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### **Dalhousie University and the Nontraditional Student: The First Century**

On laying the cornerstone of the college which was to bear his name, Lord Dalhousie spoke on May 22, 1820 of his educational objectives.<sup>1</sup> Prompted largely by the Anglican exclusivity of King's College, Windsor, he used the model of the University of Edinburgh in proposing that the new foundation be "open to all who profess the Christian religion". Progressive as this was in an era of religious intolerance, another of his proposals had implications with which higher education generally is still wrestling. While visualizing enrollments coming from the traditional category of "youth", he looked also "to strangers residing here, to gentlemen of the military as well as the learned professions, to all, in short, who may be disposed to devote a small part of their time to study". While the proposed curriculum — "the higher classics and ... all philosophical studies" — was traditional, the explicit recognition of part-time students and of mature students was something of an innovation. A later historian of the institution has concluded that while Lord Dalhousie deserved credit for its inspiration and the early efforts made to establish it, "he had not quite thought out all the implications — (and) was far from democratic in either temper or policy".<sup>2</sup> The early aim of attracting nontraditional students might therefore be viewed with some reservations, although it is a convenient starting point for this inquiry.

Formal institutional recognition of this aim was not made until 1977, when the university established its Office of Part-Time Studies. However, at various times after the inauguration of the regular teaching program in 1838, one detects some attention being paid to nontraditional students. Such students, not pursuing full-time study leading to the award of a degree, were referred to at various times as 'special', 'general', 'artisan', 'extension', 'extramural', 'intramural', 'adult', 'summerschool', or simply as 'citizens', the 'general public' etc. While associated particularly with Halifax, they were in time to be found in

various communities across the Maritime provinces. The purpose of this paper will be to trace the evolution of the university's provision for such nontraditional students during its first century, to identify some of the publics served and the manner in which they were served, and then to assess the positive and negative factors influencing an implementation of the founder's expressed intentions in this regard.

To place the founder's intentions in a modern context, we may assume that universities now have three major functions — teaching, research, and public service. The teaching function, which came first, dated from the medieval associations of scholars (*Studium Generale*) and the founder's reference to "gentlemen" might suggest the Renaissance ideal of a general culture for an educated gentry. His additional mention of the "military" and "learned professions" suggests perhaps the more practical bent of Scottish universities, with their contemporary contributions to medicine and other sciences. Clearly there was a belief that the large naval and military establishment in Halifax offered potential for some university teaching, although its nature was not stated. The second function, research, had to await the mid-nineteenth century flowering of the German ideal of scholarship, particularly in the sciences, while the public service function obtained only belated recognition with later government funding of universities. That Lord Dalhousie, as Lieutenant Governor of Nova Scotia, proposed to assign to the new college a building fund of £2,750 and an endowment of £7,000, (being customs duties collected during the War of 1812 occupation of Castine, Maine), did not then imply any special public service obligations.<sup>3</sup> The latter concept was rather to be an outcome of a much greater democratization of higher education than that to which even the fairly progressive Scottish system had then been exposed. Indeed, the degree to which universities should actively respond to the broader needs of society is still much debated, despite the typical establishment of departments of Extension or Adult-Continuing Education.

Apart from the denominational issue, Lord Dalhousie would thus seem to have been advocating a more flexible, rather than a necessarily more democratic, response to the higher education needs of Nova Scotians. While his early pronouncements spoke of serving "all occupations and sects", and of providing that "a collegiate education will be found within the reach of all classes of society" the trustees he proposed for the college did not reflect the many separate denominations and classes.<sup>4</sup> These trustees were to be the Lieutenant Governor, the Chief Justice, the Anglican Bishop of Nova Scotia, the speaker of the House of Assembly, the Provincial Treasurer, and the Minister of Halifax's Church of Scotland — in effect largely the products of, and

representatives of the political and religious establishment. That the founder also sought a nomination from Cambridge University of a principal who was preferably to be an Anglican clergyman, similarly questioned the likelihood of substantial departures from traditional norms in the higher education proposed. In practice, the question was to be postponed interminably. With Lord Dalhousie's departure in 1820 to become Governor General of Canada, responsibility for the college devolved upon a governing board who, largely because of religious difficulties, did not succeed in implementing a teaching programme until 1838.

In the interim, negotiations to appoint a principal had identified the extension function as an "overload". Dr. J.S. Memes, of Ayr Academy, Scotland, having been recommended as principal by Lord Dalhousie in 1828, was again contacted in 1833 by the visiting George R. Young of Halifax. Young, a lawyer, publisher, and adult educator, urged Memes to accept the position, saying the proffered salary of £300 could be doubled with other emoluments and a course of public lectures.<sup>5</sup> Deeply committed to the emerging adult education movement, Young was a lecturer and official of Halifax Mechanics' Institute, and was in process of studying the major British institutes with a view to having Halifax develop as a coordinating body for other Maritime institutes.<sup>6</sup> This it did, and while Memes was not to become principal, the desolate Dalhousie College was to play a part in this adult education movement. In 1833, Halifax Mechanics' Institute, which had been founded two years earlier, moved from rented accommodation in a nearby school into Dalhousie College, and occupied a lecture hall in the west wing and one room in the east wing for its museum.<sup>7</sup> For some three decades, the institute continued its adult education activities from the college, attracting with varying success enrollments of men and women of differing social classes and religious persuasions — in effect achieving some of the proclaimed aims of Lord Dalhousie. The institute likewise emulated a Scottish model, Glasgow Mechanics' Institute, and strove to develop a program of broadly interpreted "useful knowledge" for the skilled workers of Halifax. The calibre of its volunteer lecturers, drawn largely from the learned professions, the armed services, and the business community, led to institute president Joseph Howe comparing them more favourably with the professors of one of the newer denominational colleges.<sup>8</sup>

