

# THE EARLY STRUGGLES OF DALHOUSIE

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IN my first article I discussed the relation of the Dalhousie idea to the underlying principles of the society into which it was projected, and described that revolution of the nineteenth century which had substituted local self-government for centralized imperialism, religious equality for an established church, and province-wide civilization for the education of a privileged few, but had not made less necessary the permanent ideal of a liberal, comprehensive, non-sectarian college. In this article I shall outline the strange vicissitudes of Dalhousie College between 1818, when its site was chosen, and 1838, when its first Principal was appointed.

Not long after Lord Dalhousie had conceived his idea of a college in Halifax and had obtained the approval of the Prince Regent, it became evident to him that the whole burden of its establishment would fall upon his own shoulders. His council, though subservient in his presence, made it clear to him that they had no helpful suggestions to offer. When he consulted them as a body, on June 6, 1818, they advised him to submit a draft of the intended charter to His Majesty's Government before it was finally executed; and, in the meantime, "to appoint the intended governors of the establishment to act as trustees for expending so much of the funds appropriated for the establishment as may be necessary to lay out the ground and carry on the building, and to invest the remainder of the monies in the funds, there to remain on interest until the final arrangement of the establishment is made, and in all things to carry into effect such orders and directions as His Lordship *being the patron and founder of the institution may think best.*" In other words they would obey orders, but were not inclined to assume any responsibility.

But Lord Dalhousie was equal to the occasion. Within six months of this meeting with his council, he had chosen the site of the college as well as his board of governors, and had obtained the Prince Regent's approval of both. His warrant for survey of the site was issued on November 18th; and the certificate of Surveyor-General Morris was dated November 23rd. Morris described the site as follows: "all that certain square or piece of Land, situate, lying and being in or near the center of the Town of Halifax common-

ly called and known by the name of the Grand Parade, and the same is abutted and bounded as follows, viz, on the West by Argyle Street and measuring on that side five hundred and nine feet ten inches, on the North by Duke Street and measuring on that side one hundred and forty two feet, on the East by Barrington Street and measuring on that side five hundred and nine feet ten inches, and on the South by the Public Ground granted in trust for the use of St. Paul's Church and measuring on that side one hundred and forty-two feet and containing one acre and a half and twenty rods." On December 18th Lord Dalhousie signed a grant of this site in trust to the governors whom he had chosen: the Lieutenant Governor, the Chief Justice, the Lord Bishop of Nova Scotia, the Treasurer of the Province, the appointed Minister of the Scottish Church, the Speaker of the House of Assembly, and to their successors in their several offices. By the end of 1818, therefore, he could reflect that reasonable progress had been made towards the fulfilment of his dream, although what had so far been accomplished had imposed no financial burden upon either the province or the Castine fund.

On turning to the problem of finance, Dalhousie found at his disposal £10,750—the balance of the Castine customs duties. Of this amount he gave £1000 as a bonus to the Garrison Library, invested £7000 in British consols as a small endowment of the college, and set apart the remainder for building purposes. As he knew that this small sum would not go far, he asked the legislature for aid and obtained from it a grant of £2,000 in 1819. Thus encouraged, he initiated the work of clearing the ground and laying the foundations, and took the necessary steps to procure a charter and a principal for the college. It was in negotiating for a charter that he encountered his first obstacle and a foreshadowing of difficulties to come. When the application for a charter signed by all the governors who were in Halifax was presented to Bishop Stanser in London, he declined to sign it, on the ground that his primary obligation was to King's College at Windsor, and that he therefore "could not conscientiously comply with the request." This difficulty, together with the disproportionate cost of a royal charter, induced Dalhousie to be content with the prospect of a local act of incorporation approved by the Crown. His attempt to obtain a principal through Professor Monk of Cambridge likewise proved unsuccessful. Before he heard from the latter, he had laid the cornerstone of the college, and departed for Quebec. Henceforth, he had to watch over his college from a distance; but he maintained his interest even amidst the trials that beset him during his

troubled sojourn in Canada. In 1821 he presented £500 to the governors to provide astronomical apparatus for the institution; and, during the next three years, he did everything in his power to support his successor in completing the building, and trying to effect a compromise between King's and Dalhousie colleges, so that their resources might be consolidated and educational facilities made available to all denominations.

