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### **Religion and Intellectual Freedom on the Dalhousie Campus in the 1920s: The Case of Norman J. Symons**

Alex Colville's mural "The History of Mount Allison" moves outward from and swirls around the moment of the conversion of Charles Frederick Allison to Methodism in 1836. The artist has grasped the fundamental point that Mount Allison's liberal arts tradition is rooted in Christianity.<sup>1</sup> What lifts this fine work above the level of the parochial is that the truth it embodies applies to all Canadian universities founded in the nineteenth century, even such "non-sectarian" institutions as Dalhousie and the University of Toronto.

Although Christian in origin, Canadian universities have since their beginnings moved towards increasing secularization in their educational offerings. King's College, Windsor, provides a good example of this process. By the beginning of the twentieth century theology no longer occupied a central place in the B.A. curriculum of this Anglican institution.<sup>2</sup> Furthermore, the need for survival dictated that King's introduce new programs of a vocational nature, such as engineering and law.<sup>3</sup> During the twentieth century, denominational and non-denominational foundations alike have come to accept that liberal education no longer embraces the realm of the sacred. This development, however, has not occurred without difficulty and pain.

The case of Norman J. Symons provides an insight into the stresses generated by the conflict between prevailing religious and social attitudes and the secular, even anti-religious, ideas which threatened them. His dismissal from the position of Professor of Psychology at the University of King's College throws light upon the nature of academic freedom and its limits at both King's and Dalhousie in the 1920s. Before looking into Symons's career, however, it is necessary to provide a brief sketch of the academic environment which he entered in 1923. It was in that year that King's moved to Halifax and estab-

lished a joint Faculty of Arts and Science with Dalhousie. King's continued to give degrees in Divinity but all other degrees were to be granted by the larger institution. The association had been made possible by the Carnegie Corporation, an American philanthropic foundation. It provided King's with an endowment enabling the impoverished College to pay a complement of professors to teach in the Dalhousie-King's faculty. In 1923-24 the new Dalhousie-King's Faculty of Arts and Science had thirty-one full-time members of the rank of lecturer or above. Eight of these were King's professors. Dalhousie had a student population in the Faculty of Arts and Science of 471; King's had 51.

Certain facts are worth noting about the Dalhousie-King's faculty in 1923. Eleven faculty members were either Dalhousie or King's graduates. Over half of them were Canadian (seventeen), and nearly half (thirteen) Nova Scotian. Four faculty members were English, one a Protestant Irishman, one a Scot and one a New Zealander. Finally, there were seven Americans.<sup>4</sup>

The conclusions to be drawn from these simple statistics are obvious. Both Dalhousie and King's were small institutions rooted in the Nova Scotian community. It is not accurate to say that the faculty at either institution was insular. Most of the professoriate had attended leading universities for undergraduate or graduate study. Some had published scholarly work. Many were widely read, though this is a difficult point to substantiate. Archibald MacMechan, for example, corresponded with Herman Melville at a time when both the author of *Moby-Dick* and his great creation were forgotten. Forty years later MacMechan reviewed a book by Virginia Woolf and received a gracious letter from her.<sup>5</sup>

But if Dalhousie and King's were not insular, they were isolated. Professors were poorly paid, and research grants non-existent. Staff turnover was very low. Generally speaking, a person who found a post in the 1920s hung on to it. The upshot of these factors was that the Dalhousie-King's Faculty of Arts and Science provided a solid basic education, but the circumstances of the professors worked against their being abreast of contemporary scholarship. A Dalhousie graduate, a physicist, has stated that he didn't learn anything about Einsteinian physics until he went to an American graduate school in the 1930s. His studies there came as a revelation. The isolation of the Dalhousie environment was no doubt reinforced by the appeal it had to those, like George E. Wilson, Munro Professor of History, who disliked the modern world and distrusted modern scholarship.<sup>6</sup> Mac-

Mechan, an influential professor of English for over forty years, was at heart a Victorian; his major scholarly achievement had been an edition of Carlyle's *Sartor Resartus*.<sup>7</sup> In the 1930s, when Milton's reputation was in decline as a result of attacks by T. S. Eliot among others, Milton remained one of the staples of the second year English class compulsory for all Arts and Science students. This did not change until 1958-59. There is nothing wrong with a diet of *Paradise Lost*, but such a heavy emphasis upon it is revealing. Dalhousie possessed a Victorian quality long after the end of the Victorian era. It remained a university in which the Scottish tradition of plain living and high thinking was pervasive. Students from outside Halifax were still required by the University regulations to inform the Registrar where they were going to attend church. It was accepted as given that education and religion were inseparable. By the 1950s, Dalhousie no longer required students living away from home to inform the authorities about church attendance; the regulation remained, however, with the word "required" altered to "invited."<sup>8</sup> Non-sectarian, at Dalhousie, did not mean indifference to religious practice.

King's, its smaller sister, was certainly sectarian. King's students were mostly Anglican; they were required to attend Sunday chapel service unless they received an exemption. King's role as the divinity school for both the dioceses of Nova Scotia and Fredericton tended to draw it into Anglican theological disputes, a situation which presented dangers as the institution was dependent upon the Anglican community as a whole for financial support. The particular circumstances of King's must be borne in mind in considering the fate of one of its professors, Norman J. Symons.

Symons received an appointment at King's in 1923, the year its association with Dalhousie began. The Articles of Association between the two universities stipulated the areas of greatest need in the joint Faculty of Arts and Science.<sup>9</sup> King's was responsible for hiring professors in those areas, subject to the approval of the Dalhousie Board of Governors. The Rev. T.S. Boyle, President of King's from 1916 to 1924, hoped to appoint eleven new faculty members. In the event, King's made only eight appointments for 1923-24,<sup>10</sup> Symons being one of them.

At the time he was Assistant Professor of Philosophy and Lecturer in Psychology at Queen's University in Kingston and was aged thirty-three. An Englishman, Symons had studied "Greats" at Oxford. A letter of reference from R. Bruce Taylor, Principal of Queen's, states that [Symons] "has shown himself an excellent teacher and . . . has in

recent years specialized in Psychology. . . . The teaching of the Medical students in this important subject has been wholly handed over to him and he has, I believe, developed a Course which has proved an excellent introduction to Psychiatry."<sup>11</sup>

Symons himself wrote to Boyle on the 9 July, 1923, asserting that he had "worked and studied in the experimental psychological laboratories at the University of Chicago."<sup>12</sup> His file shows that he had spent a summer there as a Ph.D. candidate. This was the extent of Symons's formal study of Psychology.

It seems likely that a telegram, followed by a letter, from the Bishop of Ontario carried as much or more weight with Boyle than formal qualifications or recommendations. The full text of the letter ran as follows:

31 August, 1923

My dear Provost:

In reply to your telegram, which has followed me about & which I have only just received, I can wholeheartedly recommend Mr. Symons. I met his father, a Clergyman, in England two or three years ago, & the family connections are good. He might perhaps be a little keener Churchman, but even there he is above the rather low average prevailing now. Take him by all means. He is an exceedingly nice fellow & a thorough gentleman.<sup>13</sup>

The day after receiving the gist of this communication by telegram Boyle offered the post to Symons. On the 4 September, he thanked the Bishop for his letter, saying "your recommendation was very helpful in guiding us to a decision."<sup>14</sup> Symons accepted the offer at once. He was offered an Associate Professorship of Psychology, with promotion to Professor after one year of probation, and with an initial salary of \$2,900.<sup>15</sup> As Symons was only an Assistant Professor at Queen's this offer must have seemed very handsome indeed.

During his six years as a King's professor Symons taught at both the introductory and advanced-level in the Dalhousie-King's Faculty of Arts and Science. At that time, and until 1948, Philosophy and Psychology comprised one department. H.L. Stewart, Munro Professor of Philosophy, was its head, with Symons as the second and only other member during his six years on campus. Stewart and Symons each taught one-half of an introductory course called "Logic and Psychology." In addition, Symons taught advanced-level Psychology and also courses in Education under the auspices of the provincial Department of Education as part of a Teacher Training Scheme at Dalhousie.

Symons gave up his teaching in Education in 1928, arguing, in a letter to President A. H. Moore of King's, that he could not do justice to both Education and Psychology, and "since a choice has thus to be made, I feel that I personally can do better work in Psychology."<sup>16</sup>

It is possible to follow the development of Symons's thinking by examining his published work. The only psychological essay published by Symons while at Queen's emphasized the importance of the unconscious as the central problem facing future psychological research. To illustrate this thesis, however, he focussed, not upon Freud, but upon his great rival, the French psychologist Pierre Janet.<sup>17</sup> As this essay appeared in 1922, it would seem to indicate that Symons was not a Freudian during his career at Queen's. Certainly he did not come into a Freudian environment at Dalhousie. His head of department, H.L. Stewart, published an essay in 1912 which showed a reluctance to allow the subconscious any place in the normal mind. Stewart's book in which this appears, *Questions of the Day in Philosophy and Psychology*, does not mention Freud, and the textbooks he assigned to his students when he taught psychology courses showed no inclination towards Freudianism.<sup>18</sup> Indeed, Freud had no place in Canadian psychology in the early part of the century, according to Ernest Jones, his leading English disciple, who spent four years in Toronto from 1908 to 1912.<sup>19</sup>

It would seem that Symons's conversion to Freud occurred about the time he moved to the Dalhousie campus as a King's professor. This is indicated by a lecture he delivered to the Halifax Medical Society in 1924, a few months after his arrival in Halifax. In this talk he argued that neuroses were of mental and not physical origin. Psychoanalysis, he concluded, "is . . . in its essence a voyage of self-discovery."<sup>20</sup> The following year Symons published the first of a series of five papers in the *International Journal of Psycho-Analysis*, the most prestigious Freudian journal in English, edited by Ernest Jones and "directed" by Freud himself. These appeared between 1925 and 1929, and for the most part consisted of dream interpretations. Symons held to the orthodox Freudian view that the content of dreams must be understood symbolically; their meaning, when deciphered, generally revealed an individual's suppressed sexual desires. Symons was not a practising psychoanalyst. The dreams he analyzed seem to have been gathered, not, as is usual, from patients, but from his students. His articles on dream interpretation were peculiar in that they provided no general analyses of a patient to provide a context for the dream under consideration. Symons simply presented the dream and then his explanation

of it according to Freudian categories. These articles showed both great inventiveness in interpreting symbols and an overriding preoccupation with sexuality.<sup>21</sup>

There is no evidence that Symons came under criticism for publishing his students' dreams; perhaps not even his colleagues on faculty, let alone his students' parents, read the *International Journal of Psycho-Analysis*. His preoccupation with sexuality, however, came out in his teaching. According to a female student:

He gave us lectures which were the most popular ones on campus. The minute I reached Shirreff Hall I was met with a delegation: "Let's see your notes." His lectures were my first encounter with the half-world of homosexuals and lesbians. These he explained in detail—all Freud, the mother-possessed boys, and the father-worshippers. It was surely an education.<sup>22</sup>

Furthermore, Symons did not confine his interpretation of students' dreams to scholarly publications. There is no doubt that at least one parent complained to the President of King's about Symons's comments in class on one of his daughter's dreams. As the dream was apparently of a tall straight tree with a box of soup cans at its base, it is not difficult to imagine both Symons's interpretation, and the reaction it inspired.<sup>23</sup>

The recollections of those who remember Symons would indicate that it was rumored at the time that this or similar complaints resulted in his being forced out in 1929. There is, however, no information in either the King's or the Dalhousie archives as to the specific reason for his resignation. The person most frequently mentioned as the focus for a complaint, the woman who dreamed of a tall straight tree, took no classes from Symons during the 1928-29 academic year. It is also significant that his letter of resignation was not written until the 19 April, 1929, very late in the academic year. He acknowledged in it that "the seriousness of the position which arose out of an error of judgment on my part is fully recognized by me." His letter concluded:

As I am not certain of the date from which my resignation is to take effect, I should be much obliged if you would let me know. In view of the difficulty of obtaining academic employment elsewhere in the comparatively short time at my disposal, I trust that I may be given as much grace in this matter as possible.

I should like to state also that my period of service at King's has been most agreeable. I am only sorry that it is terminating in the present manner.<sup>24</sup>

On the 24 April the Executive Committee of the King's Board accepted Symons's resignation, effective at the end of the 1928-29 academic year.<sup>25</sup> President Moore wrote a letter to him on the following day headed "Personal and Confidential." He assured Symons that the Board had not "turned a deaf ear" to the problem of his finding work for the coming year. Moore added:

I am not in a position to give you any official pledge or assurance in that connection but I will be grateful if you will be good enough to come and see me before discussing your position or plans with anyone else. I will not attempt to say how deeply I regret what has taken place and I hope you will care to arrange for an interview with me at the earliest possible moment.<sup>26</sup>

On the 26 April Moore wrote a general letter of recommendation for Symons. It was an encomium. Moore lauded him as a teacher and scholar, asserting:

He is a gentleman of sterling character and integrity, with an attractive presence and a gracious manner which wins and holds universal respect and esteem. Popular alike with his colleagues on the staff, the student body and the general public, and successful in awakening the enthusiasm of his students in their work, I can heartily recommend him as a psychologist of high standing, [who will be a decided acquisition to any institution that may be so fortunate as to acquire his services].<sup>27</sup>

The correspondence between Moore and Symons establishes that something must have happened in March or April of 1929 which led Moore to demand his resignation. Two other pieces of evidence support this conclusion. First, Moore did not begin to look for a Psychology replacement until May of that year.<sup>28</sup> Secondly, on the 25th January, 1929 the *Dalhousie Gazette* announced that S.H. Prince intended to give a series of lectures in Psychiatry in conjunction with Dr. Clyde Marshall, a pioneer in the field in Nova Scotia, and Symons. It is highly improbable that Prince, an Anglican clergyman and a King's professor of Sociology, would have so associated himself with a person judged by the President of King's to be unfit to be a faculty member.<sup>29</sup>

It seems most likely that Symons's downfall was precipitated not by an indiscreet dream interpretation in class but by the following item which appeared in the *Dalhousie Gazette* on the 22 March, 1929, in a column entitled "The Life of a Little College":

At a recent meeting of Psychology 3 Prof. Symons asked one of the ladies for a definition of necking (a touching subject one must admit). She said that a few days previously she had asked another girl (imagine

that!) and received the answer that "it" was from the *neck up*. Well this is food for thought but we are still unconvinced about the direction pursued after leaving the neck. Somehow we feel that co-eds do not have to be necked by "degrees."<sup>30</sup>

By the standards of the 1920s, this was racy stuff; it is the most risqué item to be found in the *Gazette* during that period. Symons stood exposed as guilty of impropriety, if not indecency, according to contemporary middle-class mores in Nova Scotia.

President Moore long had harbored doubts about Symons's intellectual interests and teaching methods. In May, 1929, he made the following statement in a letter written to find a replacement for Symons:

We have had a pronounced Freudian on the staff. I found him here when I became President in 1924 and have feared that his dogmatism along his espoused line might terminate his usefulness to us and it has now done so. . . . We cannot have a man who has made shipwreck of his Christian faith or who teaches modern theories regardless of the way in which he may shock the religious convictions or the sense of delicacy of his students. We must have a man whose teaching stands on the background of the Christian religion. We want him to be able to bring whatever there is of light cast from any quarter of philosophic thought but we do not want a propagandist of Freudianism, Behaviourism or any modern cult.<sup>31</sup>

In another letter written at the same time, he asserted, "We have no religious tests for either staff or students but we must have a man who accepts the Christian religion and works from that as his background. We cannot accept a man who is skeptical as to relations between man and the supernatural."<sup>32</sup> Moore no doubt believed that people had the right to be atheists but he did not intend to hire any as King's faculty members. This attitude raises difficult questions in the university context. Why, in non-Divinity subjects, should theists be preferred for employment over better qualified atheists? King's arts and science professors taught in a Faculty in which most students were non-Anglican, and some non-Christian. Moore's position on hiring meant that in weighing the academic requirements of the joint faculty against the denominational interests of King's, he favored the latter over the former.

In assessing Moore's conduct, it is necessary to keep in mind both the situation at King's and his own position as President. He had been hired in 1924 because he was an aggressive, energetic, practical man. Although a clergyman, he was best known as a journalist before his appointment to the King's presidency.<sup>33</sup> His first and most pressing



task as President was to raise enough money to pay for the buildings which King's was committed to erect on the Dalhousie campus as a condition of receiving the Carnegie endowment. The amount needed was \$400,000, at that time a very large sum. Moore succeeded in raising the money by 1928, although some of it was in the form of pledges.<sup>34</sup> Moore must have seen Symons as a threat to his hard-won success in putting the future of King's on a secure footing.

Furthermore, Moore had been plagued from the beginning of his presidency by conflicts between the evangelical and high church wings of Anglicanism. Bitter disputes raged over the composition of the staff of the Divinity School. The evangelicals believed that Tractarianism, if not Romishness, dominated King's Divinity. The evangelicals demanded the right to appoint half the Divinity professors to ensure that they had a significant role in clerical education. Moore, though not a high churchman, had no sympathy with what he perceived to be fanaticism, and by 1926 was exchanging hostile letters with the leading evangelical in the Diocese, Archdeacon W.J. Armitage, Rector of St. Paul's, Halifax.<sup>35</sup>

Moore had succeeded in his campaign to rebuild King's on the Dalhousie campus but the Anglican community which provided much of the money was seriously divided, with King's one of the points of conflict. Moore was not an intellectual or a scholar and was not interested in the problem of reconciling freedom of thought with denominational interest. Nevertheless, it must be recognized that he was in a difficult position and that Symons represented a danger to what he had accomplished. He decided that Symons must go and engineered his departure with great skill.

Why did Symons agree to resign? Perhaps he concluded that if he refused his position would have been made worse. The question of severance pay may have been a factor. The Executive Committee of the King's Board of Governors only decided to grant Symons two months extra pay in late May, six weeks after his resignation.<sup>36</sup> In addition, it is likely that Moore offered the incentive of a glowing letter of reference not only from himself but from President Mackenzie of Dalhousie if he went quietly. Finally, his friends on campus may have told him that he had transgressed the invisible line defining acceptable classroom conduct and they would not be able to defend him before the court of Nova Scotia public opinion.

A most unusual act on the part of the Dalhousie Board of Governors must be considered at this point. In December, 1929, six months after returning to England, Symons wrote to George E. Wilson. He told

Wilson that he was earning a bare living by selling sulphuric and hydrochloric acid and red lead.<sup>37</sup> Wilson and some of his colleagues approached Moore and asked King's to provide Symons with assistance. Moore refused.<sup>38</sup> They then asked Mackenzie to approach the Dalhousie Board of Governors. On the initiative of the Chairman, G.F. Pearson, and the President, Mackenzie, the Dalhousie Board voted him an *ex gratia* payment equivalent to two months salary. Mackenzie's letter to Symons begins as follows:

... when you were leaving Halifax there was a feeling among some of your friends and those interested in your future that, if you were not successful in finding a University post, either King's College or the University might come to your aid by making you a gift of two months pay beyond the end of the College year in addition to the two months pay which King's had already advanced to you.<sup>39</sup>

The tone and content of this letter suggests that Mackenzie had not been comfortable with Moore's treatment of Symons. Were Mackenzie, and others, like H.L. Stewart, George E. Wilson and R.A. MacKay, led to believe that King's would provide further assistance to Symons if things went badly for him?<sup>40</sup> It is hard to think of any other explanation for why the Dalhousie Board of Governors would come to the aid of a former King's professor. It is possible that Mackenzie believed that Moore had forced Symons out not simply because of a classroom peccadillo, but because of his general framework of ideas. Moore did not want non-Christians, or even lapsed Christians, on the King's faculty, and Symons's "error of judgment" provided him with his opportunity to move against him without having to face the opposition of Dalhousie faculty members who had a somewhat larger view of academic freedom. Mackenzie's willingness to help Symons in 1930 suggests that complaints about the content of Symons's teaching would not have been sufficient to persuade him that he was unacceptable as a psychology professor. Symons had, however, overstepped the barrier separating the intellectual from the prurient, according to the standards of the 1920s, by asking a co-ed about necking. Accordingly, although Mackenzie must have felt unable to interfere, he seems to have suffered from bad conscience.

Before he left Halifax, his friends held a dinner for Symons at the Lord Nelson Hotel. Almost the whole faculty of Arts and Science attended, according to Archibald MacMechan, who wrote about it in his diary:

'I come to bury Symons not to praise him' was the keynote of the evening, although I tried to brighten things up at my end of the table. . . . Symons spoke well, regarding himself as a martyr to the Truth, the Gospel according to St. Freud.<sup>41</sup>

After eventually finding a post as an elementary schoolmaster at a private school in England, Symons disappeared from sight, although he published three further articles between 1939 and 1941.<sup>42</sup>

Moore's attempt to find a suitable replacement dragged into the summer of 1929. No candidate met his various requirements. One was a Jew. Moore rejected this possibility out of hand, on the ground that "Religious prejudice . . . runs rather deep in these Maritime Provinces of Canada."<sup>43</sup> Another, Dr. Frances Botkin Marshall, ruined her chances by getting pregnant.<sup>44</sup> Moore found a way out of his difficulty on the 12 July. A note survives in the King's Archives. It is unsigned, but is dated and reads, "Hilton Page graduate of Pine Hill—possible for Psychology vacancy."<sup>45</sup> Page, an ordained United Church minister, had just returned from spending a year as a graduate student in Philosophy at Harvard. He had gone there at the insistence of George E. Wilson, who had made his acquaintance through one of his history students, Maurice H. Armstrong. Wilson lent Page \$400 to enable him to go. While at Harvard, Page saw a good deal of C.L. Bennet, a young King's professor of English who was on sabbatical leave to work on his doctorate. Bennet recommended Page to Moore, who hired him on a one-year contract in August, even though his training was not primarily in Psychology.<sup>46</sup> Page went on to become an important figure in the history of both King's and Dalhousie, serving in the Faculty of Arts and Science for fifty-six years; at various times he was Chairman of both the Philosophy and Psychology Departments, and also Vice-President and Acting President of King's.<sup>47</sup>

Norman J. Symons was an enthusiast for a modern vision of reality based on a particular aspect of empirical science. He was a disciple of Freud, bringing the ideas of this great thinker to a provincial university where another and different way of looking at man and nature still prevailed. Protestantism, whether in its Presbyterian or Anglican form, remained potent on the Dalhousie campus. The humanities in particular embodied the strength of this tradition. Truth was to be pursued by studying the philosophical and literary heritage of Europe which had Christianity at its centre. Knowledge involved grasping, to a greater or lesser degree, the wisdom contained in that tradition. A humane education meant the unfolding of this wisdom to the student, as both intellectual nurture and a guide to conduct throughout life.

Freedom of thought is at all times difficult to sustain. Dalhousie was founded as a non-sectarian institution on the model of Scottish universities where religious toleration had developed earlier than in England. President Mackenzie and other members of the faculty at Dalhousie were deeply committed to the idea of the university as a citadel of unfettered thought. The Symons affair shows that they held to this ideal even if it meant the teaching of doctrines that attacked the very basis of the university as they understood it. President Moore of King's, however, did not accept this degree of intellectual freedom for King's professors. Nevertheless, he did not succeed in forcing Symons out because of his thinking, but because of his behavior. Symons was punished not for what he thought, or taught, but rather for what he did. The freedom Dalhousie allowed to thought did not extend to behavior. At Dalhousie, unlike at King's, professors might teach what they liked, and follow the path of knowledge where it led them. But they had to act according to the imperatives of Protestant morality.

Symons was more than just a proponent of ideas that stood in opposition to the intellectual and moral life of the Protestant world of Dalhousie and King's. His thinking represented the vanguard of the wave of modernism that within a generation would lead to the university as we know it today, where neither ideas nor conduct are judged according to Protestant and Christian imperatives. The old order survived in Nova Scotia long after its death in Europe had been proclaimed by Marx, Nietzsche and Freud; Symons's fate reveals to us the nature of that order in its twilight.

## NOTES

## Abbreviations:

DUA Dalhousie University Archives  
 KCA University of King's College Archives

1. John G. Reid, *Mount Allison: A History, 1843-1963*, 2 vols (Toronto: U of Toronto P, 1984). There is a photograph of the mural in its Tweedie Hall setting in volume 2. It is reproduced (unfortunately not in color) in David Burnett, *Colville* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1983), 59.
2. Although Divinity did remain in the Arts curriculum until King's association with Dalhousie in 1923; see Henry Roper, "The Nova Scotia University Scene in the Late Nineteenth Century," in K. G. Jaeger (ed.), *The Idea of the University* (Halifax: Institute for Advanced Study, University of King's College, 1990).
3. A separate science curriculum began to appear at King's with the establishment of the School of Engineering in 1871, which by 1877 was offering a Bachelor of Engineering. (*Calendar of King's College, Windsor, Nova Scotia, 1877-78*). In 1883 the Board of

- Governors approved a new curriculum advertised in the 1883-84 *Calendar* (20) as "graduation in science and engineering." In 1884 the College created a Divinity School, which offered a programme leading to a Licentiate in Theology open to students not wishing to take a B.A. degree. A B.Sc. degree separate from Engineering had emerged by 1890 (*Calendar*, 1890-91, 9). See also *Calendar*, 1892-93, 122, for the King's School of Law.
4. See *Calendar of Dalhousie University*, 1924-25, vi, Academic Staff, Faculty of Arts and Science, 1923-24. See also *Annual Report of President of Dalhousie University, 1923-24 et seq.* In 1929-30 there were 638 Dalhousie, and 68 King's students in the Faculty of Arts and Science.
  5. MacMechan's letters are on file in the DUA.
  6. See Paul Axelrod, "Moulding the Middle Class: Student Life at Dalhousie University in the 1930s," *Acadiensis* 15 (1985-86), 99-101, for this anecdote about physics at Dalhousie and information about teaching in other departments; for Wilson's personality and opinions, see Henry Roper, "The Lifelong Pilgrimage of George E. Wilson," *Royal Nova Scotia Historical Society Collections*, 42 (1986), 139-151.
  7. Thomas Carlyle, *Sartor Resartus*, edited and with an introduction by Archibald MacMechan (Boston: Ginn, 1896). MacMechan also edited an edition of Carlyle's *Heroes, Hero-Worship and the Heroic in History* for the same publisher.
  8. Dalhousie University, Halifax, Nova Scotia, *Calendar*, 1958-59, 37. Cf. the 1924-25 *Calendar*, 18.
  9. University of King's College, *Statutes, Regulations, Articles of Agreement* (Halifax: n.p., 1962), 11, Articles of Association, 1923, art. 16.
  10. Only one of the eight appointments. W. D. MacFarlane (English) had been a professor at Windsor. See *Annual Report of the President of Dalhousie University, 1923-24*, 2 and *Calendar of the University of King's College, 1922-23 et seq.*
  11. KCA, Norman J. Symons file, letter of recommendation by R. B. Taylor, D.D. (copy), 16 July, 1923.
  12. *Ibid.*, Norman J. Symons to T. S. Boyle, 9 July, 1923. Symons had been at Queen's since 1912. He served in France with a Canadian battalion from 1917-1919.
  13. *Ibid.*, Bishop of Ontario (Rt. Rev. Edward Bidwell) to T. S. Boyle, 31 August, 1923.
  14. *Ibid.*, T. S. Boyle to the Bishop of Ontario, (copy), 4 September, 1923.
  15. *Ibid.*, T. S. Boyle to N. J. Symons, (copy), 4 September, 1923.
  16. *Ibid.*, N. J. Symons to Arthur H. Moore, 19 May, 1928. Moore succeeded Boyle as President of King's in 1924, remaining in office until 1937.
  17. N. J. Symons, "The Development of the Psychology of Maine de Biran," in *Philosophical Essays presented to John Watson* (Kingston: Queen's University, 1922), 204-253. See especially 247-252.
  18. H. L. Stewart, "The Present Position of the Hypothesis of Sub-consciousness," in *Questions of the Day in Philosophy and Psychology* (London: Edward Arnold, 1912), 55-80.
  19. Ernest Jones, *Free Associations: Memories of a Psycho-analyst* (London: Hogarth Press, 1959), 176-200.
  20. There is an abstract of this lecture in the *Canadian Medical Association Journal*, 14 (1924), 195-197.
  21. See, for example, "On Throwing Dishes from a Window in Dreams," *International Journal of Psycho-Analysis*, 8 (1927), 69-71; "On Seeing Oneself Dead in a Dream," *ibid.*, 9 (1928), 524-529; "Two Dreams," *ibid.*, 10 (1929), 443-447.
  22. Mrs. Eileen Henry to James W. Clark, 11 March, 1985.
  23. *Ibid.* The student in question was Madeleine Page, who took Education I from Symons in 1927-28. Page died in India in 1954. In an interview with Henry Roper on the 17 February, 1989, Mrs. Lillian Barnstead Page (no relation) stated that Madeleine Page had told her that her father had complained to A. H. Moore about Symons's interpretation of a dream. Mrs. Page could say nothing about the content of the dream, however. As she put it, "One did not talk about that sort of thing in those days." Mrs. Page expressed the opinion that there might have been complaints about Symons from other parents too.
  24. KCA, Symons file, Norman J. Symons to A. H. Moore, 19 April, 1929.
  25. *Ibid.*, A. H. Moore to N. J. Symons, (copy), 7 June, 1929. See also Secretary of the Board, University of King's College to Symons, (copy), 25 April, 1929. For the action of the King's Board in accepting Symons's resignation see KCA-Minutes of the Board of Governors, King's College (MSS) Vol. 11, 327, meeting of the Executive Committee, 24 April, 1929.

26. *Ibid.*, A. H. Moore to N. J. Symons, (copy), 25 April, 1929.
27. DUA MS 1-3 496, President's Staff Files—Norman J. Symons. President Mackenzie used this version as the basis for his own general letter of recommendation on Symons's behalf. He did not send this directly to Symons, but to Moore, presumably with comments on Moore's own letter. A second version of Moore's letter, no doubt the one he gave to Symons, is on file at King's, and is dated the 29 April. This is identical to that of April 26, save for the omission of the words placed in square brackets.
28. See KCA, file labelled, "Psychology 1929-Application for position." Hereafter cited as Psychology-1929 file.
29. *Dalhousie Gazette*, 25 January, 1929, 1.
30. *Ibid.*, 22 March, 1929, 2.
31. KCA Psychology-1929 file, A. H. Moore to William McDougall, Dept. of Psychology, Duke University, (copy), 21 May, 1929.
32. *Ibid.*, A. H. Moore to William Brown, Wilde Reader in Mental Philosophy, Oxford University, (copy), 29 May, 1929.
33. KCA, A. H. Moore file, A. H. Moore to R. V. Harris, 30 August, 1924, and the contents of this file *passim*.
34. KCA, President's Report File, President's Report, Annual Meeting of the Board of Governors, University of King's College, October 30, 1928.
35. KCA, W. J. Armitage file, *passim*.
36. KCA, Minutes of the Board of Governors, King's College (MSS), Vol. 11, 336, meeting of the Executive Committee, 28 May, 1929.
37. DUA MS 1-3 496, President's Staff Files—Norman J. Symons, N.J. Symons to George E. Wilson, 1 December, 1929.
38. *Ibid.*, A. S. Mackenzie to N. J. Symons, (copy), 27 June, 1930.
39. *Ibid.*
40. These are the persons referred to as friends by Symons in his letter to Wilson of the 1 December, 1929. MacKay was Eric Dennis Professor of Political Science in 1929.
41. DUA MS 2-82-A-9, Archibald MacMechan Private Journal, (MSS) 13 May, 1929.
42. These appeared in the *British Journal of Medical Psychology*.
43. KCA, Psychology—1929 file, A. H. Moore to William MacDougall (copy), 4 June, 1929.
44. Dr. Marshall was a psychologist with a Ph.D from the University of Chicago. She had subsequently taught at Smith College and had uniformly excellent letters of recommendation. Although she proposed a very reasonable solution to the problem of being unable to lecture until mid-October (approximately two weeks after the beginning of classes) by offering the services of her husband, a qualified psychiatrist, Moore lost all interest in hiring her upon learning of her pregnancy. See *ibid.*, Frances Botkin Marshall to A. H. Moore, 13 July, 1929; A. H. Moore to Frances Marshall, (copy), 19 July, 1929.
45. *Ibid.*
46. This information was provided by Mrs. Lillian Barnstead Page, wife of Dr. F. H. Page, in an interview with Henry Roper, 17 February, 1989. For Page's studies at Harvard, see F. H. Page, "A. N. Whitehead: A Pupil's Tribute," *Dalhousie Review*, 28 (1948-49), 71-80.
47. When philosophy and psychology were finally separated into two departments in 1948, Page became head of the Psychology Department, retaining this position until 1962. In that year he returned to Philosophy as head and remained so for nine years. He served as Vice-President of King's from 1959 to 1969 and as Acting President, 1969-70.