

THE UNIVERSITY OF MANITOBA

THE CHRISTIAN CHURCHES OF THE RED RIVER SETTLEMENT
AND THE FOUNDATION OF THE UNIVERSITY OF
MANITOBA: AN HISTORICAL ANALYSIS OF
THE PROCESS OF TRANSITION FROM
FRONTIER COLLEGE TO UNIVERSITY

A Thesis

Submitted to the Department of History
of the Faculty of Graduate Studies

In Partial Fulfillment
of the Requirements for the Degree
Master of Arts

by

Laurence Frank Wilmot

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ABSTRACT

Chapter I reports reasons for considering existing accounts of the foundation of the University of Manitoba in 1877 to be unsatisfactory. A search for an alternative explanation having uncovered clues in some correspondence of Robert Machray, second Bishop of Rupert's Land, indicates the possibility of a reconstruction of the historical process by focusing attention on Machray and his educational activities in the Red River Settlement from the time of his arrival in 1865. In Chapter II an attempt is made to provide a brief factual picture of Machray as student, scholar and academician as providing a basis for an appreciation of his educational approach to the pastoral needs of the diocese of Rupert's Land and the foundation of St. John's as a liberal arts and theological college. Attention is called to the establishment of St. Boniface and Manitoba Colleges, and to the fact that from 1871 there were three denominational colleges in Manitoba offering higher educational studies.

Chapter III. The need for satisfactory certification of students emerged and became an acute problem in St. John's College from 1873 onwards, being felt to a lesser extent in Manitoba College. The account traces unsuccessful attempts on the part of Bishop Machray through his approaches to a variety of authorities, culminating in a direct appeal which takes the form of an ultimatum addressed to the local Legislature, in

February, 1876. Attention is called to an attempt at this time on the part of Manitoba College authorities to focus public attention on the need for a university for Manitoba.

Chapter IV reconstructs the process whereby the Legislature, unable financially to undertake the burden of founding a university, was successful in the passage of legislation enabling the existing colleges, by working together in cooperation, to constitute a university for Manitoba and carry forward the work of higher education in which they were already engaged. Chapter V traces the process whereby the Colleges, within the terms of the legislation and under the leadership of the Chancellor, worked together to create the university as an institution of higher learning having a particular structure and pattern of life and work.

In Chapter VI the situation in Manitoba is contrasted with the history of the development of higher education in the eastern Provinces of Canada. Analysis of the process of the preparation of the Bill discloses that Bishop Machray was the initiator, calling for immediate action; that Lieutenant Governor Morris played the role of broker in winning agreement on the part of the Church authorities; that the Attorney-General's role was that of broker's agent in drawing up legislation, within the terms of limitations prescribed by Archbishop Taché, to give effect to the plans outlined by Bishop Machray; and that the elected representatives of the people

determined the final wording of the constitution. Analysis of Bishop Machray's correspondence, The University Act, and the records of the first year of operations discloses that the University was founded on the Medieval European model evolved successively in Paris, Oxford, and Cambridge, and leads to the conclusion that in 1877, in response to the urgent appeal of the Bishop of Rupert's Land, the Province of Manitoba, through the cooperation of the denominational leaders in higher education, created a university modelled on the traditional pattern of university studies, somewhat modified by the limited resources of a pioneer community.

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Chapter I

ANALYSIS AND CRITIQUE OF EXISTING ACCOUNTS OF THE FOUNDATION OF THE UNIVERSITY OF MANITOBA IN 1877

The University of Manitoba was founded by an Act passed during the third session of the Second Legislature of the Province. The bill to found the University was announced in the Speech from the Throne on January 30, 1877; it was introduced for discussion and given second reading on February 9, considered in a Committee of the Whole and amended on the 16th, received final passage on the 20th, and was signed by the Lieutenant Governor on February 28, 1877. The Attorney-General of Manitoba, the Honourable Joseph Royal, in introducing the bill on February 9, declared:

The Government have been urged during the past two years to submit a measure for the institution of a University and the Government have consented, and in so doing have endeavoured as far as possible to meet the views of the different parties seeking the establishment. The Government think the bill premature, but have been so repeatedly urged that they have brought it down.¹

It has been assumed by historians of the University that the references to the Government having been repeatedly urged to bring in the bill are to pressures placed upon the Cabinet by the Lieutenant Governor.² In support of this assumption they

cite statements made by leaders of some of the Colleges whose future development was affected by the passage of the Act.

Miss A. L. Glenn, in a carefully researched master's thesis on the history of the University of Manitoba, suggests that the question of a future university was no doubt in the minds of the leaders in the different colleges, but that "difficulties financial and sectarian seemed so insuperable that no formal meeting with the expressed object of discussing it seems to have been held."³ She alludes to an important meeting of Manitoba College on the evening of January 28, 1876, at which the various speakers each made reference to the need for a university, but concludes that the views expressed can only be taken as an index of the feeling of one group of college leaders "and there is no reason to suppose that these men contemplated any attempt to bring the university question to an issue in the near future."⁴

In support of her conclusion, Miss Glenn quoted a paper read by Professor George Bryce before the Literary Society of Manitoba College in November, 1900, in which he declared that the Lieutenant Governor "never proposed the matter to the Archbishop of St. Boniface, the Archbishop of Rupert's Land or to myself as representative of Manitoba College, other than by perhaps a casual reference in conversation as to the desirability of such a thing."⁵ The clear inference of this statement

is that Professor Bryce was, in fact, taken by surprise by the introduction of the bill and that he continued to be under the impression in 1900 that the two archbishops had also been unaware that the bill was being brought down in 1877.

This, however, was not the case. Archbishop Robert Machray, always silent about any part which he had played in bringing into existence the institution of which he was chancellor until his death in 1904, stated in a short history of the University of Manitoba in 1898 that

the Lieutenant Governor, the Honourable Alexander Morris, . . . took a great interest in the matter for himself and for others with whom he had conversations, more particularly the Archbishop of St. Boniface, the Archbishop of Rupert's Land and the Reverend Dr. Bryce, at that time acting Head of Manitoba College.⁶

Archbishop Tache, in a letter which he addressed to Sir John Thompson, the **Minister of Justice**, in December, 1889, states that he had several conversations with the Lieutenant Governor in 1876 and 1877 and that "it was he who urged upon me the advisability of joining with the two other colleges to secure a university for Manitoba."⁷ He averred that he was given to understand at that time that the two other colleges had held meetings of their own on the subject.

The Honourable Joseph Royal, who was Attorney-General

of Manitoba at the time of the foundation of the University of Manitoba, in a letter which he addressed to the Roman Catholic Archbishop of St. Boniface on November 30, 1889, when a controversial dispute had arisen over the proposal that the University should commence the teaching of science subjects, recalled that, having been requested by the Lieutenant-Governor to prepare a draft bill, he first consulted with Archbishop Taché upon the matter and arranged then to have several conversations with the Bishop of Rupert's Land. He stated that after having made a draft of the proposed bill, he further consulted with both Taché and Machray, following which the bill was slightly modified.⁸ Machray, however, declared in November, 1889, when discussing the controversy over the introduction of teaching and the proposed Land Grant to the University, that he had no prior knowledge that the bill was being prepared, that he had no hand with the Government with its preparation, and that "his first knowledge of the subject had been from a draft of the bill sent him by Mr. Royal."⁹ The implications are that, while the Lieutenant Governor had discussed with both Machray and Bryce the need for a university for Manitoba, neither of them was consulted specifically about the terms of the proposed bill until they received the draft copy from the Attorney-General.

Miss Glenn, having reviewed all the evidence available to her in 1927, concluded that "while there is little of actual

record in regard to the founding of the University the evidence leads to the inference that Governor Morris was the moving spirit in its creation,"¹⁰ and she accepts Professor Bryce's statement that "during the drafting of the bill the college leaders were not consulted."¹¹ Having accepted this assumption as fact, she then concluded that "in his zeal for" the foundation of a university for Manitoba and the North West, the Lieutenant Governor "was ready to overlook the lack of state-supported institutions doing high school work, and create a university first trusting to the future for the provision of this necessary foundation."¹² Earlier in her essay, in concluding a chapter dealing with the introduction and progress of public school education between 1871 and 1877, she remarked,

To found a university in 1877, when the inadequate basis is realized--three denominational colleges undertaking secondary work, and public schools under the Education Act doing only elementary work--required, an optimism to be admired but difficult to understand.¹³

"Difficult to understand"--yes, indeed, if the inferences upon which the assumption is based are correct and the Lieutenant Governor was in fact initiating action to satisfy his own sense of what should be, and not, as will be maintained throughout this essay, responding to needs pressed upon the Government with such persistence that action was called for at once.

An assumption, once it has been accepted as the solution to a puzzling problem, becomes a perspective and provides a viewpoint from which to assess the merits of action taken, as

we have noted above in Miss Glenn's report, and her judgment has been accepted by subsequent historians. W. C. Murray, in a paper read before the Royal Society of Canada in 1928,¹⁴ accepts Miss Glenn's thesis and in the light of this perspective, seeks to rationalize the series of meetings which the Attorney-General declared that he had with Archbishop Taché and Bishop Machray with the fact that no similar consultation was taken with Professor Bryce by suggesting that the difficulties to be overcome were not presented by the Presbyterians but by the difference of opinion between the Catholic and Protestant points of view as represented by the two bishops. He suggests that it is probable the matter had come before the authorities of Manitoba College more than once in an informal way and the Lieutenant Governor felt their approval was evident without the necessity for formal discussions and resolutions;¹⁵ he proposes that the Lieutenant Governor may well have had a hand in suggesting the speeches delivered at a Convocation of Manitoba College, on January 28, 1876 when "not only Dr. Bryce, Prof. Hart and Dr. Robertson, but the United States Consul, Mr. Taylor and others spoke of the kind of a university most suitable for Manitoba."¹⁶ Murray on the whole accepts Miss Glenn's thesis, based upon Professor Bryce's statements.

By the time Professor W. L. Morton wrote his history of the University of Manitoba,¹⁷ the assumption that the Lieutenant Governor had promoted the plan to found the university

in 1877 to fulfill his personal ambition had become an accepted legend and was taken as historical fact.¹⁸ Morton, however, ascribes to Morris more worthy motives than Bryce was prepared to offer as explanation for his forcing the hands of both legislators and educators at a time when they felt the Province was not yet ready for such a move. Morton suggests that, keenly aware as Morris was, from personal experience, of the troubles through which the Eastern Provinces had passed, he "resolved to prevent in Manitoba a repetition of the history of higher learning in Ontario by creating at once, before the struggle began, one non-denominational university for the infant province."¹⁹

Morton interprets the series of visits by the Attorney-General with Bishop Machray as evidence of some resistance on the part of the Bishop to the institution of a university for Manitoba at this time and concludes from this and from the recorded visit of Professor Bryce and Mr. Bigg to discuss the bill with Royal at the time of its introduction to the Legislature that he "encountered some little difficulty in persuading the members and friends of St. John's and Manitoba Colleges" to accept his plan for establishing a university at that time.²⁰ He draws some of his information about Machray's attitude from a long letter which the bishop addressed to the Lieutenant Governor early in 1876 and which Morton interprets as Machray's reluctant concurrence in a proposition which the Lieutenant Governor had put to him. A careful analysis of the

contents of this letter, however, discloses that, on the contrary, the letter is reporting a situation about which Machray had consulted the Lieutenant Governor and Morris had requested him to state the problem for him in writing. That part of the letter which refers to the need for a provincial university reports a long search in which Machray had been engaged for something more than a year at the least and the conclusion that unless the Provincial Legislature could meet his needs for St. John's College and its students by the creation of a provincial university he would, when next he was in England, seek and obtain affiliation of St. John's College with an English university.²¹

This letter appears to have escaped the notice of Machray's biographer, who ascribes to the bishop a relatively, if not entirely, passive role in the series of events which resulted in the passage of The University Act in February, 1877, declaring that

the most outstanding feature in the annals of the country in 1877 was in every way remarkable; it was connected but indirectly with the Church, yet it was intimately bound up with the life then and afterwards of the Bishop,²²

who not long after the passage of the Act was appointed its first chancellor by the Government. Dr. A. B. Baird, in his account of the history of the University of Manitoba contributed to Manitoba Essays, in 1937, expresses a similar opinion of the relatively passive role of Machray in the foundation

of the University at that time. He declares,

It is true that the Bishop of Rupert's Land said in public that he would like to see some means by which the young men whom he was training for the Anglican priesthood could receive an academic degree, . . . but he did not follow up this pious hope with any concrete plan for immediate action.²³

An examination of Machray's life, however, will disclose that he never stopped at the mere expression of a "pious hope," but, where he met a problem, took prompt and usually effective action towards its resolution.

A major weakness of the Bryce thesis even when modified by Glenn, Murray and Morton, is its failure to provide any basis for explaining the alacrity with which Bishop Machray, who was already over-burdened with diocesan and college administration and teaching duties in the College, accepted the chancellorship of the new university, with full responsibility for ordering and coordinating with the other colleges the whole program of studies, the setting of standards, and methods of examination to be employed in the new university. It is difficult to conceive of Machray accepting these additional and taxing burdens unless the university was meeting some immediate and urgently felt needs in the life of the college.

Furthermore, to ascribe the initiation of a bill of such consequence simply to the zeal of the Lieutenant Governor, or to his personal ambition, and the fact that his term of office was drawing to a close and he wanted the bill on the

statute books before he left his office,²⁴ imputes to Lieutenant Governor Morris actions which seem out of character with his performance throughout the five years of his term as Lieutenant Governor of Manitoba and the North West Territories. During his administration he appears to have insisted upon a clear and generally accepted request from those whose welfare was involved before initiating action towards the solution of an existing problem. Whereas his instructions from Ottawa indicated that they expected him to play the part of a benevolent despot for at least a few years, he had personally committed himself to the introduction of responsible government in the province, and did so when, but only when the legislature had expressed its voice by voting out of office the arrangement which he had inherited from the first Lieutenant Governor of Manitoba. It would appear that, once having granted responsible government by the appointment of a Premier presiding over a cabinet of his own choice, Morris gave up his position as head of the cabinet. He continued to attend meetings of the Executive Council, particularly when matters affecting Dominion-Provincial relations or Indian Affairs were under consideration, but his presence was now mainly as a resource in clarifying issues when necessary, and on the whole he refrained from entering into discussion of matters on which the Province was divided.²⁵

Existing records would indicate that Morris continued

to take an active interest in educational questions,²⁶ the discussion of which were always occasions fraught with emotional overtones and having potential for injustice to minorities, since any major change in educational policy would affect the whole cultural basis of the way of life of the early settlers. The Board of Education continued to report directly to the Lieutenant Governor and Archbishop Taché gave Morris the credit for frustrating Protestant agitation from some sections of the community for non-sectarian schools in 1876.²⁷ A careful examination of the administration of Alexander Morris as Lieutenant Governor of Manitoba leads to the conclusion that he was ever ready to respond, and with vigour and great effectiveness, to meet a need when clearly expressed and recognized as being generally felt, but it was not his habit to urge upon his Ministers courses of action on their part simply because in his opinion it would be a good thing.

Moreover, the Bryce thesis, however plausible it may have sounded at the time, fails to address the questions raised by the statement of the Attorney-General in his introduction of the bill. Alexander Morris, whether we regard him in his role as filling the office of Minister of Education in the Davis Government, in which capacity he appears to have been acting in requesting the Attorney-General to prepare the bill, or simply as Lieutenant Governor, is a very important officer of the Government of Manitoba. Royal's statements are quite spe-

cific: "the Government have been urged during the past two years . . . and the Government have . . . endeavoured so far as possible to meet the views of the different parties seeking the establishment."²⁸ The question awaits an answer: from what source or sources did the repeated urgings come during the two previous years? And, who are the different parties seeking the establishment? The tone of Royal's introduction leaves little doubt that the Government felt itself to be under some considerable pressure to bring in the bill now (1877), rather than postpone the matter until some later date.

The most likely sources for agitation or pressure on the government for action in matters of higher education would be some one or more persons involved in the administration of the three colleges operated by the Roman Catholics, the Anglicans, and the Presbyterians respectively. If the urgings spoken of came from the colleges, then an examination of their records should disclose the needs which the proposed university was designed to meet and provide evidence which would account for the sense of urgency under which the Government of Manitoba felt itself to be working in its provision of a bill to found a university in 1877, at a time when it could not afford secondary education, let alone launch a university for the province. Because the Bryce thesis was found to be unacceptable, research was undertaken into primary materials now available in the archives of the Churches, the Colleges, the Province and the Public Archives of Canada.

A search through primary materials in the Public Archives of Manitoba, the Ecclesiastical Province of Rupert's Land, and Minute Books of the St. John's College Council and College Board covering the period in question, produced much supporting evidence for the thesis put forward in this paper, but none of the primary documents referred to in Bishop Machray's letter of February 28, 1876. A colleague²⁹ who was spending the summer of 1977 in England carrying out research was successful in locating in the Archives of Lambeth Palace a copy of the reply of the Archbishop of Canterbury to Bishop Machray, promising to take the matter up immediately with the Secretary of State for the Colonies, and of his letter to Lord Carnarvon, in which he states that he has enclosed a copy of the letter from the Bishop of Rupert's Land, and requesting his advice as to whether under the circumstances there was a possibility that the Queen might grant a charter to the college.³⁰ Personal research in the Public Archives of Canada, carried out during the summer of 1977 with the assistance of a travel grant from the University of Manitoba, turned up the following documents which have heretofore received no notice by historians of the Church or of the University:

1. a letter from the Bishop of Rupert's Land to the Archbishop of Canterbury, dated April 17, 1875, explaining his need for a Charter for St. John's College to grant theological

degrees, the suggestion of Prime Minister Mackenzie that the Archbishop of Canterbury possessed enabling powers in the matter, and asking for his help in overcoming the problem;

2. a letter from the Archbishop of Canterbury to the Earl of Carnarvon, dated May 28, 1875, enclosing the Bishop's letter and asking for advice in order that he might advise the Bishop of Rupert's Land as to any steps which he should take towards a solution of the problem;
3. " from Mr. W. R. Malcolm, Lord Carnarvon's Secretary, to the Governor General of Canada, the Earl of Dufferin, dated June 9, 1875, enclosing both the letters, and enquiring as to what were the views of the Canadian Government on the questions raised;
4. a private memo from Lord Dufferin addressed to Prime Minister Mackenzie, dated November 8, 1875, enclosing the despatch from Lord Carnarvon, the letter from the Archbishop of Canterbury and from the Bishop of Rupert's Land and calling to the attention of the Prime Minister that the Archbishop states he does not have enabling powers to grant what the Bishop of Rupert's Land requires;
5. a letter from Lord Dufferin to Lord Carnarvon, dated December 29, 1875, enclosing:
6. a copy of a Report of a Committee of the Privy Council, dated December 23, and approved by the Governor General on December 27, 1875, clarifying the question at issue as being one which is within the exclusive jurisdiction of the Legislature of the Province of Manitoba;
7. a letter from Lord Carnarvon to the Archbishop of Canterbury, dated January 20, 1876, passing on to him the decision of the Privy Council on the matter of the granting of powers to confer degrees in a province, and expressing his opinion as to the limited recognition which such degrees would carry.