It was one such institute lecturer, Dr. Thomas McCulloch, principal of Pictou Academy, who was to be appointed the first principal of Dalhousie College, in 1838. (Another of the institute's lecturers, William Dawson, was likewise to become principal of McGill College in 1855). McCulloch had been a popular and effective science lecturer at

the institute, and his ambitions for the college transcended the traditional classical curriculum. "If Dalhousie College acquire usefulness and eminence it will be not by an imitation of Oxford, but as an institution of science and practical intelligence."<sup>9</sup> McCulloch championed the merits of an essentially practical education, in which the sciences enjoyed parity with the arts, and he urged the merits of a career open to talent, rather than being bounded by religion and social class. His tenure at Dalhousie was brief, and following his death in September 1843, the college survived only with difficulty until the end of the Spring term in 1845. Apart from it being a non-residential college McCulloch had endeavored to serve a wider public by offering evening classes to "special students". Thus, during the 1838-1839 session, he "conducted evening classes for special students in logic and composition, and in the winter months Professor Mackintosh gave a series of illustrated lectures on mathematics and natural philosophy". Similarly, "in the winter of 1842 (McCulloch) gave a private course of lectures in one of the rooms of the college to a class of young businessmen in the city".<sup>10</sup> Such 'extension' work appears to have been less of a college activity than of the private initiative suggested earlier by George R. Young to Dr. Memes. Even in this regard, the efforts of individual professors were necessarily dwarfed by the college's tenant, Halifax Mechanics' Institute, which had been enrolling women also from 1833. Indeed, it had been in appreciation of McCulloch's earlier services to the institute that the latter, in 1838, permitted the college professors to utilize its collection of scientific apparatus.<sup>11</sup> In turn, Rev. James Mackintosh, the professor of natural science gave evening courses at the institute, and these were attended also by college students.<sup>12</sup> Thus, Dalhousie College, beginning with a president and two other professors, and sixteen regular students, was from the outset involved in the wider educational horizons which its founder had seemed to intend. Being staffed entirely by Presbyterian ministers, the college however faced a degree of demoninational controversy from which the institute escaped. Indeed, in some respects, the latter may have been a more fitting embodiment of Lord Dalhousie's expressed aims.

Dormant from 1845 to 1849, the institution then operated as Dalhousie Collegiate School until 1854, next as a high school and college from 1856 to 1860, and then reemerged as Dalhousie College in 1863. These transitions were supervised by a new board of governors, chaired from its inception in 1848 by another member of the Young family, William, who was also a lecturer at the Mechanics' Institute. Indeed, one notes a continuing interplay of the foundation with adult education, through the medium of several influential personalities.

Thus, it was Joseph Howe, long a staunch supporter of the institute, who introduced the 1848 legislation which established the new college board of governors. Similarly, as the institute came to find its rented college accommodation too cramped by 1846, its building committee's later search for a site included (unsuccessful) negotiations for a portion of the college campus.<sup>13</sup> Bearing in mind the links established later by some mechanics' institutes and nascent university extension departments, one can only surmise whether some such arrangements might not have been mutually beneficial in Halifax at this time.<sup>14</sup> Certainly, by mid century, the institute faced competition from several other Halifax societies catering to the educational interests of adults, just as the college faced the competition of several new denominational colleges in the province. A market clearly existed in Halifax for able lecturers. Thus at an 1851 institute lecture on the electric telegraph, "the lecture room was crowded to excess with a highly respected audience who were evidently delighted with the clear and comprehensive explanations of the gifted lecturer ... (who later) repeated his lecture ... to the members of the legislature."<sup>15</sup> The institute, sensitive to its competitors, sought to "assume the higher ground which circumstances seem to demand, concerning additional accommodation, attraction, and more consecutive usefulness". In words reminiscent of Thomas McCulloch, it proposed that future programs emphasize "a scientific and practically useful character".<sup>16</sup> Interestingly, in passing we may note that the principal of the Dalhousie high school and dean of the college faculty in 1856 came from the liberal arts tradition in adult education — Nottingham People's College, England, founded a decade earlier. This was Hugo Reid, and the tradition of people's colleges or working men's colleges, was somewhat in reaction to the utilitarian and scientific emphasis of the mechanics' institutes. Associated with Christian Socialism, their liberal arts emphasis was intended "not to enable bright young men from the working class to get on in the world, but rather to provide opportunities for the enrichment of personal life ...".<sup>17</sup> Thus, here we see more the liberal-classical tradition of King's College, Windsor, applied to adult education rather than the aims of Dr. McCulloch. However, in practical terms, this was not to influence the college department, for it closed in 1857, a prey to internal divisions, although Reid survived as school principal until 1860.

1863 proved to be the year of the college's fourth and permanent revival. The Dalhousie College act of that year was one of the last contributions of Premier Joseph Howe's administration, and it reorganized the foundation in the hope of attracting the denominational colleges into membership. Howe, who had led the Nova Scotian

movement for representative government, had repeatedly criticized the sectarian divisions in higher education, and advocated the merits of a single, publicly endowed, university.<sup>18</sup> Indeed in 1863 the notion of a public university, harmonizing the traditional elitist functions with broad goals of public service, was to be popularized in the United States, with the passing of the Morrill Land Grant College Act. Imbued with similar sentiments, but fewer resources, Howe had concluded that college appropriations benefited inordinately few citizens, whereas it was "the duty of the legislature to build education on a broad basis, to provide for the instruction of all classes of people".<sup>19</sup> The refounded Dalhousie College, supported particularly by the Presbyterians, entered a world where it was but one among several alternatives to the Anglican exclusivity of King's College. It now shared the field with Baptist, Catholic, and Methodist colleges, and the new government decided to divide a higher education grant equally among six separate foundations. Whatever this \$6,000 might have achieved at one institution, its division provided minimal flexibility for serving other than traditional undergraduate programs for a small minority.

