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THE FOUNDING OF UNIVERSITIES IN NOVA SCOTIA

The Protestant Universities

IT IS TO THE ANGLICANS, at their most numerous in Halifax and Windsor and possessing the privileges pertaining to membership of the Established Church, that one has to look for the beginnings of higher education in Nova Scotia. Halifax, as the capital of the province since its foundation in 1749, had been settled by Irish Roman Catholics (who numbered about 1,000 of the three thousand inhabitants in 1760), German and Dutch Lutherans (about 700), a few Scots, and an Anglican English majority of about 1,200.¹ Yet no Anglican college was founded there, in spite of the pleas of the congregation of St. Paul's Church in 1764 and 1769, the second time in collaboration with the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel.² Indeed their numbers would hardly have justified it before the influx of Anglican Loyalist immigrants in 1783. "The coming of the Loyalists . . . meant that henceforth the province was to be organized progressively and aggressively into parishes; and that a clergyman was to be placed in every strategic locality, to hold aloft the torch of civilization, to become a little centre of culture, and a recruiting agency for schools."³ There were many clergymen among the Loyalists who were to contribute to the intellectual awakening among the Anglicans.⁴

The inspiration for the founding of an Anglican college came first from a group of priests in New York, where they were bemoaning the closing of their own institution (King's College) in 1776.⁵ They complained that Anglicans in the young American Republic now had nowhere to send their children for higher education. English universities were too far away and too expensive; American universities would be likely to undermine their loyalty.⁶ So they made a suggestion in a letter written on March 8, 1783, to Sir Guy Carleton:

The founding of a College or Seminary of learning on a liberal plan in that province [Nova Scotia] where youth may receive a virtuous education and can be qualified for the learned professions, is . . . a measure of the greatest consequence, as it would diffuse religious literature, loyalty and good morals among His Majesty's subjects there.⁷

This was followed up swiftly by George Panton's petition. Panton arrived in Nova Scotia with some of the Loyalists who settled in Yarmouth and Shelburne, and spent some time in these towns before leaving for England. In London he became a member of a conference which drew up "A Plan of Religious and Literary Institution for the Province of Nova Scotia". The "Plan" declared that "A public seminary, academy or college should without delay begin to be instituted at the most central part of the province (suppose at Windsor) consisting at first of a public grammar school for classical and other branches of education, conducted by a teacher of approved ability, temper, judgement and sound morals, professing the principles and living in the communion of the Church of England."⁸

The urgency of Panton's petition was well advised, for as he wrote the non-Anglican population was being rapidly increased. Most of the Loyalists and disbanded soldiers who settled in the province to live among the 8,000 pre-Loyalist New England Puritans⁹ were Congregationalists or Baptists.¹⁰ Thus it was necessary, if Anglicanism was to maintain its pre-eminent place in the religious hierarchy, to enter the field of higher education. In England, Anglican Oxford and Cambridge had been the only universities for many centuries, enjoying more prestige, even though their academic standards were considerably lower (in the eighteenth century) than those of the dissenting academies.¹¹ There was an assumption that the same conditions would apply in Nova Scotia. No one could have foreseen that in the nineteenth century other universities would arise founded upon different principles. Even in the 1820s Haliburton declared that "one College . . . is at present sufficient for the two provinces of Nova Scotia and New Brunswick. The latter Colony, with that sectional feeling so peculiar to America, has already provided means for the support of one at Fredericton, and if this institution should ever be completed, we shall have three insignificant, instead of one respectable institution."¹²

The entreaties of the Anglicans in Nova Scotia were accepted. A bishopric was soon established, and plans were made to establish an institution of higher learning in Windsor. It is very doubtful if the motivating force in choosing Windsor was the centrality that Panton's "Plan" suggested. Probably there was a desire to provide a more pleasant setting than the bustling sea-port capital, with its "100 licensed houses, and perhaps as many more which retail spirituous liquors without license. . . ."¹³ For the Anglican models were Oxford and Cambridge, with their college communities. Windsor, from this viewpoint, was much the most desirable choice, for there the most valuable

land had been granted to wealthy Halifax people. Just as the English Windsor was a haven from the noise and bustle of London for the English monarch, so was its colonial counterpart a haven from the workaday world of Halifax for wealthy citizens of the provincial capital.¹⁴ These rich people were mainly Anglicans, and in a position to be approached for financial donations.

