economic conditions improved, and a temporary land boom enabled him to sell \$100,000 worth of Cathedral lands.²⁰ The good times also led local churchmen to subscribe \$20,000 for the St. John's College building fund.²¹

Staff expansion and re-organization at St. John's began in 1882 when Canon Grisdale replaced the Bishop as Dean of Rupert's Land, and moved to the new professorial Chair of Pastoral Theology. Canon O'Meara succeeded the Dean as Professor of Systematic Theology, and S. P. Matheson, in addition to his duties as Deputy Headmaster of the College School, took on the Chair of Exegetical Theology. An additional Canonry was established for the Archdeacon of Manitoba, W. C. Pinkham, who carried on extensive diocesan duties outside of the College. In 1882, Dean Grisdale, travelled to England to campaign for money to establish an endowment fund for teachers of arts subjects. In England, he distributed a circular, issued by Bishop Machray, emphasizing the vital importance of St. John's College to the Church in the expanding Northwest. The appeal, however, yielded only moderate returns.²²

¹⁹Machray, Life of Robert Machray, p. 281.

²⁰Ibid., p. 301.

²¹Ibid., p. 305.

²²Ibid., p. 299.

The following year, 1883, brought further additions to the College staff when two new theology professors were appointed. One, the Bishop's nephew, the Reverend Robert Machray, who had begun his arts studies at St. John's but had completed his B. A. course at Cambridge, replaced his uncle as Professor of Ecclesiastical History. The other, the Reverend G. F. Coombes, an M. A. graduate from Cambridge, took the new Chair of the Professor of Music and also acted as the precentor of the Cathedral. Both men were made Canons of the Cathedral. Each took over some of the load of arts teaching, Canon Machray teaching classical history, and Canon Coombes, a brilliant classicist, relieving Canon O'Meara of honours classics instruction. Other arts subjects also were shared by the professors of theology. Canon O'Meara continued to lecture in moral and mental philosophy, the Bishop in mathematics, the Dean in English, and Canon Matheson in Hebrew.

The new College building opened in 1884. Fronting on the west side of Main Street at Church Avenue, two city blocks from the river bank, the College School and the Cathedral, occupied a four acre site on the two river lots belonging to the Church. The building, a handsome three-and-a-half storey brick structure flanked by two towers, provided spacious classroom and living accommodation for its twenty students, all but two in residence, on the two

lower floors alone;²³ but, in step with the optimism of future growth which reigned in the community, the Bishop and the College Council visualized that, with increased enrolment, ultimately the building would serve as a wing of a larger College.²⁴

Ironically, the completion of this first wing was accompanied by discouraging economic circumstances. The end of the land boom in 1883 had brought great economic hardship to the citizens of Winnipeg. Many who had pledged subscriptions to the building fund were unable to keep their word. Revenue payments from mortgages of land sold by the College and Cathedral during the preceding "land boom" also declined, and land recovered by foreclosures only increased the tax burden. This caused a further loss of funds.²⁵ To reduce the cost of maintaining separate locations for the College and School, the College students were returned in 1885 to their old quarters on the river bank adjoining the School. An investigating committee of the Diocesan Synod was appointed in the same year to check the financial position of the College and its prospects for the future.

The report of the committee delivered in the Synod in 1886 emphasized the plight of the College. College students returned to the new building in that year, but

²³Report of the Synod of the Diocese of Rupert's Land
(Winnipeg, 1885), p. 22.

²⁴"S.J.C. Council Minutes," November 14, 1882.

²⁵Machray, Life of Robert Machray, p. 328.

financial difficulties continued. In addition to the current economic hardship, the report showed further strain was imposed on the College by the multiplicity of courses it was expected to offer. In the case of the six students in the junior B. A. year alone, the divergence of courses was self-evident. Two students were in classical honours, one in mathematics honours, one in mental and moral science honours, one in modern language honours, and one in natural science honours.²⁶ Most of the instructional work was shouldered by the professors of theology. In addition, the work and responsibilities of the Dean and Chapter in outlying areas increased with the coming of railways and the founding of new settlements. As well as regular duties at the Cathedral, St. George's, Winnipeg and St. Paul's, Morris, the professors and senior theology students were required to serve in mission churches at Portage La Prairie, Manitoba Penitentiary, Stonewall, Victoria, Poplar Point, High Bluff, and other populated areas where no regular clergyman was in attendance.

An inherent weakness in the financial structure of St. John's College, the lack of adequate provision for meeting the costs of instruction in arts and science courses, produced increasing difficulties by the late 1880's. A general endowment yielded small sums for the College, while

²⁶Report of the Synod of the Diocese of Rupert's Land (Winnipeg, 1886), p. 60.

substantial endowments in the chairs of Systematic Theology, Exegetical Theology and Ecclesiastical History, and smaller ones in Pastoral Theology and Music provided income for theology professors. No similar source of revenue, however, was open to other instructors, and tuition fees were not sufficient to cover the costs. The burden of University instruction, originally shared by the theology professors with some assistance from the masters of the College School, became unbearable as the number of courses examined by the University increased, especially in the fields of science and modern languages. Because the theology professors had neither the time nor, in many cases, the background to teach advanced courses in these fields, additional lecturers were essential, in spite of the lack of revenue. Positions were filled, often on a temporary or part time basis, by local clergy. Lists of the College instructional staff include: the Reverend A. L. Parker, teaching English, Classics, mathematics and natural science in the early 1880's; the Reverend O. Fortin, teaching French in 1885; the Reverend J. J. Roy, teaching French and German from 1886 to 1889; and the Reverend W. A. Burman, teaching Botany in the 1890's. A significant addition was the hiring of Mr. Edgar Kenrick, a layman and graduate of the University of Toronto, as a lecturer in natural science in 1887. A small laboratory was then set up in the College.²⁷

²⁷St. John's College Magazine, Vol. III (October, 1887), 105.

By the late 1880's, however, the expanding University programme required more facilities and instructors than the strained resources of St. John's could provide.

A dilemma, resulting from increasing demands imposed by the University, confronted all the church colleges, but none was affected more than St. John's College. The paucity of financial resources at St. John's, and the resulting shortage of instructors, other than the overburdened theological staff, made any further extension of subjects practically impossible. Bishop Machray, known for his Low Church leanings, was not averse to secular involvement in education. As early as 1887, he proposed that the colleges abandon arts instruction entirely, leaving it as the responsibility of the government supported University, while they continued to operate as theological institutions with residence facilities for University students.²⁸ In 1889, the University Council members, with the exception of those from St. Boniface College, agreed that the time had come for the University to become a teaching institution.

The decision to establish a teaching University was supported by the three Protestant colleges and by powerful secular groups who a year later supported the establishment of a secular school system in Manitoba. Bishop Tache and the six other representatives of St. Boniface College

²⁸Machray, Life of Robert Machray, p. 343.

vehemently opposed the Council's decision, and declared that they would never have supported the formation of the University twelve years earlier if the inaccuracies in the printed version of the University Act had not hidden from them any intention to have it become a teaching university. Over this objection, the Council voted seventeen to seven that the University establish chairs in chemistry, geology, physics, biology, mathematics and modern languages in honours and other courses above the previous year.²⁹ However, the refusal of the Federal government, as a result of Bishop Tache's urging, to allow the sale of lands which it had set aside for University revenue purposes, left the Council without sufficient funds to establish professorial chairs. As an alternative arrangement to meet the needs of the time, the three Protestant colleges secured Council approval to a proposal that the colleges combine their resources in science instruction if the University would provide central quarters and instructional facilities for this joint undertaking. The University provided a flat equipped for science teaching in the old McIntyre Block on Main Street. The colleges provided the instructors - Mr. Edgar Kenrick from St. John's teaching chemistry, the Reverend George Bryce of Manitoba teaching zoology, botany and some astronomy, and Dr. G. J. Laird of Wesley teaching

²⁹Morton, One University, pp. 44, 45.

both geology and physics to students of the three Protestant colleges. For a time, this arrangement was successful in meeting the growing demands of the community. The total enrolment figures in the combined classes climbed from sixty-one in the 1890-91 academic year to one hundred and twenty-four the following term.³⁰

During the late 1880's and the 1890's, St. John's and the other Protestant colleges grew rapidly in enrolment and satisfied the increased demands of the expanding population. The time was an era of colleges. The colleges retained their teaching function and jointly operated the University, while friendly competition among them grew for academic and athletic honours. College individuality was not lost. St. John's particularly retained its own character as a residential college serving the entire Northwest. The failure of the two tiny western theological colleges at Prince Albert and Qu'Appelle left St. John's unchallenged as the training centre for western Anglican clergy. Students from northern posts who had earlier attended the College School often remained to receive arts instruction, and the close fellowship achieved by many years of living and studying together extended to the college level. In addition, there was an increasing number of local students, many of whom were matriculants of the public school system.

³⁰Ibid., pp. 46, 47.

Enrolment figures passed twenty in 1885, and grew to over fifty by the mid 1890's. With a decline in the proportion of theology students as arts enrolment climbed, the professors carefully preserved the religious emphasis in the College. Daily attendance at chapel services was compulsory. Every Sunday, resident students were required to attend both the morning and evening services at the Cathedral where special seats were appropriated for their use, if they were not engaged in other Church work at the time.³¹ All students were encouraged to read the scriptures. A prize in memory of Archdeacon Cowley, who died in 1887, was set up in 1889 to be awarded annually to the student who showed a most proficient knowledge of the English Bible. As well as theology students, many students taking arts courses, and even some pupils of the College School, keenly participated in the contest.³²

As the College grew, an active and varied programme of extra-curricular activities emerged in which both students and professors took part. Evidence as to the extent and nature of these activities is best revealed in the St. John's College Magazine which by 1887, its third year in operation, was published eight times a year. It was first edited by Canon Coombes with assistance from students and other staff members, but in 1889 the editorship passed into student

³¹"S.J.C. Board Minutes," January 7, 1889.

³²St. John's College Magazine, Vol. VII (July, 1891), 624.

hands. The Magazine displayed a high standard of writing, covering a broad spectrum, including news of the various organizations and athletic teams in the College and School, statistical reports from the College weather observatory, reminiscences of former students, and many articles of educational interest interspersed with bits of College humour.

