

TREE OF EDEN, TOWER OF BABEL
THE CONTROVERSY OVER THE
ESTABLISHMENT OF
ST. THOMAS MORE COLLEGE
AT THE
UNIVERSITY OF SASKATCHEWAN
1913-1936

MARGARET FRANCES SANCHE

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TREE OF EDEN, TOWER OF BABEL
The Controversy Over the Establishment of St. Thomas More College
at the University of Saskatchewan 1913-1936

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by Margaret Frances (Shannon) Sanche

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ABSTRACT

St. Thomas More College was established as a Catholic college at the University of Saskatchewan in 1936 after twenty-three years of effort and controversy within the Saskatchewan Catholic community. The present thesis describes the events leading up to the establishment of this educational institution and examines the disagreements between the French and Irish or English-speaking Catholics over the kind of higher education which would best serve the needs of the Catholics of Saskatchewan. The conflicts between the two groups within the Saskatchewan setting are found to be related to interethnic antagonisms which developed between these groups in eastern/central Canada prior to and during the settlement period in the Prairie West.

The controversy over Catholic higher education in Saskatchewan is also explored in terms of individuals and groups who came to Saskatchewan from eastern Canada and Europe, bringing with them mental images or models of higher education which they hoped to see duplicated in Saskatchewan. The French-Canadian bishop of Regina advocated one Catholic university for Western Canada, while the Irish/English-speaking laity of the Saskatoon area wanted to establish a Catholic college in affiliation/ federation with the University of Saskatchewan. For his part, the university president hoped to have a Catholic college affiliated with the university, in order to maintain a strong provincial institution and avoid the decentralized model of higher education which had emerged in the Maritimes.

The founding of a Chair of Scholastic Philosophy in 1926 and STM in 1936 are also examined within the context of the history of the university, the development of other institutions of Catholic higher education in western Canada, and the economic, political and social development of Saskatchewan between 1913 and 1936. The thesis concludes with a summary of the 1936 negotiations between Basilian Superior-General Henry Carr and University President Walter Murray for the establishment of St. Thomas More College as a federated college at the University of Saskatchewan

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The book which formed the basis of this master's thesis, *Heartwood: A History of St. Thomas More College and Newman Centre at the University of Saskatchewan*, was published in October 1986 to mark the 50th and 60th anniversaries of St. Thomas More College and Newman Centre. For the thesis, additional research was done, focusing on the period prior to the founding of the college, when controversy within the Saskatchewan Catholic community delayed the establishment of a Catholic college in Saskatoon for many years.

That I should undertake both the anniversary history project and the master's thesis was first proposed in 1985 by Fr. (Dr.) Brian Hogan, csb, then a member of the History Department of St. Thomas More College and presently of St. Michael's College at the University of Toronto, and Dr. Michael Hayden of the University of Saskatchewan History Department. Since that time, these two historians have provided much-appreciated professional counsel and personal encouragement during the research and writing of both the book and the thesis. My thanks to Dr. Hayden for supervising my master's degree work, and to Dr. William Waiser, Dr. Tom Deutscher and Dr. Ted Regehr, who served on my advisory committee.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

ARCAT	Archives of the Roman Catholic Archdiocese of Toronto
AUS	Archives of the University of Saskatchewan
CCHA	Canadian Catholic Historical Association
CSB	Congregation of St. Basil (Basilians)
CSBA	Basilian Archives, Toronto
CSsR	Redemptorist Order
KC	Knights of Columbus
OMI	Oblates of Mary Immaculate
OPA	Ontario Provincial Archives
PAC	Public Archives of Canada
PADA	Prince Albert Diocesan Archives
RAA	Regina Archdiocesan Archives
SABR	Saskatchewan Archives Board, Regina
SDA	Saskatoon Diocese Archives
SJ	Society of Jesus (Jesuit)
STM	St. Thomas More College
STMA	St. Thomas More College Archives
UTA	University of Toronto Archives

Religion is one of the most important factors in the shaping of a culture. In no country is this more evident than in Canada, whose historical experience is conditioned by the uneasy association of two religious opposites, French Roman Catholics and English Protestants. The English cultural group is itself divided into a Protestant majority and a Roman Catholic minority; and Catholics as a whole are divided by linguistic and historical differences among themselves. Add to this delicate balance of creed and culture a pioneer experience which has not yet been concluded, and which conserves the spirit of achievement commonly identified with puritanism, and the result goes far towards explaining the prominence, throughout Canadian history, of religion, formal and informal, organized and unorganized.

Arthur Lower¹

CHAPTER ONE: BACKGROUND TO 1913

St. Thomas More College, a federated Catholic college at the University of Saskatchewan, was founded in 1936 after nearly a quarter-century of effort and frustration on the part of Saskatchewan Catholics. It would seem reasonable to assume that difficulties in furthering the establishment of a Catholic educational institution during the early decades of this century would have been closely related to Protestant-Catholic differences which had surfaced in Saskatchewan, as in other areas of Canada, over Catholic separate schools. In this instance, however, such was not the case. It was disagreement within the Catholic Church itself, between French Catholics on the one hand and Irish and other English-speaking Catholics on the other, which proved to be the primary source of the problem.

The controversy to be examined in the present work took place in Saskatchewan between 1913 and 1936, but its roots can be traced to an earlier time and to relationship patterns which had developed between French and Irish Catholics in central/eastern Canada before members of the two groups again encountered one another in the

¹ Arthur Lower, "Religion and Religious Institutions," in George Brown, ed. *Canada* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: Univ. of California Press, 1950), p.457.

Prairie West. Though these two groups had similar religious beliefs and were united by their common membership in the universal Roman Catholic Church, they had different world views and visions of how their Catholic faith could best be lived out within the context of a pluralistic Canadian society. These underlying values, revealed most clearly during periods of confrontation and controversy, formed the ideological underpinnings for conflicts between the Irish and French Catholics which developed first in eastern Canada and later in the West.

Canadian historians are accustomed to looking at particular events in the history of Canada since European settlement in light of her "two solitudes," the French-Catholics and Anglo-Protestants, who made up the majority of the non-native population prior to the mid-nineteenth century.² In the mid-1800s another group of settlers arrived in Ontario from the British Isles and became what Canadian historian John Moir calls a "third solitude" or "double minority" in eastern Canada.³ These were the Irish Catholics who began emigrating to British North America prior to and during the Great Irish Famine of the 1840s, and who found themselves to be a religious minority within their English linguistic group and an ethnic minority among their fellow Roman Catholics.

In the early years following the arrival of the Irish, the French and Irish Catholics were generally united in defending their religious rights against the onslaughts of their common adversaries, the English Protestants. Canadian historian Robert Choquette writes: "At the outset, during the [eighteen-] eighties and nineties, the main conflict was religious; the Protestants . . . feared a Catholic takeover of their country, and the Catholics, in spite of their ethnic differences, stuck together in order

²Hugh MacLennan, *Two Solitudes* (Toronto: William Collins Sons, 1945). From the poet Rainer Maria Rilke: "Love consists in this, / that two solitudes protect, / and touch, and greet each other."

³John S. Moir, "The Problem of a Double Minority: Some Reflections on the Development of the English-speaking Catholic Church in Canada in the Nineteenth Century," *Histoire sociale / Social History*, 7 (1971), pp. 53-67.

to ward off the attacks of the Protestants."⁴ It was only when bilingual Catholic separate schools became a matter of debate between the Protestants and the Catholics that a shift in the relative positions of the two Catholic groups took place:

The [schools] issue which was allegedly a religious conflict at its inception, slowly transformed itself in the three decades between 1883 and 1913 into an explicitly ethnic, linguistic and cultural conflict, and the Roman Catholics who had resisted the Orangemen's sallies in unison during the eighties and nineties, became progressively more divided along linguistic and cultural lines.⁵

Although the French and Irish Catholics did form a common front against the English Protestant majority in their early years of coexistence in the Canadas, they became engaged in a power struggle with one another within the Catholic Church itself. This rivalry, expressed mainly in disagreements about episcopal appointments, set the stage for the animosity which developed between the two in Ontario in the early part of this century over the issue of bilingual schools.

The Roman Catholic Church in British North America was almost entirely French before the arrival of the Irish Catholics in the mid-nineteenth century, and virtually all the bishops and clergy in the central Canada region up to that time were either French or had adopted the French language.⁶ With the coming of the Irish, and a large increase in the numbers of Anglo-Celtic (Irish, Scottish, English) Catholics, it was not long before there were complaints by the newcomers about French control of the Canadian Catholic Church. The appointment of bishops became an ongoing point of contention; indeed, when an episcopal see became vacant or a new diocese was to be formed, there usually followed a great flurry of petitioning and lobbying by both

⁴R. Choquette, "Linguistic and Ethnic Factors in the French-Irish Catholic Relations in Ontario," *Canadian Catholic Historical Association. Reports*, 39 (1972), p. 35.

⁵*Ibid.*

⁶R. Choquette, "The Role of the Church in French Ontario," in R. Breton and P. Savard, ed., *The Quebec and Acadia Diaspora in North America* (Toronto: Multicultural History Society of Ontario, 1982), pp. 159-166. There were a few exceptions, notably Bishop Alexander MacDonnell, Bishop of Kingston 1826-1840, who was of Scottish descent.

French and Irish Catholics, urging Rome to name a bishop from their own linguistic-ethnic group.⁷

An example of such a petition, in this case anticipating that new bishops would be named to the newly-formed provinces in the Canadian West, illustrates some of the attitudes and grievances the French and Irish had towards each other. The petition or memorandum was sent by a group of Irish Catholics in 1905 to Cardinal Merry del Val, the Secretary of State to Pope Pius X, requesting that English-speaking bishops be named to Saskatchewan and Alberta. The Irish memorandum called for English-speaking bishops on the basis of the findings of the Canadian Census of 1901, which it claimed indicated that the Catholic population of the Northwest was mostly non-French. The Irish stated that French bishops would not be able to meet the needs of Irish or English-speaking Catholics, nor "exercise the same influence" in the society as a whole as would English-speaking bishops. The document complained that French Canadians did not contribute to educational institutions and that the French had a higher crime rate than the English in urban areas. The letter also stated that: "it cannot be said that French-Canadians are an inferior race; for, given the same opportunities, they show equality to others in nearly all walks of life" and surmised that "their failure must therefore be due to their education."⁸ The Irish here claimed that their own approach to the education of children was much superior to that of the French and for this reason the average English-speaking Catholic "is more successful in social and business life and better lived and more practical in his religion than the average French-Canadian." There was also a criticism about French financial support of the Church:

⁷R. Choquette, *Language and Religion: A History of English-French Conflict in Ontario* (Ottawa: Univ. of Ottawa Press, 1975).

⁸"Réponse aux prétendus griefs des catholiques irlandais du Canada contre les catholiques français du même pays, -- ou réponse -à un mémoire irlandais adresse d'Ottawa, 17 juin 1905 à son éminence le Cardinal Merry Del Val, secrétaire d'état de sa Sainteté Pie X," 1909, 47pp. Appendix, p.iv.

While English-speaking Catholics are as loyal to the Church as French-Canadians and offer individually three times more financially to ecclesiastical funds than French-Canadians, and frequently almost wholly support the parish church where the majority is French-Canadian and the priest of the same nationality, they are of opinion that such practice and obligations so imposed on them should not be continued in the new provinces, especially where it is apparent that English ideas are to predominate and Bishops of English-speaking nationalities naturally more in accord with their views would certainly promote more prosperous dioceses by being acceptable to those of other religions and races and more conciliatory in not antagonizing the government of the day.⁹

The document was translated into French and printed in *le Nationaliste* in Montreal in 1908; a detailed Francophone rebuttal followed and was published in pamphlet form in 1909. The French response accused the Irish of misusing the census statistics to imply that anyone not French must therefore be English, and by failing to include the French-speaking Métis population figures in with the French-speaking population of the prairie region. The pamphlet also answered a number of other points made in the Irish letter and added a few barbs of its own against the Irish. One of these described the resentment the French felt regarding the lack of involvement of "les irlandais" in missionary activity in the West during the period when times were hard and there were few priests to do the work. Now, when the trail had been broken and conditions were much easier, the newcomers wanted to have a major role in the administration of the Church. The French pamphlet claimed that the real enemy of Catholicism, particularly in the area of separate school rights in the West, was to be found within the Church itself, among the Irish who had forgotten their holy work and had exchanged it for ambition, materialism and political interests.¹⁰ Though the 1905 Irish memorandum probably had little effect on Vatican decision-making—no English-speaking bishop was named to the prairie provinces for several years—but it does give some indication of the negative attitudes which had developed between French and English-speaking groups within the Catholic Church itself by the first

⁹ *Ibid.*, Appendix, p.v.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, pp.44-45.

decades of this century.

The other major area of dispute between the two groups involved separate school rights in Ontario. Though they competed with one another for authority positions within the Church, the French and Irish Catholics had indeed generally supported each other in matters of common concern within the larger society. Anglo-Protestant agitation against the teaching of French in the Ontario separate schools, culminating in the 1912 passage of Regulation XVII by the Ontario legislature and its aftermath, brought that harmony to an end. The regulation, though aimed at restricting the use of French in the bilingual separate schools, was seen by the Irish as a threat to their English-language separate schools, and the issue eventually split the French and Irish Catholics along linguistic lines. In the dispute, the double-minority Irish Catholics turned against the French and sided with their fellow English-speaking Canadians, including their traditional foes, the Anglo-Irish members of the Orange Lodge.¹¹ The bitter controversy, which continued over a period of many years, marked a significant change in the relationship between the two groups of Ontario Catholics and established a pattern of mutual antagonism which resurfaced in the West during the first decades of this century.

The conflicts between the French and Irish Catholics in eastern Canada were based on fundamental differences in the values and aspirations of the two ethnic groups. The differences are understandable, not only in light of the past history of each group, but also in terms of their "survival strategies" as religio-ethnic minority groups within a society dominated by Anglo-Protestants. The Irish Catholics, though relative latecomers to the Canadas, had the advantage of knowing the English language before migrating to Canada, and they were also "familiar with how a British-derived

¹¹F. Walker, "Regulation Seventeen" in *Catholic Education and Politics in Ontario: A Documentary Study*, pp.263-296 (Toronto: Thomas Nelson, 1964). See also articles in bibliography by M. Barber, M. Prang and R. Choquette on Irish-French relations and Regulation XVII.

system of representative government worked and knew how to find the hidden levers of power."¹² Though they did suffer some discrimination because of their religion and ethnic origin, they were more like the English majority than were the French and they were much better able to blend in with the dominant culture. In contrast, though their arrival and settlement in Canada had long predated that of the Irish, the French were in a less favorable position politically. They were blocked from participation in most of the decision-making areas of Canadian society because they were a conquered people and also because of religious discrimination practised against them by the English Protestants. The French Catholic hierarchy generally cooperated with the English Protestant majority, but continued to be defensive with regard to their own linguistic, religious and cultural rights for fear these would be eroded or lost completely through assimilation or political means.

The nature of the interactions between the French and English-speaking Catholics in this period become clearer when viewed in terms of theories of racism and ethnicity. In their 1974 work, *The Anatomy of Racism: Canadian Dimensions*, David R. Hughes and Evelyn Kallen describe the development of group identity along ethnic, religious or cultural/linguistic lines in terms which can be applied to the two groups under examination in this thesis. Hughes and Kallen describe ethnicity as a sense of "common ancestry or peoplehood," which in turn usually involves three criteria: "biological descent from common ancestors, maintenance of a shared ancestral heritage (culture and social institutions), and attachment to an ancestral territory (homeland)."¹³ Each ethnic group views others from its own ethnocentric perspective and from within its own invisible protective wall, shored up by stereotypes of these other ethnic groups. Ethnocentricity heightens ethnic identity because the group

¹²D. Akenson, *The Irish in Ontario*, p.5.

¹³D. Hughes and E. Kallen, *The Anatomy of Racism: Canadian Dimensions* (Montreal: Harvest House, 1974), p.83.

tends to place a high value on its own customs, beliefs, language, traditions, ancestry, and homeland and a lower value on those of others. Ethnocentrism also often includes a sense of mission or the characteristic of being a "chosen people" with a particular task to perform in the world by virtue of membership in the particular group; a task which usually cannot be shared by outsiders.¹⁴

In his work on the sociology of religion, American sociologist/historian Werner Stark describes the sense of providential mission, also called providentialism or messianism, as the belief of a particular group that it has been called by God to fulfill a special mission, and identifies some of the links and patterns found in Christian ethnic or national groups which have held such beliefs. Stark has found that there is usually a shared experience or identification, such as mass migration to a new land, which provides the conditions for a group to be receptive to a messianic ideology, a leader (usually a religious leader) who articulates the nature of the mission to the people, and the perception by the people of a differentiation between an "in-group," usually based on common ancestry, language and place of origin, and an "out-group," which does not possess the requisite qualifications. The "in-group" would include those who are involved in the mission by virtue of this common identity and the "out-group" would be those who do not participate in the mission and are therefore regarded as enemies, targets for proselytizing, or in some way requiring the leadership of the "in-group."¹⁵ Stark uses examples from the history of a number of nations and peoples to point out the universal nature and the pervasive power of such an ideology, in which religion and ethnicity reinforce one another.¹⁶

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, p.89.

¹⁵ W. Stark, *The Sociology of Religion*. Vol. 1: *Established Religion*. (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1966).

¹⁶ *Ibid.* According to Stark, providentialism has also taken a variety of other forms in western civilization and can be seen as the basis of British imperialism, the women's suffrage movement and the American ideology of "manifest destiny."

Much of the ethno-religious vigour manifested by both the French and Irish Catholics in conflicts with the English Protestants and with one another can be traced to a spirit of ethnocentric providentialism. A number of Canadian historians have pointed out that the French in Canada possessed a sense of providential mission dating from their earliest settlement in North America and beyond to their ancestral homeland. In recent years, historians have discovered that many of the other Christian ethnic groups which came to Canada also possessed a belief that they as a particular group of people had been chosen by God to preserve the truth of Christianity and to spread the gospel of Christ in the new land, both to the aboriginal peoples and to the other European immigrant groups. Canadian religious historian Richard Allen describes the providentialism or messianism of national groups as deriving from the Judaeo-Christian tradition and relying on a particular interpretation of history:

Providentialism was the Hebraic-Christian theory of God's care for his creation, of his superintendance of nature, of his guiding hand in human history, and of his provision for the needs of his people, whatever the adversity they might experience. The model was always the chosen people of Israel -- chosen not because of any merit or special power, but to be a vehicle for the restoration of an erring mankind.¹⁷

The belief that they were a chosen people with a divine mission was held by both French and Irish Catholics in Canada in the nineteenth century, and these beliefs, though seldom articulated beyond the "in-group" in the multiethnic society which formed in the western prairie region, continued to provide a strong motivation for competition between the two groups within the Church and within the larger society. The controversy over Catholic higher education in Saskatchewan between 1913-1936 can be seen as an expression of the two very different views of providential mission held by the French and Irish Catholics at the time, and the belief of each that it was called to take the lead in bringing the Christian mission to fulfillment in Canada.

¹⁷R. Allen, "Providence to Progress: The Migration of an Idea in English Canadian Thought," in W. Westfall et al, eds., *Religion/Culture: Comparative Canadian Studies*, p.33-46 (Ottawa: Assoc. for Canadian Studies, 1985), pp.33-34.

Canadian historian Richard Allen describes French Canadian providentialism as an extension of the mission which had originally been given to the French nation, but had been lost in the French Revolutionary period. It was the French Canadians who now carried on this mission in the new world as the "faithful remnant":

The French model with its elaborate parallels to the Biblical story told of a people with their patriarchs led to a new land where they would be a beacon of hope to the old civilization. Believing the hand of Providence, in the form of the British Conquest, had spared them the ravages of the French Revolution, they came to think of themselves as bearers of a purified Catholicism to an apostate Christendom.¹⁸

Such French Canadian providentialism was often emphasized in sermons and speeches in Quebec during the 19th century and the first decades of the 20th. A strong proponent of this idea was Mgr. L.-F.-R. Laflèche, Bishop of Trois-Rivières, who spoke of the providential mission of the French Canadians in a series of talks and articles in 1866, describing the history of the Christian Church and the development of different nations in terms of God's plan for the spread of His kingdom. Of the French in North America, he said: "The mission with which Providence entrusted French Canadians is basically religious in nature: it is, namely, to convert the unfortunate infidel local population to Catholicism, and to expand the Kingdom of God by developing a predominantly Catholic nationality."¹⁹ In Canadian historian Ramsay Cook's view, the emphasis by Laflèche and other members of the Francophone Catholic hierarchy on the idea of the French Canadians as a sacred nation with a providential mission was a means by which the Church retained power over the French Catholic people, impressing on them that it was "their duty to remain defensively self-centred under the leadership of their bishops, who as leaders of the sacred society stand above the political leaders in temporal affairs."²⁰ Whether this was the case or not, there is no doubt that such a providentialism, when combined with a strong cultural identity, was a

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, p.34.

¹⁹R. Cook, *French-Canadian Nationalism* (Toronto: Macmillan, 1969), p.98.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, p.24.

powerful force indeed.

By the early part of this century, the idea of a French Canadian providential mission had taken on nationalistic overtones as "la survivance," the claim that French language, culture, and agrarian vocation were essential to the preservation of the Roman Catholic faith, and conversely, that the Roman Catholic faith was essential to the survival of the French Canadian "race." The image of the French as the "apostles of North America" was presented in a dramatic way by Quebecois nationalist Henri Bourassa, speaking at the Eucharistic Congress of 1910 in Montreal. In response to the claim by Bishop Francis Bourne, the Archbishop of Westminster, that the Canadian Catholic Church should now consider the English language as the "vehicle of the Faith" in Canada,²¹ Bourassa departed from his prepared text and delivered an impassioned response. He promised that Canadian priests would continue to serve the "exiled sons of England and Ireland in the language of their fathers," but also claimed that a sacred mission had been given by God to the French:

Providence has wished that the principal group of this French and Catholic colonization should constitute in America a separate corner of the earth, where the social, religious, and political situation most closely approximates that which the Church teaches us to be the ideal state of society. . . . Providence has wished that [the French Roman Catholics] should be the apostles of North America.²²

The Irish Catholics who migrated to Canada during the Irish Famine in the mid-nineteenth century had their own sense of providential mission, much different from that of the French. Irish Catholic messianism was articulated to the community by Bishop John Joseph Lynch, bishop of Toronto and religious leader of the Irish Catholics of Upper Canada/Ontario during the latter half of the nineteenth century. Lynch's explanation of the special role of the Irish in the new land can perhaps best be

²¹M. Wade, *The French Canadians: 1760-1967*, vol.1 (Toronto: Macmillan, 1968), p.580.

²²*Ibid.*, pp.580-581.

described as a "theology of the diaspora." Lynch described the Famine in Ireland as the means by which God had sent the Irish people to all parts of the world to spread the Christian gospel message, an interpretation he presented in a letter written in 1866:

I try to console myself with the reflection [that], though many are lost by this scattering of families and wholesale breaking up of relations of home, religion and habits, the Holy Providence of God is making use of the Irish people to plant the faith in many lands. Oppression at home operates as the Jewish persecution did on the Apostles, and the English language is the vehicle . . . to carry the faith throughout the world.²³

In an article in *The Canadian Freeman* in 1869, Lynch again wrote of the role of Providence in the history of the Catholic Irish people and of the reason for the Irish dispersal:

Ireland was subdued in order to more effectively amalgamate the inhabitants with the English nation. . . . They resisted but were compelled by force to learn the language. God had his designs in this. Little did the Irish children suspect when they were whipped in school for not knowing the English lesson that God destined the English language in their mouths to spread the true faith of his Divine Son through the greater part of the world.²⁴

In order for this Irish Catholic mission to be carried out in Canada, Irish children would have to be well-versed in their faith. Lynch therefore became increasingly concerned with education and the establishment of separate schools for the Irish Catholic children under his care. Historian Murray W. Nicholson describes how the separate Catholic schools in Toronto became a means of impressing on Irish Catholics that their providential mission was inseparable from their ethnic and cultural identity:

Children were taught by their Irish teachers that to be Catholic was to be Irish. . . . Furthermore, the children were told that to reject one aspect of their new ethno-religious background was to lose the other; if they ceased to be Irish they were well on the road to apostasy. To them, Irish Protestants were a foreign population who had been planted in their homeland and, under the name of Orangeism, brought to [Toronto] to persecute them. . . .

²³ John J. Lynch to John O'Donohue, Feb. 28, 1866. ARCAT. Lynch Papers, AE06/12.

²⁴ John Joseph Lynch, *The Canadian Freeman* 29 March (1869). Quoted in G. J. Stortz, "Archbishop John Joseph Lynch and the Anglicans of Toronto, 1860-1888," unpublished paper, p. 3.

The children were taught to look back on an age of perfection when their ancestors aided in the conversion of Europe. In view of that, they had an historic task to perform -- the conversion of North America. This was to occur by way of a revitalized Irish Catholicism.²⁵

The Irish messianic mission was described in terms of a Catholicism which would be lived out in the heart of the larger Anglo-Protestant society, with the hope that every aspect and level of society would thus be permeated with the message of Christ. This was in sharp contrast to the French ideology, which called for a strong, close-knit, united community, isolated as much as possible from the Protestant, secular world.

Though the nature of the French and Irish providential missions was different, there were some basic similarities, as described by Robert Choquette:

[French] messianism consisted in the conviction not only that Catholics were the chosen people of God as opposed to Protestants and others, but that even among the Catholics the French Canadian was the providential apostle of all nations. The English-speaking Catholic was a second-class member of Christ's Church. Such a view was in direct contradiction to that of Canada's Irish Catholics whose own messianism could be described in identical terms, providing the terms French and English are exchanged.²⁶

Though the sense of providential mission served to unite and strengthen each of the communities, it fostered within each group attitudes of superiority and chauvinism which made harmonious relations with others, Catholic as well as Protestant, extremely difficult.

French and Irish or English-speaking Catholics also developed different visions of the Canadian West and how it would or should develop, and these visions affected their relationships with one another later in the West. With the annexation of the North-West Territories by Canada in 1870 and the opening of the western prairie region to white settlement—after the two Métis rebellions and the movement of the aboriginal peoples "out of the way" onto reserves—the people of eastern Canada had begun to look towards the West with interest. It seemed that the prairie region was to

²⁵Murray W. Nicolson. "Irish Catholic Education in Victorian Toronto: An Ethnic Response to Urban Conformity." *Histoire sociale/Social History* XVIII, 34 (Nov 1984), pp. 298-299.

