

ABSTRACT

SIR WILLIAM C. MACDONALD: BENEFACTOR TO EDUCATION

A Thesis submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts, Faculty of Education, McGill University.

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This study centres on four areas relating to the contributions of Sir William C. Macdonald to the growth and development of Canadian education during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

The first section of the thesis deals with Macdonald's biography in an attempt to show those factors which prompted him to donate more than \$14,000,000 to the field of education. It deals with his early life as a basis of this understanding. His maternal and paternal heritage and his immediate family relationships are examined, as are the development of his ambition, his philosophy of life, his education and his early business enterprises.

The second section dealing with McGill University details his involvement with that institution. It describes the physical condition and popular attitude toward the McGill University of the mid-nineteenth century. The genesis and growth of his interest are examined and traced to a deep

commitment. It describes the impact of Macdonald's carefully studied benefactions on the University.

A third section describes the genesis of Macdonald's interest in rural and teacher education and the contribution he made to its growth across Canada.

The fourth section on Macdonald College brings to light the intentions of its founder. It examines the role played by Dr. James Robertson and the factors leading to the withdrawal of Dr. Robertson's assistance. The growth and development of the college is traced and McGill University's responsibility for it is explained.

The last chapter examines the inter-related Macdonald contribution to the growth and development of rural, teacher, and university education across Canada.

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by

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FOREWORD

The greater part of Canada's educational history is yet to be written. The realization of this truth comes to one who begins a study in this field. Very few books have been written upon the subject, and these leave large areas unexplored. It is important that these gaps be filled, as soon as possible, before the facts are lost forever.

The author was prompted to this particular study for several reasons.

Changes are imminent at Macdonald College. The Quebec Department of Education has suggested that the interests of education would be better served by extensive reorganization. These changes would alter, it appears, the programs currently being offered by Macdonald College. Dr. Dion, Vice-Principal of Macdonald College, has pointed out, in the October 21, 1968 issue of the McGill Reporter, that such alterations in the basic structure of this college "could only be interpreted as a major breach of the founder's faith." While it is not the intention of this thesis to examine the government's plans and motivations, it is one of its purposes to bring to light those of Sir William C. Macdonald. This seems a most appropriate time in the history of Macdonald College for such an undertaking.

Very little of a biographical nature exists about Sir

William Macdonald as Robert Stamp pointed out in "Urbanization and Education in Ontario and Quebec, 1867-1914," an article which appeared in the Fall, 1968 issue of the McGill Journal of Education, and also in "Education and Nation Building" (1968). What there is to be found is frequently sketchy, often contradictory, and incomplete. This thesis attempts to uncover the motivations guiding Sir William Macdonald's efforts, and the significance of these benefactions to the history of Canadian education.

Macdonald has been called the "second father of McGill University." This thesis attempts to discover why he was so called, and it seems appropriate that such a study be undertaken by someone affiliated with McGill University.

This study depends, to a large degree, on primary source material that was unavailable until very recently. Among these were the Minutes of the Board of Governors of McGill University covering the years of Macdonald's participation on that body. The files of Dr. J. F. Snell contained previously unpublished material among which were confidential notes relating to the withdrawal of Dr. James Robertson from Macdonald College affairs. It is believed that the D. Stewart family of Montreal is in possession of an extensive collection of Sir William's private papers and letters. It has not been released to the public at this time.

It became apparent to me that Dr. James Robertson played a significant role in the growth and development of Canadian education, no full account of his life and work

could be found. This might thus constitute an area of further research.

It is noted that the early spelling of Sir William's last name was MacDonald. When he was knighted it was changed to Macdonald. This thesis conforms to that spelling convention.

To Vice-Principal Dion and Dr. M. Gillett I wish to express my deep appreciation for their interest and understanding during the writing of this thesis.

To Dr. M. Wisenthal goes my special thanks and appreciation for his help and advice.

To my wife goes my deepest appreciation for her inspiration and understanding, as well as for attentive reading and detailed checking of the manuscript in all its many drafts.

To the director of my research, Professor J. K. Jobling, I wish to extend my sincere thanks for his generous and helpful assistance, for his patience and his time, and most of all for his guidance.

Maurry H. Epstein

ABOU BEN ADHEM

Abou Ben Adhem (may his tribe increase!)
Awoke one night from a deep dream of peace,
And saw, within the moonlight in his room,
Making it rich, and like a lily in bloom,
An angel, writing in a book of gold;
Exceeding peace had made Ben Adhem bold:
And to the presence in the room, he said,
"What writest thou?" The vision raised its head,
And, with a look made of all sweet accord,
Answer'd: "The names of those who love the Lord."
"And is mine one?" said Abou. "Nay, not so,"
Replied the angel. Abou spoke more low
But cheerily still; and said, "I pray thee then,
Write me as one that loves his fellowmen."

The angel wrote and vanish'd. The next night
It came again, with a great wakening light
And show'd the names whom love of God had bless'd,
And lo! Ben Adhem's name led all the rest.

Leigh Hunt.

CHAPTER I

THE DEVELOPMENT OF A TOBACCO TYCOON

THE MACDONALD HERITAGE

Sir William Christopher Macdonald was not a self-made man. He was the recipient of a tradition from both sides of his family that was marked by leadership, prominence, and public service.

The colony of Prince Edward Island, William's first home, was originally known as the Island of St. John. Captain John MacDonald, William's paternal grandfather, purchased two lots by mortgaging "his Scottish estates to his cousin Alexander MacDonald of Boisdale but, he was never in a position to redeem the mortgage."¹

It appeared that religious persecution of the MacDonald clan by a newly converted Presbyterian landlord in Scotland drove John to take steps toward emigration. The degree to which his faith played a part in John's life is made clear in a letter to his daughter, Flora, attending a Quebec Convent school in 1810.²

¹Letter from Mr. D. C. Harvey, Public Archivist, Halifax, Nova Scotia, to Dr. J. F. Snell, Macdonald College Archives, May 1, 1940.

²Letter from John MacDonald to Flora MacDonald, n. d., A Knight of the Eighteenth Century, Anon., Macdonald College Archives, 1910.

Captain John, educated in Germany, followed his family's traditional beliefs. They were "ardent Catholics and devoted adherents of the House of Stuart."³

In 1771 he sent thirteen settlers of the MacDonald clan to his newly acquired Prince Edward Island property. In the following year, 1772, a brother, Donald, emigrated. In 1773, "Captain John MacDonald, laird of Glenaladale, with about two hundred and ten of his kinsmen . . . threaded his way up the narrow channel of the East River . . . aboard the 'Alexander' . . . to Scotch Fort, Lot 36."⁴

John's responsibility to his people did not end with the land purchase.

For several years he continued to support these people until they were enabled to shift for themselves, supplying them with cows, horses, sheep and swine, which he imported at great expense from other colonies, and at the same time instructing and superintending them in farming operations, as well as showing them an example of a farm of his own.⁵

With the outbreak of the American Revolution, John's loyalty to the Crown led him to "raise one or more companies of the Royal Highland Emigrants Regiment . . . in Nova

³Lecture by Rev. Dr. MacDonald in Market Hall, Charlottetown, Prince Edward Island, Macdonald College Archives, January 27, 1881.

⁴Letter from W. J. MacDonald, Lieutenant-Governor of Prince Edward Island, to M. Epstein, quoting old family records, anonymous and undated, February 16, 1969.

⁵Judge Alley, "The Early Settlement of Prince Edward Island," The Canadian Antiquarian and Numismatic Journal, 111, Nos. 3, 4, May, 1894.

Scotia."⁶ Captain John served for three years.⁷ His brother, Donald, held a lieutenancy and was killed in action.

Upon John's return from the war he married Catherine MacDonald, daughter of Ronald MacDonald. A son, Donald, was born on October 25, 1795.⁸ Another son, whose name and date of birth have been lost, became a priest.⁹ Flora, a daughter, was a pupil at the Ursuline Convent at Quebec.¹⁰

Donald married, about 1820, Anna Matilda Brecken.¹¹ William Christopher MacDonald was the youngest son of this marriage.

Just as this early MacDonald heritage indicated great loyalty to Monarch, so too, did the Brecken heritage.

The maternal grandfather of Anna Matilda (Brecken) MacDonald was Joseph Robinson. He was a colonel and had command of Royalist troops in North Carolina during the Amer-

⁶Harvey to Snell, loc. cit.

⁷Sir Andrew McPhail, "History of Prince Edward Island," Vol. XXXIX in Canada and Her Provinces, Shortt and Doughty (eds.), Toronto: Brook and Co., 1914.

⁸Will of Captain John MacDonald, Prince Edward Island Archives, Charlottetown, Prince Edward Island, n. d.

⁹Letter from Mr. Wm. Cain, New Perth, Prince Edward Island, to Dr. J. F. Snell, Macdonald College Archives, May 1, 1940.

¹⁰Anon., A Knight of the Eighteenth Century, Macdonald College Archives, 1910 (?).

¹¹The exact date could not be ascertained. This was, it appeared, a civil marriage, and the records prior to 1840 have been destroyed by fire.

ican Revolution.¹² He became Speaker of the Assembly in 1792, a member of the Executive Council in 1793, and later was appointed to the Supreme Court where he served as Assistant Justice¹³ until his death on August 24, 1807.¹⁴ Anna's paternal grandfather, a Colonel Ferguson, was also a Royalist. A daughter of this Robinson-Ferguson marriage, whose name did not appear in Mrs. Aeneas Macdonald's table, but who may have been Ann,¹⁵ married Mr. John Brecken. Here again, little biographical data was available; but the birth of a daughter, Anna Matilda, was found to be October 5, 1797. She was one of four girls.¹⁶

It was evident that John Brecken was also dedicated to public service for he was a member of the Legislative Council from 1834 until his death in 1847.¹⁷

The early Prince Edward Island MacDonalds were conscientious Catholics. Members of the Brecken family were

¹²Ada Macleod, "The Glenaladale Pioneers," Dalhousie Review, October, 1931, vol. 11, pp. 311-24.

¹³Province of Nova Scotia, Journal of the Legislative Assembly, Nova Scotia Archives, Halifax, 1792-1807.

¹⁴Burial Certificate, Protestant Burial Ground, Charlottetown, Prince Edward Island, in the files of Dr. J. F. Snell, Macdonald College Archives, August 24, 1807.

¹⁵Mrs. Aeneas A. Macdonald, Geneological Table, Macdonald College Archives, 1917.

¹⁶Ibid.

¹⁷Letter from Mrs. Weston Peake, a great grand-daughter of Mr. John Brecken, to Dr. J. F. Snell, Macdonald College Archives, 1940, and a letter from P. S. Fielding, Deputy Provincial Secretary of Prince Edward Island, to Dr. J. F. Snell, Macdonald College Archives, April 4, 1940.

Protestant and appeared to have belonged to both the Anglican and Methodist denominations. William's uncle, Ralph Brecken, was a Methodist.¹⁸ A letter from William to his mother indicated the probability that she too, was a Methodist, though this is not certain.¹⁹ It is clear, however, that "Mrs. [Donald] MacDonald was undoubtedly, brought up as a Protestant. . . ."²⁰ It was presumed that upon her marriage, she accepted the Catholic Faith and of their seven children only William and one daughter, Helen, appear to have left that church.

Little is known about the public life of Donald MacDonald. He was a member of the Legislative Council of Prince Edward Island from 1839 to 1852 and its President in 1853 and 1854.²¹ Thus Donald and his father-in-law, John Brecken, were colleagues on this body for eight years. MacKinnon and Warburton's history²² mentions that Donald owned and administered the five hundred acre estate of Glenaladale. There were reports of his periodic departures from Prince Edward Island for a Nova Scotia destination. The nature of his bus-

¹⁸Letter from Leith E. Brecken, a grandson of Ralph Brecken, to Dr. J. F. Snell, Macdonald College Archives, May 7, 1940.

¹⁹Letter from William Macdonald to Anna Macdonald, Macdonald College Archives, August 13, 1868.

²⁰Brecken to Snell, loc. cit.

²¹Prince Edward Island, Journal of the Legislative Assembly, Office of the Provincial Secretary of Prince Edward Island, Charlottetown, 1839-1854.

²²MacKinnon and Warburton (eds.), The Past and Present of Prince Edward Island, Saint John: 1923, p. 172.

iness there was not known. Though it can not be substantiated, it was possible that he was a member or employee of the Nova Scotia Legislature.²³

Despite their religious differences, the Breckens and the MacDonalds had a number of characteristics in common. The history of both families was marked by social prominence, loyalty to principle, awareness of public need, and dedication to the welfare and betterment of the people by public action. William C. Macdonald, in his own way, was to perpetuate this heritage.

²³Letter from Laura A. Young, assistant Archivist, Nova Scotia Archives, Halifax, to Dr. J. F. Snell, Macdonald College Archives, January 8, 1941.

A DREAM IS BORN

William's family was very much aware of the need and value of education, as his father made clear, while still a student himself, in a letter to his own mother.¹ One would have expected William to have been the recipient of a superior education.

His grandfather, John, had attended the Jesuit University at Ratisbon "there being then no Scotch Catholic College."² A brother of John, in fact, received a priestly education. Indeed education, a religious education, appeared to have been one of John's paramount concerns as the letter to his daughter, Flora, indicated.³

William's father, Donald, attended Stonyhurst College in England.⁴ William's two older brothers were both sent there and three of his sisters attended the Ursuline Convent at Quebec.

William's earliest schooling was obtained from his uncle, John, a Paris educated priest, in a country school at Tracadie and later at the Central Academy in Charlottetown which was later to become Prince of Wales College.⁵

¹Letter from Donald MacDonald to Ann MacDonald, MacDonald College Archives, July 31, 1813.

²Anon., A Knight of the Eighteenth Century, MacDonald College Archives, 1910 (?).

³Ibid.

⁴Donald MacDonald to Ann MacDonald, loc. cit.

⁵Anon., an untitled family record from the files of

When William was approximately sixteen years of age, the time he should have embarked on his secondary education, he had a "grievous quarrel with his father." As inferred earlier, "there was a family tradition, that one son in each generation was selected for the priesthood." His older brothers, already at Stonyhurst, were evidently not the ones so chosen. William, "as a boy, had served as an acolyte in the parish church at Tracadie, but he conceived a passionate aversion to the ritual and tenets of the church."⁶ William's defection from the Catholic faith undoubtedly deeply affected his father, for when his daughter, Helen, acted similarly, Donald stated,

such conduct goes to my Heart with more pain and dread than the Assassin's Knife or Bullet. . . . Her neglect and disregard of myself I can bear but that she should give up her religion and become a Protestant . . . will drive me to perfect madness.⁷

An 1849 letter of complaint to his father, from William, reinforced by inference the possibility that the religious issue led to family discord.⁸ The basis of the argument, perhaps, stemmed from differences in outlook between William's Protestant mother and Catholic father.⁹

W. J. MacDonald, Lieutenant-Governor of Prince Edward Island, Charlottetown, n. d.

⁶Ibid.

⁷Letter from Donald MacDonald to John Archibald MacDonald, Macdonald College Archives, July, 1854.

⁸Letter from William MacDonald to Donald MacDonald, Macdonald College Archives, July, 1849.

⁹The Montreal Gazette, June 11, 1917.

As a result of this altercation William's formal education was terminated and he was apprenticed to a cousin, Daniel Brennan, in a general store in Charlottetown. This was where he must have learned his first lessons in commerce. He received "a pittance of £15 per annum for clothes and washing."¹⁰ An incident in the store he was later to refer to as "a Godsend in the way of kettles and pans" led him to terminate his apprenticeship.¹¹

William's life during the years immediately following this incident was quite sketchy. It was known that from Charlottetown he returned home, very briefly, and then went to Quebec, where, unsubstantiated word had it, he worked as a clerk. A letter from Mr. Vincent Cleary indicated that William may have left Quebec for Newfoundland, where, with Mr. Cleary's grandmother, he operated a "produce business in Saint Johns, but could not make a success of it."¹²

About 1848 William moved to Boston where he joined his other brother Augustine, who had returned from Stonyhurst and was studying law in the Boston office of Rufus Choate.¹³ At this point, William indicated in a letter, that he was employed by Messrs. George H. Gray and Company,

¹⁰Letter from William MacDonald to John Archibald MacDonald, Macdonald College Archives, July, 1851.