Athletics occupied an important place in the student life at St. John's. The Magazine reported with considerable detail a wide variety of athletic activities enjoyed by St. John's students. Football was the first team sport to gain prominence. By the late 1880's, teams fielded in both Association and Rugby football played frequently, and usually, it appears, victoriously, against teams from the other church colleges and Medical College. Johnians also showed remarkable prowess in hockey, winning the championship more often than not, when it became an inter-collegiate sport in the mid 1890's. By this time, a keen competitive spirit among the colleges was becoming increasingly evident. Also, competitive spirit within the College was demonstrated in the track and field events held at St. John's annual sports day in which both students and staff participated. Other sporting activities enjoyed by the students in the nineties were cricket and lawn tennis in the summer months, and snowshoeing and curling throughout the winter.

Athletics was but one aspect of a varied programme of extra-curricular activities. Other activities developed under the guidance of the instructors who appreciated the values of a broad education for their students. The St. John's College Literary Society emerged in the 1880's as an organization to encourage both written and oral expression. In addition to publishing the St. John's College Magazine, the Society held meetings, frequently before a large student audience, at which students and professors gave recitations or engaged in formal debates. In theatrical groups, which developed within the College from time to time, students and professors jointly staged concerts and dramatic productions, which were enjoyed by the general public. Another important organization within the College was the Church Society, which held frequent meetings at which students and staff discussed spiritual matters and the evangelical and missionary work of the Anglican Church.

Living conditions within the College underwent a notable change after the Board decided, in 1890 as an economy measure, to move the boys of the College School to the College building on Main Street. With the beginning of the 1890-1891 term, the twenty-three College students saw fifty-five boys crowding into the once spacious building and occupying the third flat and most of the lecture rooms.³³

³³ Machray, Life of Robert Machray, p. 370.

Cramped conditions prevailed for the next twenty-two years while School and College existed side by side in the same building.

Under Bishop Machray's leadership, good order and a scholarly atmosphere were maintained in the 1890's with few interruptions, in spite of the crowded conditions in the College and School. The Bishop, in his capacities as Warden and Headmaster, disciplined students and pupils guilty of misdemeanors. Boys under sixteen years of age at the College School were subject to rigorous discipline. For very minor offences they were "gated" or confined to their quarters;³⁴ for more serious offences they were flogged by the Bishop himself, with the aid of a tawse, "a leather strap cut into strips and knotted."³⁵ The following excerpt from the "Board Minutes" written in the Bishop's own hand indicates, however, that the College students also, including those studying theology, were not above playing pranks on their professors on occasion:

The Warden brought before the College grave misconduct acknowledged by four students . . . in their being implicated in grave impertinence towards one of the teachers of the College, Mr, Kenrick. They carried off and hid his bicycle, causing thereof such injury to it that a new wheel had to be obtained, and afterwards repeated their action with the repaired bicycle.³⁶

Punishments in the case of the College students were seldom

³⁴W. A. Griesbach, I Remember (Toronto, 1946), p. 158.

³⁵Charles Camsell, Son of the North (Toronto, 1954), p. 28.

³⁶"S.J.C. Board Minutes," February 8, 1896.

severe. Often a stern warning sufficed. In the rare instance when a student was deemed incorrigible, expulsion followed. In the case of the professor's bicycle:

It was resolved that the Warden should see each of the students and warn those who were theological students and exhibitioners that they would not be continued as theological students unless their conduct was entirely changed and that the above students write an apology to Mr. Kenrick and offer to meet the cost of the repairing of the instrument.³⁷

Bishop Machray always retained a sincere personal interest in the College students and boys of the College School. When duty required his absence from Winnipeg, he frequently discussed the progress of individual boys and students with Canon Matheson at the College through the mail.³⁸ In addition to teaching some of the mathematics courses and serving as Warden and Headmaster of College and School and Chancellor of the University of Manitoba, the Bishop returned to the Chair of Ecclesiastical History when illness forced his nephew, Canon Robert Machray, to resign in 1889. As well as the endowment of the Chair of Ecclesiastical History, which he had developed with his own funds, he began another endowment, known as the Machray Fellowship, to support a professor in an arts subject. In 1893, his responsibilities increased when he became Archbishop and Primate of all Canada. The Archbishop was able to lighten

³⁷Ibid.

³⁸P.A.M., Matheson Papers, Bishop R. Machray to Canon S. P. Matheson, December 17, 1886.

his burdens somewhat in 1899, when the Fellowship had amassed sufficient funds for him to appoint one of his former students, the Reverend James Cross, Machray Fellow and Professor of Mathematics.

The growing population of the Province, and favourable conditions which the Archbishop had developed within the College itself, enabled St. John's to achieve considerable stability in the 1890's. Regular income from endowments in the chairs of theology, the length of tenure of professors Grisdale, O'Meara, Matheson, and Coombes, and the co-operative arrangement with the other colleges and the University in the teaching of science provided St. John's with a firm base for survival, in spite of a continuing shortage of funds. Lay instructors were hired in the field of modern languages. Mr. H. J. King lectured in French for a year until 1893, when he was succeeded by St. John's first lady instructor, Madame Morleau de Beauviere. Mr. R. A. W. Magnusson lectured in German on a part time basis while completing his B. A. at St. John's. Enrolment fluctuated during the 1890's, but generally its trend was upward, the low being twenty-six in 1890-1891 and the high, seventy-four in 1897-1898. A small but increasing number of these students were ladies in the years following 1892, when four ladies, the first to appear in College records, entered the previous course in arts.

Valuable additions to St. John's library were made during this period. The original library begun by Bishop Anderson had been supplemented over the years by donations from individuals and from Church Societies. In 1897, the Vicar of St. Paul's, Whitechapel, London, the Reverend Daniel Greateorex, who was keenly concerned about Church work in western Canada, donated to the College a priceless collection of Bibles and other religious books dating back to the fifteenth century. Among the volumes donated were one volume of Nicolai Decretalium, which was published by Johannem Gotfredi in 1417, De Miseria Curatorium, published in 1489, and several fifteenth, sixteenth and seventeenth century Bibles in the Turkish, Coptic, Dutch, Latin, German, Greek, French and English languages. The library was also accumulating gifts of Bibles and religious books translated or written in the nineteenth century by Anglican missionaries in the Cree, Ojibway, Beaver, Dakota, Blackfoot and Eskimo dialects. In terms of utility, the library had its limitations, however. Because of ever present financial difficulties at the College, few books were purchased, and contemporary reference works which would have been valuable to arts students were in short supply. Library facilities were further hampered by the inadequate provisions for heating the large two storey room where the books were housed.

The 1880's and 1890's provided not only a period of growth and consolidation, but also one of transition for St. John's. The growth of Manitoba's population from 62,260 in 1881 to 152,506 in 1891³⁹ thrust on St. John's the immediate task of training clergy and lay scholars to serve in the rapidly developing community. A shift in emphasis away from its historic role as a centre of evangelism, to its new role gradually became more apparent. Students were increasingly of British, rather than Indian or Half Breed extraction. Some St. John's graduates, such as A. C. Garrioch, the Athabasca missionary, served in the Northwest, but, in the 1890's, they became the exception rather than the rule. The most pressing challenge of the College by the turn of the century lay not in the entire Ecclesiastical Province, but principally in the settled parts within the local Diocese.

The rapid development of Manitoba also forced a change in the relationships between the University and the colleges. The increase in University enrolment to over two hundred students and growing demands for more advanced and diverse courses within the sciences created a severe strain on the existing co-operative system of science instruction which the colleges provided. Government assistance, however, was necessary before increased facilities could be provided.

³⁹Morton, One University, p. 42.

In 1897, Premier Greenway's Liberal government amended the University Act to permit the expenditure of \$60,000 on the University and a normal school from the proceeds of the sale of lands to be provided by the Federal government. The following year, the Federal government transferred these lands directly to the University Council and, in addition, gave an area of land on Broadway Avenue, known as the Old Driving Park, to the Provincial government for educational purposes. The University Council and the Provincial government agreed that a building for science instruction should be erected on this site. This decision was made in spite of objections from the Council representatives from St. John's and St. Boniface Colleges who considered the Broadway site too remote from their buildings. After the Greenway government was replaced by Sir Hugh John MacDonal'd's Conservative government in 1899, the Council gained the right to appoint professors, subject to the Lieutenant-Governor-in-Council's consent. Meanwhile, fire had forced the science classes to move in 1898 from the McIntyre Building to temporary quarters in the Davis Block on Market and King Street, to await the erection of the new building.

With the turn of the century, the University began to develop as a teaching body. In 1900, with only six thousand dollars at its disposal for salaries, it engaged professors Bryce, Laird and Kenrick to continue teaching, with half of

their salary being paid by the University instead of by the colleges. In the same year, the University arts course was extended from three years to four years, a change Chancellor Machray favoured because of inferior standards of the secondary schools.⁴⁰ The following year, science instruction found permanent quarters with the opening of the University Science Building on the Broadway site.

In 1904, the University at last assumed full responsibility for science instruction. With the aid of a grant from Lord Strathcona, the University established the Faculty of Science and appointed six full time professors: Frank Allan to the Chair of Physics and Mineralogy, A. H. R. Buller to Botany and Geology, R. R. Cochrane to Mathematics, M. A. Parker to Chemistry, Swale Vincent to Physiology and Gordon Bell to Bacteriology.⁴¹ Thereafter, the colleges could devote their attention to other subjects.

On the ninth day of March, 1904, St. John's sustained a great loss with the death of Archbishop Machray in his seventy-third year. The College was perhaps the most significant monument to his thirty-eight years of skilful and tireless work in the Diocese. The majority of clergy in his Diocese and many others in the Northwest had studied under his direction. Archbishop Machray had written six years before his death:

⁴⁰Ibid., p. 54.

⁴¹Ibid., p. 67.

In 1897 there were 48 of the clergy from the College, including 11 of the Indian missionaries; there were other graduates of the College in eight of the western and north-western Dioceses. Indeed, if clergymen had not been attracted from time to time to the American Church, the College would for years have amply supplied the wants of the Diocese. There are clergy from the College in ten of the American Dioceses.⁴²

The College now firmly established, the principal task of his successor, S. P. Matheson, who had long served as Canon, professor and Assistant Headmaster, would be to determine the place of the College in a new era- the era of the teaching University.