²⁶Choquette, *Language and Religion*, p.2.

be developed as an agricultural hinterland of the East, with settlers from eastern Canada and Britain, Europe and the United States encouraged to migrate there in order to build a new society. Those most concerned with the kind of society which would be established in the West were the two main Canadian ethno-religious groups, the English Protestants and the French Catholics, and each had its own ideal of western settlement and society.

Canadian historians have explored the vision of the West from the perspectives of both eastern Canadians and early residents of the Northwest. Canadian historian Doug Owram has looked at the role of the Canadian "expansionists" in promoting the shift in Anglo-Protestant Eastern Canadian perceptions of the Canadian West during the latter half of the nineteenth century. He found that the image of the West changed from that of an uninhabitable frozen wasteland to that of a new Eden with unlimited opportunities for development, growth and prosperity.²⁷ Canadian historians A.I. Silver and Raymond Huel looked at French Canadian visions of the West during a similar period and point out that French Canadians already living in the Northwest believed and hoped that the new western provinces would remain primarily French in language and culture.²⁸ Both Silver and Huel describe attempts by the French Roman Catholic hierarchy to encourage more French immigration from Quebec, the United States and France to the Canadian West, and speculate on the reasons why the French did not respond in sufficient numbers to bring this vision to fruition.

The French settlers who did come west felt a particularly deep affinity for the prairie region, partly as a result of the early French exploration and missionary

²⁷Doug Owram, *Promise of Eden: The Canadian Expansionist Movement and the Idea of the West 1856-1900* (Toronto: Univ. of Toronto Press, 1980).

²⁸A.I. Silver, "French Canada and the Prairie Frontier, 1870-1890," *CHR*, L, 1 (March 1969), pp. 11-36; R. Huel, "Gestae Dei Per Francos: The French Canadian Experience in Western Canada," in B. Smillie, ed. *Visions of the New Jerusalem: Religious Settlement on the Prairies* (Edmonton: NeWest Press, 1983), pp.39-53. See also A. Lalonde, "Archbishop O.-E. Mathieu and Francophone Immigration to the Diocese of Regina," *CCA Study Sessions*44 (1977), pp. 45-59.

activity, but also because of their attitude towards the land: "After fulfilling the precepts of the Church, the French-speaking clergy regarded the agrarian vocation as the surest guarantee of eternal salvation."²⁹ Indeed, the farmer was regarded to be second only to the priest in his close relationship to God. With its large areas of agricultural land, the prairie region seemed to the French clergy to be an ideal place to establish a strong French Canadian community, where French language, religion and culture could be preserved.³⁰ Though the French presence did not increase as was hoped, the vision of a West in which they would enjoy greater, or at least equal, language and religious rights with those of the English, remained strong within the French Catholic community for many years.

The Irish, for their part, assumed that British language, culture and institutions would prevail in the prairie regions. With their own knowledge of English language and ways, they arrived in the West prepared to work side-by-side with the English Ontarians for their vision of a prosperous new society, as long as their own Catholic institutions could be established as well. By the time Saskatchewan acquired provincial status in 1905, there was indeed little question as to the types of institutions which would provide the structural underpinnings of the new society; they were to be modeled on English-Ontario patterns and organization, and the settlers would be expected to learn the English language and adopt English-Canadian ways. A major exception to this Ontario-based institutional development was, of course, the Roman Catholic Church, which continued to be French in language, culture and authority during the first decades of the settlement period. To the English-speaking Catholics who came west, the fact that the Church was totally French was disturbing and annoying. In particular, those Irish Catholics who had migrated from Ontario with fresh memories of conflicts there over bilingual schools were distressed to find they

²⁹R. Huel, "Gestae Dei," p.39.

³⁰*Ibid.*

had not been able to leave that problem behind.

The Catholic presence in the West had been French from the outset. It was French missionaries who had travelled from Quebec to Red River in the early 19th century to begin the work of evangelizing the Indians of the West. During the next few decades French missionaries also fanned into Rupert's Land, French-speaking Métis settled in the Red River area and on lands further west, and by the time the prairie region was opened for settlement towards the end of the century, the Catholic Church in the West still had a strong French identity and was administered entirely by a French Catholic hierarchy.

With the arrival of large numbers of English settlers in the early years of the 20th century, the demographic relationships shifted. In 1881, the French (including French-speaking Métis) and British had each made up approximately 11% of the population of 19,114 in Saskatchewan. By 1911, with Saskatchewan's population having risen to 492,432, the French proportion (now not including Métis) was 4.7%, and the British or Anglo-Celtic population was 51%.³¹ Though the figures are difficult to compare because of the inconsistent way the Métis were listed in the census record, it is clear that by 1911 the French population in general had been surpassed overwhelmingly by the English. In addition, the French population majority within the Catholic Church was threatened because of the large numbers of Anglo-Celtic Catholics who continued to arrive in Saskatchewan.

To the French Catholic onlookers, the Irish were second-best as Catholics, since they had not only allowed themselves to undergo the dreaded process of assimilation into the culture and camp of the enemy, but now actively supported the Anglo-conformist policies of the English Protestant majority as well. The Irish Catholics felt that French control of the Church in the West held all Catholics back. It seemed to them

³¹J.H.Archer, *Saskatchewan: A History* (Saskatoon: 1980), p.358.

that it was only a matter of time before the Catholic population in the West would be predominantly English-speaking, and they were impatient for English to be given priority as the language of religious instruction and liturgical services within the Church, as well as for Anglo-Celtic bishops to be appointed in the West.³² Despite Anglo-Celtic efforts, the hierarchy of the Church in the West remained solidly French until 1913, when John Thomas McNally was named bishop of the new diocese of Calgary and became the first non-French bishop in the prairie region. Changes in the relative numbers of French and English bishops did gradually take place, but much too slowly for the Irish Catholic population. In Saskatchewan, there were no English-speaking bishops -- and few Anglo-Celtic clergy -- until 1930.

Up to this point, in dealing with French and Irish Catholics within their eastern Canada milieu, there has been little or no problem describing each group with some degree of accuracy: French was French; Irish was Irish -- though sometimes the term Anglo-Celtic has been used to indicate that there were also Scottish and English Catholics in Canada as well. Still, in the eastern Canadian controversies among Catholics, the battles were usually waged between the Irish and the French. In western Canada, between 1913 and 1936, French Catholics remained a distinct, easily identifiable group, while the English-speaking Catholic group changed in nature and ethnic composition over time. In the West, this latter group, variously referred to here as "Irish," "Anglo-Celtic" or "English-speaking," came to include a number of members of other Catholic ethnic groups, including Germans, Ukrainians and others -- even French -- all of whom were indeed "English-speaking," but for whom English was a second language. The members of the Saskatoon laymen's group which worked for many years to establish a Catholic college at the university were mainly Irish

³²R. J. Huel, "The Irish French Conflict in Catholic Episcopal Nominations: The Western Sees and the Struggle for Domination Within the Church," *CCHA Study Sessions* 42 (1975), p.52.

Ontarians and Scottish Maritimers in the early years. Though the group changed over time in its ethnic composition, and its members worked for common concerns over and above ethnic identity, the group's leaders were Irish and its attitudes and aspirations reflected Irish Catholic values and world views during the period under examination here.

Clearly the early interactions between French and English-speaking Catholics in the Canadian West were patterned on attitudes formed earlier in eastern Canada. In the Prairie West the relationships between the two did eventually develop in unique ways, particularly as other ethnic groups arrived and prairie society took on a distinctive character. The conflicts which arose between the two Catholic groups, such as that under examination here, were certainly not always noble in character and appearance. They can be seen, however, as expressions of the values and visions and hopes each had with regard to the new society which was developing in the Canadian West. Such conflicts also reflected the fear of both French and English-speaking Catholics that individuals or groups with interests and aspirations at variance with their own might have the final word in the decisions made within that society.

CHAPTER TWO 1913-1919

The earliest mention of the Saskatoon Catholics' plan to establish a Catholic college in conjunction with the University of Saskatchewan is found in the Saskatoon *Phoenix* dated June 16, 1913. According to the newspaper account, Bishop Albert Pascal, the Roman Catholic bishop of the Prince Albert Diocese, had been in Saskatoon the previous day to confer the sacrament of Confirmation, and the English-speaking Catholics of Saskatoon had honored him at a banquet following the ceremony. Saskatoon businessman John Joseph Leddy, acting as spokesman, raised the subject of a college for Saskatoon during his speech of welcome to the bishop. The Saskatoon Catholics perhaps felt that the bishop would find it difficult to refuse a request made at a public gathering where he was the guest of honor. Pascal not only agreed to the college proposal put before him, but, according to the newspaper account, he responded with enthusiasm:

Several hundred Catholics of Saskatoon listened to the address of the bishop in the Knights of Columbus Hall yesterday afternoon, when he took up the educational problem, in response to an address given by J.[J.] Leddy. Mr. Leddy, speaking on behalf of several Saskatoon Catholic societies, brought the college question to a head by his intimation that a strong feeling for the formation and affiliation of an institution of this kind is entertained here.

Bishop Pascal, in reply, not only endorsed the plan, but spoke strongly in favor of it. His attitude means everything to the project, inasmuch as his approval is necessary before any steps can be taken. The founding of a Catholic college to be governed by the university faculty and to be supported by Catholics of the diocese and the province is a question that has been before the people of that denomination for some time. Nothing had ever been done by way of pushing the matter because Bishop Pascal had not been approached on the subject and his stand on the matter was unknown.¹

The sense of optimism found in Saskatoon during the "boom" period of 1910-13 is evident in the next statement in the newspaper account: "One prominent Catholic in speaking of the bishop's endorsement of the plan following his address, declared that

¹Saskatoon *Phoenix*, June 16, 1913.

the new college will be erected inside of the next two years, or the Catholics of this city are not true Saskatonians."²

At the time of the newspaper report, Saskatoon was a rapidly-growing prairie city. The population of Saskatoon had increased from 113 in 1901 to 3,011 in 1906, 12,004 by 1911 and about 28,000 by the next year, 1912.³ Indeed, there were some predictions that the city would reach 50,000 by 1915 and 100,000 by 1920. The growth was particularly evident in the dramatic rise in property values during the period 1910-1913, making Saskatoon a haven for land speculators. Where there had been 37 real estate firms in 1909, by 1912 there were 267.⁴ This was the time of prairie "boosterism," a term used by urban historians to describe the energetic activity of local business and civic leaders who tried, with enthusiasm and energy and inflated rhetoric, to convince anyone who would listen that theirs was the best, most forward-looking, progressive community in the province. The sense of boomtime prosperity in Saskatoon had been heightened considerably by the construction of a number of buildings on the university campus, and this activity undoubtedly provided some of the motivation for the Saskatoon Catholic laity's 1913 request for the establishment of their own college at the university.

In spite of the initial enthusiasm, no more was heard of the Catholic college project for six years following the newspaper account of Bishop Pascal's 1913 statement of approval. One reason for the lack of action was the change in economic conditions in Saskatoon. The boom period suddenly ended in 1913 and property values plunged, leaving many Saskatoon businesses overextended and in financial difficulty. Clearly, this was not the time to initiate a project which might involve the diocese in fund-raising for capital expenditures and salaries. Most certainly, the main reason for the

² *Ibid.*

³ D. Kerr and S. Hanson, *Saskatoon: The First Half Century* (Edmonton: 1982), pp.105, 316.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p.105.

delay was the outbreak of the Great War in 1914 and the turning of the Saskatchewan Catholics' attention to this and other matters of more immediate concern for the next few years.

The Catholic college proposal was raised again and became a matter of debate within the Saskatchewan Roman Catholic community in 1919. The issues underlying the controversy can perhaps be understood most clearly by exploring the visions of four men, one from France and one each from the Maritimes, Ontario and Quebec. Each of these had brought with him to Saskatchewan a mental image or model of higher education which he hoped to see brought to fruition in the new province, and each emerged as a leader and spokesman for a particular group within the Saskatchewan population with regard to this issue. These four, who played key roles in the establishment, and for a time the non-establishment, of a Catholic college in Saskatoon, were: Albert Pascal, an Oblate missionary who came from France to western Canada in 1873, was named vicar apostolic of a large area of the Northwest Territories in 1890 and was bishop of the diocese of Prince Albert from 1907 until his death in 1920; Olivier-Elzéar Mathieu from Quebec, bishop and later archbishop of Regina from 1911 until his death in 1929; Walter Murray from New Brunswick, president of the University of Saskatchewan from 1908 until his retirement in 1937; and John Joseph Leddy from Ontario, a leader and frequent spokesman of the Saskatoon Catholic laity on the college issue from shortly after his arrival in Saskatoon in 1912 until St. Thomas More College was finally established in 1936, and whose interest in the college continued until his death in 1949.

The first of the four, and the earliest to arrive in the West, was Albert Pascal, Oblate of Mary Immaculate (O.M.I.). Pascal was born in 1848 at St. Genest de Bauzon, Ardèche, France, and had come to Saskatchewan as a missionary to the native peoples

in 1873, shortly after his ordination to the priesthood in Viviers, France.⁵ Since his early education was conducted by the Basilian Fathers in France, it was probably Pascal who provided the earliest link between Saskatchewan and the Basilian Congregation of priest-scholars, members of which, many years later, were to form the faculty of St. Thomas More College. In 1890, Pascal became vicar apostolic of a large area of the North-West Territories, and when the diocese of Prince Albert was formed in 1907, he was named its first bishop.⁶

As a missionary from France rather than from Quebec, Pascal had a much different approach to his ministry from that of the Quebecois bishops who served in the West. For one thing, he did not develop the strong, rather defensive, ideals of "la survivance" which characterized the views and actions of the Canadian French and their relationships with the non-French. His experiences in a France much secularized by the French Revolution and therefore much different from the Quebec-French religious situation, coupled with his many years of missionary work in Saskatchewan, were reasons why Pascal was less rigid and more pragmatic than the French-Canadian bishops in dealing with particular problems.

An example of Pascal's approach is found in an incident in 1903 in which it became necessary for Saskatchewan teachers to take classes in a normal school setting and receive accreditation in order to continue teaching in the schools of the province. This new regulation posed difficulties for many of the religious sisters from Quebec who were already teaching in various regions of the province, but who lacked the necessary certification. Their options were to travel to Ottawa and attend a Catholic normal school there, or to attend the only normal School in the West, located in Regina. At that time there were many Church restrictions about contact between nuns and the

⁵D. Robertson, *The Sword of St. Paul: A History of the Diocese of Saskatoon 1933-1983* (Saskatoon: 1982), p.9.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p.9.

secular world, and their attendance at secular educational institutions was usually out of the question. To Pascal, having to send sisters to study in Ottawa would only add an unnecessary, and in some cases, impossible, burden to the religious communities involved -- indeed, in many cases, the sisters might not be able to return to the West at all. Faced with this problem, he unhesitatingly gave the sisters permission to attend the Regina institution, as long as it would not unduly interfere with their religious duties. Archbishop Langevin of St. Boniface disagreed and rescinded the permission, but Pascal was adamant and called on the papal delegate to rule on the dispute, which he did, in Pascal's favor.⁷

Pascal generally had a strong sense of the importance of Catholic education and he explored this theme in a short section on education in a pastoral letter read in all the parishes of the diocese in January, 1913. One of his concerns at that time was the need to protect the faith of young people once they had completed their basic education:

It is above all at the end of the school formation that the dangers are great for young men and young girls. However painful may be this revelation, it imposes itself as an evident fact, with the exigencies and attractions of modern life, especially in populous centres. . . .

If we have not powerful Catholic organizations, in which to enrol children when they leave school, they will fatally become the prey of neutral or hostile associations where their faith will be exposed to the gravest dangers. In a short time all the Christian principles laboriously inculcated during the school years may be wrecked in indifference if not apostasy.⁸

This sense of danger for the faith and morals of Catholic young people was felt by both French and English-speaking Catholics at that time, but their ideas of how to deal with it differed. The French generally held that it was important to keep Catholic young people segregated from the secular or non-Catholic world as much as possible. The English-speaking Catholics tended to regard such complete separation of Catholics from the rest of the world as impossible and ill-advised. In their view, what was

⁷Pascal to Legal, August 6, 1903; Les Filles de la Providence, "Memoires de Mère St. Sylvestre 1899-1919," n.d. PADA.

⁸A. Pascal, omi, *Pastoral Letter, Jan. 1, 1913*, p.17. Anglin Collection, STM.

required was the provision of Catholic institutions and organizations which would act as a buttress of support, and in this way lessen the danger and fortify the faith of young people for their eventual participation in the "outside world." These differing views underlay much of the later disagreement between those who advocated a separate Catholic university and those who wanted to have a Catholic college on a secular campus. For Pascal, who became involved in the Catholic college controversy only briefly at the end of his episcopacy, the French solution would provide better protection for the faith and morals of Catholics, but the proposal of the English-speaking Catholics had the advantage of at least being practicable.

Olivier-Elzéar Mathieu, born Dec. 24, 1853 in St-Roch de Québec, was ordained to the priesthood in 1878 and became the first bishop of Regina on June 23, 1911. He had studied at Le Grand Séminaire de Québec and received a doctorate in theology from Laval University, where he was later a professor of philosophy, and eventually, rector of the university for 12 years prior to coming west. Mathieu was a highly educated and cultured man, held in great esteem in his home province. He was a good friend of Wilfrid Laurier and other prominent Quebecois; during his time in Regina he received the Legion of Honour from the government of France, and there was speculation at various times that he was to be named bishop of Quebec or a cardinal of the Catholic Church. Mathieu was in a sense the quintessential Quebecois Catholic leader of the time -- a strong supporter of the French-Canadian people and their providential mission in Canada, but also a patriotic Canadian and upholder of Canada's position within the British Empire. His adjustment to Regina must have been difficult. Except for one year of study in Rome, he had lived all of his 58 years in Quebec, where a Catholic bishop had a great deal more prestige and authority than in the pluralistic pioneer society of Saskatchewan. He also found that educational institutions were not under ecclesiastical control as they had been in Quebec, and that many of the problems found in Ontario

and Manitoba, especially with regard to separate schools and French language rights, had made their way to Saskatchewan as well.

Mathieu was named bishop of the new diocese of Regina in 1911 after much controversy between Irish and French over whether the see should be led by a French or English-speaking prelate.⁹ Mathieu had been chosen only after a power struggle between Irish and French Catholics and much disagreement about the population of each in the southern region of Saskatchewan. Indeed, the controversy became so bitter that Rome ordered an ecclesiastical census to establish once and for all the proportions of each ethnic group within the Regina diocese as of 1911. The census found the numbers of the main groups of Catholics to be as follows: French (15,964), Ruthenians [Ukrainians] (13,000), Germans (12,470) and English [Anglo-Celtic] (4,211).¹⁰ The figures showed that the English-speaking Catholics were in the minority and that the French were still the largest group, thus giving Rome adequate reason for naming a French bishop to the Regina see. Still, it was not the most auspicious beginning for Mathieu as bishop of Regina and it probably added to the reluctance he already felt about leaving his beloved Quebec and beginning anew in the prairies.

Bishop Mathieu's vision of higher education for western Canadian Catholics was clearly modeled on his experience as rector of Laval University. He envisaged a single Catholic university for all of western Canada; a university like Laval which would be fed by a system of smaller classical colleges throughout the western provinces. The Quebec *collèges classiques*, developed by the Jesuits, provided an eight-year program, roughly equivalent to high school and bachelor of arts studies combined. Students would enter the college at about 12 or 13 years of age and, after receiving a bachelor's

⁹R. Huel, "The Irish French Conflict in Catholic Episcopal Nominations: The Western Sees and the Struggle for Domination Within the Church," Canadian Catholic Historical Association. *Study Sessions* 42 (1975), pp. 51-70.

¹⁰L.-P.-A. Langevin, o.m.i., *Mémoire confidentiel sur la situation religieuse et statistiques de la population catholique de l'Archidiocèse de Saint-Boniface* (Saint-Boniface: n.p., May 18, 1911), p.32, in Huel, "Irish-French," p. 55.

degree at the end of the college program, those planning to study medicine, law or theology would proceed to more advanced work at the university.¹¹ Mathieu felt that such a system would be well suited to the needs of Catholics in the prairie provinces. The establishment of several classical colleges would be his first step, with a Catholic university to be established some years later, as had been the case with Laval.

Another interesting feature of Mathieu's idea was that it was to be multicultural and multilingual in nature.¹² Because he felt so strongly about the connection between language and religion, and that it was all important that children learn their faith in their mother tongue, he gave support to this ideal for other European Catholics who had migrated to Saskatchewan as well. The largest of these groups of Catholics were the Ukrainians and the Germans, and Mathieu hoped eventually to found Catholic educational institutions in various Saskatchewan centres to provide for these ethnic groups. Such respect for the language of others would serve to bolster French claims to their own language rights in return. First of all, however, he intended to found French and English classical colleges which would eventually become the foundation for a Catholic university for western Canada.

It is not clear whether this proposed university would be English, French or bilingual. Certainly Mathieu was not in favour of bilingual classical colleges and, when he did found Collège Catholique (later renamed Collège Mathieu) in Gravelbourg for the French students, he deliberately placed it far away from Regina and the English influences there. In his journal, regarding the two colleges, he stated:

Ce collège anglais s'ouvre à Regina. En même temps s'ouvrira à Gravelbourg un collège pour nos enfants français. Ainsi on n'aura pas ici ces collèges pour nos enfants français. Ainsi on n'aura pas ici ces collèges appelés bilingues dans les quels la paix ne peut régner. Puis nos enfants d'origine

¹¹L.-P. Audet et G. Armand, *Le Système Scolaire du Québec: Organisation et Fonctionnement* (Montréal: Librairie Beauchemin, 1969), p.57.

¹²See more re this multicultural vision in: R. Huel, "French-Speaking Bishops and the Cultural Mosaic in Western Canada," in R. Allen, ed. *Religion and Society in the Prairie West* (Regina: Canadian Plains Research Centre, 1974), pp. 53-64.

française apprendront la langue de leurs parents qui leur aidera à garder leur foi et à mieux pratiquer leur religion. Avec un seul collège dans l'archidiocèse et avec ce collège placé à Regina, ces enfants en seraient sortis après leur cours d'étude, ne sachant et ne parlant que l'anglais.¹³

At any rate, there was definitely no room in Mathieu's vision of Catholic higher education for the non-Catholic English-language provincial university in Saskatoon.

The third of these four men, Walter C. Murray, was born in 1866 in King's County, New Brunswick, studied at New Brunswick and Edinburgh Universities and, prior to his move to Saskatchewan, had taught philosophy at Dalhousie University in Halifax for 16 years. His particular interest was the philosophy of education and over the years he had become well-versed in the advantages and drawbacks of the system of higher education in the Maritimes. In 1908 Murray was named president of the newly founded University of Saskatchewan and it was he who oversaw the many fundamental decisions which were made in the early days and which gave the university its unique character. One decision not made by Murray, and about which he was initially very unhappy, was the site of the new university. He felt very strongly that the provincial university should be in the same city as the seat of government and he was disappointed that the decision went in favor of situating it in Saskatoon. Otherwise, the university was very much a product of Murray's personal vision. He wanted it to be a university which would have a strong community service component in addition to the traditional emphases on teaching and research, a university which would have a college of agriculture to serve the needs of the farmers of the province, a university which would operate free from government control and partisan political pressures.

¹³O.-E. Mathieu Journal Sept. 5, 1918, p.215. SABR, Microfilm R2.476. Original in Archives du séminaire de Québec, manuscript 864.

"An English college in Regina is to be established. At the same time a college will be established in Gravelbourg for French children. Thus there will not be a college for French children here. There will not be those bilingual colleges here in which peace cannot be maintained. Our French children will learn the language of their parents which will assist them to preserve their faith and practice their religion well. If there was only one college in the archdiocese and that college situated in Regina, the children would leave there after their course of study knowing and speaking only English."

and a university which would have a monopoly in the province over the power to grant degrees. He also wanted denominational colleges to be affiliated with the university rather than competing with it for students and dollars.¹⁴

The University Act, passed by the Saskatchewan Legislature in 1907, had been based partly on an earlier Act legislated by the Territorial government in 1903. One important clause which survived the transition was the provision of a degree-granting monopoly for the university.¹⁵ The new president was in full agreement with this policy, as it would prevent the proliferation of independent degree-granting institutions, such as had occurred in the Maritimes. Murray was a Presbyterian, and his religious belief played a strong role in his life; indeed, he later played an active part in the union of Presbyterians, Methodists and Congregationalists which resulted in the formation of the United Church of Canada. In a 1913 letter to W.P. Reekie of the Board of Education of the Baptist Union of Western Canada, Murray presented his views on the role of the Churches within the university:

I strongly hold that it is in the best interests of the State that the influences of the State University should be distinctly and decisively Christian. The State University cannot do the best work for the State without the co-operation of the denominations, and therefore it is the duty of each denomination to take part in this work. A Church cannot do the best work for the State by establishing a separate institution unless it undertakes to provide in that institution all the professional schools, Medical, Law, Agrigultural, Engineering, Education, etc. This is out of the question. I believe that it is the duty of the members of the Churches as citizens to throw themselves heartily into the work of making the State University an effective agent in promoting the best interests of its people.¹⁶

Murray's personal religious faith, coupled with his desire for a strong provincial university, motivated his efforts to bring Protestant theological colleges into affiliation with the university.

¹⁴M. Hayden, *Seeking a Balance: University of Saskatchewan, 1907-1982* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 1983), Ch. 1 and 2.

¹⁵*Ibid.*, p.8

¹⁶W. Murray to Reekie, Dec.29, 1913. AUS. J.E. Murray Collection E.II.C.1.

As for the Catholics, Murray was anxious to draw them to the university as well. Even after the university was established and classes began in 1909, many Catholic students continued to leave Saskatchewan for their post-secondary education; Murray hoped to discourage this practice by providing acceptable opportunities for them in their home province. In 1910-11, there were 108 students at the university, 2 of whom were Roman Catholic; by 1914-15, the proportion of Roman Catholics was 3%, and by 1916-1917, the number of Roman Catholic students had risen to 5% of the total student population. The last year in which such statistics were recorded was 1926-1927, by which time the number of Catholic students was 7%.¹⁷ Though the percentage of Catholics within the student population increased during the period, it was still well below the 20-25% of the Saskatchewan population which was Catholic. If Catholics could be persuaded to attend the University of Saskatchewan in numbers relative to their proportion of the population, they would help to strengthen the university and discourage challenges to its degree-granting power.