¹¹William to John Archibald, July, 1849, loc. cit.

¹²Letter from Mr. Vincent Cleary to Mrs. Anna (MacDonald) Walsh, Macdonald College Archives, March 1, 1937.

¹³William to John Archibald, July, 1851, loc. cit.

and was "a minor in a counting house," earning a salary that would not pay half of his board, the company for whom he worked evidently regarding the experience as worth double the salary and being "actually so to young gentlemen receiving assistance from their fathers."¹⁴

Two years later, while still in Boston, he initiated his first documented enterprise, and a dream or ambition began to materialize. In July 1851, he wrote to his brother, John Archibald, suggesting that he give up farming and open a store "in Charlotte Town . . . to deal in West Indies goods and Yankee notions" that William would ship him.¹⁵ William's confidence in his own business acumen was shown by his assurance to John Archibald that he, William, could buy to better advantage than traders from Prince Edward Island. William foresaw a prospect of eventual development of a wholesale as well as a retail business.

In November, William replied to two letters from John Archibald. In this correspondence William implied that John Archibald was fearful of local prejudice against William and hesitant, in general, about the proposed partnership. John Archibald expressed a preference for a salary. William recognized the danger of local prejudice but, his confidence unshaken, he suggested that the business be in John Archibald's name but that he, John Archibald, could draw a sal-

¹⁴William to John Archibald, July, 1849, loc. cit.

¹⁵William to John Archibald, July, 1851, loc. cit.

ary if he "so preferred!"¹⁶ William, then twenty years old, expressed his self-assuredness and ambition when he indicated, to John Archibald, that he did "not intend doing a petty business . . . and will not limit myself to one thousand pounds worth of goods."¹⁷

A shipment followed on December 24th aboard the Responsible, carrying "rum, gin, brandy, wines, molasses, raisins, currants, whiting, scales and stoves."¹⁸

In a letter written from New York early in 1852, William revealed some doubt in John Archibald's business ability.¹⁹ He gave John Archibald minute directions for custom formalities and bookkeeping, and he recommended courtesy to customers. He warned against participation in politics. The political involvement of his forebears did not, it would seem, interest William.

He continued by giving advice to John Archibald as if he, John, were the younger brother, but in so doing, William revealed something of his own character and ambition. The letter might well have been his own "credo," the basis upon which he built his whole life:

You must exert yourself and push on, let

¹⁶Letter from William MacDonald to John Archibald MacDonald, Macdonald College Archives, November 10, 1851.

¹⁷Ibid.

¹⁸Letter from William MacDonald to John Archibald MacDonald, Macdonald College Archives, January 6, 1852.

¹⁹Ibid.

nothing stop you. . . . If you loose [sic] all, stop not to grieve, it is unbecoming to a man as well as useless - but stop only to plan, continue and devise means to meet your ends - let your aim next to Heaven be Superiority; let Onward and Upward be your motto - never be second while it is in your power to be first. In the words of a Roman General, 'If you are sleeping, awake; if you are standing, move; if you are moving, run; if you are running, fly!' Read Franklin's life - see how he rose from a poor printer's boy - a tallow chandler's son, to be second only to the immortal Washington - how he persevered in his studies as well as his business - losing no time late or early - not only being industrious, but endeavouring to appear so. Study, my dear brother, you require much . . . 20

He suggested closing the store later than was customary and spending fewer hours in sleep. He cited his own habit of "remaining up until 12 or sometimes 1. Although not employed in the mercantile for the time being, my time is, nevertheless occupied."²¹

The letter closed with a bold, precise, underlined signature. Beside it, William, then a young man, wrote what one may interpret as his life-long dream. "I shan't stop until that signature is GOLD wherever it may go."²²

It appeared that immediately after making the shipment of goods, William moved to New York where he expected to be engaged by a large commission house, as he brought

²⁰ William to John Archibald, November 10, 1858, loc. cit.

²¹ Ibid.

²² Ibid.

with him very favourable letters of introduction from Boston.

A letter of July, 1852, reveals that William's first business venture was anything but successful, for which William held John Archibald to blame.²³

John Archibald's conduct may have been due to his irresolute business confidence and/or the fear of public reaction to legal proceedings then pending against the other brother, Augustine, who was still in Boston.

In a letter of January 30th (which he mis-dated as 1831), William shed some light on the Boston legal case, when he indicated that a man named Holman was either plotting against Augustine and himself or pressing Augustine for payment of a debt. "They sometimes bore him for that dividend . . . "²⁴

From a letter of March 30th, William replied to one of John Archibald's letters "in which you freely heap on me the most ungrounded, unwarrantable, and abusive language."²⁵ He upbraided John Archibald for

willingly crediting a villainous slander about Augustine . . . a malicious fabrication of Elliot and Greig, made to ruin our business on the Island and because Augustine took from them a considerable

²³Letter from William MacDonald to John Archibald MacDonald, Macdonald College Archives, July 27, 1852.

²⁴Letter from William MacDonald to John Archibald MacDonald, Macdonald College Archives, January 30, 1852.

²⁵Letter from William MacDonald to John Archibald MacDonald, Macdonald College Archives, March 30, 1852.

portion of their Canada business.

It appeared that Elliott and Greig had caused to be published in the Boston Traveller an item to the effect that Augustine had run away to Canada to escape a number of creditors, some of whom Augustine "had never seen or known. . . ." William explained that Augustine had been:

doing a large Canada business and went up there in the legitimate prosecution of the same and it was Elliott and Greig, who, on discovering that he was in business, sent a Sheriff to arrest him on the old knee scrape; so you see it was the scrape in which you were a partner that brought on the trouble and not one in which I was 'implicated'. I suppose that you are aware that Holman is working for Elliott on a salary, and that my wholesale business with you would come in immediate conflict with Elliott's, and finally destroy it. Hence, the strong reason why Elliott endeavoured to ruin Augustine . . . 26

William then proceeded to instruct John Archibald to resist any attempt of Elliott to attach the cargo of the Responsible for Augustine's debts, and to employ "the best lawyers to be had," but to "take care not to allow them to eat the matter up in law."²⁷

The Responsible was wrecked. The letter of July 27th indicated that despite William's patient explanation and instructions, John Archibald refused to accept what had been salvaged of the shipment, and had neglected to make arrangements for their disposal, much to William's indig-

²⁶Ibid.

²⁷Ibid.

nation.

Regarding this behavior, the enraged William stated that "such . . . conduct in a brother is almost unpardonable, to say the least of it, unwarrantable. . . . It surely cannot be that you have appropriated them!"²⁸ Whether William ever received satisfaction over the Responsible episode is not known.

During this period, as William's letters implied, Augustine was in Canada. William, shortly after the Responsible fiasco, moved to Montreal and rejoined Augustine. The exact date of the move is unknown.

The years that William spent in the United States must have been a period which contributed to his business and social growth. Though he had not yet achieved any great material success, his ambition had been formulated.

²⁸William to John Archibald, July 27, 1852, loc. cit.

THE DREAM BECOMES REALITY

The move to Montreal, sometime during the years 1852-1854, marked the beginning of the long but steady climb toward realization of William's dream of wealth and prominence.

William and Augustine, it would seem, had business contacts in Montreal. With the legal notoriety surrounding Augustine it was not difficult to understand why his name was not listed in the directories of the period.

The Directory for 1854-1855 carried the name "MacDonald Bros. & Co., Oil Merchants, 23 Peter St."¹ The one for 1855-1856 listed "W. C. MacDonald" under "Paint, Oil and Glass Stores" and has "MacDonald, R. C. [sic]," an obvious typographical error, in its list as "oil merchant and manufacture."² The oils would no doubt be mainly of animal and vegetable origin at this time. The directories of 1857-58 and 1858-59 indicated a change in the nature of the business, for William was described then as an "importer and general commission merchant."³ In 1859 the brothers entered the tobacco manufacturing business under the firm

¹ John Lovell (ed.), Montreal Directory, Montreal: John Lovell and Sons, 1854-55.

² John Lovell (ed.), Montreal Directory, Montreal: John Lovell and Sons, 1855-56.

³ John Lovell (ed.), Montreal Annual Directories, Montreal: John Lovell and Sons, 1857-58, 1858-59.

name of "MacDonald Brothers & Co."⁴

The initial success of these Montreal enterprises was evident in a letter from William's father to John Archibald, still on Prince Edward Island. Donald was visiting Montreal at this time with his daughter, Margaret, prior to enrolling her at the convent at Quebec. He stated:

the boys are doing an excellent business. During the last year they operated to the extent of forty thousand pounds and during the next year they expect to deal to the extent of One Hundred Thousand Pounds and tho their Proffits [sic] are very moderate yet they operate to such an extent that they can have a very handsome income. What would you think of one thousand Pounds in the next five years if all goes as it has in the last eighteen months?⁵

It was the tobacco business that was to lead to the imprisonment and obscurity of Augustine and the rise to prominence and wealth of William.

It was said that imminent civil war in the United States created an extraordinarily favourable condition for the establishment of a tobacco manufacturing business in Canada. A factory was commenced even before the outbreak of hostilities.⁶ Although no documentation was available, the report was widespread that the initial success of the

⁴ John Lovell (ed.), Montreal Annual Directory, Montreal: John Lovell and Sons, 1859-60.

⁵ Letter from Donald MacDonald to John Archibald MacDonald, Macdonald College Archives, July 13, 1854.

⁶ J. F. Snell, Macdonald College of McGill University: A History From 1904-1955, Montreal, McGill University Press, 1963, p. 10.

MacDonald tobacco business was due to a jealously guarded recipe for the manufacture of plug tobacco.⁷

It may well have been that William's involvement in the tobacco trade stemmed from serendipity, or from shrewd observation and calculation. An unsigned paper in the files of Dr. J. Snell indicated that,

tobacco was a Canadian Institution. Lumber camps were as much in need of tobacco as a modern army. Hard tack, fat pork, and molasses needed plug tobacco to complete the luxury of living. The tobacco made by MacDonald was one of the first Canadian-made to go to the outposts . . . 8

Whatever the reason, the MacDonald tobacco enterprise enjoyed great prosperity.⁹

It is interesting to note that during the middle 1860s, it appears that Augustine left Montreal for the United States. Whether this was due to a dispute with William, or because it was felt that one of them should oversee their United States' tobacco purchases, research was unable to ascertain. An 1885 issue to the New York Herald indicated that Augustine was "a subject of Great Britain and in 1869 was living in Cincinnati, Ohio, when he filed a petition in bankruptcy. . . ."¹⁰ In addition to this action he was

⁷Ibid.

⁸Anon., "Sir William Macdonald," report from the files of Dr. J. F. Snell, Macdonald College Archives, n. d.

⁹J. F. Snell, loc. cit., contains a very descriptive account of the tobacco company's acceptance in all phases of Canadian life.

¹⁰New York Herald, October 28, 1885.

convicted of contempt of court in connection with a controversy with a firm of Washington lawyers over their claim for services in helping him secure an award of \$200,000 from an international commission on claims of British subjects for losses in the American Civil War. The ensuing case resulted in Augustine's imprisonment.

It would not be an exaggeration to conclude that materially, as a result of the success of the business William's dream came true. In fact he was quoted as saying, in later life, that he had "no competitors, only imitators."¹¹

It was conceivable that William's ambitions and actions were responses made, in part, to situations and relationships in his immediate family.

His early letters indicated a persistent antipathy to, and contempt for, his father, contrasting with his concern and affection for his mother, sisters and brothers so long as they commanded his respect and conformed to his ideas. William's letters show most vividly the patronizing air in which he addressed his brother, John Archibald, who was some five and a half years his senior.

The early religious incident between William and his father evidently had great impact and consequence. As mentioned earlier, William, on his return to Tracadie, after his dismissal from the Brennan store in Charlottetown, had been treated to a cold reception from his father. William's

¹¹Letter from Mrs. Anna (MacDonald) Walsh to Dr. J. F. Snell, Macdonald College Archives, n. d.

purpose had only been "to say goodbye when leaving for Quebec."¹² One imagines that William, then a sixteen or seventeen year old boy, left for Quebec most pained. His reaction to this rebuff grew, intensified and became something akin to hatred before it turned to contempt. William wrote his father, in 1849, from Boston complaining bitterly of the treatment he had received on his visit home, and that his father's letters to Augustine, then also in Boston, make no inquiry about "my welfare . . . financial or moral."¹³ Continuing, he asked resentfully, for a remittance of twenty pounds. If this request was rejected, he threatened to ship as a sailor to California which was enjoying the prosperity of a gold-rush. It was not known if this request was honoured.

A letter to John Archibald in 1851, bearing a Boston postmark, indicated that William's resentment toward his father had been simmering over the years and had taken the form of utter contempt. He warned John Archibald against any business connections with their father, advising that "on no account open with him for your life . . . he has no credit at home or any place. . . . He is regarded everywhere contemptuously."¹⁴ In 1852 William's letters dir-

¹²Letter from William MacDonald to Donald MacDonald, Macdonald College Archives, July 1849.

¹³William to Donald, July 1849, loc. cit.

¹⁴Letter from William MacDonald to John Archibald MacDonald, Macdonald College Archives, November 10, 1851.

ected John Archibald that "for no consideration to bring him [Donald] in contact with me in any way."¹⁵ A short time later a slight lessening in William's bitterness was detected and evidences of a detached, almost superior, attitude appeared.

I was happy to hear of Papa's recovery - I suppose he made the will out in your favour. I would like to know . . . not that I care a jot for even the whole property, but merely to know his feelings toward you. . . . He'll live forty years longer if he keeps a revolver in his pocket. . . . I thought Papa had more sense than to be annointed, how ridiculous it appears - you are not so silly as that, are you?¹⁶

If the father-son estrangement had been due to Donald's disappointment in William, there were indications, two years later, that the rift was being mended. While in Montreal in 1854, to see his daughter at the Quebec convent, Donald recounted to John Archibald, William's reaction to seeing Margaret and himself after the six year separation. "At the sight of me - he called out - 'My God' and jumped to us both embracing each with perfect greed and delight. . . ."¹⁷ Donald continued by proudly recounting the successful growth of the business and indicated that he intended to

¹⁵Letter from William MacDonald to John Archibald MacDonald, Macdonald College Archives, January 6, 1852.

¹⁶Letter from William MacDonald to John Archibald MacDonald, Macdonald College Archives, January 20, 1852.

¹⁷Letter from Donald MacDonald to John Archibald MacDonald, Macdonald College Archives, July 13, 1854.

permanently leave Prince Edward Island for Montreal. "I am so determined to leave myself at whatever rate I may sell I am resolved on doing so."¹⁸

Whether the estrangement was truly a thing of the past, and whether Donald intended to join his sons in their Montreal business was not known. Donald died the following month in Quebec, of cholera.¹⁹

As his father before him, William held his mother in the highest esteem. Donald had referred to his own mother as "the Queen of Tracadie."²⁰ William's letters and actions indicated that he felt similarly about his mother. Unlike his feelings towards other members of the family, William's love for his mother appeared not to have wavered or diminished over the years. In the bitter letter to his father in 1849 requesting financial assistance and threatening to run off to California if it was not forthcoming, William specified that his mother not be informed of his intentions, for should she send money he would immediately return it to her, "whose Maternal affection and Generosity I shall never forget."²¹ He further indicated that he wished to spare her worry about his safety and comfort in rounding the Horn. In his subsequent letters to John Archibald, William invariably

¹⁸Ibid.