⁴²Archbishop Robert Machray, "The Church of England in Rupert's Land," Canada, the Encyclopedia of a Country, Vol. II (Toronto, 1898), p. 367.

CHAPTER IV
THE RISE OF THE UNIVERSITY

The boom period in the early years of the twentieth century made pressing demands on the University and its colleges. The swelling of the population of Manitoba from 255,211 in 1901 to 461,630 a decade later,¹ accompanied by a growing interest in academic and professional training, created conditions far beyond what the "republic of colleges" could handle with its limited resources. A clamour of public opinion followed, demanding an extension of government aid to cover the costs of teaching in arts subjects as well as the sciences. Debate in educational and political circles by 1906 centered on various proposals for extending teaching at the University to include all subjects other than theology. The role of the church colleges in the expanded University and the location of a permanent University site were issues hotly contested. The University Council and the Provincial government were debating the merits of alternative sites for the University in Tuxedo, West Kildonan and St. Vital.

Three general approaches to the problem of University development, were put forward.² Some members of the staff of St. Boniface and Wesley colleges, fearing further govern-

¹Morton, One University, p. 64.

²Ibid., pp. 65, 66.

ment encroachment in education, strongly favoured retaining the traditional structure of the "republic of colleges" with no extension of University teaching beyond the sciences. Fervent secularists, including representatives of the Medical College and some from Manitoba College, proposed that the church colleges abandon all arts instruction to the state-supported University. In the Anglican community there was not a strong demand for the teaching of secular subjects in a church college, and St. John's College adopted an intermediate position, expressing a willingness to adapt to the conditions of a teaching University and a desire to locate its buildings on or near the University site so that close relations would be maintained. In 1906, Canon J. O. Murray, then Professor of Systematics and Philosophy at St. John's, expressed the view of his College "that the right solution of the question was that the University should undertake a higher form of University work and that the colleges should do tutorial and individual work; also that University policy should permit . . . the establishment of any denominational colleges or even secular institutions on a central University site."³

The time of doubt and speculation was also one of optimism and development for St. John's. The decade preceding the First World War saw the College enrolment rise

³Canadian Annual Review of Public Affairs (Toronto, 1907), 1906, p. 446.

from forty-nine to ninety-eight, with an increasing number of day students on the rolls. The new Archbishop, S. P. Matheson, who assumed his predecessor's role as Warden of the College and Chancellor of the University, maintained at the College its traditional emphasis on classical and mathematical studies in addition to its theological training. Students travelled three miles, their carfare paid by the University, to receive science instruction in the University's Broadway building. Overcrowded conditions at the College and remoteness from the University buildings were expected to disappear shortly with the erection of a new College building near the University site. College endowments, including a general endowment of \$60,000.00, a professorial endowment of \$85,000, and the Machray Fellowship of about \$25,000⁴, were supplemented by \$29,000 raised by the Reverend W. J. Garton for a new building fund, and a \$10,000 donation from Lord Strathcona. With this money St. John's College purchased a piece of property for about \$11,400 on the west side of Osborn Street, diagonally across the road from the University's Broadway site.⁵ Only delay in agreement between the University Council and the Provincial government on the location of the permanent University site, prevented the immediate construction of the new College building.

⁴Machray, Life of Robert Machray, p. 453.

⁵Boon, The Anglican Church From the Bay to the Rockies, p. 271.

The maintenance of a competent and dedicated staff was very important to the success of St. John's in the pre-war years. The loss of two professors who had served many years under Archbishop Machray, John Grisdale, who was elected Bishop of Qu'Appelle in 1896, and J. D. O'Meara, who died in 1901, as well as the elevation of S. P. Matheson to the episcopate, left vacancies which fortunately were filled by men of insight and ability, whose length of service would surpass even that of their predecessors. Additions to the College staff included four men who had studied at St. John's in the 1880's: the Reverend James Cross, Machray Fellow and Professor of Mathematics from 1898 to 1940; the Reverend J. W. Matheson, who from 1905 to 1945 remained at the College in the capacity of Lecturer and Professor of Pastoral Theology, and between 1922 and 1934 served as Dean of Rupert's Land; the Reverend E. M. Phair, the Dean and Professor of Classics from 1905 until his drowning in the Lusitania disaster of 1915; and the Reverend E. W. Gill, who from 1910 to 1939 served as Professor of Pastoral Theology and Lecturer in English and Classics. Other new members of the Theology staff were: Canon J. O. Murray, a graduate of Trinity College, Dublin, who, as Professor of Systematic Theology and Philosophy, spent two periods at St. John's - from 1902 to 1918 and from 1926 to 1943 - and Canon Richard Talbot, the Headmaster of the School and

Professor of Exegetical Theology from 1906 to 1912. A layman who joined the staff in 1905 to instruct in modern languages, Mr. A. D. Baker, remained, with one brief absence, until 1945. From 1903, business responsibilities of the College were handled by a Bursar, the Reverend W. A. Burman, who continued also to lecture in botany until his death in 1909. His son, Mr. Walter Burman, a master in the College School, then took over the Bursar's duties. As the College expanded, the need for a full time Warden grew, but these duties remained with Archbishop Matheson until the appointment of the Reverend J. J. Robinson as Warden in 1913.

Despite increasing enrolment in the arts course, St. John's retained its distinct character as a theological college. From one third to one half of the students at St. John's were studying with the view of entering the ministry. Of the seventy-four students attending the College in the academic year 1906-1907, eleven studied theology alone, and twenty-four combined theological studies with their arts courses.⁶ A large proportion of these students were British or Eastern Canadian by birth. Many of them had come to train for service in Manitoba with financial assistance from the missionary societies.

The religious tone of the College was heightened and

⁶S.J.C.F., 1907.

its evangelical work stimulated, by the formation of religious societies. Although formed primarily for students in theology, these societies were open to all students. In 1906, the Church Society was supplemented by another organization, a local branch of the Brotherhood of St. Andrew, with its five members all adhering to the Brotherhood's twofold rule - to pray each day for the spread of Christ's kingdom, and to endeavour to bring one soul each week to Christ. By 1907-1908, there were nine members "and a good number of probationers" at the College.⁷ A missionary society was formed in 1910 to support missionary activities in the Northwest and in foreign lands. One student who was active in the Society, A. J. Williams, after graduation in 1911, left Canada to engage in missionary work in the Diocese of Honan, China.⁸

A mention was made in the pages of the St. John's College Magazine of some basic problems confronting theology students of that time. While a writer in the Magazine jokingly suggested that the course could do with more practical subjects such as "The Horse and How to Manage Him,"⁹ a more serious criticism in the valedictory speech of 1911, complaining of the crowded facilities and a lack of attention paid to theology students by their overworked professors,

⁷St. John's College Magazine (November, 1907), 33.

⁸Ibid., (November, 1911), 28.

⁹Ibid. (December, 1909), 19.

brought a more serious problem to light.¹⁰ Also, regular weekend mission duties apparently taxed the theology students heavily. A request that this service be required on alternate, instead of consecutive, weeks was turned down by the College Board in 1913 because of the great demand for these services - for the nineteen qualified students there were seventeen mission churches, each requiring a student.¹¹

A considerable obstacle to arts students was the remoteness of St. John's from the University. Isolation, however, encouraged a distinctive and independent development. The College retained a particular character, a blend created by the extension to the College level of the residential solidarity and classical tradition of the College School, on the one hand, and the sense of mission of a theological college on the other. Enrolment was always heavily weighted in favour of the first and second year arts students, many of them securing qualifications for entrance into professional schools. Senior classes, which often contained as few as four or five members, received the benefit of more individual instruction but also, on occasion, suffered from the lack of stimulating competition afforded in larger classes.

Student extra-curricular activities helped to create the feeling of "oneness" that prevailed at the College in these

¹⁰Ibid. (Midsummer, 1911), 32.

¹¹"S.J.C. Board Minutes," October 3, 1913.

years. Literary, dramatic, religious and athletic groups flourished within the College. Reports of activities in the St. John's College Magazine, which was published only sporadically when funds for its operation were available, indicate the spirit of keen participation which prevailed. Debating, always strong at St. John's, was stimulated by Canon J. O. Murray's donation of the Murray Medal to the winning debating team in the College. The rivalries of inter-collegiate sports continued as in the past. The Magazine showed its appreciation of the importance of extra-curricular activities to personal development in these words: "St. John's has ever stood for the true idea of education - the development of the bodily, the intellectual, and the spiritual sides of our complex nature - having as its goal the character of the Christian gentleman."¹²

By 1910, the pressures of mounting enrolment at St. John's in both the College and School made immediate construction of a separate College building imperative. Unfortunately, the question of a permanent University site and the course of University development were still undetermined. A Royal Commission, which was appointed in 1907 to investigate problems of University expansion, made no unanimous recommendation, but, instead, issued three separate reports which only clarified the issues that separated the traditionalists from the secularists, and both of them from St. John's,

¹²St. John's College Magazine (December, 1907), 33.

which held the intermediate position. The Provincial government and the University Council remained indecisive on the questions of a University site and plans for development.

Under these circumstances, the St. John's College Council decided not to build on the Broadway property. Instead, the Council agreed to erect a three storey building on College property across Church Avenue from the combined School and College building. The new building, designed so that it could be converted to an apartment block when the site question was settled, was constructed in 1912. The Annex, as the building was called, contained College lecture rooms on the first floor, and dormitories on the second and third floor to house the resident students and a few of the staff members. A further expansion of facilities included additions on the School premises of a rink and a gymnasium to be used by both School and College, and the extension of the old library to form a chapel, seating two hundred and fifty.

College expansion increased the need for a full-time Warden. Archbishop Matheson, beset with heavy episcopal duties, was unable to give the strong leadership that the College required. The Reverend J. J. Robinson was appointed Warden in 1913, becoming the first full time Warden since Bishop John McLean resigned almost forty years earlier. A graduate of Trinity College, Dublin, in 1872, the new Warden

had a long record of distinguished service in the Church, including many years as Dean at St. Anne's Cathedral, Belfast, before moving to Canada in 1910 to work in the Diocese of Calgary. In addition to performing the needed supervisory duties at St. John's, he lectured theology students in the Bible and elocution. Another new member of the staff was the Reverend W. A. Ferguson, of Liverpool and later of Emmanuel College, Saskatoon, who taught Latin, German and theology at St. John's from 1913 to 1916.