The English-speaking Catholics of Saskatoon and area were in full agreement with President Murray on this issue. Indeed, if it had been dependent upon the Saskatoon Catholic community and President Murray alone, a Catholic college affiliated with the University might well have been established prior to the Great War. It was not that simple, however, as J.J. Leddy, spokesman for the group of Saskatoon Catholic laymen which first requested a college in 1913, was to discover.

John Joseph Leddy, commonly known as "J.J. Leddy," was a Catholic of Irish descent, born in Lindsay, Ontario. He had been a school teacher and principal in Ottawa, but turned from teaching to real estate and came west with his young family in 1912 to work for land speculator Frank Cahill. A year or so after his arrival, when Saskatoon's "boom" turned to "bust" in 1913 and Frank Cahill's fortunes took a sudden

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, p.61.

drop, Leddy went into the life insurance business. Leddy and his wife Theresa (née Dwyer) eventually had a family of eight children and both became active in many areas of the Saskatoon Catholic community. Theresa Leddy had also been a school teacher before her marriage and she shared her husband's concerns about the kinds of educational opportunities that would be available for their children in their new home in the West.

Though J.J. Leddy's name was the most prominent with regard to the Catholic college project, he represented a number of Saskatoon Catholics involved in this concern. There is no doubt that without Leddy's activism in the community, however, the development of this project in particular and of the Catholic Church in the Saskatoon area in general would have been much different. It is perhaps helpful to think of J.J. Leddy and the group of Catholic men who became his cohorts as "Catholic boosters," and to visualize their activity and rhetoric in terms of their desire to "boom" their town through the development of Catholic institutions.

On his arrival in Saskatoon, Leddy had been "delighted by the breezy, dynamic spirit of the West, contrasting it with the staid civil service atmosphere of Ottawa."¹⁸ He had left Ottawa at a time when French and Irish Catholics were in deep confrontation over Regulation XVII and the bilingual schools issue. Though no confirming documentation has been found, there is some indication that Leddy was directly involved in the controversy in some way, or at any rate expressed strong views against French language rights in the separate schools.¹⁹ Some years later Leddy referred to the Ottawa controversy in a letter to Canadian Senator Charles Murphy²⁰ in this way: "The opposition to me by the French started in Ottawa when I was doing what

¹⁸J. Francis Leddy, "Growing Up in Saskatoon, 1913-1919," p.1. STMA. Leddy file.

¹⁹Emmet Hall interview, Nov. 26, 1985.

²⁰Hon. Charles Murphy, lawyer, Liberal member of parliament (1908-1925) for Russell, Ont.; Irish Catholic representative in Cabinet; Secretary of State (1908-1911), Postmaster General (1921-1926); Member of Canadian Senate (1925-1935).

I could to resist their interference with our schools there. This opposition naturally developed when I found the same nationalistic influence in the ascendant when I came here [Saskatoon] in 1912."²¹ Clearly, Leddy brought strong anti-French sentiments west with him.

J. J. Leddy was a strong, outspoken supporter of all things Catholic, and not long after his arrival in the West, he became involved in numerous activities within the Church as well as in the larger community. He was one of a number of Ontario-born Irish Catholics of Saskatoon who were frustrated to find that the Catholic Church was entirely in the hands of the French in the Prairie West at that time. Recalling the antagonism between French and English in Ontario, they felt that their concerns would not be given due consideration by the French Catholic hierarchy. In a memoir of life in Saskatoon during his childhood years, J. Francis Leddy (J.J. Leddy's son) recalled some of the other pioneers, especially "a small contingent of Irish ancestry, with whom my father was often involved. I can recall only one of tranquil temperament and mild opinion! They certainly added to the liveliness of frequent controversy and debate, on local religious and political questions."²² This "small contingent" undoubtedly included many of those who joined J.J. Leddy in working for a Catholic college for Saskatoon.

J.J. Leddy was also involved in the Knights of Columbus, an organization of Catholic laymen which had local branches throughout the United States and Canada and which most likely provided the forum for the first discussions about a Catholic college for Saskatoon. Most, if not all, of the laymen who became involved in working for a Catholic college were members of this organization. Leddy organized the Knights of Columbus Army Huts project during the First World War and was named Supreme Director of the North American Knights of Columbus for the year 1919.²³ In addition,

²¹ J.J. Leddy to C. Murphy April 25, 1934. PAC. Murphy papers, MG.27.III.B8, 6830.

²² J.F. Leddy, "Saskatoon," p.2.

²³ W. Argan, *Knights of Columbus in Saskatchewan 1907-1982* (Regina: 1982), p.34.

he was for a time a member of the Separate School Board in Saskatoon, was active in the Conservative Party in Saskatchewan for many years and in 1931, campaigned (unsuccessfully) to obtain a seat in the Canadian Senate.²⁴ Throughout his years in Saskatchewan he was what would be called a "go-getter"; he was confident, energetic, outspoken, clever and articulate in his speech and writing, and unceasing in his efforts to further the "progress" of the members of his religious denomination, ethnic group, political party, business interests and family. In a sense, J.J. Leddy seems to have epitomized the stereotypical image of Irish Catholics held by the French, and his strongly expressed opinions often brought the two groups into conflict over one thing or another.

The English-speaking Catholic laity of Saskatoon had looked on with interest at the activity involving the university: the long controversy over the location and the eventual selection of Saskatoon as the home of the institution, the choice of the south side of the riverbank as the site for the campus and the commencement of construction on the first university buildings in 1910. They saw a fine educational institution developing, to which they hoped to send their young people for further study after high school. Both French and English-speaking Catholics were reluctant to make use of the university, however, because of the perceived danger to the faith and morals of Catholic young people attending secular institutions; in their view, the term "secular" was synonymous with "Protestant" or "atheist." Detailed information is not available as to how many university students from the West attended Catholic universities in eastern Canada or elsewhere and how many Catholics did not go on to university at all because Church-approved Catholic higher education was not available close to home. There was a general impression, certainly on the part of Walter Murray, that many more Catholics would attend the provincial university if there was a Catholic college

²⁴I. McEwan, "Religious and Racial Influences on a Senate Appointment, 1931," *Sask. History* XXV (1972), pp. 18-34.

for them, and that the small proportion of Catholics attending the university would not change until some provision was made for their needs.²⁵

The Saskatoon English-speaking Catholics' vision of Catholic higher education fell somewhere between that of Archbishop Mathieu and that of President Murray. The Saskatoon lay people felt that, though a Catholic university would certainly be the ideal, it would not be economically possible for quite some time, if ever. It seemed foolish to deprive Catholic young people of higher education until such an institution could be established in the West, particularly when there was a tax-supported university right in their own back yard. The main ideological difficulties for Catholics regarding this local university involved courses such as philosophy and history, and the general secular atmosphere of the university itself. If some university classes could be taught from a Catholic perspective, and a centre provided where Catholic students could gather and meet other Catholic young people, under the guidance of a chaplain, then attendance at the provincial institution in Saskatoon would be acceptable and desirable.

Shortly after the war ended in 1918, the Saskatoon laymen's group once again took up the 1913 idea of obtaining a Catholic college for Saskatoon. They were spurred on by the discovery that Archbishop Mathieu was in the process of establishing two classical colleges in the Regina Archdiocese: *Campion*, to be run by the Jesuits for English-speaking students in Regina, and *Collège Catholique* in Gravelbourg to be operated by secular priests (and later taken over by the Oblates) for French-speaking students.

The Saskatoon Catholics were extremely anxious to see some action in their own city which, after all, was the site of the provincial university. Indeed, at one point in November 1918, J.J. Leddy travelled to Regina to approach the Jesuits with a request

²⁵Hayden, *Seeking*, p.170.

that they move the Campion college project to Saskatoon -- a request Fr. Z.J. McMahon, S.J., principal of Campion College, refused. McMahon mentioned the Saskatoon request in a letter on the topic of the proposed fund-raising campaign for Campion:

The K.C. drive for the College is an assured thing. The only question now is whether it is to be confined to the diocese or to take in the Province. You see the Saskatoon people want the College there. In fact I have been formally asked to leave Regina and locate there. I answered of course that we would not think of leaving Regina unless we were not supported there. The northern half of the Province therefore may hold back. Even so a drive confined to the diocese would mean much.²⁶

The Saskatoon English-speaking Catholics led by J.J. Leddy, most if not all of whom were members of the Knights of Columbus organization, were distressed by Mathieu's plans to establish a classical college in Regina and by the Regina KCs' proposed province-wide fundraising campaign in support of it. The Saskatoon people had hoped either to rejuvenate their own college project which had lain dormant for five years, or perhaps, if there was to be only one college in the province for English-speaking Catholics, to have it located in Saskatoon, near the provincial university. Mathieu's plans for the southern part of the province had served to rekindle the booster spirit of the Saskatoon group. What had begun as a debate between French and Irish Catholics about the best means of providing for the educational needs of Catholics in Saskatchewan very quickly acquired the added emotionalism of territorial rivalry between the Catholic boosters of Regina and Saskatoon.

Having failed in their attempt to appropriate the Campion project, the Saskatoon group decided to try a different approach. They already had President Murray's support for a Catholic college at the university; what they needed now was Church approval, and more specifically, the right to engage in fundraising within the Catholic community, authorization for which could only be obtained from their bishop.

²⁶ McMahon to Daly, Feb. 2, 1919. RAA. Photocopy in STMA, RG 100.2.3. Also: A. deVaik, "Independent University or Federated College: The Debate Among Roman Catholics During the Years 1918-1921," *Sask. History* 30 (1977), p.25.

With regard to receiving leadership from their own bishop, however, the Saskatoon laymen's group saw a situation which did not look very promising. Bishop Pascal was 71 years of age and had been in failing health for some time.²⁷ He was due to leave on his *ad limina* visit to the Pope in March, 1919, and following his stay in Rome, he planned to travel to his birthplace in France for rest and medical treatment. There was a general feeling in the Prince Albert diocese that he would never be well enough to return to Saskatchewan; it thus became important to the Saskatoon laity that they convince Pascal to issue some sort of statement in support of the college project before he left, giving them the authority to conduct a fund-raising drive within the diocese and allowing them to proceed with the project.

Before he left for Rome, Bishop Pascal did indeed make a statement in the form of a pastoral letter to be sent to all parishes in the diocese. There was much subsequent speculation that the letter had actually been written by Leddy and company and was merely signed by the bishop.²⁸ Pascal was certainly too ill to have taken on the initiative for the pastoral letter himself; also, it was written first in English and then translated into French, contrary to Pascal's usual practice. The letter even included a quotation from Bishop O'Dwyer of Limerick, Ireland on the need for well-educated Catholic leaders in the Church and in the world. These circumstances suggest that someone other than Pascal had written the letter, and subsequent actions by the Saskatoon group certainly gave strong credence to the suspicion that one of them, probably Leddy, was the real author of the document.

The pastoral letter described the need for good Christian higher education in the world today, particularly in light of the war just past; it briefly traced the history of Catholic universities in Europe and the concern the Church has always had in the field

²⁷Saskatoon *Daily Star*, June 21, 1918.

²⁸J.F. Leddy, "A Salute to St. Thomas More College," p.2. STMA. Leddy file; McMahon to Daly, May 5, 1919. RAA. Photocopy in STMA, RG100.2.3.

of education. The letter then went on to describe the situation in Canada and in particular in the West, where Catholics were underrepresented in the Canadian Parliament, the Provincial Legislature, the Judiciary, and the legal profession. It also pointed out that there was only one Catholic professor at the university out of thirty faculty members, and that there were few Catholic school inspectors and no Catholic teachers on the provincial normal school staffs. Catholics, it said, had been satisfied to be "hewers of wood and drawers of water;" they had "tilled the soil and built the railways," but had "neglected higher education."

Of particular significance is the manner in which the pastoral letter emphasized the need for educated Catholics to fulfill the Church's providential mission:

If we want the Church to wield influence in this country, if we want her to exercise her educative force, if we want her to fulfill her mission in society, we need men with intellectual power and genius for leadership. We need big minds to master big problems, to give inspiration and direction to their fellow-men; and the means to power, the means to influence, and the means to leadership is higher education.²⁹

In terms of providentialism, the pastoral letter articulated a sense of mission which was much closer to the Irish Catholic view, in which Catholics were called to spread the faith through participation in the larger society, than to that of the French, which was concerned with isolating the French Catholic community from the dangers to the faith posed by contact with the larger secular society.

The letter went on to describe two kinds of institutions in which higher education could be provided for Catholics in the Prince Albert diocese—a separate independent Catholic college or a Catholic college in affiliation with the provincial university. It pointed out the advantages and disadvantages of each and concluded that the only practical solution was the second of the two. A Catholic college affiliated with the university would also be preferable because "association of the Catholic students, under guidance and supervision, with non-Catholic students would tend to remove

²⁹Pascal, "Pastoral Letter," March 19, 1919. PADA. Photocopy in STMA RG100.2.3.

suspicion, bigotry and misunderstanding, and thereby open up larger avenues of success to our Catholic students."³⁰

The pastoral letter was dated March 19, 1919, the feast of St. Joseph, and was submitted by the bishop to his vicar-general, Abbot Bruno Doerfler of St. Peter's Abbey at Muenster, with instructions that it be printed and distributed to each parish in the diocese, and read from the pulpit the following Sunday. Pascal began his journey east on March 24th, stopping overnight in Saskatoon and then heading for St. Boniface to visit Archbishop Arthur Beliveau before continuing on to Montreal. Either by chance or, as Archbishop Mathieu later wrote in his journal, by Divine Providence, Pascal crossed paths with Mathieu, who was also in St. Boniface at that time.³¹

It is not clear whether Pascal was aware before he began his journey that he might be seeing Mathieu. Pascal had written to him on March 18th to inform him that, at a meeting with his advisory council held on March 4th, the decision was made to found a Catholic college in the Prince Albert diocese and to issue a pastoral letter to establish a fundraising campaign for the project: "We have chosen Saskatoon as the site in order to affiliate with the university. It is all that we are able to do with our limited means."³² Pascal went on to say that the pastoral was being printed at the present time in English and would be available soon in French. He further outlined his hopes for the project:

[It] will give our young people the opportunity to receive an education and take their place in society, without which we will always be at the mercy of our enemies. My only fear is the possibility of opposition from the French Canadians of our "Patriote."³³ In that case I will be obliged to take strong action.³⁴

³⁰ *Ibid.*

³¹ O.-E. Mathieu Journal, March, 1919. SABR. Microfilm.

³² Pascal to Mathieu, March 18, 1919. RAA. Photocopy in STMA, RG 100.2.3.

³³ *Le Patriote*, the French Catholic weekly newspaper published in Prince Albert.

³⁴ Pascal to Mathieu, March 18, 1919. RAA. Photocopy in STMA, RG100.2.3.

The confidential circular to the clergy which accompanied the pastoral letter also had an authoritative tone with regard to the college project:

Writing to priests who should have at heart the welfare of souls and the influence of the Church upon Society, we need not insist upon the seriousness of this subject. It is a duty, we may say even a duty of conscience, for all the priests and for the two Catholic newspapers of this diocese to do everything in their power that will contribute to the success of this great enterprise, and we would consider any negligence, and especially any opposition, as an act of grave insubordination against our authority.³⁵

Pascal's firm stand was shaken, however, when he left his own territory and found himself among his fellow French-speaking bishops.

In St. Boniface, where Mathieu and Pascal met, probably on March 25th, Pascal showed Mathieu a copy of the pastoral letter. Mathieu's reaction was immediate and scathing and he urged Pascal to cancel the pastoral letter immediately. The Prince Albert bishop reluctantly acceded to Mathieu's demand, but he tried to leave the door open for further action on the matter. He sent the following telegram to Abbot Bruno Doerfler:

Matter dealt with in my circular of 19th instant of such importance that I think it advisable not to proceed to its publication before you hear from me. Phone to Prince Albert instructing secretary not to forward circular to clergy and take steps to prevent its publication if copies have been sent out. In the meantime committee of priests could come together to discuss best means to raise funds in case I judge it advisable to go forward later on.³⁶

After sending the telegram, Pascal resumed his journey to Montreal, from where he was to sail for Europe on April 8th. Mathieu returned to Regina, where he hastened to block the project outlined in the pastoral letter. He apparently wrote to Abbot Doerfler, the administrator of the diocese in Pascal's absence, on March 27, with a strongly worded request that the abbot report on his actions and travel to Regina as soon as possible to discuss the matter of the pastoral letter and the proposed college

³⁵A. Pascal, Confidential Circular to Clergy, March 19, 1919. PADA.

³⁶Pascal to Doerfler, Handwritten note for telegram, stationery of St. Boniface Archdiocese, n.d. RAA. Photocopy in STMA, RG100.2.3.

project. Doerfler's reply of March 29 explained that the recall of the pastoral letter had not been entirely successful:

Returning home after an absence of one day, I find your favor of the 27th instant awaiting me, and I shall be most happy to avail myself of the kind invitation to visit you at an early date to discuss the telegram sent me by His Lordship, Msgr. Pascal. . . . Unfortunately, Msgr. Pascal's telegram reached me too late to prevent the publication of the Pastoral Letter in *Le Patriote* and in *St. Peter's Bote* this week. I succeeded, however, in preventing the sending out of the circulars containing the letter.³⁷

Doerfler regarded Mathieu's main objection to the project to be the matter of affiliation of the proposed college with the university:

I think that Your Grace will agree with me concerning the crying need of an institution such as Msgr. Pascal had in mind for safeguarding the faith and morals of the young men who are obliged to attend the state institutions in Saskatoon, barring, of course, the question of affiliation. Such an institution would be, leaving out the question of affiliation, entirely in conformity with the desire of the Plenary Council of Quebec.

Hence, whilst I shall consider it my duty to prevent any steps towards affiliation whilst I am administrator of the diocese, I shall feel it incumbent on me to encourage the gathering of funds necessary to make provision for the welfare of our Catholic boys at the Collegiate, Normal, and University in Saskatoon.³⁸

In his March 31 reply to Doerfler, Mathieu wrote that he had no objection to affiliation, as such. He did object, however, to Catholic colleges being located in the immediate vicinity of state universities, as he considered such physical proximity to secular institutions to be a threat to the faith and morals of Catholic young people. His view was that Catholics should attend only totally Catholic educational institutions:

Let's found Catholic colleges, try to affiliate them with the university as St. Boniface College is affiliated with the university of Manitoba and let's give our children Catholic teachers, Catholic instruction, Catholic atmosphere. . . . Later, when our successors can see to the provision of university instruction given by

³⁷Doerfler to Mathieu, March 29, 1919. RAA. Photocopy in STMA, RG100.2.3.

³⁸*Ibid.* Note: Discussions about Catholic higher education in Saskatchewan during these years spoke of "young men" and "boys" only. The classical colleges established by Mathieu were to be strictly boys' schools; the girls were to attend the local high schools or the various Catholic convents in the province and there was no mention of providing post-secondary education, other than teacher training, for female students.

Catholic professors, they will found a university. Then we will have all we can and ought to wish for, in order to safeguard our dear children.³⁹

The argument reflected the basic difference of opinion between French and Irish/English-speaking Catholics about the nature of Catholic education; that is, whether Catholic students would receive the best Catholic education in an isolated situation, or whether they would be able to withstand the threats to their faith and morals in a secular institution if some provision were made for specific subjects to be taught with a Catholic orientation. It was much too soon for consideration of the idea that it might even be preferable for Catholic students to attend a "mixed" institution of Catholics and Protestants; when Pascal's letter had introduced this idea, it was greeted with horror by Archbishop Mathieu.

Mathieu's reaction stemmed partly from what he perceived to be a serious flaw in the pastoral letter's reasoning, which he felt would cause difficulty in future for the whole Catholic community. Of particular concern was the following passage in the pastoral letter: "Association of the Catholic students, under guidance and supervision, with non-Catholic students, would tend to remove suspicion, bigotry and misunderstanding, and thereby open up larger avenues of success to our Catholic students."⁴⁰ Mathieu found this statement to be "dangerous" and presented his objections in the letter to Doerfler, as well as in letters to Archbishop E.-J. Legal of Edmonton, Bishop F.-X. Cloutier of Trois-Rivières and Cardinal de Lai in Rome, using almost identical wording in each letter, and pointing out that this same argument had been used by those who were opposed to separate schools in Saskatchewan:

Bishop Pascal then announced that . . . it is necessary that our Catholic children mingle with protestant children, breathe the same air and imbibe the same ideas in order to remove "suspicion, bigotry and misunderstanding"!

³⁹Mathieu to Doerfler, March 31, 1919. RAA, Photocopy in STMA, RG100.2.3.

⁴⁰A. Pascal, omi, *Lettres et Circulaires 1891-1920*, March 19, 1919, p.299. PADA.

Then why do we have separate schools? That passage gives them a death-blow and the idea expressed by Bishop Pascal would serve to threaten their existence in the coming years.⁴¹

Pascal's pastoral letter had conceded that a separate Catholic university would be the ideal solution for the higher education of Catholic students, but that this was really an impossibility for practical reasons. The expense of duplicating programs, particularly in the sciences and professional colleges, would make such a separate institution financially infeasible. Indeed, the taxes of Catholics were already going towards the support of the provincial university. Since the pastoral had admitted that an affiliated college would be a compromise, however, the way was left open for Mathieu to step in with his own solution. There was really no need, according to Mathieu, to settle for second best, particularly as he had made a good start on the Catholic university plan through the establishment of classical colleges in Regina and Gravelbourg. The founding of a separate, independent Catholic university for all the West did not seem to be impossible to him, since such a university had been successfully achieved in Quebec already. What *would* make it impossible would be the diversion of resources to other projects, such as that suggested for Saskatoon. Mathieu was also certain that the pastoral letter had not been written by Pascal. At first he thought it must have been composed by Abbot Doerfler, but later he began to suspect that it had been ghostwritten by the Saskatoon Irish Catholic laymen and this only added to his fury about the whole affair.

Whatever their part in the writing of the pastoral letter, there is no doubt that the Saskatoon laymen were involved in the venture. On learning of Mathieu's action and Pascal's withdrawal of the pastoral letter, they made a last attempt to salvage the project. They sent a lengthy telegram to Montreal on April 1st, in the hopes of reaching Pascal before his departure for Europe on April 8th. The wire was signed by

⁴¹Mathieu to Doerfler, March 31, 1919; to Legal, March 28, 1919; to Cloutier, March 28, 1919; to de Lai, April 11, 1919. RAA. Photocopies in STMA, RG100.2.3.

J.J. Leddy and four others, and urged Pascal to hold firm in his resolve regarding the college project:

Appeal of your Lordship on Catholic Higher Education as reported by the Catholic press has produced immense enthusiasm throughout your Diocese. Large individual subscriptions have already been voluntarily tendered and the work of organization begun in some districts. Conditions are most favorable for successful campaign. Safeguards guaranteed under scheme of affiliation particularly appealing to parents who feel they must take advantage university training. Delay under these circumstances would discourage everyone and possibly kill project entirely. Arguments advanced in pastoral are unanswerable. Success of Catholic Colleges already existing independently cannot be endangered by movement to protect faith and morals Catholic students at State University. Catholics are already there and will continue to come in ever increasing numbers. This is inevitable. Fearing dangers of delay we respectfully request that your Lordship reconsider this matter before leaving. If that be impossible refer same to administrator [Abbot Doerfler] for decision.

Signed: J.A. Macdonald, B.D. Macdonald, T.M. Creighton, T. Smithwick, J.J. Leddy.
On Behalf Catholic Laity Saskatoon.⁴²

The telegram reveals the sense of desperation which must have been felt by the "Saskatoon Five" when they were informed of the demise of the pastoral letter. The request that Pascal "reconsider this matter before leaving . . . [or] refer same to administrator for decision" indicates that this represented a "last ditch effort" to save the project.

Leddy himself travelled to Toronto later that week, as a letter was sent to him there from Fr. Alphonse Jan, the pastor of St. Paul's Church in Saskatoon. Jan's letter, dated April 7th, suggested that while he was in Toronto Leddy should try to meet with Fr. Alfred Edmund Burke, Director of the Catholic Extension Society, or Archbishop of Toronto, Neil McNeil, to obtain information about the federation between St. Michael's College and the University of Toronto. Jan mentioned that he had himself written to Fr. Henry Carr, member of the Basilian Congregation and Principal of St. Michael's College, requesting similar information. He also stated: "Even if we have failed temporarily, we must not get discouraged, and it would help us no doubt to know what has been done

⁴²Draft of Telegram, April 1, 1919. STMA, RG100.2.3.

elsewhere and to know whether the affiliation with a secular university works. Find out also if possible how they view the question down East."⁴³

Meanwhile, the controversial pastoral letter had been published in French in *Le Patriote* and in English in *St. Peter's Bote*, the two Catholic newspapers in Saskatchewan. As Pascal's telegram had instructed, however, it was neither circulated to the clergy nor read from the pulpit. The text was also published in the *Toronto Register* and the *Winnipeg North west Review*, two English Catholic newspapers, and the latter also published an interview with Fr. Jan about the proposed college in its April 5th issue.⁴⁴ There was some mystery and a great deal of speculation as to who had leaked the text of the pastoral letter to these English language newspapers and it seemed most likely that the Saskatoon Catholic group had done so.

An editorial in the April 26th issue of the *North west Review* discussed both the Catholic university idea and the affiliated college proposal, and concluded that, though both had merit, a commitment to one or the other must be made by the Catholic community:

It is of the utmost importance that when a start is made, unanimity should prevail and the whole weight of Catholic influence and endeavor [be] thrown behind the movement. For this reason the opinion of the laity should be canvassed in advance. Any educational institution has a large business side which cannot be ignored and the views of practical, hard-headed business men at this juncture could not but be of the greatest value. Past experience with racial problems should serve as a guide to the management of the proposed institution and go far towards eliminating any friction which might be feared.⁴⁵

Although the pastoral letter was not officially promulgated, some meetings were apparently held in the Saskatoon diocese to outline a fund-raising campaign for a Catholic college. Not much more could be done without additional authorization from Pascal, however, and the acting administrator, Abbot Doerfler, was not willing to take

⁴³Jan to Leddy, April 7, 1919. SDA, STM file. (No copies of correspondence between Jan and Carr were found in SDA or CSBA.)

⁴⁴de Valk, "Independent University," p.29.