A copy of the final reply of the Archbishop of Canterbury to Bishop Machray, enclosing the letter from Lord Carnarvon indicating the decision of the Privy Council, and containing his personal reflections on the matter, has not been located at this date, but that the Archbishop did reply without delay is evident from the contents of the letter which the bishop addressed to the Lieutenant Governor of Manitoba on February 28, 1876,³¹ which was prompted by the reply which he had received and his reactions to Lord Carnarvon's opinion about the value of degrees given by the Province. Machray's letter, following upon his receipt of the findings from an extensive investigation which directed him back to the local Legislature for the solution of his problem, constituted virtually an ultimatum to the Provincial Legislature that a solution be found without further delay, and calls for a reconstruction of the historical process whereby the University of Manitoba was founded.

An attempt will be made in the following pages to demonstrate that the Right Reverend Robert Machray, Bishop of Rupert's Land, by his activities on behalf of higher education in Manitoba, provided the motivation for, and by his outstanding leadership in the community made possible the cooperation of the three denominational colleges and their teaching staffs in, the foundation of the University of Manitoba in 1877. That the Government of Manitoba enabled

the university to come into being as a legal entity by the passage of appropriate legislation, and that the Lieutenant Governor, the Honourable Alexander Morris, played an outstanding part in winning the support of the various parties involved and in framing legislation which would be acceptable and adequate to the needs of the peculiar situation, will become evident in the account which follows.

Chapter II

THE BEGINNINGS OF HIGHER EDUCATION IN THE RED RIVER SETTLEMENT IN THE FOUNDATION OF ST. JOHN'S COLLEGE AS A LIBERAL ARTS AND THEOLOGICAL COLLEGE

How do you build a university in the wilderness? How do you create an institution of higher learning when there are not even elementary schools, let alone institutions of secondary education? The University of Manitoba, says Professor W. L. Morton, "was created five years after the last Indian dog feast was held in Winnipeg and while the Red River cart brigades still creaked along the Portage trail."¹ Why was it founded at that time, and how did its creation become possible at that early date? A legal entity may be constituted by an act of a legislature, but a community of learning is brought into being by a person who, himself having acquired excellence in a particular field of learning, has a deep concern that others should not be denied the privilege, and possesses the ability to inspire them in the search for knowledge. It is an undertaking which calls for careful planning and the commitment of time and resources over an extended period of time, combined with a patience

which never loses sight of the objectives in the enrichment of life for all who are involved and a consequent enlargement of the vision of life.

It is the thesis of this essay that the University of Manitoba came into being as a result of the creative influence of one such individual who, in the early years of his episcopate in Rupert's Land, succeeded in laying the foundations of higher learning in the establishment of St. John's College, and later, when the situation in the community and the colleges warranted it, called for action on the part of the Government of Manitoba for the establishment of an institution with degree-granting powers.

Contemporary studies in the social sciences--anthropology, psychology, and sociology--have disclosed the extent to which human personality is the outcome of the responses of the individual to the impact of the total environment upon him from earliest childhood and that basic attitudes and values acquired early may provide underlying presuppositions for all of life. If we would understand the life and influence of the remarkable man who became the first chancellor of the University of Manitoba and who, with the cooperation of the staffs from St. John's and the other two colleges, was its architect and founder, it will be important to look, however briefly, at his early life and development.

From his biographer, a nephew who had grown up in

his native Scotland and came to Canada to train for the ministry in the college founded by his uncle, we learn that Robert Machray was born at Aberdeen, May 17, 1831.² His father was a member of the Society of Advocates of Aberdeen, at that time the most important legal organization in the north of Scotland, and a member of the Church of Scotland. His mother, also of highland ancestry, was a member of the Episcopal Church until her marriage, at which time she became a Presbyterian. The Machrays had three children, two sons and a daughter, of whom Robert was the eldest, and all of whom were baptized in the local parish of the Church of Scotland. The father, however, died when Robert had only just commenced school and he went to live with his uncle, Theodore Allan, who lived at Nairn, a distance of one hundred miles from Aberdeen, a man of wide scholarship and an excellent schoolmaster. A probationer (lay reader) of the Church of Scotland, he had an extensive library, including much history and some theological books. Robert, who spent the next ten years of his life in the Allan home, was a bright student and soon became a voracious reader. He read everything in his uncle's library, including the theological books, discussing with his uncle the ecclesiastical controversies which were at the time dividing the Church of Scotland. About this time (1843) the great "Disruption" took place when hundreds of Ministers of the Established Church gave up their livings and formed the

Free Church of Scotland, taking most of their congregations with them. Feeling ran highly and families were divided in their loyalties. Theodore Allan was a Liberal in politics, and sympathized with the founders of the Free Church in asserting their right to appoint their own ministers rather than have one "intruded" upon them by patrons, and also the right of the church, as a whole, to rule and regulate its own affairs instead of being subject to the State. While his brothers joined the Free Church, Theodore Allan remained in the Established Church. Robert, along with his mother, favoured the more "moderate" side of Presbyterianism, remaining in the Church of Scotland, but his biographer states that it was during this time that Robert "came to have a secret longing for the Church of England and to prefer its form of government and its Service especially as far better than that of the Presbyterians."³

In 1845 Robert was awarded first prizes in Latin, Greek, and Arithmetic and when in 1847 his uncle Theodore was hospitalized with an illness which proved to be terminal, he, as head boy of the school, at sixteen years of age, took the headmaster's place and successfully carried the pupils through their work for the next three months until a successor could be appointed. This experience convinced him of his abilities as a teacher and he began to think seriously about his preparation for a vocation either as a teacher or a clergyman. With

assistance from some friends he attended the Grammar School of Aberdeen for the next three months in preparation for university entrance. In 1847, with the financial assistance of a family friend, he entered King's College, Aberdeen, where he was one of a class of ninety freshmen. By mid-term he had attracted attention as a promising student and was awarded a bursary which overcame his financial problems for the present, and by tutoring more backward younger boys preparing to enter university, he managed to continue his studies throughout the four year program. He graduated top student in the university, winning a sixty pound prize in mathematics which, with the help of a loan from the local bank, enabled him to proceed to Cambridge, where he entered Sidney Sussex College in 1851.

Lacking any family financial resources, young Machray was beset by problems throughout his years in Cambridge; he was placed first in the First Class in mathematics for his year in the Christmas examinations, and was elected a Foundation Scholar which enabled him, by practising extreme frugality, to continue his studies, but he lacked the financial means to obtain the services of a coach for his final preparation for the Mathematical Tripos, overworked, and went in to his exams in a state of anxiety. He graduated 34th Wrangler in a very large class in which his professors had expected him to come at least fourth or fifth, though he personally

was not disappointed. After graduation, he obtained a position as tutor for four boys which provided him with a living while he prepared himself to be examined for a Foundation Fellowship at Cambridge, to which he was elected in 1855. Being a Fellow at Cambridge opened the way for him to prepare for ordination to the priesthood in the Church of England. He was ordained by the Bishop of Ely on November 11, 1855.

There followed two further years of tutoring which took him in turn to Italy and to the Isle of Man where, in addition to assisting in local parishes he became acquainted with the work of the Church Missionary Society while living in the home of a Dr. Forbes, a secretary of the Society. Throughout these years Robert Machray was learning the art of becoming a school master as he worked closely with and guided the development of from two to four boys in their family settings, helping them to master the fundamentals of an education designed to equip them for university entrance. He had time also to continue his own studies and in 1858 returned to Cambridge and took his M.A. degree. In December of that year he was appointed Dean of Sidney Sussex College,⁴ a recognition by his Alma Mater of the outstanding leadership abilities of this tall Scot who had distinguished himself in his undergraduate years as one who exercised a creative influence on all who knew him. His duties as Dean were to conduct a seminar in theology each week, supervise the conduct of the

undergraduates and hold daily services in the college chapel. In accepting the post, Machray had arranged that he would be permitted to undertake some pastoral ministry in a small parish in the Cambridge neighbourhood.

For the next seven years Machray lived and worked at Sidney where he felt very much at home. He developed lasting friendships with other resident Fellows with whom he continued to correspond throughout his life. He sought out opportunities for pastoral ministry in local parishes and for a time served as Vicar of Maddingley. He was a moderate Evangelical Churchman and took an active interest in the work of the Cambridge branches of the English missionary societies. His financial struggles appeared to be well behind him or so he may have imagined until, in October of 1864, the first Bishop of Rupert's Land, David Anderson, resigned his See and shortly afterwards it was informally offered to Machray who consented to undertake it. The formal announcement of the appointment was delayed until May of 1865 and this provided the bishop-designate an opportunity to acquaint himself as fully as possible with the extent and problems of his new sphere of responsibilities. He consulted extensively with his predecessor and other returned missionaries who had served for many years in the field; he also visited the headquarters of the great missionary societies and conferred with those who were familiar with specific aspects of the financial prob-

lems facing him in his new undertaking.

The Second Bishop of Rupert's Land

Robert Machray was consecrated Bishop of Rupert's Land at Lambeth Palace on June 24, 1865, by the Archbishop of Canterbury, the bishops of London, Ely and Aberdeen and Bishop Anderson assisting. After spending two months raising funds and making necessary preparations, he set out for his diocese via New York, St. Paul, and St. Cloud, Minnesota, and arrived at Red River on October 13, 1865.⁵ Rupert's Land diocese at this point in its history was described by one church historian as "the most uninviting diocese on the face of the earth,"⁶ but Machray did not view it in this light. He had already acquainted himself with the movements which were afoot to open up the country to settlement and he came with a sense of urgency for the creation of a Christian community in this wilderness which was shortly to be opened up for agricultural settlement. Conversations with the heads of the British missionary societies had convinced him that he must encourage the congregations in the Settlement to become self-supporting, and that he must work towards establishing a native ministry for the Indians.

There had been elementary schools in the community from the date of the arrival of the first Anglican missionary, the Reverend John West, in 1820, and for a period of some

sixteen years (1833-49) the Red River Academy, under the leadership successively of the Reverend David Jones and of John Macallum, sought to provide secondary education for the few who could qualify and wished to proceed with further studies.⁷ David Anderson, first Bishop of Rupert's Land, had attempted to provide some training in higher branches of study, and did succeed in preparing a number of men in St. John's Collegiate School for missionary work and as teachers and catechists, some of whom later distinguished themselves as politicians and statesmen in the early life of the Province of Manitoba, but from lack of leaders and of the necessary financial resources, the institution was closed in 1859 and when Machray arrived he found only a set of dilapidated buildings.

The Cambridge mathematician and educator set to work without delay to learn at first hand from the people of the land the problems awaiting solutions. The first three months in the Settlement were spent in visiting each of the parishes and missions and speaking with the people, setting before them his concerns that each parish should aim at becoming self-supporting and to this end should be formally organized under its rector with Church Wardens and a vestry of twenty-four men who would be elected by the members of the congregation. He was distressed at the lack of any educational opportunity for the children and placed this as a responsibil-

ity before each congregation. Having met the clergy with the people in their parishes and missions, the bishop called them together at Bishop's Court--all six of them--in order that he might discuss with them in greater detail the problems which the church was facing and the changes which he had proposed as a first step towards a solution of some of them. In addition to the English speaking white and mixed population within the Settlement, there was the problem of meeting the needs of Indians and traders scattered throughout the vast wilderness which was the diocese--stretching from Labrador on the east to the Rocky Mountains on the west, and from the United States border to the Arctic islands in the north.⁸

A report of this conference, printed for circulation among the friends of the diocese in England and other parts, discloses that the new bishop had already formulated a pattern for attacking the problems facing him. After expressing gratitude to all those whose labours had planted the Church in this land, the report outlined the needs, spelling out the distances which the bishop would be required to travel in order to visit the farthest missions in a diocese almost the size of Europe. It was physically impossible to administer such a territory and the bishop was preparing the ground for a division of the territory by the creation of new dioceses east and west. The report continued with an expression of regret that there was not at that time a school in the diocese

belonging to the Church, other than a few schools maintained by the CMS and at St. Paul's (Middlechurch) where the salary of the teacher was paid out of the Bishop's diocesan fund, and concluded on a note which was to recur throughout all his addresses and correspondence throughout the next year:

There is a very great want in this Settlement of any high school, or of a school to receive the sons of the officers of the Company scattered throughout Rupert's Land. As a result there are no young men preparing for holy orders for the ministry.⁹

The published report concluded with an announcement of the calling of a diocesan conference of clergy and representative laymen to be held on May 30, 1866. Already the bishop was formulating plans for remedying the situation, as we learn from a letter which he addressed to Prebendary Bullock of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel on November 10, 1865, in which he affirmed:

I believe that the whole success of my efforts here will depend, under God, upon the success of what I propose--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 the Church.¹⁰

Here, scarcely a month after his arrival in the diocese, the Bishop declared that the foundation of all his work in Rupert's Land will be an educational institution which he intends to establish without delay.

Early in January, 1866 the bishop set out, travelling by dog sleds and complete equipment for winter travel, all

provided by the Hudson's Bay Company, to visit the nearer missions at Westbourne, Fairford, Swan Lake, Cumberland House, and Nepowewin (near Prince Albert), and returning by way of Touchwood Hills, Qu'Appelle Lakes, and Fort Ellice, travelling more than a thousand miles in mid-winter conditions, sleeping out under the stars on seventeen nights and at other times in deserted huts or Indian tents.¹¹ On his return he wrote a number of letters to the heads of the great missionary societies reporting on what he had found and reiterating his conviction that the college which he had in mind was an absolute necessity for the training of the clergy and in the interests of higher education. He requested from the CMS an annual grant without delay to enable him to commence this undertaking and he also wrote a long letter to William Mac-tavish, Governor of Assiniboia, expressing concern at the lack of any educational provisions for the sons of officers of the Company and outlined in considerable detail his plans for a residential College as a first step in the direction of meeting this need. He had asked the missionary societies to underwrite at least part of the venture, and he hoped that the Directors of the Company would see their way clear at their next meeting to make provision for an annual grant also.¹²

The conference of clergy and lay representatives met on May 30, 1866 as planned, and the bishop, after reporting

to them on his findings from the itinerary of the past winter, laid before them three proposals: the parishes must increasingly become self-supporting, and, as a corollary to this, a policy of self-government must be introduced. As a step to this end he requested them to appoint a committee to investigate the synodical form of government which had been introduced in eastern Canada, and report to a further conference to be called a year hence. He then laid before clergy and lay men present his concern about the lack of any provision of a higher school for the education of teachers, catechists and native clergy, "or those whose parents wish to have a liberal education."¹³ He acknowledged that "in the as yet very limited field of the Church in this diocese there can be but a very small and uncertain theological school," but declared:

That, however, does not make such a school any the less necessary. Whatever is done, should be done well. I am perfectly satisfied, from what I have seen of the interior, that it is vain for us to expect efficiency in native agents unless they receive proper training. . . . The training of efficient native agents cannot be the work of a day, but must be the result of patient labour for years on the abler lads that are found at the missions and posts of the country. Those views point to the need for our mission and church work of a School of a more general character than a purely theological College.¹⁴

The bishop then outlined his plan for the re-institution of St. John's College and Collegiate School with the cooperation of Mr. Samuel Pritchard who would move into the renovated

college buildings as Master of the Collegiate, while the Reverend John McLean, a friend from his college days and a distinguished Classics graduate from Aberdeen, would become Warden of the College and take charge of the higher education and theological studies.

The Foundation of St. John's College

St. John's College opened on November 1, 1866,¹⁵ with three students in the theological class and nineteen boys in the school, the majority of whom had been pupils in Mr. Pritchard's school at St. Paul's. From this point on throughout his episcopate of thirty-nine years the Bishop taught in the College and at times also in the school. A second conference of parish representatives met in May, 1867 and on the Bishop's recommendation, moved to organize a diocesan synod. "For myself," the Bishop declared, "I have no hope for the health and life of a young and struggling Church like ours, which has no endowments, but in a free interchange of the thoughts and views of its members."¹⁶ Once again he urged upon the parish representatives the educational needs of the diocese. "Next to the Ministry of the Word and Sacraments comes the office of educating the young so that they may receive a sound and religious education."¹⁷ He reported that the College was now operational and that there were three senior theological students in the College

and twenty-six pupils in the College School, of whom seven attended a Junior theological class; seven out of the ten were preparing for missionary work among the Indians.

Two years later, at the first meeting of the diocesan synod in February, 1869,¹⁸ the Bishop was able to report that great success had attended his efforts to establish a school of higher education as well as a school of theology for candidates for Holy Orders. There were at this time forty-two students in the Collegiate and the school had received a generous gift of some prizes from Alexander K. Isbister, an old pupil of the earlier Red River Academy (1833-49),¹⁹ who had risen to a position of distinction as an educator in England. The greatest need of the College was for more accommodation; there were now many classes, advancing to some attainment in classics and mathematics and requiring three class rooms. Steps were already under way to erect a more permanent building.

From the time of his arrival in the Settlement the Bishop had been appointed by Governor William Mactavish a member of the Council of Assiniboia, where he met and became a close friend of Archbishop Taché, of St. Boniface. When, in 1868, the Settlement was reduced to the point of starvation by grasshoppers which had destroyed all crops, the two Church leaders played an active role together in obtaining relief from Canada, England and the United States, and rations were

distributed by the clergy in the parishes, Roman Catholic and Protestant, in a demonstration of unity in the face of adversity.²⁰ During the winter of 1869-70, Archbishop Taché being away in Rome attending the Vatican Council, Bishop Machray was deeply involved in keeping the peace between the conflicting groups of French, English, Canadians and Old Settlers and, with the formation of the Province, was asked by the civil authorities to remain on hand to advise them, particularly on educational matters.

The Education Act passed by the first Legislature of Manitoba in 1871 put all the common schools under the State, and created a Board of Education consisting of a Protestant section of which Bishop Machray was chairman by nomination of the Government, composed of clergy and lay representatives of the Protestant denominations engaged in education, and a Roman Catholic section of a similar nature composed of Roman Catholic members and of which Archbishop Taché was chairman. The Act provided two sets of schools with all the manifold complications resulting in a small and sparsely settled Province. As settlers poured into the country in the succeeding years, the meetings of the Joint Board were taken up from 1874 onwards with the problems of responding to requests for new schools, or for the division of existing districts, and for more and better teachers, bringing the two Bishops into conference together at least four to six times each year

on problems some of which were insoluble under the dual system.²¹

Bishop Machray succeeded in having St. John's College incorporated by an Act of the first Legislature of Manitoba, May 3, 1871. The constitution of the College at that time sets out its purpose as being: to train fit persons for the sacred ministry, to provide instruction in the higher branches of education usually taught in universities, and to provide a Preparatory College or Collegiate School for such as required it. The report on the College, as given to the diocesan synod meeting in January, 1873,²² indicates that there were at that date three professors in the College and four Masters in the Collegiate. Subjects listed in the syllabus for the year were Mathematics, Arithmetic, Latin, Greek, German, French, and English Literature. In the theological program, in addition to carrying forward the school subjects to higher levels, there were lectures in Ecclesiastical History, Systematic Theology, Hebrew, and Biblical Literature. Two of the most promising graduates of the College had become Masters in the School and resident tutors. The Warden of the College, Archdeacon McLean, having been appointed bishop of the newly formed diocese of Saskatchewan, Bishop Machray had assumed the Warden's Chair in 1873 and, from this point on for many years, personally directed the studies of the College and exercised oversight over the Collegiate.²³

The French language Roman Catholic College of St. Boniface was also incorporated by the first Legislature in 1871, a successor to the mission school founded by the Reverend J. N. Provencher, the first Roman Catholic missionary to the Red River Settlement and later appointed Bishop of St. Boniface. During his second year in the Red River instruction was given in Latin²⁴ in the hope that two of the brighter boys in his charge would enter the priesthood, but in this the Bishop was disappointed. As it developed, the College was modelled on the tradition of the classical colleges of Quebec and sought to provide a classical education in the French language for the métis young people. The mission clergy and, after 1845, the Oblate Fathers were in charge of studies until these were taken over by the Christian Brothers in 1854. From 1860 to the time of its incorporation in 1871, the College was under the direction of the Oblates, who continued to direct its studies until 1878.²⁵

A third Church college had its birth in the years 1869-71, under the leadership of the Reverend John Black, with the assistance of Mr. David Whimster, an Ontario teacher, to meet the needs of the Presbyterian community in Kildonan. In 1869 Black designated one room of the Kildonan school for higher classes in English, Mathematics, Greek, Latin, and French, in the teaching of which he personally assisted Mr. Whimster. In 1871, Whimster returned to Ontario and his

place was taken by the Reverend George Bryce, under whose leadership the higher school was separated from the elementary and given the name of Manitoba College. The staff was strengthened in 1872 with the arrival of the Reverend Thomas Hart, a graduate of Queen's University in Kingston, and of Edinburgh, Scotland.²⁶

John Black and George Bryce were both graduates of Knox College in Toronto, and Manitoba College, under their leadership, was founded with the purpose of preparing men for the Ministry and for the professions. Of necessity the College must maintain preparatory courses in the liberal arts, but in the tradition of the Presbyterian Free Church, they believed that general education was a responsibility of the State and should be undertaken by the Province as soon as this became possible.