Meanwhile, a stronger University was developing. The mounting enrolment in the church colleges and the growth of professional schools brought increasing pressure to bear on the Provincial government and the University Council, for the extension of University teaching to include the liberal arts, as well as the sciences. In 1909, as a preliminary step, the Council agreed to extend the teaching at the University to include English, history, and political economy. University courses were revised, and their standards raised. In 1912, the Council introduced a course leading to the Bachelor of Science degree, distinct from that leading to the B. A. degree. The following year, the University's first President, Dr. J. A. MacLean, was appointed. More University chairs were established - French and German in 1913, and Classics in 1914. By that year, the entire arts programme with the exception of philosophy was taught by the University.

The question of the role of the church colleges in a teaching University had still to be answered. Manitoba College and Wesley College abandoned their arts teaching entirely to the University in 1914, retaining only theological courses. After a year's break, Wesley College resumed arts instruction in 1915, but instruction at Manitoba College thereafter remained strictly theological. St. John's College, which had long supported the development of a teaching University, and was ever short of financial resources, might have also discontinued arts teaching, if distances from the centre of University instruction had not made this impractical. Two professors of St. John's College joined the University staff in 1914, Canon Coombes moving to the classics department, and Mr. Baker to the department of modern languages of the University. Most arts courses, however, were still offered at St. John's.

The outbreak of the First World War brought a new emphasis to the University and colleges. Training and recruitment for military service overseas temporarily overshadowed academic pursuits. Students joined the Canadian Officers Training Corps of the University of Manitoba, formed in 1915, and an increasing number enlisted in the Western Universities Battalion. Nowhere did the spirit of patriotism and sacrifice rise higher than at St. John's. In the first two years of war, before conscription came into

force in 1917, forty-nine St. John's students enlisted, bringing a drastic reduction in enrolment.¹³ Two professors of the College, Canon J. O. Murray and the Reverend W. A. Ferguson, also joined the ranks.

The war years were tragic years for St. John's. The drowning of Canon Phair on the ill-fated Lusitania in May 1915, and the sudden death of the Warden, Dean J. J. Robinson, in Winnipeg a year later, were losses greatly felt. The College functioned during the latter years of the war, again under the Archbishop's direction, with a much diminished staff, and offered a limited course to the less than three dozen students who remained. In 1916, the College relinquished control of the Bachelor of Divinity course to the General Synod but retained control of the course leading to the Licentiate of Theology.¹⁴ Low enrolment and continued pre-occupation with the war effort brought the traditional student activities almost to a standstill. Attention focused on the men overseas. Of the several hundred students and graduates of the College and old boys of the College School who served in the war, forty-eight had sacrificed their lives by the summer of 1918. Their names are carefully preserved on the College Honour Roll.¹⁵

¹³ St. John's College Calendar, 1916-1917, pp. 29-30.

¹⁴ "S.J.C. Board Minutes," April 6, 1916.

¹⁵ St. John's College Calendar, 1918-1919, p. 26.

The war years were also years of change, which completed the transition of the old "republic of colleges" to the new government-controlled and centralized teaching University. Reliance on government assistance grew between 1907 and 1915, as the Conservative government of Sir Rodmond Roblin steadily increased the annual provincial grant to the University from \$6,000 to \$98,870. The Roblin government was succeeded by a Liberal government under T. C. Norris. The Liberal party, which had long advocated a strong government-controlled secular university, was finally successful in implementing its policies when the University Amendment Act was passed in 1917. The Act broke with tradition, completely discarding the University of London concept of a federation of colleges. It established in its place a more centrally controlled University, based on the principles of the University of Toronto Act of 1906.

The church colleges remained in affiliation, free to teach any subject, but no longer having any control over the University. A Board of Governors nominated by the Lieutenant-Governor-in-Council assumed the full responsibility of directing University expenditures and planning, in addition to serving as the supreme governing body. Management of academic matters, subject to review by the Board, was vested in the Senate or University Council, a body of twenty-eight, in which each affiliated college held two seats. Other

members were the Chancellor, the President, four representatives from the University faculty, two from the Agricultural College, one from the Medical College, one from the College of Physicians and Surgeons, four representing Convocation, and the remaining six appointed by the Lieutenant-Governor-in-Council.¹⁶

The University emerged from the First World War ready to assume full responsibility for higher education. The establishment of the University's Chair of Philosophy in 1920 removed one of the last traditional links between the University and the church colleges. Thereafter, St. John's and Wesley Colleges, by teaching many of the same subjects as the University, were, in effect, competing with it. Spokesmen for St. John's said that for their College, at least, isolation from University buildings made the teaching of many arts subjects, required by residential and theology students, a necessity.

Strong and enlightened leadership, so important to St. John's, was assured by the appointment in 1921 of the Reverend George Anderson Wells to the Wardenship. The new Warden, a man of both youth and stature, a sound scholar, and a keen administrator, remained at St. John's until his elevation to the episcopate in 1934. A native of Newfoundland, he moved west after serving in the Boer War, entering

¹⁶Morton, One University, p. 111.

St. John's College in 1904, where he studied for six years before graduation. For one of these years he was editor of the St. John's College Magazine. During the First World War, he was made a Companion of the Order of St. Michael and St. George for his outstanding performance as a senior Chaplain to the Canadian Army.

The Warden was joined at St. John's by the Reverend W. C. de Pauley, a young Irishman, who succeeded Canon Murray to the Chair of Systematic Theology in 1920. In 1922, Canon J. W. Matheson left the Chair of Exegetical Theology to become Dean of Rupert's Land and Professor of Ecclesiastical History and Liturgiology. He was succeeded by Canon P. W. Stephenson, an Australian experienced in educational work in India. Other staff included Canon Gill, who continued as Professor of Pastoral Theology, and English, Professor Cross, the Machray Fellow and Professor of Mathematics, and Mr. Baker, who in 1918 returned to the St. John's staff from the University to instruct in French and German. Canon Coombes continued lecturing in music at the College, as well as instructing in classics at the University, until his death in 1922. Following his death, the Reverend George Harrobin of Winnipeg took over as Lecturer of Church Music for a nominal fee.

A significant change in the administration of the College occurred in 1924 when Mr. Walter Burman was appointed

Acting Headmaster of the College School. His former position as College Bursar fell into what appeared to be good hands. The Council accepted the offer of one of its own members, Mr. J. A. Machray, a nephew of the late Archbishop, a partner in the law firm of Machray and Sharp, and Bursar of the University of Manitoba, to take over the duties of Bursar of St. John's without cost to the College.¹⁷ Mr. T. C. B. Boon handled the clerical duties at the College for twenty years beginning in 1921, first filling the position of accountant and assistant steward, and later serving as Steward and Registrar.

Under the Warden's direction, St. John's slowly but steadily emerged from its wartime decline. Registration in the two year course leading to the Licentiate of Theology was stimulated when the Warden raised additional funds for scholarships and bursaries. These included four S. P. G. Bursaries, three S. P. C. K. Studentships, the Canon Phair Memorial Bursary, the Soldiers' Memorial Bursary, the Machray Memorial Bursary, Women's Association Studentships, and the Diocesan Fund for the Training of Theology Students. Fifteen of the twenty students who enrolled in theology in 1923 combined the study of arts and theology over several years.¹⁸ As a special concession, older students often were required

¹⁷"S.J.C. Council Minutes," October 23, 1924.

¹⁸S.J.C.F., "Warden's Report to the Synod of the Diocese of Rupert's Land," July 26, 1923.

to take only two years of arts and the two in theology.

In an attempt to improve the curriculum, in 1923 the Warden secured permission from the University to introduce into the arts programme a two year course in religious education, which he made compulsory for theology students. The course included a study of the history and philosophy of education and educational psychology. It was hoped that this course would be taken by students who were preparing to teach in public schools. The ideal of fostering a closeness between the College and the teaching profession failed, however. The course proved unpopular with theology students, and it failed to attract prospective teachers. It was later discontinued by Canon Wells's successor.

Enrolment figures in the 1920's indicated a great change in the relative position of the colleges and the University. Of the 1,182 students taking courses in arts in 1923-1924, only twenty-four received all their training at St. John's, while another twelve did part of their work at the College and part at the University.¹⁹ The high academic standards of the College were maintained, nevertheless. For three consecutive years, 1923, 1924, and 1925, Johnians were recipients of Rhodes Scholarships. Manitoba College did not resume its arts teaching, but remained strictly a theological College with residence accommodation for students

¹⁹Reports on the College of Agriculture and the University of Manitoba submitted by the Royal Commission on Education and the Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching (Winnipeg, 1924), p. 59.

at the University. The other Protestant college, Wesley College, in 1923-1924, instructed sixty-four students in all subjects except in laboratory work, while an additional eighty-eight studied at both Wesley and the University.²⁰

The relative insignificance of the number of students attending the Church colleges in the University provoked comment from Dr. W. S. Learned of the Carnegie Foundation in the report of the Royal Commission on Education, which was appointed by the Bracken Government in 1923. In addition to recommending the move of the University to the Fort Garry site (formerly called St. Vital) where the Agricultural College had been built, Dr. Learned proposed that the church colleges should be relocated on the new University campus to help create an "environment which fosters clean living, intimate and wholesome associations, and the growth of an intelligent and convincing moral purpose in intellectual affairs."²¹ Dr. Learned's proposals for the colleges, although similar to the ideals long held by St. John's, received little attention at that time.

St. John's confronted new difficulties by the mid 1920's, as staff vacancies and mounting deficits, in spite of a rise in enrolment, undermined its operation. Many staff members were overworked, often spending more than twenty

²⁰Ibid.
²¹Ibid.

hours weekly in the classroom, in addition to their duties as Canons of the Cathedral.²² To help offset the situation, the College did not provide a full arts programme between 1925 and 1930, but instead limited itself to teaching men students arts subjects and chemistry in the first and second year. In the third and fourth years of the arts course, only philosophy, Hellenistic Greek, and religious education were offered at the College during this period.