⁴⁵*North west Review*, Apr. 26, 1919.

any action without it. Mathieu, for his part, had successfully blocked the Saskatoon project. In his April 11th letter to Cardinal de Lai in Rome, in which he asked the cardinal to speak to Pascal in order to dissuade him from taking further action, Mathieu did suggest a compromise solution which would "save the situation and prevent embarrassment for the bishop." This would involve the opening of a residence near the university, to be run by priests or religious, which would provide accommodation for Catholic students who were presently attending the normal school in Saskatoon. In Mathieu's opinion, however, the money would be better spent on the construction of a "truly Catholic college," in Prince Albert.⁴⁶ By this the archbishop seems to have meant a *collège classique*, to be established at some distance from the provincial university in Saskatoon.

To Archbishop Mathieu, the pastoral letter represented the Irish worldview and sense of mission, not that of the French. It spoke of higher education for Catholics as a means of their attaining power, influence and leadership, and it described the mingling of Catholics and non-Catholics as a means of promoting understanding. To Mathieu, these were dangerous ideas which, if implemented, would compromise the religious faith and diminish the ethnic identity of the French community. The rationale for the proposal, in company with what Mathieu regarded to be suspicious circumstances surrounding the writing of the pastoral letter, seemed to confirm Mathieu's negative opinion of Irish Catholics in general and those of Saskatoon in particular.

At this point, it would be useful to look briefly at Mathieu's views regarding the English-speaking Catholics, *les Irlandais*, as found in his journals written during the 1910s and 1920s. He complained that they lacked the "Catholic spirit," that they tended to voice their objections to Church and school matters too publicly, that their

⁴⁶Mathieu to deLai, April 11, 1919. RAA. Photocopy in STMA, RG100.2.3.

organizations such as the Knights of Columbus allowed only token involvement from the priest chaplain assigned to them, and that the KCs insisted on sponsoring dances, an activity which the bishop regarded as immoral. Most of all he deplored "la mentalité irlandais" and the attitude of the Irish towards the French:

C'est ici qu'on peut bien saisir la différence qui existe entre la mentalité française et la mentalité irlandais, ainsi que le manque de sympathie que les irlandais ont pour ceux qui ne sont pas de leur race et qui cependant les ont reçus à bras et à coeurs ouverts, lorsqu'ils étaient chassés de leur patrie. C'est leur manière à eux de témoigner leur reconnaissance!⁴⁷

Mathieu also deeply resented the fact that the Irish/Anglo-Celtic Catholics were agitating for more English-speaking priests and bishops now that the difficult missionary period was over and life in the Canadian West was easier; the French missionary priests and bishops had been in the West during the difficult times and the harvest was now to be reaped by the interlopers. Mathieu also complained that the Irish regarded education as a means to material prosperity rather than for the purpose of deepening their understanding and acquiring knowledge of their faith. He also mentioned several times that he was unable to understand the attitude of the Irish regarding the English language, the language of their enemy: "Je ne puis comprendre pourquoi nos chers frères irlandais tiennent tant à imposer à tous les autres la langue anglaise qui n'est pas la leur mais celle de leurs persécuteurs."⁴⁸ In his view, the Irish had failed to understand the need to preserve the language of their forefathers if they were to safeguard the Catholic faith. The Irish Catholics had apparently sold out to the English and were trying to promote the Anglicization of all the language groups in the

⁴⁷Mathieu Journal, March 1, 1915. p.114. SABR, Microfilm.

"It is here that one is able to know well the difference between the French mentality and the Irish mentality. The Irish show a lack of understanding and sympathy towards those not of their race, but who nevertheless received them with open arms and hearts when they were driven from their homeland. This is their way of expressing their gratitude!"

⁴⁸Mathieu Journal, 15 March, 1919. SABR, Microfilm. "I am unable to understand why our Irish brothers try so hard to impose the English language on everyone else, though it is not their own language, but that of their persecutors."

West.

In light of such attitudes regarding the Irish and their ways, it is understandable that Mathieu would have done all he could to block their plans for a college in Saskatoon. In addition, the Saskatoon Catholic laity had tried to make use of Pascal's episcopal power to further their plans and this was something Mathieu could not countenance; in what amounted to a power struggle within the Church, the Irish Catholics had resorted to tactics which Mathieu clearly viewed as underhanded. For their part, the Anglo-Celtic Catholics would have voiced a number of complaints about Mathieu and the French vision of higher education. With no Saskatchewan members of the hierarchy to represent the interests of their ethno-linguistic group, they felt it necessary to use whatever means they could to fulfill their goals for the Catholic people of the Saskatoon area.

The 1919 pastoral letter episode had no clearly defined conclusion. No further authorization was sent from Europe by Pascal, either as a result of his meetings in Rome or because of his ill health or some unknown reason, and a series of events which occurred during the next year left the Saskatoon college project suspended. In June, 1919, Abbot Doerfler suffered a heart attack and died a few days later, leaving the diocesan administration in some difficulty. A new administrator was appointed, but with the death of Bishop Pascal in France the next summer, a delay until June 1921 before a replacement was named, and the new bishop's absence from the diocese from shortly after his arrival, November 1921, until the summer of 1922, there was really no possibility of resuscitating the college project for quite some time.

At the University of Saskatchewan, Walter Murray had observed the 1919 activity with a great deal of interest. Discussions had been held between the Saskatoon laymen's group and President Murray prior to the preparation of the March 19th pastoral letter, and the matter was brought up at the University Council meeting April 7th, 1919:

The President reported on negotiations which had taken place leading to the establishment of a Roman Catholic College in affiliation with the University. On a motion by Professor Moxon, seconded by Professor Thompson, the council passed the following resolution:

Resolved that, when a Roman Catholic College is established in Saskatoon in affiliation with the University, classes in History and Philosophy conducted by competent instructors in that College be recognized for the degree of Bachelor of Arts and credit be given to students who attend such classes and pass the examinations, provided that the work done is substantially equivalent in quantity and quality to that of University classes.⁴⁹

Murray was familiar with the type of relationship that existed between St. Michael's College and the University of Toronto and had described this model to the University Senate the previous year, in his May 1918 report, as an alternative which would be preferable to the type of affiliation requested by Campion College:

In conversation [with Regina vicar-general G. Daly, CSsR, about Campion] I said that I believed that the arrangement between Toronto University and St. Michael's College in Toronto was working out quite satisfactorily, and that I thought a similar arrangement was quite possible here. . . . I also added that the University had set apart sites on the University Campus for affiliated colleges, and hoped that one of these would be established by the Catholic Church.⁵⁰

In his May 1919 Report to Convocation, Murray mentioned the proposed Catholic college for Saskatoon, perhaps using the opportunity to add his support to the Saskatoon group's position, or at the very least to have it placed on record, even though by that time the project was "on hold" as far as the Church was concerned:

The recent announcement of the decision of Bishop Pascal to establish in this diocese a Roman Catholic college in affiliation with the university holds out the prospect of the repetition in Saskatoon of that harmonious cooperation between St. Michael's College and the University of Toronto, which has yielded such happy and beneficial results to the cause of higher education and the establishment of a better understanding between men of differing creeds.⁵¹

President Murray was to become preoccupied with problems of his own in 1919, when a crisis of authority within the university resulted in the firing of four faculty

⁴⁹University Council Minutes, April 7, 1919. AUS.

⁵⁰W. Murray, Report to the Senate, May 1918. AUS.

⁵¹W. Murray, Address to Convocation, May 1919. AUS.

members. In July, Murray left for the Maritimes, suffering from exhaustion, and was not to return until January, 1920.⁵² The Catholic college issue was probably the farthest thing from his mind during that period; it was to return over the next few years, however, and the model of St. Michael's College would be mentioned more and more frequently as the most effective plan for bringing Catholic students to the University of Saskatchewan.

The 1919 pastoral letter incident brought to the surface some of the basic differences between the visions of the French and the Irish or Anglo-Celtic Catholics regarding their role within Saskatchewan social structures. Though initially the conflict was similar to past power struggles between French and Irish in eastern Canada, the two groups soon began to form other kinds of identifications and polarities within the Saskatchewan setting. These included the traditional territorial rivalry of Regina versus Saskatoon, as well as those of Church hierarchy versus laity, and the multicultural vision of the West supported by the French versus the Anglo-conformist model of prairie society advocated by the Irish. In addition to these was the antagonism which developed on a personal level between and among strong-willed individual men, each of whom was determined to have his own way and to win this particular battle.

⁵²Hayden, *Seeking*, pp.97-99.

CHAPTER THREE 1919-1926

Bishop Pascal's death in July, 1920, occurring just four months after the death of Archbishop Legal of Edmonton, again stirred up the competition between the Anglo-Celtic and French hierarchy for control of the western sees. By the early 1920s the French bishops were well aware that French influence within the Church in the West was threatened by changes in the demographic balance which had occurred during the previous two decades. Both Anglo-Celtic and French Catholics lobbied for the Vatican to name bishops from their particular ethno-linguistic groups for the two prairie dioceses. The English-speaking Catholics claimed that they were now in the majority in the West and that their spiritual needs were not being met by the French bishops. The French for their part argued that because "it was the French who had evangelized the West, they should not be dispossessed of their labours and heroic apostolate," and that in the overall population of Canada, though "the majority of faithful were French-speaking," most of the bishops were Irish.¹

With the death of Pascal, rumors abounded that the diocese of Prince Albert would be divided in two and an English-speaking bishop would now be named for Saskatoon. The appointments, not announced until 1921, did name an English-speaking archbishop to the Edmonton see, but appointed a French bishop for Prince Albert. Both groups of Catholics were unhappy about the appointments: the French saw the English appointment in Alberta as marking a decline in their role in the Church in Western Canada and the English-speaking Catholics, particularly those in Saskatoon, were disappointed at having to carry on under a French leader once again. Another change announced at this time was that the northern diocese was now to be called "Prince

¹R. Huel, "Irish French Conflict," p.65.

Albert and Saskatoon."²

The new French bishop named to replace Pascal was Joseph Henri Prud'homme, who was consecrated October 31, 1921 and arrived to take over the administration of the diocese on November 3, 1921. Not long after his arrival, he suffered what the Saskatoon *Daily Star* described as a nervous breakdown and spent the winter in Florida, not returning to Prince Albert until the end of June, 1922. Because of all these events, the decision-making process in the diocese of Prince Albert and Saskatoon was virtually suspended for the three-year period from March 1919 until the summer of 1922.³

Joseph-Henri Prud'homme was born in St. Boniface in September 1882. His father had been a judge and his family is described as having been "well-known and influential in Manitoba."⁴ He had studied in St. Boniface and Montreal prior to his ordination to the priesthood in 1904, following which he studied canon law in Rome and completed his doctorate in 1908. During his time in Europe, he had spent his summers in Germany learning the German language, which was a real asset in his years as a bishop in Saskatchewan, as he was able to communicate with the large number of German Catholics in their mother tongue. At the time of his appointment as bishop of Prince Albert and Saskatoon, he was the chancellor of the Archdiocese of St. Boniface.⁵

Prud'homme made his first official episcopal visit to Saskatoon in November, 1921 and was immediately perceived to be quite a different man from the humble missionary bishop who had preceded him. In a memoir of this period in Saskatoon, J. Francis Leddy recalled his first impressions of the new bishop:

[Prud'homme] enjoyed the full panoply of ecclesiastical garb and ceremony, and his first appearance in St. Paul's Church, which I witnessed, somewhat startled the parishioners who had not previously seen a bishop with an ermine cape, red socks, red shoes with silver buckles, and an inordinately

²D. Robertson, *Sword of St. Paul*, p.16.

³ *Ibid.*, p.17.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p.16.

⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 16-17.

long train, which trappings were little favoured by the older missionary bishops, and which have long since passed out of use in the Church today.⁶

Prud'homme's administrative style was also found to be much different from that of his predecessor, as Leddy recalled:

[He] was generally concerned about the maintenance of appropriate clerical authority, and when complaints on any subject reached his ears he was unduly sensitive and disposed to suspect some hidden criticism or want of respect of himself. He shared the disappointment of Archbishop Mathieu in observing the steady decline in the number of French speaking Bishops in Western Canada and the transfer of many Dioceses to English speaking prelates, and in due course he became most indignant about any criticism which seemed, however indirectly, to be a reflection on French speaking members of the clergy.⁷

No more was heard publicly on the matter of a Catholic college for Saskatoon for seven years following the 1919 pastoral letter fiasco. During the early 1920s the Saskatoon Catholics tried several times to obtain approval from the new bishop for a Catholic college at the university, but with no success. Prud'homme geared his opinions and actions to those of Mathieu, so the Saskatoon group found themselves up against not one but two brick walls on this matter. In a letter to Archbishop Mathieu dated May 31, 1924, Prud'homme complained that ever since his arrival he had been subjected to "un véritable siège de la part des catholiques de Saskatoon."⁸ He stated that the Saskatoon group wished to revive the "old project" of a college, but assured Mathieu that he had held firm and that he planned to redirect the Saskatoon group's efforts towards establishing a residence or "Newman Hall" for students at the university. As a result, he felt certain that the idea of a college had now been abandoned. Prud'homme also stated that he intended to address the problem from another angle, in what today would be regarded as a form of "sacramental blackmail":

Our priests will dissuade parents from sending their children to the university

⁶J.F. Leddy, "The Two Anniversaries: A Personal View," Address delivered at St. Thomas More College, 22 May, 1976, p.13. STMA, Leddy file.

⁷*Ibid.*

⁸Prud'homme to Mathieu, May 31, 1924 (en français). RAA. Photocopy in STMA, RG100.2.2.

for their classical training; and make them understand the dangers at the university, . . . insisting that unless the authorization of the Bishop was obtained, they will be committing serious sin if they send their children to the university in preference to our classical colleges. . . . By our exhortations and threats we are going to stem a rising current, and curtail the damage be establishing a Newman Hall or residence. It is not the question of a college. I have always fought that project in the past and shall oppose it to the end. The Newman Hall idea will put an end to the idea of a *collège classique* near the university.⁹

The use of the term *collège classique* in correspondence between Prud'homme and Mathieu indicates a basic misunderstanding by the two French bishops of the kind of college proposed by the Saskatoon group. Though the French and English-speaking Catholics both used the term "college," to each group it had a different meaning, as is apparent in Mathieu's reply to Prud'homme, as well as in correspondence between Mathieu and President Murray. Mathieu speaks of "les enfants" or "children" being sent to a secular university; in his mind, they would probably be boys as young as 12-13 years old, the normal age for commencing the classical college programme, rather than the 16-17 year olds who would normally begin university studies after completing the grade 11 or grade 12 entrance requirements for admittance to the university.

This semantic problem was one source of the disagreement over the establishment of a Catholic college at the university in Saskatoon and very likely had also been a factor in Mathieu's negative response to the 1919 pastoral letter. Mathieu associated the college project very closely with the separate school question because in his mind a *college* would involve the education of *children*. Mathieu's letter to Prud'homme of June 5, 1924 expressed his concerns regarding the proposed Catholic college in affiliation with the university in terms of the danger to children:

What annoys me is the sight of large numbers of our Catholics -- as well as our priests -- who do not see the danger which courts our children when they go to live in a totally protestant atmosphere before having acquired a solid intellectual, moral, and especially, Catholic formation. What responsibility they have before God! . . . The less our children mix with those who do not have the

⁹ *Ibid.*

faith, the more and better they will preserve their faith which will be the salvation of their souls.¹⁰

The only exception conceded by Mathieu and Prud'homme involved those Catholic students enrolled in professional studies such as medicine and law; their needs should be met, but quietly and unobtrusively, without attracting other Catholics to the university.

While the Saskatoon group kept up its *véritable siège* on Prud'homme, Mathieu embarked on a *siège* of his own with regard to his plan for Catholic higher education in Saskatchewan. During the 1920s Mathieu attempted to further the one-Catholic-university project by trying to obtain degree-granting power for Campion and continuing to block any attempts to provide for Catholic students at the provincial university.

Archbishop Mathieu had established Campion College on the classical college model in 1918 and it had opened its doors to its first students in September of that year. For the first few years of its operation, Campion was really a residential high school and confined itself to offering what would now be called secondary level school classes. The program was extended upwards one grade or level each year, and it was only a matter of time before degree-granting power would be required if a full program was to be offered. The matter had been raised with Walter Murray and the Senate by Campion College rector Fr. McMahon in 1918 with no success, but perhaps Mathieu felt they should continue to expand and develop the classical college program and, when confronted with a *fait accompli*, Murray would not refuse.

During his tenure as university president, Murray seems to have tried to foster good personal relations with Mathieu. He had invited the archbishop to address Convocation in 1914, but Mathieu had declined because he was due to be in Rome at that time. In 1916, Murray gave Mathieu a tour of the university, after which Mathieu sent

¹⁰Mathieu to Prud'homme, June 5, 1924 (en français). RAA. Photocopy in STMA, RG100.2.2.

him some brochures about Laval. Murray once again invited Mathieu to speak at Convocation in 1921. This time Mathieu accepted; however, he also placed before President Murray a request that the university allow Campion College to award degrees. Murray gently but firmly explained that this would not be possible as it would open the door to decentralization and "at the present time there is no logical limit to the extent to which it may be carried. At least four or five different places with ambitious insititutions would demand equal privileges."¹¹ Murray went on to describe the one type of arrangement which would be acceptable:

At the meeting of the Senate when the matter was discussed some years ago, it was stated with the approval of those present, that the university would welcome the establishment of a college at the university which could cooperate as effectively and cordially with it as St. Michael's was working with Toronto. Further, there would be a willingness to grant recognition not only to the teaching of such a college but also to the examinations on such subjects as History and Philosophy, and to make it possible for students to avoid taking subjects in the university, to which they might have conscientious objections.¹²

Mathieu's reply indicates that he felt Murray was suggesting that parents send their *children* to Saskatoon, to live and receive their education in a "Protestant" milieu. His letter refers specifically to secondary, rather than post-secondary or university education:

To imagine, to hope that all the colleges of the province in which secondary education is given will have to go and place themselves at Saskatoon, for me, it is impossible, unjust, and it would not be for the good of the province. In the different cities there are and there will always be lots of parents who would not be able to pay the expenses required by their children going far from home and who desire to see their children well educated. . . . Our Colleges have to exist and cannot all be transplanted in Saskatoon.¹³

The issue of degree-granting status for Campion College arose again in 1924. At that time the university agreed to grant junior college status to Campion, giving credit for work done in that institution to the extent of two years of the B.A. or B.Sc. course.

¹¹ W. Murray to Mathieu, April 6, 1921. AUS, J.E. Murray Collection E.II.C.35.

¹² *Ibid.*

¹³ Mathieu to W. Murray, May 14, 1921. *Ibid.*

Mathieu expressed gratitude for the arrangement, but by the spring of 1925 realized that what he thought was a road to degree-granting power was in fact a dead-end. Murray had no intention of extending credit beyond the second year level, and Campion was forced to affiliate with St. Boniface College in Manitoba in order for its students to receive degrees.¹⁴

Unless Mathieu could somehow obtain a university charter, his vision of one Catholic university for the West would be unattainable. His increasing frustration is evident in a letter he wrote to Murray following a meeting between the two men, just prior to Mathieu's departure for his *ad limina* visit to Rome in April, 1925:

I hope that our dear university will be able to do something for our children. Why should it not be possible to do here what is done in almost all the other Provinces of the Dominion? . . . I told you the reasons why most of our children cannot go to Saskatoon. I have just seen the Superior of the College and he told me that not one of those of this year will be able to go. Then they are lost not only for us but for you also. This state of things cannot last and sooner or later will have to change. Everybody here understands it. Speak to the ministers of the Government and they all say that something has to be done.¹⁵

Before leaving Regina, Mathieu appealed to Premier Dunning to take some action regarding Campion College's status. Murray's response to this latest threat to the monopoly was in the form of a letter to the Premier and a three-page brief on the situation. In the brief Murray presented a detailed discourse on the issue, pointing out that Mathieu was in effect asking the University of Saskatchewan to adopt the Quebec system of university education, a system which, according to Murray:

distributes Arts work among a score or more Classical Colleges, scattered throughout the Province and beyond, the University only examining and conferring degrees. The curriculum of these Colleges is directed and controlled by the Church, the state giving grants in aid. . . . The English speaking Universities hold that these Classical Colleges are really secondary schools . . . To accede to Campion's wishes the University must agree to reverse its policy of centralization of all University work, must grant the same privileges to similar Colleges. . . . These Colleges will offer different courses, and the University work in Arts instead of being an agency for

¹⁴Hayden, *Seeking*, p.123.

¹⁵Mathieu to W. Murray, April 12, 1925. AUS, J.E. Murray Collection E.II.C.35.

bringing the different races and religions together will become a means of perpetuating racial and religious differences.¹⁶

Clearly, Murray disagreed with Mathieu on the matter of bringing different ethnic groups and religions together. Murray felt that such intermingling would promote harmony and understanding within the society, while Mathieu saw it as a means of undermining the cultural and religious values of non-Anglo, non-Protestant peoples, and in particular, the French Catholics. To Murray and the other English Protestants, a "melting pot" image of Western Canadian society was a logical, positive one; but to Mathieu and the French, it meant assimilation and Anglicization, and they had no desire to be "melted."

Murray's 1925 brief to Dunning went on to describe difficulties experienced in the Maritimes and Ontario as a result of the policy of giving denominational colleges the power to confer degrees. The decentralization of degree-granting power inevitably brought competition for government grants and tended to undermine all the institutions. He concluded with a strong condemnation of any action which would serve to chip away at the monopoly of the provincial university:

To grant power to sectarian colleges to confer degrees is to grant a license to renew the sectarian strife which devastated the Eastern Provinces and paralyzed University education. In Quebec, where the overwhelming majority of the people are French and Catholic, the Laval system may work to the satisfaction of the Catholic Church. In Saskatchewan the state must control and direct Higher Education, leaving the Churches to do what they like in their private schools and colleges; otherwise Saskatchewan will have renewed as well as sectarian strife to the great misfortune, both of the state and churches.¹⁷

The Premier does not seem to have pressed the issue further and this settled the matter as far as the university was concerned, at least with regard to Mathieu and degree-granting power for Campion College.

Mathieu and the French Catholics were not the only ones to challenge the degree-granting monopoly of the University of Saskatchewan. During the 1920s and ear

¹⁶W. Murray to Dunning, May 5, 1925. *Ibid.*

¹⁷*Ibid.*

1930s, Regina College, a Methodist and later United Church residential college established first as an institution of secondary education in 1911, and from 1925 offering first and second year university-level courses, tried repeatedly to obtain a university charter from the provincial government. As with Campion, Walter Murray gave Regina College junior college status in 1925, but blocked any extension of the program to the third and fourth year levels, thus retaining a firm hold on the university's degree-granting monopoly. Murray prevented Regina College from affiliating with a university outside Saskatchewan as he had permitted Campion College to do, however. On learning that Regina College President E.W. Stapleford was preparing a request for affiliation with Victoria College at the University of Toronto, Murray forewarned his long-time friend, University of Toronto President Robert Falconer, of the plan and outlined the reasons for his opposition to it. In the letter to Falconer dated October 8, 1926, Murray explained the difference between the Catholic colleges and Regina College cases with regard to affiliation with other universities:

The Catholic Colleges in the province have affiliation with Catholic Universities elsewhere. The French College at Gravelbourg with the University at Ottawa, Campion College at Regina with St. Boniface, and through St. Boniface with Manitoba. We approved of the arrangements with St. Boniface, and in fact assisted in putting it through on the grounds that the Latin Philosophy course as taught by the Jesuits was very different from our course and that we had no objections to the Jesuit College in Manitoba working in close cooperation with the College in Regina. I did this because our school system recognizes a distinct difference between Protestant and Catholic views on education. At the same time we made up our minds to assist in the establishment of a Catholic College at the University.¹⁸

As for Regina College affiliating with a university outside Saskatchewan, that was quite another matter, in Murray's view. University recognition of Regina College's work to the end of the second year was as much as he was willing to give. In general, though he had permitted the recognition of a number of institutions as junior colleges,

¹⁸Murray to Falconer Oct. 8, 1926. UTA, Falconer Papers A67-0007/102.

Murray felt the system tended to limit the educational opportunities of the students and should not be extended further:

We have found from experience that the quality of the work of the First and Second years is distinctly different from that of the Senior years. We have also found that the work as done in the Junior Colleges, particularly in English, History and Economics, is routine [in] character and restricted to the text book. The students do less reading and reflection than University students should do. In time this may be remedied, but at present the difference is quite marked.¹⁹

The Regina College dispute continued for a number of years, but Murray could not be budged. A three-page letter sent in 1931 to Premier J.T.M. Anderson gave the Murray an opportunity to make his views known on the issue of the decentralization of degree-granting power, which once again seemed threatened:

Reports of an address given by you at Regina College make it necessary for me to place before you the position of this University with regard to the power to confer degrees in this province. The Regina Daily Star said: "Premier J.T.M. Anderson, Minister of Education in the province, forecasts the time when degree conferring powers would be vested in the smaller colleges of the province."

If this report be correct, I presume the statement was rather a prophecy than a declaration of policy. Before the prophecy becomes a policy I wish to submit for your consideration certain facts.²⁰

Murray went on to describe the history of the one-university policy in each of the western provinces, pointing out that requests from denominational institutions for degree conferring powers had been forestalled at the time of the passage of the Territorial Assembly's University Ordinance in 1903 and that, in the University Act, passed in Saskatchewan in 1907, "it is expressly provided that "no other University, having corporate powers capable of being exercised within the province or any portion thereof shall be known by the same name nor shall any such other University have power to grant degrees except in theology."²¹

¹⁹ *Ibid.*

²⁰ Murray to Anderson June 16, 1931. AUS, Presidential Papers I.B.6.