A Wesleyan Institute was opened on November 3, 1873 on the corner of Main and Water Streets in Winnipeg with an enrolment of forty-seven pupils, in three departments--primary, intermediate, and secondary, and with tentative plans of becoming an institution of higher learning. Financial difficulties prevented development, however, and in 1877 the Institute was closed.²⁷

In the year 1872, therefore, the competitive spirit which had been a source of great confusion and bewilderment to the Indians in the missionary outposts of the North West,²⁸

gave every evidence of being built into the higher educational institutions of the Province. The Reverend George Grant, later to be Principal of Queen's University, Kingston, visited Winnipeg on August 1, 1872 as Secretary to the Sandford Fleming Expedition across Canada. On learning in conversation with denominational leaders that the various Churches were building or preparing to build "Colleges," and that while the Provincial Government had made provision for a common school system, nothing similar had been done to establish a common centre of higher education, expressed his fears that "the little Province with its fifteen thousand inhabitants will therefore soon rejoice in three or four denominational "Colleges."²⁹ At that date the situation in Manitoba gave every appearance of being about to repeat the tragic mistakes which had plagued higher education in Ontario and the Eastern Provinces. There was, however, one important difference in the Manitoba situation; there were a number of leaders engaged in higher education in the Province at the time who were determined to do all in their power to prevent this happening. They were beginning to feel the need for some more formal manner of certification for their students, and by 1873 at least one of the colleges was feeling this need acutely.

Chapter III

THE SEARCH FOR ACCREDITATION

By the academic year of 1873-4 Bishop Machray was facing problems of a different nature. The College had completed seven years of operation and it had proven eminently successful. A considerable number of young men had discovered in its halls the fascination of the search for knowledge and under the excellent leadership of the college staff had completed their studies and gone out again into the world. Some returned home, others continued their education elsewhere, either at universities in Eastern Canada or at Cambridge, England where on the recommendation of the Bishop they were readily accepted, to extend their pursuit of higher learning to a degree level and to prepare themselves for a profession. An increasingly large number were preparing for the ministry and their graduation from college would bring to an end their formal training.

Machray, who had graduated with top honours from Aberdeen and with distinction in mathematics from Cambridge universities, and had been successively a Fellow and latterly for seven years Dean of Sidney Sussex College in Cambridge, could not fail to be acutely aware of a serious lack in the inability of St. John's College to provide some form of

certification for successful students, which would not only carry the seal of approval of their college, but would receive validation within the larger community of learning. The College needed some form of accreditation of its program of studies by an authority other than its own administration and some form of certification for successful completion of its programs of study. To a man of Machray's disposition, the emergence of a problem constituted a call for action towards its solution.

In January, 1874 Lord Dufferin, the Governor General of Canada, requested the Lieutenant Governor of Manitoba to procure and transmit to him a list of the principal colleges and universities in the Province.¹ He wished to encourage students to strive towards excellence in their studies by offering to the several colleges engaged in higher education medals to be awarded annually. The Lieutenant Governor, in order that he might present an accurate report, obtained letters from the Archbishop of St. Boniface, the Bishop of Rupert's Land, Principal Bryce, and the Reverend George Young,² which were appended to his report to the Governor General on February 25, 1874, in which he stated that on arriving in the community in 1872 he had been surprised to discover that in a region so long isolated from the outer world such laudable efforts would have been made for the advancement of higher education:

I can bear testimony that a sound education is being afforded in Manitoba and that of a character that would be creditable even in the older Provinces. I speak from observation and personal experience, having two boys attending St. John's College and I am much pleased with their progress.³

St. John's, however, was but one of a number of such institutions; the Roman Catholic, Presbyterian and Wesleyan Churches were all engaged in the work of higher education. He specifically called the attention of his Lordship to the fact that the institutions maintained by these bodies in Manitoba were serving a much larger constituency than the Province, and that they "afford the means of educating the children of the scattered residents of the different North West Territories."⁴ Morris, having administrative responsibility for the whole vast area, was particularly appreciative of this aspect of the work of the Colleges in providing an opportunity of liberal education for the future leaders of the North West.

Some time during the latter part of 1873 or early in 1874 Bishop Machray, aware of the Governor General's interest in encouraging education throughout the Dominion, consulted Lord Dufferin, and requested him to take up with Prime Minister Mackenzie the possibility that the Dominion Government might recommend a charter for St. John's College to enable it to grant theological degrees to its graduates. The Prime Minister, however, was opposed to the granting of a charter to a denominational college in Manitoba, apparently

fearing a repetition of the emergence of competing denominational universities such as had hindered university development in Ontario until settled by the University Act of 1849, transforming the Anglican King's College into the University of Toronto on a thoroughly secular basis. Machray, however, had not asked for a general charter, but simply for the power of granting theological degrees to men preparing for ordination to the ministry in the Church. Mackenzie, in his reply to Lord Dufferin's query, had suggested that, if it was simply a matter of theological degrees, he understood that the Archbishop of Canterbury could confer this power.⁵ Machray was quite sure that the Prime Minister was mistaken in this assumption.

Research has failed to uncover this correspondence between the Bishop of Rupert's Land and the Governor General of Canada. Also, the statements from each of the four heads of colleges which had been forwarded to the Governor General as addenda to the report on higher educational institutions in the Province of Manitoba which Alexander Morris had made in February 1874 have become separated from the report and all efforts to locate them have failed to turn up any evidence of their whereabouts. However, a memo from the Prime Minister to Lord Dufferin, dated Monday, 9/3/74 enclosed a number of documents which the Governor General had forwarded to him for consideration; among those listed is a letter from the Bishop

of Rupert's Land. At the conclusion of the list, Mackenzie remarked, "I will attend to the Bishop's letter tomorrow. I was under the impression his former letter had been dealt with."⁶ This raises at least the possibility that Machray had originally written to the Governor General prior to his enquiry about the institutions of higher education in Manitoba, and being dissatisfied with the reply received, had re-stated his problem in the letter and report on St. John's College which he prepared for the Lieutenant Governor of Manitoba, to be forwarded to Ottawa on February 25, 1874, and that Lord Dufferin had forwarded it to the Prime Minister for his further consideration of the matters raised by the Bishop's request. In any event, there does not appear to have been any further development towards a resolution of the problem at that time.

During the summer of 1874 the college building was enlarged to include classrooms, library, dining hall, rooms for masters and lecturers, dormitories for the students, kitchen and servants' accommodation.⁷ There were sixty students in residence and some day scholars, among whom were the two older sons of the Lieutenant Governor, the Honourable Alexander Morris, who attended St. John's College throughout the full period of their residence in Winnipeg.⁸ Nearly all of the boarders were natives of the country, a large proportion of them being sons of officers of the Hudson's Bay Com-

pany from the interior. In September, 1874 W. R. Flett, a recent graduate of the College, who for the past two years had been a Master and resident tutor in the school, went to England where he attended Sidney Sussex College, Cambridge, to obtain a degree.⁹ The Reverend S. P. Matheson, an equally brilliant graduate, was unable to undertake the costly journey; he remained at the College, becoming acting Head Master of the School, and did not actually receive the degree of B.D. until 1880 (some accounts say after 1895). The need for some adequate form of certification of students on completion of their studies at the College was clearly being felt more acutely than ever, and some solution must be found.

The diocese of Rupert's Land, as a Colonial diocese of the Church of England, came under the jurisdiction of the Archbishop of Canterbury, who at the time was Archibald Campbell Tait and who, as Bishop of London in 1865, had been one of three Bishops who presented Robert Machray for consecration as Bishop of Rupert's Land. While he was quite sure the Archbishop had not the power to grant the charter which he was seeking, Machray wrote to the Archbishop of Canterbury on April 17, 1875 seeking his advice. Inasmuch as this letter became the basis of negotiations extending over the next six months, it is well to quote it in full:



Bishop's Court, Manitoba, Canada,
April 17, 1875.

My Lord Archbishop:

I have brought before the Governor General our desire to have St. John's College, which is incorporated by the Legislature of Manitoba, empowered by the Crown to grant Degrees in Theology. Lord Dufferin in reply, stated that he had mentioned the matter to the Premier Mr. MacKenzie and found him opposed to grant such a charter to a denominational College. Lord Dufferin added that Mr. MacKenzie said this was of less consequence as Your Grace could give us enabling powers. I presume this is a mistake of the Premier's, probably originating in his having heard that Your Grace can personally confer degrees.

I am myself quite opposed to the creation here of Denominational Universities as in the old Provinces of Canada, Church of England, Roman Catholic, Presbyterian, Wesleyan for granting Degrees in Arts, Medicine and Law. I purpose supporting a United University for Arts, etc., to which I should wish to affiliate St. John's College. But such a United University cannot grant Degrees in Theology, and so there will be no means of obtaining such Degrees in all the great West about to rise up here. St. John's College has as full a Theological Faculty as any of the Church Universities in Canada-- I feel therefore that this is unfair.

Can I by any possibility get a Charter for Theological Degrees directly from the Queen? What would Your Grace advise?

I am, etc.

signed R. Rupert's Land

The Right Honourable and Right Reverend
The Lord Archbishop of Canterbury.¹⁰

On receipt of this letter, the Archbishop of Canterbury, on May 26, 1875, wrote to Bishop Machray, confirming his assumption that he had no authority to grant enabling powers

to any College or individual to confer Degrees, but assured the Bishop,

I will consider what will be the best course for you to pursue with regard to St. John's College--I will consult those who appear to me to be best able to advise me on the subject and will write to you. . . .¹¹

Two days later the Archbishop addressed a letter to Lord Carnarvon, the Colonial Secretary, enclosing Machray's letter, and explaining his inability to solve the problem, adding,

I should be much obliged if Your Lordship would kindly let me know whether, under the circumstances described in the Bishop's letter, Her Majesty would, as the Bishop suggests, grant a Charter for Theological Degrees directly from herself.¹²

Lord Carnarvon's secretary, on his instructions, enclosed this letter and the letter from Machray in a despatch to the Governor General of Canada on June 9, 1875, stating that Lord Carnarvon would like to

be placed in possession of your views on the subject, and would be glad to be informed what means there are of conferring Theological Degrees in Canada and whether they could be made available for the purpose.¹³

The matter arrived back on Prime Minister Kackenzie's desk in November of that year, along with other documents from the Governor General, who simply commented that he was enclosing

a copy of a Despatch from Lord Carnarvon, enclosing the Archbishop of Canterbury's letter stating that he has no power of conferring theological degrees, in reference to the request of the Bishop of Rupert's Land for a Charter.¹⁴

The request, coming now from the Secretary of State for the Colonies, for clarification of the issue in order that he might

advise the Archbishop of Canterbury on the matter, must be dealt with, and was accordingly, on November 15, 1875, referred to the Privy Council for a decision as to whether the power of giving a charter rested with the Provincial or Dominion Governments. The Minister of Justice, to whom the matter was referred, reported on December 23, 1875 that it appeared to him that "the subject in question is as between Canada and Manitoba, within the exclusive jurisdiction of the Legislature of that Province, and recommends that this view be conveyed to Lord Carnarvon."¹⁵ This Report was submitted to the Governor General and on December 27, 1875 received his approval. Two days later, Lord Dufferin despatched a copy of the Report to Lord Carnarvon with a covering letter:

My Lord:

Referring to Mr. Malcolm's letter of June 9, last enclosing a copy of one from His Grace the Archbishop of Canterbury on the subject of granting powers to confer Theological Degrees upon St. John's College, Manitoba, I have the honour of enclosing, at the instance of my Government, a copy of a Minute of the Privy Council stating that the Minister of Justice to whom the letter was referred, reports that the subject in question is within the exclusive jurisdiction of the Legislature of the Province of Manitoba.¹⁶

Lord Carnarvon conveyed the decision of the Privy Council of Canada to the Archbishop of Canterbury in a letter dated January 20, 1876, and added that, in his opinion, the Provincial Government could not empower the granting of degrees which would be entitled to recognition beyond the boundaries of

the Province; that the Queen could declare that degrees granted by a university in a Colony would be entitled to recognition throughout the Empire, but

it would be impossible for me to advise Her Majesty to confer the power of granting such degrees upon a Provincial College, such power being strictly reserved to the Great Universities in Great Britain and in the foreign dependencies of this country hereafter established in the Colonies.¹⁷

This extensive investigation, involving the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Secretary of State for the Colonies, the Governor General of Canada, the Prime Minister of Canada, the Minister of Justice and the Privy Council, had taken ten months to complete and for the Archbishop of Canterbury to report the findings to Bishop Machray in Manitoba. The Report failed to offer a solution to the problems of accreditation for the College and its courses, but indicated clearly that, if a solution was to be forthcoming, it must be through the local legislature. There was, however, one further alternative, should this avenue fail, and it may have been suggested to Machray by the final sentence in Lord Carnarvon's letter to the Archbishop of Canterbury in his reference to "the Great Universities in Great Britain" of one of which Machray was a distinguished graduate. To a lesser man than Machray the report would have constituted the end of the matter, but not so for this Bishop of Rupert's Land who was also Warden of his college and knew, from personal contact with the students and from his own early dif-

difficulties in completing his education, the importance of the issue to the graduates of the college.

While this question was being investigated in the highest circles of Government in Canada and Great Britain, Bishop Machray was making the problem known to the elected delegates of the Synod of the diocese of Rupert's Land, meeting in June, 1875. He spoke with pride of the college which, he declared, he had patterned after the manner of the theological schools of the great universities in Britain, each of which was linked closely with a cathedral church. The theological faculty will ultimately be a very complete one, he declared, but a matter of urgent concern is the present inability of the college to grant theological degrees to its graduates, and he proceeded to outline his proposals, expanding on the message of the letter which he had addressed to the Archbishop of Canterbury in April:

What we want is a charter enabling the College to grant in theology the Degrees of B.D. and D.D. Such a charter will not in any way interfere with the creation in the Province of an undenominational University for Arts, Science, Medicine, and Law. I should be as opposed as anyone to the creation of small denominational universities vainly competing with one another for the resources placed by the Province at the disposal of an undenominational university and by the unwholesome rivalry of petty interest lowering the standard of scholarship. But it is clear that an undenominational university having no faculty of theology cannot properly be empowered to confer degrees in theology, and if it were empowered, cannot do it satisfactorily. Such a charter as I speak of would greatly strengthen our theological school, and while I can see no valid reason against granting it if there is sufficient evidence of the reality and permanence of the College I must say it

would seem a great injustice to us in this region of the North-West if we should be arbitrarily shut out from the means of attaining Degrees in Theology, open in other Provinces to all Bodies.¹⁸

Such a statement, delivered with the full force of the Bishop's personality, to his Synod delegates, composed of both clerical and lay members, some of the latter being members of the Provincial Legislature, could not fail to make the university question a live issue for the consideration of all Manitobans. This particular Synod included among its members the Honourable Colin Inkster, a member of the Legislative Council of Manitoba, and the Honourable John Norquay, Minister of Public Works, who had recently entered the Davis Cabinet with the clear purpose of providing a strong Government dedicated to the task of coming to grips with the problems which were hindering development in the young Province, such as the urgent need for roads and bridges, and the organization of municipal government; added to this was the conviction of the need to deal with the problem of a more adequate provision of educational opportunities for the young people growing up. A third member of this Synod who exercised considerable influence in the community was Chief Justice Wood. All three of these men, as members of the Council of St. John's College,¹⁹ would be aware of the problem which the Bishop was at this time bringing to public attention and would not hesitate to use their personal influ-

ence in appropriate places as opportunity offered.

Underlining the urgency for action to rectify the situation under which the bishop felt himself to be working in the college, the diocesan Synod, at a meeting held on January 12, 1876, enacted a statute which declared that "until Degrees can be obtained by the alumni of the College, the Council of the College may by examination or otherwise, confer the titles of Associate in Arts, and Associate in Divinity."²⁰ It is evident that the pressure to provide certification was at that time being felt in both departments of the college--in both Arts and Theology--and was of sufficient intensity to call for some interim provision to reassure students and alumni that their need for proper recognition was not being neglected.

The need, which St. John's College was experiencing acutely with its ten years of activity in the field of higher education, was beginning to be felt in the younger Manitoba College which in 1874²¹ had moved to Winnipeg where it developed a vigorous programme of secondary education and, in January, 1876, sought to focus the attention of the general public and of the Provincial Government upon the urgency of the need for the creation of an efficient educational system from the elementary through secondary and university levels, to make possible for local youth the advantages of preparation for the professions.

The occasion for this was provided by an annual prize-giving convocation of the College which brought together students, staff, parents and friends. The Press was invited, and a full report of the speeches of the evening was carried in the Winnipeg Free Press on the following Monday.²² From this report we learn that there were at that time twenty-four students in the senior department and fourteen in the junior, a total of thirty-eight, and that by this time the College was offering studies up to and including Fourth Form. At this point in its history, therefore, Manitoba College was not facing an urgent need for university opportunities for its graduates, but, in looking forward, could recognize that the time was not far distant when it would be.

The program of speeches was carefully planned to provide a number of different models for university organization by speakers not directly involved in the teaching work of the College, leaving the latter free to focus on what they considered to be priorities. The United States Consul, Mr. J. W. Taylor, spoke of the contribution made to the life of his native State by the State University of Michigan, declaring it to be the peer of Harvard and Yale. Recognizing, however, that such an institution was beyond the means of a young Province such as Manitoba, he indicated another type of organization which would utilize the resources which the

Province then possessed in its denominational Colleges, Manitoba, St. John's and St. Boniface. These, he suggested, might be affiliated under a Board of Regents incorporated as the University of Manitoba, in a system such as had been found useful in the State of New York.