His successor as lieutenant-governor of Nova Scotia was Sir James Kempt, who assumed office on June 2nd, 1820. He obtained a further grant of £1000 from the legislature in 1821, whereupon the governors of Dalhousie decided to finish the outside of the building and two lecture rooms in the west end immediately, and also to put up a "pediment" at the front of the building, provided that the contractor "would wait two years for payment." This same year Sir James obtained an act of incorporation, having first submitted it to the Colonial Office for approval in order to avoid uncertainty and delay; but he was unsuccessful in his application to Lord Bathurst for a grant of £1000 from the rents of the coal mines. He therefore had to approach the legislature again for aid, and after some difficulty he procured in 1823 a loan of £5000, for five years without interest, all of which was urgently needed to discharge the debts already incurred in building and to preserve the small income from endowment for the future running expenses of the college.

By 1823, then, Dalhousie College was ready for occupancy, and the citizens of Halifax at least expected immediate action on the part of the governors; but by this time also the full significance of Dalhousie's project had begun to dawn upon official circles, and the majority of the governors found themselves out of sympathy with the object of their trust, although unlike Bishop Stanser, they did not hesitate to act as trustees of both colleges. In Haliburton's earliest account of Nova Scotia, published anonymously early in 1823, this growing antagonism to Dalhousie College is clearly and characteristically expressed. After an elaborate eulogy of King's College and its educational ideas, he wrote of Dalhousie as follows:

This Establishment has not yet its Professorships filled, nor is it probable they will be for some time. It is on all sides unanimously deplored that so much money should have been so injudiciously expended. One College is at present sufficient for the two Provinces of Nova Scotia and New Brunswick, and it is to be feared that by the endowment of two, both may dwindle into insignificance. Of all places the center of a garrison Town and sea Port, like Halifax, is perhaps the most unsuitable for an establishment, which containing only lecture rooms, leaves its pupils

exposed to dissipation, without one salutary check or restraint. Had these funds been appropriated to the endowment of new Professorships at King's College at Windsor, to the enlargement of its Library, and the erection of new buildings, which are much required for the accommodation of its officers and students, the public would have been greatly benefitted and the cause of Literature much better served than it is at present.

This attack on Dalhousie College did not escape the clear eye of Thomas McCulloch who, although he was struggling manfully to build up his own institution in Pictou and had no particular reason for attachment to Lord Dalhousie, wrote him at length, warning him of the forces at work against Dalhousie College, pointing out that the recent act of incorporation had omitted the name of the minister of the Scottish church in Halifax from the list of governors, and arguing that the only true friends of the college were Presbyterians whose support should be solicited and fully recognized; but Lord Dalhousie snubbed him for his pains, and listened eagerly to the proposals that were then being made to merge Dalhousie and King's, to the practical eclipse of the former.

So far as Lord Dalhousie was concerned, a union of King's and Dalhousie colleges might have been effected in 1824. The proposal at that time was to move King's to Halifax and form *The United Colleges of King's and Dalhousie*. The President was to be a clergyman of the Established Church and there were to be three or four Fellows who would have subscribed to the Thirty-Nine Articles, but the professorships were to be thrown open to all properly qualified candidates, and the strict regulations of King's in regard to residence and religious tests were to be liberally modified. When this compromise between the two boards of governors was submitted to Dalhousie, he expressed his approval in the following letter to Sir James Kempt:

I have always declared it my sole object in the foundation of the Halifax college to obtain education to all classes in Nova Scotia and the adjoining provinces, but particularly to those who are excluded from King's College, Windsor, by the rules of that institution. By the proposal of the paper I have now received, I think my object is obtained as fully as could be desired. The removal of the institution to Halifax, open lectures in college, instruction and honours, (with the exception of church degrees), free to dissenters of all classes, are the advantages that were looked for by a college at Halifax; and I am truly happy to learn that these are not considered to be altogether inconsistent with the primary objects of King's College. The government of the college cannot be placed more advantageously than in the hands of the governors, patron and visitor of King's. The constitution

and internal government are equally unexceptionable, provided that the toleration contemplated in that at Halifax be secured. If these proposals shall be finally approved, I think the very character and name of Dalhousie College should at once be lost in that of the other, so that the style of King's College should alone be known and looked up to:

Though the majority of both boards of governors were in favour of union, Dr. Cochran of King's and Chief Justice Blowers were strongly opposed to it. The latter submitted a long list of objections which may be summarized as follows: the removal of King's to Halifax would be unfair to the "seminary from which it sprung" and also a breach of trust; the serenity and quiet of Windsor would be surrendered to the bustle, dissipation and extravagance of a seaport town; if the university of King's were engrafted upon a college of a dissimilar design, classical literature might be made subservient to lectures, studies and diffusive acquirements, and classical education lost "in the more showy and dazzling employment of experiments and amusing pursuits"; imperial patrons and friends of King's might withdraw their favours; the principles of the Established Church might be overthrown and other institutions encouraged "to rise on its ruin"; all students from New Brunswick would go to Fredericton rather than come so far to Halifax; the alumni of King's would lose the chief foundation of their affection and interest; the immediate financial gain would be offset by later financial embarrassments; and, in a word, "a present and acknowledged good" would "be sacrificed for uncertain and future advantage." These arguments, when later used to good purpose by the Archbishop of Canterbury, together with the fact that Dr. Inglis succeeded in obtaining generous contributions in England for King's, put an end to the first promising negotiations for union of the colleges, although the governors in joint meeting had admitted that one college would be ample "for the literary wants of Nova Scotia and perhaps of the adjoining Provinces, for several centuries."

But if Dr. Inglis, who was about to become the third Bishop of Nova Scotia, had taken advantage of these negotiations to improve the status of King's, the same cannot be said of the governors of Dalhousie. They had left everything at a standstill and ceased to look for a principal or staff. The only activity recorded in their minutes between 1823 and 1828 was to make provision for fitting up a steward's room in the college, on December 10, 1825, long after all hope of union had been dispelled. Nor do they seem to have met again until August 23rd, 1828. But in the summer of 1826, presumably by informal agreement, it was decided to rent

the vacant rooms to all-comers: for on July 29th, John Henry Leonhard, confectioner, informed his friends and the public that he had removed his confectionery store to the eligible rooms at the north-east corner of Dalhousie College, and from other sources it is known that these rooms continued to be thus utilized for at least a decade.

In the meantime Holland of the *Acadian Recorder*, who supported every cultural movement of the period, expressed the growing impatience of the general public in a vigorous editorial of October 27th, 1827, under the heading, "Dalhousie College":

Months and years have passed and our ears have again and again greeted the joyful report that this institution would very soon open its doors for the instruction of our youth and the gratification of the votaries of the sciences and belles lettres, and still we are disappointed. The desirable event seems, if possible, more distant than ever—for the memory of it is almost entirely obliterated. We pass it without thinking of the purposes to which it should be applied and for which it was built, or even of the building itself—unless, perchance, the nicnacs of the Pastry Cook should occasionally of a forenoon invite us into the confectionery in the lower part of the building. It is certainly a matter of sincere regret, that an institution founded for good purposes and under such good auspices should be allowed to fall through, and occasion so great a waste of public money. Where, we ask, lies the fault? It was planned, wisely in our opinion, by Lord Dalhousie. If those who supported him thought otherwise, and determined at a future time to withdraw that support, they betrayed the interest of the province most shamefully, in not opposing to the utmost the erection of the building, and they have proved themselves sycophants and bad counsellors to His Excellency in advising the measure, merely because it pleased him. If the design be good, why has it not been forwarded? and why has so large a sum been expended to no purpose? The British Government presented in the first instance, £8000 or £9000. The province has been cajoled out of £5000 more under the shape of a loan, never to be repaid. The province would gladly submit to lose that, and even give as much more, if they could be convinced that any beneficial results would follow—that there was any sincerity in the intentions of those who have the power to promote its success. At the time the provincial grant was given four years since, that sincerity was doubted, and time has justified those doubts. What, we may ask, is doing with the rents of the lower part of the building, and with the interest of nearly £4000 in the British funds? Could not the governors with these funds engage two professors for the present, and prove to the country that there is no intention on their part of trifling with the public? We answer they could, and their so doing would bring back to them the confidence that has been lost, and open again the purse of the public and of private individuals. As to the utility of a