Dalhousie College now commenced operations with six professors and sixty students in Arts and Science.<sup>20</sup> Its new president, Rev. James Ross, inaugurated his term by looking forward to the establishment of faculties of law and medicine. After an unsuccessful venture in medical education between 1867 and 1875, the college faced the competition of a new body which might have been expected to serve the needs of off campus part-time or mature students. This was the provincially promoted University of Halifax (1876-1881) an examining and degree granting body, open equally to students in other college programs and to independent students. The latter university was an unsuccessful government attempt to merge the denominational colleges in one institution, and its provision for graduation by independent study died with it. However, with Dalhousie's establishment of a faculty of law in 1883, we note the arrival of some "non-traditional" students. These were "thirty or so 'general' students — many of them practising lawyers aged from twenty-four to forty-two — who came in just to take one subject".<sup>21</sup> While the law school's classes were initially all held in the late afternoon or evening, to facilitate part-time study, by 1886 students were being discouraged from attempting to combine academic study with law office apprenticeships.<sup>22</sup> This change of policy is particularly interesting, for the enlarged program, which was said to militate against part-time study, was influenced by Professors Russell and Payzant. It was they who had shaped the earlier private study LL.B. of the University of Halifax. Thus, the founder's ambitions, in respect of

part-time study, are here clearly rejected by those who, only a few years earlier, had collaborated in a novel Canadian experiment to demonstrate their value. Its failure must be attributed to the prevailing political and religious conflicts.

While part-time study for degrees was thus discouraged, the 1885-1886 calendar continued to give explicit recognition to Arts students "who are not undergraduates (but) are known as general students".<sup>23</sup> Indeed, in the following session, the faculty of arts was drawing attention to "short courses of study for general students". "For the benefit of students who may wish to spend but a short period of time at the university, the timetable has been so arranged that the following combinations of classes may be made."<sup>24</sup> There followed descriptions of courses in Liberal Studies, Preparatory to the Study of Medicine or Chemical Work, Preparatory to the Higher Medical Matriculation Examination, Preparatory to the Study of Engineering, Preparatory to Journalistic Work, and Preparatory to Entrance Upon Commercial Work. These, and other short courses were offered subject to sufficient enrolments, and no prerequisites were involved other than an obligation to consult with the professors beforehand. By the 1900-1901 session, general students could obtain a certificate testifying to their attendance, diligence, and ability following a short course for Engineering students, a short course Introductory to Medical Study or a short course for Teachers, or even a Diploma of Literate in Education (L.E.).<sup>25</sup> Apart from the provision for these "general" students there was now some provision for "artisan" students. "Classes are organized from time to time for artisans and other persons who are engaged in forms of work involving the application of scientific knowledge. These classes are usually held in the evening."<sup>26</sup>

This contemporary interest in 'the application of scientific knowledge' drew support from the alumni, from employees and from trade unions. It also led Dalhousie to undertake a substantial off-campus programme for "artisan" students. In 1902, a senate committee was urging the Premier to establish a commission for the promotion of technical education in the province and active fund-raising was undertaken to launch a Dalhousie school of mines.<sup>27</sup> The latter was inaugurated in 1902 after donations of nearly \$60,000 were received; and a Summer School of Mining was held in Sydney the following year. This six-week summer school, providing instruction in geology, mining, and chemistry, proved to be a major innovation insofar as nontraditional students were concerned. The first summer school had been planned concurrently with arrangements for the new School of Mines in Halifax, and the Cape Breton Alumni Association aided this extension venture.<sup>28</sup> In subsequent years one finds summer extension

courses being offered at several Cape Breton centres, with modest financial assistance from the mining companies. Dr. Eben Mackay, professor of Chemistry, who chaired the first *de facto* Extension Committee, toured prospective extension centres, identifying their needs and resources, prior to programmes being approved by Senate.<sup>29</sup> Teaching was then undertaken largely by local extension lecturers, with some faculty participation and with a degree of competition from a similar King's College program.<sup>30</sup> The question of duplication was raised on several occasions. In 1904, Dalhousie emphasized that "the object of these classes will in no case be to duplicate instruction in local schools for miners, but in communities where such schools exist to offer those who have passed through them opportunities for further study".<sup>31</sup> By 1906, the calendar was repeating this disclaimer, and emphasizing that the objective was to enable the students "to acquire a better theoretical knowledge of their work, and to extend to others who desire it opportunities for self improvement".<sup>32</sup> One thus sees an advocacy of Continuing Education for these artisan students, on grounds both of economic utility and personal fulfillment, although it was the former that was most publicized. A Senate report of 1906 noted that 175 extension students had been enrolled in the past session, with class enrollments of 74 in mathematics, 80 in engineering and 56 in English.<sup>33</sup> This had involved one professor, one adjunct lecturer and 23 local instructors, but it rested largely on the precarious financial support of Cape Breton employers. With the passing of the pioneer North American Technical Education Act in 1907, the provincial government undertook such responsibility, and Dalhousie's School of Mines formed the nucleus for a new Nova Scotia Technical College.<sup>34</sup> The earlier extension work was to be credited by Dalhousie President Dr. John Forrest with having reached "a class of people the universities never touched" and "doing a great deal to advance the interests not only of the working classes but of the industries of the community".<sup>35</sup> Subsequently, the university continued in Halifax its "evening and special classes for men who are not going into professions", and the chemistry lectures were said to be "attended by a large number of men from cotton and sugar factories, breweries etc.". <sup>36</sup> However, its resources remained strained by such efforts and by the 1913-1914 session, only one extension course of six lectures was offered in each term. The president reported that "both these courses were well attended. The proceeds in both cases were presented to the Alumnae Association of the university for the benefit of Forrest Hall". Sadly, he concluded that "the university has never been able to provide extension lecture courses as it would like to do were the staff not so overworked".<sup>37</sup>

Throughout World War I, such modest extension programmes continued in Halifax, supplemented in 1916 by a Medical Summer School and a Pharmacy Summer School. The former was intended to permit the earlier graduation of medical officers for the armed services overseas, and while the President approved of the programme as "a patriotic duty", he noted it caused "great inconvenience".<sup>38</sup> The university indeed continued to lack the resources needed for other than its traditional programmes, but by 1921 it was being urged to make another effort.