Professor Bryce, after presenting the Governor General's medals to winning scholars, went on to discuss the need for united action among the denominations in the creation of a non-denominational system in common, collegiate and university education. Inability of the Government to provide collegiate education and the inefficiency of the common schools system had laid upon the Colleges the necessity of providing a full program of education as a foundation for higher studies. He expressed the hope that the situation might be somewhat relieved with the passage of the new Act for the City:

As to colleges, he would be glad to see a Government institution established as soon as the Province could afford it, which he feared would be a few years yet; but as soon as this could be accomplished, he believed Manitoba College would fall into line with the action of the Government, and become an institution of another character. He thought no time should be lost in the Government endeavouring to bring the different denominations together into one Board for higher education, setting apart a small amount for three or four yearly scholarships, and having students prepared by the different colleges compete at one common examination. He believed from conversation with leading men of other denominations that all the Protestants would willingly join together and possibly our friends in St. Boniface as well.²³

Professor Hart, after presenting bursaries to winning students, declared that he heartily endorsed what had just been said by Professor Bryce on the common school education. He urged those students who intended to study for the learned professions to go through a university course and to commence their strictly professional training with a degree in their possession. He urged the need for some intermediate system of education available for all young people to enable them to pass beyond the common school level, and this should be provided without delay. The Church Colleges were doing a commendable job as an interim program, but this is a responsibility of the State. The Province, he declared, would soon need a university; in fact, it was beginning to feel the want of one already, and inasmuch as the Province must serve many of the purposes of an older province to the new provinces soon to be formed out of the North West Territories, "it is, therefore, of the utmost importance that our educational system be made complete at as early a date as possible."²⁴ Commenting upon the presence of several members of the Provincial Legislature, the speaker concluded by urging that the Legislature set apart some funds which might be used as scholarships offered in subjects usually included under the term "higher education," and in this way encourage the brighter students to prepare themselves for a university education.

The Reverend James Robertson, pastor of Knox Presbyterian Church, delivered the final speech of the evening, focussing attention on the urgent need for higher education in the Province if it was to have informed legislators. The Government, he declared, had appropriated two sections of land in each township for educational purposes and the resources from these lands should enable the Province to make provision for a sound system of education at all levels. The denominational Colleges, which have been to date the sole source of higher education, can provide for only a limited number of those who wish higher education. The speaker now became more specific:

Government has made no attempt to establish collegiate institutes or colleges yet and something should be done at once. There is a large number of students in the denominational collegiate institutes, and some of these want to prosecute their studies further. Two went from Manitoba College last year to Toronto and others were ready to go last fall. But owing to distance and time many will not go East. Toronto and Montreal are nearly as remote from this Province just now in time and money, as those cities are from Oxford or Edinburgh, and if we must send our sons there comparatively few of them will receive the advantages of higher education.²⁵

The speaker declared that, in his opinion, denominations cannot do this work efficiently, and reiterated Professor Bryce's assurance that the Presbyterians would fall in at once with State institutions when such were established. He then put forward a concrete proposal "that there should be a University of Manitoba. By this I mean an examining and a

degree-conferring board."²⁶ He was not aware that any existing College had as of that date asked for such a power, and it was necessary for various reasons, that they should take no steps in that direction. He concluded his address by outlining a model of a university for Manitoba based on the Toronto experience, in which a University College, established by the Province, would set a high standard and become a model for denominational colleges to follow.

Such a college would liberalize men. Too frequently sectarian colleges make men narrow. The best men in the country could mingle with each other irrespective of religious convictions, and the tendency would be to make the population homogeneous.²⁷

The editor of the Manitoba Free Press, W. F. Luxton, a member of the Provincial Legislature at that time, summarized the message of the speakers as to the necessity of thoroughly systematizing the national educational institutions from elementary through to university education, and sought to dispel the doubts of those who, he suggested, "may be inclined, at first sight, to look askance at the suggestion of the establishment of a university in our Province."²⁸ He pointed out that the suggestion was a practicable possibility, given the resources which Manitoba possessed in its colleges.

As was suggested by some of the speakers on the occasion referred to, the creation of a university does not necessarily involve the establishment and maintenance of a college. The denominational colleges, now in operation, might do the educational work, and prepare the students for passing the university examinations. We say a college in direct connection with a university is not indispensable.²⁹

The editor clearly considered this to be a most important issue and expressed the hope that the country would be easily awakened to the desirability of doing something about it in the near future, and so enable the more ambitious young people of the country to possess themselves of university distinctions at home, and at nominal cost.

This important college meeting, open to the public and attended by at least some members of the Legislature, addressed by men each of whom was an influential leader in the community, and whose speeches were reported in great detail in the local press, could not fail to receive serious attention by members of the Government of the Province of Manitoba, and particularly so by the Lieutenant Governor, the Honourable Alexander Morris, whose wide experience in educational matters in Eastern Canada fitted him to play a key role in seeking a solution to the complex educational needs of the Province. The search for solutions to the educational problems of the young Province was not new to the denominational leaders at this time. For six years Archbishop Taché, Bishop Machray and representative leaders of the Presbyterian and Methodist Churches, along with lay representatives of each denomination, some of whom were members of the Legislature, had met regularly four to six times each year to consider petitions which increasingly had been requests for new schools or for the division of existing districts to

meet the needs of children of settlers coming into the country in ever larger numbers. There had been frequent meetings of the Chairmen and the superintendents of each section of the Board with the Lieutenant Governor-in-Council³⁰ with a view to finding solutions to specific problems, most important of which was the shortage of trained teachers and the urgent need to provide a training centre where would-be teachers might receive preparation for teaching at the elementary levels, let alone the need for the provision of secondary education. The Free Press editorial of January 31, 1876, reinforcing statements made at the Manitoba College Convocation of January 28, had pointed out one possible step in the direction of a solution.

The Archbishop of Canterbury, having received the report of the investigation launched by the Earl of Carnarvon at his request, lost no time in forwarding it to the Bishop of Rupert's Land who received it some time in the month of February.³¹ Having sought a solution to his problem by appealing to the highest levels of Government in Canada and Great Britain, he was directed to the Provincial Legislature of Manitoba as the sole body which could meet his needs. Without delay he consulted the Lieutenant Governor who suggested that he write to him about this and one or two other matters concerning the educational needs of the missions in

the North West Territories among the Indians, an area of special concern to Morris.

On February 28, 1876, Bishop Machray addressed a long letter to the Lieutenant Governor, the first section of which sets out the successive steps which he had taken in the hope of obtaining a charter enabling St. John's College to grant the degrees of B.D. and D.D. to those students who had qualified by examinations to receive them. To date he had experienced nothing but frustration, and was under the impression that the College, because it was working in a new and small province, was being unjustly discriminated against. Failing to gain his point by an approach through the Governor General, he had gone through the Colonial Office via the Archbishop of Canterbury, only to receive once again what he considered to be a negative answer to his problem. He had finally been recommended to the local Legislature as the body which had sole jurisdiction in such matters, but it had been also suggested to him that in this case such degrees would have no recognition beyond the Province. The Bishop at this point seems to have been unaware of the full import of the clause in the British North America Act placing all educational matters under the jurisdiction of the Provinces. He does not anticipate any resistance to obtaining such powers from the local Legislature "because as far as I have talked over the matter with members of other Bodies they quite fall

in with my own views," but is deeply disturbed by the suggestion that "in this case the Degrees would be in some inferior and not properly recognized position."³²

It is clear from the whole tone and content of this letter that the Bishop was now prepared to move on his own unless he received a satisfactory local solution without delay. He stated unequivocally,

. . . if we are refused the power of granting Theological Degrees which is all we ask . . . I shall certainly endeavour to have St. John's College affiliated to an English University and I believe I shall be able when I go to England to accomplish this. If so this affiliation will affect all Degrees. I should very much regret this. I am not anxious to build up a Denominational University--on the contrary I am prepared to give my whole influence to the building up of an Undenominational University in Arts, Law, Medicine and Science.³³

At this point Machray put forward a concrete proposal for a Charter for a Provincial University to which the denominational Colleges could be affiliated, "having a common faculty for Degrees in Arts, Law, Medicine, Science, and separate Faculties belonging to the individual Colleges for Theology."³⁴ He reassured the Lieutenant Governor that his suggestion of the affiliation of St. John's College to an English University

would be a last resort and very much against my wishes. There are two things that I almost equally wish--the being affiliated for Arts, etc., to a common University of Manitoba--and our possessing the power of conferring Theological Degrees."³⁵

The letter concludes,

I know it would give great strength to our Theological School--and if my efforts will build up here what will if I live long enough be probably for a time at least the most complete Theological School of the Church of England in Canada--I think it is unfair that because Manitoba is small and new we should be debarred from privileges enjoyed in every other quarter of the British Empire. I brought the subject during the past year before the Diocesan Synod of Rupert's Land as may be seen at page 6 of the Report just published and I believe I carry with me the support and best wishes of the Synod and all the members of the Church of England.³⁶

This important communication, addressed to the chief administrative officer of the Province of Manitoba, constituted an urgent call for action without delay to found a University for Manitoba. It was, in effect, an ultimatum to the Government of Manitoba to act now while the way was still open for the creation of one university for the whole Province.

Having received this urgent appeal from Bishop Machray who had given outstanding leadership in the struggle to work out a satisfactory programme of common schools for the Province, the Lieutenant Governor could not but feel under obligation to move towards a resolution of the problem without delay. He particularly owed a debt of gratitude to Machray for the excellent training his two elder sons had received at St. John's College during their four years residence in Manitoba. As his term of office as Lieutenant Governor drew to its end these two boys would be graduating out of Fifth Form in the College and would be ready to commence their university studies as the family returned to Ontario in 1877.³⁷ What of

those others with whom they had been associated at the College throughout their four years in Manitoba? Many of these came from the interior, from the North West Territories, sons of many of the men with whom Morris had worked to establish law, order and government in the territories as Lieutenant Governor. Where would these young men go as they graduated from college? Few of them would go on to further education unless the opportunity was made for them to do so in Manitoba. Machray's letter placed the matter squarely before the Government of Manitoba. If the Provincial Legislature failed to meet the need by the creation of a university with the power of conferring degrees for studies taken in the colleges, Machray was prepared to move unilaterally and there would then be the beginning of denominational universities in Manitoba, a situation which everyone, Machray in particular, wished to avoid.

Chapter IV

STRATEGY, PLANS, AND THE SUCCESSIVE STEPS LEADING TO THE PASSAGE OF THE BILL TO ESTABLISH THE UNIVERSITY OF MANITOBA

Alexander Morris had been sworn in as Manitoba's second Lieutenant Governor on December 21, 1872,¹ with instructions from the Prime Minister, John A. Macdonald, that he must for some time to come be prepared to play the role of a "paternal despot."² He inherited from his predecessor in office an Executive Council, each member of which had been personally selected and appointed by Lieutenant Governor Archibald.³ The members had no loyalty one to another, and by the time Morris took over the administration of the Province, the arrangement was showing all the signs of disintegrating.⁴ H. J. Clarke, by virtue of possessing a fluency of expression in both English and French, had become the acknowledged leader in the House, and wanted very much to be named Premier by the new Lieutenant Governor. Morris, however, realizing that he lacked the support of a majority of the members of the House, refused to accede, but insisted that the arrangement which he had inherited from his predecessor in office must continue until the House by vote determined

otherwise.⁵ This did not take place until July, 1874,⁶ just six months prior to the end of the life of the first Legislature. Morris called on M. A. Girard to form a Ministry and, in so doing, introduced responsible government for Manitoba.⁷ The new Government lasted for five months, and on its dissolution, the Lieutenant Governor called on R. A. Davis to form a Government on December 5, 1874.⁸ Davis was returned to office in the election on December 30, 1874,⁹ with a commitment both to the electorate¹⁰ and to the Prime Minister (MacKenzie)¹¹ to practise close economy, to confine expenditures within the revenues of the Province, to reduce expenditures in connection with the administration of justice, and to abolish the Upper House. His Government was in a serious minority position, however, until he persuaded John Norquay to join his Cabinet,¹² with the support of a majority of the opposition party, giving Davis a Government thoroughly representative of the various sections of the population. By the beginning of the year 1876, therefore, Manitoba had a government strongly representative of, and fully responsible to, the people of the Province. It was, moreover, committed to the electorate to deal effectively with the practical needs of the rapidly developing agricultural community for roads and bridges and an effective system of municipal government, and to the Dominion Government to pursue the practice of strict

economy and live within the revenues of the Province as the price exacted for help from the Dominion in paying off a crippling outstanding debt incurred during the life of the first Legislature.

With the introduction of responsible government in Manitoba in the summer of 1874, the Lieutenant Governor had given up his position as Premier and head of the cabinet, but he continued to attend the meetings of the Executive Council, particularly when matters affecting Dominion-Provincial relations or Indian Affairs were under consideration. His presence at meetings now was mainly as a resource in clarifying issues when necessary, but on the whole, he refrained from entering into discussion of matters on which the Province was divided.¹³ He maintained an active interest in educational questions during the discussion of which racial and religious tensions inevitably escalated. The Board of Education continued to refer matters directly to the Lieutenant Governor and it would appear that during the final two years of his administration he was functioning virtually as the Minister of Education. There was no portfolio so designated in the Government, and no one having a sufficiently broad perspective on education to deal with the complex problems which were pressing on the Government for action.¹⁴

Normal procedure in educational matters at this time in Manitoba's history would require that the Lieutenant Gover-

nor lay the matter raised by Bishop Machray's letter before the Premier and cabinet for consideration and possible action. The financial situation in Manitoba was such that the creation of a University College, as recommended by the Reverend James Robertson at the Manitoba College Convocation,¹⁵ was beyond the resources of the Province then and for several years to come. The Government could not possibly re-channel funds already committed to essential services for a new project; there was no possibility of the province going into debt to found a university, however necessary and desirable this might be considered by those engaged in higher education in the province.

The situation was further complicated by an acceleration of agitation throughout the year 1876 for the abolition of the dual system of education in the Province, culminating in a demand for the replacement of the Board of Education by a Government department, presided over by a Minister charged with the task of introducing non-sectarian schools throughout the Province.¹⁶ Agitation for change was most vocal from the Board of Trustees for the Protestant schools of Winnipeg, under the leadership of the Reverend George Bryce who, as Inspector of Protestant schools for the City, carried out a factual survey of the situation then existing which he publicized in quarterly reports carried in the Free Press, as were all the meetings of the Protestant Board of School

Trustees. The Free Press was a strong advocate of non-sectarian education in the English language and on December 4, 1876, published a series of resolutions, moved by George Bryce, and passed unanimously by the Board of Trustees, calling on the Government of Manitoba for action without delay to introduce a non-sectarian system of education as the only just way of meeting the needs of the children of the Province, many of whom were receiving no schooling whatsoever under the system then in force, which was expensive and inefficient.¹⁷

In exposing what he considered to be injustices and inadequacies in the dual system, Professor Bryce was playing the role of gad-fly in the cause of better education, and appears to have had the backing of the Protestant and English language majority of the population. His activities, however, were viewed with apprehension by the French and Roman Catholic segment of the population and particularly so by their leader, Archbishop Taché, who saw in the agitation an attack upon the French culture and way of life. The Education Act was amended to permit Boards of School Trustees to raise funds by local taxation for construction of buildings and local improvements. The Government gave more power to the Board of Education in the matter of division of funds,¹⁸ but resisted drastic alteration of the system at that date as politically inexpedient and financially beyond their resources. Archbishop Taché was later to give the credit for this to the Lieutenant Governor.

A lesser man than Alexander Morris in the office of Lieutenant Governor at the time would simply have written to Bishop Machray expressing regret that due to the financial stringency of the times and the racial and religious tensions and agitation in matters of education it was not possible for the Province to offer a solution to the problems which his letter had posed. It was not Morris's way, however, to accept defeat without first examining all possible avenues. William Luxton, in his editorial of January 31, 1876, had pointed out that Manitoba was in a peculiarly favoured position, having three denominational colleges which had for some years past been offering higher education to the youth of the province and that therefore the costly undertaking of creating a university college was not an indispensable element in the foundation of a university for Manitoba. The denominational colleges, he declared, might do the educational work and prepare the students for passing the examinations.²⁰ Bishop Machray had, in his letter, hinted at a similar solution and declared his readiness to give his "whole influence to the building up of an undenominational university in Arts, Law, Medicine, and Science and separate faculties belonging to the individual colleges for theology."²¹

The Government of the Province being incapable of rising to meet the situation posed by Bishop Machray, the Lieutenant Governor undertook, single-handed, to obtain from

the three denominational colleges the quality of cooperation which would make possible the creation of a university for Manitoba at this early date without the necessity of heavy financial commitments on the part of the Government. Both George Bryce and Bishop Machray had expressed the belief that the Church leaders would be willing to work together to achieve common goals in higher education.²² Machray, as Chairman of the Board of Education, had demonstrated an ability to maintain good working relations with all parties while dealing with controversial questions. Morris as a parent of two boys who had spent their Winnipeg days as students of St. John's College, had personal experience of his abilities as an educator. He would look to Machray for leadership in the venture should it become possible to bring it to fulfilment.

The Lieutenant Governor had maintained excellent working relations with the Churches and the leadership in the Colleges throughout his term of office in Manitoba, and he now set to work in an effort to bring the Colleges together to form the working body of a university for Manitoba. He had a series of "conversations with the Archbishop of St. Boniface, the Bishop of Rupert's Land and the Reverend Dr. Bryce,"²³ as Machray was to put the matter many years later in recalling the events in question. Dr. Bryce, however, was to aver that he did not have formal conversations with the Lieutenant Governor, but that he simply referred in

passing to the suggestion as a desirable thing for the Province.²⁴ Professor Hart, on the other hand, stated that "he had had frequent conversations with the Lieutenant Governor about the bill," and added the remark that the Lieutenant Governor's term was drawing to a close and that he wished the Act to be put on the statute book.²⁵ He was, in other words, under some pressure to complete the negotiations in time for the third session of the Second Legislature, which would be his final session as Lieutenant Governor. Professor Bryce being deeply immersed in controversial educational problems in the discharge of his inspectorship of the schools of Winnipeg, it is understandable that Morris turned to Professor Hart, a graduate of Queen's University, of which he had been a member of the Board of Governors. There would be a natural affinity between them, and inasmuch as the matters under discussion would be those of the actual operational structure of institutions of higher learning, it would be logical to expect him to consult Hart.

Conversations with Bishop Machray would aim at drawing from the Bishop a clear picture of how he would envisage a university being brought into being through cooperation of the colleges as a solution to the problems posed in the Bishop's letter. Inasmuch as he would be looking to Machray for leadership in implementing the project, should his efforts meet with success, Morris would be particularly careful to know Machray's

mind on all aspects of his expectations with regard to the structure of the proposed university. The Bishop, with his personal experience of higher education in Scotland and England, including seven years as Dean of Sidney Sussex College in the University of Cambridge, would be able to offer many helpful suggestions as to how a university composed of colleges might function. Throughout all these negotiations, however, plans could be tentative only, pending success with negotiations with the Archbishop of St. Boniface. Could a Roman Catholic college become a partner in the projected plan for a university? The whole success of the venture hinged on winning the cooperation of Taché.