college in Halifax no serious objections have been stated openly or candidly; nor do any seem to be entertained, except by those who are fearful of its interference with other institutions, and who in an indirect manner oppose its success. Of its injuring either the Windsor or Pictou institutions there cannot be the smallest apprehension. The different principles upon which these are founded will always ensure to each a respectable number of students, whose parents may wish them to be educated in those principles; nor is there any danger of the Dalhousie college drawing to town so large a number of the youth of the country as materially to affect either of them; at all events, it is time that something should be determined on. The province has lent a large sum, for which it is now paying a great interest under a pledge that it is to be applied to a good purpose. The province has been deceived, and should now, in justice to itself, demand either a proper application of the money or its immediate repayment. We should regret the latter course being resorted to, if it could be avoided, as we have an anxious desire for the success of the institution, and know that some among the governors are warmly interested in its favor. The Assembly last year voted several hundred pounds to the new seminary at Annapolis, with the express understanding that it should be an annual grant: and is Halifax to be the only place considered unworthy of possessing a learned institution? Every respectable inhabitant of the capital should take an interest in obtaining for his family so great an advantage. Indeed we know of nothing which would have so powerful an effect in improving the character of the metropolis in every respect, and extending its prosperity.

Though no immediate response can be traced specifically to this editorial, it is not improbable that the governors of Dalhousie were alarmed by the alternatives which it suggested in regard to the provincial loan, and, in order to avert a demand for repayment of that loan, they made an effort to find a principal for the college and to prepare the unfinished rooms in the building for use. Early in 1828, Lord Dalhousie had written Michael Wallace, enclosing a warm recommendation of Dr. J. S. Memes of Ayr Academy, and Wallace immediately opened what proved to be an extended correspondence with him, by offering him the principalship with a salary of £300 a year and "a house to live in", together with such fees as he might derive from his lectures. At their meeting of August 23, 1828, the governors authorized Wallace to finish the two eastern rooms of the college and to draw upon the proceeds of the endowment for his expenses. But when the legislature met in the following year, the governors had little to show for their labours, and the Assembly urgently demanded the repayment of their loan. The Assembly at this time were concerned about a permanent grant to Pictou Academy, and the protagonists of the academy regarded Michael

Wallace as their chief enemy in the council. It may be that the members of the Assembly who favoured the grant to the academy regarded their attack on Dalhousie as a reprisal against Wallace, who was the most intimate friend of its founder as well as the most bitter opponent of the Seceders in Pictou.

Be that as it may, the governors decided to continue their negotiations for a principal, to increase their revenue from rentals, and to ward off the repayment of the loan as long as possible. At a meeting on May 26, 1829, Wallace laid before them a letter from Dr. Memes, which he was requested to answer, expressing the governors' satisfaction with his response to their "application" and their regret that, owing to the embarrassed circumstances of the institution, "they cannot at present fully comply with the terms heretofore proposed to him, but that should he be disposed to take charge of the Institution, after being fully and confidentially informed of the present difficulties under which it labours, they will exert their utmost endeavours to meet their former proposals and promote his comfortable establishment."

At their next meeting, on October 4th, the governors decided to offer £500 immediately to the Assembly and the same amount annually until the £5000 was paid. They also decided to let the rooms now finished and unoccupied at auction for one year at the highest rent that could be obtained. This decision drew two tenants, Rev. Thomas Aitken, who conducted a classical academy in the eastern wing, and W. H. Jones, who kept a school of painting in the western wing; and when the Legislature met in 1830, Wallace as acting-governor appealed to it to postpone the demand for the loan until a more convenient season, pointed out that the rooms of the college were at last being used for educational purposes, and that "a gentleman, eminently qualified to take charge of the institution has been for some time engaged, and is now waiting for orders to come out for that purpose."

This message had the desired effect and after considerable discussion a resolution was carried, on March 2nd, "That the Trustees of Dalhousie College shall have a further period of three years to pay the sum of £5000 due from them to the Province, in compliance with the recommendation of His Honor the President in his message of the 27th February last."

With the demand for payment of the loan suspended for three years, the governors renewed the offer to Dr. Memes as Principal with a salary of £300 exclusive of fees, and transmitted to their agent at Liverpool a sum of money to cover the cost of his passage and to purchase philosophical apparatus.