This phase of extension work was initiated by a suggestion to President Mackenzie from the Maritime Superintendent of the Canadian Bank of Commerce. He made specific proposals for courses, locations, and faculty, adding that if the project was accepted he "might be of some assistance in getting the courses organized in the several towns". Possibly influenced by the earlier competition with King's College, he urged the need for a prompt decision "so as to keep the field clear".<sup>39</sup> The outcome was the appointment by Senate of a committee on extension and extramural work, chaired by Bishop Carleton Hunt, professor of Commerce. During the 1921-1922 session, it was reported that "the staff of the university felt at length able to offer to give lectures both in the city and at points outside".<sup>40</sup> The programme was inaugurated in Halifax with courses for the Teachers' Association, the bankers, and the master plumbers, with a week's clinic for medical practitioners at hospitals associated with the university, and a total of 49 general lectures at various provincial centres. The focus was now on a more traditional middle class clientele, than the links noted earlier with 'artisans' and trade unions. Geology, mining and chemistry had given place to the Civilization and Culture of Ancient Egypt, Problems of Corporation Finance, or Memory and Its Training.<sup>41</sup> The preponderance of locally hired extension lectures had similarly given way to regular university faculty, 12 of whom in 1922-23 attracted a total of 5,000 people to their lectures.<sup>42</sup> The university expected the extension centres to reimburse the professors' expenses and to pay them a fee of \$10 per lecture — an arrangement not always welcomed by local sponsors. President Mackenzie indeed felt obligated to defend this arrangement in 1925, saying "the university, of course, could not afford to send lectures over the province. At the same time, the university does not wish to make any money by the system ..."<sup>43</sup> Nevertheless, the financial potentialities of extension lecturing prompted Henry Munro, professor of government and political science, to propose in 1925 that the alumnae or the alumni associations sponsor his lectures in return for his donating proceeds of up to \$500.00 for library purchases.<sup>44</sup>

Apart from the 'general' extension program, the university continued to serve specific publics with intramural courses in Halifax. A graduate medical clinic was inaugurated in the summer of 1922, proving so popular with students that it was extended in length and continued thereafter on an annual basis.<sup>45</sup> A sociology course was similarly introduced in 1924-1925, and continued thereafter for "teachers, nurses, church and charity workers, boards of management of welfare institutions, and for citizens interested in social and civic welfare". The students were assured that "university extension is instruction given by college officers under the supervision of the university, for the benefit of those who may be unable to attend the regular courses of the university or who may be able to give only a limited portion of their time to study". Having paid a nominal \$1.00 enrollment fee, they were then eligible to receive a University Extension Certificate on passing a final examination.<sup>46</sup> Relatively few did so (only 8 of the 54 who completed the course in 1926), but this might be ascribed at least as much to certification being in its infancy as to the rigours of the examination. The Extension Committee's description of the intended audience is noteworthy for its similarity to Lord Dalhousie's: those "who may be disposed to devote a small part of their time to study". The degree of popular appeal of such courses may be gauged from the diversity of civic leaders who chaired the sessions, from the president of the trades and labour council to a provincial court judge. Another innovation in the summer of 1927 was a refresher course for graduate nurses, introduced "in response to a wish frequently expressed by members of the nursing profession".<sup>47</sup> University faculty here cooperated with officers of other hospital and nursing institutions and of the Canadian Red Cross Society in delivering the course, and 82 nurses were enrolled.

Meantime, in 1926 the university invited Stewart Dick of the National Gallery, London, England and Canon Gaston-Georges Delepine of the Catholic University of Lille, France to lecture to the Halifax public. In the same session, some 4,500 of the latter attended a scientific exhibition at the university, and the exhibition's "wonderfully successful reception" prompted an even more popular one in 1928.<sup>48</sup> A general extension pattern was now emerging, with specialized courses for professional groups (largely in Halifax), more liberal courses for the general public in Halifax and across the province, and occasional special events. An innovation of the 1928-1929 session was the inauguration of a course of twelve lectures delivered over the local C.H.N.S. radio station and the holding of a convention to celebrate the diamond jubilee of the medical school. At the latter, "the daylight hours of the week were filled with lectures, discussions, clinics and

meetings of all kinds, the evenings were given to dinners and other social functions".<sup>49</sup> The extension program was modified further in 1929-1930, with a sessional course in International Relations, intended for Halifax school teachers, which was "a new departure in the form of a regular college course given in the evening".<sup>50</sup> We may thus note the evolution from non-credit extension provision to extension certificate courses, and to regular university credit courses in the evening, although there was no provision for obtaining a degree entirely by part-time study. The university was however continuing to develop its public service functions, and sponsored a conference in December 1930 which led to the establishment of the Nova Scotia Headmasters' Association, as intended to "become an important factor in the improvement of our educational scheme".<sup>51</sup> A wide public was also being reached by the university's Patterson Travelling Library, inaugurated by Judge George Patterson for the benefit of rural communities. Thus in 1930-1931, thirteen communities received such library service, ranging from Summerside, P.E.I., to Annapolis Royal, N.S.<sup>52</sup> Meantime, the public service function was also being implemented with a public health clinic for all the indigent outpatients of Halifax—a service that President Stanley described as unique but more properly the responsibility of the municipality.<sup>53</sup> Even as the university's impact on the community was being enlarged and diversified, the onset of the economic depression was to become apparent. By the 1932-1933 session, President Stanley noted that the university, "having financial difficulties of its own, was unable to pay the travelling expenses of lecturers".<sup>54</sup> An exception was made for a course at Glace Bay, sponsored traditionally by the Y.M.C.A., but which now lacked the resources to continue. The president of Glace Bay Y.M.C.A. proposed that the university might send lecturers "without charge to us (as) ... these lectures are an excellent means of advertising and have been, we believe, the cause of a number of students entering Dalhousie University".<sup>55</sup> President Stanley, beset by the fact that "there are many things which this year we have had to give up", yet saddened "even to think of the affairs" in Cape Breton, compromised by agreeing to a shorter course in which he would participate personally. He asked the Y.M.C.A. president if "the good burghers of Glace Bay (would) think it frivolous if a university head talked about "Contemporary Novel Reading", and expressed a hope that "some miners are among your audience".<sup>56</sup> Despite his host's assurances Stanley later received "a long letter condemning me for speaking on such a frivolous subject".<sup>57</sup> On this, the host commented that the critic "is a contractor with decidedly communistic and socialistic leanings. There has never been a

lecture presented under the auspices of the Glace Bay Y.M.C.A. which he has not very severely criticized.”<sup>58</sup>