¹⁹The Islander, (Charlottetown), August 4, 1854.

²⁰Letter from Donald MacDonald to his mother, MacDonald College Archives, July 31, 1813.

²¹William to Donald, July 1849, loc. cit.

closed with the desire that he "Give my kind love to mother and sisters."²²

By 1852 there was a strong suggestion that William's parents had separated the previous Fall. His concern for his mother became more obvious as did his antipathy to his father when William, in a letter to John Archibald, requested that he:

Tell mother that I am to be made man on the 10th proximo. . . . I intend sending papers home weekly . . . perhaps mother's taste for reading has improved since last autumn. . . . I am glad that Anna has gone with her father on Mother and Helen's account, but I trust he will have no interference with the family in the future . . . it would only cause more trouble, and I strongly advise you to open no account with him and for no consideration to bring him in contact with me in any way.²³

William's mother and sister, Helen, continued to live on Prince Edward Island after Donald's death in 1854. During the summer of 1868 William was known to have visited them and wrote each a letter from Saint John, New Brunswick, on his way back to Montreal. Their life on Prince Edward Island may have prompted this correspondence for he wrote his mother "while I lay awake dreaming it came to me that under the existing state of things you and Helen might be happier living with me in Montreal and I concluded to make the proposal for

²²Letter from William MacDonald to John Archibald MacDonald, Macdonald College Archives, May 25, 1852.

²³William to John Archibald, January 6, 1852, loc. cit.

careful and joint consideration of you both." He promised them a house "having all the modern improvements such as Gas and Water, hot and cold baths, closets, etc., and would furnish it handsomely, . . . " they would have three or four servants, horses, carriages and sleighs, a retreat at a "watering place . . . [away] from the extreme heat of summer" and he suggested that the women might join the "Methodist Church . . . on Great St. James Street. . . . " "He wished," he said, "to do everything in my power to make both of you comfortable and happy."²⁴ In the accompanying letter to Helen he reiterated his generous intentions, "my desire is to make Mamma and yourself comfortable and happy and whatever will tend in that direction will be cheerfully acceded to by me, whether you remain in Charlotte Town or come to live with me in Montreal."²⁵

Helen and his mother accepted William's offer and accordingly he built a home on property he had purchased earlier from McGill University at 3 Prince of Wales Terrace, on what is now Sherbrooke Street West.²⁶ They made this residence their home for the remainder of their lives. At

²⁴Letter from William MacDonald to Anna MacDonald, Macdonald College Archives, August, 1868.

²⁵Letter from William MacDonald to Helen MacDonald, Macdonald College Archives, August, 1868.

²⁶The Minutes of the Board of Governors of McGill University note the purchase of Lot #31 at a price of \$1,980.00, by "W. MacDonald of 71 Bleury Street", McGill University Archives, October 24, 1865.

first the ladies attended the St. James Methodist and afterwards St. George's Anglican Church.²⁷ Mrs. MacDonald died in 1878, and against Catholic doctrine, was cremated and buried in Mount Royal Cemetery.²⁸ Helen died while visiting Florence, Italy, some twenty years later, in 1899. She, too, was buried in Mount Royal Cemetery rather than back on Prince Edward Island.²⁹

Though William severed his business connections with John Archibald after their brief partnership, there was some evidence that a relationship continued.

Near the end of William's letter of late-January, 1852, to John Archibald was found a somewhat poignant, bitter remark;

After reading three or four lines of your letters I invariably find myself at the end - - such lengthy letters. The spontaneous outpourings of your generous heart?³⁰

It would seem that after their initial dealings and the Responsible incident, John Archibald considered joining William and Augustine in Montreal. The letter from their father suggested to John Archibald that he consider the

²⁷Letter from Archdeacon Gower-Rees, St. Georges Church, to Dr. J. F. Snell, Macdonald College Archives, August 8, 1940.

²⁸Letter from Mr. W. W. Roy, General Superintendent, Mount Royal Cemetery, to Dr. J. F. Snell, Macdonald College Archives, April 10, 1940.

²⁹Ibid.

³⁰William to John Archibald, January 20, 1852, loc. cit.

move and to find out on what terms the partners would propose to have their elder brother join them.³¹ Apparently nothing came of this.

It was evident that William remained in contact with John Archibald over the years, and indeed, helped him considerably in maintaining the Glenaladale Estate despite the fact that it was not left to him.

Sir William took a great interest in the old farm. He erected farm buildings at a cost of over \$50,000.00, a palatial brick residence and a barn two hundred and fifty feet long, eighty feet wide, and house and barn equipped with a water system drawn from a nearby spring. There was probably no better equipped farm on the American Continent.³²

Whether this was done for his mother's comfort before she came to live with him, or as an act of generosity toward his brother was unknown.

John Archibald married on February 11, 1866, at the age of forty-one,³³ and there was evidence that William met him in New York shortly thereafter,³⁴ though this correspondence took no note at all of the occasion. William was,

³¹Donald to John Archibald, July 1854, loc. cit.

³²Letter from J. A. Dewar, New Perth, Prince Edward Island, to Dr. J. F. Snell, Macdonald College Archives, April 20, 1943. The Dewars came into possession of the property after the MacDonalds sold it.

³³Letter from Mrs. Anna (MacDonald) Walsh to Dr. J. F. Snell, Macdonald College Archives, May 2, 1943.

³⁴Telegram from William MacDonald to John Archibald MacDonald, c/o Dr. Cramer, Williamsburgh, N. Y., Macdonald College Archives, February 16, 1866.

it appeared, most unhappy about the marriage.³⁵

John Archibald had twelve children. One of his daughters, Anna, reported that William supported her brothers' education for some years. As a young girl, in 1894, Anna came to Montreal to live with her relatives. When Helen passed away, Anna took over as mistress of the MacDonald household. Some time later she advised her uncle of her proposed marriage to a distant cousin, Alain C. MacDonald, a Roman Catholic. William "took strong objection to it on religious grounds. I tried to discuss it with him, but he would have none of it."³⁶ She went ahead with her plans in the strong-headed family tradition, and as a result William terminated his support of her family, leaving the boys who were "not worldly wise"³⁷ stranded, penniless abroad, and their father, possibly a cripple, with no means of support. The separation was absolute and ended only at his deathbed when, unable to talk, he "affectionately pressed my hand."³⁸

His early close relationship with Augustine appeared also to have deteriorated to a very low level.

Augustine had left the Montreal firm around 1863-65, going to the United States. He became embroiled there

³⁵Letter from William MacDonald to John Archibald MacDonald, Macdonald College Archives, February 9, 1866.

³⁶Walsh to Snell, loc. cit.

³⁷Letter from Mrs. J. McCarey to M. Epstein, Macdonald College Archives, March 6, 1969. Mrs. McCarey is a native of Tracadie and knowledgeable of the local history.

³⁸Walsh to Snell, loc. cit.

in the legal case which resulted in a prison sentence.³⁹ It was said that Augustine, in old age, blamed William for allowing him to lie in prison. "It was further . . . said that a fund for Augustine's defense was raised in Montreal and that Sir William resented this interference in his family affairs."⁴⁰ One story had it that William did, indeed, aid Augustine after his release from jail. It was alleged that "William sent him cheques regularly but he never cashed one of them, they were all found in a trunk after Augustine's death at Tracadie. . . ."⁴¹

William's dream of success and prestige may have been prompted, in one way or another, by his personal relationships. His family life, it seemed, was marked by little joy, great responsibility and repeated disappointment. The dream of "gold" appeared unfulfilled in this regard. That he achieved his dream, materially, in light of these obstacles might be considered all the more admirable.

The road to success, it may be said, started with his letter to John Archibald in 1849 in which he outlined his beliefs. His father's cold rebuff after the "god-send" at Brennan's store may have given him the resolve that ap-

³⁹Supra., pp. 19-20.

⁴⁰J. F. Snell, "Supplement Concerning Augustine Ralph MacDonald", unpublished notes, Macdonald College Archives, n. d.

⁴¹Letter from Mrs. J. J. MacDonald, wife of Senator J. J. MacDonald, to M. Epstein, Macdonald College Archives, December 11, 1968. Mrs. MacDonald is a grand-daughter of Sir William's first cousin.

parently remained unshaken despite the results of his anything but successful experience as an importer with John Archibald.

William gave a good account of himself while in the Boston employment of George H. Gray and Company, for he carried with him to New York a letter from his employers saying, in part, "We can recommend him to you for industry, integrity and as capable of filling any situation for which he might represent himself qualified."⁴² This was an admirable recommendation for any twenty-one year old man.

William led a solitary boarder's life for many years. In New York, though his place of residence was lost, it was known, from a receipt, that four weeks' lodging cost him \$20.00, a considerable sum in those days and indicative of his growing prosperity.⁴³ The Montreal Directories of the time indicated that he lived at both the Ottawa Hotel and St. Lawrence Hall.⁴⁴ In 1869, he moved into his own home, when his sister and mother joined him.

He was evidently a very quiet, unassuming, shy man. When once questioned about his religious views he is reported to have replied that he "could not conceive how so sacred a matter should interest anyone but himself."⁴⁵

⁴²Guardian Patriot (Charlottetown), March 13, 1964, "Across the Years."

⁴³Ibid.

⁴⁴John Lovell (ed.), Montreal Annual Directory, Montreal: John Lovell & Sons, 1864-1868.

⁴⁵The Montreal Gazette, January 11, 1917.

In a reminiscence of Sir William by Percy Nobbs, we get an indication of the nature of the MacDonald life style.

He did not entertain; he lived frugally and aloof, with a certain dignity, it is true, but no advertisement of wealth; he took no visible part in politics; he outraged no conventions; he had but little affinity with his relatives; he laid no special claim on culture, nor to learning . . . he was also a very kind, a very punctilious and a very modest old gentleman; in a word, . . . he had warm blood in his veins.⁴⁶

Dr. W. B. Howell described William's house and study:

There was a room on the ground floor of his austere, plainly furnished house . . . which was the 'library.' The shelves were packed with magazines and reports. The tables, chairs, and sofa were heaped with them. There were few bound volumes. Here, standing at a lecturn, he read for hours on end in his untiring quest for information . . . ⁴⁷

Evidently William heeded his own early words of advise to John Archibald suggesting that he read extensively. Dr. Howell continued;

Here he interviewed people who brought him information at first hand. It was no slight ordeal for some of them, for the cross-examination was long and searching.⁴⁸

His business office and methods were equally un-

⁴⁶Percy Nobbs, "Sir William MacDonald," The McGill News, IV, No. 3, June 1923.

⁴⁷W. B. Howell, William Christopher Macdonald, McGill News, Vol. XIII, June 1832.

⁴⁸Ibid.

pretentious, frugal and direct.⁴⁹

Socially, though he had few friends, he was known to have been a member of the Mount Royal Club and the St. James Club.⁵⁰

In addition to being the sole directing influence of his huge tobacco business, William was a governor of the Montreal General Hospital, the Lady Stanley Institute, in Ottawa, a director and largest shareholder of the Bank of Montreal, a director of the Royal Trust Company, a director of the Montreal Parks and playgrounds association, in 1903 an associate member of the Protestant Committee of the Quebec Provincial Council of Public Instruction, and a vice-president of the St. John Ambulance Association;⁵¹ all this in addition to his great personal involvement with McGill University and the Cause of rural and teacher education nationally. These latter interests will be considered in chapters II and III of this study.

William's philanthropies extended beyond education. He constructed the Mount Royal Crematorium as a gift to the City of Montreal and he contributed to the Montreal General Hospital over the years.⁵² He purchased the site of the

⁴⁹L. Redfern, "Reminiscence," Macdonald College Archives, March 1969. Mr. Redfern has been an employee of the Macdonald Tobacco Company for in excess of fifty years.

⁵⁰H. S. Morgan (ed.), Canadian Men and Women of the Time. Toronto: William Briggs, 1912.

⁵¹Ibid.

⁵²La Presse (Montreal), clipping in the files of

"Maternity Hospital in Montreal."⁵³ He was known to have aided for life, though not obliged to, a number of people who had been in his employ after they had been injured in a fire at the company's plant.⁵⁴ This last and many other acts of generosity may never be documented fully for he was said to have made them with the stipulation that they remain anonymous.

On October 29, 1898, Lord Strathcona wrote to the Prime Minister, Sir Wilfréd Laurier, suggesting that, "W. C. MacDonald [sic] should be made Knight Commander of the Order of St. Michael and St. George."⁵⁵ Lord Minto also wrote the Prime Minister, Laurier, on the 6th of December, 1898, suggesting that MacDonald⁵⁶ should be recommended for the New Year's Honours List.⁵⁷ In a letter dated December the 1st, 1898, MacDonald wrote to Lord Minto declining the honour of knighthood. However, a second letter to Minto from MacDonald on December 3, 1898, reluctantly but with pride informed

Dr. J. F. Snell, Macdonald College Archives, n. d.

⁵³Montreal Weekly Witness, June 12, 1917.

⁵⁴La Presse, loc. cit.

⁵⁵Manuscript Group 26 G 1 (a), National Archives, Vol. 90, pp. 27614-617.

⁵⁶This was the way that William spelled his name on all his correspondence prior to his knighthood. The change to "Macdonald" was formally made in the Minto letter of recommendation and this was the form Sir William then used until his death. There was no information as to why this change took place, though it was assumed that it was made with Sir William's knowledge and consent.

⁵⁷Manuscript Group 26 G 1 (a), loc. cit., Vol. 94, pp. 28823-6.

Minto that he would accept the accolade on the grounds that "well-meaning, but unthinking friends . . . [had] pushed the matter so far that persistence in his reluctance would appear as a lack of respect to the throne."⁵⁸ This letter is signed "Macdonald" and is the spelling that persisted for the rest of his life. Laurier, in a letter to Sir Julian Pauncefote, dated December 11, 1898, stated that he was opposed to the granting of any honour at that time, but did not clarify his objections in any way. Five days later a copy of this letter was sent to Lord Minto.⁵⁹ Despite the opposition, preparations were already being made for knighting Macdonald, and on January 6, 1899, it was announced in the New Year's Honours List that letters patent of knighthood had been granted to "W. C. Macdonald, merchant of Montreal."⁶⁰ He was now a Knight Bachelor.

His friends, it appeared, were not yet satisfied, Lord Strathcona had originally suggested that Sir William be made Knight Commander. A letter from Joseph Chamberlain to Lord Minto, dated August 17, 1901, indicated that the matter had not been left to rest. In it Chamberlain indicated that Dr. Peterson, then Principal of McGill University, a friend and neighbour of Sir William, and Lord Strathcona

⁵⁸National Archives, loc. cit., Record Group 7, G 26, Vol. 57, file 835.

⁵⁹National Archives, Minto Papers, MG 27, 11 B1, Vol. 14, p. 78.

⁶⁰London Gazette, January 6, 1899, p. 83.

had "most strongly recommended" extending Sir William's honours to include a K.C.M.G.⁶¹ It further appeared that Laurier was still in opposition, for unspecified reasons, but the accolade was granted in 1901.

⁶¹Minto Papers, loc. cit.

CHAPTER II

THE DEVELOPMENT OF AN EDUCATIONAL PHILANTHROPIST

McGILL UNIVERSITY

The Macdonald donations to McGill University were all made during the tenure of Principals Dawson and Peterson. To appreciate the significance of Macdonald's efforts it is necessary to view the McGill campus of the era prior to his involvement, and to understand the concept of the university held by these Principals, which appealed to William's practical business sense.

The will of James McGill, a wealthy Montreal merchant, provided for the founding of McGill College. This was done by Royal Charter in 1821. In his autobiography, Sir William Dawson stated that the institution

had not for a long time fulfilled the anticipations of its founder and its friends. Up to 1852, it had, with the exception of the Medical School connected with it, been in a very languishing condition.¹

It appeared that several prominent Montreal citizens, excluding Macdonald, became aware, in 1852, of McGill's state and its value as "the nucleus of the educational interests of the

¹ Sir William Dawson, Fifty Years of Work in Canada, London and Edinburgh: Ballantyne, Hanson and Co., 1901, p. 95.