To all intents and purposes, therefore, Dalhousie College should have commenced regular work in the autumn of 1830, with Dr. Memes as Principal and Rev. Thomas Aitken as classical instructor; but this happy prospect was frustrated, apparently by Wallace's determination to have Dr. Memes ordained by the Church of Scotland, and the efforts of the Colonial Secretary to unite Dalhousie and King's.

As to Wallace's general antipathy towards the Seceders of Pictou and his support of the Kirk, there was no doubt in Nova Scotia; but the following note, attached to a petition of the Church of Scotland ministers in Nova Scotia and Prince Edward Island for imperial support, shows that he carried his likes and dislikes to the foot of the Throne. The petition is dated January 21, 1830, and Wallace wrote in support of it: "The Petitioners ought not to be confounded with a description of People calling themselves Presbyterians—who are Dissenters from the Established Church of Scotland:—and the principles of their Pastors and leaders are considered very questionable." It was Wallace who carried on the correspondence with Dr. Memes from 1828 to 1830 and, although most of this correspondence is not extant, there is indirect evidence from Jotham Blanchard's letters from Great Britain, while on a mission in behalf of Pictou Academy, that the delay of Dr. Memes in setting out for Nova Scotia was first caused by this attempt to obtain ordination. Writing from Glasgow on October 12, 1831, Blanchard says, "Dr. Memes has taken leave of the Ayr Academy and goes to Halifax by first opportunity as Principal of Dalhousie College under promise of £300 a year besides tuition fees. He received at Ayr £100 besides tuition to about £110. He is to be ordained a clergyman tho' as one of the Ministers of his Synod told me it is out of order. However it is urged that a Principal of a college is ex-officio a Divine.—Old Wallace is the correspondent with Dr. Memes—I fear a project will be got up out of it to oppose the Academy with Lord Goderich. The above news I got today from an Ayr Kirk Clergyman with whom I dined."

The official letter finally offering the appointment to Dr. Memes had been dated Halifax, March 31, 1830, but his official reply giving notice of his intended departure for Halifax was dated Ayr, October 1, 1831. It would seem that the delay was caused, in part at least, by overcoming the obstacles to ordination, that insistence upon Kirk control of Dalhousie at this time was closely related to Kirk antipathy towards Pictou Academy, and that its one result was to postpone the opening of the college for another decade; for in the interval other events had transpired which made

it necessary for Dr. Memes to cancel his passage in the *Mercator* and ultimately to remain at Ayr. These events were the withdrawal of Imperial support from King's College, and the determined efforts of successive Colonial Secretaries to unite it with Dalhousie.

The story of this second attempt at union belongs more to the history of King's and, therefore, need be discussed only as an additional factor in delaying the opening of Dalhousie. It began tentatively with a dispatch from Sir G. Murray, dated August 31, 1829, which seems to have been inspired by a letter from Rev. Wm. Cochran of King's, reporting that the chief obstacles to union had at last been removed. In December, 1828, Dr. Cochran, who twenty years earlier had tried to induce Dr. McCulloch to join the Church of England, had again written him suggesting a mode of restoring harmonious relations between King's College and Pictou Academy. To this end he suggested that one provincial law should be enacted repealing the objectionable tests of King's, requiring no tests from the students of either institution, calling for subscription to the Thirty-Nine Articles by the professors of King's and to the Westminster Confession of Faith by those of Pictou Academy, and giving to the latter a permanent grant of £400 per annum, together with the right of granting degrees. When Dr. McCulloch expressed doubt as to the probability of such a proposal being generally supported by churchmen, Dr. Cochran assured him that it was quite unofficial, but that, after making the proposal, he had discussed it with the President of the College who, in turn, had taken a memorandum to Halifax for submission to the other governors. In discussing a union of King's and Dalhousie, Sir G. Murray does not refer to the problem of Pictou Academy, but his successor, Lord Goderich, had it quite definitely in mind, and contemplated a permanent grant to Pictou Academy as a prerequisite of additional local legislative support for the united colleges. At the same time he alarmed the governors of King's by stating that the annual parliamentary grant of £1000 would be reduced to £500 in 1833, and thereafter discontinued. It was this dispatch of July 31, 1831, that definitely revived the project of union; but negotiations dragged on fruitlessly until 1836, when the project was finally abandoned, and the friends of Dalhousie, chief of whom was S. G. W. Archibald, turned to the obvious project of effecting a union with Pictou Academy, which by an act of 1832 had been reduced to a combined grammar school and academy.