Financial troubles continued through the late 1920's. An operating loss of \$8,000 in the 1926-1927 academic year was avoided the next year only by a drastic reduction in expenditures, including reduction of the library grant and the discontinuance of the annual publication of the College Calendar.²³ Income from endowments yielded only modest sums to the holders of the chairs in theology and members of the Deans and Chapter. Following the resignation of Canon Stephenson in 1926, the appointment of a successor was delayed four years because the funds were not sufficient to support a successor.

In spite of these difficulties, the College retained its traditional character largely unchanged. Under the Warden's frugal leadership, the core of staff members whose service dated back from fifteen to thirty years, Canons

²²"S.J.C. Council Minutes," May 18, 1923.

²³Ibid., March 22, 1927.

Cross, Matheson, Gill and, again after 1926, Canon Murray, and two laymen, the indefatigable linguist Mr. A. D. Baker and the accountant and chemistry teacher, Mr. T. C. B. Boon, served as a bulwark against the forces of disintegration, whether financial or otherwise. English and conservative in outlook, the staff members demonstrated continued faith and support in the late Archbishop Machray's concept of a residential college. Also, they were not isolationists, for they shared the view expressed by Dr. Learned that St. John's should be an integral part of the University. The College students had the advantage of small classes, and individual instruction enabled the slower students to receive special attention and the others to be encouraged to greater achievement.

Throughout the late 1920's, extra-curricular student activities, principally in Church, literary, and athletic societies, continued to maintain an important place in College life. As a result of careful coaching by the staff, often preceded by many years of training originating in the College School, the students of St. John's demonstrated particular skills at inter-faculty competitions in such diverse activities as hockey and debating. University student organizations appear to have had an increasing influence over students of the College, as the seniors, by necessity after 1925, took most of their arts courses on the Broadway campus. Indeed one Johnian served as editor

of the University students' newspaper, the Manitoban, in 1930 and subsequently became President of the University of Manitoba Students' Union.

In the late 1920's, despite the reduction of arts instruction, St. John's continued to fulfil her primary function, the training of candidates for the ministry. During this period, the annual enrolment in theology and pre-theology courses rose to over thirty students, many of them supported by bursaries. While most students were destined to serve in the Diocese of Rupert's Land, some were to go to the dioceses of Brandon, Edmonton, Calgary and Moosonee. In preparation for northern missions, the Cree Language was taught for at least one year, 1926.²⁴ Weekend and summer mission work in the rural areas continued as in the past.

In 1929, the long-standing dispute concerning the location of the University was finally settled when the land at the Agricultural College in Fort Garry was chosen as the permanent University site. The many years of delay and indecision which had frustrated the attempts of St. John's to become an integral part of the new University now appeared to be ending. These years had been long and hard for St. John's, but they had fostered the growth of individuality and, above all, determination, which would help the College bear up against its greatest challenge, as yet unforeseen, the crisis of the 1930's occasioned by the Machray defalcations.

²⁴"S.J.C. Council Minutes," February 24, 1926.

CHAPTER V
THE THIRTIES - DISASTER AND RECOVERY

Complete ruin of the financial structure of St. John's College was apparent with the revelation in 1932 of the defalcations of John A. Machray, K. C., one of the College's most distinguished graduates, nephew of the late Archbishop, and holder of the powerful positions of College and University Bursar, Chancellor of the Diocese of Rupert's Land, and Chairman of the University of Manitoba Board of Governors. Losses at this time of all the College's endowment funds made previous financial difficulties pale into insignificance. The subsequent recovery of St. John's was to show the underlying strength of spirit and loyalty prevailing among its staff, and its unfailing support from the community and the Canadian nation at large.

Ironically, on the eve of the crisis, the College had seemed to be embarked on a period of promise, in spite of new hardships imposed by the world-wide economic depression. New staff members included Canon H. G. G. Herklots, a young clergyman holding a Master of Arts degree from Cambridge, who arrived in 1930 as Professor of Exegetical Theology, and Miss Sybil Preudhomme, a lecturer in classics, who arrived in 1931. The reappearance of lady students in St. John's, after five years of absence, and the resumption

of instruction in senior division courses in 1930 resulted in the highest enrolment on record for the College when 106 registered in 1931-1932. The proposed move of the senior division of the University to the new Fort Garry campus in 1932 was expected in the short run to increase the enrolment at St. John's, with the addition of some of those students who preferred to continue their studies within the boundaries of the City of Winnipeg. Long-term prospects improved also with the selection of the University site. The Warden of the College looked forward to re-locating St. John's on the new University site when the depressed conditions of the economy improved enough to allow him to raise a building fund. The removal by the Dominion government of the weather station from St. John's, to the Fort Garry site, in 1932 was, in a way, symbolic of the move which the College itself hoped soon to make to end its years of isolation from the University. News of the defalcations, however, was to make survival, not advancement, the prime concern of the College.

The Machray defalcations came before the public on August 25, 1932 when, following an audit of the comptroller-general¹, Mr. Machray faced a charge in the provincial police court for the theft of \$47,451.37 in money and securities from the University. Subsequent investigations

¹Winnipeg Free Press (August 26, 1932), p. 2.

revealed that the total estimated loss of the University was \$971,086.95, which, in effect, wiped out all the productive endowments accumulated by the University.² The losses exposed obvious and inherent weakness in the financial operations of the University, where so much authority was vested in the hands of one man, that transfers of securities and mounting shortages in endowment funds went undetected for several years. Between 1917 and 1930, Mr. Machray had succeeded in preventing the Comptroller-General from making any audit of the University funds.³ The situation at St. John's was similar. Warden Wells had required an audit to be made on his appointment in 1921. The audit had revealed endowments of \$896,462.63.⁴ Since assuming the title of Bursar in 1922, Mr. Machray, using the weight of his authority, had forbidden any further audit. In the summer of 1932, a committee of three, Messrs. Preudhomme, Gardiner, and Jacob, was set up by Archbishop Isaac O. Stringer, who had become Archbishop of Rupert's Land after the retirement of Archbishop Matheson in 1931, to investigate the losses sustained by the College and Diocese.

A special meeting of the College Council was called on August 29, to announce the losses incurred by the College

²Morton, One University, p. 149.

³Ibid.

⁴Winnipeg Free Press (August 31, 1932), p. 11.

and to submit a plan for continuing operation. Council minutes record the opening of the meeting in these words:

His Grace explained the purpose of the meeting. He stated that all the funds of the College and Cathedral which were the main source for providing the teaching staff of the College as well as all the Scholarships, Bursaries, Foundations and Prizes in the College and School were seriously depleted, if not entirely lost to the College by the defalcation of the Bursar, Mr. J. A. Machray, K.C., LL.D.⁵

A special committee of the College Council was appointed to act in conjunction with the Archbishop's committee to determine the College's financial situation and report periodically to the College Council. The confused state of the records of the investment firm of Machray and Sharpe made any exact accounting of the losses impossible. At the Diocesan Synod of October 19, 1932, the various endowments and trusts which were lost by the College were estimated to be valued at \$119,560.42, in addition to \$28,586.29, which was estimated as the loss of the Dean and Chapter of St. John's Cathedral. Other losses to the Church, including the funds of northern missionary dioceses, the clergy pension and widows and orphans funds, and the endowments of the Archbishop of Rupert's Land, totaled approximately \$610,494.83.⁶

The Warden also unveiled plans for continuing operation

⁵"S.J.C. Council Minutes," August 29, 1932.

⁶Boon, The Anglican Church From the Bay to The Rockies, p. 276.

of the College. At the College Council meeting of August 29, he stated that the loss of all the College endowment funds left the students' fees as practically the only source of revenue. The tuition fees were raised to \$125 in arts, which was ten dollars less than the fee which the University charged its students; the fee at St. John's for Grade XII, a longer version of the First Year Arts course, was set at \$150. The estimated revenue from student's fees of from \$12,000 to \$14,000, it was felt, would pay the greatly reduced salaries to be offered to the professors and lecturers. Salaries for professors were more than halved and set at one hundred dollars per month plus house and fuel, while the lecturers' salaries were set as low as fifty dollars a month. Creditors of the College were to be paid on a pro-rata basis as money became available.⁷

These drastic steps could only allow the survival of the College if there was complete co-operation from the staff, the students, and the community at large. Such co-operation was immediately forthcoming. The new Chancellor of the Diocese, Mr. Jules Preudhomme, in an address at the annual commemoration service of St. John's College in Winnipeg's Royal Alexandra Hotel on November 3, lauded the spirit and determination which still prevailed at the College. "Our endowments have disappeared," he said, "but we have a richer

⁷Ibid., p. 278.

heritage in the spirit of the College. We have lost money, but we have not lost the soul of St. John's."⁸ The spirit of the College was nowhere stronger than it was with the teaching staff, who all agreed to return, despite the personal hardships imposed by the reduction in salary. Following an appeal to the community for support, the enrolment figures rose to a new high of 146 students for the 1932-1933 year. A continued confidence in St. John's, in spite of its difficulties, and the move of the University's senior division courses to the new Fort Garry campus in 1932, doubtless, contributed to the increased enrolment. Three students undertook to do all the servants' work at the College. Creditors, principally Winnipeg business firms, expressed sympathy for the plight of the College, and many accepted settlements for only a small portion of the original amount owing or expressed a willingness to await payment without interest charge.

John A. Machray, ill with cancer, never fully accounted for his part in the defalcations, but on September 22 he pleaded guilty to two charges of theft which were brought against him, one by the University of Manitoba and the other on behalf of the former head of his firm, Mr. Heber Archibald.⁹ The Church of England chose not to add to Mr. Machray's ruin and its own embarrassment by instituting

⁸ Winnipeg Free Press (November 4, 1932), p. 3.

⁹ The Canadian Annual Review of Public Affairs (Toronto, 1934), 1933, p. 278.

further prosecution. Mr. Machray was sentenced to seven years at Stony Mountain Penitentiary for both charges, the sentences to run concurrently, but after little more than one year's imprisonment he died on October 15, 1933, at the age of sixty-eight.