The newly consecrated Bishop, Dr. Charles Inglis, worked indefatigably for the college's foundation. Having succeeded in opening the academy section of King's College (for so it was to be named) in 1788, and in obtaining a single grant for that year from the Nova Scotia Legislature of £400, he continued to press for further advantages. "Anxious that the Provision for it might be permanent and the plan enlarged", he stated in a letter to Lord Hawkesbury, then President of the Board of Trade in London, "I applied for the purpose to the Legislative at the last session in 1788 . . . they granted the sum of £400 a year, out of the duties arising from sugar, in perpetuity, and also a sum of £500 . . . to purchase a tract of land on which to erect a suitable edifice for the institution."¹⁵ At that time there were thirty-three students. He envisaged a college designed for fifty.¹⁶

In 1789 the Provincial Legislature passed an "Act for Founding, Establishing, and Maintaining a College in this Province." It was stipulated that its name was to be King's College, and its President *always* an Anglican clergyman. Inglis, and the Board of Governors then set up, went a stage further than this in visualizing staff acquired from the ancient English universities. In the event they had to appoint a temporary President, who was a graduate of Trinity College, Dublin. William Cochran, the appointee, had earlier been Professor of Greek and Latin at Columbia College, New York.¹⁷

By 1802 King's College had been granted a Royal Charter by the Privy Council, which gave it all the rights and privileges of a British University.¹⁸ The Archbishop of Canterbury was nominated as Patron. A Board of Governors was appointed, consisting of the Lieutenant-Governor, the Bishop, the Chief Justice, the Judge of the Court of Vice-Admiralty, the Speaker of the House of Assembly, the Attorney-general, the Solicitor-general, the Secretary of the Province, and "the Rev. the President."¹⁹ The charter required the board to make necessary Statutes for college government, which task was soon begun. In the following year a draft of the Statutes was sent to the Archbishop for approval. Bishop Inglis disagreed with the proposed Statute requiring students to sign the Thirty-nine Articles in order to matriculate, and he sent a separate letter stating his case. Inglis was able by this letter to secure a com-

promise; the signing was to be left until the end of the fourth year, and thus became a requirement for graduation.²⁰

By 1807 a need for a new Statute had arisen, and, since membership of the Board of Governors had not changed, the provision for signing the Thirty-nine Articles was again inserted. Inglis again objected, and this time secured the Archbishop's disapproval of this measure. His triumph, however, was short-lived. It provoked an outburst from the highly influential Judge Alexander Croke, who stated: "I do hereby express my disapprobation of the abrogation . . . as injurious to the interests of true Religion in general, of the Church of England in particular . . . to his Majesty's government, and the British Constitution."²¹ The other members, apart from Inglis, agreed with him, and connived in the act of circulating the unamended Statutes, which had been prematurely printed. It is clear that this amendment never did become generally known. In 1818 we find the Governor, Lord Dalhousie, and S. S. Blowers, the Chief Justice, writing a letter to the Archbishop of Canterbury to try to gain the removal of a statute that they clearly did not know had no legal standing. The requirement to sign the Thirty-nine Articles, they said, had prevented many people from sending their sons to the College. These people would otherwise have done so.²² But there had been a change of Archbishop, and the newly-fledged Dr. Howley replied tersely: "To this proposition I cannot consent. The College was founded for the purpose of educating the youth of Nova Scotia in the principles of the Established Church; and the degrees conferred by it must be conferred in support of such principles."²³

The letter to the Archbishop had indicated a considerable and growing demand among non-Anglicans, especially the Presbyterians and Baptists, who were already giving up hope that King's College could serve Nova Scotia as a whole. Yet even then there was still a chance for the uniting of non-Anglican Protestants at least, in the founding of an institution that would be inter-denominational.

The Presbyterians were almost entirely of Scottish descent, and most of them at that time were in Pictou County. Scots settlement in the area dated from 1773, when the ship *Hector* arrived in Pictou harbour with a shipload of settlers from the Scottish Highlands. These people seem to have suffered many hardships in battling with hard winters and stony soils.²⁴ Two further shiploads of settlers had been landed in 1791. Then came a large influx between 1801 and 1805, and then again, in 1815, after the conclusion of the

Napoleonic Wars, there were many others "washed upon the shores of Nova Scotia and Cape Breton in mounting waves."²⁵

Most of the Scots immigrants were illiterate, but there were some men of note among them, such as Edward Mortimer, a self-made merchant, and John Dawson, an educated businessman.²⁶ A great many of them were faithful to the Kirk, and had asked for a minister to be sent to serve their needs. The fact of the Reverend James McGregor's arrival (in 1786) and the establishment of Gaelic church services had encouraged Scots immigration to focus upon Pictou in the later eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries.²⁷ McGregor and subsequent ministers arriving from Scotland established respect for scholarly attainments, and the stage was soon set for the arrival in 1803 of the Reverend Thomas McCulloch, who "immediately identified himself with the problems of his adopted country, joined in the discussion of public questions, engaged in religious controversy, and established his reputation as a sound and fearless scholar, an energetic preacher, and a natural-born reformer."²⁸

McCulloch arrived in Pictou with the intention of continuing on and becoming a missionary to the Scots in Prince Edward Island, but he was needed in Pictou, and remained to become an educator. Deeply concerned about the prevailing illiteracy, he began to teach in his own home and then built a log school to extend his teaching. When this was burned down in 1815, there was a tremendous response in Pictou and the surrounding areas. Subscriptions, including £50 from government sources, poured in for the building of a new school, which in 1816 became Pictou Academy.²⁹ McCulloch, as Principal of the Academy, managed to obtain an Act of Incorporation from the Legislature,³⁰ which gave respectability, but at the price of offending non-Presbyterians. When the petition had been presented in 1815 the proposal was that the Academy should be open to "persons of every religious denomination who wish to improve their minds by literary studies."³¹ Unfortunately this was amended, and Pictou Academy, at least in law, became a purely denominational institution, though there were never any religious tests for students, nor any attempt to influence non-Presbyterians.³² This latter provision was important in influencing at least some Baptists to send their sons there. Edward Manning, one of the most influential Baptists in Nova Scotia at that time, wrote to McCulloch, saying "your catholic method of instruction, if generally known among our denomination, would tend very much to conciliate their esteem and draw a goodly number of their youth to your Seminary, that you might return them, as you express it, 'good scholars and good members of society'."³³