In the meantime, the appointment of Dr. Memes as principal of Dalhousie had been deferred on the ground that, if union should have been effected, Dr. Porter of King's would have been made

principal of the united college, whether it were located at Windsor or Halifax. But private teaching continued in Dalhousie College, and its rooms were rented or lent for a variety of purposes. From 1829 to 1832 Rev. Thomas Aitken conducted his classical academy in the eastern wing, and Mr. Jones and his art school continued to paint, to dance and to hold annual exhibitions of paintings in the western wing until the cholera panic of 1832. In the winter of 1832, Dr. McCulloch rented rooms in Dalhousie for his second series of lectures in Halifax, and the managers of the Infant School fitted up rooms for their project. But in the summer months the entire building, with the exception of the shops in the basement, was turned over to the Board of Health for offices and for a hospital, if necessary. When the epidemic of cholera passed Halifax by and courage returned, new tenants were sought and found. In 1833, Rev. Alexander Romans rented the eastern wing for a classical academy and continued his teaching, with the exception of one term during the fatal cholera epidemic of 1834, until the summer of 1839, one year after he had been appointed Professor of Classics under Dr. McCulloch. In 1833, also, the Infant School commenced its work and occupied rooms in Dalhousie until the reorganization of 1863; and the Mechanics' Institute commenced to hold its meetings in the College and was allowed to keep its library and museum there long after its literary and scientific activities had ceased to attract attention. Thus Dalhousie College from 1829 onwards, though not in activity as such until 1838, was concerned with educational and cultural matters and was of no small service as a community centre. Almost every summer in the decade following 1829 a public examination of the academies was held in the college, attended by members of the government and other prominent citizens of Halifax, and prizes were distributed among the successful students in Latin and Greek; but the benefits of the college were confined to Halifax, and it was far from realizing the ideals of its founder in affording a sound education to all the youth of the Maritime Provinces that had hitherto been excluded from King's. However, in 1838, it seemed that Lord Dalhousie's dream was at last to be realized through the transference of Dr. McCulloch from Pictou to Halifax.

It will be remembered that the affairs of Pictou Academy had reached a crisis in 1831, when Jotham Blanchard was sent on a special mission to Great Britain to induce the Imperial Government to instruct the local Government to make a permanent grant to the Academy; and that Lord Goderich, after some delay, had practically given such instructions; but that the local Government, under

influence of the Bishop of Nova Scotia and the clergymen of the Church of Scotland, had given the Academy a new constitution and a temporary grant, which made its failure inevitable. By the act of 1832 four members of the Church of Scotland among others were appointed to the new board of trustees, the trustees were to provide for a junior department or grammar school in the Academy, and the grant of £400 per annum was limited to ten years. Of this £400, £250 were appropriated specifically for Dr. McCulloch's salary, which left only £150 for the second teacher in the Academy and for the master of the grammar school. It had been hoped that, when the Academy was reconstituted to meet the wishes of the Kirk, the members of that church would support it generously; and it is asserted that their leaders had pledged their congregations to do so in order to obtain the new legislation; but they failed to redeem their pledge. Consequently from 1834 until 1837 the new trustees, wrangling amongst themselves, were constantly petitioning the legislature for additional aid to meet their running expenses and to reduce their debt. At the same time Dr. McCulloch, seeing his advanced work threatened because of the irregular employment of the second teacher in the Academy and the consequent failure to keep up a supply of students, grew disheartened and reluctantly began to look for other fields of labour. Early in 1835 he proceeded to Halifax, and accompanied by S. G. W. Archibald and some members of the Assembly friendly to the Academy, called upon the lieutenant-governor and presented a memorial to him to the effect that the Academy could no longer be kept in useful operation, and that he should like to be enabled still "to derive a subsistence from the education of youth." The lieutenant-governor, who at this time was still hopeful of uniting King's and Dalhousie, urged him to carry on in Pictou, and later wrote him to the same effect, stating that at the moment no other practicable mode of employing his services in the education of youth could be devised.