From September 29, 1932 to January 19, 1933, a Royal Commission, chaired by Mr. Justice F. H. Turgeon of the Saskatchewan Court of Appeal, conducted a full inquiry into the administration of University trust funds. The evidence presented to the commission was fully reported from day to day in the public press. It revealed that Mr. Machray had been insolvent for twenty years, but had carried on personal investment and speculation with the trust funds of his clients, principally the Church of England and the University, and that he disguised his misappropriations by an ingenious system of transferring real and false mortgages from one account to another.¹⁰ He used the weight of his own prestige to prevent any audit from being undertaken. His practices indicated the grave weakness of the financial administration of the College, Diocese, and University being controlled by one individual. It was obvious that the administrative practices surviving from the nineteenth century, based on personal trust, would have to be replaced by sounder and more responsible practices of collective control.

¹⁰Ibid., p. 200.

The drive for replenishing the lost endowments of the Church and College rapidly became national in scope. On October 19, an emergency meeting of the Diocesan Synod convened to prepare a report on the financial crisis. This report was submitted to a gathering of the Executive Council of the General Synod which the Most Reverend C. L. Worrel, the Archbishop of Nova Scotia and Primate of all Canada, had called on October 27 to deal with the matter. Subsequently, under the auspices of the General Synod, Canon Sydney Gould, the Secretary of the Missionary Society of the Church in Canada, carried on a three year nationwide campaign for the replenishment of all funds. Archbishop Stringer threw all his energies into the campaign, addressing meeting after meeting in eastern Canada emphasizing the need of funds for the continuation of the vital work of the Church and College. Before its conclusion in 1936, although hindered by the general economic conditions of the 1930's, the campaign ultimately was successful in restoring all the lost endowments of the College, the Diocese of Rupert's Land, and the missionary dioceses.¹¹

The intervening years were years of poverty and austerity. The burden of paring costs to maintain a stringent economy supported only by student fees fell on the Warden and the new Bursar, Mr. R. H. Pook. Expenses, even for

¹¹Canadian Churchman (October 21, 1937), p. 578.

reference books requested by professors for the library, were kept to a bare minimum. Salaries remained lower than those in the other colleges, and only limited financial aid was available for theology students. Many heavily mortgaged properties of the College and the Diocese, including the Osborne Street site and Bishop's Court, were sold as both College and Diocese attempted to consolidate their holdings. Indeed the property on which the College and the School stood remained in arrears on a mortgage to the University Land Board until 1935 when the General Synod as trustees of the College Restoration Fund placed \$25,000 at the disposal of the College.¹²

St. John's continued to grow during its period of financial crisis. Enrolment reached a peak of 149 students in the 1933-1934 academic year. For the first time, a Lady Stick, Miss Irma Malcolm, was elected to represent the girl students attending classes. Student activities, both athletic and social, retained the high place they had always held. The traditional residential character of the College became somewhat obscured, however, as day students, many residing in the neighboring north end of the city, enrolled at the College because of the remoteness of the University buildings.

New staff members, hired to help meet the demands of

¹²"S.J.C. Council Minutes," December 31, 1935.

increased enrolment in the fall of 1933, included Miss Marion W. Smith, an M.A. graduate from the University of Toronto, who assisted Canon Gill as lecturer in Latin and English and also served as Dean of Women, and Mrs. Mary K. Wees, an M.A. graduate from the University of Chicago, who replaced Miss Preudhomme as Mr. Baker's assistant, lecturing in modern languages. Dr. Lionel S. Macklin, who had received his Ph.D. degree in 1932 from McGill University, took over the science teaching duties from the Steward and Registrar, Mr. Boon, and expanded the College programme to include full instruction in junior division courses in chemistry and physics.

The following year, St. John's lost the strict and capable direction of the leader who had guided it so well through the crisis of the Machray defalcations when, in September 1934, the Warden, G. A. Wells, became Bishop of the Cariboo. The vacuum in leadership was difficult to fill. Canon Cross carried on as Acting Warden, but clearly a younger man of more vigour was needed. Archbishop Stringer himself agreed at the Council meeting of October 18, 1934, to take the title of Warden until a new Warden could be appointed,¹³ but he died very suddenly on October 30 before the next Council meeting was called. The position remained open until the following year, when the Reverend

¹³"S.J.C. Council Minutes," October 18, 1934.

Walter F. Barfoot, who had replaced Dean Matheson as Canon and Professor of Church History and Liturgiology in 1934, was appointed Warden of the College.

The high enrolment in arts remained essential for the College since it was relying so heavily on student fees for its revenue. Even the restoration of endowments did little to change the situation, for the income from interest rates was much lower during the depression years than it had been earlier. The College struggled to develop and maintain a full arts programme and a competent staff, but, despite these efforts, registration fell steadily from 1934 to 1938, as the rallying of support at the time of the revelation of the Machray defalcations waned and resistance in the community to the University's move of the senior courses to the Fort Garry campus gradually broke down.

An expanded teaching staff, comprised mainly of the elderly professors who had served St. John's for decades, and young men and women of considerable academic attainment but little teaching experience, carried on instruction in a wide diversity of courses throughout the middle and late 1930's. Canons Gill and Matheson, on retiring from their theological duties in 1934, remained to continue their teaching in arts subjects. Among the new staff members were Miss Margaret Orde, who was appointed in 1934 to share Canon Cross's duties in mathematics, Mr. W. L. Morton, a

former Rhodes Scholar and a graduate of St. John's, who taught history from 1935 to 1938, and Mr. J. B. Todd, who instructed in economics in 1935. After Mr. Todd's sudden death the following year, Mr. F. W. Burton succeeded him, remaining until 1938. In 1936, following the resignation of Dr. Macklin, Mr. W. L. Halperin, an M.A. graduate from the University of Toronto, was hired to lecture in both mathematics and physics. The Registrar and Steward, Mr. T. C. B. Boon, resumed teaching freshmen chemistry in the same year. The English department of the College received a welcome addition with the appointment in 1936 of Mr. George R. Simpson, who had previously taught many years in the College School. He remained until his death in 1939. Another vacancy was created in 1939 by the retirement from the College of Canon Gill, at the age of eighty-one. Two new arrivals from Oxford were appointed to the staff: the Reverend E. R. Bagley, as lecturer of history in 1938, and Mr. G. L. Brodersen, as lecturer of English in 1939. New arts courses introduced in the College by Canon Barfoot included psychology, which he himself taught from 1935, and the Norse language which was offered in 1937 and only dropped when it became clear that there was not sufficient demand.

In spite of the emphasis placed on the arts and science courses, considerable attention was still paid to the theology

programme. The theology staff, gradually depleted with the retirement of Canons Gill and Matheson from their theological duties in 1934, the departure in 1935 of the Reverend L. A. C. Smith after a year's stay, and the departure of Canon Herklots in 1936, received new blood with the arrival of Canon W. J. Merrick in 1937 and Canon R. S. K. Seeley the following year. A new chapel, apart from the College School, was furnished in the Annex exclusively for the students' use in 1935. The College practice of supplying student missionaries for Sunday services continued, filling an important function in rural areas which in many cases could not afford the services of a clergyman, even if one were available. In addition, as a service to the clergy of the Diocese, St. John's made its library and its theological staff available to assist clergymen preparing for the B.D. degree examinations set by the General Synod.

In 1938, the traditional relationship between the College and the Cathedral was altered as a result of a request from the Cathedral parish for a rector of its own to replace the "collective ministry" of theology professors which had operated since 1874.¹⁴ In a move to satisfy this request, the Diocesan Synod of 1938 amended section XII of the Cathedral Statutes to create a sixth canonry to be held by the Rector of the Cathedral. The canonry was not supported by endow-

¹⁴Boon, The Anglican Church From the Bay to the Rockies, p. 281.

ments, and could only be filled when the parish agreed to provide a sufficient stipend. This was readily consented to, and the Reverend W. E. Jackson was named sixth Canon and Rector of the Cathedral in 1938. However, while relieved of many responsibilities by the appointment of a full time rector, the professors of the College, particularly Canon Murray, continued to assist at Sunday services at the Cathedral in addition to carrying out their teaching duties.

Despite its apparent recovery, the economic situation of the College in the late 1930's remained critical. Funds which the College had at its disposal from student fees and the restored endowments were not sufficient to pay for an increase in salaries to anywhere near a reasonable level, or to finance extensive building renovations which were badly needed. A change in the policy of the Church Missionary Society, announced in 1937, removing any further financial assistance to the chairs of theology, and instituting theological scholarships instead, left the College even more dependent on its own resources.¹⁵ In an effort to improve the situation, St. John's launched a national campaign for funds in 1937. The Canadian Churchman of October 1937, which was especially devoted to the nation-wide appeal, contained articles reviewing the history and traditions of

¹⁵S.J.C.F., C.M.S. General Secretary to Canon Barfoot, February 20, 1937.

the College, and emphasizing its importance to the Church and the community at large, as both a supplier of clergy for western dioceses and a centre of lay education, where "Religion is assumed as the basis of morality, and as the solution of social and political problems"¹⁶ - a place where, in the words of the University of Manitoba's President, Sydney Smith, "the fine old fashioned epithet, 'a gentleman and a scholar' has been and is . . . the most coveted title".¹⁷ Canon Barfoot extended the campaign to England, on his visit there in 1937 and 1938, to bring the needs of his College to the attention of the English public and the missionary societies. The Reverend H. Sheristone was appointed organizing fellow to canvass locally for funds and increased enrolment. However convincing these appeals were, the campaign was to have little tangible results in either Britain or Canada. Only moderate support was forthcoming from the local community, and with the commencement of the Second World War prospects of future collections waned.

St. John's emerged from the decade of the depression economically poorer than it had entered it, but the years, none the less, had been important years of growth. The crisis caused by the Machray defalcations, by removing the College's independent financial means, had, by necessity, moved St. John's closer to the community. Also, the crisis enabled St. John's

¹⁶Canadian Churchman (October 21, 1937), 583.

¹⁷Ibid., 582.

to demonstrate an underlying strength and stability, which was unshaken by its betrayal by one of its most distinguished sons. Academically, the College had expanded in arts instruction in the 1930's, as it had in theology during the previous decade. The problem of relocation on the University's permanent site could not have been solved in the 1930's, even if funds were available, for the University itself remained divided, the junior division arts and science courses remaining on Broadway Avenue, while the senior courses were taught in Fort Garry. The Second World War was to provide a breathing space before this issue finally came to the fore.