Under McCulloch's direction Pictou Academy's standards rose rapidly, and it was not long before, through his connections, an arrangement was made whereby the older students were able to sit and pass examinations of the University of Glasgow.³⁴

In the meantime education had been developing in the capital city. An English Academy was advertised in the *Halifax Gazette* of June 6, 1805.³⁵ Not many years later there was a "grammar school, which has an endowment of two hundred pounds a year from the Province; a large school on the National, and one on the Lancastrian system, besides an extensive one for Catholics, and several common schools"³⁶. It was not surprising that a graduate of the University of Edinburgh should, contrary to earlier opinion, see Halifax as an ideal university centre.

With inter-denominational interests obviously unsatisfied either in Windsor or Pictou, Lord Dalhousie, as Governor, suggested the establishment of a university in Halifax, and the use of the Castine Fund to finance it.³⁷ In 1817 the proposal was put before the council. "Such an institution in Halifax, open to all occupations and sects . . . and having the power to expand with the growth of our Society, would, I am confident, be found of important service to the Province", he stated.³⁸ If Dalhousie had had any doubts at all about the wisdom of this course of action, these must have been dispelled by the letter he received from the University of Edinburgh, signed jointly by Principal Baird and Dr. Brown, setting out the advantages of Halifax as a university site. Part of this reads as follows:

If a boy is intended for a merchant, he is surrounded by merchants and warehouses and ships, and may, while pursuing his studies, acquire a fund of valuable knowledge. . . . If he is to study law, all the courts are open to him . . . the pulpits are filled by able divines; libraries, reading-rooms and institutes offer constant sources of information. If he cherishes a martial spirit there are military exercises every day; if the navy attracts him, there are men o'war . . . if he has a taste for mechanics, for art or music, he will see and hear more to cultivate and refine his ear and his taste in Halifax in a month than any country village can offer in seven years.³⁹

The Governor waited no longer; building began in the following Spring. At the stone-laying ceremony on May 20, 1820, he made it plain that it was intended for the new college to be founded for those would-be students excluded from King's College on the basis of religious toleration. Unfortunately the opening was delayed while abortive attempts were made to bring the new

college and King's College under one roof. By this time Lord Dalhousie had left the province to become Governor-General of Canada, so that the prime motivator was absent. The members of the official class remaining had always been lukewarm about the idea. Haliburton, then a member of the Legislature, remarked that "it is generally regretted that so much money should have been so injudiciously expended. One College, with the Academies already established, is at present sufficient for the two Provinces."⁴⁰ Furthermore, there had been financial miscalculations that had left the Trustees in such debt that they were unable either to complete the building or to begin operating as an educational institution.⁴¹

Eventually, eighteen years after Lord Dalhousie had laid the cornerstone, the Legislature decided to divert £200 of the normal £500 annual grant to Pictou Academy, and to ask Dr. McCulloch from Pictou to become the President.⁴² Furthermore, the Legislature requested, since they envisaged Dalhousie College as a provincial university, the co-operation of all dissenting denominations. The Presbyterians agreed, under pressure, to give up higher education at Pictou altogether and to pledge their support for the new college.⁴³ The Baptists also agreed, but were a little suspicious, and made this conditional upon the appointment of Dr. E. A. Crawley, the minister of Granville Street Baptist Church, to one of the Chairs.⁴⁴ This was a reasonable request, as Crawley was known to be the foremost classical scholar in the province, "superior in attainments and qualifications to the others."⁴⁵

Although it had been agreed that Crawley was assured of a post, this assurance was given only informally. Before an appointment was made, Crawley had a disagreement with McCulloch. Crawley was a classical scholar, and education, for him, could only be the process of being steeped in the ancient cultural traditions; McCulloch was much more of a pragmatist, and could see little point in boys spending six years at school learning classics and a further four years in university at work with exactly the same bias. According to McCulloch, it was "a waste of human life adapted neither to the circumstances nor the prosperity of Nova Scotia."⁴⁶ In spite of this disagreement, it is still probable that McCulloch's decision, had he been allowed to make it, would have been in favour of Crawley's appointment.