Besides participating personally in extension programs, President Stanley sought to cajole colleagues from his own and other universities to participate. In asking a McGill professor to help in 1932, he explained that while his expenses would be paid, “It takes twenty-five hours to get here on the train. It will be in January or February, and there is no fee. You see what a front of brass any colleague of yours may acquire by becoming a college pixi”.<sup>59</sup> To another prospect, Stanley mentioned the efforts being made to develop extension work, saying “you can also guess that my part in it has been prosy spade-work. What we need now is a rose bloom in the garden”.<sup>60</sup> Part of this ‘spade-work’ is apparent in the president’s notifying his faculty of a Halifax lecture series, saying that he expected “to see a solid nucleus of professors attending, and perhaps they can drop an effective word to others”.<sup>61</sup> He added that these lectures were intended for “those in the community who have intellectual interests”, rather than being “mere popular entertainment”, and the titles were certainly suggestive of an educated middle class clientele with discursive liberal interests.

Pressure continued to reach a larger audience, even if only by meeting similar intellectual interests at more locations in the Maritimes. A Sydney newspaper owner urged Stanley in 1933 to re-institute the provincial extension programme halted by the Depression. The most that the president would sanction for that year was one lecture, in Sydney, in which he agreed that “the university would bear the travelling expenses, because I should think an admission fee would mean a difficulty for a good many people in Sydney at present and (the professor) is willing to lecture gratis”.<sup>62</sup> While the small Halifax programme was now enriched by visiting faculty from McGill, Toronto and Mount Allison universities, a comparable provincial programme was beyond Dalhousie’s resources at this time. Gone were the halcyon days of 1925 when a previously mentioned professor looked forward to a lecturing income of some \$500. By 1933 President Stanley was reduced to an extension lectures account which enabled him to pay an honorarium of only \$9.36 to a visiting University of Toronto professor. Saying he hoped to be able to pay eleven times as much in a few years, he added that “I know you will not be insulted, nor feel that anyone rates the lecture as worth that”.<sup>63</sup> To a McGill professor who received one cent less Stanley added, “It’s a hard place and a hard time.”<sup>64</sup> In the Halifax program, which the university regarded as “not the watered down entertainment usually delivered in so-called ‘extension courses’, it has reported that “the attendance of citizens has been surprisingly good”.<sup>65</sup> This judgement was based on a reported attend-

ance at the fall course of 129, plus 28 students, and on single attendances of 180 plus 212 students — the proportions of general public and faculty not being identified.<sup>66</sup> The single lecture at Sydney was reported to have attracted “a good audience and an interested one”, and a letter of congratulation looked forward to a regular programme, saying, “It would of course mean money, but perhaps in happier times some plan could be initiated and carried through”.<sup>67</sup> Money was clearly a major problem, relieved to some degree only with the Halifax courses, which sometimes enjoyed the joint sponsorship of other agencies. More distant ventures were doubtless viewed with some trepidation by faculty, despite the interest espoused by the public. Thus, a 1933 science lecture requested by Summerside, P.E.I., involved the university paying the travel expenses, the school board chairman providing accommodation, no honorarium being paid, and the lecturer bringing “his moving picture film and the necessary projection machine with him.”<sup>68</sup> That his December visit involved only the *possibility* of automobile transportation from Borden to Summerside, dependent “on the condition of the roads on the day of the lecture”, must have chastened this intrepid volunteer.

The 1934-1935 session marked a renewed effort by the university to serve its larger public constituency. Responding to President Stanley's request for assistance in promoting the Halifax programme, one supporter noted that “the ‘movies’ and ‘talkies’ draw their houses because so many people want to be amused and so few relatively want knowledge and instruction”.<sup>69</sup> The president however was not about to compromise with his extension programme, saying of a lecture entitled ‘Experimental Grafting in Animal Embryos’ that “some of the Nova Scotians think this is about politics, by the way”.<sup>70</sup> He was equally chary of any intellectual pretension, seeking to shelter visiting faculty from the attentions of various “bally-hoo organizations”. Of one such body that had prevailed upon a professor to speak upon ‘Plato’ he noted with apparent dissimulation that the subject was “evidently a great bait with the commercially minded people of Halifax”.<sup>71</sup> Committed to ‘improving’ its clientele, the university now arranged a programme of twenty-five different extension lectures, encompassing history, literature, politics, government, science, and travel. It was reported that these opportunities were “eagerly embraced by groups in various centres throughout the provinces”, that “many communities undertook the responsibility incident to presenting the courses”, and that other requests from outlying places went unmet “owing to the exigencies of winter travel”.<sup>72</sup> An even more noteworthy boost to extension work came in the following (1935-1936) session, with the establishment of an Institute of Public Affairs, funded by the Rocke-

feller Foundation. In addition to a programme of public administration intended for internal students, there was provision for affiliations with various public bodies and for those "who wish to attend extramural courses".<sup>73</sup>