The Archbishop states that he had several conversations with the Lieutenant Governor during the year 1876 and early in 1877, and that Morris urged upon him the advisability of St. Boniface joining with the other two colleges to secure a university for Manitoba.²⁶ At first Taché declined the proposition on the grounds that he could not relegate to others outside the Roman Catholic Church the teaching of the youth of the Church. When the Lieutenant Governor insisted, Taché told him that he was "exceedingly anxious to go as far as possible to meet the views and desires of the other colleges," but that having no experience personally in university matters, having left for missionary work in the west before there was any university in Quebec, he would consult and study

the whole subject. He went to Quebec in 1876 with no other object than to investigate the possibility of cooperating in the project, and while there he saw a calendar of the University of London and

satisfied myself that I could allow St. Boniface College to join the desired University of Manitoba provided that the teaching of our students would remain entirely under our control.²⁷

He returned to Manitoba and informed the Lieutenant Governor of his willingness to become a partner in the foundation of the university, provided that the functions of the university would be limited to the examining of candidates for degrees and to the granting of such degrees.

According to his biographer, the Archbishop, on his return from Quebec, met with the corporation of St. Boniface College on January 10, 1877, and reported to them the decision at which he had arrived. Under his inspiration, the College agreed with the request for the creation of a university for Manitoba on the condition that all rights, obligations and privileges of the College as a Catholic institution would be maintained and that the College, in affiliating with the university, would retain absolute autonomy.²⁸ In all likelihood it would be after this important meeting with the College that the Archbishop gave his decision to the Lieutenant Governor, leaving very little time for the preparation of a bill for introduction at the third session of the second Legis-

lature of the Province.

The Lieutenant Governor, having received Taché's concurrence, discussed the matter with the Attorney General, the Honourable Joseph Royal, who had prepared the original Education bill for the first Legislature, requesting him to prepare a bill to incorporate the colleges into a university. Royal, in a letter recalling the successive steps which he took to this end,²⁹ stated that he first consulted with Archbishop Taché, following which he arranged to "have several conversations with his Lordship, the Bishop of Rupert's Land." According to the Bishop's statement made before the University Council while discussing the proposed patent for lands being granted to the University by the Crown, Royal did not mention in his conversation with the Bishop that he was preparing to draw up a bill for presentation to the Legislature, and the first knowledge which the Bishop had of it was when he received a draft copy of the proposed bill forwarded by Royal to the Church leaders.³⁰

Royal stated that he first made a draft of the bill in French and then translated it into English, and that this, having been further discussed with both the Archbishop of St. Boniface and the Bishop of Rupert's Land, was slightly modified. Machray informed the University Council on November 22, 1889 that he had had no hand with the Government in drafting the bill, but that it did represent the feeling of the

different colleges. Having read the draft bill he "stated some objections, one of them being to the bill not providing that the university should at some time become a teaching body."³¹ Either immediately before or just after the introduction of the bill in the House, Royal received a visit from Professor Bryce and a Mr. Biggs, on behalf of Manitoba College,³² expressing their views about certain clauses, and these views were submitted to the Executive Council. According to Bryce, the recommendations made at that time were for the granting to convocation the privilege of electing three members to the University Council.³³ Morris was delighted with the success which had attended his efforts and wrote to Lord Dufferin informing the Governor General that on the agenda of the forthcoming session of the Provincial Legislature was a proposal to found a university for Manitoba on the model of the University of London in which he hoped to "embrace all the Colleges--Protestant and Catholic."³⁴

In the Speech from the Throne on January 30, the proposed university bill was announced by the Lieutenant Governor:

In view of the necessity of affording to the youth of the Province the advantages of higher education, a bill will be submitted to you providing for the establishment on a liberal basis of a University for Manitoba and for the affiliation therewith of such of the existing incorporated colleges as may take advantage of the benefits of the University. . . . I regard this measure as one of great importance, and as an evidence of the rapid progress of the country towards the possession of so many of the advantages, which the older Provinces of the Dominion already enjoy.³⁵

Miss Glenn reports that little enthusiasm was shown either for or against the bill by members of the Legislature, declaring that in their speeches

there is slight indication that the speakers realized its basic importance to their Province. The issues involved were pre-eminently of the future and they of necessity were concerned with the present.³⁶

Analysis of the content of speeches and of editorials in the press, however, indicates that on the contrary, this bill received strong endorsement from the editor of the Free Press and significant discussion by other members of the Legislature. The Free Press editorial on January 31 declared, in response to the mention of the forthcoming bill in the Speech from the Throne, that

the project of establishing a university for Manitoba has been entertained by the Government in consequence of the urgent representations made to them by gentlemen who appreciate the importance of the question of higher education being grappled with in the early days of our young Province. Much has been accomplished in the past by private enterprise; but, in view of the isolated position of Manitoba at present it is very desirable that we should possess facilities for giving academic status to those educated amongst us. We do not expect the scheme contemplated will be a heavy burden upon the finances of the Province, though effective, and we, therefore, expect to see this House willing to provide the Government with the means.³⁷

During the speeches in the House in response to the Speech from the Throne,³⁸ six members spoke, three of whom were critical of the proposed bill before they had learned of its contents and proposals. Thomas Howard led off the criticism of the Opposition by declaring that to him the movement to

found a university for Manitoba at this time seemed premature. Dr. Cowan suggested that discussion of the university bill would evoke conflicting opinions, and he seriously questioned whether it was advisable to pass such a measure at present, unless the Government were prepared to expend large sums on making the institution one of which the province might be proud. It becomes clear from his criticism that he expected the bill to recommend a university on the model outlined by the Reverend James Robertson in January, 1876, calling for buildings, staff, administration costs, etc. ". . . if these requirements were all met, the projected university would have some claims to public favor."³⁹ F. E. Cornish, Member for Poplar Point, spoke with derision of the proposal to establish universities and normal schools and things of that kind;

for his part he would have been as well pleased if they got a little less of what he termed the gilt edge, and if instead the House had been furnished with such a school bill as would recommend itself to the intelligence of the community.⁴⁰

In the face of this kind of comment offered in ignorance of the terms of the measure, William Luxton, who had already commended the proposal in an editorial, suggested that when the measure was laid before the House the members would be better able to make up their minds, and continued,

As to the university bill, it had been, perhaps, suggested by gentlemen in the community who were fully competent to do so. About a year ago, the initiatory steps had been taken in this matter at

an education meeting in that building--a plan was suggested which would not burden the Province--and if the Government scheme was similar, it would receive his hearty support.⁴¹

Luxton's reference is clearly to the plan which he had put forward in his editorial comments on the meeting of Manitoba College in January, 1876.⁴² The Honourable John Norquay, a member of the cabinet, observed that members of the Opposition, without waiting to learn the details of the proposals being put forward in the university bill, had criticized it as if it were already before the House, which seemed to him an extraordinary proceeding. Having full knowledge of what the bill proposed, he declared that

he believed that the interests of the Province required that in order to obtain degrees, our people should not be forced to travel into the older Provinces, but should have facilities for this purpose offered them here (cheers). He flattered himself that sufficient educational talent and ability would be found in the Province to enable them to cope successfully with any difficulties which might arise in furthering this measure.⁴³

Such a statement from a man of Norquay's stature and position in the Government silenced all further criticism from the Opposition, and the discussion, at this time, of the university bill was concluded by John Gunn from St. Andrew's North, a former teacher in St. John's Day School, and at the time, a School Trustee and Secretary-Treasurer of the local School Board, who responded to the suggestion that the establishment of a university was premature, saying that

he could not coincide with that view. In his opinion such an institution had become an imperative want which fully warranted the steps to be taken for its establishment.⁴⁴

Royal, having drawn up the bill to establish a university, had the task of introducing it to the House for discussion on February 9. He led off by conceding the points made by the opposition members, that there had been and still were great differences of opinion respecting the institution of a university in the Province, and that the differences existed amongst the leading members of the several institutions of the Province. The Government, responding to pressures which had been placed on them during the past two years, had brought in the bill, even though they considered it to be premature.⁴⁵ In terms of the type of institution envisaged by Dr. Cowan in his criticism of the bill before having heard its terms, the move was indeed premature, for some years would elapse before the Manitoba Government was prepared to make the financial outlay which would have been involved in a scheme of the type which he envisaged. What was being recommended in the bill was the creation of the structure of a university for the purpose of examination and degree granting, but which would not be a teaching institution, the latter continuing to be carried out by the colleges affiliating with the university. In other words, the costs would all continue to be borne by the colleges, which would

now, in addition, provide membership on examining boards, senate, etc., as part of their respective responsibilities to higher education.

In his introduction, Royal, according to the Free Press report of his speech, stated that the bill provided "that hereafter chairs may be attached and endowed, and become a teaching institution as well,"⁴⁶ a statement which Royal was later to deny having made. There had been, he declared, "considerable difficulty about the theological faculty, and it had been decided that each college be permitted to have its own faculty of theology, and graduate its own students, who would be recognized by the university."⁴⁷ He further stated that it was his intention to postpone third reading of the bill until some day the following week to permit colleges which were seeking incorporation for the purpose of affiliation with the proposed university to become so. The bill was then carried and read a second time and the House went into a Committee of the Whole on the University Bill. The chairman of the committee, John Gunn, reported back to the House at the appropriate hour that the committee had made some progress and had directed him to ask leave to sit again.⁴⁸

On the afternoon of February 16, the House resolved itself into a Committee of the Whole to consider Bill No. 6 (the bill to establish a university for Manitoba) "and after some time spent therein the Speaker resumed the chair and Mr.

Brown reported that the Committee had made some progress and had directed him to report the bill with several amendments."⁴⁹ The amendments, having been read the second time, were agreed to, and it was ordered that the bill be read the third time on Monday next. Pressure of work in the House prevented the bill being dealt with on Monday, and it was therefore read a third time and passed on Tuesday, February 20.⁵⁰ It would seem that the Legislators, aware of the importance of the two specific amendments which had been made in the Act and agreed to by the House, wished to ensure time for the significance of these to be considered before finally passing the bill. On Monday, the 19th, Bill 43, to incorporate Wesley College and Bill 48, to incorporate Trinity College were read a third time and passed,⁵¹ in order that if and when these colleges were ready for affiliation they might do so.

In the bill, as introduced in the House, the preamble read:

Whereas it is desirable to establish one university for the whole of Manitoba (on the model of the University of London) for the purpose of raising the standard of Higher Education in the Province and of enabling all Denominations and classes to obtain academical degrees, therefore Her Majesty, . . .⁵²

and section 5 read:

There shall be no Professorship or other teachership in the University, but its functions shall be limited to the examining of candidates for degrees in the several Faculties and for certificates of honour in

different branches of knowledge and to granting of such degrees, certificates, etc.⁵³

In the Committee of the Whole, however, both the preamble and section 5 were amended, by striking out the words "on the model of the University of London" from the preamble, by changing the numbering of section 5 to number 10, and by inserting in the first line, after the word "teachership" the words "at present." As so amended, the bill was read a third time and passed on February 20, 1877, and the bill so amended was assented to and signed by the Lieutenant Governor on February 28, 1877.⁵⁴

Two important mistakes were made in the published editions of the Statutes of that year which had the effect of concealing the important amendments. In the English edition the words "on the model of the University of London" were erroneously retained, although the other amendment inserting the words "at present" was correctly made. In the French edition neither of the amendments was made, the Act being published as it had been introduced originally to the House.⁵⁵ Archbishop Machray, commenting on the oversight in publicizing the amendments, declares in his "History of the University of Manitoba," "the amendment does not seem to have been heard of outside the House, for the Archbishop of Rupert's Land, who intensely disliked the allusion to the University of London, would have rejoiced at it if he had known of it."⁵⁶ He had

raised a number of objections to the bill when he received a draft of it just prior to its presentation in the House, one of which was to "the bill not providing that the university should at some time become a teaching body."⁵⁷ This had been taken care of in the second amendment by the introduction of the words "at present" in section 10 of the bill as finally passed and assented to by the Lieutenant Governor.

In view of the objections which were to be raised twelve years later to the introduction of lectureships in the sciences in the university, it is well to note that the bill was considered at length and on two separate occasions in Committee of the Whole, indicating the need for considerable discussion, and, when the amendments had been accepted by the House, the final passage of the bill was delayed four days to allow ample time for objections to be lodged against the amendments before final passage.

The passage of the bill to found the University of Manitoba was the crowning achievement of Alexander Morris's five-year term of office as the chief administrative officer of the young Province, during which he had, through his wise counsel and management, overcome racial and religious tensions, introduced responsible government in Manitoba, and brought a measure of law and order to the North West. In the founding of the University he had achieved a measure of cooperation among the different religious groups which had not

been found possible in any other province of Canada at that time,⁵⁸ and for this he was to receive commendation by the Governor General, Lord Dufferin, when he visited the province in the summer of 1877.⁵⁹

The passage of the bill was an even greater cause for satisfaction for Bishop Machray, who expressed his appreciation in his address to the Diocesan Synod on May 23, 1877:

"I have to congratulate you on the passing of the Act creating the University of Manitoba," he said, having in mind members of the Synod who were also members of the Legislature and who had played a major role in guiding the bill through the House. "It has," he declared,

a constitution about as satisfactory as could be devised in the immediate condition of things. It unites all the denominations and Colleges in the examinations for degrees in Arts, Science, Medicine and Law. By its recognition of 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.⁶⁰

The passage of The University Act, however, did not mean that the Bishop might now relax and leave to others the responsibility for the direction of higher education in the Province. The University was as yet but an Act on the statute books of the young province. The task of making it become a reality in the

life of the rapidly growing community rested now with the leaders and teaching staffs of the affiliating colleges and the quality of cooperation which each was able to bring to the venture, and Bishop Machray, a distinguished graduate of both Aberdeen and Cambridge Universities, with seven years experience in guiding students in their preparation for examinations in the latter institution, and twelve years of leadership in administration and education in the Red River community, was about to be called upon by the Lieutenant Governor to carry forward the project and give the embryo a form and structure which would enable it to rise to meet the needs of the youth of the Province and the rapidly developing North West Territories.

Archbishop Taché also felt a sense of satisfaction with the foundation of the university and wrote to his friend, **Mgr.** Grandin, the Roman Catholic Bishop of Saint Albert, before the close of the Legislative session, expressing his pleasure with it as all that could be hoped for in the present circumstances.⁶¹ In May he wrote to another friend, Rme P. Fabre, telling him about the new university which, without being perfect, would encourage study and also make known the merit of Catholic teachers to the Protestant world. As a neutral body, which does not disseminate but only encourages knowledge, the university had the characteristics which he wished it to have, and he was obviously happy to have St. Boniface College playing an active part in bringing it into being.⁶²

Chapter V

THE TASK OF CREATING THE STRUCTURE AND PATTERN OF UNIVERSITY LIFE AND WORK

Shortly after the close of the session of the House, the Lieutenant Governor-in-Council appointed Bishop Machray to be Chancellor and Attorney-General Royal to be Vice-Chancellor of the new University. The Chancellor's appointment was to be for a three-year period, whereas the Vice-Chancellor was appointed by the Lieutenant Governor-in-Council for the first year only, after which the appointment was to be made annually by the University Council, a body of twenty-eight members, including seven representatives from each of the affiliated Colleges, three from the Convocation and one each from the Protestant and Roman Catholic sections of the Board of Education. Convocation was constituted initially by inviting graduates from other British and Canadian universities to register with the university, after which it was to be comprised of the graduates of the University of Manitoba. Provision was made for the affiliation of colleges other than the three original and constituting colleges. The Council was to have the entire management of the affairs of the University, with the provision that all statutes passed by the

Council required the sanction of the Lieutenant Governor-in-Council.¹

Committees of the Council were appointed as need arose, but one most important standing committee, called the Board of Studies, served as an executive body under whose direction the University took shape and functioned. The Board was constituted annually by the nomination by each college of two members and two by the University Council, which received the nominations from the colleges and appointed the Board of Studies. This Board was charged with responsibility for all examinations, the content and methods employed in studies in the university, the investigation of all applications from members of other universities for incorporation, "ad eundem statum" or "ad eundem gradum," and generally the discharge of all duties assigned to them by the Council.²

The Government of Manitoba had established, as requested by Mishop Machray in his letter to the Lieutenant Governor in February, 1876, an undenominational university to which the colleges which were engaged in higher education might be affiliated, but had not the resources at this early date to provide a "common faculty for Degrees in Arts, Law, Medicine, Science. . . ." ³ The Act to establish the University had, however, made provision whereby the University was authorized to examine candidates and, where they deemed it proper, to confer "the degrees of bachelor of arts, master of arts,

bachelor of laws, licentiate of laws, doctor of laws, bachelor of medicine, licentiate of medicine and doctor of medicine,"⁴ thereby inviting the affiliation with the University of schools for the training in Law and Medicine, and the short but important amendment in section 10 of the Act, by the addition of the two words "at present," left the door open for the University to initiate teaching at a later date when the requirements of those seeking preparation for medicine or other professions should necessitate scientific studies beyond the resources and competence of the affiliated Arts colleges. The Government had also met the central and urgent need expressed in the Bishop's letter, in section 31 of the Act which states that

Incorporated colleges, being at the time of the passing of this Act, or which may hereafter become affiliated to the University, shall, with the sanction of the governing bodies of the denominations to which they belong, have the power of forming a separate faculty in theology, for the examination and granting of degrees of bachelor of divinity and doctor of divinity; and such degrees shall be entitled to all rights and privileges as if they were granted by the University.⁵

Bishop Machray lost no time in acting upon this last provision of the Act. Having expressed his gratitude to the members of the diocesan Synod meeting on May 23, 1877, on the passing of the Act creating the University of Manitoba, he proceeded in the business session of the Synod to the passage of a resolution which "in accordance with the power conferred

upon it by 40 Vict. Cap. ii, sec. 31," the diocese authorized St. John's College to form a faculty of Theology for the granting of degrees of Bachelor of Divinity and Doctor of Divinity.⁶ Authority having been granted by the Synod, St. John's College, at a meeting of the College Council held on June 19, 1877, formally constituted a Faculty of Divinity, naming professors of Ecclesiastical History, Systematic Theology, Exegetical Theology, Homiletics, Pastoral Theology and Liturgiology, and set up a panel of examiners for each department, including Hebrew, Greek and Latin, as required basic studies on the part of those proceeding to the study of Theology. The Council also elected as Honourary Fellows distinguished leaders in education who had played an important role in laying the foundations of the present college in the earlier institutions which had preceded it and distinguished graduates of the Red River Academy and the St. John's Collegiate School under Bishop Anderson. The final act of this meeting was the election of seven members to represent the College on the University Council--the Minute reads:

The following were then elected as members of the Senate of the Provincial University for four years:
 Ven. A Cowley, B.D., Rev. Canon Grisdale, B.D.,
 Rev. Canon O'Meara, M.A., Rev. N. Young, B.A., Rev.
 O. Fortin, B.A., Rev. S. P. Matheson, and John Norquay, MPP.

John Norquay, a graduate of St. John's Collegiate School, taught school for a number of years, then became a farmer

and entered politics and served in the Legislature from the beginning of the Province of Manitoba. He was a member of the cabinet and the most powerful influence in the Legislature at the time of the passage of the University bill.

Having seen the bill through the Legislature, with appropriate amendments introduced to meet the objections which Machray had raised on first seeing the draft of the bill, he was now being installed on the University Council in order that this body might benefit from his sagacity throughout the formative years of its life.

As Chancellor of the new university, Bishop Machray had the responsibility of working out in conference with the academic heads and senior teaching staff of the three affiliating colleges a structure and pattern of work to be undertaken at different levels which would make possible the evolution of standards of competence and of knowledge to be required and which could be tested by university examiners. Whatever was to be required must be mutually agreed upon by the governing bodies of the colleges, each of which had up to this point in their history conducted their studies and testing procedures after traditional models inherited from parent establishments.