The Dalhousie Board of Governors, in making faculty appointments, took the point of view that Lord Dalhousie had originally intended to place the college under Presbyterian control. The result was that two professors were appointed who were members of the Kirk. Not surprisingly, Crawley and

the Baptists were much offended and took steps to develop Horton Academy into a college.⁴⁷ There was concern in the Legislature about this, and an Act passed in 1841 provided Dalhousie with a more representative board of seventeen members;⁴⁸ a proviso was also made to the effect that there should henceforth be no religious tests for faculty or students. It was an attempt to make amends, but the damage had been done irreparably. The Baptists had already entered the field with an institution of their own, while Dr. McCulloch struggled with an "uncongenial staff and a small student body" until his death in 1843. Soon after this date the college closed, not to re-open again permanently until 1863.⁴⁹

By 1838, when Crawley experienced his humiliating rejection, the Baptists had grown both in numbers and in their interest in educational affairs over a remarkably short space of time. The New England settlers, who formed the basis of the denomination, were simple, hard-working people. A few were affluent; most were poor. In 1820 there had been only twenty-nine Baptist churches, with eighteen ministers and 1,785 members.⁵⁰ Among them there was a strong prejudice against education in general, and particularly the education of ministers, for "the coldness . . . which the people found in the educated ministers of some other denominations, they contrasted with the warmth of their own preachers, and concluded that education destroyed in the soul the principle of religious life, so that this error was daily increasing in strength and difficulty of removal."⁵¹ Yet only twelve years later, in 1832, the denomination had grown to forty-one churches, with twenty-six ministers and three thousand members, and was still growing rapidly. By 1850 there were to be more than 70,000 adherents.⁵² Moreover, there had been a changing attitude to education, evidence of which was apparent in the denomination's acceptance of the proposals to found Horton Academy. The matter was brought before the Maritime Baptist Association meetings in June, 1828:

Perhaps so deeply moving a scene of the kind has seldom been witnessed. The revered form of the Rev. Mr. Manning, growing now well on in years, was seen convulsed with emotion . . . as he told the audience what tortures he had . . . endured from conscious deficiency in mental culture, all the more painful as in earlier years he had lost an opportunity to obtain an education . . . Mr. Manning was followed in the same strain . . . by Mr. Theodore Harding, Mr. Handley Chipman, and others, who bore witness in the most feeling language . . . to the vast loss those men suffer who are compelled . . . to attempt the work of preachers and pastors while not even knowing their own language, and shut out from all the ordinary resources of learning.⁵³

The "tears and great emotion" resulted in the purchase of an old farm-house in Wolfville, overlooking the beautiful Minas Basin. Horton Academy used this for its first classes.⁵⁴

At the time of the Dalhousie affair, the denomination was committed at least to the education of its own ministers. In the early 1830s Baptists had already begun to hope for facilities for higher education, and had it not been for lack of money and high hopes that the Dalhousie venture would succeed, these would have developed in Wolfville earlier than 1838. There were some who favoured a denominational college from the beginning and who repeatedly urged the development of a seminary.⁵⁵ Thus when Crawley, bitter with disappointment, invited Baptists to found "a seminary which may, by diligent exertion, become efficient to most purposes of education", there was an immediate response.⁵⁶ A plan was made to found a "Queen's College", and appeals were made to members of the denomination for assistance. Only three weeks later three professors had already been appointed and notice given that classes would begin a few weeks later, on January 21, 1839. Twenty matriculated students were enrolled, "a number larger than any other college in Nova Scotia could boast of."⁵⁷

When the Baptists entered the sphere of higher education they did so with the conviction that the new college should be as liberal as possible. Accordingly it was announced that there would be no religious tests, either for faculty or students. However, all members of the college were at first Baptists, and this was probably one of the reasons for the rejection of the first petition for incorporation, brought before the Legislature in 1839.⁵⁸ There was also much feeling about the failure of Dalhousie University to become a provincial institution, and a sincere hope that this intention would in the end prevail.⁵⁹ This was understandable but at the time impracticable, and a second petition sent to the Legislature in 1840 gained a majority of 27 votes to 15. The precaution that had been taken may have been one of the deciding factors in not including any provision for a public grant.

It is also possible that the general climate of opinion had been affected by the changes taking place in England, where "that godless institution in Gower Street"⁶⁰ (University College, London) was not only flourishing, but had been placed within the aegis of the new University of London, from whose Senate Thomas Arnold had already resigned because his proposal for a non-sectarian Scripture examination was not acceptable.⁶¹ An entirely non-religious foundation was only barely acceptable in England at that time; it was not in

the least acceptable in Nova Scotia, where the denominational institution was preferred if there was no possibility of an interdenominational one. When the assent of the Sovereign was sought, Queen Victoria objected to the name selected for the college, but all else was acceptable. So the name was henceforth changed to Acadia College. As a degree-granting institution it was assured a respectable place within the developing denominational university system of Nova Scotia.

With the establishment of three Protestant universities, and, for the time being at least, the non-acceptance of the provincial university idea, the way was open for the development of universities founded by the Roman Catholics.

The Roman Catholic Universities

There were three distinct elements in Nova Scotian society which gave rise to higher educational facilities for Roman Catholics. The Irish immigrants of Halifax were almost wholly Roman Catholic; the Scots immigrants of the Antigonish area and Cape Breton Island were in part Roman Catholic; the French-speaking Acadian remnants, although inhabiting enclaves surrounded by English-speaking Protestants, had also remained true to their old religious affiliation.