English-speaking people of Lower Canada."² In an attempt to revive the college, these men secured an amended charter, able and influential men to sit on the Board of Governors, and appointed a new Principal, William Dawson.

Dawson assumed his post in October of 1855, and served until 1893. He described the state of the university in 1855 as follows:

Materially, it was represented by two blocks of unfinished and partly ruinous buildings, standing amid a wilderness of rubbish, overgrown with weeds and bushes. The grounds were unfenced, and pastured at will by herds of cattle. . . . The only access from the town was by a circuituous and ungraded cart track, almost impassible at night. The buildings had been abandoned by the new Board, and the classes . . . were held in . . . the town. . . . 3

Dawson felt that McGill had been marked by "too great an emphasis on the old type of learning" which would retard its growth and give it a reputation for being an impractical institution.⁴ He was a practical man, a geologist, and in his Inaugural Address he warned of the

danger that the time of the students may be so occupied and their minds so filled with such classical studies that they may go from our college with an antique panoply more fitted for the cases of a museum than to appear in the walks of actual life.

²Ibid.

³Ibid., pp. 98-9.

⁴Hugh MacLennan, McGill: The Story of a University, Toronto: Thomas Nelson and Sons (Canada) Ltd., 1960, p. 60.

He foresaw "no college got up on the old Oxfordian plan" but one providing "for practical results . . . suitable for Canada."⁵

By 1860 the student body exceeded fifty and classes were returned to the campus. William Molson, one of Montreal's prominent citizens and a member of the Board of Governors, inspired by this move and Dawson's plans for the University, completed the Arts Building and erected a West Wing to provide a Convocation Hall and a library as well as connecting sections with classrooms.

Dawson followed his own words with actions. He aroused Montrealers with courses open to the general public for a modest fee, in subjects that were to become the basis of the Faculty of Applied Science.

Nothing definite can be found to account for the beginning of Macdonald's active interest in McGill. The middle to late 1860s appear to have marked the establishment of the Macdonald Tobacco products as an institution of Canadian life. Secure in his financial success, Macdonald must have become increasingly aware of the needs of his adopted community for he turned his attentions to it. It is further found that Macdonald was "a devoted friend and admirer of . . . Dawson," and so, perhaps, the latter's influence was reflected in Macdonald's deeds.⁶ One story has it that his first con-

⁵Ibid.

⁶Percy E. Nobbs, "Sir William Macdonald," The McGill News, IV, No. 3, June, 1923, p. 4.

tribution had a curiously casual origin. Collard stated that,

in one of McGill's financial campaigns, students happened to be among the canvassers. Two of the students . . . laid the needs and claims of the University before the quiet little Tobacco King. To their surprise and to that of the authorities of the University, Macdonald responded with a handsome donation.⁷

This was in 1868 and the sum of \$1,750 was provided for the purchase of biological equipment.

About two years later, Macdonald subscribed \$5,000 to a fund "to raise additional Endowment for McGill College."⁸ In addition, he contributed \$1,250 for ten scholarships of \$125.00 each. He renewed this scholarship fund annually for sixteen years, until a deed was signed⁹ and a permanent endowment was provided in 1886.¹⁰

In May of 1883 two members of the Board of Governors of the University resigned. The Chairman of the Board then nominated Macdonald to fill one of the vacancies and he was the first of three such appointments made at that meeting.¹¹ From this new vantage point, Macdonald, apparently sharing Dawson's vision of McGill's future, took a more active inter-

⁷E. A. Collard, Oldest McGill, Toronto: The Macmillan Co. of Canada Ltd., 1946, pp. 125-6.

⁸McGill University, "Minutes of the Board of Governors," McGill University Archives, I, November 14, 1870, p. 496.

⁹Ibid., II, December 24, 1881, p. 401.

¹⁰McGill University, "Annual Report," McGill University Archives, 1886, pp. 10-11.

¹¹McGill University, "Minutes of the Board of Gover-

est in achieving its realization. In 1883 and 1884 he verbally signified his approval of the Board's decision to create a Faculty of Applied Science, though his name was not found on a list of initial contributors to it. In the summer of 1884 he subscribed to a Chair of Botany.¹²

His benefactions seem to be in direct inverse proportion to his presence at Board meetings, since his donations were, in most instances, made after he had been absent from Board meetings for an extended period of time. They seldom followed as a direct result of the proceedings of any specific meeting. Macdonald's first active involvement with the Board's activities was marked by his appointment to a committee to meet with the city's Horticultural Society in regard to the proposed erection of a Municipal Botanical Garden.¹³ He served, for a time, on the Montreal School Committee and the McGill University Estate Committee.¹⁴

The contributions of the Molsons were made during the three years prior to 1890. The Donalda Endowment, a gift from Donald A. Smith, was made in October, 1886, to provide for the education of women and this marked the most significant donation made to the University to that date.¹⁵

nors," McGill University Archives, II, May, 1883, p. 481.

¹²Ibid., III, June 28, 1884, p. 12.

¹³Ibid., III, December 12, 1884, p. 56.

¹⁴Ibid., III, October 16, 1886, p. 206.

¹⁵Later to become Lord Strathcona.

Although numerous private bequests were being made to the growing University, its needs were brought repeatedly to the attention of the Board of Governors, particularly the needs of the Faculty of Applied Science.¹⁶

Macdonald was aware of McGill's plight, one that in 1881 had become so severe as to necessitate a reduction in faculty salaries.¹⁷ This period, from his appointment to the Board until 1890, was an apprenticeship for Macdonald; a period of observation, learning, and of increasing commitment. His contributions had started but were negligible in amount when compared to those of his fellow Board members and his own later ones.

The spring of 1890 marked a change in Macdonald's role from passive membership to active leadership of the Board. This is not to imply that he became the vocal leader, but by his actions and his example, he became the initiator of change instead of a factor reacting to the actions of others.

On April 5th, 1890, a special meeting of the Board of Governors was convened with Macdonald present. It was called to read a letter from him announcing gifts of \$150,000 for the reorganization of the Faculty of Law, and \$50,000 for the endowment of a Chair of Experimental Physics, plus

¹⁶McGill University: "Minutes of the Board of Governors," McGill University Archives, III, May 1, 1886, p. 180; III, January 22, 1887, p. 227.

¹⁷Ibid., II, October 10, 1881, p. 388.

his intention to erect a Physics Building and a Technical Building. The donation was marked by the Board of Governors as "the largest benefaction hitherto received by this university."¹⁸ This act spurred great activity within the university community. The Faculty of Law, to facilitate the reorganization, resigned as a body. The Dean of Applied Science was sent to England to determine what equipment was available for the proposed buildings. This was followed with new appointments to the Law Faculty and to the Chair of Experimental Physics; plans were drawn for the two buildings and a study of their needs was undertaken. By October 30th the cornerstone of the Technical Building was laid,¹⁹ the Law Faculty had begun to function smoothly under its new Dean and plans for the Physics Building were submitted in December for Macdonald's approval.²⁰

At the Board's meeting in February, 1891, Macdonald announced, by letter, his endowment of a Chair of Electrical Engineering to be housed, he stipulated, in the Technical Building.²¹ One month later he notified the Board of his intention to withdraw from the Estate Committee. One imagines that the Board members feared that he was totally

¹⁸Ibid., III, April 5, 1890, p. 478.

¹⁹Ibid., III, October 24, 1890, p. 520.

²⁰Ibid., III, December 19, 1890, p. 531.

²¹McGill University, "Minutes of the Board of Governors," McGill University Archives, IV, February 20, 1891, p. 1.

withdrawing from University participation for they immediately appointed a delegation to request him to continue.²² He did not change his mind, but temporarily arrested their fears by donating \$10,000 to defray the expenses and pay the salary of a professor of Mechanical Engineering.²³ However, aside from a minor contribution to the library, Macdonald did, in fact, appear to have divorced himself from the Board's activities for more than a year. He did not attend their meetings, although in March of 1892 he donated a further \$85,000 for salaries and the maintenance of "his" buildings.²⁴ Nothing can be found to account for this withdrawal.

In May of 1892 Macdonald resumed attendance at Board meetings. There appeared to be a dispute at this time as to whether the donor of every sizeable benefaction was entitled to the privilege of granting a perpetual free scholarship. This had been University policy in the past, the Board determining what constituted a "sizeable" donation. Macdonald, being an efficient, practical businessman, argued against such a lack of economy. After much prolonged consideration, the privilege was abolished.

It was at this time that the Physics Building and the Engineering Building were formally opened.²⁵ Macdonald,

²²Ibid., IV, March 28, 1891, p. 9.

²³Ibid., IV, April 24, 1891, p. 21.

²⁴Ibid., IV, March 25, 1892, p. 109.

²⁵The latter building was formally opened as "The

avoiding the glare of publicity, as always, did not attend, although he bore the \$1,000 cost of the ceremony.²⁶ In August, 1893, he endowed a second chair in Physics.²⁷

The Minutes of the Board of Governors of October 8th, 1892, note the fact that Principal Dawson was ill and had requested to be relieved of his duties. Accordingly, a committee of the Governors was formed, including Macdonald, to draw up contingency plans if the Principal was forced to resign.²⁸ On May 31st, 1893, Sir William Dawson's resignation was submitted and a letter of appreciation was drafted.²⁹ Despite his retirement, Dawson continued his interest in McGill until his death on November 19th, 1899.³⁰ While Principal of McGill he had seen the student enrollment rise from less than one hundred to in excess of one thousand. More than half a dozen buildings were added to the college's original structure. The "endowments had increased to over a million and a half of dollars, the yearly income to nearly

Macdonald Engineering Building" though up to that point it had been referred to as either the Applied Science or Technical Building.

²⁶ McGill University, "Minutes of the Board of Governors," McGill University Archives, IV, November 30, 1892, p. 182.

²⁷ Ibid., IV, September 23, 1893, p. 260.

²⁸ Ibid., IV, October 8, 1892, p. 164.

²⁹ Ibid., IV, May 31, 1893, p. 245.

³⁰ Cyrus Macmillan, McGill and its Story, London: John Lane Ltd., 1921, p. 240.

two hundred thousand dollars."³¹ Without the aid of friends of the college this growth would undoubtedly never have been realized. Not the least of these friends was Macdonald, who estimated that the Engineering and Physics Buildings and their equipment had cost him \$665,205.97.

In the two year period between the resignation of Dawson and the appointment of Peterson, Macdonald's activities concerned themselves primarily with the maintenance of his buildings. Late in 1894, he presented the College with the deeds to land he had purchased behind the old Medical College, foreseeing their eventual need for student housing.³²

Dawson's letter of resignation to the Governors stated that "much has been attained, but much remains to be accomplished. . . ."³³ Sir William Macdonald was to contribute further to the remaining needs during the tenure of office of Dawson's successor, Sir William Peterson.

In May of 1895, Dr. Peterson was appointed at a salary of \$1,200 per annum.³⁴ "The twenty-four years during which Principal Peterson guided the destinies of McGill were years of steady growth and development."³⁵

³¹Ibid., p. 241.

³²Ibid., p. 247.

³³Ibid.

³⁴McGill University, "Minutes of the Board of Governors," McGill University Archives, IV, June 4, 1895, p. 381.

³⁵Macmillan, op. cit., p. 257.

Perhaps as a gesture of welcome, Macdonald's first act during the Peterson era was the donation of a residence to the University, next to his own, for the use of the Principal.³⁶ The proximity of the two residences may have fostered a neighbourly relationship that influenced William's continued interest in, and knowledge of, the university's needs.

In November, 1895, it appeared that the Dean of Law, Mr. Trenholme, wished an increase in salary to free him from his outside practice in order to devote his full energies to Faculty concerns. In as much as Macdonald was responsible, in large measure, for that department, he was named chairman of a committee of the Board, which after much negotiation, accepted Trenholme's resignation when a compromise solution to the problem proved unacceptable.³⁷

In March, 1896, Macdonald provided \$80,000 as an endowment for the Engineering and Physics Buildings as well as \$150,000 to be used by the University immediately.³⁸

Throughout the course of that year, Macdonald and Peterson studied the needs of the institution in general, and those of the Faculty of Arts and Applied Science in

³⁶Minutes of the Board of Governors, loc. cit., IV, May 23, 1896, p. 444.

³⁷McGill University, "Minutes of the Board of Governors," McGill University Archives, IV, November 23, 1895, p. 413.

³⁸Ibid., p. 433.

particular.³⁹ It may be the findings of this study, or plans that Dawson had earlier formulated, or both that stimulated Macdonald to present the University with a cheque for \$475,000.⁴⁰ He stipulated that it was to be used to erect, equip and maintain a building to house the departments of Chemistry, and Mining and Metallurgy; and, to create chairs of Mining and Metallurgy, and Architecture.⁴¹

Despite the fact that Macdonald's educational interests during these years of the turn of the century were becoming more national in scope, his involvement with, and dedication to, McGill did not suffer.⁴² It was apparent that his primary concern was the consolidation of departments and the secured growth of the buildings that he had endowed; a task that required repeated donations to eliminate deficits.

In March of 1897 Macdonald donated \$10,000 to the Faculty of Applied Science to eliminate one such deficit.⁴³ A committee of the Board of Governors, including Macdonald, was then appointed to regulate the Faculty's expenses.

³⁹Ibid.

⁴⁰Macmillan, op. cit., p. 257.

⁴¹Minutes of the Board of Governors, loc. cit., IV, September 26, 1896, p. 466.

⁴²This area of Macdonald's educational activity will be considered in later sections of this chapter.

⁴³Minutes of the Board of Governors, loc. cit., IV, March 27, 1897, p. 518.

Their report found that the situation could be remedied only by increasing student fees or by decreasing the staff's salaries. The latter suggestion was unacceptable and Macdonald found it necessary to add \$5,000 to cover the 1897-98 deficit, despite the increased revenue expected by the fee increase.⁴⁴

In January of 1898 Macdonald announced his donation of \$325,000. One hundred thousand dollars was to be used to endow chairs in Chemistry and Law, at \$50,000 each. In addition the remaining quarter of a million dollars was to be added to his previously donated endowment to create an "ancillary fund . . . the income of such . . . to be applied from year to year solely to make good any deficit in the income, calculated at the rate of five per cent per annum . . ."⁴⁵

The financial plight of the Macdonald buildings was almost invariably and completely resolved by Macdonald's direct intervention. The same aid was not forthcoming for the University as a whole, whose financial condition was desperate. In 1898 a cumulative deficit of almost \$200,000 was reported, and despite donations of fifty thousand dollars each from Macdonald and Peterson plus a smaller sum from the other Governors, the deficit still amounted to \$10,000. The Principal was later to suggest a solution,

⁴⁴Ibid., IV, May 8, 1897, p. 518.

⁴⁵Ibid., V, December 18, 1897, p. 52.

acceptable to all, whereby additional revenue which could be expected from the \$1,000,000 endowment of the newly built Royal Victoria College would be diverted for the use of the University as a whole.⁴⁶ Thus, this crisis was resolved.

In order to insure this new found security, and realizing that it could be a false security, Macdonald added another \$181,250 to his Ancillary Fund to further guarantee the Chemistry and Mining Buildings.⁴⁷

To commemorate the death of ex-Principal Dawson, in 1898, Macdonald donated \$62,500 to the University for the creation of the Dawson Chair of Geology. Macdonald's characteristic forethought was once more exhibited as he stipulated that the sum of \$12,500 was to be placed in the Endowment Ancillary Fund with \$2,500 per annum from the Chair's \$50,000 revenue to go to Lady Dawson "so long as she may live."⁴⁸

In April of the next year Macdonald provided the Engineering, Physics, Chemistry, and Mining Buildings with another \$200,000. The uses of this money were very careful stipulated and provision was made to maintain the revenue at a rate of five per cent per annum, again by the addition of a supplement to the Ancillary Fund.⁴⁹

⁴⁶Ibid., V, December 3, 1898, p. 94.