By 1935, the president had concluded that the expanded extension program was "a considerable success". Of the students already enrolled, he urged the faculty to note that "one can never be sure that there will not be intelligence and critical capacity, even when unexpected". Wider horizons were also suggested with his comments that "the university needs friends, and this is an excellent way to make them".<sup>74</sup> In a brief for the local Council of Women, the president nevertheless deprecated the idea that extension work was undertaken by the university "merely to advertise itself to the public". Noting that much academic and administrative work was now entailed, and that the programme was not endowed, he expressed a willingness to continue serving "any community in the Maritime provinces which will pay the travelling expenses of the lecturers." He referred also to the transition from attendance at sporadic lectures to preparatory reading for a series of related lectures and discussions, saying "it can safely be said that this is adult education".<sup>75</sup> The growing demands of this program on the faculty were apparent, not so much in the number of separate lectures prepared for 1935-1936 — fifty-two — but in the expectation that "each professor, usually spoke to the schools, and also addressed other groups at noon meetings".<sup>76</sup> To supplement such efforts, it was reported that "graduate students in the educational course have also prepared a series of lectures which they are prepared to deliver ...".<sup>77</sup> Meanwhile, specialist programmes, such as medical refresher courses, continued on an annual basis, with contributions from visiting faculty from other Canadian and American universities. These consisted of lectures, clinics and small group work.<sup>78</sup> There was also a special series of public lectures sponsored by the new Institute of Public Affairs. For the general extension courses, which might cover as many as sixteen weeks, the lecturers now received a standard \$10 per meeting, plus expenses. While placing responsibility for the latter firmly on local sponsoring bodies, the president was prepared to share responsibility for the former, in order to initiate the coherent structured courses on which he placed so much emphasis. Indeed, as he told one community leader, the university had too many requests for such courses, to have time for less demanding contributions.<sup>79</sup> By 1936, courses were being sponsored by such groups as a women's university club, various teachers' associations, the Independent Order of Daughters of the Empire, the Young Men's Christian Association, church and service clubs, literary and reading groups, men's clubs, and several

local Dalhousie alumni associations. In that year also, Dalhousie faculty cooperated with labor union representatives to form a Halifax branch of the Workers' Educational Association. Both the teaching and the accommodation were contributed by the university.<sup>80</sup>

As the 1930s drew to a close, President Stanley concluded that the extension programmes had "become firmly established and are regarded as an important part of their winter programme by an increasing number of people". He noted the continuing problem that "requests from isolated communities had to be refused during the winter season" due to their inaccessibility, but mentioned that "work was also done in individual cases, courses in reading were mapped out and books lent ..."<sup>81</sup> A growing proportion of the extension program was now being devoted to International Affairs, as reflective of public concern with the rising dangers of war, and lecturers were in demand across Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, and Prince Edward Island. Their topics included 'Air Power and International Affairs', 'Problems of the Danube Basin,' 'Japan and Problems of the Far East', 'Can The New World Help to Redress the Balance of the Old?', and 'Psychology and Statecraft'.<sup>82</sup> Additional lectures were delivered over radio stations CHNS Halifax, CFNB Fredericton, N.B., CFCY Charlottetown, P.E.I., and CJCB, Sydney, N.S. Even as the programme grew to over two hundred lectures annually by the end of the decade, the president concluded that "if adequate funds were available ... a far more comprehensive and efficient programme could be undertaken".<sup>83</sup> He had continued to urge the faculty to participate, saying in 1938 that "of recent years the task has fallen on too few" and "some are being overworked". He urged the merits of professors having to face composite audiences and share the outside experiences of extension work, while he commended the eager and growing response of the public to the programme. A glimpse of the administrative structure underlying the work was contained in his footnote mention that "all arrangements for the yearly programme are made by Mrs. Maclean, at the Book Club, in the gymnasium building".<sup>84</sup> Indeed, it was not until 1940, when this lady left the office, that her successor found the supervision of the extension programme placed under a new professor of Education, — naturally in addition to his regular duties!<sup>85</sup>

Between Thomas McCulloch's essentially private contributions, after entering university office in 1838, and Carleton Stanley's decidedly official contributions of a century later, one is tempted to see a number of continuities insofar as the public service function of the university is concerned. Allowing for differences of scale, there was certainly a continuing shortage of the human and material resources which would have been needed for the effective implementation of a

function additional to the perceived university priority of internal teaching (and later research). For despite its founder's proclaimed aims, and the undoubted zeal of many subsequent university officials, it remained as an article of faith that the provision made for nontraditional students was clearly subordinate to more traditional functions. It would thus be tempting, but invalid, to see Lord Dalhousie as a precursor of President William Rainey Harper, who made the Division of Extension an integral part of the new University of Chicago in 1892.<sup>86</sup> Rather, Thomas McCulloch, who was imbued with much more democratic sentiment than the founder, and was involved in the popular adult education movement represented by the mechanics' institutes, might have been expected to advocate a university role in the equalizing of educational opportunities. Instead, in failing health and beset by internal and external strife, McCulloch's brief tenure saw evening lecture courses delivered under other auspices, even if in university premises, and taught by regular faculty. Thereafter, despite the ebb and flow of the university's provision for extension students, faculty participants tended to be on a voluntary basis, perhaps recompensed by a modest honorarium with travel expenses. Indeed, some of the most innovative work in reaching nontraditional students, that in the Cape Breton mining courses, involved largely non-university lecturers and external funding.

Another continuity might be the relative lack of definition of any public service function. Thus, while American land grant colleges might have charters mentioning specific obligations to their defined public constituencies, Dalhousie University merely aspired to a public status which its rival denominational colleges rejected. Consequently, at various times, one sees attempts by the university to serve various publics, both in Halifax and across the Maritimes, with the criteria for involvement being frequently one of economics. Voluntarism certainly played an important part, particularly during the Depression, but it is doubtful if it contributed to a definition of function. Thus, the University provided a free public health clinic for Halifax's indigent citizens, while protesting that it ought not to be a university responsibility. Exactly what were the university's responsibilities to its public constituency, and even how far did this constituency extend, remained undefined. Therefore, while one notices a gradual expansion of the area served, this arose often in reaction to requests for service, and on occasions led to duplication of effort with others. Conversely, having taken a provincial stand on the need for education in the mining industry, and provided some of the courses, both internally and externally, the entire programme was then handed over to a newly founded technical college. It was alternatively proposed and rejected that pub-

lic relations should be the criteria for determining the public service functions, and while the university clearly felt the need for friends, from its inception, it also found it politic to deny publicly that it was motivated by other than altruism in this endeavour.