Roman Catholic interest in higher education developed first in Halifax, where in the early years of the nineteenth century the Reverend Edmund Burke, a newly-arrived Irish priest, conceived the idea of establishing a college.¹ At the time there was still a ban on the founding of Roman Catholic schools, for the 1766 "Act Concerning Schools and Schoolmasters" had not yet been repealed.² Nevertheless Burke decided to initiate building long before he became Bishop of Halifax in 1818. "Our college is being built quite expeditiously", he stated. "It is a house of two stories, with kitchen and dining room in the basement, as well as cellar and storeroom".³ This college never was established in Burke's lifetime, for he was unable to find any professors for it. Before his death, however, he had founded a school for girls in the old presbytery, while in his own house he had about one hundred boys attending classes. Numbers were increasing so rapidly in November, 1820, that he noted with glee: "I shall soon have them all away from the Methodist schools".⁴ Burke had in addition a small number of post-school pupils, young men who were being prepared for ordination. He taught these himself.⁵ Father MacEachern, in a letter to the Cardinal Prefect of Propaganda during 1819, stated that Burke "has ordained three priests this year, and has three more almost

ready for Holy Orders". He concluded the letter with the news that the Bishop was hoping to open a seminary during the following year.⁶ This, however, was something that Burke had been saying for years, and it did not in fact materialize.

Burke's successor, Dr. Fraser, managed to open St. Mary's College, at least on paper, in 1838.⁷ But he could achieve little until the following year, when the Reverend R. B. O'Brien arrived from Dublin⁸ to join Father Deas.⁹ O'Brien was a dynamic young man. Thirty years old, of medium height, and sturdily built,¹⁰ he was a brilliant lecturer and preacher, with literary tastes that were combined easily with a keen sense of humour.¹¹ His impact was immediate, for many students were drawn away from the neighbouring Dalhousie College.¹²

Little is known of the teaching given at St. Mary's College, except that from the beginning more attention was given to modern languages than in the other colleges. French, Spanish, and Italian were all offered,¹³ in addition to Greek, Latin, theology, scripture, philosophy, and mathematics. Within a very short time there were seven professors and a library of 2,000 volumes. There were also boarding facilities, students being expected to pay £33 per annum.¹⁴

In 1841 the college was incorporated by provincial act, with the proviso that no religious tests be required of students.¹⁵ This act was provisional for a period of eleven years; it was made perpetual in 1852.¹⁶

When O'Brien was recalled to Ireland in 1845, he was soon attracted to John Henry Newman's Catholic University of Ireland.¹⁷ There was no one of his academic stature and drive to succeed him, and St. Mary's College gradually degenerated until, with the withdrawal of the provincial grant from all denominational institutions of higher learning in 1881, its post-school work lapsed altogether.

More important than St. Mary's College in the nineteenth century was the college founded to serve the diocese of Arichat, which included the eastern Nova Scotia mainland and Cape Breton Island where Roman Catholics were mainly of Scots descent, though there were small isolated Acadian communities also. One town, Antigonish, which Haliburton noted in the 1820s as having a Roman Catholic church which was "the largest and most respectable looking building in the County . . . capable of accommodating 800 people",¹⁸ had its origins in the settlement of disbanded soldiers, mainly Irish, under the leadership of Colonel T. W. Hierlihy.¹⁹

The principal motive for developing higher education among the eastern Roman Catholics was the need for priests, a prime necessity in an episcopally organized denomination. In 1820 there were only six priests in the diocese.²⁰ Thirty-three years later there were 40,000 Roman Catholics and only twenty-one priests. An appeal to the Archbishop of Dublin resulted in the immigration of only one new priest.²¹ In the meantime, in 1838, the Reverend C. F. MacKinnon had opened St. Andrew's Grammar School in Arichat, where the pupils are said to have been able to read Virgil, Cicero, Sallust, and Caesar with ease.²²

Little was done, however, to advance education beyond the school level until MacKinnon became Bishop of Arichat in 1852.²³ In the following year the grammar school was joined by Arichat Seminary, for the opening of which Cardinal Franzoni, Prefect of the Sacred Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith in Rome, sent Dr. John Schulte to be the first professor and temporary Rector.²⁴

Although the education of priests was the first consideration, the training of lay teachers was also given much attention. "The portals of our college are open to receive and qualify young men to become teachers", declared Bishop MacKinnon.²⁵ The seminary began with fifteen students, who met in a rented building. The first session appears to have been used to prepare at least some students for entrance to Laval University, to which four of them proceeded.

From the beginning MacKinnon realized that Arichat, on Cape Breton Island, was too remote to become an ideal university centre, and plans were laid for relocating the new institution as soon as possible in Antigonish, where a new wooden building was erected. Before the removal another structure, known at the time as the "Big House", was prepared for use as a residence for staff and students. The removal itself was effected in 1855, when the permanent Rector, Dr. John Cameron, had arrived from the Urban College in Rome, where he had been acting as Rector for a few months. Schulte then became Director of Studies.²⁶

Cameron, a vigorous young man of twenty-six years, remained the seminary on its establishment in Antigonish, and it became St. Francis Xavier's College. In 1866 Bishop MacKinnon petitioned the Legislature for an act that would enable the college to become a degree-granting university. He was able, by this time, to describe the buildings as "spacious and commodious", and to inform the legislators that he had a "highly efficient" professorial staff, fifty-

eight students, and departments of Classics, Theology, and Philosophy. He also stated that the college was the only institution in eastern Nova Scotia where the sciences of logic, metaphysics, ethics, and moral and dogmatic theology were being taught.²⁷ The act was granted, and St. Francis Xavier University became the only Roman Catholic institution of higher education to function continuously during the rest of the century.