⁴⁷Ibid., V, February 25, 1899, p. 98.

⁴⁸Minutes of the Board of Governors, loc. cit., V, November 25, 1899, p. 133.

⁴⁹Ibid., V, April 20, 1900, p. 147.

In 1901 his contributions amounted to \$305,000, not including the purchase of additional land behind the Medical Building. This sum provided chairs of Chemistry, Physics, and Botany as well as maintenance of the other existing Macdonald Buildings. His bequests always included provision for the Ancillary Fund.

By 1903 it was becoming increasingly clear that the University's expenses were again exceeding its income. Salary requests had prompted the Principal to suggest the establishment of a fund for that purpose.⁵⁰ It was reported that Macdonald contributed to such a fund, but the precise amounts were unavailable. In December, 1903, the Bursar reported the year's deficit to be \$15,778.92.⁵¹

Macdonald's unstinting but carefully studied benefactions to his buildings continued in contrast with the financial plight of the rest of the University. In May of that year, 1903, he established a Chair of Moral Philosophy in addition to what was becoming a yearly supplemental donation for the maintenance of the buildings he had provided.⁵²

During the years 1902-04 the Young Mens Christian Association (Y.M.C.A.) had increasingly associated itself

⁵⁰Ibid., V, May 17, 1901, p. 183.

⁵¹Ibid., V, December 19, 1902, p. 226.

⁵²This appears the closest that Sir William ever came to providing funds for anything that bore any connection with religion. It is interesting to note that prior to his involvement with McGill University several theological schools enjoyed a privileged association with the college, which was steadily eroded during Macdonald's affiliation.

with McGill University, with the tacit approval of certain members of the Board of Governors. In 1904 the association had gone to Quebec to get a charter naming it "The Young Men's Christian Association of McGill University" without obtaining the formal approval of the Board of Governors of the college. The Y.M.C.A.'s action was roundly condemned, by some, at the Board's June meeting.⁵³

Foreseeing the possibility of this intrusion, by a nonsectarian religiously affiliated organization, Macdonald resolved to take action. He announced his plans, by letter, to the Board, of erecting a Student Union building "for the purpose of relaxation, amusement, and social intercourse of the undergraduates of the University."⁵⁴ Professor Percy Nobbs reported Macdonald's less tactfully worded intentions in a conversation the two men had had. Macdonald said, "Lord Strathcona and his friends are putting up a building for the Christian young men of McGill. I want a building for all the young men of McGill."⁵⁵

His initial donation was \$100,000 which was increased by \$25,000 in October, \$10,000 in January, 1905, and a further \$50,000 in May, "as my final contribution. . . ."⁵⁶

⁵³McGill University, "Minutes of the Board of Governors," McGill University Archives, V, June 4, 1904.

⁵⁴Ibid., V, June 15, 1904, p. 290.

⁵⁵Percy Nobbs, "Sir William Macdonald," McGill News, IV, No. 3, June, 1923, p. 1.

⁵⁶Minutes of the Board of Governors, loc. cit., V,

Originally it had been understood that the students themselves were to raise \$75,000. With his last contribution Macdonald stated that the increased costs placed the students "under the moral obligation of increasing their endowment . . . to \$160,000 as a fund to provide some fixed income toward the cost of maintenance."⁵⁷ Despite this rather terse reminder Macdonald directed that the construction continue without waiting for the outcome of the students' efforts. The Union opened on February 7, 1907.⁵⁸ The Board of Governors' Minutes made it clear that this was never a self-supporting enterprise, much to their chagrin; nevertheless, facilities finally existed "for all the young men of McGill."

Despite its usual perilous financial condition, McGill undertook to offer extension courses to the growing population of the province of British Columbia, in 1906. Macdonald underwrote part of this venture to the sum of \$5,000 per year for each of three years.⁵⁹ Late that year McGill College of British Columbia was officially declared an affiliate college of McGill University.⁶⁰

May 26, 1905, p. 319.

⁵⁷Letter from Sir William to the Bursar of the University, in the Minutes of the Board of Governors, McGill University Archives, V, May 26, 1905, p. 318.

⁵⁸McGill University, "Minutes of the Board of Governors," McGill University Archives, V, January 18, 1907, p. 392.

⁵⁹Ibid., V, January 6, 1906, p. 336.

⁶⁰Ibid., V, November 16, 1906, p. 377.

In the spring of 1907 Macdonald was deeply involved with incorporating with McGill a new college, founded entirely by him at Ste. Anne de Bellevue.⁶¹ At this time, two fires broke out at the University's main campus which totally destroyed the Macdonald Engineering Building and most of the Medical Building. Lord Strathcona, a colleague of Macdonald, undertook to replace the medical facilities with the purchase of a new site and the erection of a new building. Collard stated that Macdonald was approached by the University authorities "with much anxiety."⁶² In response to their pleas he replied cautiously, "We will wait until the ashes cool." Nevertheless, plans for the erection of a new building proceeded, including an extension and sprinkler system incorporated for the first time.⁶³ A faculty member was sent to the United States to acquaint himself with the latest equipment and books. Macdonald had agreed to underwrite the new structure and it "was reconstructed and re-equipped even more liberally than before."⁶⁴

An incident which occurred in 1909 involving Sir William's purchase of a property bordering the McGill campus earned for him the University's gratitude unmatched by his other donations, some of which totalled five times as much

⁶¹See the third section of this chapter, pp. 76-89.

⁶²Collard, loc. cit., p. 132.

⁶³Minutes of the Board of Governors, loc. cit., V, May 10, 1907, p. 421.

⁶⁴Collard, op. cit., p. 133.

as the value of the property. It seemed that this residence had been offered for sale to settle an estate. The University had neither the time nor the money to acquire it before the land was purchased by a local syndicate, including in its numbers members of the Board of Governors, for the erection of a hotel. Principal Peterson hastily approached Macdonald, explained the situation and was met, at first, with but mild interest. The Principal anxiously explained the indignity McGill would suffer with the erection of a great hotel backing right onto its campus. This stirred Sir William to action. He allayed Peterson's agitation with, "I'll not see McGill made the backyard of any hotel! Leave it to me!" He then approached the syndicate's leader, Sir Edward Clouston⁶⁵, after ascertaining that the purchase price had been \$142,000.⁶⁵ Clouston, President of the Bank of Montreal and a Governor of the University, representing several others of the Governors was told by Macdonald, "I want the property for the University and I'll give you \$142,500 for it. Send for the notary."⁶⁶ "But," Clouston is reported to have responded, "I am only one. . . . We want it for . . . sic " Macdonald replied, "I know what you want it for,

⁶⁵Account of an Interview with Professor Percy Nobbs regarding the history of McGill University and Sir William Macdonald, held at the Professor's summer home at Como, Quebec, July 6, 1940, in Dr. Snell's files, Macdonald College Archives, p. 3.

⁶⁶Interview between Dr. J. F. Snell and Mr. J. A. McNeil, Montreal journalist, Macdonald College Archives, n. d.

but you can't have it. Send for the others, or I'll ruin every last one of you!"⁶⁷ It appeared that the others were sent for, the purchase was made and Sir William donated the property to McGill. Despite some dual membership in the syndicate, the Board of Governors unanimously issued a statement of gratitude that covered fully one and a half pages of the Minutes. It said in part:

. . . the Board resolved to record . . . an expression of its great appreciation of the services . . . rendered by Sir William Macdonald. . . . The Board is well aware that nothing but Sir William's personal intervention succeeded in saving the situation for the University . . . at a time when the University was itself without funds to effect the purchase. . . . In the opinion of the Board, nothing that Sir William Macdonald has ever done will endear him to the friends of the University . . . as his prompt and successful opposition to a movement which . . . could not have been carried out on the lines proposed without the gravest prejudice to the best interest of McGill University.⁶⁸

In 1911 Macdonald purchased twenty-five acres of land owned by the Law, Forthingham, and Molson families. This land was, he said, "for a playground for McGill students, the grown-up children of all Canada."⁶⁹ It is previously known as Macdonald Park.

Lord Strathcona, Chancellor of the University at

⁶⁷Ibid.

⁶⁸McGill University, "Minutes of the Board of Governors," McGill University Archives, V, June 11, 1909, pp. 522-23.

⁶⁹Macmillan, loc. cit., p. 260.

this time, died in January of 1914. Consequently, at their meeting of January 26th, the Board of Governors "unanimously resolved to request Sir William Macdonald to accept the Presidency of the Royal Institution and the Chancellorship of the University. . . ."⁷⁰ The following meeting noted that when the Principal approached Macdonald with the Board's invitation, he "found Sir William diffident about the acceptance of the office. . . ."⁷¹ Accordingly, a document was drawn up by the Board designed as a "formal expression of our unanimous and most cordial desire that he should assume the office of Chancellor of the University." It continued;

We feel most sincerely that the compliment which we seek to pay him in this way should be accepted by him as the natural culmination of his long connection with McGill. . . . We beg to assure him that his acceptance of this invitation need not, in our opinion, add anything to his personal cares and responsibilities. And we are confident that his acceptance will be hailed with universal satisfaction. . . .⁷²

A resolution was then passed electing Macdonald Chancellor of the University and President of the Royal Institution for the Advancement of Learning. His response, accepting the honour, said in part,

I desire . . . to convey to the Board of Governors my thanks for the compliment

⁷⁰Minutes of the Board of Governors, loc. cit., VI, January 26, 1914, p. 165.

⁷¹Ibid., VI, February 23, 1914, p. 170.

⁷²Ibid.

which they have paid to me, and also to express my earnest hope that no harm shall ever come to the University in consequence of this election.⁷³

In October of 1914 Macdonald fell ill and was hospitalized at the Montreal General Hospital.⁷⁴ Although discharged, he was in feeble health for the last thirty-two months of his life. Despite this, he was able to drive out quite often in his carriage. It appeared that his interest in McGill did not waiver; his involvement was forcibly and unavoidably diminished.

⁷³Letter from Sir William Macdonald to the Bursar of McGill University, in the "Minutes of the Board of Governors," McGill University Archives, VI, March 30, 1914, p. 175.

⁷⁴Minutes of the Board of Governors, loc. cit., VI, October 26, 1914, p. 189.

RURAL AND TEACHER EDUCATION

Although deeply occupied with the growth and development of McGill University, Sir William Macdonald was very much aware of the educational needs of the developing country and the limitations of an urban university such as McGill.

In a letter to Sir William Osler, Macdonald said;

Inasmuch as the United States persist in carrying off the most valuable crop this country raises viz., our men without giving us any adequate return, I propose to adopt a beneficent mode of punishment and continue raising a superior class of men, who will go and improve the standard of the inhabitants of . . . that country.
. . . 1

It was clear that Macdonald was determined to continue expanding his work.

At about this same time, the turn of the century, two other events in his life may have indicated the direction of his future educational interests. In the first place, he was involved in the construction and improvement of the family estate at Glenaladale for John Archibald, and in providing the funds for the education of his brother's children, the eldest of whom was given courses in the Massachusetts and Ontario Agricultural Colleges to prepare him for his eventual inheritance of the Glenaladale farm.² This served to acquaint

¹E. B. Howell, "William Christopher Macdonald," McGill News, XIII, No. 2, June, 1932, p. 4.

²Letter from Mrs. Anna Walsh to Dr. J. F. Snell, Macdonald College Archives, July, 1943.

Macdonald with certain aspects of the education of the rural population. In the second place, he was deeply interested in the developing Bank of Montreal. He became its largest shareholder and by 1887 was elected to its Board of Governors.³ During his examination of bank records he noted that a marked increase in the amount of deposits occurred in those areas in which dairy industries had been established.⁴ Further investigation led Macdonald to the opinion that "the lack of good schools in many rural areas was a major factor in preventing farmers from developing the true potentialities of their farms."⁵

At the same time, Dr. James Robertson, the federal Commissioner of Agriculture and Dairying, had arrived at the same conclusion. Robertson's background evidenced a deep familiarity with all phases of rural life and its problems. He had spent four years at the Agricultural College at Guelph as Professor of Dairy Husbandry prior to succeeding to various agriculturally related positions of responsibility in the federal government.⁶

³Letter from Mr. C. B. Snell, an executive of the Bank of Montreal, to Dr. J. F. Snell, Macdonald College Archives, March 11, 1940.

⁴Herbert F. Sherwood, "Children of the Land: The Story of the Macdonald Movement in Canada," The Outlook, April, 1910, p. 892.

⁵Orville E. White, "Sir William Macdonald - Financier, Philanthropist, Educator," The Educational Record, LXVIII, No. 4, October-November, 1952, p. 202.

⁶No full account of the life and work of Dr. Robert-

Sharing common interests, it was not surprising that these two men, Robertson and Macdonald, would meet. It was not clear as to who provoked the relationship. Snell claimed that conversations with Robertson had revealed that it was Macdonald who first consulted Robertson.⁷ However, it was probably Robertson for, by 1899, he had already initiated a project for the improvement of field crops and found it necessary to solicit more capital to continue and develop it.⁸

The two met in Ottawa and, on a walk, had the first of many discussions that led to their close alliance. Robertson explained that he was awarding a total of one hundred dollars in prizes to rural children across Canada who selected choice heads of grain from their fields to be used as seed. Though Macdonald was primarily concerned with determining how to fill the void of trained English-speaking agricultural leaders in Quebec, the Robertson plan appealed to him. He expressed his approval by increasing the prize fund to \$10,000.⁹

Both men shared the view that the three fundamental occupations in a developing nation, such as Canada was at this

son could be found. The Outlook article provided the most knowledgeable, if scanty, consideration.

⁷J. F. Snell, Macdonald College of McGill University: A History from 1904-1955. Montreal: McGill University Press, 1963, p. 36.

⁸Ibid.

⁹This was the origin of the Canadian Seed Growers Association.

time, were farming, home-making, and teaching. With Macdonald's assurance of support, Robertson formulated a plan for rural improvement. It called for both practical illustrations of how farming in each locality could be made more attractive, profitable and satisfying and, a modification in the course of study used in rural schools and their methods of training in order to attract and qualify their pupils for agricultural occupations.¹⁰

The seed prize plan proved a complete success and it was estimated that by 1906 "the crops of Canada already had been increased in value to the extent of half a million dollars as a direct result of the competitions."¹¹

At the same time as the seed plan competition was being instituted, a Mrs. Adelaide Hoodless became interested in the Hamilton, Ontario, Young Women's Christian Association (Y.W.C.A.) to teach girls improved methods of household work. She wished to make homemaking a recognized subject in the schools. "In 1895, she . . . approached the Honourable George Ross, then [Ontario] Minister of Education, regarding Household Science in the schools, but at first found him skeptical and discouraging. . . ."¹² She later convinced

¹⁰J. W. Robertson, "Evidence of James W. Robertson, Commissioner of Agriculture and Dairying Before the Select Standing Committee on Agriculture and Colonization; Macdonald Funds for Manual Training and Improvement of Rural Schools," Ottawa: S. E. Dawson Ltd., 1904, p. 2.

¹¹H. F. Sherwood, loc. cit., p. 900.

¹²Manuscript by Miss Mayme Kay, Macdonald Institute

Mr. Ross of the value of Household Science and was promised his future support. By 1897, having established a Household Science school under the auspices of the Hamilton Y.W.C.A. and proved its merit, she was allowed to organize classes using the Y.W.C.A. teachers in the public schools. These classes were extremely successful and she became unofficially attached to the Department of Education in a public relations capacity.¹³ It was increasingly clear that trained teachers would be necessary to implement the idea more fully. Thus, in February, 1900, the Minister of Education had restructured the Hamilton school, given it a grant and renamed it The Ontario Normal School of Domestic Science and Art.¹⁴

"Mrs. Hoodless' vision of homemaking was broader than that of interesting Hamilton and vicinity alone."¹⁵ Through Dr. Robertson she obtained an interview with Sir William Macdonald.