Manitoba College, the most recent in the field, was patterned after the liberal arts colleges and universities of Ontario, principally of Toronto and Kingston, including

studies in theology to prepare men for the ordained ministry. Stemming originally from Knox College in Toronto, there were those on its staff who had hoped that the University would undertake responsibility for higher liberal education, leaving the Church College to concentrate on theological studies. But this was not to become possible for some years, and Manitoba was to play an important role in establishing liberal Arts and Science in the University. St. Boniface, on the other hand, had been modelled on the French language Quebec classical colleges with a history of association with Laval University. It at this date made no attempt to prepare men for the priesthood, but sent out to Quebec seminaries any of its brighter students who gave promise of a vocation. The College offered a classical literary education in the French language for the young métis and French Canadian residents, and sought to lay a foundation of religion and morals in the lives of those who pursued studies beyond the elementary level. St. John's had been organized by Bishop Machray after the English colleges which during the course of six hundred years had worked out a pattern of college/university relationship in which students resided in, and for the most part conducted their studies in, the college under the guidance of tutors and residential scholars whose appointments as professors, lecturers, readers, and examiners were with the University which conducted the examinations and awarded

all degrees. How could there be worked out a common pattern from these diverse traditions?

Soon after the announcement of his appointment, the Chancellor called together representatives of each of the three colleges for a series of informal conversations at St. John's College to provide an opportunity for each to explain to the others the program and methods employed in their college. Accounts by both Bryce and Machray indicate that at first, as might be expected, the ideas entertained by the members were far apart.⁸ The two major questions to be settled were (i) the curriculum of studies and (ii) the methods and procedures to be employed in testing the achievements of the students of the new university. Representatives of St. Boniface College would like to have continued the classical tradition of the Quebec colleges in which, after an introductory course of seven years the successful student was awarded a degree of Bachelor of Letters, and two years later a degree of Bachelor of Science or Philosophy. It was considered that these two degrees together would be equivalent to the Bachelor of Arts degree as awarded in the English-speaking Canadian universities. After comparison of these with the English system, it was decided to adopt the curriculum usual in English colleges and limit, for the time being, the subjects upon which the University would examine candidates for degrees to Classics, Mathematics, Natural Science, and

Modern Languages (German, French and English). St. Boniface College, accordingly, introduced more mathematics and more of physical science into its curriculum than Archbishop Taché thought desirable, while Manitoba College gave more prominence to classics than it might otherwise have done. St. Boniface College, on the other hand, was allowed to set separate papers on Logic, Natural and Moral Philosophy, and History for its students who were coming up to university examinations.⁹

More serious difficulties were encountered in arriving at a satisfactory process for examining the candidates for degrees. It had been customary for St. Boniface College to conduct its examinations orally, the student being permitted to have on hand a dictionary; they also favoured the use of a "questionnaire," or collection of a thousand or more questions to be put in the hands of the students, from which a selection should be made for the examination. The effect of this was to encourage a form of rote learning and it was not adopted. It was finally decided that in order to establish a uniform standard it would be necessary to require written examinations, as was the custom in English universities,¹⁰ and the representatives of St. Boniface fell in with the wishes of the majority.

The series of examinations decided upon was that with which the Chancellor was personally familiar in Cambridge University. The first examination in Arts was to be

known as the Preliminary and was the equivalent to university matriculation. Its purpose was to determine whether the candidate possessed the ability and background preparation to undertake higher education. The second examination, the Previous, was written at the end of the first year to determine whether the student's work was of a quality which would permit him to proceed to the B.A. in two years in any one of six patterns of courses--Special or honour Classics, Mathematics, Natural Science, Moral and Mental Philosophy, and Modern Languages (English, French, German) or by a general course. A further examination was to be written at the end of the second year, called the Junior B. A. Examination, and again at the end of the third year, called the Senior B. A. Examination, and the students were classified in three classes according to merit. According to section 19 of The University Act, students had the privilege of deciding whether to write their examinations in French or in English.

The various accounts express particular gratitude that these difficult decisions, calling for considerable alteration in curriculum and in the methods of teaching and examination on the part of St. Boniface College, were made in a spirit of friendly cooperation by the representatives of that College under the leadership of the Reverend Father Forget, "the very lovable Rector of St. Boniface," as Archbishop Machray was later to speak of him.¹¹ The Chancellor

was able to report to the first meeting of the University Council, October 4, 1877, that

some difficulties had been experienced on account of the diverse systems of the English and French Universities, but that the Committee were of opinion that these had been overcome without serious interference with the traditions and customs of either.¹²

The Committee on order also reported to this meeting and a decision was taken to hold regular statutory meetings of the Council on the first Thursday of March, June, September and December, in Winnipeg, at two o'clock, to give power of calling special meetings to the Chancellor or Vice-Chancellor, and other matters, including the appointment of a Registrar. Mr. E. W. Jarvis, a St. Boniface representative on the Council, and a graduate of Cambridge University, was appointed Registrar.¹³ Shortly after this first meeting the University registered its first students, and the first university examinations were written in May, 1878, when there were seven successful candidates.¹⁴ It was indeed a day of small things!--a university with no buildings nor programme of studies of its own, and a budget of two hundred and fifty dollars per annum.

It was, however, a beginning, and on a foundation which assured its future development into a great provincial university. The committee on curriculum reported further progress at the December meeting and the Council, following considerable discussion, adopted its report as far as Statute

IV, which embraced the Previous examination for the ordinary B.A. degree.¹⁵ The Council then adjourned to meet on the following Monday afternoon to consider the balance of the recommendations of the Report. No record of a March meeting of the Council has been located, and it may well be that the adjourned and continued meeting of the Council in December took its place. At the June meeting we read that, "after routine it was resolved that the statutes and ordinances already adopted and sanctioned, be adopted for the use of the Council."¹⁶ At this meeting the question of the University Seal was referred back to the Committee on Order and "the Rev. Messrs. Fortin and Bryce" were added to the committee for this purpose.

Immediately after this meeting the Chancellor left for an extended visit to England for approximately a year's leave of absence from the Diocese, the College and the University, which was now sufficiently organized to carry forward its work during his absence.¹⁷ The initial work of structuring the studies of the University was accomplished; behind these reports and decisions of the Council lay months of painstaking attention to the detailed structuring of individual courses --the ordering of content and method of instruction and of examination at all levels of university work--a task involving all teaching staffs of the colleges in conference together in order to recommend to the Board of Studies the organization

and structuring of work to be covered in each department. It was a herculean task and with the adoption of the statutes by the Council, the internal organization of the University was relatively complete.

The work of the Council had also been ordered to provide specific agenda items for each of the Quarterly meetings. At the September, 1878 meeting the first election by the Council of the Vice-chancellor took place and Joseph Royal was re-elected. The Board of Studies was appointed for the ensuing year, and, on recommendation of the Board, it was decided to hold supplementary examinations for those students who should fail in part at a regular examination. The report of those who were successful in passing Previous and Preliminary examinations was received and approved. Finally, a committee was appointed to confer with the Law Society of Manitoba with respect to arranging examinations for Law.¹⁸

At the December meeting an application was received from Trinity Medical School, Toronto, asking for affiliation and steps were taken for consideration of their request. A committee to consider amendments to the University Act was appointed, consisting of Archbishop Tache, Canon O'Meara, Professor Bryce and the Registrar. A statute proposing science honours was considered and postponed for further consideration at the next meeting. A panel of examiners was struck for each branch of studies, the Chancellor, as was

invariably the case, heading the list of examiners in mathematics. And finally, the Registrar, Mr. E. W. Jarvis, was re-elected for the ensuing year.¹⁹

Having reconstructed the process by which the University of Manitoba was established and became an operational institution of higher learning, it will now become possible to analyze and evaluate the process with a view to discovering the parentage and ancestry of the infant university.

Chapter VI

ANALYSIS, EVALUATION AND CONCLUSIONS

The Act to establish a university for Manitoba was signed by the Lieutenant Governor exactly one year from the day on which Bishop Machray had written to him urging action by the Provincial Legislature to provide satisfactory certification for successful students in higher education, and recommending the foundation of a Provincial university. The magnitude of the achievement can be appreciated only when compared with the experience of some older parts of Canada in facing similar situations in the development of institutions of higher learning. In Nova Scotia and Ontario, in particular, denominational rivalries and attempts to dominate the higher educational scene by leaders imbued with the oligarchical notions of the old world increased divisions among leaders in education which the pioneer communities could not sustain and frustrated the efforts of those who would create institutions of higher learning.

King's College, Windsor, Nova Scotia, founded in 1790, was the first colonial university to receive a charter after the American Revolution,¹ and the earliest of three King's Colleges, the others being at Toronto (1827) and Fredericton

(1828). All three were supported by the State and in their charters perpetuated the privileges of those who belonged to the Church of England. The staff of King's College were all Church of England clergymen, educated at English universities, and committed to the task of molding the rising members of the governing classes in the principles of what they regarded as a liberal education. The vast majority of the people, however, were not Church of England; many were highly educated Loyalists who, with their ministers, had migrated to Canada. Others had come from Scotland and their ministers stimulated the education of the people. Many young people could not subscribe to the religious tests imposed at King's and their leaders took steps to rectify the situation.

Early in the nineteenth century Dr. Thomas McCulloch, a graduate of Glasgow, established an academy at Pictou, N.S.,² to provide higher education for young men who wished to prepare for the ministry or some other profession and were excluded by religious convictions from entering King's College, and in 1818 the Earl of Dalhousie founded a college in Halifax "for the education of youth in the higher branches of science and literature,"³ on the model of the University of Edinburgh, with no religious tests. His hopes of preventing the proliferation of sectarian universities were frustrated, however, by the foundation in 1838 by the Baptists of Acadia College at Wolfville, Nova Scotia. In 1862 the Methodists established

Mount Allison College at Sackville, New Brunswick, on the border between the two provinces, and the Roman Catholics founded Saint Francis Xavier University at Antigonish, Nova Scotia, in 1866.⁴ Sectarian and political influences, by promoting the foundation of six universities competing for the slender resources of the pioneer community, impaired the quality of higher education in the Maritimes and postponed development for many years.

In Upper Canada the pattern repeated itself at a slightly later date. Here also a determination on the part of a minority to keep higher education under its own ecclesiastical control provoked a bitter struggle, resulting in the creation of denominational universities competing with each other for the available funds for higher education. The Reverend John Strachan was educated in Aberdeen and St. Andrew's but, after coming to Canada, adopted the exclusive views of a section of the Anglican Church. He founded the university of King's College at York, for which he obtained a Royal Charter in 1827, as a strictly Church of England institution. Resistance to this move was so great that no teaching was undertaken at King's until 1843, and Strachan was compelled to yield, but not before irreparable damage had been done.

As a result of the exclusive character of King's College, the Methodists secured a charter for Victoria College,

at Cobourg, in 1842; and the Church of Scotland in Canada created Queen's University at Kingston, on the model of the University of Edinburgh. One of the founders of Queen's, the Honourable William Morris, the father of Manitoba's second Lieutenant Governor, led the attack against the Anglican claims for special privileges in education. He went to England and pressed the claims of the Church of Scotland to a share in the Clergy Reserves, disclosing the untenability of Strachan's claims in a religiously pluralistic society. King's College was secularized in 1849 and the name University of Toronto was given to it. In 1853 it became University College within the University of Toronto which, constituted on the model of the University of London, became an examining body with which the arts colleges and professional schools were invited to affiliate. This move to coordinate the work of higher education in Ontario proved premature. Already Strachan had founded Trinity College in Toronto on a new charter and endowments obtained from England, and the work of higher education in Ontario remained fragmented for several years to come.⁶

What of Manitoba? Why was not a similar pattern repeated here? We have already called attention to evidence in missionary records of the strife between the several branches of the Christian Church engaged in the evangelization of the Indians wherever their paths crossed.⁷ We have

noted also that when George M. Grant visited Manitoba in 1872 he was impressed with the rivalry between the denominations and forecast that events here were about to follow the same self-defeating developments which had frustrated all efforts at a unified approach to higher education in the Maritimes and in Ontario.⁸

Grant, however, did not meet Machray on his two-day visit to the city, otherwise he might not have been so pessimistic in his forecast. An important contrast to the situation in the eastern provinces is to be found in the person of this Anglican Bishop of Rupert's Land who, having as a boy lived through the traumatic experience of the disruption of the Presbyterian Church in Scotland, was well aware of the pain and bitterness created by religious controversy of all sorts. A moderate evangelical in outlook, he had entered the Church of England on personal conviction and he retained and practised throughout his life a respect for the right of others to their own opinions. In correspondence and in addresses to the annual synods of the diocese of Rupert's Land he had declared himself to be strongly opposed to the creation in Manitoba of denominational universities, and in his letter of April 17, 1875, addressed to the Archbishop of Canterbury, he stated, "I purpose supporting a United University for Arts, etc., to which I should wish to affiliate St. John's College."

Bishop Machray's request, addressed to the Lieutenant Governor on February 28, 1876, was two-fold and was stated with clarity:

- (i) a charter for an undenominational university having a common faculty for degrees in Arts, Law, Medicine and Science; and
- (ii) the possession by the College of the power of conferring theological degrees.

He also stated what would be the consequences of failure on the part of the Government to take appropriate action without delay:

If I am refused . . . I shall certainly endeavour to have St. John's College affiliated to an English University and I believe I shall be able when I go to England to accomplish this.

Such a move, however, would be a last resort. Machray was strongly opposed in principle to the establishment of denominational universities in Manitoba. On the contrary, the Bishop pledged his "whole influence to the building up of an undenominational university," should the Legislature be prepared to act in the matter.⁹

The financial situation in Manitoba precluded more than the passage of enabling legislation permitting the denominational colleges to work together in establishing a university. But was such cooperative effort possible in Manitoba at that time? During that crucially decisive year

no joint meetings were held of the heads of the colleges, to discuss the possibility of cooperative effort in the creation of a university. Neither is there any evidence to indicate that the Lieutenant Governor sat down with the Board of any of the colleges. Throughout the year 1876 intensification of controversy over the dual system of public education was such that any attempt at open discussion of the university question was deemed inadvisable.

The undertaking was one which called for careful negotiations, carried out in an atmosphere of the utmost confidentiality and secrecy, if it was to have any hope of success. What was called for was a broker, someone who was not personally involved in the results of the transaction and was, therefore, in a position to negotiate impartially with each of the different parties. For this role Alexander Morris was well equipped both by training and early experience in the practice of mercantile law in Montreal. He had, moreover, demonstrated in his political and administrative career, a peculiar ability at times to reconcile in agreement those whose positions had seemed diametrically opposed.¹⁰

It is now evident that Morris undertook the task of broker in the matter of the creation of a university for Manitoba. Because of the delicacy of the negotiations carried on throughout that year, we are left with only conjecture as to details. We do know, however, that there were several con-

versations between Morris and Machray in which Morris, as broker, without committing himself as to results, would obtain from the Bishop a clear presentation of the proposed university as he envisaged it, and also exactly what he meant by his commitment to give his whole influence "to the building up" of a university for Manitoba. One important element in Morris's favour as broker in the situation was the known fact that he personally would not be present when the proposed university should become operational. The transaction was clearly one between the cooperating Colleges and the Government of Manitoba, and they must, if they entered into the venture, be prepared to work closely and cooperatively together within the terms of such legislation as should become possible. The university, if and when created, must have experienced leadership if it was to succeed, and there is every likelihood that Morris was satisfied, before his conversations with Machray were concluded, that the Bishop was prepared to undertake the task, if invited to do so.

In his conversations with the Archbishop of St. Boniface, the Lieutenant Governor urged upon him the advisability of St. Boniface College joining with the other two colleges to secure a university for Manitoba. It is the responsibility of a broker to present all sides of a proposition--the benefits accruing and obligations assumed by acceptance, and the inherent dangers in remaining outside a development which

must affect the future life of the community. At first the Archbishop declined the proposition. It was the period immediately following the Vatican Council (1869-70) when all Roman Catholic leaders had been reminded of their personal responsibility to maintain control over all aspects of the education of the faithful. The broker, however, was not to be put off easily. Taché states that Morris "insisted,"-- he, no doubt, pointed out the importance of the move as enabling St. Boniface College to provide academic degrees for the French-speaking segment of the population, giving them parity of opportunity to prepare for leadership roles in the community. Could he afford to deny to the youth of the Church these very real benefits? Was there also a sense of moral obligation to the Bishop of Rupert's Land who, in the eleven years that he had worked closely with him on the Council of Assiniboia and on the Board of Education, had displayed a soundness of judgment and fairness in meeting community needs? Taché finally resolved the dilemma by going to Quebec for conference with other bishops "to see what I could do to harmonize my great desire of removing any obstacle to the University with the sacred obligation of my position as spiritual guide of my people."¹¹ In Quebec he satisfied himself that he could allow St. Boniface College to become a part of the proposed University of Manitoba provided that the teaching of their students would remain

entirely under the control of the college authorities, and with this assurance, Morris proceeded with the final stage of negotiations.

The Lieutenant Governor, in calling on Joseph Royal, as Attorney-General, to prepare a bill for the establishment of a university, stressed that the proposed university must be so organized as to offer its members complete and absolute guarantees.¹² The fact that Royal, following consultation with Archbishop Taché, arranged to have several conversations with Bishop Machray, is clear evidence that a serious attempt was being made to implement, in so far as possible, Machray's proposals for the structure and format of the proposed university. That the situation was, even at this late date, tentative is evident from the fact that Machray was not informed that a bill was in preparation. The first indication that the Colleges received that action was imminent was their receipt of the draft of the proposed Bill.

Bishop Machray's objection to the clause which would preclude the university from becoming at some future date a teaching institution, must be viewed in the light of his understanding of the full spectrum of university studies. The Government had been unable, due to financial stringency, to implement the four faculties as recommended, but had at least provided in embryo, by authorizing the university to examine and confer degrees in Law and in all branches of

Medicine. When the time came for the introduction of a school of Medicine, scientific teaching beyond the competence and resources of the Colleges would be required. If Machray was to undertake the administration and development of the infant university, he must insist on openness for future growth. He objected to the restrictive clause immediately. It was not possible for this objection to be dealt with in the Executive Council without breaking faith with Taché at whose insistence it had been introduced as safeguarding college autonomy. The Bill, accordingly, went before the Legislators including a clause to which one of the constituent members had taken exception. As Royal explained, in his introduction of the Bill to the House:

there has been and still is, a great difference of opinion respecting the institution of a university in this Province, and this difference existed chiefly amongst the leading members of the several institutions of the Province.¹³

The fact that the Bill was discussed in Committee of the Whole House on two separate days, February 9th and 16th, would indicate that considerable discussion preceded the decisions to introduce the amendments, and the further delay in final passage of the Bill on the 20th suggests that the House was aware of the importance of the changes introduced in the Act. Royal, Girard and Dubuc were all in the Legislature at this time and must have been aware of the significance of the amendments. That they did not inform Archbishop

Taché at the time would suggest that they had been persuaded of the necessity for the degree of openness provided by the words "at present" to ensure the possibility of future development of the University to meet emergent needs. The amendment in no way threatened the autonomy of the Colleges safeguarded to them in other clauses of the Bill.