For reasons of history and status, the development of higher education among the Acadian people came later than among the English-speaking Roman Catholics. During the eighteenth century the Acadians had been more numerous,²⁸ especially in the Windsor region, where they had worked hard to build dykes to enclose the mud flats around the Minas Basin. Then in 1755 had come the expulsion—"le grand dérangement"—after which some Acadians had trickled back, settling in less hospitable areas than formerly, mainly along the coastlands in Digby and Yarmouth Counties. Even before the expulsion the Acadians had had little cultural aspiration. Although there had been schools in Port Royal (Annapolis Royal) and Louisbourg, only a small minority of the people were fully literate.²⁹ The upper classes had not been very numerous, and were almost entirely confined to the Louisbourg fortress town, where their children made the beginnings of a classical education, but were soon sent away to Quebec or to France.³⁰ The rest had little opportunity or desire for education even at the lowest levels. They had no money, and lived almost entirely by subsistence. And subsistence normally demands the entire efforts of all members of the family. There is no time for study. As a matter of course, moreover, they usually married very young: "no-one passed his youth in a state of celibacy. As soon as a young man arrived to the proper age, the community built him a house, broke up all the lands about, and supplied him with all the necessaries of life for a twelve-month. There he received the partner whom he had chosen, and who brought him her portion in flocks".³¹ On the return from the expulsion the Acadians were poorer still, and seemingly lacking in hope. The best that Haliburton was able to say of the inhabitants of Clare was that "unambitious and frugal, they live within their means; devoted to their old form of Worship, they are not divided by discord".³²

It was to be expected that education, although slow in coming, would develop under the auspices of the Roman Catholic Church. By the middle of the nineteenth century there were at least some Acadian elementary schools in Clare, fostered by the remarkable Abbé Segogne. Segogne was noted by

J. W. Dawson, the Nova Scotia Superintendent of Education (1850-2), as actively pursuing the aim of getting his people to read the Bible. Presumably he had been influenced by the neighbouring Puritans, for this practice was unknown in Quebec, where colportage was virtually forbidden. In addition Dawson recorded his discovery of a little school taught by a lady who knew no other language than French.³³ In 1870 a public school at Church Point and the Sacred Heart School at Meteghan had been founded by Mother Josephine of the Sisters of Charity in Halifax.³⁴ Little is known of these schools, but it is presumed that they concentrated mainly on elementary and lower secondary studies.

The establishment of a college for the Acadians does not seem to have been the result of pressure from the people themselves. The idea arose out of correspondence in 1883 between the Most Reverend Cornelius O'Brien, Archbishop of Halifax, and the Reverend J. M. Gay, the missionary priest at Church Point, and it was initiated by the Archbishop.³⁵ As a result of this correspondence Archbishop O'Brien wrote to Archbishop Fabre of Montreal, requesting his assistance in obtaining some members of an order of priests to found and maintain a college. There was no enthusiasm among the Québécois to teach in Nova Scotia; both the Redemptorists and the Oblates of Mary Immaculate refused to involve their members. O'Brien then wrote to the Reverend A. Rouxel of Montreal, to ask details of the Eudist Order in France, with whom Rouxel was known to have worked for a time. A reply having been received from Rouxel, O'Brien then contacted the Eudists, requesting their assistance. This also received a negative response at first. However, Rouxel went on holiday to Europe, and tried a number of orders in France and Italy, with no success. Finally he tried the Eudist Order again. He had a long conversation with the Reverend Ange LeDoré, the Superior-General, in which he outlined the problems of the Acadians. This time there was some success, for LeDoré, on June 3, 1890, wrote to O'Brien to say that he was sending two priests.³⁶

The two Eudist priests arrived in Nova Scotia in September, 1890, quickly assessed the situation, and made plans. On October 9 a meeting of interested Acadians was held in a local court-house, where the Reverend Gustave Blanche and the Reverend Aimé Morin presented their ideas. Their suggestions for a building 110 feet long by 40 feet wide, to hold a *collège classique* (as in Quebec with a secondary school department) for both residential and day students, were accepted. Committees were then organised to deal with

the employment of labourers and foremen, the obtaining of building materials, and other matters connected with the opening of the college. On May 7, 1891, the corner-stone of the building was laid, and the whole site consecrated by Archbishop O'Brien. It was at this stage that the name *Collège Ste Anne* was given. Before this it had been assumed that the college would be named in honour of the Abbé Segogne, but gratitude for the Breton Eudist priests caused the change to the patron saint of Brittany. The college building was completed in 1892, having cost \$19,591, most of the sum having been derived from funds in the hands of Archbishop O'Brien. On April 30 a provincial act was passed, authorizing the college to award degrees in arts.

Collège Ste Anne made unspectacular but important progress during its first decade. Probably its most important contribution was the self-respect gained, and the interest in higher education that was engendered among the Acadian people, for whom teaching in French at all levels was at last possible. The enthusiasm aroused was evident in the first month of 1899, when fire destroyed the building. A meeting was immediately held in the courthouse at Little Brook to make plans for reconstruction. By September a new and bigger structure was ready for use.³⁷

While the *Collège Ste Anne* was being developed, another college was coming into being in Halifax. This was to mark the last phase of Roman Catholic college foundation in Nova Scotia. In 1849 four members of the Order of Sisters of Charity had arrived in Halifax from New York, having been invited by Bishop Walsh to establish a convent and engage in educational work.³⁸ They did much to further Roman Catholic schools in Halifax, where, as a result of the passing of the 1865 Act for the Betterment of Education, the denominational schools were rated as public schools. St. Mary's School, where the Sisters taught, had three hundred girls registered as pupils in that year.³⁹

The arrangement under which the Sisters taught as public school teachers made it essential for the order to provide teacher training for its own members, since it then became necessary for the Sisters to possess Nova Scotia teaching licenses. In 1866 all the female staff of St. Mary's School passed the examinations of the Council of Public Instruction.⁴⁰

Teacher training among the Sisters of Charity was at first probably informal and "on the job", but it soon became more formal when Mount Saint Vincent Convent was established on a hill overlooking Bedford Basin, outside Halifax, in 1873. A school was started there immediately, and normal-school classes soon followed, to train the novices and young Sisters chosen for

teaching duties.¹⁴ The Normal School, which grew quickly, functioned for more than twenty years before it was officially recognized (and therefore able to take in students other than Sisters) by the Council of Public Instruction. In 1895 a memorandum was drawn up by the influential Senator Power on behalf of Mount Saint Vincent, and forwarded to Alexander MacKay, the Supervisor of Schools in Halifax, to present to the Council. The latter appointed a committee consisting of MacKay, Dr. David Allison, President of Mount Allison University (New Brunswick), C. W. Roscoe, Inspector of Schools in Wolfville, and W. S. Fielding, Provincial Secretary, to investigate and report on the training of teachers at the institution. The members visited both the Normal School and schools in which its former students were teaching, as a result of which they recommended recognition of Mount Saint Vincent Normal School. Assent was given by the Council.⁴²

Early in the twentieth century, with more highly qualified lecturers and standards rising generally, the Sisters of Charity turned their attention to raising the status of their Normal School to that of a college offering education up to university graduate level, as had happened with some of their sister institutions in the United States. The matter was precipitated when the headmaster-ship examinations of Nova Scotia were limited to candidates holding a bachelor's degree. This meant that it was impossible for Mount St. Vincent students to qualify for a school principalship unless they went away to study elsewhere. If St. Mary's had been functioning at that time as a degree-granting college, Mount Saint Vincent would have been able to become affiliated with it. This solution, however, was denied them. Dr. A. H. MacKay, by this time Provincial Superintendent of Education, suggested an affiliation with Dalhousie University where, as a member of the Board of Governors, he wielded considerable influence.⁴³

In 1914 a number of conferences were held between representatives of the two institutions. The outcome of these was that freshman and sophomore lectures would be handled entirely by the Sisters, while Dalhousie professors would attend Mount St. Vincent to lecture for the final two years of the degree course. Successful candidates were awarded the degree of B.A. of Dalhousie University.⁴⁴

Ten years after affiliation with Dalhousie University, Mount St. Vincent College had a professorial staff of much improved calibre. Four Sisters had obtained Ph.D. degrees from Roman Catholic universities in the United States, while five others held M.A. degrees from Dalhousie. It was felt that the time

had come to sever the relationship. There was opposition among members of the Legislature, especially among the Government members, to the proposal to award university status to a women's college. The support was gained, however, of Walter O'Hearn, the Attorney-General, who threatened to cross the floor of the Legislative Chamber if the bill to make Mount St. Vincent a degree-granting institution was not passed. Opposition thereupon ceased, and the only women's university in Canada came into existence in 1925.⁴⁵

NOTES

The Protestant Universities

1. T. C. Haliburton, *An Historical and Statistical Account of Nova Scotia*, Vol. I (1829), p. 13.
2. D. C. Harvey, "The Intellectual Awakening of Nova Scotia", *Dalhousie Review*, XIII (1933), p. 8.
3. *Ibid.*, p. 7.
4. Virginia alone lost 55 clergymen out of a total of 91 as a result of the American Revolution. See N. Hans, *Comparative Education* (3rd ed., 1958), p. 149.
5. F. W. Vroom, *King's College: A Chronicle, 1789-1939* (1941), pp. 8-9.
6. Harvey, *op. cit.*, p. 8.
- 7, 8. Vroom, *op. cit.*, p. 10.
9. Harvey, *op. cit.*, p. 5.
10. R. S. Longley, *Acadia University, 1838-1938* (1938), pp. 8-9.
11. Hans, *op. cit.*, pp. 161-3.
- 12, 13. Haliburton, *op. cit.*, pp. 18, 13.
14. G. T. Rimmington, "The Geography of the Towns and Industries in the Annapolis Valley of Nova Scotia in 1829", *Nova Scotia Social Studies Teachers Association Newsletter*, I, 3 (1965), p. 8.
- 15-17. Vroom, *op. cit.*, pp. 20, 21.
- 18, 19. T. C. Haliburton, *A General Description of Nova Scotia* (1823), pp. 153, 154.
- 20-23. Vroom, *op. cit.*, pp. 38-45.
24. G. Patterson, *A History of the County of Pictou, Nova Scotia* (1877), p. 79ff.
- 25-28, 30. Harvey, *op. cit.*, pp. 13-14. See also T. C. Haliburton, *An Historical and Statistical Account of Nova Scotia*, Vol. II, p. 52.
29. C. E. Phillips, *The Development of Education in Canada* (1957), p. 68.
- 31, 32. D. C. Harvey, *An Introduction to the History of Dalhousie University* (1938), pp. 13-14.
33. Longley, *op. cit.*, p. 13.

- 34, 35. Phillips, *op. cit.*, pp. 68, 69.
 36. Haliburton, *op. cit.*, p. 18.
 37. The town of Castine, Maine, had been occupied by forces commanded by the then Governor of Nova Scotia, Sir John Cope Sherbrooke, for a few months during the war of 1812. During the occupation customs revenues were collected. These became the basis of the Castine Fund. It was the interest from the investment of this fund that Dalhousie proposed to use for founding the university. See Longley, *op. cit.*, p. 25.
 38, 39. Harvey, *op. cit.*, p. 18.
 40, 41. Haliburton, *op. cit.*, pp. 18, 17.
 42. Longley, *op. cit.*, p. 25.
 43. G. Patterson, *The History of Dalhousie College and University* (1887), p. 30: "a large and important body of Presbyterians was among its most bitter opponents."
 44. Longley, *op. cit.*, p. 26.
 45. Patterson, *op. cit.*, p. 31.
 46. Harvey, *op. cit.*, p. 50; also quoted in Longley, *op. cit.*, p. 28.
 47. *Ibid.*, pp. 28-9.
 48. There had been only a rump Board of three members to make the appointments. See Longley, *op. cit.*, pp. 25-6.
 49. Anon., *One Hundred Years of Dalhousie, 1818-1918* (1919), p. 20.
 50. Longley, *op. cit.*, p. 12.
 51. E. A. Crawley, "The Rise and Progress of Higher Education in connection with the Baptist Denomination", *Memorials of Acadia College and Horton Academy* (1881), p. 13.
 52. Longley, *op. cit.*, p. 12.
 53, 54. Crawley, *op. cit.*, pp. 28-30.
 55-59. A. Coldwell, "History of Acadia College: The Vaughan Prize Essay", *Memorials of Acadia College and Horton Academy*, pp. 62-70.
 60, 61. Thomas Arnold, quoted in H. C. Barnard, *A History of English Education from 1760* (2nd ed., 1961), pp. 84, 86.

The Roman Catholic Universities

- 1, 3-6. C. O'Brien, *Memoirs of Rt. Rev. Edmund Burke* (1894), pp. 80, 81, 117, 118.
 2. C. B. Sissons, *Church and State in Education* (1959), p. 305.
 7. M. MacDonell, "The Early History of St. Francis Xavier University", *Canadian Catholic Historical Association Report* (1947-8), p. 83.
 8, 10, 11, 17. M. J. Egan, *Life of Dean O'Brien* (1949), pp. 19, 17, 115, 55.
 9. G. Patterson, *The History of Dalhousie College and University* (1887), p. 34.
 12. Patterson, *op. cit.*

13. D. C. Harvey, *An Introduction to the History of Dalhousie University* (1938), p. 61.
14. E. D. Logan, "Educational Achievements in Nova Scotia, 1840-1865", M.A. Thesis, Dalhousie University (1936), p. 70.
15. J. Bingay, *Public Education in Nova Scotia* (1919), p. 26.
16. Logan, *op. cit.*
18. T. C. Haliburton, *An Historical and Statistical Account of Nova Scotia* (1829), Vol. II, p. 79.
19. C. J. MacGillivray, *Timothy Hierlihy, and his times* (1935), p. 92ff.
- 20-27. MacDonell, *op. cit.*, pp. 81-86.
28. Haliburton suggests 18,000. See *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 172.
- 29, 30. Phillips, *op. cit.*, pp. 32, 33.
- 31, 32. Haliburton, *op. cit.*, pp. 171, 173.
33. Sissons, *op. cit.*, p. 305.
34. Sister Maura, *The Sisters of Charity* (1956), p. 22.
- 35-37. A. C. Melanson, "St. Ann's College, Church Point, 75 Years Old In May", *Halifax Chronicle-Herald*, March 12, 1965.
- 38-45. Sister Maura, *op. cit.*, pp. 2, 15, 16, 24, 34-5, 77, 78, 96.