Carefully she prepared her arguments; firmly she emphasized the need; forcibly she stated the conditions as they were, and due to her untiring efforts, in 1902 Sir William Macdonald authorized Dr. J. F. Robertson to lay before the Premier of Ontario an offer of assistance. . . . 16

at Guelph, "History of the Macdonald Institute," Ontario Agricultural College Archives, October, 1930.

¹³Ibid.

¹⁴Ibid.

¹⁵Ibid.

¹⁶Ibid.

The offer included provision for the teaching of qualified instructors of Nature Study and Manual Training in addition to Household Science. Macdonald offered the sum of \$175,000 plus an additional \$30,000 for a model school. It was accepted in March of that year and the following December saw the opening of the Macdonald Institute at the Ontario Agricultural College at Guelph, comprising the Institute itself and a residence for women, Macdonald Hall.¹⁷ This institution was intended to

instruct farmers' daughters and others in Domestic Science and Art, and for equipping teachers in Nature Study, Manual Training and Home Economics. . . . Nature Study was considered as essential to a general education and as a preparation for intelligent methods of agriculture. . . . Domestic Science and Art were thoroughly taught as preparatory to both Housekeeping and Teaching. . . . 18

Manual training was an integral part of Macdonald's concept of rural education. It was "the vehicle by which agriculture and education . . . were to be brought together. . . ."¹⁹ This concept was receiving a great deal of public and professional notice at the time in France, Sweden, Scot-

¹⁷Anonymous, "The Macdonald Institute," in The Farmer's Advocate, Ontario Agricultural College Archives, December 22, 1904.

¹⁸M. U. Watson, "A Historical Sketch," Macdonald Institute Archives, Ontario Agricultural College, 1904.

¹⁹J. W. Robertson, "Evidence of James W. Robertson, Commissioner of Agriculture and Dairying Before the Select Standing Committee on Agriculture and Colonization; Macdonald Funds for Manual Training and Improvement of Rural Schools," Ottawa: S. E. Dawson Ltd., 1904, p. 6.

land, England, and particularly in the United States. Educationists were giving prominence to the movement of "'learning by doing' and of 'hand-mind' training."²⁰ Centres were already established by local boards at Truro and Halifax in Nova Scotia, and Kingston and Woodstock in Ontario.²¹ Upon Robertson's advice, Macdonald founded twenty-one manual training centres throughout Canada. "It was conceived that these centres . . . would provide the object lesson whereby other cities and towns, as well as rural districts, would be encouraged to develop similar facilities."²² Macdonald donated an estimated \$180,000 for the establishment of these training centres to an account known as the Macdonald Training Fund.²³ Each centre was provided with teachers and all expenses were borne by Sir William for a three year period, at the end of which the local authorities were free to continue the schools or not, as they chose. "In every case the school was taken over and others added."²⁴ By 1904 there were forty-five manual training centres, receiving a total of \$3,600 a month from the Fund, and instructing over seven thousand peo-

²⁰O. E. White, loc. cit., p. 203.

²¹J. R. Carrol, "Public School Education in Nova Scotia," unpublished M. A. thesis, Dalhousie University, 1950, p. 78; G. C. Robinson, "An Historical and Critical Account of Public Secondary Education in the Province of Ontario," unpublished D. ED. dissertation, Harvard University, 1918, p. 136.

²²O. E. White, loc. cit.

²³H. F. Sherwood, loc. cit., p. 900

²⁴Ibid.

ple.²⁵ Of these, only four closed, the remainder continued their work retaining the equipment without charge. By 1907, the year Macdonald College opened, more than 20,000 children were in attendance in courses established by the original movement.²⁶

Snell states that Macdonald's "primary interest was in the English-speaking people of the rural districts."²⁷ Accordingly, as a further step, manual training was extended to rural schools with modifications more fitting to an agricultural environment. The new curriculum also included nature study, elementary biology and elementary agriculture. Robertson visited the United States and Europe lecturing on the Macdonald Scheme, and in search of trained instructors. When he returned, an experiment was undertaken whereby each of five teachers was placed in charge of five schools, "in each of the five eastern provinces, the teacher spending one day of each week at each of his five schools."²⁸ The results were gratifying, despite the problems created by a lack of qualified teachers. Robertson advanced the theory of consolidating school districts, a concept that

²⁵Snell, loc. cit., p. 37.

²⁶J. W. Robertson, "The Macdonald Movement for Rural Education." Evidence before the Select Standing Committee of the House of Commons on Agriculture and Colonization, 1907, p. 8.

²⁷Snell, loc. cit.

²⁸Ibid.

had been promoted by educational realists for several years before, but the anticipated cost had discouraged any such action in Canada. Experiments in the United States were proving that consolidation was the answer to increased student interest, improved attendance and in some cases economy. . . . 29

With Robertson as his spokesman, Macdonald promoted this idea. If several adjacent school districts merged or consolidated, Macdonald promised to construct and equip the necessary buildings, to provide the students with free transportation for three years, and, also for three years, to underwrite any additional cost of operating the schools beyond the level at which the taxpayers were then paying and were obliged to continue to pay. To this end Macdonald established the Macdonald Rural Schools Fund. Howe's article revealed that Macdonald provided scholarships for eleven Canadian teachers to take courses at Chicago, Columbia, Cornell, and Clarke Universities and at the Ontario Agricultural College, thus giving them a background enabling them to instruct their own pupils and fellow teachers in manual training, school gardening, and nature study.³⁰

This offer met with some initial problems.

Macdonald was faced with the general apathy of the farmers toward any improvement in either the schooling or in the methods of

²⁹Anonymous, "The Macdonald Rural School," The Teachers World, I, December, 1906, p. 145-7.

³⁰E. A. Howes, "Macdonald Consolidated School," The Teachers World, I, No. 4, December, 1906, p. 124.

agriculture. There was active opposition to any thought of an increase in school taxes and . . . petty controversies over the location of the schools and the consolidation of boards and school districts.³¹

However, each of the Macdonald Model Consolidated Schools received approval from the provincial Departments of Education and in each area replaced several one room schools.

By 1907 Macdonald Consolidated Schools were operating in Kingston,³² Riverside, Florence, Hampton, and Sussex in New Brunswick.³³ In 1903 one had opened in Middleton, Nova Scotia, and by 1907 that province's fifty-three schools had been consolidated into twenty-two.³⁴ In New Brunswick the project was so well received that in addition to legislative action authorizing special grants to these schools, the Honourable A. R. McLellan, an ex-Lieutenant Governor, donated \$5,000 for the erection of a consolidated school at Riverside, independent of the Macdonald Fund.³⁵

Unfortunately Prince Edward Island was the only area where the plan met with strong resistance and ultimate fai-

³¹O. E. White, loc. cit., p. 204.

³²D. W. Hamilton, "Macdonald Consolidated School," Kingston, New Brunswick, The Teachers World, I, No. 4, December, 1906, pp. 128-32.

³³T. B. Kidner, "Municipal Consolidated Schools in New Brunswick," The Teachers World, I, No. 4, December, 1906, pp. 133-40.

³⁴A. H. Mackay, "Consolidated Rural Schools in Nova Scotia," The Teachers World, I, No. 4, December, 1906, pp. 141-44.

³⁵Kidner, loc. cit., p. 136.

lure. The Charlottetown Morning Chronicle in January, 1899, editorialized;

. . . most careful inquiries . . . have failed to find any one instance of Sir William exhibiting any degree of generosity toward his native province. . . . The local government has undertaken to rebuild Prince of Wales College. . . . What a splendid opportunity for Sir William to remove the impression that he has 'soured' on his native province.³⁶

Later that year it was announced that Macdonald had undertaken to equip a manual training department in Prince of Wales College, and to erect and maintain two schools at Charlottetown and Summerside for three years. A Macdonald Consolidated School was established at Mount Herbert³⁷ just east of Charlottetown in 1905 at a cost of \$19,780.³⁸ It was to replace six ungraded schools. With subsidy from the Rural Schools Fund, it was to cost the people exactly the same as they had previously paid. At a general meeting of the ratepayers the Macdonald offer was unanimously accepted. Such consent was legally binding, but despite this, some districts held local meetings resulting in the adoption of resolutions of dissent, and in one case an adamant refusal to participate because the local people claimed that they were not pleased with the school's location. It became evident that

³⁶The Morning Chronicle, (Charlottetown), January 11, 1899.

³⁷Also called Hillsboro.

³⁸J. W. Robertson, Exerpts from the files of Millar MacFadyen, Prince Edward Island Department of Education, n. d.

the true basis of their reluctance was based on economic considerations. These people were used to paying \$200 per year in taxes on property valued at \$240,000. The Principal of the school stated that initially Macdonald School teachers would be paid about double the provincial average. However, with the cooperation of Prince of Wales College and its Normal School in providing instruction in the new subjects, he predicted a 33% decrease in the instructional costs. He further suggested that additional savings could be gained from transportation expenses if parents took turns in driving the children in the winter. Despite such economies, he admitted that the annual cost per pupil, per day, would probably be \$25.60 as against \$15.63 for the former six schools.³⁹

The press reported that Robertson attended the closing exercises of the school in 1908 and making certain proposals for the continuance of the school, urged that his advice be accepted. The Provincial Premier, the Chief Superintendent of Education and several clerics expressed their satisfaction with the school and their hopes that it would continue to operate.⁴⁰

The Patriot and the Guardian of July, 1908, reported the proposal that Robertson made to the school authorities.

³⁹J. W. Jones, "The Macdonald Consolidated School, Hillsboro, Prince Edward Island," The School Trustees, Toronto, I, December, 1906, pp. 162-66.

⁴⁰The Guardian (Charlottetown). July 3, 4, 1908; The Daily Times, (Moncton). July 6, 1908; The Patriot, (Charlottetown). July 3, 1908.

It was intricate and reflected the extent of Robertson's desire to keep these institutions operating. The Rural School Fund would donate a further \$1,400 and he suggested that the local authorities impose an assessment of forty cents per one hundred dollars of current valuation of the property of the consolidated district. Together with the Government grant the consolidated district would then have an additional \$3,291. This was still a deficit of \$1,200 from the annual expenditure. Thus, he proposed the imposition of a fee of two dollars for every pupil to be supplemented by a donation of two dollars for every dollar received in fees from Robertson's own funds.⁴¹

The plan, though adopted, proved unsuccessful when four of the original six districts withdrew from the consolidated district. In 1912 the Report of the Superintendent listed the closing of the school which was later demolished.⁴²

Snell stated that this incident marked "the opening of a rift between Robertson and Sir William, who disapproved of his action in this matter."⁴³

The school's enrollment in its last year of operation was one hundred and forty-two, twenty-nine from outside

⁴¹The Guardian, (Charlottetown). July 1, 1908; The Patriot, (Charlottetown). July 2,3, 1908.

⁴²Report of the Superintendent of Education for Prince Edward Island, Prince Edward Island Archives, 1912,

⁴³J. F. Snell, Macdonald College of McGill University: A History from 1904-1955. Montreal: McGill University Press, 1963, p. 39.

districts. Its average attendance was 74% compared with 60% before consolidation. In its five year existence twenty district pupils had matriculated as compared with one pupil in the previous five year period. The gardens and kitchen were self-sustaining, and the manual training department was costing a negligible fifteen dollars per year.⁴⁴

During the period when the Rural Schools Fund was in operation its greatest success was in Ontario where more than forty Macdonald centres were established without incident, as compared with twenty-two in Nova Scotia and five large ones in New Brunswick.⁴⁵ Numerous short term scholarships covering all expenses for study at the Macdonald Institute at Guelph in nature study and school gardening methods had been provided.

School boards throughout the provinces were offered special grants by Macdonald where . . . school gardens were organized, while special bonuses were offered for teachers who taught this course to a satisfactory standard.⁴⁶

The Macdonald Rural Schools Fund totaled in excess of \$500,000.

⁴⁴Government of Canada, Report of the Royal Commission on Industrial Training and Technical Education, House of Commons Sessional Paper No. 191d, 1913.

⁴⁵H. F. Sherwood, loc. cit., p. 900.

⁴⁶O. E. White, loc. cit., p. 205.

MACDONALD COLLEGE

The culmination of Sir William Macdonald's activities in the field of education took physical form with the establishment of the college which bears his name at Ste. Anne de Bellevue. Macdonald's concept of this college was the direct result of a study of education in Quebec, sponsored by Macdonald, and undertaken by Professor John Adams of the University of Glasgow and Professor Henry Marshall Tory of McGill University during the months of May and June of 1902.¹

This study directed its attention to rural schools particularly because, according to Adams, he found there "the peculiarly unfavourable condition under which Protestant education labours."² Conditions were indeed bad. In the District Schools only thirty-six per cent of the teachers were graduates of the McGill Normal School; the others had no training at all. Of their average annual salaries, which varied from \$114 to \$149, sixty to seventy-two dollars went for room and board. The Model Schools were little better. However, here some teachers exhibited "outstanding ability."³ "The average female . . . of a Model School is a capable, energetic and ambitious woman, with respectable ideals and

¹D. C. Monroe, "The Starting Point," in The Bulletin of the Institute of Education of McGill University, Macdonald College, September 1, 1962, p. 1.

²J. Adams, The Protestant School System of Quebec, Montreal: E. M. Renouf Co., 1902, p. 3.

³Monroe, loc. cit., p. 2.

conscientious determination to realize them."⁴ Conditions in the Academies were reasonably good. Though matriculation subjects were taught there, so too were commerce courses because "an estimated ninety-five per cent of the pupils leaving high school had no intention of entering university."⁵

Adams noted that exemplary features of the schools were the relationship between teacher and pupil, "the pupils count more," and a greater degree of freedom and informality was found in the Canadian schools than in those of Europe. "I am convinced," said Adams, "that the comparatively greater independence of the Canadian pupil is an advantage and tells in his favour in educational work."⁶

His report concluded with recommendations advising reclassification of schools, revision of the regulations of the Protestant Committee, introduction of compulsory attendance, revision of the curriculum, extension of school inspection and adoption of a plan for school consolidation.

The greatest emphasis was placed on the improvement of teacher standards. "If a choice must be made between a good teacher and a good school, by all means let us have a good teacher, however bad the school may be. Given a good teacher, all the rest follows."⁷ Further, the need for a

⁴Adams, loc. cit., p. 8.

⁵Monroe, loc. cit.

⁶Ibid.

⁷Adams, loc. cit., p. 13.

closer relationship between the university and teacher education was stressed in urging the establishment of a Chair of Education⁸ and the close integration of educational theory with actual teaching practice.

Even the teachers destined for the smaller District Schools - perhaps indeed specially in their case - some connection should be made with the broader currents of University life. . . . Anything which strengthens the connection between the university and the general system of Education throughout the Province has the double effect of broadening the view of Education taken by the teacher and of raising the level of the Teaching Profession in the eyes of the general public.⁹

On the basis of this Report Macdonald and Robertson continued their efforts to assist the rural schools across Canada. The construction of a Macdonald Consolidated School as the basis of an envisioned rural college was slated for Ormstown, Quebec, but

on account of the opposition of a few influential persons of the district, one of whom objected to receiving money made from the sale of tobacco, and to a threat of court action against the school board, the project was abandoned.¹⁰

It was probable that the Ormstown site was considered some-

⁸This Chair was established in 1908 as part of a donation of \$326,218 by Macdonald to McGill University.

⁹Adams, loc. cit., p. 18. It is interesting that similar sentiments were expressed in the recent Parent Report.