The lack of clarity in overall institutional objectives, coupled with the limited resources, led to the meeting of some specific needs identified by outside groups (as exemplified by the nurses), to the meeting of other needs agreed upon jointly, (as exemplified by the miners, their employers, and the university), and to more prescriptive offerings dictated by the willingness of certain faculty to travel to certain locations. Fundamental to all the provision, whether requested or offered was a conviction that the resultant product must be of university standard if taught by faculty. Thus, the early law school classes intended to facilitate the participation of working students, were 'legitimate' because of their standards, while the miners' classes were generally not, and so were taught by non-faculty lecturers. Something of a compromise occurred with the internal and external certificate courses, some of which were open to nonmatriculated 'general' students, but were taught by regular faculty. The general extension programme however came to be characterized by declarations of its academic respectability, in contrast to the entertainment implied of other universities' extension programs.

This emphasis on university level teaching in extension undoubtedly came to influence the kind of publics who would be served by it. The provision for 'artisan' students at the turn of the century, was for non-matriculated evening students, not contemplating a professional career, whilst the mining courses were intended for those holding or seeking supervisory positions in the coal industry. The internal and extension certificate courses appear to have catered to a broad range of professional, para-professional, and ancillary workers, few of whom in the early days even bothered to sit for the examinations. Summer schools were designed frequently for specific professional groups, whereas the general extension courses were intended for those having "intellectual interests". In the latter case, we may recall President Stanley's expressed hope that this would include miners. Apart from the occasional visiting faculty, who were induced to visit Halifax, these publics were served largely by the essentially voluntary contributions of Dalhousie faculty. Despite the expansion of provision toward the end of our period, this appears to have been achieved by the greater involvement of a limited number of professors rather than by any general acceptance of, or willingness to participate in, the task. The professors were described frequently in the presidential reports as being 'overworked', and we have seen the demands which an extension

course would entail, particularly in areas remote from Halifax. Accordingly, one sees a limited number of publics served by a limited faculty commitment. Tenuous links with artisans, mineworkers or trade unions proved short-lived, whereas links with the alumni proved close and long-lasting and had a formative influence in the arrangements for, and content of, some extension programmes. Despite references to the challenge presented by 'composite' audiences, and the rebuke of one president as a lecturer, the relationships between the participants appear to have been generally amicable.

Partly, this amity may be attributed to the university's extending its traditional elite functions of teaching (and later research) to publics largely accepting of its norms, if not actual direct beneficiaries of its regular internal programmes. Unlike St. Francis Xavier University, in nearby Antigonish, Dalhousie University adopted no separate social change model for its extension programmes, but merely asked faculty to prepare material in line with their internal teaching areas of specialization. A critic who objected to a literary contribution in an area of high unemployment was dubbed 'communistic and socialistic'. Beset from its birth by controversy and deep antipathies, establishment interests had clearly led to the conviction that survival and growth involved quiet diplomacy, rather than any provocative ventures in social change. Thus the extension programmes represented not some discrete function, but a by-product of the internal programmes, legitimized by a somewhat nebulous concept of public service. Traditional instructional modes of the lecture or clinic came to be supplemented by exhibitions, radio broadcasts, and even materials for independent study, but there was no mention of community problem solving or action research in the economically depressed regions. While the St. Francis Xavier extension programme attracted a five year grant from the Carnegie Corporation in 1932, and quickly established popular grass roots support for its controversial blending of adult education with a cooperative movement, Dalhousie remained committed to a more traditional cultural transmission. In this sense, it was denying the more popular functions associated with extension, in the "provision of useful knowledge and service to nearly every group and institution that wants it".<sup>87</sup> Lacking a separate extension department or defined policy, in its first century of operation, Dalhousie had grappled with many of the problems to be associated with the public service function. Disdaining the lower standards it saw in other extension programmes, it defended the elitist purposes of a university, and rebuffed popular demands not in accord with them. Readily prepared to share with others the subject matter and methods intended for its select few full-time, youthful matriculated students, its impact on the many amor-

phous groups of part-time adult learners in the maritimes was necessarily limited. In acknowledging this limitation, President Stanley concluded that it was the result of inadequate funding. One might ask if it was not also a result of an inevitable conflict of beliefs over the purposes of a university.

## NOTES

1. D.C. Harvey, *An Introduction To The History of Dalhousie University*, (Halifax: McCurdy, 1938), 19.
2. D.C. Harvey, 16.
3. Duncan Campbell, *Nova Scotia in Its Historical, Mercantile and Industrial Relations*. (Montreal: Lovell, 1873), 239; D.C. Harvey, 27.
4. Harvey, 18; David Allison, *History of Nova Scotia*, (Halifax: Bowen, 1916), 829.
5. The Young Family Papers, Public Archives of Nova Scotia, George R. Young's letter to William Young, Greenock, September 17, 1833.
6. P. Keane, "George R. Young and Comparative Adult Education", *Journal of Education*, Halifax, N.S. Sixth Series, 1, 2. (Winter 1973-74) 38-44.
7. P. Keane, "A Study in Early Problems and Policies in Adult Education", *Social History*, University of Ottawa, VIII, 16, (November 1975), 255-274.
8. Joseph A. Chisholm (ed.), *The Speeches and Public Letters of Joseph Howe*, (Halifax: Chronicle Publishing, 1909), 1, 431.
9. Cit. Harvey, 50.
10. Harvey, 61; John A. Bell, Dalhousie College and University, Typescript, 1887, 29.
11. Keane, "A Study in Early Problems and Policies in Adult Education", 273.
12. John A. Bell, 23; George Patterson, "The History of Dalhousie College and University, Halifax, N.S." *Morning Herald*, 1887, 36. Another direct link between the institute and the colleges is suggested by the name James R. Forman Jr. Assuming it to be of the same person, he was a committee member and lecturer at the institute in the 1830s, completed the full arts course under Dr. McCulloch, and later practised as a civil engineer (Patterson, 70).
13. Keane, "A Study in Early Problems and Policies in Adult Education", 270, and Halifax Mechanics' Institute. MS Minutes, Annual Report, May 1846.
14. E.g. Crewe Mechanics' Institute, England, sponsored a Cambridge University extension course in 1868, while San Francisco Mechanics' Institute sponsored a University of California extension course in 1870.
15. *The Novascotian*, March 16, 1851.
16. *The Novascotian*, May 7, 1851.
17. John F.C. Harrison, *History of the Working Men's College 1854-1954* (London: Routledge, 1955), 26. Nevertheless, it is worthy of note that Hugo Reid "won some celebrity... by publication of a number of works on scientific subjects", Patterson 55.
18. See e.g. Chisholm, Speech on the College Question, 1843; 1, 417-436.
19. Chisholm, Speech on Free Schools, 1841, 1, 378.
20. Harvey, 85.
21. John Willis, *A History of Dalhousie Law School*, (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1979), 36.
22. Willis, 39.
23. *Calendar of Dalhousie College and University*, Halifax, 1885-1886, 18.
24. *Calendar*, 1886-1887, 42.
25. *Calendar*, 1900-1901, 83.
26. *Calendar*, 1900-1901, 85.
27. Dalhousie College and University, Senate Minutes. May 7, 1902; May 17, 1902; September 25, 1902.
28. Senate Minutes, November 20, 1902.
29. Senate Minutes, July 28, 1905.
30. On the competition from King's College of Mining in Sydney and Glace Bay, see John G. Leefe, "The University of King's College &c." Dalhousie, M.A. (Ed.) thesis, 1970, 27. The