CHAPTER VI

THE SECOND WORLD WAR AND SUBSEQUENT DEVELOPMENT

As St. John's entered the decade of the forties, a solution to the problem of isolation, which had for so long impeded the development of the College, was urgently needed. In latter years, remoteness from the University buildings had become an increasing hindrance, as the variety of subjects and courses offered by the University grew, particularly in the sciences, and the proportion of students desiring a liberal arts course, such as the College offered, declined. In the next quarter century, the College developed and achieved a needed flexibility only after the problem of isolation had been resolved, and it had broken its traditionally close ties with the College School and St. John's Cathedral. Only after two moves, the first to Broadway Avenue in 1945 and the second to the University of Manitoba Fort Garry campus in 1958, was the handicap of isolation overcome.

The College had barely recovered from the crisis of the thirties, when the Second World War provided a new setback and an interval of questioning and re-assessment of the Church's role in higher education. When many students and prospective students enlisted to serve overseas in the first year of the war, the College Council discussed the possibility

of discontinuing all arts instruction at St. John's, either permanently or temporarily. After much consideration, the proposal for total "economy" measures, including the sale of the Annex building and the discontinuance of arts teaching was rejected.¹ Three major reasons were advanced for continuing as much arts instruction as College resources would permit. First, a number of people within the Church and some outside it were anxious that St. John's continue its traditional work in arts as well as theology, believing that education should be under Church auspices at a time of life when "growth comes essentially from within and blossoms in the formation of taste, opinion, and judgment."² Secondly, the value of an arts college as the source of recruitment to the ministry was affirmed. The Warden reported in 1940 that up to that year only two theology students at St. John's had completed their arts courses elsewhere.³ Finally, it was important that the College continue arts instruction for purely financial reasons. The loss of revenue from arts tuition and boarding fees, plus the new expense of paying the University to provide the required arts instruction to theology students, would add to the financial hardship of the College.⁴

¹"S.J.C. Council Minutes," April 1, 1940.

²The Johnian (1940), p. 21.

³"S.J.C. Council Minutes," April 1, 1940.

⁴Ibid.

The College continued to operate under difficulties. Falling revenues accompanying declining enrolment necessitated drastic reduction of the teaching staff. Most arts instructors were forced to move to other academic employment. One instructor, Mr. W. L. Halperin, who had taught mathematics and physics at St. John's for four years, joined the Royal Canadian Air Force. The Registrar, the Reverend T. C. B. Boon, who had only recently been ordained, moved to Ottawa and joined the staff of Ashbury College. Canon Cross retired in 1940, ending over forty years at St. John's. The six instructors who remained, the Warden, Canons Seeley and Merrick and, despite their advancing age, Canon Murray, the Reverend J. W. Matheson and Mr. Baker, offered only theology and senior division arts courses to the mere twenty students who returned in the fall of 1940. In April, 1941, when Canon Barfoot left the College to be consecrated Bishop of Edmonton, Canon Seeley took over the position of Warden. From the fall of 1942 to the end of the war, the emphasis in arts instruction lay in junior rather than senior division courses, as the College proposed to attract men still too young to enlist in the armed forces.

Several staff changes occurred during the last three years of the war. Part-time lecturers hired in the fall of 1942 to provide instruction in junior division arts subjects included three ladies who had worked at the College in the

thirties, Mrs. W. K. Wees, Mrs. J. Abra (née Marion Smith) and Mrs. W. L. Morton (née Margaret Orde). The Wardenship changed hands in the fall of 1943 when Canon Seeley was appointed to St. George's Cathedral, Kingston, as Dean of Ontario. The new Warden, Canon Reginald J. Pierce, remained at St. John's from that time until 1950. In the fall of 1943, St. John's lost one of its most distinguished members with the death of Canon J. O. Murray, a man long respected in the College and the community as "a brilliant scholar, devoted clergyman and friend of everyone, especially the underprivileged."⁵ His teaching duties in philosophy and systematic theology were taken over by the Reverend C. C. Landon, then a parish priest pursuing post-graduate studies in philosophy.

As the College continued to function during the war, enrolment remained small, never rising above thirty, comprised of youths too young to enlist, girl students, a few older men, and only two or three theology students. Courses registering fewer than a dozen students were not uncommon. Traditional extra-curricular activities declined, and in many cases ceased to function, as all surplus energy was directed toward the war effort. While the girl students engaged in volunteer work, "weekly drill and summer camps at Shilo became routine"⁶ for the male students of the colleges

⁵Harry Shave, Our Heritage (Winnipeg, 1951), p. 44.

⁶Morton, One University, pp. 169, 170.

and University. In the Second World War, as in the First, many who had studied at St. John's served overseas. The College year book of 1945 records the names of 158 Johnians on the honour roll, including thirteen students and one lecturer, W. L. Halperin, who had made the supreme sacrifice.⁷

In the final years of the conflict, the war effort notwithstanding, the University and the colleges were actively engaged in discussion of post-war development. While many matters were discussed, the question of a new College site was uppermost in the minds of the Council and staff of St. John's College. Added to the problems of isolation from the University buildings, St. John's faced the problem of its increasing remoteness from the homes of its students and potential students, as increasing numbers of the Anglican population moved from the north end of the city and the parish of St. John to newer residential districts south of the downtown area. In 1945, St. John's received a generous offer from United College, suggesting that the two colleges should combine their arts instruction and hold their classes in the centrally located United College building and that St. John's build its own theological building and perhaps others in the United College campus.⁸ Fearing absorp-

⁷ Johnian (1945), 17.

⁸ "S.J.C. Council Minutes," February 27, 1945.

tion might ultimately result from such a course, St. John's, after due consideration, rejected the offer.

In the same year, while awaiting the right time and opportunity to move to the University's Fort Garry campus, the Council decided to find temporary College quarters in the vicinity of the University's Broadway buildings. To this end, the College sold its Annex building to the Ukrainian Orthodox Church for \$35,000 and purchased the Music and Arts Building, located at the corner of Broadway and Hargrave Street, for \$70,000. St. John's College School remained at its Main Street location until 1950, when it joined with Ravenscourt School in Fort Garry to form St. John's Ravenscourt School. The new St. John's College building, originally the home of Mr. J. H. Ashdown and later extended and converted into a building of music studios and concert halls for professional musicians, provided a central location for the College and ample room for classes and residence accommodation. In its new quarters in the fall of 1945, St. John's was within walking distance of the University junior division classes and both United College and St. Paul's College.

The war's end brought only temporary recovery for St. John's. A surge of ex-servicemen escalated the College enrolment from a mere twenty-eight in the 1944-1945 academic year to sixty-four in the next. In the 1946-1947 year, the

arts enrolment alone reached 107.⁹ Both junior and senior division courses were offered, but few students were attracted to the College's senior division, in spite of the absence of these courses at the University's Broadway Avenue buildings. Arts enrolment at St. John's began a rapid decline in the 1947-1948 year. The failure of the College to sell itself sufficiently to the Anglican population, and a shortage of revenue to improve its facilities, help to account for its short-lived recovery. In the 1948-1949 year, in an attempt to cut its deficits in a time of post-war inflation, St. John's again limited all its arts courses except Hellenistic Greek to junior division. Its total enrolment in arts in that year was twenty-one, all but five being pre-theology students.¹⁰

While failing to retain a sufficient arts enrolment, Canon Pierce as Warden made several advances in the theology course. In 1945, he extended the time of training for the Licentiate of Theology from two to three years, and increased the number of theology subjects proportionately. In addition to the high enrolment of pre-theology students, registration in the theology course itself rose to a new high in 1948, reaching twenty-two, including many ex-service-men.¹¹

⁹S.J.C.F., "A Statistical Study of Twenty-Five Years of College Life," 1957.

¹⁰Ibid.

¹¹Ibid.

The move of the University's junior division to the Fort Garry campus in 1950 was an important development for St. John's College. The University policy of uniting its facilities at the new site was confirmed, leaving the way open for the affiliated colleges to follow. Offers of building sites on the Fort Garry campus made by the University in 1946 and 1949 had received a more favorable response from St. John's than from the other colleges,¹² but the continuing division of the University between its two sites at that time and the College's own lack of funds had prevented any definite plans for rebuilding. Once the last University classes had moved from the Broadway site, a renewed interest at St. John's for redevelopment on the Fort Garry campus gradually gained momentum.

In 1950, when Canon Pierce was consecrated Bishop of Athabasca, leadership of St. John's passed into the hands of Canon L. F. Wilmot, a graduate of the College, who had distinguished himself while serving as an army chaplain during World War II. Under Canon Wilmot's direction, a gradual expansion of courses and enrolment came about. In 1951, courses in senior division philosophy were introduced, and, the following year, the third and fourth year arts courses in religious studies were added. Third year history

¹²Morton, One University, pp. 176, 179.

and French were added in 1953 and third and fourth year English commenced at the College in 1954. Combined with the growth of courses, was a steady increase in the arts enrolment from a low of twenty-two in 1952 to seventy-six in 1957-1958.¹³ Despite its development, St. John's in that year, with a total of ninety-three students, still remained the smallest of the affiliated colleges, far behind United, St. Paul's and Brandon Colleges, which had 692, 204, and 195 students respectively, and still behind St. Boniface College which enrolled 107 students.¹⁴

The expansion of courses at St. John's was accompanied by an increase in the teaching faculty between 1952 and 1958. The College lost Canon Merrick to retirement in 1953, but it gained three new clergymen during these years to supplement Canon Wilmot and Dr. C. C. Landon as full time professors, conducting classes in arts and theological subjects. The Reverend Blake G. M. Wood, a graduate of the University of Toronto, arrived at St. John's in 1952 to assume teaching duties in classics, English, and Old Testament studies and the position of Dean of Residence. In 1956, the Reverend W. J. Wolverton, an American theological scholar, was appointed to the new professorship of Oriental Languages and Literature. The following year, the Reverend

¹³S.J.C.F., "A Statistical Study of Twenty-Five Years of College Life," 1957.

¹⁴"S.J.C. Council Minutes," October 4, 1957.

W. S. F. Pickering arrived from England to become Professor of Sociology and Pastoral Theology.

Several laymen also were appointed full time lecturers during this period. French and German remained in the capable hands of Mrs. Wees, who had started at St. John's in 1933 and had carried on alone since Mr. Baker's retirement in 1945. In 1950, Mr. N. J. MacLeod began his association with the College, lecturing in mathematics, chemistry, and physics in the first and second years. Dr. P. J. Coleman served as full time Professor of History from 1953 to 1956. His successor, Mr. J. S. Conway, then held this post for a year. He, in turn, was succeeded in 1957 by Dr. L. F. S. Upton, who remained at St. John's for the next seven years. Appointments to the English department included Mr. J. M. Robinson in 1954, who continued to lecture on a part time basis at St. John's after his appointment to the University staff the following year; Mr. A. H. Hoole, a teacher of vast experience, who started at St. John's in 1955; and Dr. J. P. Mathews, a specialist in Commonwealth literature, who arrived in 1957.

In 1955, the St. John's Council made a definite decision to sell its Broadway Avenue site and move to the University campus.¹⁵ The College gratefully accepted a building site on Dysart Road offered by the University of Manitoba Council.

¹⁵"S.J.C. Council Minutes," May 9, 1955.

Construction on the site had already commenced when a renewable ninety-nine year lease agreement, for the nominal sum of one dollar, between the University and St. John's was formally signed on October 4, 1957. A similar lease was made to St. Paul's College on the same day, which was also the eightieth anniversary of the first meeting of the University Council. A fund raising campaign to raise \$1,025,000, required to pay for the erection of residential buildings, a dining hall, a chapel, and a main instructional and administrative building, was set up by the beginning of 1956 under the chairmanship of the Chairman of the College Council, Mr. A. U. Chipman.

Businesses and Anglican parishes within the Diocese were vigourously canvassed for funds during the next two years, and further campaigns were conducted by College alumni and women's Church organizations. The College campaign was also fully supported by the University itself. President H. H. Saunderson of the University was quoted in a brochure distributed by the fund raisers as saying, "Intellectual growth and physical development are not enough. Our third area of responsibility is the development of character and the encouragement of things of the spirit. It is here that I sense our greatest lack as a University."¹⁶ The University recognized mutual benefits for itself and the

¹⁶S.J.C.F., "Generations on the Move," 1956.

denominational colleges by their location on the same campus.

Wide support from within the Diocese and beyond, including a grant from the Canada Council of just under \$21,000 was not sufficient, however, for the campaign to meet its objective. When construction of the buildings began in 1957, about \$800,000, or four-fifths of the campaign's objective, had been collected or pledged.¹⁷ Plans were modified, and only the main building and the men's residence, which was connected to it by a tunnel, were constructed by the opening date in the fall of 1958. In the next year, the chapel and the women's residence were added, completing the College buildings as they stand in the 1966 centennial year.

When the doors of the new buildings opened in 1958, isolation, which had handicapped St. John's for over half a century, was at an end, and a new era of academic growth in co-operation with the University began. To assist the Warden in directing and co-ordinating the increased work of the College, two deans were appointed, Dr. Mathews as the College Dean of Arts and Science, and Dr. Wolverton as the Dean of Divinity. The professorial staff grew as the enrolment of 152 students in 1958 doubled within the next five years. A greater opportunity for specialization in subject matter was afforded by an interchange of students

¹⁷"S.J.C. Council Minutes," November 15, 1957.

from St. John's and the University. Students from St. John's were henceforth able to take courses at the University or St. Paul's College which were not offered at their own College, while University and St. Paul's students took some undergraduate and graduate courses at St. John's in religious studies, philosophy, history, sociology and English. Meanwhile, the Faculty of Divinity, under Dean Wolverton's direction, replaced the Licentiate of Theology course with a revised three year programme leading to the degree of Bachelor of Theology and introduced new courses leading to the degrees of Master of Theology and Bachelor of Religious Education. The process of academic growth in both faculties of the College has continued steadily, in spite of a number of staff changes in recent years. Changes occurred in the senior administrative staff with the departure of Dean Wolverton in 1960 and Dean Mathews and Canon Wilmot in 1962, and the appointment of their successors - Rev. B. G. M. Wood, as the Dean of Divinity, Professor G. L. Brodersen, as the Dean of Arts and Science, and Dr. C. C. Landon as Warden of the College.

In a time of advancement and integration, much of the traditional character of St. John's has been retained. The relatively small enrolment at the College and its core of resident students have enabled it to retain what were two valuable features of the isolated College, a close contact

between the instructors and students, and an active student participation in extra-curricular activities. Theology students continue to form a small, though influential, segment of the student body. The high ideals of the College and its independent organization are preserved today, as in the past, by the St. John's College Council, consisting of both lay and clerical representatives from the Diocese, the alumni and the teaching staff.

As the history of Manitoba has unfolded, St. John's College has undergone many changes and overcome many obstacles. Its progress has been limited considerably by financial difficulties arising from its need to operate on private funds. In spite of an annual Federal government grant in recent years, based on student enrolment, most of the financial burden of operating the College has remained in the hands of the Church. The Provincial government has given no financial support to the operation of Church Colleges. The Anglican community within the Diocese has been generally satisfied with public education at the university level, and has not fully appreciated the special value of its own College. As a result, it has not given the College its full financial support. None the less, St. John's College has steadfastly worked through its theological faculty to train and furnish clergymen for the Diocese and for Western Canada. In its other activities, it has been confronted

with the problem of finding its proper place within the educational framework of the community. This problem has been largely resolved with the long-awaited move of the College to the University campus and its closer association with the University itself.

With the year 1966, St. John's College completes an unbroken period of one hundred years of service to the Church and the community. During this period, many of its graduates, both lay and clerical, have provided leadership in their chosen fields. St. John's enters its second century facing a challenge as great as any in the past, to exert a Christian influence on the young men and women that come to study within its walls, so that Christianity may hold its proper place within the context of the modern world. The ultimate purpose of the College remains unchanged, embodied in its motto "In Thy light we shall see light."

APPENDIX I

WARDENS OF ST. JOHN'S COLLEGE

- 1866-1874 The Rev. John McLean, M.A., D.D. (later, first Bishop of Saskatchewan).
- 1874-1913 The Bishop of the Diocese acted as Head of the College.
- 1913-1916 The Very Rev. J. J. Robinson, D.D. (after whose sudden death no further appointment was made until after the War).
- 1921-1934 The Rev. G. A. Wells, C.M.G., M.A., D.D. (later, second Bishop of Cariboo).
- 1935-1941 The Rev. Canon W. F. Barfoot, M.A., D.D. (later, Bishop of Edmonton, then Primate of All Canada and Archbishop of Rupert's Land).
- 1941-1943 The Rev. Canon R. S. K. Seeley, M.A., D.D. (later, Provost of Trinity College).
- 1943-1950 The Rev. Canon R. J. Pierce, B.A., D.D. (later, Bishop of Athabasca).
- 1950-1961 The Rev. Canon L. F. Wilmot, M.C., M.A., B.D., D.D.
- 1961- The Rev. C. C. Landon, M.A., B.D., Ph.D., Canon of St. John's Cathedral.

APPENDIX II
ST. JOHN'S COLLEGE ENROLMENT
1866-1966

The following chart is compiled from figures given in the Board and Council minutes of St. John's College and the published reports of the Synod of the Diocese of Rupert's Land. Figures for the years 1866 to 1881 indicate the combined college and school enrolment. A symbol "x" is shown when no reliable figure was available.

1866-1867.....	29	1891-1892.....	38
1867-1868.....	36	1892-1893.....	48
1868-1869.....	42	1893-1894.....	37
1869-1870.....	36	1894-1895.....	54
1870-1871.....	28	1895-1896.....	64
1871-1872.....	28	1896-1897.....	66
1872-1873.....	29	1897-1898.....	74
1873-1874.....	47	1898-1899.....	67
1874-1875.....	69	1899-1900.....	56
1875-1876.....	74	1900-1901.....	37
1876-1877.....	75	1901-1902.....	44
1877-1878.....	68	1902-1903.....	54
1878-1879.....	69	1903-1904.....	49
1879-1880.....	80	1904-1905.....	55
1880-1881.....	78	1905-1906.....	62
1881-1882.....	13	1906-1907.....	74
1882-1883.....	17	1907-1908.....	x
1883-1884.....	14	1908-1909.....	86
1884-1885.....	15	1909-1910.....	88
1885-1886.....	21	1910-1911.....	86
1886-1887.....	31	1911-1912.....	93
1887-1888.....	29	1912-1913.....	88
1888-1889.....	34	1913-1914.....	98
1889-1890.....	23	1914-1915.....	x
1890-1891.....	26	1915-1916.....	68

APPENDIX II
ST. JOHN'S COLLEGE ENROLMENT
1866-1966
(continued)

1916-1917.....	34	1941-1942.....	28
1917-1918.....	x	1942-1943.....	31
1918-1919.....	36	1943-1944.....	29
1919-1920.....	x	1944-1945.....	25
1920-1921.....	56	1945-1946.....	75
1921-1922.....	x	1946-1947.....	130
1922-1923.....	80	1947-1948.....	117
1923-1924.....	x	1948-1949.....	40
1924-1925.....	71	1949-1950.....	40
1925-1926.....	89	1950-1951.....	30
1926-1927.....	83	1951-1952.....	31
1927-1928.....	77	1952-1953.....	40
1928-1929.....	73	1953-1954.....	49
1929-1930.....	x	1954-1955.....	59
1930-1931.....	62	1955-1956.....	66
1931-1932.....	106	1956-1957.....	85
1932-1933.....	146	1957-1958.....	93
1933-1934.....	154	1958-1959.....	152
1934-1935.....	129	1959-1960.....	226
1935-1936.....	110	1960-1961.....	251
1936-1937.....	102	1961-1962.....	285
1937-1938.....	87	1962-1963.....	296
1938-1939.....	81	1963-1964.....	357
1939-1940.....	107	1964-1965.....	296
1940-1941.....	38	1965-1966.....	275

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