It is difficult to believe that the failure to provide an accurate translation of the Act in the French language was an oversight. It had the effect of masking from public attention for a period of twelve years the important amendments which had been made in the Bill prior to its final passage and signing. The postponement in facing the issue provided time for relationships to develop between the staffs of the colleges in working together in the University, but it did not prevent the development of bitter controversy when the amendments came to the attention of the Archbishop of St. Boniface twelve years later. Bishop Machray, on the other hand, distinctly disliked the allusion to the University of London as the model on which the University of Manitoba had been patterned,¹⁴ and this fact prompts an inquiry as to why he expressed relief on learning that it had been removed.

University College, London, was founded in 1827 by a group of enlightened liberals and radicals in order to provide opportunity for university studies for the large numbers of students who for one reason or another were unable

to meet the religious tests required of candidates for Oxford and Cambridge; it required no religious tests and was non-residential. A year later King's College, an Anglican foundation, was commenced. In 1836 the University of London was founded by bringing these two together into a form of association under the terms of which the University examined and conferred degrees for studies undertaken in the Colleges which retained their autonomy as non-residential institutions. This idea became a model for other institutions and in 1858, the University of London was authorized to examine for a degree any students who presented themselves, regardless of how or where they had studied.¹⁵ The result was the development of a polymorphous collection of institutions of varying standards and having very little coordination. The written examination was the sole test of a student's attainments and preparedness for a degree.

This was not Machray's idea of a university education. His acquaintance with Aberdeen and Cambridge had satisfied him that, all things considered, it was better for students to be in residence. While much good was undoubtedly achieved by encouraging students to undertake serious studies, the University of London arrangement failed to provide what he considered to be an important component in university life, namely, the bringing together, "face to face in living intercourse, teacher and teacher, teacher and student, student and

student."¹⁶ The young University of Manitoba, composed of a cluster of residential colleges, performed this most essential function on behalf of teachers and students. The non-residential feature, however, was not the only reason why Machray found distasteful the suggestion that Manitoba University had been modelled on the University of London.

Analysis of Bishop Machray's request discloses that he is proposing for Manitoba a university founded in the tradition of the earliest European universities which took their rise in the high Middle Ages. The faculties which he recommends are those of the University of Paris which, by the year 1231 had developed a corporation and had ordered its studies under four faculties each of which was presided over by a dean--Arts, Canon Law, Medicine and Theology. Students were required to confine themselves more or less exclusively to one faculty; a definite period of years was assigned to a student's course, at the end of which he was subjected to an examination and when successful, received an appropriate title of honour, which signified his entitlement to teach in a particular field of study. An attempt was being made to make the teaching body representative of the whole cycle of human knowledge.¹⁷ The Masters in Paris were under the jurisdiction of a Chancellor, who was an ecclesiastical officer, and struggle against his imposition of restrictions on the nascent university resulted in the development of

written statutes and the appointment of officials, and by 1237 the University was an established institution with control over its own life and work.¹⁸

The constitutional development of university life in Oxford reproduced that of the Parisian society of Masters. The first statute was enacted or reduced to writing in March, 1253 and about that time a common seal was adopted, officers elected and finally, a corporation with proctors and a chancellor emerged. As in Paris, the Chancellor of Oxford University was originally an ecclesiastical officer, appointed by the Bishop of Lincoln, but gradually a fusion took place whereby he became the presiding head of the University.¹⁹ Studies in Oxford followed a similar pattern to that of Paris. We find the four faculties of Arts, Medicine, Civil and Canon Law, and Theology. Examinations included any process of inquiry into the student's fitness, as well as a direct testing of his scholastic attainments. There do not appear to have been any written examinations at this date.²⁰

The college, originally merely an endowed hospice or hall of residence, early became an established unit of academic life at many universities. They became normal centres of life and teaching, absorbing into themselves much of the university life. They had buildings, which frequently the university did not. There was a college at Paris as early as

1180 and by 1500 there were sixty-eight, and the system there survived until the revolution.²¹ In Oxford and Cambridge the college became the most characteristic feature of university life, arrogating to itself practically all teaching as well as the direction of social life, until the university became merely an examining and degree-conferring body.

Cambridge appears to have been relatively insignificant during the medieval period until the latter half of the 15th century, when it experienced a revival of interest and towards the close of the century it nearly equalled Oxford. Its organization was completely framed on that of Oxford, with a few significant exceptions. The proctors at Cambridge were habitually styled rectors, the Vice-chancellor was elected by the regents, whereas at Oxford he was the nominee of the chancellor; and the Cambridge statutes gave a prominence to mathematics. At Oxford the university had achieved European fame before its first college was founded, whereas, according to existing records, it would appear that Cambridge University was kept alive during its more obscure period, and eventually nursed into fame and popularity through the munificence of college founders.²²

Throughout a history of more than six hundred years we find at Oxford and Cambridge the process of university education organized under a teaching corporation, providing

a traditional structure of faculties, curricula and courses of study, with examinations conducted by the university, followed by conferment of degrees by the chancellor--all a direct line of inheritance from the Middle Ages--a piece of institutional machinery by means of which culture has been kept alive and diffused throughout the intervening centuries. The very idea of the institution is essentially medieval and that idea still dominates our modern schemes of higher education, however unconscious we may be of the sources from which we draw our patterns of institutional life.²³

Bishop Machray's request for a university having common faculties in Arts, Law, Medicine, and Science proposes an institution modelled on the medieval tradition. Theology, which in the medieval period was regarded as the queen of the sciences, providing the framework and understanding of the universe within the context of which the other sciences might function, was no longer so regarded. The task of interpreting the universe had been taken over by the proliferation of scientific studies of a wide variety. In Cambridge, lecture rooms for the scientific study of botany were erected in 1784, and in 1848 the University established a Natural Sciences Tripos. By the year 1950 there were twenty departments of science listed in a popular guide to Cambridge.²⁴ Modern man looks to science for an interpretation of the universe, and Machray, aware of the importance of scientific studies, advo-

cated a separate faculty. In the pluralistic state of Christianity, theological studies must be carried out in faculties established by the respective denominations.

The University of Manitoba Act established an institution on the traditional pattern of the medieval university as that had been modified during six hundred years at Oxford and Cambridge. It was to be a corporation governed by a chancellor, vice-chancellor and Council, the latter composed largely of representatives of the constituent colleges. While the chancellor was to be appointed for a three-year period by the Lieutenant Governor-in-Council, the vice-chancellor after the first year, was to be elected annually by the Council from among its members. The Council was to have the entire management and superintendence over the affairs of the university, to make and alter statutes, possess its own great seal, examine for degrees in Arts, Law, Medicine and Science, and to confer the degrees. For the present there would be no professorships or teacherships, and it would be a largely residential university, drawing its students from the affiliated colleges, for some years to come.

Analysis of events subsequent to the passage of the Bill discloses that the Chancellor set to work immediately, upon the announcement of his appointment, to organize the life of the University. We discern here, not so much the making of plans, as the unfolding of a plan and the imple-

mentation of a pattern of operation already accepted as traditional. At the first meeting of the University Council (Senate) on October 4, 1877, the Vice-chancellor, as chairman of a Committee on Order, was able to bring in recommendations for the ordering of the institutional machinery, while the Chancellor reported progress in working out a common curriculum of studies. Some difficulties had been encountered on account of diverse systems employed in the different colleges, but these had been harmonized without doing violence to the traditions of any one college. Deliberations had been among representative professors from the affiliating colleges, all of whom whether from St. Boniface, Manitoba or St. John's, were graduates of institutions whether in Ontario, Quebec, Scotland, England or France, traced their academic heritage to the medieval source of all western universities in Paris. There was no basis for serious disagreement here for the pattern being recommended was immediately recognizable. Moreover, deliberations at this stage were taking place between members of a community of scholars meeting to work out, in consultation together, the most satisfactory structure for an orderly progression in the life of study and testing procedures which would make for such uniformity of standard as was possible. The Chancellor was working from a model with which he was personally familiar and, with suitable modifications to meet the needs of the local situation, this pattern

was adopted and finally incorporated into statutes for the University of Manitoba.

Analysis of reports of the development of the University throughout the first year of operation confirms the conclusions to which our research has pointed, namely, that the University of Manitoba was founded in 1877 at the request of the Bishop of Rupert's Land, that in consultation with him a Bill was prepared by the Attorney-General to establish a university structure on the medieval model, and that in the curriculum of studies it followed largely that of Cambridge University with suitable modifications to meet the needs of the situation in the pioneer community of Manitoba. The four faculties under which the University was empowered to examine were an attempt to make provision for future development enabling the all-inclusive pursuit of knowledge which early became the distinguishing mark of a university in the western world. The foundation of a university at that early date in the history of the Province was a remarkable achievement, and those who, by their cooperation, made it possible merited the high praise of the Governor General of Canada in Winnipeg in September of that year in that they had succeeded in establishing a university

under conditions which have been found impossible of application in any other Province of Canada--I may say in any other country in the world--for nowhere else, either in Europe or on this continent, as far as I am aware, have the bishops and heads of the var-

ious religious communities into which the Christian world is unhappily divided, combined to erect an Alma Mater to which all the denominational colleges are to be affiliated and whose statutes and degrees are to be regulated and dispensed under the joint auspices of a governing body in which all the churches of the land will be represented.²⁵

By cooperation, out of a common concern for the welfare of the youth of the country, the Christian Churches had achieved the foundation of an institution of higher learning which was unique in 1877--the University of Manitoba.

Notes

Chapter 1

1. Legislative Library of Manitoba (LLM), Manitoba Free Press, February 10, 1877.
2. Ibid., November 17, 1900, "Manitoba University," an address delivered to the Manitoba College Literary Society, November 16, 1900, by the Reverend George Bryce; full text reported.

A. L. Glenn, "A History of the University of Manitoba, February 20, 1877 to February 28, 1927 (unpublished M.A. thesis, University of Manitoba, 1927), p. 23.

W. L. Morton, One University: A History of the University of Manitoba (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart Ltd., 1957).

W. C. Murray, "Manitoba's Place in University History," Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada, Third Series, XXII, Section ii, 1928, pp. 57-84.
3. Glenn, "History," p. 23.
4. Ibid., p. 25.
5. Ibid., p. 26, quoting from the Free Press, November 17, 1900.
6. The Most Reverend Robert Machray, Archbishop of Rupert's Land, "A History of the University of Manitoba," Canada: An Encyclopedia of the Country, ed. J. Castell Hopkins (Toronto: The Linscott Publishing Company, 1898, vol. iv, p. 256.
7. Archives of the University of Manitoba, Minutes of the University Council, March 6, 1890; copy of a letter from the Most Reverend Archbishop Taché, Archbishop of St. Boniface, to Sir John Thompson, Minister of Justice for Canada, December 28, 1889, and sent by him to the University Council.
8. Ibid., Joseph Royal to Archbishop Taché, November 30, 1889.

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9. LLM, Manitoba Daily Free Press, Saturday, November 23, 1889, report of a meeting of the University Council, November 22, entitled "The Land Grant."
10. Glenn, "History," p. 28.
11. Ibid., cf. also Geo. Bryce, "Manitoba University," Free Press, November 17, 1900.
12. Glenn, "History," p. 26.
13. Ibid., p. 20.
14. Murray, "Manitoba's Place," pp. 57-84.
15. Ibid., p. 65.
16. Ibid.
17. Morton, One University.
18. Bryce, "Manitoba University"; see also his History of Manitoba: Its Resources and People (Toronto: Canada History Co., 1906), p. 284.
19. Morton, One University, p. 19.
20. Ibid., pp. 20-21.
21. P.A.M., MG 12 B 1 #1226, Lieutenant Governor's Collection, Machray to Morris, February 28, 1876 (Appendix A).
22. Robert Machray, Life of Robert Machray, Archbishop of Rupert's Land (London: Macmillan Company Limited, 1909), p. 272.
23. A. B. Baird, "The History of the University of Manitoba," Manitoba Essays, Ed. R. C. Lodge (Toronto: The Macmillan Company of Canada Limited, 1937), pp. 19-20.
24. Glenn, "History," p. 27, quoting Thomas Hart, as reported in the Manitoba Free Press, November 23, 1889, and Geo. Bryce, "Manitoba University," November 17, 1900. W. C. Murray, "Manitoba's Place," p. 65, quotes these as sources for his conclusion that the Governor was the initiator of action in the matter.

25. F. A. Milligan, "The Lieutenant Governorship in Manitoba, 1870-1882," (unpublished M.A. thesis, University of Manitoba, 1948), p. 185 f.
26. Ibid., pp. 185-87.
27. Ross G. Babion, "Alexander Morris: His Place in Canadian History," (unpublished M.A. thesis, Queen's University, 1945), p. 126, quoting a letter from Archbishop Tache to Edmund Morris, Kingston, 1893.
28. LLM, Manitoba Daily Free Press, February 10, 1877.
29. Vera Fast, a graduate student of the University of Manitoba, researching the work of Eva Hasell and the Sunday School Caravan Mission in Canada.
30. P.A.C., Records of the Governor General's Office; despatches from the Colonial Office, (R.G.7, G-1, Vol. 199(2), Bishop of Rupert's Land to the Archbishop of Canterbury, April 17, 1875.
31. See Appendix A.

Chapter 2

1. Morton, One University, p. 23.
2. Machray, Life, pp. 1-16.
3. Ibid., p. 11; cf. also F. L. Cross, ed. The Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church (London: Oxford University Press, 1958), pp. 1230-32.
4. Machray, Life, p. 76 ff.
5. Ibid., pp. 103-04.
6. Ibid., p. 121, quoting "a generally well-informed Church writer," but failing to identify the source.
7. For accounts of the earlier work of the Anglican Church in the Red River Settlement, see T.C.B. Boon, The Anglican Church from the Bay to the Rockies (Toronto: Ryerson Press, 1962, Ch. 1-5; also Maurice Wilkinson, "The Episcopate of the Right Reverend David Anderson, D.D., First Lord Bishop of Rupert's Land, 1849-1864," (unpublished M.A. thesis, University of Manitoba, 1950), chapter vi.
8. Machray, Life, p. 124.
9. P.A.M. Archives of the Ecclesiastical Province of Rupert's Land, "Report of a Conference of the Bishop and Clergy," December 5, 1865.
10. Machray, Life, p. 125, quoting a letter from Bishop Machray to Prebendary Bullock of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, November 10, 1865. See also Boon, The Anglican Church, p. 95.
11. Machray, Life, p. 129.
12. P.A.M. Archives of R. L., Machray to Governor Mactavish, March 27, 1866.
13. P.A.M. Archives of R. L., "Report of a Conference of Clergy and Laity of the Diocese of Rupert's Land," May 30, 1866; also, Machray, Life, p. 131 ff.
14. Ibid.

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15. Machray, Life, p. 137 ff.
16. P.A.M., Archives of R. L., "Report of a Conference of Clergy and Parish Representatives," May 29, 1867; also, Machray, Life, p. 140 ff.
17. Ibid.
18. P.A.M., ibid., "Report of the Synod of the Diocese of Rupert's Land, February 24, 1869," pp. 22-30.
19. P.A.M., ibid., p. 21.
20. Machray, Life, pp. 156-58. An organization called the "Red River Cooperative Relief Committee" was formed, including on its membership the Bishop of Rupert's Land and the Archbishop of St. Boniface, to deal with the urgent needs of the situation.
21. P.A.M., RG 19, A 1 Box 1. General Minutes of the Board of Education.
22. P.A.M., Archives of R. L., "Report of the Synod of the Diocese of Rupert's Land, January 8, 1873." See included "Documents relating to St. John's College" and "Syllabus" for that year. cf. also, Machray, Life, pp. 231-36.
23. Machray, Life, p. 236.
24. A. G. Morice, History of the Catholic Church in Western Canada, vol. 1 (Toronto: The Musson Book Company, Limited, 1910), p.112.
25. Murray, "Manitoba's Place," p. 60, quoting Dom. Benoit, La Vie de Mgr. Taché, vol. 1, p. 419, vol. 2, p. 306.
26. Baird, "History of the University," p. 16. See also, Geo. Bryce, John Black: The Apostle of Red River (Toronto: William Briggs, 1898), pp. 132-35; Morton, One University, pp. 25-26.
27. Glenn, "A History," p. 14; also, George Young, Manitoba Memories (Toronto: W. Briggs, 1897).
28. Morice, History of the Catholic Church, vol. i, pp. 109, 110, 121ff, 162 ff.; also Wilkinson, "Episcopate of David Anderson," pp. 29, 34-35 and p. 62, in which, discussing the rivalry between the Anglican, Roman Catholic

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and Methodist missionaries during the 1840's, he quotes the report of the Hudson's Bay Factor, Donald Ross, to George Simpson, in which he concluded: "There will soon be as hot a religious opposition in the country as we had formerly about the fur trade."

29. George M. Grant, Ocean to Ocean: Sandford Fleming's Expedition through Canada in 1872 (Toronto: James Campbell & Son, 1873), p. 70.

Chapter 3

1. P.A.M., MG 12 B1, Lieutenant Governor's Collection, #612, Langevin to Morris, January 14, 1874.
2. Ibid., MG 12 B2, Ketcheson Collection, 1873-77, Alexander Morris to the Reverend Geo. Bryce, Reverend George Young, the Bishop of Rupert's Land, and the Archbishop of St. Boniface, February 10, 1874.
3. Ibid., #98, Morris to Dufferin, February 25, 1874. Actually, the Wesleyan Institute had only commenced teaching in November, 1873, but Morris, playing fair with all who were aspiring to offer higher education, invited the head of each denomination involved, or planning to become involved, to describe what they were doing. These letters have become separated from his report and are unavailable at the present time.
4. Ibid.
5. See Appendix A.
6. P.A.C., Dufferin and Ava Papers (Reel A-411), Mackenzie to Dufferin, 9/3/74.
7. Machray, Life of Robert Machray, pp. 239-40.
8. St. John's College, "Minutes of the College Board," from 1873-77; cf also P.A.M. MG B2 #98, Morris to Dufferin, February 25, 1874.
9. Ibid., "Minutes of the College Council," January 22, 1875.
10. P.A.C., Records of Governor General's Office; Despatches from the Colonial Office (R.G.7, G-1, Vol. 199(2)), Bishop of Rupert's Land to the Archbishop of Canterbury, April 17, 1875.
11. Lambeth Palace Archives, London, England, "Tait Papers," official letters, Canterbury, 1875, Foreign, Vol. 214, Archbishop of Canterbury to Bishop of Rupert's Land, May 26, 1875.
12. P.A.C., Records of the Governor General's Office (R.G.7, G-1, Vol. 199(2), p. 24; cf. also "Tait Papers," Archbishop of Canterbury to Lord Carnarvon, May 28, 1875.

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13. Despatches from the Colonial Office (R.G.7, G-1, Vol. 199(2), p. 240, Mr. W. R. Malcolm, Lord Carnarvon's Secretary, to Governor General of Canada, June 9, 1875.
14. Ibid., Dufferin and Ava Papers (MG.27,1 B3, Reel A-410), Dufferin to Mackenzie (Private), November 8, 1875.
15. Ibid., Public Records Office; Colonial Office, 42, Vol. 737 (Reel B-57), Report of the Privy Council, dated December 23, 1875, approved by the Governor General December 27, 1875.
16. Ibid., Dufferin to Carnarvon, December 29, 1875.
17. Ibid., Lord Carnarvon to the Archbishop of Canterbury, January 20, 1876.
18. P.A.M., Archives of R. L., "Reports of the Synod of the Diocese of Rupert's Land, June 10, 1875," p. 6.
19. St. John's College, Winnipeg, "Minutes of the Council of St. John's College, July 12, 1875."
20. P.A.M., Archives of R. L., "Report of Diocesan Synod, January 12, 1876."
21. Baird, "History of the University of Manitoba," p. 16.
22. LLM., Manitoba Free Press, January 31, 1876.
23. Ibid.
24. Ibid.
25. Ibid.
26. Ibid.
27. Ibid.
28. Ibid., editorial.
29. Ibid.
30. P.A.M., RG 19 A1 Box 1, Minutes of the Board of Education.