²¹ *Ibid.*

In Murray's view what was at stake was the standard of university education, which would be threatened by the proliferation of small sectarian institutions and the competition for government funding—competition he felt would be inevitable at some point in the future, in spite of the claims of the denominational colleges that they would not require government assistance. He described the situation which had developed in eastern Canada as one he would not like to see duplicated in the West, as it led to cutting the financial pie into too many pieces:

[In the East] demands of the Denominational Colleges for financial support were so insistent and so dangerous politically that each province established a system of denominational grants. Though the individual grants were not large the totals were considerable. This system brought not peace but discord. Each denomination claimed that it was receiving less than its due and a denomination without a college forthwith established one to qualify for the grant. So troublesome and so wasteful did the system become that each province, save Quebec, abolished it as soon as it could. In Nova Scotia it continued for thirty years, in Ontario for about twenty years, in New Brunswick for less.²²

The letter also described the large number of denominational colleges in Saskatchewan which would be also be eligible should Regina College be given degree granting power by the provincial government:

If the policy of granting degree conferring powers to small Colleges is adopted in this province, the first to qualify will be Campion College, Mathieu College and the Sacred Heart Academy which now teach the four years of the Latin Philosophy course and receive the degree of B.A. through St. Boniface in Manitoba and Ottawa Universities. St. Peter's at Muenster could qualify because the cost of the Latin Philosophy course is relatively small and the work may be done by a religious order. In time applications will come from Luther College, Outlook College, the Lutheran Seminary, and possibly from St. Chad's and Moose Jaw College as well as from Regina College. The hopes and ambitions of the Ukrainians for the institute at Saskatoon and their School at Yorkton will be raised.²³

²² *Ibid.*

²³ *Ibid.*

Murray's mention of so many Catholic and non-English institutions with claims equal or superior to that of Regina College was an astute move, in view of Anderson's Anglo-conformist, anti-Catholic, anti-foreigner sentiments.²⁴

Walter Murray's ideal of how western Canadian society should develop can perhaps best be explored through his vision of the University of Saskatchewan. First, it was to be the only university in the province; non-sectarian in character, but with denominational colleges "clustered around it," perhaps like a mother hen with her chicks. Linguistically and culturally it was to be English Canadian and Protestant—"non-sectarian" usually meant "Protestant" at that time. The university was to be equally accessible to both men and women, free of government control or interference in order to assure a high level of academic freedom and would provide valuable service to the community. Murray's vision can be likened to that of the English Canadians who saw themselves with a mission to build "His Dominion" in Canada and to assist the many ethnic groups in the West through overt or covert policies of Anglo-conformity.²⁵ The "one united Canada" envisaged by these Anglo-Protestant Canadians would be developed by bringing the different peoples and religious groups together; "clustering them" around a strong central educational institution, through which they would learn to understand one other, become tolerant of differences and gradually adopt the language, culture and values of the mother hen.

Murray's firm refusal of Archbishop Mathieu's 1925 request for degree-granting

²⁴Murray's handling of this and other unsuccessful attempts by Regina College to establish a full university program, with the eventual takeover of the college by the university in 1934, is described in more detail in J. Pitsula, *An Act of Faith: The Early Years of Regina College* (Regina: Canadian Plains Research Centre, 1988), Ch. 7. See also bibliography for works by M. Hayden, D. and R. Murray, W.P. Thompson on the history of the University of Saskatchewan with regard to this issue.

²⁵R. Allen, "Providence to Progress: The Migration of an Idea in English Canadian Thought," in W. Westfall et al, eds., *Religion/Culture: Comparative Canadian Studies* (Ottawa: Assoc. for Canadian Studies, 1985): 33-46; J. Grant, "Religion and the Quest for a National Identity: The Background in Canadian History," in P. Slater, ed. *Religion and Culture in Canada* (Waterloo: Wilfrid Laurier Press, 1977): 7-21; N. Clifford, "His Dominion: A Vision in Crisis," in Slater, *Religion and Culture*, p.23-41.

power seemed to have effectively put a halt to the "one Catholic university for Western Canada" idea. The opposition of the Regina archbishop to the Saskatoon Catholics' desire for a Catholic college in their city continued, however. Indeed, just as President Murray was adamant that there would be no degree-granting Catholic college *outside* Saskatoon, Mathieu seemed to be determined that there would be no Catholic college *in* Saskatoon, whether in affiliation with the university or not.

In the Prince Albert and Saskatoon Diocese, meanwhile, the Saskatoon English-speaking Catholics had been nothing if not tenacious. In addition to other projects, such as establishing schools and building churches, they had kept the matter of a college for Saskatoon before Bishop Prud'homme, and in the spring of 1926, the core group of Saskatoon laymen, now thirteen in all, requested an interview during the bishop's Easter visit to Saskatoon. There had been a strong indication from the bishop at a previous meeting with members of the group that his approval of a college for Saskatoon would finally be forthcoming, and the Saskatoon laymen's hopes were high. The meeting took place at St. Paul's Rectory on Easter Sunday afternoon, April 4, 1926, and those who formed the Saskatoon delegation were Messrs. J.J. Leddy, Dr. E.B. Nagle, A.M. McGillivray, F.X. Goetz, H. Vossberg, J.E. McDonald, R.P. Strickland, W.P. Crawley, Dr. R.H. Macdonald, J. Priel, F.C. Hoad, B.W. Hoeschen and W.J. Tracey, all Saskatoon business or professional people.

Excerpts from the minutes outline the discussions which took place at the meeting:

Mr. Leddy spoke for the delegation which represented the Catholic parents of the city, saying that they were anxious to secure the approval and active co-operation of His Lordship in bringing into being as soon as possible a Catholic University College in connection with the provincial university at Saskatoon. He spoke of the years of waiting the Catholics of this city had undergone to get this project started but nothing had been accomplished. His Lordship, at a previous meeting, had approved the project. There was opportunity now to serve all Catholics in the realm of higher education for their children and they wanted something done.

.....

President Murray was willing to co-operate. The University would pay a Catholic professor of Scholastic Philosophy and provide a classroom for the use of Catholic students.

.....
 This could be done at the opening of the university next September. No funds would be needed in the beginning but it was suggested that a "foundation" fund could be established in all the parishes of the diocese, which in a few years would provide funds to begin the construction of a college building.

.....
 In reply, the Bishop said that he was opposed to a Catholic University College because he knew Rome would be against it, though he had no special interview on the matter. We had, he said three Catholic colleges in the province already. This would mean a fourth one. He was opposed to any scheme whereby Catholic students could get only a part of their instruction under Catholic auspices. In such a matter he wanted the whole atmosphere Catholic. In reply to a question he further stated that he could not approve of even a "Newman Hall" idea. He would be greatly pleased, however, if one or more additional Catholic lay professors could be added to the staff of the University.²⁶

The members of the group were unpleasantly surprised and greatly disappointed by the bishop's change of mind and his negative reaction to their requests for a Catholic college, or at least a Newman Hall, and a fund-raising foundation. The bishop agreed to one small concession only: he would consider accepting President Murray's offer to hire a professor of scholastic philosophy, which would allow the teaching of philosophy based on the thought of St. Thomas Aquinas, a subject area regarded by the Catholic Church as a fundamental requirement of a Catholic liberal arts education.

As a means of dismissing the Saskatoon group's request for a college, Prud'homme had repeated Mathieu's argument that Catholics should attend the Catholic colleges already operating in the province. When Dr. Nagle pointed out that none of these colleges had degree-granting power, Prud'homme replied that Campion College had an arrangement whereby its students could earn degrees through the University of Manitoba which would be recognized by the University of Saskatchewan. This was certainly not a satisfactory answer to the committee members, many of whom had children approaching university age and who were not inclined to send them to

²⁶Bishop's University Committee. Minutes, April 4, 1926. STMA, RG100.1.1.

Regina when they had a university right in their own city.

Before the meeting adjourned, J.J. Leddy was appointed chairman of the Saskatoon laymen's group, which had decided to call itself the "Bishop's University Committee," and J.E. McDonald agreed to be the secretary. The bishop requested the addition of Fr. James McCaffrey, pastor of St. Paul's parish in Saskatoon as his representative, and also asked that Prof. J.A. MacDonald of the Department of French at the university, and the only Catholic on faculty at that time, be invited to join the committee. The meeting concluded with plans for a sub-committee to meet with President Murray the following afternoon and to accept his offer that the university hire a Catholic professor of scholastic philosophy. After having been much tossed about, the seed of a Catholic presence at the University of Saskatchewan finally seemed to have found a small plot of fertile ground.

Following the disappointing but not entirely unfruitful meeting on Easter Sunday 1926, and a subsequent successful interview with President Murray, the Bishop's University Committee began to search for a suitably qualified lecturer for the scholastic philosophy position Murray had offered. Prud'homme suggested they look for a lay professor, but the committee hoped to find a priest-scholar who could both teach and serve as a chaplain for the Catholic students. There was an element of haste involved, because they wanted to find a suitable person, preferably of Anglo-Celtic background, in time for the 1926-27 university term and Prud'homme, meanwhile, was working on his own to bring in a member of the French Oblate Order to fill the position. The 1926 search for a lecturer was described in a brief prepared in 1935 by the Saskatoon committee:

Trips were made to Edmonton, Winnipeg, and Toronto, and Archbishops O'Leary, Sinnott and McNeil were interviewed and their cooperation enlisted. His Lordship, Bishop Morrison of Antigonish was also seen by one member of the Committee and correspondence was opened with eminent churches [sic] both in England and in the United States.

Archbishop McNeil's nominee, the Rev. Dr. Markle, who had just concluded a special course of study in Rome, was submitted for approval to

His Lordship, Bishop Prud'homme, in August, 1926. When negotiations, which His Lordship had opened with the Oblate Order some months before, fell through, official approval was given the Committee to bring together the President of the University and Archbishop McNeil with a view to arranging the necessary contract to establish the Rev. Dr. Markle as lecturer in Scholastic Philosophy at the University.²⁷

The story of how the Saskatoon group finally managed to obtain Prud'homme's agreement to the appointment of Markle, with some assistance from the railroad, was recounted in a talk given several years later by J. Francis Leddy:

Time was passing, and the University needed some commitment with respect to the approaching term. The Bishop was not easy to reach, but when it was learned that he was en route between Prince Albert and North Battleford on a rail line which took him through Warman, but not Saskatoon, my father [J. J. Leddy] and Professor MacDonald succeeded in intercepting him there and, in what they subsequently recalled as the most important twenty minutes or so in their long campaign, the three men walked up and down outside the station arguing for approval of the proposed appointment, the two laymen pointing out that if the Archbishops of Winnipeg and Edmonton could allow a Catholic College at their respective provincial universities, then the alleged fundamental principles were obviously capable of wide interpretation, and they urgently pressed for at least a modest beginning in Saskatoon.

The Bishop had not quite agreed, when they came around to the front of the station to see his train disappearing in the distance, to his great vexation. The station agent wired ahead to have it held at the next station and in the course of a frantic ride further on down the line the Bishop finally capitulated.²⁸

The Saskatoon laymen also continued their own discussions about a Catholic university college. Although Prud'homme had denied approval for such an institution, the idea was still very much on the minds of the committee members. After the first few meetings, the group had begun calling itself the "Catholic College Committee," an interesting change in name which indicated that these men, some of whom had been involved in this effort for over 13 years, were not going to relinquish their initial vision very easily. Clearly, they regarded the scholastic philosophy lectureship as merely the first step in the establishment of a Catholic arts college at the University of Saskatchewan.

²⁷Newman Society Brief to Papal Delegate Cassulo, July 11, 1935. STMA, RG100.2.2.

²⁸J.F. Leddy, "The Two Anniversaries." STMA, Leddy file.

CHAPTER FOUR 1926-1929

Dr. (Fr.) W. Basil Markle, the new faculty member of the Department of Philosophy at the University of Saskatchewan, arrived in Saskatoon on October 14, 1926.¹ Markle was born in Toronto in 1900 and educated by the Basilians at St. Michael's School and St. Michael's College at the University of Toronto. He was ordained to the priesthood for the Archdiocese of Toronto in 1924, following which he studied in Rome, receiving a doctorate in sacred theology and a certificate in philosophy. On his return to Toronto in 1926, instead of being assigned to seminary teaching or pastoral work as expected, he was asked by Archbishop Neil McNeil to take up the faculty position at the University of Saskatchewan in Saskatoon.²

On their arrival in Saskatoon, Fr. Markle and his sister Gladys, who served as his housekeeper, took up residence in a house which had been rented for them by the Catholic College Committee. Bishop McNeil's plan was that Markle would be on loan to Saskatoon for one or two years only, in the hopes that a Catholic college with a faculty of priest-scholars would be established by that time, and that he would then return to the Toronto diocese. As it turned out, Markle remained in Saskatoon for 15 years, during which time he became a popular and influential member of the Saskatoon community in general and of the English-speaking Catholic community in particular.

At the December 1, 1926 meeting of the Saskatoon laymen's group, during which Markle was formally welcomed to Saskatoon, the "Catholic College Committee" changed its name again, this time to the "Newman Society." In dealing with the Church hierarchy it had been natural, and perhaps somewhat advantageous, to include the term "Catholic" in the name of the group, but now that there was to be a direct

¹Leddy to Prud'homme, Oct. 14, 1926. STMA, RG100.3.6

²Catholic College Committee. Minutes, 8 Aug. 1926. STMA, RG100.1.1.

connection with the university through Markle, it seemed politic to de-emphasize the Catholic connection. Indeed, Walter Murray had specifically asked that no mention be made of Markle's religion, as the president felt he might be accused of showing favoritism towards the Catholics.³ This change is a good example of the practical approach the Irish Catholics often had in their dealings with the secular world -- they felt that there was no need to draw attention to their identity as Catholics at every turn, but rather were inclined to make some accommodation if it would enable them to get on with the task at hand. The name change to "Newman Society," which would likely have little or no meaning for non-Catholics, perhaps also reflects the increasing sensitivity of the Catholic community to the anti-Catholic attitudes and rhetoric which began to be manifest during the latter half of the 1920s in Saskatchewan. In addition, the selection of the name "Newman" signified an association with the ideas of the growing Newman Club movement in Canada and the United States.

The Newman Club movement had originated at the University of Pennsylvania in Philadelphia in 1893. Its purpose was to provide an organization for Catholic students at secular universities which, under the guidance of a chaplain, would provide a religious, intellectual and social program for Catholic young people, and in some cases, a "Newman Hall" where they could gather. John Henry Newman had been chosen as the patron of the organization and it is Newman who provided the unifying element in the many Catholic campus organizations which developed in colleges and universities in the United States and Canada over the years.

John Henry Cardinal Newman (1801-1890) had been a member of Oxford Movement within the Church of England in that country in the mid-1800s. He became a convert to Catholicism, entered the priesthood and was eventually made a cardinal of the Catholic Church. Newman's educational work in the universities of Dublin and

³ *Ibid.* Sept. 29, 1926.

Oxford and his lectures on the nature and importance of liberal education, which were published as a collection in *The Idea of a University*, made him an appropriate patron for Catholics who wanted to have the best of both secular and Catholic education.

Elsewhere in North America, the Newman movement usually involved only students, alumni and chaplains, but in Saskatoon the name Newman Society was first adopted in 1926 by this group of Catholic laymen who represented the concerns of the larger Saskatoon Catholic community in the area of Catholic higher education. It was only later (1928) that a student Newman Club was formed and became associated officially with the other Newman Clubs of Canada.

Although Bishop Prud'homme had refused to grant his approval for the establishment of a "Newman Hall" in Saskatoon at that first meeting in April 1926, by September of that year he had apparently changed his mind. A letter from J.J. Leddy to the bishop at that time described the house to be rented for Markle as "admirably suited not only for present needs but for the Newman Hall idea, favoured by Your Lordship."⁴ In this instance the term "Newman Hall" seems to have referred to a modest facility which would serve both as a residence for Markle and his sister and as some sort of gathering place for Catholic students.

In order to cover the costs of the Newman Hall project, the Newman Society held a fund-raising campaign among selected Catholics of the Saskatoon area in the fall and winter of 1926. Each member of the Newman Society was asked to contact 10 - 12 specified Catholic individuals or families and request a donation for the project, with the hopes of averaging \$25.00 per contact. The monies raised by April, 1927 amounted to \$839.00.⁵ J.J. Leddy's charming way with words in following up on those who had pledged financial aid can be seen in one of his letters to a Kindersley man:

⁴Leddy to Prud'homme, Sept. 15, 1926. STMA, RG100.2.4.

⁵Newman Society. Minutes, April 5, 1927. STMA, RG100.1.1.

In your letter re the College Fund you intimated that you would send us a donation of \$25.00 in the Spring and as today feels like a real Spring day I thought of you. If, however, you are not quite ready yet to attend to this matter, please do not take any offence. I am sure that you will give the matter your attention at the earliest possible date.⁶

In this letter and in others, Leddy spoke of a *college*, rather than *Newman Hall*. Perhaps this was simply a matter of making the nature of the project clear to people who would not attach any significance to the term "Newman," but it also indicates clearly that the Newman Society had definitely not relinquished the idea of a college for Saskatoon, in spite of Prud'homme's prohibition.

On April 5, 1927, after the completion of the university year, Markle presented a report on his first year's work to the Saskatoon group, recorded in the Newman Society minutes as follows:

He stated that the results of the work of the past year were beyond all expectations. Next year he would have 19 students . . . in Catholic philosophy. The help of a Catholic professor in Philosophy exerted a great influence upon the students in the practice of their religion in the most dangerous period of their lives. Students in every department of University work are helped by advice.⁷

Markle mentioned that his rental accommodation was inadequate and not easily accessible as a place for students to gather and that, if a chapel and library were to be established, a more permanent arrangement for the Newman Hall at a location closer to the campus would be necessary. As a result of Markle's report, the Society decided to take steps to acquire land and build a facility close to the university—one which could provide residential accommodation for Markle and his sister as well as a chapel, library and gathering place for students. Prud'homme agreed to assist with this venture and "volunteered a loan up to \$15,000 at 6%, if some responsible body would undertake to administer these funds."⁸

⁶Leddy Correspondence, Mar. 7, 1927. STMA, RG100.3.7.

⁷Newman Society. Minutes, April 5, 1927. STMA, RG100.1.1.

⁸*Ibid.*, April 24, 1927.

The Newman Society, which now had fourteen members, decided to incorporate itself as a legal body in order to take on the administration of this next phase of the project.⁹ The Incorporation document of the Newman Society dated May 17th, 1927 states that the purpose of the organization is "to foster Catholic activities in higher education and to promote Catholic religious and cultural interests; and in particular to encourage and assist in the foundation of a Catholic College in Saskatoon, in the Province of Saskatchewan."¹⁰

The Newman Society was now in a position to purchase land and begin the next phase of the project. John Allan MacDonald, professor of French at the university and member of the Newman Society, was at that time joint owner of four lots of land adjacent to the university campus. He and Fr. John James MacDonald of Kinkora, Prince Edward Island had purchased the land on speculation for \$8000 just before the bottom dropped out of the Saskatoon real estate market in 1913.¹¹ In 1927, the two MacDonalds agreed to sell the four lots to the Newman Society for the sum of \$2400, and planning commenced for the building of the residence.¹² A construction bid from A.W. Heise Company in the amount of \$16,500.00 was accepted, excavation and construction began in August, and the building was ready for occupancy by Fr. Markle in October, 1927.¹³ This was the frame building, officially named Newman Hall—usually referred to by the students as "the white house" or "the club rooms"—which was to be the center of Catholic activity on the University of Saskatchewan campus for the next thirty

⁹The resolution to form the new Society named the following as its members: J.J. Leddy [insurance agent], J.A. MacDonald [university professor], R.P. Strickland [businessman], J.E. McDonald [school principal], B.W. Hoeschen [brewery owner], W.B. Crawley [insurance agent], E.J. Tracey [implement dealer], E.B. Nagle [dentist], A. MacGillivray [engineer], J. Priel [contractor], H.J. Vossberg [hotel manager], R.H. MacDonald [surgeon], S.N. MacEachern [lawyer], Rev. J.F. McCaffrey [pastor].

¹⁰SABR. Provincial Secretary. Defunct Companies File 7198.

¹¹City of Saskatoon Land Titles Office. Certificate of Title, Aug. 8, 1913. Lots 1-4, Block 15, Plan G194.

¹²*Ibid.*, July 4, 1927.

¹³Newman Society. Minutes, Oct. 2, 1927. STMA, RG100.1.1.

years.

In 1927 and 1928 a number of difficulties arose between the Newman Society and Bishop Prud'homme in the areas of finances, publicity and the ongoing request for a university college. The disagreements often reflected the differences in approach between the group of Saskatoon laymen, many of whom were involved in small businesses and had practical knowledge about such things as loans and contractual agreements and construction bids, and Bishop Prud'homme, who seemed to base his dealings on verbal agreement and the whim of the moment, and who looked upon the Saskatoon group's more business-like methods with suspicion.

Though the bishop was initially willing to let the Saskatoon laymen's group do the organizational work and have the diocese finance the Newman Hall venture, it was not long before he changed his mind about the arrangement. During the period of construction of the white house in 1927, the Bishop had agreed to arrange for a bank loan in the name of the Episcopal Corporation of Saskatoon and Prince Albert, and had also offered to make an appeal throughout the diocese for the funds to pay the capital costs and interest.¹⁴ When it came time for the borrowed funds to be transferred from the diocese to the Newman Society for their administration of the project, however, Prud'homme asked the officers of the Society to sign a demand note for the full amount of \$16,500. This caused much consternation among the Society's members, as articulated in a letter from Leddy to Prud'homme dated June 7, 1927:

In view of the fact that it was understood that the raising of the money necessary to pay the interest and the carrying charges on the building was to be a Diocesan affair, and was to follow from an appeal which would be made by Your Lordship through the parish priests of at least the larger parishes of your Diocese, the Executive of the Newman Society felt that it would be somewhat unfair to obligate itself to the payment of the interest on this loan when the means of raising the same was not primarily in its hands; and furthermore, that if the aims of the project were to be best served the money should be raised through an appeal that would be as extensive as

¹⁴Such an appeal was made in February 1929, with little success. Newman Society Brief 1935. STMA, RG100.2.2.

possible.¹⁵

On receiving the objections outlined in Leddy's letter, Prud'homme decided to "assume the whole debt of the building and its administration. . . . I will see that the debt is paid, and in payment of this debt, I will ask the Newman Society to come to my assistance. May I ask you, then, to transfer to the Episcopal Corporation, the title of the property, [at which time] I will send the money to Saskatoon."¹⁶ It was a disappointment to the members of the Newman Society to relinquish the title, since they had gone through the incorporation process in order to administer the project. Still, they had no means of raising the money to pay the loan and did not want to be liable for the \$16,500 debt, so they complied with his request without further objection.¹⁷ The title to the Newman Hall property was duly transferred to the Episcopal Corporation of Prince Albert and Saskatoon; this was not a matter of great significance at the time, but one which became so when the bishop found the diocese in financial difficulty in 1931.

Another ongoing problem the Newman Society had with the bishop, and one not unrelated to the situation described above, involved the matter of publicizing the scholastic philosophy course through the preparation of an informational brochure. In order to make the project successful and provide Markle with students, the Newman Society felt it was important to inform Catholics about the new course. Each spring and summer, advertisements in Catholic newspapers provided information about the various Catholic secondary schools and junior colleges both in the province and beyond, and the Newman members felt they should also publicize the offerings now available at the University in Saskatoon, both through similar advertisements and through dissemination of an informational brochure. In addition to outlining the courses now available to Catholic students at the university, such a brochure would be able to

¹⁵Leddy to Prud'homme, June 7, 1927. STMA, RG100.3.6.

¹⁶Prud'homme to Leddy, June 9, 1927. STMA, RG100.3.6.

¹⁷Leddy to Msgr. H. Desmarais, Vicar-General, June 27, 1927. STMA, RG100.3.6.

provide valuable information to be used in the financial campaign promised by the bishop. The matter was raised at the July 30, 1927 meeting of the Newman Society and is described in the minutes:

Moved by Mr. Priel, seconded by Fr. McCaffrey that in view of the extensive and intensive advertising campaign which is being carried on by other colleges in this and neighboring provinces preparatory to the resumption of their courses in the Fall, it is desirable that something in the way of publicity of our project be inaugurated at once and that a publicity committee . . . be appointed to take charge of this most necessary work and if deemed feasible to prepare a brochure briefly covering the history of the movement and carrying a foreword by His Lordship Bishop Prud'homme, the same to be printed in sufficient quantities to serve the various parishes in the Diocese should His Lordship deem it desirable, with a strong recommendation for moral and financial support. Carried.¹⁸

The Newman Society members once again found themselves in conflict with Prud'homme when they requested the bishop's approval for the preparation and dissemination of the brochure. The bishop's reaction was strong and negative, and, though he did eventually relent, he imposed severe restrictions on the kind of information such a brochure could contain. Prud'homme's displeasure was discovered to be a reaction to statements made in an article published in the Saskatoon *Daily Star* on July 6, 1927, following a *Star* reporter's interview with J.J. Leddy. Prud'homme was particularly upset by the newspaper report's claim that the construction of Markle's residence was regarded as the first step in the establishment of a Catholic college at the university: "Establishment of a Roman Catholic school home in Saskatoon which will become the nucleus of a religious educational institution affiliated with the University of Saskatchewan on a similar basis to Emmanuel College or St. Andrew's College will be undertaken immediately."¹⁹ The bishop voiced his concerns in a letter to Leddy dated Aug 3, 1927:

This article promotes a policy absolutely different from mine and is foreign to all the directions I have given in plain words before the members of the Delegation, on Easter Sunday . . . I do not wish to proffer any criticism about

¹⁸Newman Society. Minutes, July 30, 1927. STMA, RG100.1.1.

¹⁹Saskatoon *Daily Star*, July 6, 1927.

the attitude of other Bishops in Canada, but having to answer before God [for] the souls entrusted to my spiritual care, and knowing what is the mind of the Holy See on the subject, I wish to make it clear that I cannot foster the movement as described in the aforesaid article.²⁰

Prud'homme cooled down after receiving a suitably apologetic letter from Leddy, but gave only conditional approval regarding the Newman Society brochure to advertise the scholastic philosophy course:

I cannot, as a Bishop, encourage and foster any movement of students to our University when -- unless very special and urgent reasons justify it, and strictly speaking, these reasons should be submitted to the Church -- such students should go to our Catholic Colleges. You understand as well as I do that the general atmosphere of a State University is playing havoc [with] the faith in many instances, or at least, is jeopardizing the faith of the young generation. If the pamphlet limits its scope to those students going to the University for the study of the matters pertaining to the University course, such as Medicine, Law, etc., all good and well. As to the students in Arts and Sciences, we will take care of them, but we cannot encourage them to go to the University. Our policy, on the contrary, should be to direct them to our Catholic Colleges.²¹

Bishop Prud'homme made it clear that any provision for Catholic students at the university must be done unobtrusively. He was still committed to the model proposed by Mathieu: that there should be Catholic classical colleges and a Catholic university for Catholic students, and any provision for Catholics at the provincial university might undermine the Catholic classical colleges in the province. This view had not changed appreciably since the 1919 pastoral letter debate; then as now it involved both the ideal vision of separate Catholic higher education, and the practical consideration that the Catholic classical colleges required the financial support of the whole Catholic community if they were to flourish. Fr. Bishop Prud'homme used similar arguments for his veto of any sort of official opening for the new facility:

There should be no official or public opening as it might lead to misunderstanding, not only among non-Catholics but also among Catholics who might think that the public celebration of the establishment of a course in Catholic philosophy in a secular institution was an admission by the Church that secular institutions so equipped were as a result a safe and

²⁰Prud'homme to Leddy, Aug. 3, 1927. STMA, RG100.3.6.

²¹Prud'homme to Leddy, Aug. 9, 1927. STMA, RG100.3.6.

proper place to send Catholic students.²²

The next area of conflict to emerge involved the rental agreement with Markle. On August 26, 1927 Prud'homme had announced in a letter to J.J. Leddy that he had changed his mind somewhat; he now intended to establish what he called a "straight Catholic college" in Saskatoon. He was suddenly full of praise for the Newman Society's work and he enthusiastically outlined his new plan—he wanted the Newman Society "to arrange, in [his] name, for the rental of the building [the white house] to the Rev. Dr. Markle, with the understanding that out of such revenues, the taxes, insurance and other such maintenance charges be paid, and that an accounting of the same from time to time be made to [him]."²³ It was these rental arrangements with Fr. Markle which proved to be the occasion for the next phase of the ongoing series of disagreements, and which eventually brought to light new manoeuvrings on the part of the bishop.

Although the Newman Society had clearly been given the authority to arrange a rental agreement with Markle, Leddy decided to send the lease to the bishop for his signature, apparently as a matter of courtesy and as a means of preventing any further misunderstanding. The lease was duly signed and returned by the bishop's procurator, Fr. C.E. Ares, who mentioned in his letter that the bishop did not think a formal lease was necessary. This letter also included a request that the Newman Society forward the full amount of the first interest payment on the loan, though Prud'homme had earlier agreed that the interest would be paid by the episcopal corporation, with assistance when possible from the Saskatoon group.²⁴ Before Leddy had time to respond, another letter from Prince Albert arrived in his mailbox. Ares explained that Prud'homme had become extremely angry that Leddy had gone through the procedure of having a

²²Newman Society. Minutes, Oct. 23, 1927. STMA RG100.1.1.

²³Prud'homme to Leddy, Aug. 26, 1927. STMA, RG100.3.6.

²⁴Ares to Leddy, Nov. 12, 1927. STMA, RG100.3.6. There were constant misunderstandings on the part of Prud'homme about the payment of this loan and it seemed to infuriate him that the Newman Society members always put their business agreements in writing.

formal lease drawn on the white house. Prud'homme now regarded the preparation of the lease as "a breach of discipline" and an indication of a lack of trust on the part of Leddy and the Saskatoon group:

The Indenture of Lease . . . would imply a lack of mutual confidence between His Lordship and the Newman Society on the one hand and Rev. Dr. Markle on the other hand, and would legally tie us all. Your attitude, dear Mr. Leddy, is a challenge to His Lordship who cannot let this pass by without a sanction. His Lordship is therefore compelled, on account of this breach of discipline, to take unto himself the whole financial administration of Dr. Markle's residence. The Newman Society is hereby notified of *this decision on the part of His Lordship* and is requested to act accordingly.²⁵

Leddy was stung by the rebuke, though by now he was becoming accustomed to the bishop's changeable nature and outbursts of temper. It appeared, however, that this time the bishop intended to bypass the Saskatoon group entirely and oversee the entire project himself. Leddy replied in a respectful, but firm, tone to this latest flare-up and tried to clarify the situation regarding the lease, explaining that it had been a matter of dealing with a financial agreement in an organized and business-like way. He also pointed out the importance of the relationship between the Newman Society and the university; a relationship which would be threatened if the bishop tried to go ahead on his own:

It should not be overlooked that the Newman Society enjoys, and rightfully so, the confidence of the University authorities, a condition most essential to the continuance of the success so far achieved. If success of the work is the paramount consideration then, in my humble opinion, a break with the Newman Society at this juncture would be a most unfortunate thing.²⁶

Leddy also offered his view that the Newman Society had not been dealt with fairly:

It must be conceded that the Newman Society, as such, has rights and that these rights should be respected. The laymen who constitute its membership and who backed this project in its initial stages with their own money, are entitled to fair consideration in the matter. They feel that they have been condemned without a hearing and a penalty imposed for an offense that was

²⁵Ares to Leddy, Nov. 24, 1927. STMA, RG100.3.6.

²⁶Leddy to Ares, Nov. 26, 1927. STMA, RG100.3.6.

not given. On behalf of the Newman Society I maintain that there was no breach of discipline.²⁷

In reply to this letter, Prud'homme requested a meeting with the members of the Newman Society, and it was at this meeting on Dec. 5, 1927 that the underlying reason for the bishop's latest outburst became apparent.²⁸ As it turned out, he was not concerned primarily with the "lack of confidence" implied by a formal lease; it was the fact that the lease with Markle would "legally tie us all" that proved to be his real objection. This became clear when Prud'homme described his plan to replace Markle with a member of the Oblates, the order of priests he hoped would run his "straight Catholic college."

The Saskatoon group had apparently been forewarned about the bishop's latest plan. Professor J.A. MacDonald of the Newman Society had met with President Murray sometime prior to the Dec. 5th meeting and was well armed with answers when the bishop explained his intention to have Markle replaced. MacDonald's report was recorded in the Newman Society minutes as follows:

It was clear from the report given by Prof. MacDonald that the President was averse to any change. The President had evidently given Prof. MacDonald his confidence and detailed to him the opposition which would develop should any change be made in the lecturership of Catholic Philosophy at this time. Dr. Markle's appointment, as viewed by President Murray, was primarily a University appointment and, in view of the fact that he was in the employ of the University and his salary was paid from that source, the right to effect any change in the lecturership for the chair of Catholic Philosophy rested with the University authorities.

Prof. MacDonald pointed out that the institution of a chair of Catholic Philosophy and the appointment of a lecturer for that subject was a privilege which no other church enjoyed. . . . President Murray . . . was most anxious that nothing be done at this time which might jeopardize this privilege, and with this His Lordship most readily agreed.²⁹

At this, Prud'homme backed down and hastened to explain that his proposed replacement of Markle by an Oblate had been contemplated as a means of "facilitating

²⁷ *Ibid.*

²⁸ Ares to Leddy, Nov. 28, 1927. STMA, RG100.3.6.

²⁹ Newman Society. Minutes, Dec. 5, 1927. STMA, RG100.1.1.

not only the administration of this work locally, but the development of the college idea he (Prud'homme) had in mind."³⁰

This change of heart must not have been too surprising to the Newman Society members, as they had seen Prud'homme change his mind before. During the rest of the meeting, the bishop spoke enthusiastically of his support for the Saskatoon laymen's college idea, as if this had been his view all along. The secretary at the meeting captured some of the sense of bemused frustration felt by the Newman Society members regarding this latest turn of events:

It developed that instead of being at variance with each other, His Lordship and the Newman Society were absolutely agreed upon what, up to that time, had seemed to be a point of contention. It was a matter of great satisfaction and extreme joy to His Lordship to discover that there had been a misunderstanding from the beginning and that the clearing of the same had removed all obstacles to united action in the future.

His Lordship then, in clear and unequivocal language, stated that it was his desire to see established at the earliest possible date a Catholic College in affiliation with the University. This college would stand on property outside the University campus and would aim to teach all the Catholic students in all subjects which were required by the University and their own students in the Arts course.

The students in attendance in the Catholic College would take the University examinations under whatever fair conditions the University authorities would be willing to fix. His Lordship averred that he would be willing to permit students in attendance at the Catholic College to take instruction in the University on any of the Arts subjects where, in his judgment, there would be no danger to their faith.³¹

Prud'homme seemed to be speaking of a university-level institution this time, rather than a *collège classique* similar to those Mathieu had established, and the Newman Society members remained hopeful that this time they would be able to achieve their goal.

The model of Catholic higher education previously endorsed by Mathieu and Prud'homme seemed almost impossible to fulfill by this time, and it was dealt a final blow by events in Alberta in 1926. The "one Catholic university" idea had been a strong

³⁰ *Ibid.*

³¹ *Ibid.*

element in the movement for Catholic higher education in Alberta as well as in Saskatchewan in the early decades of the century. Adherents of this model generally felt that such a university would require the joint commitment and financial support of all of the bishops in Saskatchewan and Alberta; this was a strong possibility when they were all French, but less likely as English-speaking bishops began to take over some of the dioceses in the Prairies. In addition, the University of Alberta guarded its degree-granting monopoly as jealously as did the University of Saskatchewan, so the problem of acquiring a charter for the establishment of a degree-granting institution would be extremely difficult, if not impossible, in either province.

The founding of St. Joseph's College in Edmonton in 1926 as a Roman Catholic college affiliated with the University of Alberta was supported by H.M. Tory, the university's president, in order to discourage any action which would challenge its centralization policy. The 1926 minutes of the University of Alberta Senate stated that "the alternative to the proposed new College would be the establishment of a Roman Catholic University in the West" and that "a movement of this kind, which tended to consolidate education under the one State institution, was to be commended."³² The establishment of St. Joseph's College had therefore effectively rung the death knell for the idea of "one Catholic university in western Canada."

Though President Murray of Saskatchewan and President Tory of Alberta were in agreement about the monopoly of degree-granting power, and supported each other against various challengers, it is not clear whether they corresponded specifically about the founding of St. Joseph's College. Certainly, Murray would have preferred to duplicate the University of Alberta solution in Saskatchewan, but since that was not yet possible, he had opted for the initial two-fold plan of hiring a Catholic professor of scholastic philosophy and allowing some of the Catholic classical colleges in the

³²A. de Valk, "Catholic Higher Education and University Affiliation in Alberta, 1906-1926," CCHA *Study Sessions* 46 (1979), p.30.

province to obtain junior college status. He described his handling of the problem in a 1927 letter to Tory:

The Junior College movement here was advocated for the simple reason that I did not see any other way to head off a very serious and dangerous attack which would have gathered behind it the strength of the Capital, the largest city in the province, and would have been promoted by the leaders of at least two churches, one of them exceedingly powerful and well entrenched.³³ I have reason to believe that they would have succeeded in securing at least degree conferring powers, but would not have succeeded in securing provincial aid for sectarian purposes.

It so happens that the solution has brought peace. The Catholics today are exceedingly cordial and sympathetic, and during the last year we have made such headway that the Bishop on Sunday last, not only sanctioned the establishment of Newman's Hall [sic] near the University, but declared himself in favor of making a beginning in the establishment of a college within a year or two. Apparently the Archbishop has blessed this change and we can count now on the friendship and not the determined opposition of that Church. The Abbot Bishop of Muenster is sympathetic and cordial, possibly more so than the Bishop of Prince Albert, while the Archbishop of Regina is well disposed.³⁴

The founding of St. Joseph's College had implications for the Saskatoon project on another front as well. In obtaining permission from Rome in 1926 to establish a college affiliated with the provincial university, Archbishop O'Leary of Edmonton had cleared the way for a Catholic college in Saskatoon. A scholar of canon law, O'Leary knew something about how to frame the request when he applied for approval from Rome: "Rather than asking for permission to build a Catholic college on the campus of the local state university, he asked whether it was permissible to protect and strengthen the religious faith of Catholic students attending the University, for which purpose he would need a Catholic College."³⁵ The Sacred Congregation of the Holy Office gave the requested permission in 1926 and with that, the precedent was set for

³³The two would most likely have been the leaders of the United and Catholic churches. It is not certain to whom Murray referred in the phrase "exceedingly powerful and well entrenched," though the next paragraph implies that it was Archbishop Mathieu.

³⁴Murray to Tory, April 9, 1927. AUS, Presidential Papers I.A.4C.

³⁵de Valk, "Alberta," p.42-43.

other Catholic colleges in Canada.³⁶ The oft-stated objection that "Rome would not allow it" had been effectively removed.

The Saskatoon Catholics must have looked on the Edmonton project with mixed feelings, especially since the Edmonton archdiocese had supported the college idea and had been able to bring in \$100,000 from the Carnegie Foundation, with the Catholics of the province raising another \$150,000 for the construction of a college building and residence. There was a strong possibility that many Catholic students from the Saskatoon area would now decide to go to the University of Alberta. Still, the Newman Society members felt that in the long run the St. Joseph's College project would probably enhance their chances of establishing a college in Saskatoon.

The relationship between Prud'homme and the Newman Society was one of relative calm during 1928, though there was no real action by the bishop on the Catholic college aspect of the work which he had so enthusiastically embraced at the December 1927 meeting. Early in January, 1928 Prud'homme had visited the newly constructed Newman Hall and expressed his approval of the facilities. In the summer of that year Prud'homme attended a national conference of Canadian bishops and was praised by his confrères for the work being done at the University of Saskatchewan. These events added greatly to his feeling of goodwill towards the Newman Hall project.

Prud'homme was still reluctant to allow any publicity about the offerings at the university, apparently because he felt it would not be viewed favorably by Archbishop Mathieu. His attitude was described by Fr. Markle in a letter dated September 24, 1928 to Archbishop McNeil of Toronto: "Prud'homme wishes that the work proceed as before, that is, receive no publicity for another year. He seems to consider it as something which will draw down on him the disapproval of some whom he terms as 'the South'. It

³⁶St. Michael's College had actually been coasting on approval given earlier when it was more like a seminary than a federated college, and this 1926 decision legitimized its status as well.

is difficult to convince him that it is Catholic work in every sense of the word."³⁷

In order to move things along a bit, the Newman Society decided to stage a banquet in honor of Bishop Prud'homme late in 1928. The social occasion would enable them to give the bishop some idea of the kind of support the Newman Hall project was receiving in the Saskatoon Catholic community and also to introduce to him some of the Catholic students who were attending the university. It would also give them an opportunity to request once again that action be taken on the Catholic college issue. The event, held Dec. 10th, was preceded by a meeting of the Newman Society with the bishop in attendance, following which the group moved to the Knights of Columbus Hall for the dinner. The Catholic clergy of the city and the Catholic students of the Newman Club, which had been established in October, 1928 were also invited guests of the Newman Society and their spouses on this occasion.

At the meeting with the bishop prior to the banquet, the Newman Society raised a number of concerns. One of the issues raised involved the constitution of the Newman Society which was being drafted at that time. Though the organization had from the outset regarded itself to be working for the establishment of a Catholic college at the University, it seemed important at this time to have the formal agreement of the bishop on the matter. The understanding was recorded in the minutes of the meeting: "The President asked His Lordship if he was aware that the establishment of a Catholic College in Saskatoon affiliated with the University was one of the objects for which the Society was incorporated and His Lordship replied in the affirmative."³⁸

The banquet was catered by the Rossmore Cafe (at a cost of \$.75 per plate!), and there were a number of interesting items listed on the printed menu, including Cosmological Soup, Roast Young Turkey with Metaphysical Sauce, Mashed Agros, and

³⁷Markle to McNeil, Sept. 24, 1928. ARCAT, McNeil papers, MNAH16.128.

³⁸Newman Society Minutes, Dec. 10, 1928. STMA, RG100.1.1.

Mendelian Peas.³⁹ The banquet pleased Prud'homme immensely, and he was gratified to see so many supporters of the project among the clergy and laity of Saskatoon. He was particularly impressed, as the Newman Society members had hoped, by the 70 Catholic university students in attendance. Prud'homme was moved to proclaim that he would "do all in his power to establish here a Catholic College in affiliation with the university at the earliest possible date."⁴⁰

Though Prud'homme had made similar statements in the past, this time he seemed to be truly committed to the project and the announcement was followed two months later by an action the Newman Society had long sought. In a circular letter to the clergy of the diocese, dated February 6, 1929, the Bishop requested that a special collection be taken up in each parish on the second Sunday of Lent for, among other needs, the Newman Hall project. He mentioned the three Catholic classical colleges in the province, at Regina, Gravelbourg and Muenster, but admitted that:

In regard to University courses, the West is deprived of a Catholic institution able to undertake them. . . . We are obliged to allow our young men and women to attend non-denominational universities, but a strict duty rests with us to protect our Catholic youth against the dangers to which they are unavoidably exposed.⁴¹

With the promise of financial support from the diocesan collection, it seemed that the Newman Hall debt could now be paid and the way cleared for expansion of the project into a college at the university. As it turned out, not much money was raised in the collection and it is not clear if any funds were actually set aside for the Newman Hall/College project at this time.

In spite of the continued uncertainties regarding financing, it was with high hopes that the Newman Society members had begun early in 1929 to take action on a number of fronts to further the affiliated Catholic college plan. In January, Professor

³⁹Newman Society. Banquet file. STMA, RG100.3.25.

⁴⁰*Ibid*

⁴¹H. Prud'homme, Circular Letter to the Clergy, Feb. 6, 1929. PADA.

John A. MacDonald requested information from President Walter Murray about the type of relationship a Catholic college could establish with the university, and in reply, President Murray described three possibilities: affiliation like the theological colleges, junior college status like *Campion* and *St. Peter's Colleges*, or federation modeled on the relationship of *St. Michael's College* with the University of Toronto; the latter of these was the arrangement Murray favored.⁴² The Protestant theological colleges affiliated with the university, *Emmanuel College* (Anglican), *St. Andrew's* (Presbyterian/United) and *Lutheran College and Seminary*, were established to prepare young men for church ministry. These colleges were able to grant their own degrees in theology, and their students could take some classes at the university as well. In contrast, a federated arts college would be an integral part of the university; students would take university credit courses taught either by university or college faculty, and receive their academic degrees from the university itself.

Meanwhile, Dr. Markle wrote to the Basilians and asked if they would consider establishing a college in Saskatoon along the lines of *St. Michael's*. The reply, dated February 26, 1929, from Superior-General Francis Forster was disappointing, though it left the door open for future consideration:

The Basilian Fathers are not now in a position to open a college in connection with the University of Saskatchewan and see no hope of doing so within the next five years in view of the commitments already made. . . . If . . . at the end of that time your hopes have not been realized, I would suggest that you again get in touch with us.⁴³

The Newman Society had no intention of waiting another five years to establish their college, however, and it seemed to be extremely unlikely that the Basilians Fathers would be the priest-scholars to staff the proposed Catholic college in Saskatoon.

At the university, Walter Murray was pleased and greatly encouraged by this renewed activity on the part of the Saskatoon Catholics. The hiring of Markle to teach

⁴²W. Murray to MacDonald, Jan. 28, 1929. CSBA, C. 3132 1936(1) .20

⁴³Forster to Markle, Feb. 26, 1929. STMA, RG100.2.4.

scholastic philosophy had been adequate as a temporary measure, but would not be a satisfactory permanent solution. Murray felt confident that the one-Catholic-university idea had finally given way to the federated college model which he favored, and that he would soon be able to draw a larger proportion of Catholic students into the university fold as he had hoped to do for so long.

In spite of the earlier disagreements over Campion College, President Murray presented Archbishop Mathieu's name to receive an Honorary Doctor of Laws degree at the 1928 university convocation; Mathieu accepted the honor graciously, but was unable to attend the ceremony because of ill health.⁴⁴ The archbishop had been ailing since 1927 and in December 1928 he suffered a heart attack which weakened him further. He died October 26, 1929 and, after much lobbying by both the French and Irish hierarchy in Rome, was succeeded as archbishop in 1930 by the first Anglo-Celtic prelate in Saskatchewan, James Charles McGuigan from Prince Edward Island, the former vicar-general of Edmonton. At this time also, in order to placate the French, the Gravelbourg area was designated as a separate diocese to be administered by a French bishop, Roderique Villeneuve, OMI. With the death of Mathieu, the old order represented by the French hierarchical domination of the Catholic Church in the Saskatchewan began to give way to the new, in which, it was hoped, the visions of English-speaking Catholics would have a greater possibility of fulfillment.

⁴⁴Telegram. Z. Harvey Marois, vicar-general of Regina archdiocese to W.C. Murray, May 3, 1928. AUS, Pres. Papers I.A.46.

CHAPTER FIVE 1929-1936

In late 1929 and early 1930, having failed to attract a teaching order of priests to start a college in Saskatoon, the Newman Society members decided to try another approach. They felt that if they obtained funding from the American Carnegie Foundation to build a college facility, they would then be able to bring appropriate personnel to Saskatoon to staff it. On checking into the Carnegie Foundation's funding policies, however, it was discovered that funds were available "only to institutions that had passed the incipient stage and become an independent entity or at least an integral unit in the larger system."¹ The Society was thus in an odd situation: in order to attract an order of priest-scholars to establish a college at the university, they required a college building of some sort, but in order to obtain financial assistance to construct such a building, they had to have an established college. A request to the Catholic Extension Society was also fruitless. As a result, the optimism of December 1928 gradually dissipated throughout 1929 as another year rolled by without any real progress on the Catholic college aspect of the project.

In Saskatchewan, 1929 was a year in which religious bigotry against Catholics ran rampant. Much underlying hostility over the large influx of non-English-speaking, non-Protestant immigrants to the province was brought to the surface beginning in 1926 with the arrival in Saskatchewan of the Ku Klux Klan. Feelings of xenophobia and ethnic prejudice already present, though not often publicly articulated, were exploited by this organization and given a voice. Klan literature contained statements which fanned the sparks into flames of racism and bigotry:

The Klan believes in Protestantism, racial purity, Gentile economic freedom, just laws and liberty, separation of Church and state, pure patriotism,

¹Newman Society, J.J. Leddy Presentation Paper, July 11, 1935. STMA, RG100.2.2.

restrictive and selective immigration, freedom of speech and press, law and order, higher moral standards, freedom from mob violence, and one public school.²

Direct complaints against Catholics were also made in Klan leaflets and lectures:

The real indictment against the Roman Catholic Church is that it is fundamentally and irredeemably in its leadership, its politics, in thought and largely in membership, actively alien, un-Canadian, and usually Anti-Canadian. The Roman Catholics say they are loyal citizens. But, they do not tell to whom they are loyal first, for the truth would show that their holy father, the pope, is the primal factor.³

Anti-Catholic, anti-foreigner and anti-French rhetoric such as this increased in quantity and virulence during the late 1920s, reaching a fever pitch during the provincial election campaign of 1929. The Conservatives under J.T.M. Anderson, and to some extent the Progressives, gained support by calling for a "united Canada" and promising programs which would curtail the linguistic and religious rights of the foreigners.⁴ In the period following the Liberal electoral defeat and the formation of the coalition Co-operative government under Anderson's premiership, amendments to the School Act restricting non-English language instruction, the teaching of religion, and the wearing of religious garb by nuns teaching in public schools brought about another surge of anti-Catholic polemic and kept all parts of the Saskatchewan Catholic community on the defensive.⁵

Though the Anglo-Celtic Catholics in Saskatchewan generally supported the Anglo-conformity policies of the English Protestants, during the Anderson years their identity as Catholics became a major stumbling block in their relations with the English majority. In a sense, they were forced to choose which aspect of their identity

² P. Kyba, "Ballots and Burning Crosses -- The Election of 1929," in N. Ward and D. Spafford, eds., *Politics in Saskatchewan* (Don Mills: Longmans, 1968), p.109.

³ *Ibid.*, p.110.

⁴ W. Calderwood, "Pulpit, Press and Political Reactions to the Ku Klux Klan in Saskatchewan," in S. Trofimenkoff, ed., *The Twenties in Western Canada* (Ottawa: National Museum of Man, 1972), pp. 191-229.

⁵ See also Bibliography for titles of articles by A. Appleblatt, R. Huel and K. McLeod, on the Ku Klux Klan and the Anderson Amendments in Saskatchewan.

was most important to them -- their ethnicity or their religion. Under such direct attack, most chose to give precedence to their religion over ethnic considerations and found themselves placed in the uncomfortable position of standing with the French in trying to resist the repressive actions of the government. The Anglo-Celtic Catholics certainly did not consider themselves to be "foreigners" or "aliens" and felt they had been unjustly drawn into an attack aimed at the non-English Catholic groups, including the French, who "stubbornly resisted" assimilation to the British norm. Despite such an open display of ill will towards members of the Catholic Church, the laymen of the Newman Society tried unobtrusively to maintain the scholastic philosophy course and the Newman Hall project and to continue their efforts to establish a college at the university.

An indication of the attitudes of the English-speaking Catholics towards the French on the one hand and the pro-English-Protestant Anderson government of Saskatchewan on the other during this period can be found in some of the writings of J.J. Leddy. In correspondence during the 1920s and early 1930s with Senator Charles Murphy, an Irish Catholic member of the Canadian Senate, Leddy described many instances of conflict between Catholics and Protestants, French and English in the West. He often used terms such as "war," "fight," "attack" and "racialism" when referring to attempts by the English Catholics to make progress within the Catholic Church or within the political system of the larger society.

The ambivalent "double minority" position of the Irish or English-speaking Catholics was particularly evident in an exchange of correspondence between Leddy and Murphy in the spring of 1931. Leddy's letter of April 11th focused mainly on his campaign to be named to the Canadian Senate, to fill a vacancy for which the prime minister had stated he would name someone who was a Catholic and from Saskatchewan. Leddy expressed his concern about what would happen if the Senate position went to a

French rather than an English-speaking Catholic, since the premier of Saskatchewan (Anderson) and his government members were mostly anti-Catholic and anti-French:

I am not sure that [the prime minister] sees clearly the danger that would accrue from the appointment of a Frenchman to this position. It simply means religious war between Catholics and Protestants in this province for years to come, and a war in which the English-speaking Catholics will have to do the fighting. . . . The appointment of an English-speaking man to this position would be fraught with no such danger. He would better understand the Protestant mentality.⁶

Murphy's reply, dated April 21st, 1931, included a long tirade criticizing Leddy's comment that "the English-speaking Catholics will have to do the fighting" in upholding the rights of Catholics against the political actions of the Anderson government:

Can't you see that you and your English-speaking fellow-Catholics have infinitely more to gain by keeping on as good terms as possible with your English-speaking fellow-citizens of other denominations, few of whom will understand your position if you engage in this row in the way that you seem to take it for granted you must engage in it, and that, in consequence of committing such political folly, you will be alienating many of those whom from time to time we find are our very best friends? All I have to add on this topic is that if you and your English-speaking fellow-Catholics take up the cudgels in a war created by the French racialists, and come to their defence, then you will richly deserve all that may happen to you, and you certainly will not receive any sympathy or support from me. I am sick and tired of the spectacle of English-speaking Catholics jumping to the defence of the French racialists, only to be treated with the basest ingratitude for performing a service which the racialists are unwilling or unable to perform for themselves, when they have somebody else around to pull their chestnuts out of the fire. Don't attempt to tell me that the intervention of English-speaking Catholics will be on the ground of defending religion. My answer to any such argument would be that religion is not at stake. It is racialism that is at stake, and racialism is the enemy of religion, no matter by whom racialism is practiced.⁷

The letter from Murphy continued for six pages (single-spaced, typed) in this tone and Leddy's reply, describing a number of difficulties between French and English Catholics in Saskatchewan and assuring Murphy that he was not "fighting on the side of the French," was another seven pages. Of significance are Leddy's

⁶J.J. Leddy to Murphy, April 11, 1931. PAC. Murphy Papers. Correspondence 6711.

⁷Murphy to J.J. Leddy, April 21, 1931. PAC. Murphy Papers. Correspondence 6713.

comments on the relationship between English and French Catholics in general and his references to the Catholic college project in particular, as found in his reply to Murphy dated April 21, 1931:

I could cite you many incidents in which the gradual development of this fight in this Province has brought me into conflict with the bigots and if time or space permitted my reproducing them here you would see that I was not fighting for the French.

.....
I did not say that I was fighting for religion as such because as you say our religion will endure quite independent [sic] of the poor efforts of any individual. Nevertheless, called by whatever name you like, Catholic rights can be encroached upon and he who would be unwilling to strike in defence of them would be the veriest [sic] of cowards. That is all I meant when I said that English-speaking Catholics would have to do the fighting. If as you suggest some of the enterprises which were undertaken by Catholic laymen in this Province and carried through to a successful conclusion were left to Bishop Prud'homme and the French clergy, mighty little progress or advance would have been made. The establishment of a Chair of Scholastic Philosophy in the University here is one illustration of that fact. The idea I think originated with myself and at first was discouraged by the Bishop of the Diocese. In a Province like this where we have nothing but a State University with all that goes with it, I felt the need of some such corrective influence if Catholic youth of the Province were to obtain a higher education with any degree of safety. I think you will agree that was essentially a Catholic move and yet I was not only discouraged but actually obstructed in my efforts to achieve that end.⁸

Leddy gave a description of the difficulties overcome in establishing the Chair of Scholastic Philosophy at the university as an example of how he had upheld the English-speaking Catholic position against all perceived enemies:

I mention this incident to show you that I have fought the French in the same spirit in which I fought the bigots on the other side when it involved the promotion of Catholic interests in the Province. It may have been presumptuous of me to have assumed leadership in incidents such as I have cited herein but I think I am safe in saying that if the Hon. Charles Murphy had lived here under the same conditions as I have for the past 20 years he would have taken the same stand as I have taken on all such occasions only with even greater aggressiveness and of course greater ability.⁹

Prior to the opening of the university term in the fall of 1929, Bishop Prud'homme had finally relented on his prohibition of advertising the scholastic

⁸J.J. Leddy to Murphy, May 6, 1931. PAC. Murphy Papers Correspondence 6718-6719.

⁹*Ibid.*

philosophy courses available to arts students. Having overcome the obstacles within the Church itself, however, the Newman Society now had to admit that any publicity about the special program aimed at Catholic students at the university would be ill-advised because of the strong anti-Catholic prejudice in Saskatchewan at that time. An excerpt from the minutes of a Newman Society meeting held Sept. 15, 1929, when the publication of a brochure to advertise the scholastic philosophy course was proposed once again, gives an indication of the sense of unease felt by the Saskatoon Catholics during this period:

The brochure was read and a discussion followed as to the advisability of publishing it at the present time. Several of the members expressed themselves as being in favour of withholding the publication of the brochure for at least a year, believing that by that time the religious animosities now stirred up would have died down. Others thought that if we waited until the present turmoil was ended we might have to wait several years. . . . The greatest objection to the brochure was that it might, owing to the message it had to give, focus attention on the work which is being done now in the matter of the course in Catholic Philosophy. A public discussion on this point might introduce the names of persons whose interest and sympathy, the members felt, would be misinterpreted.¹⁰

It is not clear to whom the minutes refer in the last sentence, though one person "whose interest and sympathy might be misinterpreted" was President Murray, who had made the arrangements for Markle's position in the first place. At any rate, when the brochure item came up for discussion again at the next meeting, "it was decided as the better part of prudence, that the draft prepared be preserved and filed until the time for an appeal either for financial assistance or moral support had arrived."¹¹

If all the difficulties of 1929 had not managed to dampen the enthusiasm of the Newman Society members, the problems of the next few years certainly would. The depression which began with the stock market crash in 1929 was not felt to any great extent in Saskatchewan until the fall of 1930, when wheat prices dropped dramatically and the province's farmers began to experience a succession of drought-caused crop

¹⁰Newman Society Minutes, Sept. 15, 1929. STMA, RG100.1.1

¹¹Newman Society Minutes, Oct. 4, 1929. STMA, RG100.1.1.

failures which, coupled with continued low grain prices, was to cripple the provincial economy over the next several years. Farms and businesses were hit hard during these years as the financial situation worsened and unemployment soared. The numbers of students attending university declined, as did government funding of the university itself.

For the Newman Society, the 1930s brought challenges from a number of quarters, mostly as a result of the financial pressures at the local, diocesan and university levels. With the onset of the Depression, the Newman Society was kept busy merely trying to keep from losing the modest gains it had made; relationships which had been cordial and fruitful in more prosperous times became severely strained now when times were hard, and those which had been difficult at the best of times, now became impossible. The Saskatoon laymen's group found itself constantly battling brush fires of one sort or another, some of which came perilously close to destroying the Newman Hall project altogether.

The first crisis to touch the Newman Society directly during this period came in the fall of 1931 when the university began negotiations with Bishop Prud'homme for the purchase of Newman Hall to house the newly established Department of Music. Since the title to the property was now in the name of the Episcopal Corporation of Prince Albert and Saskatoon, the university's offer was made directly to Bishop Prud'homme, bypassing the Newman Society. On October 6th, J.J. Leddy discovered to his surprise that the bishop was engaged in negotiations for the sale of the facility.¹² Prud'homme had written to Papal Delegate Andrea Cassulo in September notifying him of his plans. The Prince Albert bishop stated that he needed the money offered by the university to help reduce the debt of the diocese and that if he did not agree to the

¹²Leddy to Murphy Oct. 6, 1931. PAC. Murphy Papers, Correspondence files 6786.

university's offer, the white house would probably be expropriated.¹³ As soon as J.J. Leddy and the Newman Society learned of Prud'homme's plans, they asked Cassulo to intervene in some way and the sale of the property to the university did not proceed.¹⁴ Though there is no doubt that negotiations took place regarding the sale of the property to the university, documents are not available to confirm the expropriation claim, nor is it clear exactly how the sale was stopped.¹⁵

The incident indicates that the Newman Society and the bishop had lost confidence in one other by this time. The fact that Prud'homme had been willing to consider selling the Newman Hall property must also have seemed to President Murray to be a sign that Church commitment to the project was on the wane. Murray's offer to buy the Newman Hall property may well have been his way of "killing two birds with one stone;" attempting to provide facilities for the Music Department, while also putting pressure on the scholastic philosophy lectureship arrangement which had by this time come under much criticism within the university.

An ongoing problem for the Newman Society during the Depression period involved the difficulty of paying the property taxes on Newman Hall. The amount owing each year was approximately \$275 before any penalties for late payment were added, as they always were during the 1930s. As a result, the annual payment required was usually over \$300, a sizable amount at a time when money was extremely scarce. Prud'homme was to take care of the interest and principal on the loan, while the Newman Society had agreed to pay the property taxes, the utilities, fire insurance and maintenance costs, plus help with the interest payments as well. It soon became apparent that Markle's \$25 monthly rent was just not enough to cover all the Newman

¹³Leddy to Cassulo Sept. 17, Oct. 2, 1931. PADA, Prud'homme Papers. Papal Delegate correspondence.

¹⁴J.F. Leddy, "Two Anniversaries," p.23.

¹⁵Canadian papal delegate records dated prior to 1952 have all been transferred from Ottawa to the Vatican Archives in Rome.

Society's expenses and during the 1930s, when Markle's salary was reduced, it became extremely difficult to find sufficient funds. Each year it was a struggle to find the money, with individual members and their families, most of whom were in financial difficulties themselves, donating what they could to bridge the gap. In a brief prepared in 1935, J.J. Leddy described the help the organization also received from Archbishop McNeil of Toronto during this period: "Items such as taxes and insurance fell into arrears, and might have cost us the loss of the property were it not for . . . Archbishop McNeil of Toronto who made personal donations of money, which in one instance came just in time to save the public sale of the property for the payment of taxes."¹⁶

The reduction of Markle's salary was the result of Depression measures taken by the university, and was interpreted by the Newman Society as a move by President Murray to undermine the Scholastic Philosophy/Newman Hall project. The University of Saskatchewan had itself begun to experience financial difficulty during the early 1930s, as had virtually every other institution in the province. Years later, Walter Murray described the difficulties posed by the Depression:

When the seven lean years of the Depression and Drought came to Saskatchewan they found the University enjoying a fortunate position. About 85 per cent of its revenues came from the Provincial Treasury. The period of Depression and Drought saw a drastic change . . . Between 1931 and 1934, provincial revenues to the University were cut by 40%. The University Board of Governors reduced expenditures on operations, increased the fees of students and reduced the salaries of the staff.¹⁷

In 1931, Murray began to trim expenses wherever possible; by 1933, however, it was clear that the cost-cutting measures taken to date would not be adequate and the president devised a plan to reduce salary expenditures even more. He decided to "request" that some of the faculty members take a year's leave of absence with three months pay. Those to be given this "privilege" would be single men with no

¹⁶Newman Society Brief, 1935, p.4. STMA, RG100.2.2.

¹⁷W. Murray, President Emeritus, description of the Depression years, Morton MS p. 360. AUS, Controller and Treasurer Papers, III G. Photocopy in M. Hayden Papers G.II.e.(I).

dependants. As a priest, Dr. Markle fell into the category of single men. Apparently Murray was unaware at this time that Markle's sister Gladys was his dependant, and chose to ignore the other major dependant, the Newman Hall project. On Feb.27, 1933, Murray wrote to Markle, notifying him that he was one of ten (later fifteen in all) who would be required to take 12 months leave with three months pay, beginning July 1, 1933.¹⁸

The Newman Society members were chagrined by the inclusion of Markle in this cost-cutting measure and interpreted it as a direct attack on their project. They felt that, though Markle was indeed a "single man," President Murray could have exempted him on the grounds of his involvement with the Newman Hall project. Newman Hall was dependent upon Markle's continued presence on campus, not to mention his salary; a year's leave of absence would suspend the project for the year, and possibly terminate it altogether. If Markle returned to Ontario, it would be difficult to get him back and the venture would be right back where it had started. Saskatoon dentist Dr. E.B. Nagle's letter of protest to President Murray on behalf of the Newman Society reflected these concerns:

The retirement of Dr. Markle, because of the nature of the subject he is teaching, means to Catholics the suspension if indeed not the ultimate wiping out of the whole department. It is in his case more than the temporary retirement of a member of the professorial staff of a particular department and this they feel can scarcely be justified even on the grounds of economy when it is known that nearly 25% of the people of the Province who contribute through indirect taxation to the maintenance of the University are Roman Catholics and when it is further known that the people of that faith have through the authorities of their Church made an outlay of over \$15,000 to make Dr. Markle's work in his department more effective.¹⁹

It is difficult to know whether the Newman Society was correct in its perception that this was a calculated move by the university to terminate the Scholastic Philosophy project. Certainly, the university faculty had been less than enthusiastic

¹⁸W. Murray to Markle, Feb. 17, 1933. AUS, J. Murray Collection E.II.C.35.

¹⁹Nagle to W. Murray, March 8, 1933. AUS, J. Murray Collection E.II.C.35.

about Markle's appointment in 1926. President Murray had suggested the scholastic philosophy plan as a compromise solution which he thought would halt the "one Catholic university" idea of Archbishop Mathieu and which he hoped would also quickly lead to the establishment of a Catholic college at the university. As the years passed and no action was forthcoming on the Catholic college project, the continued presence of Markle on the university faculty became a source of discomfiture to the university president.

While he worked hard with the Catholic students and had developed a following among the Saskatoon Catholic laity, Markle had not been so attentive to or successful in his relationships with the university faculty. From the outset, the two other members of the Philosophy Department had felt resentment that, without consulting them, President Murray had appointed a Catholic, and a priest at that, to their department. They did not consider Markle's credentials for teaching philosophy to be up to standard, since his major academic qualifications were in theology rather than philosophy, and they also objected to the type of philosophy he taught: "The reaction [to the hiring of Markle] of the other two members of the Philosophy Department, J.A. Sharrard and J.V. Bateman, was a concealed but real disgust. To them philosophy consisted of the ideas of the Greeks, logic, ethics, and psychology, but not metaphysics, which they considered to be theology."²⁰

There were also complaints about Markle's teaching standards; he was "accused of being an easy marker by some, considered a dedicated teacher by others."²¹ Such comments are difficult to confirm or deny. Markle's students certainly considered him to be a good teacher; he was a charming, affable man, and he attracted non-Catholic students as well as Catholics to his classes. Some faculty members as well as his fellow philosophy professors felt he was less demanding of his students than he should be,

²⁰Hayden, *Seeking*, p.172.

²¹*Ibid.*

however, and there may have been some cause for complaint in this regard. On the other hand, Markle did take extra time with students who were having academic or personal problems, and they may have tended to do better in his classes than in others for that reason.²² Markle's classes were usually small, ranging from 2 to 17 students, so it does not seem likely that the other members of the department felt he was drawing students away from them.²³ According to a Newman Society brief prepared in 1935, however, there was some concern within the denominational theological colleges about non-Catholic students taking his classes:

The popularity of the classes in Catholic Philosophy, attracting as they did many Non-Catholics, including even theological students taking courses in the Presbyterian and Anglican Colleges, brought forth a peremptory order from the authorities of these Protestant Colleges forbidding their students to take this course.²⁴

For whatever the reason, Markle's relationship with the University left much to be desired, and complaints within the university community about "special privileges being accorded to special groups" reached President Murray's ears.²⁵ Murray may have considered that the inclusion of Markle's name on the leave of absence list would be an easy way out of a difficult situation with the Philosophy Department. He may also have employed it as a means of forcing the issue with the Catholics once again, in order to bring about further progress on the Catholic college arrangement which he would much prefer to have at the university. Alternatively, Murray's action may not have been directed against Markle personally at all and may actually have been nothing more than what he claimed it to be: a necessary cost-cutting measure by a large institution in a desperate financial situation. Most likely, Murray's action involved all of these reasons to some extent; in J. Francis Leddy's words: "Dr. Murray had an

²²J.F. Leddy, "Two Anniversaries," p.22.

²³AUS, Presidential Papers I.B38/48.

²⁴Newman Society, Leddy Presentation Paper, July 11, 1935. STMA, RG100.2.2 (no confirming documentation found)

²⁵*Ibid.*

intricate mind and rarely made a move for just one reason, rather like a billiard player who manages to sink three balls on one shot."²⁶

The Newman Society informed the archbishop of Regina, James MacGuigan, of the forced leave-of-absence situation, and it was he who organized the Catholic bishops of the province to launch a protest to the university president. The three Saskatchewan Roman Catholic bishops and the abbot of Muenster all signed a letter to be sent to President Murray in which they emphasized the importance of Markle's continued position on the faculty for the ongoing Catholic support of the university:

We feel that [Markle's] release . . . deprives the Church and the University of a link of understanding and cooperation which may mean much for both in future years. We naturally wish our Catholic boys and girls to have the full advantages of our Provincial University, provided that their religious faith may be duly safeguarded and they be given the opportunity of learning the Catholic viewpoint in the fundamental problems of human life.

.....
We feel that the small saving effected by the University would be more than counterbalanced by the loss of such an influence as Dr. Markle's on the spiritual and religious life of the Catholic student body and on the general relations present and future between the Catholic body and the University itself.²⁷

Murray responded to the bishops with assurances that this proposed leave of absence was an economic measure only and was not intended to threaten the Newman Hall project in any way. He spoke of the financial difficulties at the university and his various strategies for dealing with them, outlining this particular measure in detail and listing the names and departments of each of the fifteen being asked to take the special leave.²⁸ On April 17th, 1933, President Murray submitted the bishops' letter to the Board of Governors and the Board suggested an alternative proposal. Markle was to be given the option of remaining, but would receive only eight months' salary for each of the next two years.²⁹

²⁶J.F. Leddy to Hayden, Nov.9, 1982. AUS, Hayden Papers G.1.

²⁷McGuigan to W. Murray, April 5, 1933. AUS, J. Murray Collection, E.II.C.35.

²⁸W. Murray to Nagle, April 7, 1933. AUS, J. Murray Collection, E.II.C.35.

²⁹W. Murray to McGuigan, April 18, 1933. AUS, J. Murray Collection, E.II.C.35.

Though the reduction of Markle's salary was to cause considerable financial difficulty to the Newman Hall project, the whole incident did ultimately have one positive effect. Because of the university's action, the Catholic bishops of Saskatchewan were made aware of the precarious nature of the present arrangement at the university in providing for the needs of Catholic students—an issue which would be brought to their attention again in the near future.

It must have been difficult for Bishop Prud'homme to sign the bishops' letter asking President Murray to keep Markle on at the University, because by 1933 Prud'homme and the Saskatoon Catholics, including Markle, were very much at odds. Prud'homme and the Saskatoon laity had become increasingly unhappy with one another on a number of fronts as time passed, and by 1933 the French and English-speaking Catholics found themselves divided and polarized: most of the French supported Prud'homme, while the most vocal of the Anglo-Celts and English-speaking Catholics insisted that their needs were not being met and that, since they were now in the majority demographically, they should have an English-speaking bishop and a separate diocese in Saskatoon.

It should be noted that the power struggle which took place actually involved very few individuals directly. Many, if not most, of the ordinary Catholics in Saskatoon were scandalized by the bickering taking place within their Church, though it was difficult for them not to be drawn into supporting one side or the other. Some of the most vocal critics of the bishop were members of the Newman Society and one of those most involved in this criticism was Fr. Markle.

Over the years, Markle had become a leader within the Saskatoon Anglo-Celtic Catholic community. He had a charismatic personality and a magnetic speaking style which attracted a following from among those hungry for new ideas and insights. He was often requested to speak at service club meetings and banquets, non-Catholic as well as Catholic -- no small achievement in light of the religious intolerance of the

period.³⁰ In 1932, Fr. Markle and the Knights of Columbus had begun a series of Sunday Afternoon Forums, which involved presentations and discussions on the social encyclicals of the Church and other matters of concern to the Catholics of Saskatoon. These lively sessions were said to attract up to one hundred men every Sunday afternoon and, during the period of turmoil prior to the formation of the Saskatoon diocese, provided opportunities for English-speaking Catholics to voice their concerns and spur each other on to action, usually in opposition to the French bishop and clergy.

During the early 1930s, Bishop Prud'homme had unilaterally implemented several unpopular changes in parish boundaries and clergy appointments in Saskatoon and had made a number of other decisions which caused complaint and distress in the Saskatoon Catholic community. One event which escalated emotions to a fever pitch occurred in August 1932 when the Bishop, without apparent reason, removed Fr. Markle as chaplain of the Sisters of Sion and replaced him with a French-speaking priest. Letters and petitions flew back and forth, with further action by the bishop only making matters worse and causing a serious polarization of Saskatoon Catholics.³¹ The Saskatoon Catholics sent a petition to Rome outlining their view of the situation and requesting that they be given an English-speaking bishop. Letters and documents also went to Rome from Bishop Prud'homme, complaining that the Saskatoon group was "fomenting dissension and trying to stir up race against race," and requesting the removal of Fr. Markle from the diocese.³² Fr. Markle was thus drawn into the thick of the fray, with a number of the English-speaking Saskatoon Catholics, many of them members of the Newman Society, ready to defend him. These rallied around Markle to

³⁰J.F. Leddy, "Two Great Priests: A Tribute," *Chelsea Annual* 1956, p.112-120. p.113.

³¹D. Robertson, *Sword of St. Paul*, pp.22-25. SDA, File (1) 4.

³²*Ibid.*

such an extent that some even called for him to be named their bishop if and when a separate diocese of Saskatoon was formed.³³

The long and bitter controversy between Bishop Prud'homme and the Saskatoon English-speaking Catholics reached a climax in 1933, bringing about a division of the diocese and the naming of an English-speaking bishop to the new diocese of Saskatoon. The announcement of the formation of the diocese was made in Rome on June 9, 1933 and somewhat defused the strong emotions within the Saskatoon Catholic community, though the new bishop, Gerald Murray, CSsR, was not named until December 21st of that year and did not arrive from Victoria, British Columbia to take up his new post until April 18, 1934.³⁴

The Anglo-Celtic Catholics had tried in various ways to acquire power within the Church, but it had been closed to them as long as the episcopacy remained French. The interethnic rivalry between the two groups, which had become more extreme in Saskatoon than anywhere else in the province, had finally led to what the Anglo-Celtic Catholics had called for since arriving in the West; the placement of one of their own people in a position of authority within the Church. The new bishop named to the Saskatoon diocese was fluent in both French and English; it was hoped that he would be able to bring some peace to the Catholic community in the Saskatoon region.

Gerald Murray was born in Montreal in 1885. He had studied at Loyola College in Montreal and Ligourian College in Ottawa, taking his vows as a Redemptorist in 1907. Following his ordination to the priesthood in 1910, Murray studied philosophy in Rome and on his return was for a time a professor of philosophy and later, of theology. In 1930, Murray was named bishop of Victoria, where he served until his transfer to the new diocese of Saskatoon in 1934.³⁵

³³J.J. Leddy to Murphy, Sept. 30, 1932. PAC. Murphy papers. Correspondence files, 6818.

³⁴Robertson, *Sword of St. Paul*, p.26.

³⁵*Ibid.*

The Newman Society met as a body on September 26, 1934 for the first time in nearly five years. The president, J.J. Leddy, explained that "owing to the unsettled and unsatisfactory state of affairs, no regular meetings had been held for some time back and that whatever business seemed urgent had been transacted by the Executive."³⁶ The Society met this time at the request of Bishop Murray to look into the financial status of the Newman Hall project. When the members of the Newman Society next gathered on February 24, 1935, two important matters were dealt with: a proposal was presented to put the Newman Hall project on a firm financial basis by expanding Newman Society membership to Catholics from all parts of the province, and plans were made for a presentation on the Newman Society's work to be made to the papal delegate to Canada, Andrea Cassulo, who planned to visit Saskatoon in July. It is clear from the tone of the Newman Society minutes that now, with the support of their new bishop, the members had a renewed sense of confidence. These laymen were prepared to insist on a greater measure of Church commitment for their university project than they had been accorded in the past:

[The project] could not be put into effect successfully without the solid co-operation and active participation of the Hierarchy of the province. As some members put it, either the Catholic Church wanted this arrangement at the University to continue or she did not. If she did, then the Church should throw behind it the weight of [her] Hierarchical and clerical influence.³⁷

In a letter to Senator Charles Murphy dated June 10th, 1935, Leddy mentioned the proposed presentation to the papal delegate:

Those of us who are interested in this matter are convinced that the issue should be faced squarely now and settled permanently. To us a permanent settlement is a separate institution affiliated with the University and not merely a professorship which subordinates the lecturer on Catholic philosophy to the Head of the Philosophy Department, who can and does through lack of sympathy and co-operation place our boys at a definite

³⁶Newman Society. Minutes, Sept. 26, 1934. STMA, RG100.1.1.

³⁷ *Ibid.*

disadvantage. Whether or not the Papal Delegate will take as definite a stand as the one I suggest remains to be seen.³⁸

In his reply Murphy indicated that he did not share Leddy's attitude of confidence, and suggested that, with regard to the possibility of the papal delegate helping them, "it would be well for you, if you have any other work in hand, or in prospect, to attend to it, and not devote your time and energy to building up for yourself and others one more disappointment."³⁹

The meeting of the Newman Society with Cassulo was held on July 11, 1935, during his tour of the western dioceses to study and report on the "higher institutions of Catholic learning."⁴⁰ Bishop Murray was present as the honorary president of the Newman Society and Markle was in attendance as well. On behalf of the Society, J.J. Leddy made a presentation which outlined the origins and development of the project and described the various difficulties which had been encountered over the years. Perhaps as a result of Murphy's letter, Leddy did not specifically request the establishment of a Catholic college affiliated with the university at this time, though he made it clear that this was the Newman Society's ultimate goal.

The argument Leddy employed to capture Cassulo's interest in the problem of Catholic higher education in Saskatchewan has a familiar ring to it, as it was very similar to the argument made by the French in their opposition to Catholics being associated with the university. Since the presentation was in an all English-speaking-Catholic setting, addressed to a member of the hierarchy with relatively high access to the levers of power within the Church, Leddy used a kind of rhetoric which he certainly would not have employed in a mixed setting of both French and English Catholics or of both Catholics and Protestants. His comments about the university are

³⁸J.J. Leddy to Murphy, June 10, 1935. PAC. Murphy papers. Correspondence files 6872.

³⁹Murphy to J.J. Leddy, June 13, 1935. PAC. Murphy papers. Correspondence files 6873.

⁴⁰Newman Society. J.J. Leddy Presentation Paper, July 11, 1935. STMA, RG100.2.2.

most noticeable and it is on the dangers to the faith and morals of Catholic young people at the university that he based his request for action by the delegate:

The establishment of a University on a State basis, in a province where the spirit of Catholicity had been implanted by the heroic sacrifice of the zealous missionaries of the Canadian West, could produce but one reaction. An institution which in obedience to State requirements would eliminate moral training and confine its activities to purely secular instruction could never satisfy the yearnings of a Catholic heart taught to value its faith as the most priceless of all its possessions. It is not surprising, therefore, that as the barrenness of the spiritual content began to manifest itself and the unsatisfying aspects of it began to settle even on the student body itself, the sense of the absence of what was obviously an essential began to form in the minds of Catholic parents whose sons and daughters were being graduated into the professions without the fundamentals which the University, by reason of its very nature should aim to inculcate. This lack, apparent even in the earlier stages of the University's life might have been slow in developing an urge to action were it not for the more pernicious and positive form which its anti-Christian and anti-Catholic teaching began to assume. When the theories of individual professors often in conflict with the teachings of the Church began to be propounded as ultimate truth and materialism became the dominant note in biological and historical research, the necessity for protective action gave rise to the movement which had its inception in the small delegation of laymen who waited on the Bishop of the Diocese on Easter Sunday 1926 to enlist His Lordship's interest in a project that small though it might be in the beginning would have as its ultimate goal the institution of a Catholic College in affiliation with the University.⁴¹

The Newman Society requested, or rather "suggested," that the papal delegate try to strengthen Markle's position within the university in some way and that he try to get the other dioceses in the province to assist with the financial burden of the Newman Hall foundation:

We respectfully suggest that your Excellency authorize the resumption of negotiations with the University authorities with a view of improving our position there, and that your Excellency also take whatever steps may be necessary to arouse enthusiasm in the project and to co-ordinate the action of all forces necessary to insure its success.⁴²

At the end of the meeting the apostolic delegate requested that a written, comprehensive statement detailing all aspects of the situation be prepared and sent to him. He assured the Society "that he would be glad to submit such a statement to the

⁴¹ *Ibid.*

⁴² *Ibid.*

proper authorities at Rome who would no doubt in turn inform the Hierarchy of the Province through the papal delegate as to what procedure should be followed and what action taken."⁴³ A nine-page brief, entitled "Scholastic Philosophy Foundation and Newman Society at Saskatchewan University," was duly prepared and mailed to Cassulo on August 5, 1935.⁴⁴

The brief outlined the history of the project and the many difficulties which had inhibited its success over the years. The document contended that there was really no alternative to the provincial university for Catholics seeking higher education and that it was important to provide for the teaching of Catholic thought in certain key subjects, particularly philosophy, while enabling Catholics to take advantage of the educational opportunities available in the larger institution. Other than the ongoing financial hardship, the main problem with the present situation was the difficulty in informing Catholic students of the scholastic philosophy courses when they registered at the university. The Department of Philosophy was in charge of registration for all its classes and tended not to direct Catholic students Markle's way. Since Markle had not been promoted beyond the level of lecturer and had no say in decisions made within the Philosophy Department, there was also no possibility of expanding the offerings in scholastic philosophy under the present arrangement. The Newman Society proposed that the Church hierarchy work toward establishing a separate Department of Scholastic Philosophy with Markle as its head:

This, it seems to us, is the task to which the Catholics of the Province should now address themselves. With Dr. Markle in a position of authority to direct and advise Catholic students at the time of their registration, and with Catholic parents throughout this Province properly informed upon this arrangement, all Catholic students would be able to avail themselves of the opportunity thus presented of obtaining a course in Scholastic Philosophy without loss of class credits.⁴⁵

⁴³Newman Society Minutes, July 8, 1935. STMA, RG100.1.1.

⁴⁴Newman Society Brief, Aug. 5, 1935. STMA, RG100.2.2.

⁴⁵*Ibid.*

The brief also presented arguments refuting the view that "the Newman Hall project and the course in Scholastic Philosophy [were] in conflict with the work of Catholic Colleges throughout the province," and asked that the support of the laity and clergy of the whole province be enlisted in the university project. It then made four proposals for consideration by the hierarchy of the Church with regard to the university project, this time including the Catholic college idea as part of the overall plan. The recommendations called for: 1) the eventual establishment of a Catholic college with a contractual affiliation with the university; 2) the temporary creation of a Department of Scholastic Philosophy with Dr. Markle as its head; 3) a more equitable distribution of financial responsibility involving all of the dioceses in the province; and 4) the creation of a fund to build a college "near, but not on the University campus, at the earliest possible date."⁴⁶

Both the July 8th presentation and the August 5th brief were based on a pragmatic presupposition: that is, that Catholic students were presently attending, and would continue to attend, the provincial university whether Catholic courses in sensitive subject areas were available to them or not. The Catholic people of Saskatchewan of whatever ethnic group must be prepared to accept the reality of the situation; although there would probably never be adequate resources available to establish and support an all-Catholic university in western Canada, and there was virtually no possibility of obtaining degree-granting power for a separate institution, well-educated Catholics were needed to provide leadership within Canadian society. The Catholics of the province therefore must try to obtain a constitutionally sound position within the existing university so that Catholic thought and values would have a place in the higher education of Saskatchewan's students.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*

While the Newman Society concerned itself with property taxes and other practical aspects of the Newman Hall project during the fall of 1935, the papal delegate began to move the Society's request through the maze of Vatican bureaucracy. He corresponded with the Sacred Congregation of Seminaries and Universities about the Newman Society's concerns and was requested to put the matter before all the bishops of Saskatchewan. Cassulo wrote to Archbishop P.J. Monahan of Regina on October 18, 1935 asking him to arrange a meeting of the province's four bishops and the abbot to discuss the issue and reach a decision on what action should be taken. The prelates, P.J. Monahan of Regina, Joseph-Henri Prud'homme of Prince Albert, Gerald Murray of Saskatoon, Arthur Melanson of Gravelbourg, and Severin Gertken of St. Peter's Abbey, Muenster, met January 8, 1936 in Regina.

After much discussion, the bishops failed to decide one way or the other about the Saskatoon proposal. In view of the economic situation in Saskatchewan at the time, they were unwilling and unable to commit themselves to a plan which would involve any additional expense. All had experienced difficulties during the Depression period; the archbishop of Regina had been required to ask for financial assistance from Ontario, and the Prince Albert diocese also had a large debt. Though they did give unanimous support to "maintaining and fostering the Newman Hall in Saskatoon," the bishops and abbot stated that it was out of the question to consider opening any kind of Catholic institution of higher education at this time: "As to the establishing in Saskatchewan of a Catholic university or a Catholic college affiliated with the University of Saskatoon [sic], it is absolutely impossible owing to present financial conditions, which will have as an aftermath the delaying of the realization of either of these two institutions for some years to come."⁴⁷ The only action which the bishops

⁴⁷Meeting of the Catholic Hierarchy of the Ecclesiastical Province of Regina. Minutes, January 8, 1936. STMA, RG100.2.2.

felt could be taken at that time would be to attempt to strengthen the position of Fr.

Markle within the university:

by having the Catholic lecturer in philosophy raised to the rank of Professor, which would (1) make him a member of the University Council of the University of Saskatchewan, and (2) give him a more effective influence on the Catholic students attending the University.⁴⁸

The bishops struck a committee to look into the matter with the university president:

A committee of laymen, comprised of Roger Strickland and J.J. Leddy of Saskatoon, Andrew Gerein of Regina, and C. Le Croix of Prince Albert, was authorized to meet with the President of the University and present this recommendation. The lay committee was thus empowered to negotiate directly with President Murray on behalf of the Catholic hierarchy of Saskatchewan "regarding Catholic influence at the State University."⁴⁹

By the year 1936, Walter Murray was himself anxious to do something more for the Catholics at the university; he was coming to the end of a long career as president of the University of Saskatchewan, and though he had hoped to retire in 1931, he had stayed on to handle the difficulties during the Depression. By 1936, he felt it was time to step down and turn the administration over to new leadership. One work which he had hoped to accomplish, but had been unable to bring to fruition over all these years, was the establishment of a Catholic college at the university.

At some point before arranging a meeting with the university president about strengthening the Catholic situation at the university, Bishop Murray and the two Saskatoon members of the committee, J.J. Leddy and Roger Strickland, must have decided to look into what would be involved in establishing a college at this time, instead of merely requesting a promotion for Markle. A Redemptorist confrère of Bishop Murray's, Fr. George Daly, who had previously served as vicar-general in Regina under Archbishop Mathieu, was visiting Saskatoon at this time and added his encouragement. Daly was due to leave for Toronto shortly and it was decided that he should meet with Fr. Henry Carr, then superior-general of the Basilian Congregation,

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*

on Bishop Murray's behalf. Dady was to request advice about establishing a college in Saskatoon modeled on St. Michael's, and to find out whether the Basilian Fathers might now be interested in involving themselves in such a project.

When we compare the two kinds of learning [spiritual and secular], we see that there can be value for us in knowing both if they are like one another. And if they are not, then at least the comparison, by showing us the difference, will help considerably to strengthen us in our attachment to the better. . . . Take a fruit tree; its particular quality is that in season it is covered with fruit, but it also draws a certain attractiveness from the leaves that shimmer on its branches. In the same way, the soul's essential fruit is the truth, but it finds a certain grace also when it wraps itself in secular wisdom, just as the leaves taken together provide a shelter for the fruit and a not unseasonable sight.

Basil of Caesarea¹

CHAPTER SIX 1936 -

The above excerpt is from a treatise written in the 4th Century by St. Basil of Caesarea, in which he speaks of the value of both religious and secular knowledge. St. Basil's view is characteristic of the approach to higher education of the Basilian Congregation of Toronto, which ministers under the patronage of this early Father of the Church.

St. Basil's writings about education are of particular interest because they were presented at a time when there was controversy within the Christian church about whether Christians should restrict themselves to the study of Christian scholarship and literature alone or whether they could benefit from knowledge of non-Christian or pagan thought as well. This debate in Basil's time was similar in nature to the controversy which developed in Saskatchewan sixteen hundred years later. The Saskatchewan controversy was also over the type of education which would best preserve and strengthen the faith of the Catholic community and provide well-

¹Basil of Caesarea, "For the Young on How They Might Derive Profit from Hellenic Literature," in J. Hanrahan, *St. Basil the Great 329-379: A Life with Excerpts From His Works* (Toronto: Basilian Press, 1979), pp. 57-58.

educated people to carry out the mission of the Christian Church in the world.

The Congregation of St. Basil (CSB) was founded in the city of Annonay in the south of France in 1822 by a group of diocesan priests who were engaged in the work of educating young men for the priesthood. A group of Basilian Fathers first came to Canada from France in 1850 at the request of Bishop Armand de Charbonnel, a former student at the college at Annonay. Their work in Canada involved the founding of St. Michael's College, initially on the classical college model and later split into the secondary level St. Michael's College School and the university level St. Michael's College, which officially became an arts college in federation with the University of Toronto in 1910.²

The federated college model had its roots in the college system at Oxford, England and in particular in the efforts of John Henry Cardinal Newman. Newman had wanted to provide Catholic students with a liberal education which would tap into the Catholic academic traditions of scholars such as Thomas Aquinas and St. Augustine, as well as the works of writers and thinkers from other religious and secular traditions. The federated Catholic college model which was developed in Toronto by the Basilian Congregation was later duplicated, with local variations, in a number of other universities in Canada. This type of post-secondary educational institution provided the means for scholarship in both the secular and religious spheres through the incorporation of a small independent Catholic college within a larger secular university. It was this arrangement which most interested those who hoped to establish a Catholic college in Saskatoon.

The Basilian approach to Catholic higher education in Canada, in which a Catholic arts college would operate in conjunction with a secular university, was adopted initially for practical reasons; the Catholic community did not have the resources to

²The present name of the federated college is University of St. Michael's College.

duplicate what tax-supported universities had to offer in the sciences and professional schools. In time many educators came to regard the federated college model as superior to the alternative of a separate Catholic university for other reasons as well. It was felt that Catholics should be educated for leadership roles in the community in order to approach the problems of the world from a Christian perspective. It seemed important therefore that Catholics obtain a broad understanding of the secular world, in a setting where a variety of ideas and issues could also be explored against a background of Catholic thought and Christian values. With their approach to education and their experience with the model of the Catholic college at a secular university, the Basilians seemed to be the ideal community of priests to begin the work of establishing a Catholic institution of higher education at the University of Saskatchewan.

It is not clear from the available documents what happened between the time of the Saskatchewan bishops' meeting in Regina on January 8th, 1936 and Fr. Daly's interview with Fr. Carr a little over two weeks later. The bishops had requested only that the lay committee ask for a promotion for Markle, but the Saskatoon members of the committee, Leddy and Strickland, must have felt certain that President Murray would never accept such a plan. The bishops had made one useful concession at their meeting, however; they had unanimously approved the establishment of a college at some time in the future, as long as it would not cost them anything at the present time. Knowing that they could rely on the moral support of Archbishop Monahan of Regina, Bishop Murray and the members of the Newman Society must have decided to see whether the Diocese of Saskatoon could possibly establish a college on its own without asking the other dioceses for financial support. Daly met with Carr on January 25th; the two priests discussed the possibility of establishing a Catholic college at the University of Saskatchewan, and very soon the wheels began to turn.

Following the January meeting with Daly, Carr sent a letter to Bishop Murray offering him advice about establishing a Catholic college in Saskatoon, and stressing the importance of forging a good relationship between such a college and the university from the outset:

In all probability the conditions and privileges accorded a Catholic college now by the University of Saskatchewan will endure indefinitely into the future. Once the contract is completed it is very doubtful if any further advantages will ever be conceded to the Catholic college. . . . Whatever agreement is entered into now will settle for the future what kind of education the Catholics of Saskatchewan are going to receive. There is no need for me to call attention to the great preparation and care that should be put upon these conditions.³

Carr also emphasized that a formal agreement was really only part of the interaction between college and university. He described the arrangement between St. Michael's and the University of Toronto as one which had been nurtured over a number of years through respect and goodwill: "It was a case of men living and working together with mutual confidence in each other rather than parties to a legal bargain who stood upon their rights."⁴ In Carr's view, it was important to have the legal underpinnings as a guarantee, but success would depend largely on a cooperative spirit.

Fr. Carr also mentioned finances, a matter which would cause some problems a few years later in spite of, or perhaps because of, this advice:

Give no thought whatever to the financial and material side of the undertaking. I do not mean the financial arrangements with the University. This, of course, must be safeguarded. I mean that there is no need to worry about a building or staff or other material things that might call for an outlay of money. . . . The College will win its way through its own worth. Even if you had plenty of money it is better that it should begin in a small and modest way rather than start out with a flourish and a bang. . . . From the first the staff should be good. The professors should be better in their subjects than the professors of the University are in theirs.⁵

³H. Carr to Bishop G. Murray, Jan. 27, 1936. CSBA, STM Letters 1936- .20.

⁴*Ibid.*

⁵*Ibid.*

This was Carr's "people before buildings" approach; in his view it was most important to attract good teachers first, and worry about physical facilities later. In this case, it was an attitude which made possible the establishment of a college under "absolutely impossible" conditions during the depression years in Saskatchewan. A more pragmatic approach would probably have involved more caution about the financial details, and the project might well have been abandoned as a consequence.

Bishop Murray asked Carr to come west to participate in discussions on the college project; Carr arrived in Saskatoon on February 26th and held a series of meetings with members of the Saskatoon Catholic community. Following these preliminary discussions, Carr, Leddy and Strickland made an appointment to meet with President Murray on March 10th. In the meantime, Bishop Murray prepared a tentative proposal for an affiliated college, called at this time simply "St. Thomas College," and sent it to the other bishops of the province and to the papal delegate. Accompanying the proposal was a letter describing Bishop Murray's change of mind since the meeting of the Saskatchewan bishops in January:

Since my return to Saskatoon, the significance of a proposal of affiliation made by President Murray to the late Archbishop of Toronto and through him to the Basilian Fathers has been brought home to me.⁶

I decided to confer with the Superior General of the Basilian Fathers to see if a scheme of affiliation was feasible. We find that on our part, it is possible to make a beginning.⁷

Bishop Murray's proposal included the provision of "financial assistance from the university to the equivalent of salaries on the basis of the university for each of three professors."⁸ There was, of course, nothing to indicate that the university would agree to such a proposal, but it served the purpose of reassuring the bishops that they would

⁶This probably refers to a request made when Walter Murray and Archbishop Neil McNeil met in 1926 to make arrangements for the hiring of Markle by the university.

⁷Bishop G. Murray to Monahan, Prud'homme, Melanson, Gertken and Cassulo, March 9, 1936. STMA, RG101.2.2.

⁸*Ibid.*

not be asked for any money for the project. Since the main objection at their meeting in January had been the presumption of inadequate financial resources for a college at that time, all the bishops of the province readily gave their support to the proposal under these new terms.⁹

On March 10th, the two Saskatoon members of the bishops' committee, J.J. Leddy and Roger Strickland, along with Fr. Carr, had the long-awaited meeting with Walter Murray to discuss the whole matter of the Catholics at the university, the scholastic philosophy course, and the possibility of establishing a college. Murray had met Carr on previous occasions, and for many years had been interested in duplicating the St. Michael's College arrangement in Saskatoon, so his immediate reaction was positive. According to Fr. Carr's recollections, President Murray immediately took for granted that Carr was in Saskatoon representing the Basilians and that the Basilian Congregation was interested in establishing a college at the university:

[President Murray] made it clear from the first that he was delighted to see the Basilians interested in the College, that for many years it had been his desire to see in the University of Saskatchewan a Catholic College doing the work in the relation of St. Michael's to the University of Toronto. He did not anticipate that there would be any difficulty whatever.¹⁰

The four agreed almost immediately that negotiations should begin regarding the establishment by the Basilian Fathers of a Catholic college in affiliation with the University of Saskatchewan. For two of those present, J.J. Leddy and Walter Murray, it had been over twenty-three years since a Catholic college at the university had first been envisaged, but it now took barely twenty-three minutes to reach an agreement to proceed.

Before the meeting concluded, Roger Strickland, having previously been requested to do so by the bishop, asked President Murray if the university would pay

⁹Melanson, Monahan, Prud'homme, Gertken to Murray, March, 1936. SDA, St. Thomas More College file.

¹⁰Carr to Kelly, April 9, 1936. STMA, RG101.2.2.

the salaries of at least two of the professors of the proposed Catholic college. At this, the president's manner changed, as described in Carr's account of the meeting: "It quite evidently worried him [President Murray]. After some little thought and little discussion he told us frankly that it would not be acceptable to the authorities and would not be passed. Mr. Leddy and Mr. Strickland did not press the point."¹¹ This presented a difficulty, however, because the bishop was worried about the financial commitment involved in a college project at a time when his diocese was in debt, and he had counted on the assistance from the university. Though President Murray sincerely wanted to help the college to establish itself, he was not prepared to involve the university in paying salaries to faculty of a denominational college. He had hoped to get rid of the scholastic philosophy problem, not multiply it.

Later that evening, President Murray sent a message to Fr. Carr, asking him to come to the university the next day to meet with him again. Strickland and Leddy wondered why they had been excluded, and were sure that this meant President Murray intended to back out of the whole project. In fact, President Murray's reasons for not including the laymen were twofold; he intended from that point on to negotiate only with Henry Carr and he also wanted to put forward a proposal which involved J.J. Leddy's son, J. Francis Leddy.¹²

President Murray suggested that the university and the Catholic college jointly hire J. Francis Leddy, who was completing studies in Classics at Oxford and was highly respected at the university. J.F. Leddy could be a part-time lecturer in the History Department and teach a class or two for the Catholic college. The president also suggested that Mrs. Bernadine Bujila (daughter of Bernard Hoeschen of the Newman Society), who was a lecturer in French at the university, be given a formal association

¹¹ *Ibid.*

¹² *Ibid.*

with the college as Women's Advisor. These recommendations were accepted and later incorporated into the agreement with the university. President Murray's suggestions regarding these two appointments were seen as a sign of his goodwill, but really did not help the bishop's financial situation. Bishop Murray had been hoping that the assistance from the university would be in the form of salaries which could be used to help defray the expenses of the college.

Following this second meeting, President Murray and Fr. Carr began a formal series of negotiations for establishing the college. They first exchanged written memoranda outlining the general relationship each envisioned the proposed college would have with the university. Carr presented his view on this matter:

We would like such an arrangement as would make it possible for a Catholic student coming up to the University to enroll in St. Thomas Aquinas [sic] College, and take his degree in Arts in that college without being handicapped in any way, or being placed in an inferior condition to other students in Arts at the University.¹³

Carr also mentioned a number of areas to be discussed, including which courses would be taught at the college, the standard of instruction, the relationship between college and university professors, and the involvement of the college in graduate work. Another matter of concern to Carr was what to do about the women students: "As you are aware, our tradition has not favoured co-education. As time goes on we hope to have separate class-rooms and separate buildings for the women students. In all probability the best arrangement will be to have sisters to look after them."¹⁴ The issue of special provisions for women students did not come up again in the negotiations and the new college was co-educational from the outset, as was customary in the rest of the university.¹⁵

¹³H. Carr to W. Murray, March 14, 1936. STMA, RG101.2.2.

¹⁴*Ibid.*

¹⁵M. Hayden, *Seeking*, p.62. Hayden mentions that Walter Murray, as the father of three daughters, favoured separate education for males and females rather than co-education as was the policy of the University of Saskatchewan. Hayden writes: "Young

Following these initial meetings and exchange of memoranda, Carr decided it would be best to carry on further discussions in writing and he returned to Toronto. Negotiations for the college took place over the next four months, and primarily involved President Murray and Fr. Carr, with suggestions from Bishop Murray from time to time. The Newman Society was no longer involved in the negotiations, other than making the occasional suggestion through the bishop.

One area where the Saskatoon group probably did have some indirect involvement was in choosing a name for the new college. In his March 9th, 1936 proposal to the bishops of Saskatchewan, Bishop Murray had referred to "St. Thomas College" and in his March 14th memorandum to President Murray, Carr had called the college "St. Thomas Aquinas," assuming that the college would be under the patronage of this 13th century scholastic theologian and philosopher.¹⁶ The request that the college be named after St. Thomas More was made by Bishop Murray to Carr in April, 1936.¹⁷ The Bishop presented it as Markle's suggestion, but the idea of the name may well have originated with J. Francis Leddy.

St. Thomas More had been canonized in 1935; around that time Francis Leddy, while at Oxford on a Rhodes scholarship, had encountered a fellow student who claimed that Thomas More had been a traitor rather than a martyr. Leddy's interest was piqued by this; he engaged in a study of More's life and presented an essay on Thomas More to his Oxford essay club as a result. When his father wrote to him early in 1936 with the

men and women matured at different rates. During the university years, according to him, girls had passed through adolescence, while boys had not. The lads just were not up to more emotional storm and stress. Also involved was the Victorian desire to protect women from the 'harsher' aspects of reality."

¹⁶There were probably a few who would have found Thomas the Doubter to be an appropriate patron, considering the many difficulties the project had encountered over the years.

¹⁷Bishop Murray to Carr, Apr. 9, 1936. STMA, RG100.2.2.

news that a Catholic college was to be founded in Saskatoon with St. Thomas Aquinas as its patron, Francis suggested an alternative:

Impulsively, but I think logically, I wrote at once to him pointing out that St. Thomas Aquinas had been chosen as the name of many Catholic institutions, educational and otherwise, and that there was not yet, at least to my knowledge, any College named after St. Thomas More, a designation which I thought most suitable for the new College. My suggestion reached the Bishop and Father Carr and they were delighted to adopt it, which rather startled the University Senate when they heard the change of name at the last moment in the negotiations, a turn of events which might not have happened if I had not encountered my abrasive and insulting acquaintance in the Oxford quadrangle.¹⁸

Either J.J. Leddy passed the idea on to Markle, who in turn mentioned it to the Bishop, and so on in linear fashion, or it was an idea which sprang to several minds at the same time because of the interest aroused by Thomas More's canonization. At any rate, the college had a patron, and a very appropriate one for a Catholic college on a secular campus, as described in these reflections by Fr. Edmund J. McCorkell, then principal of St. Thomas More College, in 1957:

We are familiar with the Biblical practice of giving a name which not only marks an identity but confers a vocation. Something like that happened here; for in giving the College its name the founders not only identified it, but expressed in an inspired way the kind of college they intended it to be. It was to be the kind of college that would turn out graduates like St. Thomas More.

St. Thomas More stood on the dividing line which separated the crumbling political structure of the mediaeval world from the modern world which was slowly emerging. He looked to the future as every man with keen mind must look. He envisaged a reform, not of course the precise kind that political pressures eventually brought about, but nevertheless a genuine reform, and he was in touch with kindred spirits in every part of Europe who would help to make it possible. It is true he had one eye on the receding Middle Ages, but he was no antiquarian. He would agree with Chesterton that progress is not like a road we leave behind, but like a tree that grows out of a root. Thomas More would carry the values of the past where they are rooted, into the future where they will come to flower.¹⁹

Although the name "St. Thomas More" was decided upon as early as April, 1936, Carr neglected to mention the name change to President Murray until July 22, 1936,

¹⁸J.F. Leddy, "The Two Anniversaries," p.27.

¹⁹E. McCorkell, Talk re St. Thomas More, Feb. 7, 1957. STMA, RG101.1.4.

causing some confusion in the documentation. Bishop Murray referred to the college "St. Thomas More" in his correspondence with the university, and the University Board of Governors and Senate continued to call it "St. Thomas Aquinas" College, until Carr finally explained the change in his July letter to President Murray.²⁰

The negotiations with the University involved two main categories: educational and financial. Some of the issues readily agreed upon were the following: that, when so required, the university would lease to the college three to five acres of land at \$5.00 *per annum* for a term of twenty-one years with the right of renewal, that the principal of the college would be a member of the University Senate and full time professors would be members of the Faculty of Arts, and that students of the college could be admitted to university classes provided they met the academic qualifications and had paid the required fees. After further discussion, President Murray agreed on the equivalency of St. Thomas More College classes and examinations with those of the university, and that such matters would be worked out between the department heads of the college and the corresponding department heads of the university, with the president of the university as the final authority on matters of dispute. Fr. Carr insisted that professors of the college should not come under the authority of the university department heads, but should have equivalent status in their college departments, thus forming a parallel structure with the university organization. It was also agreed that college faculty would meet the same academic qualifications as those on the university faculty.²¹

The issue of which courses would be taught in the new college was agreed upon as follows: "The University will recognize the instruction given by St. Thomas More College in Classics, French, German, English, Economics, History and Philosophy now

²⁰Carr correspondence. STMA, RG100.2.2.

²¹*Ibid.* Also AUS, Pres. Papers I.B.101, STM file, Board of Governors Minutes, President's Report 1936-37; CSBA, STM Letters 1936-.20; SDA, Carr file, STM file.

offered by St. Michael's for recognition for the B.A. of Toronto, and such other subjects as may from time to time be agreed on."²² This clause left the college open to negotiate the offering of other classes in the future, which it later did in the case of sociology, psychology and political science. The main criterion was that St. Thomas More could only teach arts classes in subject areas offered by the university. This meant that the teaching of theology for university credit was not possible, since the university did not have such a department.

Another issue which Carr and President Murray discussed extensively involved the manner in which tuition fees would be collected and distributed. At first Murray proposed that the university and the college collect fees for the particular classes each taught. Carr in turn described the arrangement in Toronto and recommended the same method for Saskatoon:

The University of Toronto undertakes to do the teaching in certain subjects, particularly the natural sciences, in order to save the colleges the expense involved in the teaching of these heavy subjects. The University does not charge the student or the college any fee for the subjects it teaches to the students of the colleges.²³

The final agreement did contain this policy: St. