

1854 REVISITED: MCGILL COLLEGE SEEKS A NEW PRINCIPAL

REGINALD EDWARDS *McGill University*

ABSTRACT. The century following the capitulation of Montreal in 1760 saw the end of one British Empire and the inauguration of a second one. Though charged with the responsibility of providing education for the people of Canada, the earlier Crown-appointed Governors General failed to do so, but later ones were to play a larger role in having these benefits secured for the people. They were important in securing the provisions of the will of James McGill which gave to Canada its first undenominational university. Models derived from practices in Edinburgh, at the Royal High School and the University, proved helpful in the struggle for an independent Board of Governors and in their subsequent actions. The personal characteristics of these governors, their approach to the appointment of a new Principal, after a series of temporary appointments, the men considered for the appointment, and the final selection of J.W. Dawson are then delineated.

RÉSUMÉ. Le siècle qui a suivi la capitulation de Montréal en 1760 a vu la chute d'un empire britannique et son remplacement par un deuxième. Bien qu'investis de la responsabilité d'assurer l'éducation des citoyens du Canada, les premiers gouverneurs généraux nommés par la Couronne se sont bien gardés de le faire, mais ceux qui leur ont succédé ont joué un rôle beaucoup plus important à cet égard. C'est eux qui ont veillé au respect des dispositions du testament de James McGill qui a donné au Canada sa première université non confessionnelle. Les modèles inspirés des pratiques en vigueur à Édimbourg, à la *Royal High School* et à l'Université, se sont avérés utiles pour obtenir un Conseil de gouverneurs indépendant et épauler ses actions ultérieures. L'article brosse les caractéristiques personnelles de ces gouverneurs, leur façon de nommer un nouveau principal après une série de nominations provisoires, les hommes considérés pour la poste et le choix définitif qui s'est porté sur J.W. Dawson.

Events by their nature are never singular; they have their antecedents and their consequents. Plausible arrangements of these can give a deterministic tinge to historical research. Distance in time from the events, with distortions, *suppressio veri* and *suggestio falsi*, produce the

myths which pass for history, while condensation and highlighting enable the evocation of a single phrase, or year, to represent a multiplicity of events to be subsumed. Thus, if a recent year was the "*annus horribilis*" of the British Monarchy, and "the Black Death" could be used as a significant phrase to characterize aspects of medieval Europe, or 1848 recalled as the "Year of Revolutions", then 1854 may stand for the seminal year in the history of McGill University.

The mercantilist policies of the European powers were greatly reinforced by the discovery of the New World, and, from the 16th century onwards, gave access first to the precious metal possessions and later to favoured trade with conquered territories, dependencies, colonies, and plantations. The early success of Spain gave it the resources to attempt control of continental Europe, an attempt which failed when its navy could guarantee no longer the arrival of the treasure ships from the New World, ships lost to piracy or to acts of war. France's first attempt at hegemony under the Sun King ended when Marlborough in his four famous victories destroyed the legend of invincibility of Louis XIV's army. The second attempt under his grandson Louis XV was defeated by reason of Pitt's policy of attacking French colonies, the use of naval power, and a minimal commitment of British troops in continental Europe. The earlier peace treaties, usually occasioned by the lack of finances, saw England and France continue their struggle by political means. In these treaties the English Whigs sought to guarantee the continued success of the Bloodless Revolution which they had engineered and the Protestant succession which they had contrived, a succession necessary to maintain the dominance of the Anglican Church, to which so many of them subscribed. It also struck at the Jacobite sympathies of the Tories by getting France's signature that it would no longer support the exiled Stuarts. As a counter the Whigs were prepared to allow to the inhabitants of occupied territories the right to follow the Roman religion "as far as the laws of England allow". Both sides of the "bargain" were meaningless, for France continued to support the Stuarts, in 1715 and 1745, and the laws of England permitted few rights to either Catholics or Dissidents under the Clarendon Code.

By 1748 the Jacobite threat had disappeared and the Protestant succession via the House of Hanover had been secured. The treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle of that year, like some earlier treaties, returned conquests to their previous owners, but this one additionally confirmed Britain in its monopoly of the slave trade, the proceeds of which were to help fund the Industrial Revolution of the 19th century and gave Britain trading

rights with French and Spanish colonies to the south. Moreover, the concession on religion of the early treaties gave to the military commanders of the Seven Years War, Wolfe and Amherst, a propaganda tool with which they could attempt to neutralize the civilian population of French settlements – one more weapon in Pitt's armory used to destroy French power in North America. The accession of George III in 1760 ended Pitt's schemes and hastened the end of the war.

George's subsequent moves to recover lost Royal power, his use of payments and titles to strengthen the "king's friends" and control Parliament, forever altered the course of North American history. One empire was lost, another one emerged. The final decade of George's life was one of madness, deafness, senility, and blindness. His successors were no more highly regarded than he was. George IV was described as "the most worthless of his line and one of the most selish and dishonourable men in Europe; he was as destitute of affection as he was of honour. . . and his only aim was to spend the money of his subjects in riotous living." William IV, who was crowned the day after George's death, and had spent most of his life at sea, "was a rough mannered curmudgeon, who yet was thought to have honest qualities under the surface. He was, of course, utterly incompetent but nothing else was expected of an English sovereign in those days." ¹

But the politicians of the House of Commons moved from one ministry to another, some thirty-one in all in the century between the Treaty of Paris and the creation of the Dominion of Canada, as they moved away from government by cliques to government by political parties. Under the last of the male Hanoverians they finally took control when William agreed to "swamp the peers", i.e., agreed to create enough new peers to outvote the Tories in the House of Lords. This move would have "debased the currency", i.e., the value of a title, and removed from the king his main weapon of patronage. It was this threat which secured the passage of the first Reform Bill of 1832, after the House of Lords had twice rejected it, and it was the subsequent election, which heralded the first appearance of political parties designated as Liberal or Conservative. As governments changed so did the arrangements for dealing with the colonies. They passed from the Secretary of State for the Southern Division (the senior Secretary of State) who had been helped by both the Lords Commissioners for Trade and the Plantations, established in 1695, and, from 1768 to 1782, by an Under Secretary of State for the Colonies. Then responsibility was transferred to the Home Office prior to the creation, in 1801, of the office of Secretary of State

for War and the Colonies (more often referred to as the Secretary of State for War on the Colonies). Eventually, in 1854, there were two offices, when a separate office of Colonial Secretary was created.

The Royal Proclamation of 1763 and the Quebec Act of 1774 came about during earlier regimes and extended to the new colony of Canada the practices of the older American ones, including provisions for the support of schools and schoolmasters, as well as the establishment of an executive council and an elected assembly. In 1783 the badly negotiated peace treaty with the United States gave up the rich Ohio territory, altering for ever the patterns of the fur trade, sacrificing the Indian rights which the 1774 Act had attempted to establish, and permitting the western settlements of the United States. Poor boundaries between the two countries were left in place. The influence of the first two governors general, Murray and Carleton upon these events, and upon parliamentary opinion, were reflected in the constitution Act of 1791 and heralded the change in late 1801 to the appointment of the Minister for War and the Colonies.

Meanwhile the Anglican Church had fought to retain its control, making few concessions to the established Presbyterian Church of Scotland, and none at all to the Dissenters and Catholics, whose disabilities were only removed in 1829. Even so, only after the 1850s could they be admitted to the universities of Oxford and Cambridge. In Canada, the appointed governors, no matter what their personal inclinations and inherited attitudes were, had to contend with their political masters at home, and resistance to Anglicization abroad. Their situation was made worse by the fairly ready reception which an opposition group in Britain gave to colonial complaints, which could then be used as a weapon to destabilize the prevailing Home government. Governor Murray was only the first of a series of governors who felt unable or unwilling to carry out their gubernatorial instructions. He failed to call into being an elected legislative assembly, and took no steps in the appointment of schoolmasters nor the provision for them. Carleton, his successor, in his first tenure as governor also failed, but in 1792, in his second term, now as Lord Dorchester, he was forced by the Constitution Act of 1791 to provide an Assembly.

Having to deal with elected assemblies was no easy matter. A governor's powers were not absolute. He could accept legislation from the Assembly and Council, he could reserve it for the approval of the home government, or he could reject it, in which case he would have to dissolve the Assembly. His main weapon of patronage was land and its

bestowal. Many of the contests between governor and assembly were for financial control, and disposal of land. Lord Durham, in his report, noted that the governor must look for no support from home in any contest with the legislature except on points of imperial interest. Even on this latter point he erred, for in truth there was no established colonial policy and no established imperial interest.

There were two purposes for which the colonies proved useful – either as penal colonies or as an outlet for the surplus population, a point of view expressed by Jeremy Bentham and James Mill. The surplus population might also include awkward politicians and former generals from Wellington's armies. Durham was regarded as one such politician by Melbourne.² Because of the constant threat of war from the American side from 1776 to 1815 it was no doubt an advantage to have governors with military experience, but certainly service under Wellington was to prove no drawback to gubernatorial ambition. Five Governors General had been present at Waterloo. Governors, too, could be betrayed by their deputies, or by their administrators, who acted contrary to instructions or relayed confidential colonial office instructions to local politicians. And, finally, they had to contend with both the junior ministers at home and, more importantly, with such powerful permanent civil servants as Sir James Stephen, or Merrivale or Rogers, who from 1813 onwards seemed to be in control of colonial affairs.

The initial attempts to treat the new colony of Canada like the older American colonies ignored great differences between the two. In general the educational level in the American colonies was superior to that in Britain herself, the religious context of colonial existence itself ensuring greater literacy; and its experience of government was more widely distributed, in terms both of access to the franchise and to local and state control. The Catholic Church with its anti-Erastrian attitudes sought to exist without any form of state control of education, but the Protestant colonies, whether Calvinistic or Anglican, wanted the state to provide and control education at all levels, and their laws compelled residents to tax themselves for its provision. Quite early within the existence of each such colony a university had been established, outstanding examples being Harvard, Yale, William and Mary, King's (Columbia), Brown, New Jersey (Princeton), and Philadelphia (University of Pennsylvania),³ all established before the Treaty of Paris, and for a population of only a million and a quarter. By contrast, Canada with a population of some 80 thousand people possessed only a Jesuit College with a declining enrolment and a Grande and a Petite Seminaire,

established by Bishop Laval in Quebec in 1663 and 1668, respectively, together with a Sulpician Seminary in Montreal.

ROYAL INSTITUTION FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF LEARNING

For the new colony to resemble the older American ones, large scale immigration of people was necessary, especially of people familiar with English customs, law, and practice, and preferably from the American colonies. It would be necessary also to move away from permitting the "custom of Paris" to prevail in civil matters, and necessary also to weaken the theological sway of the Roman Catholic Church. But this did not happen. Instead the "custom of Paris" became the "custom of Canada," the Catholic Church did not co-operate and seigneuries were retained. So many difficulties were placed in the way of Vermonters and New Yorkers acquiring land in the Eastern Townships that many went back to the United States. As for the merchants who settled in the towns, they remained a source of irritation to a succession of governors.

Governor Prescott was recalled over his attempted resolution of the land situation, but his successor, Robert Shore Milnes, gained local popularity by capitulating on the issue. This gave him the opportunity, 41 years after Vaudreuil's surrender at Montreal, to have passed into law "an Act to establish free schools and to promote the cause of education." Milnes had gained approval in advance from Lord Portland, the Home Secretary. The Assembly at that time consisted of fifty elected members and the appointed Council had twenty-seven members. All were unpaid. Few members could afford to stay in Quebec for the three months of the sitting, so the voting margins were often slim, 8 to 7, and 11 to 10 on two of the clauses. But all stages for the passage of the act were dutifully completed in 1801 and the act, which created the Royal Institution for the Advancement of Learning (RIAL), was proclaimed in 1802 without further reference to London.⁴

To obtain a free school, the majority of the land holders in the district would have to vote for the provision of a school, agree to tax themselves to build a school, and to donate the building to the Royal Institution, which would then undertake to pay the schoolmaster. There were no constraints on either the language or the religion of the school. In 1803 thousands of acres of uncultivated land were given to RIAL, but sales were very slow and little money was realised. It was not until 1818, after the end of the Napoleonic and American wars, and sixteen years after its legal creation in 1802, that the Royal Institution received its Letters

Patent, and the members of the governing board were nominated by Lord Bathurst, the long serving Secretary of State for War and the Colonies, to coincide with the appointment of his impecunious brother-in-law, and good friend, Charles Lennox, Duke of Richmond, as Governor-in-Chief.

Nearly all the members of RIAL were nominated by virtue of their official positions, in either Upper or Lower Canada, and the nominal head, the president, was the Anglican Archbishop, Jacob Mountain (consecrated in 1793). Monsignor Plessis, by then Bishop Plessis, the head of the Catholic Church in Lower Canada, was also named as a member but declined to sit under an Anglican prelate using, as Plessis wrongly thought, funds to be derived from the Jesuit Estates to further what he considered Protestant education. A further nine appointments were made by Bathurst in 1819, increasing both the number of Anglican clergy and the number of French speaking members of the Assembly on the Board. The granting of Letters Patent enabled the Board to invoke the provisions of the will of James McGill.

In his youth, McGill had matriculated at Glasgow University, and had later become a successful, prosperous, and respected business man in Montreal, and had, with some prompting from John Strachan, and excellent legal advice, drawn up his will which left his estate at Burnside and an additional sum of £10,000 to the Royal Institution. The gift was conditional upon RIAL having "erected and established an 'university or college' and that one of the colleges to be comprised in the said university shall be named and perpetually known and distinguished by the appellation of McGill College."⁵ Mrs. McGill was "left comfortable" and her son received £60,000. The four executors of the will were John Strachan, John Richardson, James Reid, and James Dunlop, the first three, by virtue of their official positions, were also by 1821 governors of the Royal Institution. Strachan, formerly a schoolmaster, who took Holy Orders and became Rector of Cornwall, was to become, later, at his own expense and initially without remuneration, Bishop of Toronto. He had married the widow of McGill's younger brother, Andrew (died in 1808), who had been provided for with a life time annuity of £300 per year which would help to provide the material comforts which Strachan was destined to enjoy. Richardson, an assembly member for Montreal, was the head of the fur trading company of Forsyth, Richardson & Co., a prominent contractor in the building of the Lachine Canal and a founder of the Bank of Montreal, whilst James Reid was to become the Chief Justice of Montreal.

Armed with the Letters Patent the board now asked the four trustees of the will of James McGill to transfer to the Royal Institution title to the land and the money. This precipitated legal action by the son of McGill's widow, litigation which was both time consuming and expensive to both parties, with appeals by the son to the Privy Council, eventually being decided against him in favour of the Royal Institution. The £10,000 was reserved for the endowment of the college once it was built. The letters patent enabled the president, Bishop Jacob Mountain, to appoint as secretary of the Royal Institution Joseph Langley Mills, a liberally minded Oxford graduate who had served as garrison chaplain to the forces in Quebec, an underpaid occupation, requiring some other source of income. The secretaryship should have brought in an additional amount of £100 per year, but Mills was never fully paid, receiving only £300 in total during his lifetime. He died penniless in 1832 but during the years from 1820 to 1832 "Mills became virtually the Royal Institution. He kept the Board's minutes and records and interpreted and applied its policies. . . he had much autonomy in day-to-day administration."⁶

In Quebec, the Assembly as a body sought more power for itself, including financial control, largely at the expense of the executive council, and whereas Sir John Sherbrooke, the former Governor-in-Chief, had entered into an informal arrangement with Papineau, the speaker of the Assembly, to grant more powers to the Assembly in return for a civil list, Lennox had added sinecure positions on the list of those to be remunerated. When Papineau refused, Lennox resolved to place as much power as possible directly within the prerogative of the Crown. He advised Bishop Jacob Mountain to apply to the Crown for a Royal Charter for a university, using the funds provided by, and under the conditions of the will of James McGill. When no reply was received to this first application, Lennox advised a second one. Bishop Jacob Mountain's second application for a charter was granted and the good news was communicated by the incoming Governor-in-Chief, George Ramsay, Earl of Dalhousie, formerly Lt. Governor of Nova Scotia, that as from March 31, 1821, McGill College and University would have a Royal Charter and its Visitor would be the Royal Institution. This was a wise political move.

From the time of Edward VI, the Crown, through the Privy Council, had retained control of what came to be known as Higher Education by retaining the right to create or prohibit universities and to maintain supervision of what they had created by means of the "Visitor" who had

the power to inform the Crown (Privy Council) of the working and affairs of the university, and, if necessary, to intercede with the Crown on behalf of the university.

The Royal Institution was set up under local, Canadian legislation, and was subject to local jurisdiction. What a local assembly could do, it might also undo. However, it had been the recipient of the McGill bequest, and, in law would have to preserve the contract implied by McGill's will. Only two years earlier, in the Dartmouth College case, Daniel Webster had obtained a judgement that "a charter was an inviolable contract within the Constitution of the United States" and that a state legislature did not have "the power to modify or abrogate a charter legally granted in all good faith."⁷ Such a recent message, from a neighbouring jurisdiction, could not be lost upon Canadian law-makers.

By the terms of the charter, the first college of the university was to be called McGill College. It would have a principal, who by virtue of his office would become a governor. The six other members of the governing body of the university, spelled out by the Charter, were the Governor-General, the two Lt. Governors, the Bishop of Quebec, the Chief Justice of Upper Canada, and the Chief Justice of Montreal. The college would have four professors, so that in order to complete its legal existence, Archdeacon George Jehoshaphat Mountain was named as principal, three Anglican clergymen, James Langley Mills, John Strachan, and C. J. Wilson, were named as professors, and a Quebec City doctor, Thomas Fargues, was named as Professor of Medicine. The litigation entered into first by the son of James McGill's widow, Francis Desrivières, was not decided finally until June 1829 when the decision of the Privy Council was reached in favour of the chartered McGill College and its legal existence was now established, the news being confirmed by the new Governor General, Dalhousie. He was a rigid Presbyterian, the product both of Edinburgh's Royal High School and its University, who earlier in Nova Scotia had tried to found an undenominational university akin to that of Edinburgh. It was not chartered until 1841.

As we have seen, a local assembly was unlikely to attempt to violate a charter granted by a higher legal entity but it could, and would, alter the powers granted to its own creation, the Royal Institution, or subvert them by means of other legislation. Whilst the legal decisions about McGill College were being reached in London, the Assembly continued to discuss both educational matters and also the control of finances, the former in terms of a different educational base, or public education

for Canadians. On finance, Bathurst, in office till 1827, favoured the approach of Lennox, i.e., retaining Crown control whilst otherwise offering conciliatory gestures. Dalhousie, in spite of his distaste for the Roman Catholic church had negotiated with Bishop Plessis for a parallel Catholic Royal Institution but Bathurst was unable to find the money, and the Assembly had none at its own disposal.

Britain in December 1824 was on the verge of a financial and banking crisis, which became full blown in the following year when some sixty-six banks failed, being unable to find the gold necessary to match their paper commitments, and this fact may have contributed to Bathurst's refusal. An alternative proposal of Dalhousie and Plessis's successor, Panet, for two separate committees within one royal institution, one Catholic and one Protestant, with alternating presidencies, would have been possible if the Assembly modified the original Milnes' Act of 1801. Such an amending bill was introduced in the Assembly in March 1829 by Vallières-de-St. Réal but, after second reading, the committee stage was delayed by the bill's sponsor until the next session. The bill never re-appeared.

Earlier, in 1824, the news that the Receiver-General, William Caldwell, had misappropriated £96,000 of public funds to support his own mercantile speculation was a blow to Dalhousie. A second one, which Dalhousie attributed to Plessis, came with the passing of the Fabriques Act, which allowed Catholic parishes to use parish funds to finance the building and operation of schools under their own control, and so beyond the aegis of the Royal Institution, which within a few years was to reach its maximum control of schools, some 84 in all, of which 23 catered exclusively, or nearly so, to a Catholic Canadian population. Whilst little use was made of this provision a later move of the Assembly, taking place alongside the aforementioned move to amend the original Milnes' Act of 1801, was to result in the first Syndics Act of 1829, the whole sequence taking place within a period of seven days. Further Syndics Acts in 1831 and 1832 effectively ended the ability of the Royal Institution to control elementary schools. A syndic could be formed by elected or nominated individuals who could act as trustees, or government officers, for a specific purpose, in this case that of administering public funds for an educational purpose, thus placing elementary education under the control of the Assembly.⁸

These Syndics Acts provided funds for building schools,⁹ and continued the Scottish and American practices of charging fees to those who could afford them but remunerating the schoolmasters from public

funds in return for their teaching, free of charge, the children of the poor. Free public education was first introduced in New York in the 1840s. As a result of the Acts, and the rising pay offered to schoolmasters, many of the schools where the schoolmasters had been paid from the funds of the Royal Institution now defected to the Syndics and, as all new schools did so, the funds available to the Royal Institution were correspondingly diminished. By the time of the first Patriote Rebellion in November 1837, only three of the over 1500 elementary schools in Lower Canada still adhered to the Royal Institution, and by the 1840s only the two grammar schools.

MCGILL COLLEGE

The courts eventually left the £10,000 with the trustees, who, rather than handing the endowment directly to the institution secured legal protection for themselves by allowing themselves to be “amicably” sued by the Royal Institution, which then declared itself ready to build McGill College. Earlier, on being granted title to Burnside Estate, an inauguration ceremony had been held, fittingly in the now somewhat dilapidated former home of James McGill, Burnside Place, on June 24, 1829. The principal, George Jehoshophat Mountain, in a very eloquent address, promised that the College would seek to carry out the wishes of McGill, and that no tests (i.e., religious tests) would be applied to either professors or students, and all offices would be open to either Protestants or Catholics.¹⁰ Two ministers from the Presbyterian churches, Henry Esson and Edward Black, were present. Black was later offered a teaching appointment but declined. Amongst others present at the ceremony were members of the Montreal Medical Institution.

A group of four Edinburgh trained doctors had formed themselves into a medical institute on St. James Street where they offered courses in medicine and medical practice. Dalhousie had secured legislative permission for them to act as a board of examiners to certify other would be doctors and pharmacists. With public support they had in 1819 raised money to set up the Montreal General Hospital on Craig Street, and one of their members, Caldwell, on April 11, 1819, fought a duel with a member of the Assembly who opposed their right to challenge the Hotel Dieu. Two years later, they moved to another site on Dorchester Street. Their teaching role began in 1823 and by 1826 they applied for permission to grant medical degrees, a request which was rejected in 1828. They were advised that affiliation with a degree granting seminary or college was to be preferred, and their attendance

at the inauguration might have been indicative of their interest. In 1829, by arrangement, they became the medical faculty of McGill and another member, John Stephenson, petitioned Governor Aylmer for McGill's right to confer medical degrees. Permission was granted in July 1832. Thereupon, Thomas Fargues, the medical practitioner from Quebec City, withdrew from his professorship, and was replaced by a member of the medical institution, William Robertson, and the other three were then given teaching appointments under the statutes of the Faculty of Medicine thus created.

PRINCIPALS MOUNTAIN AND BETHUNE

From the inauguration onwards the paths of the two bodies, the Royal Institution and McGill College, and their respective boards, began to diverge, even though some individuals were members of both boards. Some of the difficulty was geographical; McGill was in Montreal but both boards met in Quebec City. Again, because of the commitments of the higher office holders, e.g., the governor-general, it was not easy to obtain a quorum, and even when the numbers for a quorum had been agreed, meetings were held with less than a quorum present, especially at McGill. Additionally, from 1835, RIAL had a new president and McGill had a new principal. The Bishop of Quebec gave up his position to A. W. Cochran, a lawyer who had been secretary, and advisor, to Dalhousie and to his successors. His best advice as president was that any application for a new Royal Charter would render both bodies open to new claims for the Burnside Estate and the endowment, a message that was not to be lost.

For his part, Mountain had resigned as the first principal of McGill as he prepared to leave for London for his consecration as the new Bishop of Quebec, and after casting around various Anglican ministers, John Bethune was appointed as the second principal of McGill College. Though not a university graduate Bethune had been very effective as the Anglican rector for the large parish of Montreal. He had freed the parish from debt, completed the building of Christ Church, organised a National School under the S.P.C.K.,¹¹ helped with the founding of the Montreal General Hospital, and was particularly distinguished for his humanitarian and diocesan efforts during the cholera epidemic of 1832. His appointment was made *pro tempore*, possibly because the three members present on the day of his appointment did not constitute a quorum. The quorum issue and its application or non-application was to become important in the decision making process both within the

Royal Institution and with the governors of McGill College. There, in the Bethune years, Bethune and one other governor were often held to constitute the "necessary quorum". As to his appointment *pro tempore* he attempted his own definition in his acceptance letter, and, in 1843, when he was under attack he obtained a confirmation of his appointment by the three governors then present.

By 1836, with the prospect of a building under active consideration, an unwise remark by Cochran, the president of RIAL, led to Bethune and his family moving into Burnside Place, and living rent free. The Board of the Royal Institution thought of a modest building costing about £5000, suitable for about 40 students and accommodation for two professors. Bethune was more ambitious. His choice of a site, north of the recently constructed Sherbrooke Street, which had been made across the McGill property, was accepted. More modest plans were approved, architect's drawings examined, and on October 7, 1839, the foundation stone was ceremoniously laid by the Commander-in-Chief, and Governor-General, Sir John Colborne.¹² As Governor-General, Colborne was the chairman of the Board of Governors of McGill College and in a position, possibly, to lobby for government funds – though none ever came.

Eventually, in September 1843, four years in the building and at excessive cost, the college was officially opened with a principal (Bethune), a vice-principal (who was Professor of Classics), plus the Rev. Joseph Abbott who was registrar, bursar, beadle, and factotum general, and three matriculated students. By the end of the year there would be twenty students and four professors. Bethune, a staunch Anglican, was keen to turn McGill into an Anglican university, and at the opening ceremony he read proposed statutes which made this clear, with compulsory Anglican observances, and the professors being forbidden to teach any principle contrary to the doctrines of the Church of England. These proposed statutes were in complete denial of the liberal promises which the first principal, G. J. Mountain, had found implied in the will of James McGill, and which he had extolled on Inauguration Day.

Protest was immediate and at a meeting held the same evening at the Congregational Chapel the non-Anglican opinion was made known. Benjamin Holmes was in the chair and the meeting was described in the *Montreal Gazette* as "orderly and highly respectable in its composition." Those present had come to consider the real terms of James McGill's will, the Royal Charter, and the management of McGill College. Three motions were passed: 1) The will said the college would be open to all,

as well Roman Catholic as Protestant, on terms of perfect equality, 2) The management of McGill College is in the hands of a party . . . and it is the duty of the citizens of Montreal . . . to petition her Majesty and the provincial legislature to protect the principles of learning and the religious liberty of this colony, and 3) To support the proposal of the Presbyterian Church of Canada that theological departments should not be supported from government funds. A standing committee of 41 prominent citizens was nominated to arrange for a petition and to canvass public support.

CHANGES IN THE BOARD

The Royal Institution had asked for a financial accounting, as the money conveyed to McGill had been spent and the tradesmen were still complaining about not being paid, and in early January 1844 the Rev. J. Abbott rendered such an account. There was also a question of whether money which should have reverted to the Royal Institution was being diverted into McGill's coffers. Finally, when the vice-principal protested that he had been dismissed arbitrarily by Bethune, acting alone, the board of the Royal Institution decided that it should play the role of Visitor to McGill College, and so, in November 1844, Bishop G. J. Mountain and six members of his board came to Montreal, spent four days interviewing every member of staff and inspecting the buildings and the accounts presented by the bursar. They found, *inter alia*, that five members of staff were teaching nine students, and that the cost of salaries was greater than the total income. They heard also that Bethune had the draft of a bill to present to the Legislature to abolish the Royal Institution and to transfer its assets and funds to McGill College. They learned later that the debts of the college were twice as great as had been represented.

At the end of their report on the Visitation they recommended that Bethune's contract be terminated and that a full-time, qualified, resident, principal be appointed. They, too, petitioned the Legislature, now sitting in the capital, Montreal, for permission to sell off part of the Estates to replenish the endowment fund. Faced with two petitions the legislature set up its own committee of enquiry. This, in turn, on March 14, 1845, made three recommendations: 1) That the Royal Institution was not to be abolished, 2) McGill could lease some parts of its lands, and 3) The Governor-General should terminate the commissions of the present members of the Royal Institution and appoint a fresh slate of members resident in Montreal, who would meet in Montreal.

The Honourable R. A. Tucker was appointed president (all members of the legislative or executive councils – non-elected bodies – were given the designation, Honourable) and four Scots and one Canadian were made governors: Peter McGill, James Ferrier, Robert Armour, T. B. Anderson, and Frederic Auguste Quesnel. McGill, born McCutcheon, changed his surname at the request of his uncle, a wealthy Torontonian who made him his heir. He entered into a large number of partnerships, and though he had a small export business in potash, most of his early partnerships dealt with imports from Britain and the Indies, both East and West. He became a director of the Bank of Montreal and was its president for many years. He had investments in railroads, especially the La Prairie to St. Jean, of which he became a director. He was appointed to the Legislative Council in 1832 and became the first mayor of Montreal, being directly appointed by London in 1840-1841. In the days before joint stock companies were popular, any member of a partnership could be held liable for the debts, however incurred, for any and all of the partners. Such disasters befell McGill when his partners failed and for some years he was under great financial strain.

The second mayor of Montreal, elected, was James Ferrier, a local director of the Bank of British North America, and a shareholder in others, a director of the Grand Trunk Railroad, and connected with many insurance companies. He became the chairman of McGill's board of governors in 1847, and chancellor of the University in 1884. He was a member of the legislative council and, later, after Confederation, a member of the first Senate of Canada. Robert Armour had been a dry goods merchant who became a printer, then King's Printer, and one time owner of the *Montreal Gazette*. He was one of the founders of the Bank of Montreal, whilst Anderson, who started as a clerk with Forsyth, Richardson & Co., married a daughter of the Richardsons, became a director of the Bank of Montreal, and eventually its president. Like many other Scots he was a member of St. Gabriel Street Presbyterian Church. All four of these men were born in Scotland before 1800 and arrived in Montreal before 1820. Their financial and commercial success after that date augured well for the future financial condition of McGill College. Quesnel, a classmate of Papineau at the Sulpician Collège de Montréal, articulated later with an English law firm and was a member of the Assembly until defeated by Cauchon in the election of 1844. He was fluently bilingual.

Bishop Mountain, the first principal of McGill College and now Bishop of Quebec and officially eligible to sit on the board of McGill College,

refused to be associated with Bethune, the second principal, and advised the governor general, Metcalfe, to ask London to disallow Bethune as both Principal and Professor of Divinity. In London, Peel's second administration was still in power with Viscount Stanley as Secretary for War and the Colonies. In December 1845 Stanley resigned and Gladstone, still a Peelite Tory, was invited to replace him. But Gladstone had no seat in Parliament, nor could one be found for him, so he had to function only in an administrative capacity, as Secretary of State for War and the Colonies, until July 1846, when Peel was defeated. It was in that capacity that he dealt with Mountain's letter to Metcalfe. In doing so, Gladstone, in his decision of April 1846, concluded by urging that McGill "endeavour to secure the services of a man in all respects qualified for such important posts." Though Bethune would appeal the decision, it meant that McGill would have to find a new principal.

Metcalfe, known as "Square Toes" or "Charles the Simple", had other problems, especially those arising from the dominance of the Baldwin-Lafontaine control of the Assembly and Council and their demands for their form of "responsible government." Metcalfe urged Peel and Stanley to take the lead by announcing as an imperial decision that Montreal would be the capital of Canada, then to grant a general amnesty to the Patriotes for all crimes short of murder, and, finally, to amend the Act of Union in two important aspects, i.e., to concede financial control in return for a guaranteed civil list, and to permit the use of English and French in the Assembly on terms of equality, i.e., to sound the death knell of forced anglicization. Peel and Stanley refused the imperial decision but did permit Metcalfe to announce the change of capital to Montreal as a provincial decision. Though he did not obtain the amnesty powers that he sought, he used his own gubernatorial discretion to release prisoners and to grant pardons, and the Assembly itself decided for the equality of English and French in its proceedings. He campaigned against the Baldwin-LaFontaine group which he called "the Democratic Party" and secured for a time a Viger-Draper administration instead. Metcalfe suffered from a deteriorating cancer on the right cheek, and a specialist sent from England to treat it with a caustic zinc chloride preparation only exacerbated the condition. He lost the sight of his right eye, the left eye weakened, and a gaping hole appeared in the cheek. Able only to eat and speak with great difficulty, he resigned in October 1845, only to die within the year. He was followed, on a temporary basis, as Governor-General by Charles Cathcart, later the Second Earl Cathcart.

Cathcart, who had three horses shot from under him whilst leading charges at Waterloo, and who subsequently headed the Royal Army Staff Corps, until it was disbanded as an economy measure, retired to Edinburgh, made geological discoveries, became a Fellow of the Royal Society of Edinburgh, and was made a Doctor of Laws by the University of Edinburgh. He had made himself fluent in German by private study. He was recalled to service to command forces in Scotland as governor of Edinburgh Castle and then sent to Canada as Commander-in-Chief of British forces to organise defences against possible American attacks, because of the Oregon Boundary dispute and the American clamour of "Fifty Four Fifty or Fight". (His first action was to condemn the old flint lock rifles as unsound and to demand better rifles for his troops.)¹³ On Metcalfe's departure Cathcart was named as Administrator of the Province of Canada, and in April 1846 as Governor General.

With the signing of the Oregon Boundary Treaty in June 1846 and with a new government in England in July, Cathcart's responsibilities would be diminished but when, in addition, the new government of Lord John Russell demanded two of his regiments of troops for possible service in Europe, he resigned. Wellington, who had praised his conduct and fighting ability in Spain and observed him at Waterloo, asked him to reconsider his decision but understood his reasons and did not persist. With the arrival of the new governor-general at the end of January 1847, Cathcart was able to leave in May. The new governor-general, Colonel James Bruce, Lord Elgin, was the son-in-law of Jack Lambton, Lord Durham, and he was appointed by the new Secretary of State for War and the Colonies, Earl Grey, who had been Durham's brother-in-law! Elgin was a Tory but Grey was an old fashioned Whig.

CATHCART AND MCGILL COLLEGE

One of Cathcart's first duties as governor-general was to preside over a meeting, at Government House, of the governors of McGill College, faced with Gladstone's report and Bethune's appeal against it. Cathcart always wore his military uniform and had the practice of personally escorting his visitors from the ante room into his office. On the first day, June 6, John Robinson, a former pupil and later a life long friend of Strachan, formerly a member of the governors as the Chief Justice of Upper Canada, but now the Chief Justice of Queen's Bench, gave notice that on the morrow he would introduce a letter, which was critical of Mountain's letter to Metcalfe and in support of Bethune and have it read and entered into the minutes. This he did. Mountain, now

using his clerical title of Montreal, did not attend the further meetings but was present long enough to concur in the appointment of E. A. Meredith, a graduate of Trinity College, Dublin, as principal, and Professor of Mathematics and Natural Philosophy.

Next, on June 25, Cathcart forwarded to Gladstone Bethune's letter respecting his disallowance, and requested action on the statutes of McGill College, as proposed by Bethune and transmitted by Metcalfe in 1843, "before the commencement of College term in September next." This request was answered by Grey, who said that Metcalfe did not want the Statutes approved as they would give the College "a character of exclusiveness". The Home government would pass such statutes as were incontrovertible but "reserve" those which dealt with divine service, theological degrees, and the rights of professors vis-à-vis the doctrines of the Church of England.

Cathcart's final moves on behalf of McGill were taken in early January, when Elgin was already embarked. Having granted his commission for Ferrier to be the president of the board of the Royal Institution as from January 1, 1847, he called a special meeting of the governors of the College at the offices of the Montreal Fire Association Company, for January 14, at which he exercised his own commission to take the Chair. "A commission was likewise presented to D. Davidson, Esq., appointing that gentleman a trustee of the Royal Institution for the Advancement of Learning, for the purposes and with the privileges there set forth, which having in like manner been read and acknowledged, was also directed to be deposited of record." Then followed immediately a meeting of RIAL with Ferrier in the chair, and Davidson present, along with Cathcart and the other recently appointed members of the board resident in Montreal. As we shall see, Davidson, as the head of the Bank of British North America in Canada, was eminently qualified, so it may have been merely a coincidence that Cathcart, when in Edinburgh lived at Inverleith House, and his nearest neighbour, in Inverleith Terrace, across the Botanic Gardens, was none other than Davidson's brother, Henry, the father of the future Archbishop of Canterbury, Randall Thomas Davidson.

The major concerns of the board of the Royal Institution from that time onwards were mainly but not entirely financial. Ferrier and Davidson were set to audit the accounts of McGill College and to persuade the creditors to accept a long term financial settlement of their debts. In April when it was decided to sell off shares in the Bank of Montreal to raise funds for the College, a new name appeared, Hew Ramsey, a

partner in Armour & Ramsey, the leading booksellers in Canada, who came to sign the release on behalf of his sick partner.

The quorum difficulty was most acute in the summer and fall: Armour had resigned, Peter McGill was the speaker of the legislative council and a member of the executive council, and Quesnel, no longer a member of the Assembly, had ceased to attend meetings. The board then asked the governor-general, Lord Elgin, to provide additional members or to reduce the size of the "necessary quorum". He did both; by Letters Patent he approved the names of William Foster Coffin and Hew Ramsey and reduced the size of the quorum from 5 to 3. A second Visitation of the college was proposed – to conduct a "general enquiry" and find the true state of affairs. Four members of the board were involved, in order of seniority, as the board's minutes always described them, Ferrier, Davidson, Coffin, and Ramsey. This Visitation proved to be of long duration, with an initial visit in September and the production of a report in April 1848, when thanks were tendered to Mr. Ramsey for his efforts. The report, which was sent to the governor-general, was made under five headings: the state of the buildings, of college discipline, of revenue and bursar's accounts, and the condition of the two faculties, Medicine and Arts.

CHANGES TO MCGILL CHARTER

In 1848 the question of proposed changes to the McGill Charter was first mooted when the governors and the board jointly requested via the governor-general that the Crown should yield some of its authority to the provincial legislature, and in February 1849 Davidson and Ramsey formed a committee of two to investigate the possibility of certain proposed amendments to the Charter. The governors, for their part, were still beset by the problem of obtaining a quorum for their meetings, which were, therefore, very infrequent. To obviate this difficulty the trio of Davidson, Coffin, and Ramsey corresponded with them individually. Later in the year, in December, with the advice of counsel, William Meredith, the brother of the principal, an amended charter was drawn up, approved by the board, and submitted to the governor-general, who in turn submitted it to a committee of his executive council. Elgin's signature of the Rebellion Losses Bill in June and the subsequent burning of the Parliament buildings in Montreal by an English mob certainly retarded proceedings. Several months later, in October, the *Montreal Gazette's* publication of an Annexation Manifesto, urging, *inter alia*, the revival of a protected position in British

markets, protection of home markets, a federal union of British-American provinces, the independence of the British North American colonies in a federal union, reciprocal free trade with the United States, and, finally, a friendly and peaceful separation from the British connection and a union upon equitable terms with the great North American confederacy of sovereign states, revealed the ideas of the Montreal merchants. The ensuing letters to Grey testify to Elgin's pre-occupations. Consequently it was in September 1850 before Davidson was able to report to the board the decision of the executive council on the matters they, the governors, had raised.

There were references to discussions in Lower Canada on the denominational issue, especially with regard to the Chair of Divinity. There would be no new charter but only an amended one. It concluded "to substitute a New Governing Body – it would be inexpedient to make any Officer of the Government an *ex-officio* Member of any such Governing body or to limit the discretion of the Crown in the appointment to such Body by excluding Roman Catholics from holding seats in it". By mid-December Davidson had a draft of a lengthy presentation to the provincial secretary on the Protestantism expressed in James McGill's will and proposals for the Crown to take responsibility as the Visitor, as the approver of statutes proposed by the governors of the College, and, finally, that the amended charter should make the members of the Royal Institution the governors of McGill College. In April 1851 the governors appointed or acquiesced in a committee of three, Davidson, Coffin, and Ramsey, considering the practicality of members of the board becoming governors of the College, which would be Protestant but accepting the right of a Roman Catholic to sit on the board of the Royal Institution. In August the provincial secretary announced that the governor general would 'practically' restrict the choice of proposed governors of the College to Protestant gentlemen, i.e., convention would enshrine the procedure without infringing its legality, with which assurance Davidson's committee and the board approved the amended charter and the provincial secretary was so informed. A follow up letter of December then asked for action on the part of the governor-general.

January 1852 saw some action, with the amended charter being forwarded to London but with a fee possibly being charged for the amendment. The board agreed to pay the fee if necessary but thought a remission of it might be in order. In April, Lord Elgin sought the name of an agent of the board in London who "would assist in passing the

Instrument through the different offices of the Imperial Government." Davidson was told to act on this matter. (The agent's fee was to cost the board over £200, but they did get a remission of the fees for the amendment.) With the draft of the Act ready to go before the British Parliament, Ferrier, seeing the change in problems facing the board from the purely financial or political, at which he was practised, asked that he be relieved of his presidency of the board, whilst remaining a member. Mr. Justice Day then became president of the board. The amended charter was dated July 6, 1852, but official confirmation only arrived in August. At the September meeting of the board held at the courthouse, three new names appeared, those of Benjamin Holmes, Andrew Robertson, and Christopher Dunkin, though Dunkin, of Bethune & Dunkin, had been acting as lawyer for the board for the past year or so. This new group then petitioned for a £4000 grant from the Canadian Parliament but were offered only £1000.

Subsequently they raised the remaining £3000 by selling a mortgage on the property to a Scottish friend of T. B. Anderson, who, though appointed to the board in 1843 was not in regular attendance. It was decided that the College would open under the amended charter in September 1853.

With the expectation that the governors of McGill College would now conduct more of the business, and with the governor-general as the Visitor, there was still a role for the board of RIAL: for example, they still had the residuary powers of the 1801 Act. In December they approved new by-laws and, in February 1853, they established two independent committees, which became known as the Education Committee and the Finances and Building Committee. In March they were faced with the problems of the High School, and, remembering that in 1848 King's College, Toronto, had founded a preparatory school named Upper Canada College, also based upon the Royal High School, Edinburgh, it was proposed that the High School become a department of McGill College.¹⁴ Some arrears of salary were paid to professors. A two-semester system was adopted in preference to the English three-term system, and a new curriculum for the Faculty of Arts was constructed ready for September. In June, the resignation of Principal Meredith, first tendered some years earlier, was now accepted and Mr. Justice C. D. Day agreed to be named principal, *pro tempore*, until a new principal should be found. It is to this topic that attention is now turned, with an examination of the backgrounds and contributions of the members of the Education Committee and the methods they employed in what for

all of them was a completely new task, i.e., finding and appointing a new principal.

SEARCHING FOR A NEW PRINCIPAL

Mr. Justice Day, the chairman of the committee, had much legal and practical experience. He had served on the courts which tried the Patriotes, and after being the first Solicitor General for the United Canadas, he was later appointed as a judge of the Court of Queen's Bench. He was not directly involved in the early stages of the search for a principal but David Davidson was. He was the second son of the second marriage of the Reverend Thomas Randall, who became Davidson on inheriting the Muirhouse Estate from his uncle William Davidson. The Rev. Thomas served the Church of Scotland for over fifty years, and was made a Doctor of Divinity of Harvard University. David, like his half-brother, William, and his elder and younger brothers, Alexander and Henry, attended the Royal High School of Edinburgh, but unlike his two brothers he did not proceed to the University of Edinburgh. Instead, at age 16 he was apprenticed to a firm of merchants, paying a fee of £200 for the training he would receive. However, in the financial and banking crisis of 1825 the firm became bankrupt. Sometime over the next few years he "borrowed" some £2000 from his expectations under his father's will (an amount carefully deducted from his share under the terms of the actual will) and made one or two attempts to enter into business on his own.

At one time Davidson was described as a wine merchant, and later as a brewer. In 1832 he married Frances Pillans, the daughter of a Leith brewer, with a marriage settlement which would give her one-ninth of the family fortune. The marriage was solemnized both at Cramond and at South Leith. In 1842 he was appointed by the London directors of the Bank of British North America, which had a branch in Halifax but none in Canada, to become the first manager of the branch to be set up in Montreal. The appointment was published in an advertisement in the *Montreal Gazette* of August 31, 1842. (Appointments made in London for North America commanded lower salaries than those made in North America itself.) Leaving Edinburgh with his wife and three sons, all christened in the Episcopal Parish Church, he arrived in Montreal in September, and almost his first sad duty was to bury in a Presbyterian cemetery the youngest child, Francis, only thirteen months old. Apart from his banking activities he then took part in the religious and educational affairs of Montreal, joining the congregations of An-

glican churches, where the three children born to him in Montreal, one daughter and two sons, were baptised, and becoming very actively involved in the support of the Royal High School of Montreal.

Milnes' Law of 1801 establishing the Royal Institution had included permission to set up high schools in the two urban centres, Quebec and Montreal, but private schools could exist outside the aegis of the Royal Institution. In Montreal such a school was run by Alexander Skakel. When Dalhousie succeeded Lennox as governor-in-chief, he asked that annual inspections be made of the two high schools and in 1821 he in turn was asked for Letters Patent to make the establishment of the two schools permanent, with provision for the free admission of some twenty scholars at each school. Since they had been established by the use of the Royal Prerogative, they were now Royal Grammar Schools. Skakel's school in particular was very successful prior to the Patriote insurrection, but then declined, whilst the Quebec school closed in 1839.

The demand for a new school to replace Skakel's was tested, largely by the merchants, with a canvass, and then a public announcement of April 20, 1842, of the intention to create a high school, based upon the practices similar to those of the famed Royal High School of Edinburgh. To make the proposal even more attractive to a Scottish constituency it proposed to have an Edinburgh committee advise on the curriculum and help in the choice of masters for the school. The Scottish influence amongst its sponsors was so great that it was suggested that the proposed school might restrain the Anglican influence of the professors at McGill College, and should the College itself fail then the High School could extend and take over the functions of a university. Annual subscriptions were necessary and each donation of £10 would entitle the donor to one vote at the directors' meeting. It is interesting to note that a vote of 75% would be deemed necessary to change any rule. Whilst there was some hope that a profit might result in dividends not exceeding 6% being declared, none was made.

By January 19, 1843, a public meeting of subscribers was held with Peter McGill in the chair. A provisional committee was set up which included many of the non-conformist clergy and such individuals as James Ferrier, Benjamin Holmes, and David Davidson, a scant four months after the latter's arrival in Montreal. It was this committee which set up a board of five Edinburgh residents to fulfil the promises made in the prospectus. Included on the board were Professor Pillans, former rector of the Royal High School in Edinburgh but by then Professor of Humanity (Latin) at the University, and Scotland's foremost authority on

education, Dr. Carson, the current rector, and Hart Logan, brother of William Logan, director of the Canadian Geological Survey. One suspects that David Davidson, son of a distinguished Scottish divine, and nephew of Lord Cockburn, Writer to the Signet and Lord Advocate, would have had a hand in the arrangements. (Cockburn and Pillans had been friends from school and university days onwards.)¹⁵ By July 14, now secretary of the board of directors, Davidson was writing to the governors of McGill College asking for their co-operation and the nomination of some governors to help (sit with) the directors of the High School.

By September the school was ready to open in temporary premises with a rector and two masters appointed by the Edinburgh referees. Amongst the earliest names of pupils was a Davidson, presumably Thomas, the eldest son of David Davidson. The governor general, Sir Charles Metcalfe, attended the closing exercises at the end of the first year. The foundation stone for a new school was laid on Belmont Street on July 11, 1845, by Governor General Colborne, with Davidson, by now secretary-treasurer, reading the Address of Welcome. (There were benefits to having Montreal as the capital of Canada.)

In 1846, by Order in Council the school was designated the Royal High School, but even so attendance was declining because other private schools were now operating, and in 1848 the first rector resigned to return to England. Professor Pillans was now entrusted with finding another rector. Not content with a simple interview in Edinburgh, he took Mr. Aspinwall Howe to the Royal High School, now under Rector Dr. Schmitz, tutor, in Scotland to the future Edward VII, and arranged for Howe to teach the senior class from a text of Livy.¹⁶ Pillans appointed him, provided him with his fare to Montreal, and told him which ship to take to arrive by the given date. Aspinwall Howe, a native of Guernsey, a graduate of Trinity College, Dublin, with several years of residence in France, perfectly at home in French, was to remain as rector for the next forty three years.

Under Howe, the school survived only by the faith and the willingness of Howe and his two senior masters to forego part of their salaries and to run the school under their own recognizances, i.e., as a private venture. Then, in the words of the official history of the High School of Montreal, "It was natural, therefore, that Mr. D. Davidson, who was one of the original promoters of the High School, would draw the attention of the Board of Governors of McGill College, of which he was a member, to the fact that the High School was practically without a

Board of Management and without a home; and it was not surprising that his recommendation that the school should be taken over by the Board of Governors of McGill should receive favourable consideration. After much discussion Mr. Davidson's recommendation was acted upon; and on February 1, 1853, a resolution of the Board of Governors was adopted to the effect 'that the Hon. Justice Day, president, and Messrs. Davidson, Ramsey, Robertson, and Dunkin be, and are, an educational committee to arrange for the transfer of the government of the High School and to draft new statutes.' " Ten years later it was to become a self-financing department of the University, which over the previous years had supported it to the extent of over \$12,000. (In 1870 it passed into the control of the Protestant Board.) Thus, almost from its inception Davidson had played a significant role in its affairs and in the affairs of McGill College.¹⁷

Next in seniority was William Foster Coffin (1808-1878), the son of a regular army officer, born in England in 1808, moved to Quebec in 1813, and learned French under the parish priest before the family returned to England. He was at Eton for nine years but apparently did not attend university. Returning to Quebec in 1830 he studied law and was admitted to the Bar in 1835. During the Patriote risings he was an interpreter with the Volunteers, and a protector of church property from wanton destruction at the hands of the Volunteers. After being made a civil servant, appointed by Sir John Colborne, he was given many commissions to investigate events and institutions, e.g., jail conditions in Montreal, native affairs in Caughnawaga, the affairs of the University of Toronto, accidents on the Great Western Railway, and, at the time of his nomination to the board of the Royal Institution, he was Joint-Sheriff of the District of Montreal. His business interests were in land transactions and railway investment.

Hew Ramsey (1811-1857) was said to be born in Edinburgh though no birth registration has been found there. He attended the Royal High School in the years 1820-1825, (confirmed by the Library Lists, the class registers having been lost in a fire). He served in the office of a Writer to the Signet,¹⁸ and followed a course of study in Scots law but then emigrated to Lower Canada in 1832. He worked first at Forsyth, Richardson but then started his own business as a stationer, bookseller, and publisher. In May 1836, in partnership with Andrew Harvie Armour, the firm Armour & Ramsey bought the controlling interest in the *Montreal Gazette* from Robert Armour, Andrew Harvie's father and a member of the board of the Royal Institution, who had acquired it in

1827 and spent much money in modernising its printing presses. They retained control until August 1843. On September 6, 1842, Hew Ramsey married Agnes H. Armour, his partner's sister, at St. Paul's Presbyterian church, a church formed under the Reverend Edward Black, D.D., which had seceded from the St. Gabriel Street Church of the Reverend Henry Esson, and this marriage was reported also in the *Dumfries and Galloway Herald* of October 6, 1842. Ramsey died in 1857, probably from a lung infection, and his obituary in the *Montreal Gazette*, of February 13, seems to suggest that his father lived with him and his family at their home, "Waverley", at the corner of Bleury and Sherbrooke Streets. Armour & Ramsey were consistent advertisers in the columns of the *Montreal Gazette*, sometimes as stationers, sometimes extolling their printing and bookbinding. Sometimes they made a special offer of books, e.g., the People's Edition of Sir Walter Scott's *Waverley Novels*, in 60 monthly parts at 9d per month. At times a most impressive list of books in stock would be advertised, a list which spoke well of the reading preferences of the citizens of Montreal.¹⁹

As we have seen above, Christopher Dunkin (1811 or 1812-1881) was in February 1853 a member of the board of governors' Education Committee which was to "arrange for the transfer of the High School and to draft new statutes". There are discrepancies between the Canadian biography and that provided by the Matriculation Register of Glasgow University as to his date of birth and in some of the educational data provided. He was born in September, but it was either 1811 or 1812, the son of Somerhaye Dunkin, a merchant. His mother was widowed, and later married a Harvard professor, so Dunkin transferred to Harvard after a year at Glasgow, where he had matriculated at age 15 and emerged as the first in his class, and the next year at London, where he was again distinguished. Before he was 21 he was a tutor in Greek at Harvard, 1834-1835. He married his stepsister, one of the daughters of Professor Barber, and moved to Canada in early 1837. The *Glasgow Register* suggests that he was the editor of the *Morning Chronicle* in Montreal in 1837, whilst the Canadian biography suggests that he was a correspondent for the *Morning Courier* from May 1837 to June 1838. He was the secretary of the education committee under Buller, one of the six committees set up by Lord Durham to provide the information for his report. From May 1842 to May 1847 he was the deputy provincial secretary for Canada East. In 1844 Dunkin was persuaded by Governor Metcalfe to run against the sitting member R. N. Watts, of whom Metcalfe disapproved. Dunkin lost by 495 to 456 votes.²⁰ He was admitted to the Canadian Bar in 1846 and was made a Q.C. in 1867.