During the summer, Dr. McCulloch wrote to his friend James Mitchell:

If the doors of the Academy be closed, I cannot expect Government to support me in idleness. It is, I know, the wish of some of my friends to force me into Dalhousie College, but to this, at the expense of the Academy, I am utterly repugnant. When it was proposed to me several years ago, I declared that I would consent to no plan which would compromise the interests of Presbyterianism, and again last winter, when the subject was talked over at a meeting of friends in Halifax, I stated that having at farthest but a few years to live, it was my wish to spend them in the foot-

steps of Dr. McGregor, and Mr. Ross; and further that though the Academy should be destroyed, if its doors were again opened, I would leave other employment for its sake.

It is difficult to reconcile this statement with his memorial to the lieutenant-governor in 1835 and his subsequent memorial to the House of Assembly in the following year, unless it be interpreted to mean that he would have been willing to accept the principalship of Dalhousie as an independent college in 1835, but would not have had anything to do with an institution that might still be dominated by the Bishop of Nova Scotia, as the united colleges would have been under the proposed arrangement. In any event, in 1836, he addressed the following memorial to the Assembly, which had always been friendly to Pictou Academy:

That Your Petitioner would respectfully express his gratitude for the Salary which The Legislature of this Province has connected with his office in the Pictou Academy. But though Your Petitioner is dependent on the bounty of the Government he judges it his duty to bring under the notice of this honorable house that during the last two years the Academy has not been kept in regular and efficient operation: And Your Petitioner would also suggest that in his opinion its present circumstances do not afford a probability that under existing arrangements it can ever contain the means of a regular education or even continue in existence.

Your Petitioner would further add that the amount of his Salary has not enabled him to make provision for a life of idleness and therefore he most respectfully solicits that on any subsequent arrangement of the education of the Province this Honorable House may still enable him to live by his labours.

But in 1836, as in 1837, the Assembly was petitioned by those trustees of the Academy and certain congregations which had hitherto supported it loyally to the end that relief should be granted; and in 1837 a bill was actually introduced to repeal that section of the act which had intruded the grammar school into the Academy, and, thus, to restore it to its old status. This bill, however, did not become law, and its rejection deferred a solution of the vexed problem until 1838, when a very different bill was introduced, through the influence of S. G. W. Archibald who had dissented from the terms of the proposed union of King's and Dalhousie, and his son, Charles D. Archibald, who had been a pupil of Dr. McCulloch. This bill was entitled "An Act to alter and amend the Act to regulate and support Pictou Academy".

The story of the passage of this bill through the legislature was told at the time in two letters from Charles D. Archibald to

Dr. McCulloch, and also in less detail by Thomas Dickson. From these letters it may be gathered that all the old forces that had been opposed to Dr. McCulloch or had been antagonized by his controversial writings united in opposition to the bill, that its friends were chiefly Presbyterians of the Secession, Methodists and Baptists, and those who like Howe called themselves independents, and that a maximum of lobbying was done for or against the bill as if the future of the province were at stake. Even a libel addressed to Dr. McCulloch seven years earlier was republished in pamphlet form and circulated amongst the members of the Assembly.

C. D. Archibald's account of the progress of the bill in committee is too lively not to be quoted:

In Committee on Friday Mr. Holmes led the opposition—My father spoke very warmly—so did Uniacke, Doyle, Howe and others whose line of argument I have not time, if I had memory, to follow out—The Debate wanted none of the warmth and interest which used to characterize the bygone Academy discussions—Under the Gallery was the remnant of the old Metropolitan party with whom we have so long and so frequently battled the watch—It was a pitiful array—Deblois, Larry Hartshorne, one Tremain and the Treasurer were all they could muster worthy of mention—I had my eye upon them and watched all their manoeuvres—I unmasked your friend the Treasurer and counteracted all his artifices—The Committee did not divide until night—26 for us—17 against— never was such a disappointment to the Enemy, for they were confident that the Bill would be lost—Their conduct was well calculated to defeat us and throw us off our guard, and I may give you some idea of the jeopardy we were in when I tell you that heavy bets were laid that the Bill would be thrown out by a *large* majority—Even Sawers and others of your friends were impressed with that belief—Up to the day of the debate we had not contemplated more than a provision for *you alone*, intending that the Institution should be put in operation in the first instance by the President. Crawley and Sawers had been making frequent proposals but no definite answer was given then—They were perfectly satisfied that you should be at the Head, with the Salary proposed but they, individually, wished to have some assurance of being placed in subordinate situations, and they even expressed their willingness to serve with little or no Salary—Finding during the progress of the debate that their friends were hanging back and undecided, and that the fate of the Bill might be considered almost as depending upon them, I took upon me to make certain statements to one or two of the party who like myself were watching the progress of the debate—An immediate calling out of Members, and whisperings in the corners commenced, but I believe we lost two or three, perhaps more votes from the division taking place before it was clearly understood that the Baptist party were satisfied—It cannot be said that there was an express, but there certainly was an implied contract

and coalition entered into with that party, and so far as I had any act or part in it I am prepared to justify myself though at present I cannot enter upon the subject—We find the Church of England, the Kirk and the Roman Catholics leagued together to defeat this measure and why? Purely because it contemplates a little honour and moderate provision for you—

The Catholics seem to be very implacable—Doyle appeared almost beside himself, and his declaration that no Catholic would ever send a son to the College, if you were connected with it, has had great weight, or at least is pleaded by several as a pretext for their opposition. Young Forrestal is the only Catholic who voted for it. I have stated on all hands that, if you come to Halifax, it is your intention to devote yourself exclusively to the duties of your situation and to take no part in politics or other matters unless compelled—Young has behaved very well—Of the Treasurer I do not think it worth my while to speak—You and I were not disappointed in the estimate we formed of him—

After passing the Assembly the bill still had to meet the Council which was the historic centre of opposition; but it was a new Council that it had to meet. In fact, the Legislative Council which had been organized after Howe's Twelve Resolutions in 1837 was again reorganized and reduced in number on instruction from Lord Durham in 1838, and this reorganization took place while the Pictou Academy bill was actually before it. It was Mr. Dickson's opinion that had not some opponents of the bill lost their seats in the reorganization, it would have been lost.

On the discussion of the bill in the Council, Archibald wrote:

Old Peter McNab has been a staunch and valuable friend and Mr. Robie never shrunk. Mr. Jas. Tobin, though he did not vote, deserves every credit and has evinced as much interest in the success of the Bill as any friend we have—Both he and his Brother say they will be much pleased to see you in Dalhousie College and if they had sons to educate would place them under your care—Bishop Fraser I understand has said he will send his Nephew to you—It now remains to adopt measures to put the College in operation and to transfer you there as early as possible—

Of Charles W. Wallace, who inherited his father's position as treasurer, and maintained his opposition to Dr. McCulloch, he says:

I see however today that the treasurer has found out that it is of no use for him to kick against the pricks, and he pretends that he has only been anxious that the £200 left at Pictou should be disposed of fairly between both parties—He was down at old Tobin this morning before 8 o'clock trying to persuade him to vote against the Bill, and I imagine that the answer he received from him, Cutler and Rudolph, whom he always counted against the Bill, let in a little light upon his darkened understanding—I

should never have kept upon terms with him until now, had I not wished to leave him room for repentance, and I am much mistaken if he does not become subservient to our views—

Of Sir Colin Campbell, the lieutenant-governor, and the implied contract with the Baptists, Archibald wrote as follows:

An immense deal of nonsense has been crammed into him however lately, and I am sorry to perceive that he is too much under the guidance of those who have no interest in leading him right—as soon as the Legislature is prorogued this matter shall be attended to—My father will feel himself bound to advocate Crawleys claims—

Thus, almost surreptitiously, was Dalhousie College at last embarked upon its career by legislation that seemed to deal with the problems of another institution and that merely provided for the removal of Dr. McCulloch to Halifax, together with £200 of the annual legislative grant to Pictou Academy. Because of the subsequent problems that arose out of the appointment of Church of Scotland professors to the staff of Dalhousie, much to the disgust of all who had supported the bill, it has seemed necessary in this article to indicate clearly the attitude of the various religious denominations toward it and Dr. McCulloch, to emphasize the agreement with the Baptists, and to point out the fear that was then felt that Sir Colin Campbell might be induced to favour the Church of Scotland with disastrous results. How this action of Sir Colin embarrassed Dr. McCulloch, antagonized completely the Baptists, lost the hardly won support of the Roman Catholics, and even moved the Methodists to independent exertions, must be left to another article.