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31. Research has failed to locate this letter; extensive quotations from it contained in Machray's letter of February 28, 1876 (see Appendix A) indicate that he had received it prior to that date.
32. Appendix A.
33. Ibid.
34. Ibid.
35. Ibid.
36. Ibid.
37. St. John's College, "Minutes of the College Board," summer, 1877.

Chapter 4

1. LLM, The Manitoban, January 4, 1873.
2. P.A.M., MG 4, B1, John A. Macdonald Papers, Macdonald to Morris, Jan. 4, 1873.
3. Ibid., Archibald to Howe, December 31, 1870; Archibald to Macdonald, January 16, 1871.
4. John T. Saywell, The Office of Lieutenant Governor (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1957), p. 67, quoting correspondence from Archibald to Cartier, May 26, 1871; also, cf. P.A.M., MG 4 B1-1, Archibald to Macdonald, February 24, 1872.
5. P.A.M., MG 4, B1, Morris to Macdonald, February 7, 1873.
6. Joseph Dubuc, Memoirs d'un Manitobain, pp. 156-58, as quoted by M. M. McAlduff, "Joseph Dubuc: role and views of a French Canadian in Manitoba," (unpublished M.A. thesis, University of Ottawa, 1948), p. 175; cf. LLM, Journals of the Legislative Assembly, July 3, 1874, p. 30.
7. P.A.M., MG 12 B2, Morris to Mackenzie, July 10, 1874; also *ibid.*, Morris to Secretary of State, July 13, 1874.
8. *Ibid.*, Morris to Mackenzie, December 5, 1874.
9. LLM., Free Press Weekly, January 2, 1875.
10. LLM, Manitoba Daily Free Press, December 5, 1874, copied from the Nor'Wester of the previous day. Also, *ibid.*, December 7, 1874.
11. P.A.M., MG 12 B1, Mackenzie to Morris, November 4, 1874.
12. LLM., Free Press Weekly, January 2, February 13 and March 6, 1875.
13. Milligan, Lieutenant Governorship, p. 185 ff.
14. *Ibid.*, pp. 185-87.
15. LLM., Daily Free Press, January 31, 1876.
16. *Ibid.*, December 4, 1876.

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17. Ibid., December 6, 1876; cf. also, April 13, May 5, July 6, August 12, 19, 25, 26, 30; September 4, 6, 9, 12, 23, 27, 29; October 7, 11, 19; November 3, 8, 11, 19, 30; December 4, 1876.
18. Glenn, "History of the University of Manitoba," p. 19; School Act Amendments, 1875, Chap. 22, Sec. IV(1) IX.
19. Taché to Edmund Morris, Kingston, 1893, quoted by Babion, "Alexander Morris," p. 126.
20. LLM., Daily Free Press, December 31, 1876.
21. Appendix A.
22. Ibid., and Bryce, as quoted in Free Press, December 31, 1876.
23. Archbishop Robert Machray, "History of the University of Manitoba," p. 256.
24. Bryce, "Manitoba University," LLM., Free Press, November 17, 1900.
25. LLM., Daily Free Press, November 23, 1889, Report of a meeting of the University Council called to consider the proposed patent for the University Land Grant. See also, Archives of the University of Manitoba, University Council Minutes, Book 1, pp. 296-99.
26. Archives of the University of Manitoba, University Council Minutes, Book 1, pp. 323-27, Taché to Sir John Thompson, December 28, 1889.
27. Ibid.
28. J. P. Benoit, Vie de Mgr. Taché, Montreal, 1904, vol. ii, p. 305.
29. Archives, U. of M., Council Minutes, Book 1, pp. 327-31, Royal to Taché, November 30, 1889.
30. LLM., Daily Free Press, under heading "The Land Grant," the report of the Chancellor of his recollections of the steps leading to the introduction of the bill to establish the University, 1877.

Chapter 4 (cont'd)

31. Ibid.
32. Archives, U. of M., Council Minutes, Bk. 1, pp. 327-31, Royal to Taché, November 30, 1889.
33. LLM., Free Press, November 17, 1900, Bryce, "Manitoba University."
34. P.A.M., MG 12 B1, Morris to Dufferin, January 25, 1877.
35. LLM., Free Press, January 31, 1877.
36. Glenn, "History," p. 29.
37. LLM., Free Press, January 31, 1877.
38. Ibid., February 1, 1877.
39. Ibid.
40. Ibid.
41. Ibid.
42. Ibid., January 3, 1876.
43. Ibid., February 1, 1877.
44. Ibid.
45. Ibid., February 10, 1877.
46. Ibid.
47. Ibid.
48. LLM., Journal of the Legislative Assembly of Manitoba, Third Session, Second Parliament of Manitoba, 40 Victoria, Tuesday, January 30-February 28, 1877, Alexander Begg, Queen's Printer, Winnipeg, 1877; p. 34, Wednesday, February 9, Bill #6.
49. Ibid., p. 63, February 16, 1877.
50. Ibid., p. 77, Tuesday, February 20, 1877.

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51. Ibid.
52. Glenn, *ibid.*, p. 194, "An Act to Establish a Provincial University," being Chapter XX, 40 Vic., 1877. See also, Archbishop Machray, "History of the University," p. 256.
53. *Ibid.*, section 5, as introduced into the House.
54. LLM., Journal of the Legislative Assembly, February 28, 1877.
55. Machray, "History of the University," p. 257.
56. *Ibid.*
57. LLM., Free Press, November 23, 1889, "The Land Grant," statement by the Chancellor.
58. George M. Grant, "The Educational and Religious History of Manitoba and the North-West," being chapter xxviii of Manitoba and the Great North West, ed. John Macoun, (Guelph: World Publishing Co., 1882), pp. 538-39.
59. Alexander Begg, History of the North-West, vol. ii (Toronto: Hunter, Rose & Company, 1894), p. 224, quoting Lord Dufferin's address delivered in Winnipeg, September 29, 1877.
60. P.A.M., Archives of R. L., Report of the Synod of the Diocese, May 23, 1877.
61. Benoit, Vie de Mgr. Taché, vol. ii, p. 305.
62. *Ibid.*

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1. Statutes of Manitoba, 40 Victoria, 1877, chapter xi, "An Act to Establish a Provincial University."
2. Archbishop Machray, "History of the University of Manitoba," p. 248; also, A. B. Baird, Manitoba Essays, p. 24 ff.
3. Appendix A.
4. Statutes of Manitoba, 40 Vic. 1877, chapter xi, section 28; cf. also 27 and 29.
5. Ibid., sections 31 and 32.
6. P.A.M., Archives of R. L., Report of Diocesan Synod, May 23, 1877.
7. St. John's College, "Minutes of St. John's College Council," vol. 1, pp. 39-40.
8. Archbishop Machray, "History," p. 248; also, Bryce, "Manitoba University," LLM., Free Press, November 17, 1900.
9. George M. Grant, "Educational and Religious History, etc.," pp. 538-39; also, Robert Machray, Life, pp. 273-74.
10. Sheldon Rothblatt, "Student Sub-Culture and the Examination System in Early Nineteenth Century Oxbridge," being chapter V of The University in Society, ed., Lawrence Stone (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1974), pp. 280-88, for an examination of the introduction of the examination system in Oxford and Cambridge in the late 18th and early 19th centuries.
11. Archbishop Machray, "History," p. 258; George Bryce, "Manitoba University," LLM., Free Press, November 23, 1900; Grant, "Educational and Religious History," pp. 538-39.
12. LLM., Free Press, October 5, 1877.
13. Ibid., December 7, 1877.
14. Ibid., September 7, 1878.

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15. Ibid., December 7, 1877.
16. Ibid., June 7, 1878.
17. Ibid.
18. Ibid., September 7, 1878.
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1. Sir Robert Falconer, The Cambridge History of the British Empire, General Editors, J. Holland Rose, A. P. Newton, and E. A. Benians (Cambridge, at the University Press, 1930), vol. vi, Canada, pp. 788-90.
2. Ibid., also D. C. Masters, Protestant Church Colleges in Canada; A History (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1966), p. 21.
3. Masters, Church Colleges, p. 22; also Cambridge History, p. 790.
4. Falconer, Cambridge History, ol. vi, p. 790.
5. Ibid., pp. 797-98; also, Masters, Church Colleges, pp. 23-26.
6. Ibid.
7. See above, p. 35, note 27.
8. Grant, Ocean to Ocean, p. 70.
9. Appendix A.
10. cf. Donald Creighton, John A. Macdonald: The Old Chieftain (Toronto: The Macmillan Company of Canada, 1955), pp. 309 ff. state that, when Macdonald was receiving congratulatory telegrams on the successful passage of the Canadian Pacific Bill through the House, "the message which perhaps pleased Macdonald most was one from Alexander Morris who, twenty years before, had preached the creation of a greater British North America and who, in June 1864, had helped to bring Brown and Macdonald together into the coalition which had made confederation." See also, John Boyd, Sir George Etienne Cartier, Bart. (Toronto: The Macmillan Company of Canada Ltd., 1914, p. 186, and J.M.S. Careless, Brown of the Globe: The Statesman of Confederation, 1860-1880 (Toronto: The Macmillan Co. of Canada, 1959-63), vol. ii, pp. 129-31; see also, Alexander Morris, Nova Britannia: Or Our New Canadian Dominion Foreshadowed, ed. a member of the Canadian Press, (Toronto: Hunter, Rose & Co., 1884), Part I, pp. 98-101. For his abilities as

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administrator, see P.A.C., Macdonald Papers, McMicken to Macdonald, October 13, 1872, November 8, 1872, February 8, 1873. See also Manitoba Legislative Journals, the Speech from the Throne, February 5, 1873; and P.A.C., Macdonald Papers, Morris to Macdonald, February 7, 1873.

11. Archives of the U. of M., Council Minutes, Bk. 1, pp. 323-27, Taché to Sir John Thompson, December 27, 1889.
12. Ibid., pp. 327-31, Royal to Taché, November 30, 1889.
13. LLM., Free Press, February 10, 1877.
14. Archbishop Machray, "History of the University of Manitoba," p. 257.
15. G. M. Trevelyan, British History in the Nineteenth Century, 1782-1901 (London: Longmans, Green and Co., 1922), pp. 223-24; also, Abraham Flexner, Universities: American, English, German (New York: Oxford University Press, 1930) (Oxford Univ. Paperback, 1968), p. 231 ff.
16. Hastings Rashdall, The Universities of Europe in the Middle Ages, 1st edition (London: Oxford University Press, 1895). A new Edition in Three Volumes, edited by F. M. Powicke and A. B. Emden, 1936, vol. iii, p. 463.
17. Ibid., p. 459; also, cf. C. H. Haskins, The Rise of Universities (New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1923), chapter I.
18. Rashdall, op. cit., vol. i, pp. 304-14.
19. Ibid., vol. iii, p. 49.
20. Ibid., pp. 140 ff.
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22. Rashdall, op. cit., vol. i, pp. 286-92.
23. Ibid., pp. 458-60.
24. John Willis Clark, Cambridge: A Concise Guide to the

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Town and University (Cambridge: Bowes & Bowes, 1951;
Fourth Walk, pp. 137 ff.

25. Lord Dufferin, as quoted by Alexander Begg, History of the North West, vol. ii, p. 224.

A P P E N D I X

St. John's College, Feb. 28th 1876

Dear Governor Morris,



In answer to your kind request
I venture to mention two or three subjects.

1. I feel very deeply on one question. I think it is unfair that the Dominion Government should refuse a recommending of charters in a new Province like Manitoba to Denominational Colleges for the granting of Theological Degrees. I have not brought the matter directly before the Government but I consulted the Governor General & he informed me that he had mentioned the matter to Mr. St. Pierre and that he was opposed - I believe on the ground of his preferring an Undenominational University - but he said he understood the Archbishop's Mountbain could confer the power. I was quite sure that this was a mistake confounding the Archbishop's power of conferring degrees with a ^{right} power of conferring that power. However I brought the subject before his Grace & I find from a late communication from the Archbishop that letters on the subject have been passing between him & Lord Carnarvon - that Lord Carnarvon consulted the Governor General of Canada who expressed the opinion that the local Parliament ^{of Manitoba} could confer the power but that such degrees could have no value or recognition beyond the Province - in his last communication Lord Carnarvon declined to recommend a Royal Charter directly but not on the ground that I should have expected seeing that he would not interfere with a Canadian matter but on the ground that such a Royal Charter was required for the good English Universities & the Universities of Foreign Dependencies - I hardly know what he refers to ^{in the Province} except India - but Royal Charters have been

given to many Provincial Institutions in former times, It seems to me that there has been a mis-apprehension of what is desired or a want of consideration fully of the question. The proposition that the Provincial Legislature should confer the power seems to me a novelty for I thought all titles must emanate from the Crown - but I may very likely be mistaken - I do not expect that there would be any difficulty in getting the power from our local Legislature because as far as I have talked over the matter with members of other Bodies they quite fall in with my own view - but it is said that in this case the Degrees would be in some inferior and not properly recognised position. As regards the question of an Un-denominational University I have only to say that if we are refused the power of granting Divinity Degrees which is all we ask there will then be an interference with an Un-denominational University though of course it may not be of much importance.

I mean I shall certainly endeavour to have St. John's College affiliated to an English University and I believe I shall be able when I go to England to accomplish this. If as this affiliation will affect all Degrees, I should very much regret this. I am not anxious to build up an Un-denominational University - on the contrary I am prepared to give my whole influence to the building up of an Un-denominational University in Arts, Law, Medicine, & Science. If it is said that it is a novelty to grant simply the power of conferring Divinity Degrees - I would mention an English precedent - Lampeter College in Wales. I am in hopes that if you take the opportunity of talking the whole subject over with Mr. St. John it may be seen that any proposal instead of being an interference with Un-denominational

Education is indeed only the proper supplement of it. I fancy it would meet any views of a Charter were given for a University, to which denominational Colleges could be affiliated having a common ~~faculty~~ ^{faculty} for Degrees in Arts, Law, Medicine, Science and separate Faculties belonging to the individual Colleges for Theology. What I mention about affiliation to an English University would be a last resort and very much against my wishes - there are two things that I almost equally wish - the being affiliated for arts to a common Manitoba University - and our possessing the power of conferring Theological Degrees. I think it would give great strength to our Theological School & if my efforts will build up here what will if I live long enough be potent for a time at least the most complete Theological School of the Church of England in Canada - I think it is unfair that because Manitoba is small & new we should be debarred from privileges enjoyed in every other quarter of the British Empire. I brought the subject during the past year before the Diocesan Synod of Rupert's Land as may be seen at Page 6 of the Report just published & I believe I carry with me the support & best wishes of the Synod & all the Members of the Church of England.



2. We are anxious to have an understanding for the possession of necessary land where we establish Missions. What I have proposed through Col. Dennis to the Patriarch of the Indian Act which I believe he has agreed to but respecting which I have not heard from him - owing to my own fault. I fancy as I believe I had to write him directly - is this that if we establish a Mission for an Indian Tribe at a Reserve we should get close to it if not with the consent of the Indians within it the same premises or reserved land

as an ordinary settler that is that we be allowed
on conditions of occupation & improvement as in the case of
a settler 160 acres per acre for a Homestead &
160 acres to purchase at the usual government price of
1 dollar per acre - that we be allowed to squat & make
the selection though there be no survey of the land.

We need this settled as we have the means in hand
for Mission Buildings at several Missions -
as the Sioux Mission - Torchwood Hills - Fish Lake
& Reiny Lake.

3. With regard to the Sioux Mission I am prepared
to be responsible for a classroom when the first money
can be found & I have about \$2100 in hand for
Mission Buildings but we shall need an Interpreter
& Scholmaster. Would the Government do for help the
effort we propose making at one of the Sioux Reserves
as to allow them usual grant for a Scholmaster for
2 or 3 years although there may not be the 20 or
children required - as it is clear that it will take
time before they are gathered together in sufficient number
& take advantage regardless of what may be offered.

~~_____~~



APPENDIX A

St. John's College. Feb.28th.1876.

Dear Governor Morris,

In answer to your kind request I venture to mention two or three subjects -

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affiliation will affect all Degrees. I should very much regret this. I am not anxious to build up a Denominational University - on the contrary I am prepared to give my whole influence to the building up of an Undenominational University in Arts, Law, Medicine, and Science. If it is said that it is a novelty to grant simply the power of conferring Divinity Degrees - I would mention an English precedent - Lampeter College in Wales. I am in hopes that if you take the opportunity of talking the whole subject over with Mr. McKenzie it may be seen that my proposal instead of being an interference with Undenominational Education is indeed only the proper supplement of it. I daresay it would meet my views if a Charter were given for a University to which Denominational Colleges could be affiliated having a common faculty for Degrees in Arts, Law, Medicine, Science and separate faculties belonging to the individual colleges for Theology. What I mention about an affiliation to an English University would be a last resort and very much against my wishes. There are two things that I almost equally wish - the being affiliated for Arts, etc. to a common Manitoba University - and our possessing the power of conferring Theological Degrees. I know it would give great strength to our Theological School - and if my efforts will build up here what will if I live long enough be probably for a time at least the most complete Theological School of the Church of England in Canada - I think it is unfair that because Manitoba is small and new we should be debarred from privileges enjoyed in every other quarter of the British Empire. I brought the subject during the past year before the Diocesan Synod of Rupert's Land as may be seen at page 6 of the Report just published and I believe I carry with me the support and best wishes of the Synod and all the members of the Church of England.

2. We are anxious to have an understanding for the possession of necessary land where we establish Missions. What I have proposed through Col. Dennis to the Minister of the Interior and which I believe he has agreed to but respecting which I have not heard from him -- owing to my own fault I dare say as I believe I had to write him directly -- is this that if we establish a Mission for an Indian Tribe at a Reserve we should get close to it if not with the consent of the Indians within it the same privileges as regards land as an ordinary settler that is that we be allowed on conditions of occupation and improvement as in the case of a settler 160 acres free corresponding to a Homestead & 160 acres to purchase at the usual Government price of 1 Dollar per acre -- that we be allowed to squat or make this selection though there be no survey of the land. We need this settled as we have the means in hand for Mission Buildings at several Missions - as the Sioux Mission - Touchwood Hills - Fish Lake & Rainy Lake.

3. With regard to the Sioux Mission I am prepared to be responsible for a clergyman when the fit man can be found & I have about \$2100 in hand for Mission Buildings -- but we shall need an Interpreter & Schoolmaster..Would the Government so far help the effort we propose making at one of the Sioux Reserves as to allow their usual grant for a

Schoolmaster for 2 or 3 years although there may not be the No. of children required - as it is clear that it will take time before they are gathered together in sufficient numbers & take advantage regularly of what may be offered..

R. Rupert's Land

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