In Montreal he was a partner in the legal firm of Meredith, Bethune, & Dunkin. W. C. Meredith, the brother of the former principal of McGill College, was the legal counsel employed by the board of the Royal Institution to help in the drafting of the amended charter, and Dunkin, in 1854, became the legal counsel for St. Francis College, Richmond, in its application for affiliation with McGill University. He became a governor of McGill from 1852 until his death in 1881. Politically a Tory, he was first elected to the Assembly in 1857 and in 1867 he was a member of both the provincial Assembly and the federal Parliament, remaining in both until 1871, when he became a judge of the Superior Court of Quebec. It was his vote against the Macdonald Government in 1864 which brought down that government. When Hector Langevin, in 1866, at the instigation of A. T. Galt, presented his Education Bill which would have brought in a new financial sharing agreement and set up councils of Public Instruction for both Catholics and Protestants, Dunkin remained silent when it was defeated. Yet when invited by Cauchon to join his projected administration, he demanded the re-introduction of the Langevin Bill as the price of his support. Cauchon, who had voted against the Langevin Bill, refused and P. O. J. Chauveau became Premier.²¹

Sir William Dawson, giving the Annual University Lecture in November 1888, devoted to the Constitution of McGill University, spoke of the men who had undertaken the herculean and desperate task of the renovation of the College and the pursuit of an amended charter. He said that none had left more of the impress of his mind on our constitution than the Honourable Christopher Dunkin. He was a man of high culture and eminent ability. It is possible that Dawson was referring to help provided by Dunkin to his partner Meredith when he was preparing the draft charter, or to later work for St. Francis College, for there is no direct evidence in the record that would support Dawson's statement. Elsewhere in the lecture he had this to say: "Of the original band of citizens of Montreal who constituted the first board of governors under the new charter. . . Mr. Davidson, it is true, one of the most able and zealous of these men, still lives, but he has long since removed from Canada and has resigned his connection with the university, though showing his interest in education in Montreal by continuing his gold medal in the High School."

The official history, in its turn, mentions Ramsey as having ably supported Judge Day, and, elsewhere, when considering the appointment of the board of the Royal Institution as the governors of McGill it says:

"It would be interesting to know who first mooted the simple and elegant solution to the old administrative problem. Since it must have been first proposed within the Royal Institution the name which immediately comes to mind is that of Hew Ramsey, the most active member of the small committee which had been appointed to pursue the matter of charter amendment." Examination of the record might equally well cause one to nominate David Davidson. When we turn to examine the manner in which the members of the same committee set to work to find a new principal perhaps we shall conclude that every man contributed, each in his own way, and with his own talents, resources, and connections.

THE SEARCH

None of the governors of that time has left any account of the search or the path they might have chosen to follow. Only the minutes survive to provide hints as to what followed. These do not mention any discussion of the topic until 1854, perhaps because financial matters were more important, and in any case they had a principal, *pro tempore*, in the person of Mr. Justice Day. On November 18, 1853, Davidson resigned as treasurer because he was taking a long trip to Britain – in fact his next appearance was at a special meeting on June 8, 1854. Of course the word could have been "put about" that they were seeking a principal, and they would have heard of the appointment of Daniel Wilson, an Edinburgh Scot who had joined the University of Toronto in 1853. Officially McGill began its search on January 9, 1854, when it was "Resolved that D. Davidson and Hew Ramsey, Esquires be requested to make a diligent enquiry in Britain with a view to securing the services of a gentleman competent to discharge the duties of Principal of McGill College. Resolved further that the salary of such a Principal shall be Five Hundred Pounds per annum with residence in the College Buildings."

Davidson was already in Britain and, at a meeting held at the Bank of British North America – possibly in Davidson's office, Ramsey reported that he had received from Davidson a letter suggesting the name of Dr. Hodgson.²² Not surprisingly the choice of Hodgson was approved by Ramsey for they were at the Royal High School at the same time, though Hodgson was junior to Ramsey. Hodgson entered at age 8, and was to spend three years in Rector Carson's class, being regarded as something of a favourite. He entered Edinburgh University when he was 14, and studied Latin under Professor Pillars, who was then in the

“prime of his rare and fascinating powers”. Pillans drew up for him a plan of study which he was urged to follow over the next several years. After several years lecturing on literature and education he worked as the editor of a small newspaper in Fife before moving to Liverpool in 1839, where he became secretary, and later principal, of the Mechanics Institute, which boasted 70 teachers and 1700 students, with evening lectures on two evenings per week the year round. He was well paid. “When he had little money he was careless in its use, now he has more than he ever imagined (rumoured to be £10,000) he was very careful of its use.” He was said to be determined never to marry unless it improved his condition and increased his means.

His entry in the *Dictionary of National Biography* and in Irving’s *Book of Scotsmen Eminent for Achievement* give details of an illustrious career, some of which still lay ahead, made him an excellent choice. But it is doubtful if ever any offer was made to him.²³

It is possible that the death and funeral of Lord Cockburn, Davidson’s uncle, who died at Bonaly Towers, on April 26, 1854 would provide an opportunity to test the waters. Hodgson was to buy Bonaly and his own funeral took place from there in August 1880. What Davidson would have found was that Hodgson’s wife, the former Jane Cox of Liverpool, had been an invalid from within a month of their marriage in 1841, and that they had only recently returned from an extended three-year stay on the continent, where the wife was under medical care in Paris whilst he visited Germany, Austria, Italy, and Switzerland. The latter part of that stay had coincided with the riots in Paris when Louis Napoleon claimed for himself the title of Emperor. They had then established themselves in Jordan Bank, Morningside, where, in a nursing home, she died in 1860.

We learn from Meiklejohn that Hodgson was still in touch with Pillans; in 1846 he had gone with him in a rowboat on Loch Lomond and Loch Awe, walking for a great distance on the shore and finally returning by boat from Oban. In June 1854 he was in London, visiting Carlyle, meeting with Matthew Arnold and Charles Dickens, for he seemed to know all the major literary figures of his age, but July found him back in Edinburgh complaining about lack of congenial employment, being ashamed of a life of idleness, wanting a change of scene, or regular duties, self-imposed or otherwise, or what is perhaps best, a combination of both – something in the same direction if not in the same way. Davidson would find that Hodgson had just been invited and agreed to deliver two important lectures in September for the Royal Institution

on his favourite topic, the importance of economic science. Finally, Davidson probably would have recognized that a man of apparently independent means, with an invalid wife and with the range of contacts that Hodgson had, and he but recently returned from three years abroad, was unlikely to be receptive of an offer of £500 per annum. (His will showed his moveable estate alone was over £3900. The much improved Bonaly would have added considerably to his wealth.)

The minutes of the special meeting of June 8, 1854, after Davidson's return said: "Resolved that D. Davidson, Esq., be authorized to write to Professor Pillans to the effect that, in regard to the appointment of a principal for McGill College, he may use his discretion either to close at once with a gentleman whom he may consider suitable for the office or to communicate further with William Davidson till his recommendation can be received and answered." This suggests that Pillans was already aware that McGill sought a principal and that members of Davidson's family in Scotland were also aware of his quest.

William, often referred to as Captain William, was the only son of his father's first marriage and the one who inherited the entailed Muirhouse Estate, later known, and still known as Davidson's Mains (literally the area around the main farm on the estate). Professor Pillans, as noted earlier, had been selected to establish the curriculum of the Montreal High School and to find rectors and masters for it. In addition since two of David's brothers graduated from the university the family name of Davidson might still command some remembrance. David himself had married a Pillans, Frances Pillans, a daughter of James Pillans, a brewer of South Leith, then not part of Edinburgh. Frances Pillans and Professor Pillans were not directly related.

The name Pillans was chiefly to be found in Midlothian and in the areas around Biggar, in Lanarkshire. Professr Pillans, and his two brothers Henry and John, were the sons of a James, a printer, who left the St. Cuthbert's Church to join a secessionist group in Bristo Street, later to be described as Congregationalist. The births of the three sons were never registered. Henry and John became H. & J. Pillans, Printers, in Edinburgh. Frances Pillans' father, James Pillans, was one of two sons, James and John, of a Leith shipmaster, Thomas Pillans, trading between Leith and London. James became a brewer in Leith, John a merchant in London. James, however, was married in London to Ann Wilson, who thus became David Davidson's mother-in-law.

The next meeting of the governors on October 5 produced something of a surprise. Dr. Tait, Dean of Carlisle, had written to David's younger brother, Henry, strongly recommending William Delafield Arnold for

the office of principal. Henry had also written a confirming letter. Authorization was now to be given to brother Henry to engage Mr. Arnold, if that would help the College. Even given knowledge of all the family background of the Tait and the Davidsons, the nomination was still a little surprising, but the details themselves are revealing.

David's uncle, Lord Cockburn, had not appreciated the education he received at the Royal High School and with his friends, Leonard Horner and Francis, Lord Jeffrey, and with some help from Sir Walter Scott, agreed that classical education in Edinburgh would benefit from a second school able to teach the classics, and this time, a private school not under the control of the town council.²⁴ Some £12,000 was quickly raised and the Edinburgh Academy was opened on October 1, 1824. Subscribers naturally sent their sons there and pressured relatives and others to do the same.

Henry Davidson was taken away from the Royal High School and entered at the Academy. Another High School boy who was also moved was Archibald Campbell Tait, along with a third boy Archibald Swinton. Contact and friendship persisted and intermarriage in the families followed, e.g., Henry's son married one of Tait's daughters, Henry married Swinton's sister. Tait, who was born with two club feet and cured by a Lancashire farrier and horse doctor, went on to Glasgow University and then obtained the nomination of the Glasgow professors for the Snell Award to Balliol College, Oxford. He was to become senior tutor there, and then on the death of Thomas Arnold, he was chosen as headmaster of Rugby. One of his pupils was the youngest son of the former head, William Delafield Arnold; one of his students at Oxford had been Matthew Arnold. A severe attack of scarlet fever, when he had several times been given up for dead, left Tait weak and exhausted, and he was appointed as Dean of Carlisle to help his recuperation in what was meant to be almost a sinecure appointment. But Tait decided otherwise and the prime minister decided in 1854 that he should be the vice-chairman of the Commission of Enquiry into Oxford University, the Bishop of Norwich being the nominal chairman. Later he became Bishop of London and then Archbishop of Canterbury, the first baptised Scottish Presbyterian to so become; Henry Davidson's son, Tait's son-in-law, Randall Thomas Davidson was the second.

During his tenure at Carlisle, Tait suffered the loss of five daughters, all from scarlet fever, and the birth of a sixth, in a six-week period.²⁵ That he should write was not surprising, that he nominate Arnold was. Arnold had been at Christ Church for one year only and for part of that time was gated for indiscipline, i.e., he could not leave the college

grounds. Tait himself said that Arnold "did not show sufficient deference to authority" whilst Arnold thought that staying at Oxford might put him in danger of "yielding to temptation of extravagance and idleness."²⁶ His elder brother Tom was on the point of emigrating to New Zealand and this may have given him some idea of service abroad. Through the influence of the Duchess of Sutherland he was interviewed by the East India Company and became a cadet in the army of that company. He arrived in Calcutta in April 1848. After service as a 2nd Lieutenant in the Bengal Native Light Infantry of the East India Company, in which he saw military action, he was moved to being an assistant commissioner, or magistrate, in Amritsar. He was married in 1850 but in 1852 fell ill, was granted sick leave, and was in England in January 1853. In his luggage he had the draft of a novel based upon life, as he saw it, in British India. This was *Oakfield*, or *Fellowship of the East*. When he revised it he published it anonymously. It was well received and a second edition followed under his own name. A new version was published by Leicester University Press in 1973.

During the two years of his sick leave Tait worked for a time on the staff of *The Economist*, and went to Germany and produced an English translation of Wiese's *Letters on English Education*.²⁷ There is no evidence of how much consideration he gave to the McGill offer, but in the end he felt it was his duty to return to India in spite of foreboding of its effect upon his health. Shortly after his return his wife died. He was offered by Sir John Lawrence, the Chief Commissioner for the Punjab, the position of the first director of public instruction for that province in 1855. In that position he came under a great deal of pressure to introduce the study of the Bible into the schools. He refused. When it was suggested that it might be read as literature he wrote a memorandum, which unfortunately is not now available, claiming the right for each individual to follow his own religion and to worship in his own way.

On his return to India Arnold wrote to Dean Tait asking for his help in finding schoolmasters. Part of that letter, a fragment of which was found in the archives at Lambeth Palace, may indicate one of his reasons for refusing McGill's offer. For a recent Oxford graduate the starting pay would be £720 per annum, with the possibility of pension under consideration. An inspector of schools would start at £600 rising to £960. Since all of these positions would be subordinate to his, the sum of £500 offered by McGill may not have sounded attractive. (He felt that he might get Germans to come out more cheaply but he would

prefer Englishmen!) Apparently there were no written communications with him and it was only when the board heard that he had returned to India that they knew their offer had been declined.

In the meantime Professor Pillans had been given *carte blanche*, if he chose, to appoint a principal on his own authority. Tait's diary shows that on October 5 Tait had interrupted his summer vacation to come back to Carlisle, especially to meet Professor Pillans who had requested such a meeting. Tait's diary entries are laconic so we do not know the subject of their discussion, but it is worth noting that Pillans did not make the appointment directly but nominated to the governors the Reverend Henry Burgess, Ph.D., of Gottingen, and LL.D. of Glasgow. Burgess himself followed up with the submission of testimonials in his favour: in fact, he apologized for their extreme laudatory nature. McGill does not have any copies of them but a few months earlier Burgess had been an applicant for the position of rector of Edinburgh Academy. Had he been successful he would have been the second holder of that position. For that application he had secured a most impressive list of testimonials, forty-five in all, printed and bound by Walton & Mitchell of Wardour Street, London. Heading the list were those from an archbishop and six bishops. The forty-five, with one exception, all bore the date of August 1854. He might well have submitted the same ones in October, or have received the writers' permission to alter the name of the recipient. They bore testimony to his scholarship, his publications, and his skill and competence as an educator.²⁸ It might be interesting to trace the career of Dr. Henry Burgess and the reaction of the governors to his application.