¹⁰J. F. Snell, "That Ormstown Rumor," undated notes based on communications between Dr. Snell and Mr. W. J. McGeigle, the Sec.-treasurer of the Ormstown High School in 1942.

where between 1900 and 1904. The concept of a rural college at Ste. Anne de Bellevue emerged by 1904 for in the Annual Report of McGill University for 1904-05, Principal Peterson wrote: "We shall watch with interest the development of Sir William Macdonald's plans for benefiting the rural districts of the Province."¹¹ Late in 1904 and until 1906 "Sir William purchased . . . some half-dozen farms in the Parish of Ste. Anne du Bout de l'Isle and a number of [Ste. Anne de Bellevue] town lots."¹² According to Snell, Ste. Anne de Bellevue was apparently selected as the site for the future Macdonald College because of its favourable location. It was convenient to Montreal and on the main lines of the Grand Trunk and Canadian Pacific Railways which connected that city with Ottawa and Toronto.

With the purchase of the Robert Reford farm in 1904 plans were drawn up by Messrs. Hutchison and Wood, architects, and building was started in April, 1905.¹³ The total area of the property amounted to greater than five hundred and sixty-seven acres.

Dr. L. S. Klinck, connected with the college almost

¹¹McGill University, "Annual Report of the Governors, Principal and Fellows of McGill University for the Year 1904-05," McGill University Archives, p. 4.

¹²J. F. Snell, Macdonald College of McGill University: A History from 1904-1955, Montreal: McGill University Press, 1966, p. 42.

¹³Snell, loc. cit., p. 56. A full account of the acquisition of the property is found in Chapter 5 of this book, pp. 42-54.

from its inception, described its economic growing pains.

Shortly after the idea of establishing Macdonald College had taken definite form, Sir William Macdonald and Dr. Robertson travelled extensively in Canada and in the United States, studying other institutions which had been founded with a view to giving instruction in Agriculture, Home Economics and Teacher Training. As a result of this study their plans became more ambitious and consequently more expensive. The original intention had been to spend about \$750,000.00, but before very long the estimated expenditure reached approximately three millions; and additional expenditures were contemplated that totaled upwards of half a million dollars more. . . 14

Alarmed at the rapidly increasing cost it seemed that Dr. Robertson restudied the plans. He made certain recommendations to Macdonald which were rejected on the basis that no expense was to be spared if it would in any way compromise the institution's excellence. Dr. Klinck said that "it was a unique experience to find a man who insisted on money being spent in large amounts and as rapidly as reasonably satisfactory returns could be obtained for the expenditure." The reason for the speed was given in an often quoted remark made by Sir William to Dr. Peterson: "I am getting to be an old man and am particularly anxious to see this project completed before I pass on."¹⁵

On June 18th, 1906, the Minutes of a Special Meeting

¹⁴Letter from Professor Klinck to Professor S. R. N. Hodgins of Macdonald College's English Department, Macdonald College Archives, May 18, 1937.

¹⁵Klinck, Idem.

of the Board of Governors of McGill University, chaired by Macdonald, recorded a memorandum

setting forth the terms of an agreement which had been come to between Sir William Macdonald and the University providing for the incorporation within the University of Macdonald College at Ste. Anne de Bellevue.¹⁶

The memo further stated the college's purpose and stipulated that legal action transferring the appropriate properties would be undertaken "as soon as certain gentlemen . . . had been appointed to fill the vacancies on the Board of Governors."¹⁷ In addition, Macdonald stated that he would provide the college with an endowment fund of approximately \$2,000,000 on the condition that "no part . . . should ever be used for the erection of dormitories. . . ." ¹⁸ He later made separate grants to be used exclusively for that purpose. The minutes for the meeting of January 4th, 1907, record that provision was being made to close the McGill Normal School and to transfer its responsibilities to Macdonald College. A new obligation was added

being now specifically imposed on the University . . . that through the agency of Macdonald College it shall have particular regard to the interests and needs of the population in the rural districts.¹⁹

¹⁶McGill University, "Minutes of the Board of Governors," McGill University Archives, June 18, 1906, pp. 365-6.

¹⁷Ibid.

¹⁸The reason why this provision was made is unknown.

¹⁹Minutes of the Board of Governors, loc. cit., V, January 4, 1907, p. 388.

The minutes of the Board of Governors revealed that the next several months were spent in dealing with such problems as the composition of the Normal School Committee and staff appointments. On the 18th of July, 1907, the deed of donation was officially notarized, with the endowment amounting to \$2,002,333 which was expected to yield an annual revenue amounting to \$80,593.33. On October 19th, Macdonald announced his intention, based on the 1902 report by Adams, of donating a Chair of Education. This was established later in the year with Mr. J. A. Dale being its first incumbent.²⁰ On April 19th, 1907, it was announced that Dr. James Robertson, who had been Acting Principal, was to be named "Principal of Macdonald College" at a salary of \$5,000 per annum with free residence, light and water.²¹

The expected opening of the College was scheduled for late September and the Governor-General was invited to officiate. However, a fire had destroyed several buildings and severely damaged others, necessitating a postponement. The new opening date of the School for Teachers was set for October 15th; for the School of Household Science on October 17th; and for the School of Agriculture on October 22nd.²² The Board of Governors meeting of November 15th, 1907, re-

²⁰Minutes of the Board of Governors, loc. cit., V, September 22, 1907, p. 441; V, November 15, 1907, p. 452.

²¹Ibid., V, April 11, 1907, p. 411.

²²Ibid., V, September 20, 1907, p. 442.

corded the official opening of Macdonald College with an enrollment of two hundred and three, of which one hundred and three were attending the School for Teachers; sixty the School of Household Science; and, forty the School of Agriculture.

Though the college was opened, much remained to be done. In July, 1908, Macdonald donated close to half a million dollars to the University. Of this amount \$326,218 was stipulated to be used for the erection of sixteen additional residences, new stables, barns, silos, etc., some of which had been destroyed by the fire, and also for the repair of eight older staff residences on the Macdonald campus.²³ The remainder of the donation was to be used for the endowment of the Chair of Education and its associated expenses on the McGill campus.

Despite the liberal endowment, the year 1908-09 was marked by a deficit of slightly more than \$10,000 for the college. This was made up by Macdonald. The existence of this deficit contemporaneously with the Prince Edward Island Macdonald Rural School incident marked the beginning of the end of the Macdonald-Robertson relationship. It was recorded that despite the deficit, of which Robertson was aware, he requested salary increases for the College's academic staff. This would obviously have only increased the deficit further and the Board of Governors was forced to reject the request.²⁴

²³Ibid., V, July 14, 1908, p. 482.

²⁴McGill University, "Minutes of the Board of Governors," McGill University Archives, V, October 26, 1908, p. 490.

Nevertheless, Robertson pressed on with his demands assuring Principal Peterson that Macdonald approved of the additional expenditure. And therefore, on this basis, the Board's November meeting sanctioned the salary increases. The next meeting of the Governors, in January, 1909, accepted a \$10,000 gift from Macdonald which balanced the college's budget, but made neither provision for, nor mention of, the salary adjustments.²⁵ This was highly unusual for Sir William. Whenever he made a verbal promise, as Robertson had assured Peterson he had, Macdonald acted without delay.

In June of 1909 Robertson personally donated \$10,000 for the maintenance of the college. This indicated that the college was still losing money. The reaction of the Board of Governors to this gift was mixed. They expressed their gratitude but also voiced their grave concern regarding the financial direction of the new college as follows:

The Board of Governors while accepting with great appreciation the gift of . . . Dr. J. W. Robertson . . . desire to record an expression of their regret that the financial condition of the college should have rendered such a contribution necessary. Though their Treasurer and Secretary have given notice on several occasions during the last eighteen months that they are unable to approve of any expenditure that goes beyond the actual resources of the Institution, and in accepting his gift they again ask Dr. Robertson to effect such retrenchment as shall bring about an equilibrium in the financial conditions of a college

²⁵Ibid., V, January 4, 1909, p. 496.

founded with such unparalleled generosity and whose interests they have so much at heart.²⁶

The October meeting inferred that no such retrenchment was taking place. Additional expenses were in fact noted; an additional \$6,500 for accommodations at the College, one hundred dollar bonuses awarded to each of ten science teachers, plus the cost of livestock imported from Scotland. Dr. Robertson personally donated \$2,738 to cover the cost of the last two items.²⁷ It would appear that despite Robertson's personal generosity the Board interpreted his actions and administration as inconsistent with their desires and directives, for in November a committee was formed to investigate the College's financial affairs.²⁸

A letter from Macdonald to the Bursar was sent to

draw the attention of the Board to my letter of June, 1908, covering Dr. Robertson's estimate of the sum necessary to complete the work in connection with . . . the item of \$171,000 - for residences . . . sixteen in number, and to the fact that only five of these are nearly completed, and no signs that I am aware of, looking to the erection of the other eleven residences, although nearly seventeen months have elapsed since the deposit was made specially for the purpose.²⁹

²⁶Ibid., V, June 11, 1909, p. 521.

²⁷Ibid., V, October 14, 1909, p. 528.

²⁸McGill University, "Minutes of the Board of Governors," McGill University Archives, V, November 1, 1909, p. 532.

²⁹Ibid., V, December 13, 1909, p. 535.

As a consequence of this letter and the report of the committee investigating Macdonald College's finances, a second committee was formed to further investigate the financial management of the College. " . . . Two Governors plus the Principal were . . . to assist Dr. Robertson in accordance with the recommendations of the report."³⁰

On January 10th, 1910, the Minutes of the Board of Governors recorded the acceptance of Dr. Robertson's resignation. A letter from Macdonald to the Bursar, dated February 21st, clarified in greater detail the nature of the circumstances that may have motivated Dr. Robertson's resignation.

As there is a shortage of \$100,000 in the amount donated by me for the erection of residences for the staff of Macdonald College, owing to Dr. Robertson having diverted the funds to purposes other than those for which they were specifically provided, I propose, . . . to make up for this deficiency . . . and thereby supply the means for the prompt erection of the residences as originally intended and for that purpose only.³¹

Dr. Robertson was succeeded by Professor F. C. Harrison who was appointed acting Principal on January 10th, 1910.³² His appointment was confirmed on June 19th, 1911.³³

³⁰Ibid.

³¹Ibid., V, February 21, 1910, pp. 543-4.

³²J. F. Snell, Macdonald College of McGill University: A History from 1904-1955. Montreal: McGill University Press, 1963, p. 168.

³³Minutes of the Board of Governors, loc. cit., VI, June 19, 1911, p. 96.

The period of 1910, after Robertson's departure, to Sir William's death in 1917 was one of consolidation and growth for the College, marked by continued financial assistance, but little direct involvement by the founder, due perhaps to his failing health and the College's sound leadership.

In 1911 the practice-teaching school or "Day School" associated with the college was enlarged, a two year professional Housekeepers' Course was introduced, and the first degrees were conferred in Agriculture.³⁴

In 1913 Macdonald donated more land to the college and in 1914 he increased the college's endowment by more than one million dollars.³⁵ The years of 1915-16 saw Sir William's aid to the college increase further with donations of forty-four thousand dollars for general college maintenance and twenty-five thousand dollars for the construction of a water filtration plant, completed in 1916, after a minor typhoid out-break on the campus.³⁶ In 1917 the publication of Macdonald's will recorded an additional bequest of one million dollars to the Macdonald College Endowment Fund.³⁷

³⁴Snell, loc. cit., pp. 168-9.

³⁵Snell, loc. cit., p. 69.

³⁶Minutes of the Board of Governors, loc. cit., VI, October 21, 1915, p. 214.

³⁷Snell, loc. cit., pp. 170-71.

CHAPTER III

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS: AN APPRAISAL OF THE MACDONALD CONTRIBUTION TO CANADIAN EDUCATION

On June 9, 1917, at the age of eighty-six, Sir William died of chronic pylonephritis.¹ He had been ill for three years, though during these last years of failing health he was still seen about the McGill and Macdonald campuses. He was said to be sharp of mind to the end. He was cremated, as was his wish, at the Mount Royal Crematorium which he had built. A very simple eulogy, the only concession to ritual, was delivered by Dr. Peterson.² His obituary notice appeared in the Times of London and the New York Times,³ as well as all of the Montreal papers, which carried subsequent stories as well.⁴ It seems rather sad that least notice of his passing was made on his native Prince Edward Island, the area that his great-grandfather had helped to settle, that his forebears had helped to develop politically, and that he had

¹Mount Royal Cemetary Co., Burial Certificate, Macdonald College Archives, June 9, 1917.

²See Appendix #3.

³The Times (London), June 12, 1917. The New York Times, June 13, 1917.

⁴The Montreal Gazette, June 11, 13, 27, 1917; The Montreal Daily Star, June 11, 13, 1917; The Herald (Montreal), June 11, 12, 1917; The Witness (Montreal), June 12, 1917; La Presse (Montreal), June 12, 1917.

tried to develop educationally. His death notice was posted in these papers bearing Montreal datelines, with scant detail and with virtually no editorial comment.⁵

Although he had received the highest honours not only from his colleagues at McGill University, but also from his King, Sir William died, in his own words, "a lonely old man."⁶ Sir William Macdonald had had a dream that one day his name would be GOLD wherever it went. This dream was realized, but with an element of pathos for the lonely old bachelor who lived the last twenty years of his life companionless, with only his tobacco company and educational achievements to derive pleasure from. His material achievements, nevertheless endured.

Something of the magnitude, significance and scope of Sir William Macdonald's contributions to the growth of Canadian Education has been shown, and it is clear that they were inter-related, each project being carefully studied and related to the others. One cannot, in justice, divorce Macdonald's work with McGill University from his contributions to rural and teacher education and the establishment of Macdonald College. It is necessary to understand what guided his actions.

⁵The Examiner (Charlottetown), June 11, 1917; The Guardian (Charlottetown), June 11, 1917; The Patriot (Charlottetown), June 11, 1917.

⁶Graydon, Lorn., "Reminiscence," McGill University Archives, 1928.

William Macdonald was born not for himself but for his country. His scheme of life had a wider horizon than his own vocation or his own environment. It was one of the tenets of his philosophy of life that large sums of money should not be stored up for use centuries hence, but should be spent during the possessor's lifetime. . . . He determined to use his wealth in a way that would be of the greatest value to those like you and me who would come after him. He felt that the best test of the wisdom of men who make fortunes is what they do with them after they have made them. He therefore made a special effort to meet the educational needs of his own community, of this province [Quebec] and of this Dominion, and to put the best knowledge within the reach of all classes.⁷

His work for McGill might appear to have been splintered and specialized. His interests centered upon the practical faculties: Law, Engineering, Physics, Chemistry, Mining and Metallurgy. There were other men, the Molsons, Lord Strathcona et al., who concerned themselves with the other faculties. One got the impression that this division of aid was deliberate; no one man was so wealthy that he could bear the burden of the entire University himself. Besides "his" departments Macdonald's will made provisions for the Faculty of Medicine and Music though his participation in their affairs during his life-time had been peripheral. It was also noted that he came repeatedly to the aid of the University as a whole. His benefactions were always carefully studied and their uses stipulated; rarely were the recipients given

⁷Macmillan, Cyrus, "Sir William Macdonald," Founder's Day Address - Macdonald College, Macdonald College Archives, February 10, 1939.

carte-blanche.

It is perhaps most fitting to let McGill University, represented by the words of the Board of Governors, speak for itself of its great indebtedness to Macdonald's generosity.

Sir William Macdonald shares the distinction of having been McGill's second founder. He was one of the greatest and most generous benefactors that any University has been blessed with in our day and generation. And it is not only for his material gifts that he will long live in our grateful hearts. His simplicity of life, his singleness of purpose, his moral earnestness, his practical good sense, his patience, and his constant effort to do what he could for the service of his fellow-men, - all these constitute ideals which may well be borne in mind by every member of our academic community. . . . Without Sir William Macdonald, McGill would not have been what it is today. Joining the Board in 1833, his tenure of office as Governor was marked by an almost continuous series of benefactions which enabled the University, especially the practical departments of its work to keep well abreast of leading institutions elsewhere. To him is due the high place which the Faculty of Applied Science won for itself . . . among the Schools of Engineering on the American Continent; for it was he who provided it with both buildings and endowment. Without his generous help the reorganization of the Faculty of Law would have been difficult, if not impossible. And the gift of the Students' Union as well as the wise and far-sighted purchase of the site for student residences . . . will remind all the friends of the University that in cherishing the interests of academic training, he was not forgetful of the social needs of the student body.⁸

⁸McGill University, Annual Report, 1917-1918. McGill University Archives, pp. 19-21.

It is apparent that Macdonald College was an integral part and focal point of its founder's contribution to the development of rural education in Canada.

Activities in the field of primary education, known collectively as the "Macdonald Movement," constituted the background for the founding of the . . . College, which was regarded by the founder as the culmination of his efforts to improve the quality of life in the rural areas of Canada. It was his idea that the new college should be a national one for all endeavours to improve education along the lines of training and development, rather than of mere book-learning.⁹

It could be said with considerable justification that much credit for the Macdonald Movement goes to Dr. James Robertson. One must recognize however, that without Macdonald's financial and philosophical support, it is problematic if Robertson's theories would ever have become realities.

The Macdonald-Robertson plans were eminently successful from the outset. One need only browse through the Reports of the Superintendents of Education for each of the provinces at that time to note this. The Report of Mr. Harry Dunnell, the Inspector of Manual Training for British Columbia in 1908 captures the spirit with which the Macdonald aid was received;

During the Introduction of Manual Training 1900-03 and since that time, I have had applications from School Trustees in different parts of the Province, asking

⁹W. H. Brittain, "The First Fifty Years," Convocation Address, 1955, Macdonald College Archives, 1955.

if Sir Wm. Macdonald would not assist in establishing more of such schools; but no further help could reasonably be expected as Sir Wm. Macdonald's intentions, both here and in other parts of the Dominion, were to bear the expense of the introduction of the work, to prove that this branch of study was worth including in the school studies. . . .

Now, Sir, I venture to say that had not a start been made by Sir Wm. Macdonald seven years ago there would not be any Manual Training in the Province. Not that the public or the teachers would not want it, but the initial expense would be a stumbling block. I think the time has now come when the Education Department should take up the work vigorously.¹⁰

It is important to emphasize the scope of these undertakings in the fields of manual training, rural and teacher education. Schools were established in every province. Their success was almost immediate and clearly demonstrable by their growth and proliferation.¹¹ In those few instances where the locality failed to continue this work of the Macdonald schools, the reason seemed always to centre on the inability or unwillingness of the local population to shoulder the financial burden; in no case was such action due to an inadequacy of the school or the curriculum^u itself.

It is rather difficult to find fault with Macdonald's plans. They were based on programmes and experiments carried on elsewhere in the world. In adopting them to the peculiar-

¹⁰Letter from Mr. Harry Dunnell to the Superintendent of Education of British Columbia, O. E. White, "The History of the Practical Education Courses in Canadian Secondary Schools," M. A. thesis, McGill University, 1951.

¹¹See Appendix 2 for a growth chart.

ities of Canadian life, Macdonald and Robertson were able to avoid errors made elsewhere. As Dunnell inferred, the Macdonald plans were heartily endorsed, their large initial expense proving their stumbling block.

One might argue that had Macdonald contributed over a longer period of time to these local schools, or even more extensively, the quality and scope of this type of education would have been provided at an earlier date than it was.

The early experiments have been proved with the passage of time. They provided the foundation from which the contemporary pattern of rural, teacher, and manual education has developed. As White stated,

The idea of 'learning by doing' and the requirements of motivation soon brought most Canadian manual training courses into the concept whereby adequate training was provided through selected projects of a useful nature. . . . The old idea . . . has given way . . . to more elaborately equipped centres, where general work over . . . an entire field of activities . . . is offered. . . . The Macdonald concept was educative, progressive, and to the students, absorbing.¹²

It appears that current movements toward regionalization and consolidation across Canada owe much to the early plans and patterns endorsed by Sir William Macdonald.

¹²O. E. White, op. cit., pp.39-40.

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APPENDIX IChronological Statement of the Educational Gifts
Made by Sir William C. Macdonald

1867	Biological Equipment	\$ 1,750
1870	General Endowment Fund	5,000
1870-1881	Annual scholarships for ten students in the Faculty of Arts @ \$125 ea.	15,000
1871	Book Collection - 4,000 volumes	
1881	Scholarship Fund - Faculty of Arts	25,000
1884	Support for the Chair of Botany	500
1884	Campbell Memorial Endowment	1,000
1886	Equipment for Chemistry Laboratory	2,075
1887	Subscription to General Fund	3,000
1889	Classrooms for Faculty of Science	3,000
1890-1917	Endowment, Scholarships and Legacy for Faculty of Law	281,000
1890	Macdonald Engineering Building	
1890	Deficits in Faculty of Applied Science	460,396.89
1890	Macdonald donation to Workmen Workshops	20,000
1890	Macdonald Physics Building and Equipment	248,662.57
1890	Endowment of Chair of Experimental Physics	50,000
1890	Macdonald Chair of Electrical Engineering	40,000
1890	Donation of Equipment	2,400
1891	Reuleaux Kinematic Collection of 295 volumes to the library	300
1891	Fund to pay Salary of Professor of Mechanical Engineering	10,000
1891	Books to Department of Applied Science	10,000
1892	Macdonald Endowment for the Maintenance of the Engineering Building	85,000
1892	Macdonald Endowment for the Maintenance of the Physics Build-	

	ing	\$ 150,000
1892	Endowment of Chair of Physics	60,000
1893	Donation of land above the Medical Building	7,375.33
1894	Superannuation Endowment - Macdonald Donation	50,000
1894	Donation of the Observatory Property	70,405.12
1894	Machinery for Engineering Building	7,500
1894	Deficit of Faculty of Applied Science	10,000
1894	Payment of demonstrators' salaries	3,200
1895	Deficit of Faculty of Applied Science	10,000
1895	Expenses of <u>converzation</u>	769.61
1896	Macdonald Chemistry and Mining Building and Equipment	279,321.84
1896	Donation of University Street Lot	8,737.86
1896	Equipment for Engineering Building	85,000
1896	Endowment for Engineering and Physics Buildings	150,000
1896	Fund for Maintenance of Chemistry and Mining Buildings	225,000
1896	Chair of Mining and Metallurgy	60,000
1896	Chair of Agriculture	50,000
1896	Land for Light and Power Station	12,000
1897	Deficit of Faculty of Applied Science	15,000
1897	Equipment for Botanical Laboratory	420
	Chairs of Chemistry (2)	110,000
1897	Ancillary Fund to maintain endowments to 5% interest level	225,000
1898	Deficit of Faculty of Applied Science	7,500
1898	Addition to Ancillary Fund	2,500
1898	Donation to the Department of Architecture	10,000
1898	Equipment for the Electrical Engineering Laboratories	30,560
1898	Additional endowment Department of Engineering	12,500
1898	Equipment and expenses of Chemistry and Mining Buildings	6,000
1898	Pavement around Physics Building	1,500
1898	Deficits of past year	
1898	Classical library of Dr. Otto Ribbeck	50,000

1898	Kingsford Chair of History	\$ 50,000
1899	Ancillary Fund	36,250
1899	Maintenance of Chemistry and Mining Buildings	145,000
1899	Mining and Metallurgical Fund	55,000
1899	Dawson Chair of Geology	62,500
1900	Chemistry Department Endowment	135,000
1900	Ferrier Collection of Minerals	12,500
1900	Electrical and Physics Equipment	32,000
1900	Maintenance and Additional Endowments	187,604.91
1900	Chair of Chemistry	75,000
1900	Additional Endowment to Chair of Physics	12,500
1900	Chair of Botany	62,500
1901	Books for Faculty of Arts	20,000
1901	Additional Endowment to Chair of Physics	12,500
1901	Contribution to Salary Fund	125,000
1901	Equipment for Engineering Laboratories	30,000
1901	Books and science equipment	25,000
1903	Maintenance of University grounds and equipment	5,550
1903	Chair of Moral Philosophy	62,500
1903	Additional endowment to Chair of Mining	12,500
1903	Deficit of Faculty of Applied Science	7,500
1904	Scholarships and Publication expenses	16,050
1904	Expenses of Physics Experimentation	2,000
1904-1905	Student Union and Property	219,119
1904	Alterations to Chemistry and Physics Buildings	1,700
1905	Scholarships and Publication expenses	2,600
1906	McGill College of British Columbia	15,000
1908	Chair of Education and expenses	76,250
1909	Donation of Jesse Joseph property	142,500
1909	Light and Power Station	25,000
1911	Donation of Macdonald Park	117,638.50
1917	Legacy for Faculty of Music	300,000
1917	Legacy for Faculty of Medicine	500,000

In addition to the foregoing, Macdonald contributed nearly 10,000 volumes to the library during the period from 1891-1917. Some of these were valuable collections and rare works offered from time to time, and some were provided from the estate in his will.

Donations and Endowments to Macdonald College of
McGill University

1906	Endowment	\$ 2,002,333
1906	Buildings, equipment and grounds	2,684,926
1908	Sixteen residences	342,590
1908-1915	Maintenance of College Buildings	145,233
1909	Seven cottages and Principal's residence	326,218
1909	Manual Training and Domestic Science rooms	
1910-1916	Rural Demonstration Units	49,996
1912	Extension of Day School	16,773
1913	Additional Cottages (9?)	34,641
1913	Baret property	7,500
1913	Robbillard Farm	76,000
1914	Maintenance of Buildings and Equipment	9,925
1914	Additional endowment	1,021,563.37
1916	Filtration Plant	26,000
1917	Legacy	1,000,000

Other Educational Philanthropies

1899-1903	Macdonald Seed Grain Competition	\$ 10,000
1900-1903	Macdonald Manual Training Fund	Approx. 150,000
1901	Dr. Adams Survey of Protestant Education in Quebec	2,000
1903	Macdonald Institute at Guelph	185,500
1903	Training of six nature study specialists	Approx. 10,000
1903-1906	School Gardens and Nature Study Experiments	Approx. 20,000
1903-1906	Consolidated School at Middleton, N.S.	Approx. 80,000
1904-1906	Consolidated School at Kingston, N.B.	Approx. 80,000
1904-1906	Consolidated School at Guelph, Ont..	Approx. 80,000
1905-1907	Consolidated School at Hillsborough, P.E.I.	Approx. 40,000
1905-1907	Nature Study Scholarships to Macdonald Institute	Approx. 20,000

1906-1908	Further aid to the School at Middleton, N.B.	Approx.	\$ 3,600
1906	The Extension to the Prince of Wales College	Approx.	30,000
1908-1910	Further Aid to the School at Hillsborough, P.E.I.		3,600

Summary of the Foregoing

To McGill University, exclusive of Macdonald College		\$ 5,869,687
To Macdonald College of McGill University		7,543,738
To Other Educational Philanthropies	Approx.	<u>714,700</u>
Grand Total	Approx.	14,128,125

Note

This listing is as complete as available records can provide. However it is known that there were many other cases of donations made to individuals in need, and who showed promise of benefiting by courses in higher education. The amounts of this aid is unknown.

APPENDIX II

The Growth of Macdonald Inspired Centres in Canada.

Date	Province	Manual Training	Domestic Science
1900	British Columbia	4	1
1917	British Columbia	61	45
1901	Saskatchewan	1	0
1917	Saskatchewan	14	- (approx. 13)
1901	Manitoba	5	0
1917	Manitoba	a total of 80 centres	
1900	Ontario	9	2
1918	Ontario	102	99
1900	Quebec	4	3
1915	Quebec	18	2 (including Mac- donald College)
1900	New Brunswick	3	0
1917	New Brunswick	21	14
1900	Nova Scotia	3	2
1917	Nova Scotia	16	18
1900	Prince Edward Island	3	0
1919	Prince Edward Island	0	0

The figures given have been taken from the annual reports of the Provincial Superintendent of Education for the year indicated. Where a blank space has been left, no accurate figure for that year was available.

APPENDIX IIISIR WILLIAM PETERSON'S EULOGY AT THE FUNERAL OF
SIR WILLIAM MACDONALD

"Many of those present will share my doubt as to whether our departed friend would have cared to have anyone stand forward here today and use vain words about him now that he is no more. But a request has been made to me which I cannot ignore. For the long period of twenty-one years, I have been his nearest neighbor and he was Chancellor of the University through whose grounds we are about to bear his mortal remains - the University for which he did so much and in which his memory will never die. That is why I have consented to break the reverent silence which I know he would have considered otherwise appropriate to these last sad rites.

Anything that savours of eulogy would certainly have been distasteful to him. You know how modest and retiring he was, with a kind of shy diffidence about him that made him almost to shrink from public notice. All that was, in most of the relations of life, the true indication of a genuine humility. And yet he had a sort of pride about him, too. Solitude had made him self-reliant; I doubt if there ever was a man who was less dependent on others. His philosophy of life rendered him absolutely detached, independent and self-contained. But with all his aloofness and reserve, there was always coupled a certain graciousness and geniality. His old-fashioned courtesy was largely the result of that consideration for others which was one of his marked characteristics; but he owed it also, I think, in large measures to his birth and breeding. He was a man of old descent and high lineage. And though there was very little romance or sentiment in his composition, there were times when he could easily be made to remember that he was the surviving representative of the chieftains of a gallant Scottish clan which formed part of the "small devoted band" that made a last heroic effort by the shores of dark Loch Shiel in defence of Charles Stuart. And there at Glenaladale and Glenfinnan what might have been his ancestral possessions remain to this day.

When death occurs at such a ripe old age and after so much good work well done, there is no call for tears or sorrow and mourning. The occasion is rather one which will

prompt our Montreal community, while marking the flight of time and its significance for each and all of us, to ponder for a little the lessons of the life which has now been closed in death. To most of you our last friend was known mainly, I take it, as a successful man of business. He belonged to the race of merchant princes. He was the architect of his own fortunes and the capacity he displayed in building up and organizing a great business must have been little short of genius. And when success had fully crowned his arduous efforts, he settled down to use the wealth that came to him for the benefit of his fellow men.

To be of service to others, on lines of his own choosing, was with him a passion. It inspired all his solitary thinking, all his careful planning and farsighted calculations. Long ago he took a vow that he would do things by which his fellow citizens would care to remember him; and today he is remembered not only in Montreal, but also in the Province of Quebec, and indeed throughout our wide Dominion. For the fulfilment of this view is seen in Macdonald College, in the spacious site of Macdonald Park, which he donated to McGill University, and in other most munificent gifts too numerous to mention. There was something that amounted almost to a sort of religious fervor in the way he went about his great benefactions.

I remember being struck to find how carefully he had marked - as was his habit in almost everything he read - certain words of Bishop Lightfoot's, as quoted in a copy he once lent me of the Handbook of Girard College:

'The holy season extends all the year round, the temple confined only by the limits of the habitable world, a priesthood co-extensive with the human race.'

Those words he must have taken as a confession of his faith; he certainly believed that the best way of glorifying God was to do one's utmost for one's fellow men.

Though his range was naturally somewhat limited, he was sincerely fond of good poetry, and in his early days he had learnt many things by heart. Finding him lately in great weakness - though his mind was evidently as clear as it has always been throughout his long illness - I reminded him that perhaps he could derive some comfort by repeating to himself Pope's Universal Prayer, which I knew he could by heart, and it was supremely touching to hear his voice, strong even in his weakness, at once and without a moment's pause, take up the well known invocation:

'Father of all in ev'ry age
In ev'ry clime ador'd'

There has always been some speculation as to the exact form and degree of his religious faith. It is true that as a result of his "obstinate questioning" he had parted with many of the conventional beliefs of orthodox Christianity. But, speaking for myself, I cherish the conviction that when the record is made up it will be found that the name of William C. Macdonald has not on that account been blotted from the Book of Life."