- matter is mentioned also in Dalhousie Senate Minutes, September 21, 1905 and September 21, 1906.
31. *Calendar*, 1904-1905, 47.
  32. *Calendar* 1906-1907, 82.
  33. Senate Minutes, September 12, 1906.
  34. Frederick H. Sexton, "Education for Industry in Nova Scotia", *Dalhousie Review*, I, 66-74, 1921-22.
  35. Royal Commission on Industrial Training and Technical Education, *Report of the Commissioners*. 3. George V., Sessional Paper 191D, 1913, Part IV, 1666.
  36. Royal Commission on Industrial Training and Technical Education, 1665.
  37. *Calendar*, 1913-1914, 14-15.
  38. *Calendar*, 1915-1916, 13.
  39. Letter from D. Macgillivray to President Mackenzie September 28, 1921. Dalhousie Archives.
  40. *Calendar*, 1922-1923, 16.
  41. Typescript, Extension Lectures, November 24, 1922. Dalhousie Archives.
  42. Typescript, Report on Extension 1922-1923, Dalhousie Archives.
  43. Letter from President Mackenzie to Dr. M. Cuming, April 3, 1925. Dalhousie Archives.
  44. Letter from President Mackenzie to Georgette Faulkner, October 21, 1925. Dalhousie Archives.
  45. *Calendar*, 1923-1924, 17.
  46. *Calendar*, 1925-1926, 18: Syllabus Municipal Sociology Course, February 1, 1926. Dalhousie Archives.
  47. *Calendar*, 1927-1928, 37-38.
  48. *Calendar*, 1926-1927, 23; *Calendar* 1928-1929, 27-28.
  49. *Calendar*, 1928-1929, 26-27.
  50. *Calendar*, 1929-1930, 27.
  51. *Calendar*, 1930-1931, 27.
  52. *Calendar*, 1930-1931, 23.
  53. *Calendar*, 1932-1933, 7.
  54. *Calendar*, 1932-1933, 7.
  55. Letter from Johnston Chew to President Carleton W. Stanley, January 16, 1932. Dalhousie Archives.
  56. Letter from President Carleton W. Stanley to Johnston Chew, January 19, 1932. Dalhousie Archives.
  57. Letter from President Carleton W. Stanley to Johnston Chew, February 24, 1932. Dalhousie Archives.
  58. Letter from Johnston Chew to President Carleton W. Stanley, February 27, 1932. Dalhousie Archives.
  59. Letter from President Carleton W. Stanley to Professor A.H.S. Gillson, October 8, 1932. Dalhousie Archives.
  60. Letter from President Carleton W. Stanley to Professor W.D. Woodhead, October 12, 1932. Dalhousie Archives.
  61. Letter from President Carleton W. Stanley to Members of Staff, December 30, 1932. Dalhousie Archives.
  62. Letter from President Carleton W. Stanley to Judge Walter Crowe March 11, 1932; Letter from President Carleton W. Stanley to H.P. Duchemin, March 11, 1932. Dalhousie Archives.
  63. Letter from President Carleton W. Stanley to Professor R.S. Knox, March 24, 1933. Dalhousie Archives.
  64. Letter from President Carleton W. Stanley to Dean P.E. Corbett, March 25, 1933. Dalhousie Archives.
  65. Dalhousie University, Report on Extension Lectures, Typescript, N.D. (1933) Dalhousie University.
  66. Dalhousie University, Financial Statement Extension Lectures, 1932-1933, Typescript. Dalhousie Archives.
  67. Letter from Judge Walter Crowe to President Carleton W. Stanley, March 27, 1933. Dalhousie Archives.
  68. Letter from Dr. John M. Morton to President Carleton W. Stanley, November 9, 1933. Dalhousie Archives.
  69. Letter from the Hon. F.B. McCurdy to President Carleton W. Stanley, January 5, 1934. Dalhousie Archives.

70. Letter from President Carleton W. Stanley to Professor W.D. Woodhead, January 6, 1934. Dalhousie Archives.
71. Letter from President Carleton W. Stanley to Principal W. Hamilton Fyfe, January 5, 1934. Dalhousie Archives.
72. *Calendar*, 1934-1935, 5.
73. *Calendar*, 1935-1936, 3.
74. Letter from President Carleton W. Stanley to members of faculty, September 19, 1935. Dalhousie Archives.
75. Statement prepared by President Carleton W. Stanley November 21, 1935. Dalhousie Archives.
76. *Calendar*, 1935-1936, 8.
77. Dalhousie University, Extension Lectures 1935-1936, Printed information sheet. Dalhousie Archives.
78. *Calendar*, 1935-1936, 10-11.
79. Letter from President Carleton W. Stanley to Dr. D.G. Davis, October 7, 1935, on proposed course at Truro, N.S. Dalhousie Archives.
80. *Calendar*, 1936-1937, 15.
81. *Calendar*, 1937-1938, 11.
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