APPLICATION OF REV. HENRY BURGESS

Fortunately a great deal is known about the Reverend Henry Burgess. There are two registrations or baptisms, two separate obituaries in *The Times*, an entry in the *Dictionary of National Biography*, and one in each of the two revisions of *Men of the Times*, 1862 and 1879; he was married twice, he appeared in several census returns, and the British Library holds some twenty of his publications. He was also listed among the alumni of Glasgow University, as well as being noted in *Crockford's Clerical Directories*. It merely remains to present that data in perspective.

Henry Burgess was born at Stikesy Newington near Croydon, Surrey, and was baptised or registered on two parish registers, at Croydon St. John the Baptist, and at George Street Independent, the son of John Burgess and Ann Everest. There is no record of his early schooling but

he attended the Stepney Academy, a dissenting academy set up by the Baptist Education Society which was founded in 1804 at a meeting at the King's Head in the Poultry.²⁹ Its aim was to train "young men who seemed to be gifted for the Christian ministry." Sufficient money was raised by 1809 that they acquired premises in Stepney near the Whitechapel Road, which they opened in 1810 with a president and three scholars.

The president in 1827 was Solomon Young, who had previously been at Olney in Buckinghamshire. He appointed as tutor in classics and mathematics, Samuel Tomkins, an Olney-born man who had been educated for three years at Stepney and then gone to Edinburgh University. He was to be the tutor to Henry Burgess when he arrived, and later, at Olney, Henry was to marry Tomkins' sister, Jane, on April 5, 1831. Greek, Latin, and Hebrew were at the core of the academic curriculum, for it was expected that Baptist ministers should be able to read the New Testament in the original tongues, and to make spontaneous translation in the pulpit if necessary. Henry Burgess was to become distinguished for his mastery of Hebrew. When the four-year course was completed, students had to wait the call to a church. Henry went first to Aberdeen for a six month trial but the church decided not to call him, so he returned to London before going for a one month's trial to Luton, where in 1832 he did receive the call. One of his first acts was to baptise his wife, Jane. Eight children were born to them at Luton. The first four registered there were Henry Martyn, William Roscoe, and the girls, Jane and Sarah.³⁰ Another son, Samuel, was born in 1841, but his birth does not seem to have been registered. Baptism took place at St. Pancras in 1850 but this may have been arranged strategically by the father.

After a promising start all did not go well at Luton. There were two secessions by groups forming their own churches, and some final unpleasantness, which resulted in Henry resigning his pastorate, i.e., leaving the Baptist church. He was given a special payment of £250 – his annual salary was £200. There is only one account of the dispute still extant, written in an obscure shorthand and not translated.³¹ In the early years at Luton he started a monthly news sheet which preceded the arrival of a newspaper there. He became a railway enthusiast and helped in a campaign which sought to have the proposed main London to Manchester railway to pass through Luton. He joined in the protest to have the Reform Bill passed after its first defeat in the Lords resulted in a general election. In fact he charged the church nine shillings and sixpence for 'Parchment for the Petition'. Luton was one of the early

Baptist churches to take advantage of the 1836 Act to permit marriage outside the parish churches. He encouraged meetings of the Provident Club, the Book Society, the Harmonic Society, the Female Club, and the Mechanics Institute to meet in his church.

However, when, in 1845 the proposed Oxford to Cambridge railway line was slated to pass through his property he petitioned the owner, the Marquess of Bute, to whom he had dedicated a volume of poetry, to oppose it in the House of Lords. Bute refused to do so, but the House as a whole rejected the Railway Bill. It is interesting to note that of the British Library's holdings of Burgess' works, only five were written before 1850. He was probably far too busy with local affairs and the private education of his family. The three aforementioned sons all attended university, the eldest at Trinity College, Dublin, which had no religious tests, and the other two at Cambridge after the 1851 reforms. All three became Anglican ministers, though none reached his literary eminence.

In 1850 Bishop Lee, of Manchester, a see recently raised to a bishopric, accepted him into the Anglican church as a deacon. His brother-in-law, and former tutor, Samuel Tomkins, had conformed earlier and independently. Tomkins became a Fellow-Commoner at Cambridge where he won the Hulsean Prize for 1849 on the topic of "The Influence of the Hebrew and Christian Revelations on the Heathen Writers." In the following year, with the help of Dr. Whittaker, the vicar of the expanding industrial parish of Blackburn, and himself an Arab scholar, Burgess became a curate attached to what became the Cathedral Church of St. Mary there. Many of Burgess' publications emanated from Blackburn. The diocese had plans for the building of several new parish churches, and sought clerical help. Burgess' salary was provided out of a special Anglican fund set up to find employment, and salary, outside of diocesan funds, for surplus Anglican priests. (This was a century after the time when Oxford's two main products were sausages and clerics.)

In 1852, on the 3rd of November, he was granted the degree of Ph.D. by Gottingen, then the home of comparative philology, though the Grimm brothers had long departed. He applied in Latin to the Faculty of Philosophy but submitted his thesis in English, entitled *The Lost Letters of Athanasius, with notices of Syriac Literature*. The application, as was the practice, was accompanied by a letter of reference from Henry Tattam, F.R.S., a distinguished Coptic scholar, who held a Ph. D. from Leyden and a D. D. from Gottingen. Gottingen nominated their own expert – Heinrich Ewald – as examiner. His approval of the dissertation

was confirmed by all the remaining members of the faculty and the degree itself was conferred *in absentia*. In 1854 his work *The Festal Letters of Athanasius* (translated from the Syriac) was published in the series *The Library of the Fathers*. The McGill library has a copy of only one of his works, his *Saint Ephraem Syrus: The Repentance of Nineveh*. He was granted a LL.D. by Glasgow, one of only three in that year, 1854, one of which was given to David Livingstone to mark his crossing of Africa.

Despite the encouragement from the award from Glasgow, 1854 must have had its disappointments. He was unsuccessful at Edinburgh, where another Anglican minister, the Reverend James Hodson was appointed, and he was to be disappointed also at McGill. Later in the year, however, he was appointed to the Perpetual Curacy of Clifton Reynes, Buckinghamshire, where he would have more leisure for literary and theological rather than diocesan and parochial pursuits. In 1861, Lord Campbell, the Lord Chancellor, appointed him to the living of St. Andrew at Whittlesey in the diocese of Cambridge, a living which was in his gift, an appointment made on the basis "of his services to theological learning." He had been and remained the editor of both the *Journal of Sacred Theology* and the *Clerical Journal*. His works must have had some royal impact for he was allowed to dedicate one of his books to Prince Albert, and Queen Victoria decreed that he should be sent a copy of *Leaves from the Journal of Our Life in the Highlands from 1848 to 1861*. In his later years he suffered from glaucoma and went blind, living a very reclusive life. He was twice married, and with his second wife had two daughters.

When the board of governors of McGill met on October 27, Davidson submitted a letter from Professor Pillans recommending the Rev. Dr. Burgess for the position of principal. This must have caused some degree of alarm for they felt compelled to move that: "In consequence of the peculiar position of McGill College and the public feeling with regard to it, induced by the circumstances of its management heretofore, it is expedient that the Office of Principal in the Institution be filled with a layman. The Governors regret that they did not feel justified in departing from their previous Resolution and that they cannot avail themselves of the services of the Rev. Dr. Burgess, notwithstanding the high recommendation of Professor Pillans in his favour.³² "Eating crow" being indicated, they then passed a second motion: "that the Governors gladly take the opportunity of expressing to Professor Pillans their grateful sense of his interest and exertions in behalf of the College and in acknowledging their obligation, they at the

same time desired to assure him that nothing but the necessity of the case could have prevented their ready sanction of his choice of Principal, and hope that he will not be discouraged from affording them a continuance of his valuable counsel and assistance." The Secretary was directed to communicate the first of these resolutions to the Rev. Dr. Burgess and both of them to Professor Pillans.

At their next meeting on January 5, 1855, when both Mr. Justice Day and Mr. Coffin were absent, it was resolved that Mr. Coffin "who intended a visit to Toronto (again no charge to the Governors) should treat with Professor Wilson there, and, if he were interested, to offer him the same terms, i.e., £500 per annum and free accommodation." The proposed trip fell through so no offer was made at that time.

At the next meeting on March 21, Mr. Coffin reported that he had written to Professor Wilson, who stated that he "was not in a position to treat with the Governors" on the matter. Contrary to Morgan's report,³³ Daniel Wilson (1816-1892), was not related to the John Wilson, distinguished in Scotland as the Christopher North of Blackwood's and Professor of Moral Philosophy at Edinburgh University. Daniel's younger brother was George Wilson, who became Regius Professor of Technology at Edinburgh University and was an expert on colour vision. Daniel Wilson had been at the Royal High School, Edinburgh, and attended one year at the University of Edinburgh. (1834-35). In those days graduation was the exception, the majority of students merely took two years of classes. He worked in London for a few years before returning to Edinburgh where he published a two-volume study of the old buildings of Edinburgh, *Memorials of Edinburgh in the Olden Time*. In the previous year he had been made the honorary secretary of the Society of Antiquaries. He produced an outline of *The Archaeology and Prehistoric Annals of Scotland*, which heralded more serious work on prehistory, and a nascent interest in ethnology. In 1851 the University of St. Andrews granted him an LL.D. With support from the governor-general, Colonel Bruce, Lord Elgin, a fellow member of the Society of Antiquaries, he was appointed as Professor of History and English Literature at the University of Toronto. He instructed his daughter upon his death to destroy all his personal papers and documents in his possession. She did so, except for his elaborate personal diary, and permission was granted for this to be copied for any and all references to his work at the University of Toronto. Many of the entries were concerned with his daughter Jessie, and though they were seen they were never copied. An attempt is in progress to track down in

Scotland the contents of any material sent or deposited there. In due course it will be filed in the National Library in Edinburgh.

Wilson's introduction to Canada was quite dramatic, almost tragic. Disembarking at New York, he was persuaded by a fellow passenger to visit Philadelphia and then travel to Toronto by rail and boat. During a stop at Oneida the passenger train was rammed by a freight train, and his seat neighbour suffered two broken legs. Wilson managed to move his legs in time to avoid injury. He missed the connecting boat at Rochester and had to travel via Niagara, but he was compensated by the sight of the Falls. Here in Canada his interest was aroused by studies of North American Indians, and he was often asked to examine supposedly Indian skulls, one such, being allegedly that of Tecumseh, which turned out not to be so. His books, sent from Liverpool in June, arrived safely in Toronto in November. We learn that his quarterly salary was £87, ten shillings, or £350 per annum, to which would be added that proportion of student fees which were paid to professors. There was a general expectation of an increase to £400 plus fees, but he valued himself at £500 plus fees.

The principal was paid £700 per annum and was asking for more, so perhaps monetary reasons lay behind his refusal to negotiate with McGill. On the other hand one diary entry states that Morgan's essay on him contained in his *Sketches of Eminent Canadians* was incorrect and that he, Wilson, needed to examine again what material he had sent to Morgan. There is one significant entry in Morgan that ran: "He had not been a year in occupation of this professorship, when he was offered the principalship of McGill college, Montreal; but, although the salary was larger, he declined the honour, in his zeal to remain and promote the interests of Toronto university." Perhaps McGill's offer was seen as a bargaining counter which could be used in dealing with the University of Toronto. One interesting comment on his teaching methods in those early years at Toronto was to the effect that he wrote out in full every fourth lecture, which he then gave to the students, and discussed with them as an example of written style.

The governors at their March meeting also read with regret a letter received from Professor Pillans in relation to the secretary's communication to him of October 30 last, and requested Mr. Davidson to reply to it. (Humble crow was perhaps not humble enough.) One could understand Professor Pillan's feelings. He was a distinguished professor of Scotland's premier university, a university he was to serve for forty-three years, who had already performed many useful services for the

Montreal High School – probably through Davidson, the secretary-treasurer of the original subscribers. There was never any hint of financial reward; all had been done as a service to education in its widest sense. He had taken the time and trouble to visit Carlisle for a long, personal, discussion with Dean Tait, almost certainly, by virtue of its timing, on the subject of finding a principal for McGill. Involved also would have been his personal relations with other members of the Davidson family, not least David's uncle, Lord Cockburn, whom he had known since their schooldays together at the Royal High School, as well as those who had been his students. One shudders to think of what would have happened had he formally appointed Dr. Burgess, as he had been given the power to do.

One must remember the position of eminence he held in Edinburgh if not in Scotland. It had been said that all Edinburgh Scots could be put in one of two classes, either they had been taught by Pillans or they had not. He had been the rector of the High School for ten years, had seen its numbers grow, had himself taught the rector's class of over one hundred students, had introduced his own version of the monitorial system to cope with such numbers, had been a private tutor at Eton, had fostered the teaching of both Greek and Latin, was supported by the Lords of Session, who controlled the appointments to certain chairs at Edinburgh, and was respected within the group of writers for the *Edinburgh Review*. He had travelled extensively, first in Scotland, then in Europe. He gave evidence before Parliament on the state of education and voluntarily conducted courses without charge during the summer months to teachers seeking improvement. He spent his own money in creating a small library for his students in the university; in those impoverished times, library resources were exceedingly limited. He endowed a chair in Celtic Studies for the university, and was influential in the awards of travelling scholarships to outstanding scholars. (Sir William Peterson, a later principal of McGill, profited from one of them.) In all, he was a man of some stature who had done his utmost for McGill and Montreal, and had some right to feel aggrieved at his treatment. One can only wonder how Davidson appeased his anger, if in fact he did.

THE FINAL TWO: DAWSON AND PENNEFATHER

Three members of the education committee of the board of governors had now tried and failed in their efforts to find a principal, but some progress had been made for the governors were now sure that they

wanted a layman, and that they were prepared to pay only £500 per annum and to offer free accommodation. At an adjourned meeting on April 13, "Mr Dunkin reported that in company with the Hon. Mr. Ferrier he had waited upon his Excellency, the Governor General (Sir Edmund Head) on the subject of a Principal for McGill College and that His Excellency had named two Gentlemen as likely to be qualified for that office – a Mr. Dawson of Pictou and a Mr. Pennefather of England, but without incurring the responsibility for an absolute recommendation of either of them. His Excellency had however, he said, spoken in very high terms of both gentlemen, leaving no doubt in his (Mr. Dunkin's) mind of the fitness of either for the post in question – unless the age of the latter (26) might be considered a disqualification in part, whereupon, after due consideration, it was Resolved: that it is expedient to make further enquiry respecting the gentlemen named and that in the meantime the President be requested to address a letter to each, touching upon his qualifications, views, former pursuits etc. and to communicate the same to his Excellency, the Governor General."

At that time Dunkin was in private practice as a lawyer, a governor both of McGill and St. Francis College, Richmond, and was still basking in the glow of his brilliant "Address at the bar of the Legislative Assembly of Canada" which had been published in Quebec in 1853. Ferrier was a member of the legislative council, with access to the governor-general who had taken office only in the previous December, having moved directly from being the Lt. Governor of New Brunswick. Head, a Wykehamist, had not gone to New College, Oxford, but to Oriel as a fellow commoner, i.e., he paid higher fees, received better dining privileges, and could graduate within a shorter space of time, if necessary, a privilege of which he did not avail himself. He travelled widely in Europe, became fairly fluent in several of their languages, interested in philology, and then obtained a Fellowship at Merton College, where he later became lecturer in classics and senior tutor. In that capacity he interviewed another applicant for a fellowship, Charles Bruce, later Lord Elgin, the man he had now followed as Governor-General of Canada. In 1850 he had made a special trip, via the United States, to visit Elgin in Canada.

In 1836, because of financial problems in the family, Head needed extra income to support his college fellowship, so he became an Assistant Poor Law Commissioner for South Wales and South West England, later becoming one of three chief commissioners. In 1847 the law which created such positions was allowed to lapse which meant the loss

of his salary of £2000. Now married, and without his fellowship, he was offered the position of Lt. Governor at a salary of £3000. He arrived in Fredericton in April, 1848, with his wife and family, and was followed by a young private secretary, Richard Theodore Pennefather. Meanwhile in Pictou County, Nova Scotia, a schoolboy who had found his first fossil among some slate deposits and looked for more, had been induced by the famous Dr. McCulloch of Pictou Academy and, later of Dalhousie University, to go further. In 1840 he went as a student to Edinburgh University where he matriculated so that he would have facilities to study geology. He also met a girl with whom he subsequently corresponded on his return to Nova Scotia in 1841, and to whom, on a second visit in 1846 to be a student of the natural sciences, he proposed and married in 1847.

On his return to Nova Scotia in 1841 he had met Logan, who was later to head the Geological Survey of Canada and Sir Charles Lyell, the foremost geologist of that time. Lyell had been on a visit to the United States, stopped off in Halifax and asked to visit some deposits in Pictou County. His host, a Mr. A. P. Ross, took him to see Dawson's collection of rocks and fossils. The meeting was to their mutual benefit. Lyell was a friend and correspondent of Sir Edmund Head, and when Head and his family were returning to Fredericton from England in 1852, and the boat put into Halifax where Lyell had arranged to meet Dawson, he also met Sir Edmund, who was interested in Dawson's ideas on education and on universities in general. But, in 1847 the newly married Dawson was engaged by Dr. McCulloch, now principal of Dalhousie University, who offered Dawson the chance to give "extra academic lectures on scientific and other subjects", obviously a forerunner of university extension classes. Dawson chose to talk on natural history, and he and his wife moved to Halifax. It was here that his friend, Joseph Howe, the former editor, now in the Assembly, was eventually able to persuade him to accept the newly created position of superintendent of education for Nova Scotia. Head would remember the meeting in Halifax for, in a letter dated July 5, 1854, Head asked him to become a member of an educational commission studying King's College, Fredericton. "After conferring with my Council, I am clearly of opinion that it would be of great advantage to this Province if you would consent to act on this commission. The Provincial Secretary is directed to ascertain whether you would consent to serve with the Hon. Mr. Grey of St. John, and perhaps Dr. Ryerson of Canada. . . . My wish would be that one or more of the Commissioners would visit Brown's University in Rhode Island and confer with Dr. Wayland, its Principal, before reporting."

As we have seen, in 1852 Lyell accompanied by his wife, en route with the Head family, returning from a vacation in England, left the boat at Halifax in order that he might undertake some geological exploration with Dawson. His wife continued to Fredericton with the Heads. Lyell and Dawson were to visit the Joggins shore of Nova Scotia where they examined tree fossils and there made the first discovery of reptilian remains in North American rocks. Later in that year Dawson resigned as superintendent of public instruction and then engaged in exploration of possible deposits for various mining companies. In 1854 he was elected a Fellow of the Geological Society in London. In the same year the Chair of Natural History at Edinburgh became vacant, and Lyell advised Dawson to apply, and lobbied on his behalf. Dawson expected to be called for interview, and he thought to visit Glasgow at the same time for the 1855 meeting of the British Association for the Advancement of Science. However, no interviews were held, the electors having chosen a botanist, so there was to be no visit to Edinburgh, though Glasgow still tempted.

To return to the minutes of the meeting of April 13, Head's offer of two names may remind viewers of the TV programmes, "Yes, Prime Minister", of the Bishop's Gambit episode. Here two names of two men of apparently equal merit will be offered but with the certainty of which one will be chosen. In the present case it was Dawson; poor Pennefather never had a chance.

The Pennefathers were a 17th century import into Ireland, first into Tipperary and later to western County Wicklow. At the turn of the 18th-19th century two brothers distinguished themselves as lawyers. Edward (1774-1847) and Richard (1773-1859) were both educated at Trinity College, Dublin, with Edward becoming attorney general for Ireland in 1830, and solicitor general in Peel's two administrations of 1834 and 1841. He was twice married, producing four sons and several daughters by his first wife, Susan Darby, and one daughter by his second wife Harriet Hall, whom he married in 1841.³⁴ The two eldest sons of both Edward and Richard were educated at Balliol College, Oxford. The third son was killed at age 16 when he fell down a cliff when trying to retrieve his hat which had blown off his head. The fourth son of Edward, Richard Theodore Pennefather, went to Trinity College, Dublin, matriculating there on January 15, 1844, at age 15, having been previously educated at home by a private tutor. In 1848 he was in Fredericton as Head's private secretary. Much of what is known about R. T. Pennefather is derived from letters which Head wrote to his friend

Sir George Lewes, one time Chancellor of the Exchequer, a classical scholar of distinction, who spoke several European languages, and a former lawyer. This has furnished much of the material of the entry for Pennefather in the *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*.

Head knew both the married name of one of his sisters and also the name of the private tutor employed by the Pennefathers, mentioned incidentally and not clearly in one of his letters, where he was commenting unfavourably upon Pennefather, his shyness, his reluctance to read *Agamemnon* with a former senior tutor, and for his ideas of the prettiness of his fiancée, but not for his work and loyalty. Nor does he give him credit for sharing hardships in extensive bush and camping expeditions undertaken by the Lt. Governor.

On one occasion when out riding, and his horse, frightened by a barking dog, threw him to the ground, Pennefather obtained medical help for Head within minutes. Head was thankful for the speedy help but gave no credit to his secretary. When Head moved to Canada as governor-general in December 1854, he appointed the Viscount Bury as his civil secretary, but subsequently blamed the appointment on the failure of Elgin to reply to queries he had made. The civil secretary was *ex officio* the superintendent of Indian affairs, an important position when Britain was attempting to make Canada responsible for them, financially and politically. Head was to write of him in 1855, "My Civil Secretary is going to marry a daughter of old Sir Allan MacNab – he is a young man and he has been getting into some very young scrapes - which have bothered me considerably. . . However I hope he will do well, yet. He has great abilities." He resigned after two years, and Head replaced him as Civil Secretary with Pennefather.³⁵ The day to day activities had been supervised by D. C. Napier in Canada East and T. G. Anderson in Canada West, though both resigned prior to 1858.

On September 8, 1856 a three man commission, under Pennefather, was set up to investigate Indian affairs. It was to inquire into and report upon the following points: "1) As to the best means of securing the future progress and civilisation of the Indian tribes in Canada, (East and West), and 2) As to the best means of so managing the Indian Property as to secure the full benefit to the Indians, without impeding the settlement of the country." It produced a lengthy report which appeared as Appendix No. 21 to the Act 21 Victoria 1858.³⁶ A previous three-man commission (Rawson, Davidson, and Hepburn) had reported in 1842, after which the Secretary of State for War and the Colonies had called for a detailed scheme for the remodelling of the Indian Depart-

ment. Reduced payments to the Indian bands had been condemned by Metcalfe, and the Assembly in 1846 petitioned the Queen to prevent the discontinuance of presents to them. Bury had found £80,000, the interest on which sum should be used to finance the department. Most of the costs of the Department were to be found out of the proceeds of land sales, though additionally some superintendents were allowed to retain 5% of the money from sales. The report was factual and detailed. In 1860 control was transferred to Canada and in 1862, acting upon the report, a centralized department of Indian affairs was set up. When Head ceased to be governor-general, Pennefather was appointed to the executive council in Ceylon, then considered to be a good posting, where he also became their auditor-general. He died in 1865.

APPOINTMENT OF DAWSON

There is no clear evidence that the intent of the minutes of April 13 were followed. The next meeting of the board was reported for August 21 when "The Secretary read a letter addressed to the President of the Board by Mr. J. W. Dawson of Pictou, accepting the offer which had been made to him through the President, of the office of Principal of McGill College, and enquiring when it would be convenient for him to relinquish his intention of visiting Britain [Dawson was referring to the meeting of the British Association in Glasgow.] and to assume the duties of his office at once. Whereupon the President stated that he had telegraphed Mr. Dawson to the effect that his proposed visit to Europe need not be interfered with; and had subsequently written to him a long letter in answer to his of the 4th. [This may have been the letter in which Dawson had asked to be named also as the Professor of Natural History.] The meeting having unanimously approved of the action taken by the President in reference to Mr. Dawson, it was unanimously resolved that a special meeting for the election and amotion of Offices be called in conformity with the amended Charter for Saturday the 8th proximo at half past three o'clock." [One can almost hear the sigh of relief from all the Governors.]

The minutes for that meeting on October 8 read as follows: "Resolved unanimously that Mr. W. Dawson, Esq., of Pictou in the Province of Nova Scotia be and is appointed Principal of McGill College during the pleasure of the Governors and no longer, in place of the Honourable Mr. Justice Day, resigned, and at a salary of £500 per annum, and a free dwelling."

In 1854 Dawson had taken part in the New Brunswick commission with Ryerson "then the leading school authority in Canada. Sir Edmund attended the meetings of the Commission and occasionally took part in the discussions." Of 1855, he was to write, "Then it was, that there occurred one of those coincidences, which impress us with the belief in a kind providence overruling our affairs. Almost simultaneously with the news of the failure of the Edinburgh candidature, a letter arrived in Pictou from the Hon. Judge Day, the president of the Board of Governors of McGill University, Montreal, explaining the movement in progress for its improvement and offering me the position of principal. I had made no application for this appointment, and knew little of McGill. . . nor did I at the time, know to whom I was indebted for suggesting my name. I soon learned, also, that my friend Sir Edmund Head, who had been promoted to the office of Governor General of Canada, desired that, if possible, I should go to Montreal. It was finally decided to accept the Montreal offer, provided that a chair of natural history could be added to the principalship which was readily agreed to."³⁷

Dawson then alludes to the fact that Head was now the Visitor to the University so it was natural for the governors to wait on him for advice when " he, to their surprise suggested my name. The members of the deputation listened respectfully; but I have been told by one of them³⁸ that they were startled and disappointed, as they had expected that Sir Edmund would have been able to indicate some man of mark in England, whilst my name was scarcely, if at all known, and not likely to carry with it much prestige in Canada, which had at that time little in common with the maritime provinces. After due inquiry, however, it was decided to make me an offer of the appointment which. . . I happened at the moment to be in a position to accept, and on which I could enter with the more advantage, as a *protégé* of the new Governor General." A great deal, therefore, hinges on the meaning and extent of what is implied by the word inquiry. Dawson's account makes it appear that he had no previous knowledge, and so was not involved in the inquiry.

Dawson's wife and family were waiting for him in Halifax and they took ship for Boston en route for Montreal. Here again luck favoured them. They were to make friends with another passenger, Mrs. John Molson, who not only befriended them personally but she and her family were and continued to be friends and benefactors of McGill University. Thus ended the saga of the search. It was due to Dawson that the dilapidated campus, so remote from the town that classes were held down town, was given a form and shape which is still prominent today, and to build for

it a reputation that it could be stated that, for so many years, it stood second only to Harvard on the North American continent.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

Thanks are due to the many librarians and archivists in Edinburgh, London, Oxford, and Preston, and to those at the universities of Edinburgh, Glasgow, Gottengen, McGill, Manitoba, Toronto, and Winnipeg for all their help. Thanks are also due to members of various Family History Societies, to Mr. Hodgson, genealogist of Edinburgh, and Mr. E. Young, and Mr. J.F. Fisher, historians of the Baptist Church at Luton.

NOTES

1. Green, J.R. *England* Vol. IV.
2. Durham had been dismissed by Melbourne as a 'second rate fellow' who was making trouble for Melbourne. The English "were shocked when they learned that Durham had appointed to important posts two men, Turton and Gibbon Wakefield, of notoriously bad private character." Wakefield had done three years in jail for abduction and Turton had been involved in a sordid divorce action. See Cecil, David: *Melbourne* pp. 339-344.
3. Brubacher & Rudy: *Higher Education in Transition*.
4. Although proclaimed, the act was far from effective for no letters patent were granted for a number of years.
5. The term, 'an university or college', had been used in the American colonies in the charters of William and Mary (1693) and King's College in New York (1754), and even earlier at Glasgow and Aberdeen, whose letters patent incorporated both a university and a degree granting college.
6. See the entry for Mills in the *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*.
7. *The Dartmouth College Case*, in Knight & Hall.
8. "The legislation provided for a grant of one half the cost of constructing each schoolhouse to a maximum of £50, and towards each teacher's salary a subsidy of £20 a year plus 10 shillings for every student whose family could not afford to pay fees." See Little, J.I., *State and Society in Transition*.
9. Syndics were not new: at Bologna in the 14th century a syndic was appointed to assist or otherwise control the rector of the University. At Cambridge University where the device is still much favoured by the senate, it was first used in 1607.
10. *Montreal Gazette*, June 29, 1829.
11. The Society for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge was founded in the 17th century, and was responsible for much missionary activity.
12. Colborne who had released hundreds of Patriote prisoners, now persuaded Durham not to hang the rebels (some had already been hung by the Lt. Governor of Upper Canada), and, if possible, to avoid jury trials in the political climate then existing. Eight who signed a confession of guilt were transported to Bermuda, those who fled to the United States, including Papineau, were banished, and the majority of the others were released. On his appointment, Melbourne had written to Durham, "The final separation of these colonies might not be of material detriment" but "a serious blow to the honour of Great Britain" and "certainly fatal to the character and existence of the ministry under which it took place." To paraphrase Lady Bracknell, "to lose one might be a misfortune, to lose two

1854 Revisited

would be carelessness". In the end, Durham's Report was leaked to *The Times* (most probably by Edward Ellice, the real owner of Forsyth, Richardson & Co.) which published extracts one month before the government received it.

13. The best flints which came from Suffolk, England could be relied upon to fire up to 45 to 50 times before they needed to be replaced. Many of those in use in Canada failed to fire at all.

14. See J.I. Cooper, "When the High School of Montreal and McGill were One", *McGill News*, Autumn 1943.

15. In the years 1778 and 1779 were born several remarkable children who all attended the Royal High School of Edinburgh at the same time. Lord Brougham, a Lord Chancellor, was one who became the dux of the school. The next year the dux was Francis Horner, and the next in line was James Pillans. Henry Cockburn, Lord Cockburn, Lord of Sessions, was in the same class as was John Murray who became Lord Murray, Lord of Sessions, and Chief Justice. Apart from the cantankerous Brougham they remained friends throughout their lives.

16. Rexford, Gammell, & McBain: *The History of the High School of Montreal*.

17. Other aspects of Davidson's life are covered in a manuscript prepared for the archives of the Bank of Scotland.

18. In the 16th, 17th, and 18th centuries, the order of precedence in Scotland was given by the Lords of Session, the Advocates, the Writers to the Signet, and the clerks to the Advocates and Writers to the Signet. There were thirteen Lords of Session, or trial judges. The Advocates were analogous to barristers and did the pleading before the judges. The Writers to the Signet were concerned with civil matters, and registrations, a role more nearly that of English solicitors. The Advocates and the Writers to the Signet each had their own well stocked libraries, and the fee for admission to the ranks was quite high.

19. The company was registered under various titles in various locations: Armour & Ramsey (Montreal), A. H. Armour & Co. (Hamilton), or Ramsey, Armour & Co. (Kingston). They had agents in Toronto, Quebec, Bytown, Perth, Niagara, and London.

20. Little, J.I., p. 39.

21. Cauchon who was a Tory, needed to form a broadly based coalition to become Premier and sought out Dunkin, a fellow Tory to join but Dunkin's price (really the English Protestants' price) was too high for Cauchon. He was too much opposed to the Langevin measure having seen what happened when the maverick Bell from Upper Canada had proposed a similar measure for Upper Canada with the Protestant and Catholic terminology reversed. He stepped down in favour of Chauveau and became Lt. Governor of Manitoba. Chauveau, saddled with debt incurred in the care of his family, was to add several ministerial titles to that of Premier, thus increasing his salary by over £1000. One of the titles was that of Minister of Public Instruction. It was his Education Bill of 1869 which established two committees, one Protestant and one Catholic, with one superintendent or minister of public instruction, with two deputies, one Catholic and one Protestant each responsible to his own committee.

22. Minutes of the Board of Governors.

23. Meiklejohn: *Life and Letters of William Ballantyne Hodgson* makes no reference to any offer.

24. Later Cockburn was to comment that the Academy had become so anglicized that a Scotch accent could no longer be heard in the school.

25. Benham, W., *Catherine and Crawford Tait*, & Jalland, P. *Death in the Victorian Family*.

26. Preface to 1973 edition of *Oakfield or Fellowship of the East*, edited by Allott K. Either at Oxford or earlier. Arnold had made the first codification of the rules of rugby football

– the version played at Rugby School. He had also written one of the three published accounts of a rugby game when the sixth form (Upper Bench) played the rest of the school.

27. Wiese, L.A. *Letters on English Education*, translated by William D. Arnold. A translation of a second version singled out the building of the Royal High School in Edinburgh as the most magnificent school building in Europe. It will soon be the temporary home of the new Scottish Parliament.

28. Testimonials on behalf of the Reverend Henry Burgess in reference to the Rectorship of the Edinburgh Academy, 1854. (Copyright of this material is held by the British Library.)

29. Poultry is a street in London which runs from Cheapside to Threadneedle Street.

30. The names had significance. Henry Martyn was a Cambridge graduate who, as a missionary to India, translated the *New Testament* and *Prayer Book* into Hindustani and into Persian, and translated the Gospels into Judeo-Persic. William Roscoe was the son of a Liverpool market gardener who discovered the Cluny manuscript at Holkham many years before Principal William Peterson. He also wrote the lives of Lorenzo di Medicie and Leo X. The names were meant to inspire their possessors.

31. Shorthand was popular among the Dissenters. The first shorthand writers to the House of Commons in England were dissenters. Doddridge at his Dissenting Academy at Northampton ensured that all his students would learn to write in shorthand, the better to make their notes of his lectures.

32. The Resolution mentioned above must have been a mental resolve, or unspoken agreement, for it was never minuted as such.

33. Morgan, H.J., *Sketches of Celebrated Canadians* (1865).

34. Irish records were destroyed by fire in 1922. They may not have been well kept before then. Most present day entries have not been made by a Pennefather and say 'about' a date. The matriculation records of the universities provide better data, as do entries in the Annual Register and in the Gentleman's Magazine.

35. *Head Papers*, volume 4, in the Public Archives, Ottawa.

36. Much of Pennefather's enquiry centred on the Six Nations, the tribes around Sarnia, those on Manitoulin Island, and the Mississaugues of the New Credit river area.

37. Dawson, R. (Ed.), *Fifty Years of Work in Canada*.

38. Only Dunkin and Ferrier were present at the interview. From Dawson's later observations about Dunkin it seems likely that Dunkin was the informant.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

An Old Student. (1868). *Memoir of the late James Pillans, LL.D.* Edinburgh: Maclachlan & Steward.

Arnold, W.D. (1973). *Oakfield or fellowship of the East* (with an introduction by Kenneth Allott). Leicester: Leicester University Press.

Baptist Academical Institute at Stepney, Report of the Committee. (1828). London: J. Haddon.

Benham, W. (1879). *Catherine and Crauford Tait*. London: Macmillan.

Blackburn Record Office. (1837-1860). *Coucher book for All Saints/Christ Church*. Preston: Lancashire Record Office. Microfiche 1549/8.

1854 Revisited

- Brown, W. (Ed.). (1966+). *Dictionary of Canadian biography*, Vols. VI, VII, VIII, IX, X, XI, XIII. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.
- Brubacher, J. S., & Rudy, W. (1958). *Higher education in transition*. New York: Harper & Bros.
- Burgess, H. (Ed.). (1854). *Testimonials on behalf of the Reverend Henry Burgess in reference to the Rectorship of the Edinburgh Academy 1854*. London: Walton & Mitchell.
- Cecil, D. (1965). *Melbourne*. London: Pan Books.
- Clive, J. L. (1957). *Scotch reviewers*. London: Faber & Faber.
- Cockburn, H. T. (1910 & 1974). *Memorials of his time*. Edinburgh & London: Edmunston & Douglas, and Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Cockburn, H. T. (1874). *Journals of Henry Cockburn 1831-1854* (2 vols.). Edinburgh: T. N. Foulis.
- Cockburn, H.T. (1852). *Life of Lord Jeffrey*. Philadelphia: Lippincott.
- Cooper, J. I. (1944). *When the High School of Montreal & McGill were one*. Montreal: *McGill News*, Autumn.
- Cooper, R. E. (1960). *From Stepney to St. Giles; 1810 - 1860*. London: Carey Kingsgate.
- Cooper, T. (1875). *Men of the time*. London: Routledge.
- Crockford's Clerical Directory*. (1858 to date). London: Oxford University Press.
- Dawson, R. (Ed.). (1901). *Fifty years of scientific and educational work in Canada*. Autobiographical notes of Sir William Dawson. London & Edinburgh: Ballantyne & Hanson.
- Dawson, J. W. (1888). *The Constitution of McGill University* (Annual University Lecture in the Session 1888-89). Montreal: Gazette Printing.
- Fisher, J. (1975). *People of the meeting house*. Luton: Published privately.
- Frost, S. B. (1984). *McGill University*, Vol. 1. Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press.
- Gould, G.P. (1910). *The Baptist College at Regent's Park* (founded at Stepney 1810). London: Kingsgate Press. (Printed for private circulation).
- Green, J. R. (1902). *England*, Vol. IV (with a supplementary chapter by Julian Hawthorne). New York: P.F. Collier.
- Horner, L. (Ed.). (1843). *Memoirs and correspondence of Francis Horner, M.P.* London: John Murray.
- Irving, J. (1881). *Book of Scotsmen eminent for achievement*. Paisley: A. Gardner.
- Jalland, P. (1996). *Death in the Victorian family*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Jenkins, R. (1995). *Gladstone*. London: Macmillan.
- Knight, E. W., & Hall, C. (1970). *Readings in American educational history*. New York: Greenwood Press.
- Little, J. I. (1997). *State and society in transition*. Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press.
- McGill University, Official Minutes of the Board of Governors. Montreal: McGill University Archives.
- Meiklejohn, J. M. D. (1883). *Life and letters of Dr. Hodgson*. Edinburgh: D. Douglas.
- Morgan, H. J. (1865). *Sketches of celebrated Canadians*. Montreal: Worthington.

- Phillipson, N. (1990). *The Scottish whigs and the reform of the Court of Session*. Edinburgh: The Stair Society.
- Report of the Special Committee to investigate Indian affairs in Canada (21 Vic. A 1858 Appendix No. 21). Ottawa: Derbishire, Desbarats, Queen's Printers, 1858).
- Rexford, E. I. (1933). *The High School of Montreal: Its origins and early problems*. Montreal: McGill News, March.
- Rexford, E. I., Gammell, I., & McBain, A. R. (1950). *History of the High School of Montreal*. Montreal: (No publisher shown).
- Stephens, L. & Lee, S., (Eds.). (1927). *Dictionary of national biography*, (22 vols.). Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Walford, R. (Ed). (1862). *Men of the time*. London: Routledge, Warne, & Routledge.
- Wallace, W. S. (1940). Forsyth, Richardson, & Co. in the fur trade. In *Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada Sec. ii*.
- Wiese, L. (1834). *German letters on English education* (trans. by W.D. Arnold). London: Longman, Brown, Green, & Longmans.
- Woodward, L. (1961). *The age of reform*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Young, E. (1994). *More than bricks and mortar*. Luton: Private Publication.

REGINALD EDWARDS, now Professor Emeritus in the Department of Educational and Counselling Psychology, McGill University, has taught at universities in England, the United States, and Canada. He was a one-time president of the Comparative and International Education Society, and has been a contributor to several journals and the *World Year Books of Education*. He was the first member of the Faculty of Education to be elected to the Senate of McGill. Since his retirement he has pursued research related to aspects of McGill's educational history.

REGINALD EDWARDS, professeur émérite au département de psychopédagogie et counselling de l'Université McGill a enseigné dans plusieurs universités en Grande-Bretagne, aux États-Unis et au Canada. Il a été président de la Société canadienne d'éducation comparée et internationale et a publié de nombreux articles dans des revues savantes ainsi que dans le *World Year Books of Education*. Il a été le premier membre de la faculté des sciences de l'éducation à être élu au Sénat de l'Université McGill. Depuis sa retraite, il mène des recherches sur les éléments de l'histoire pédagogique de McGill.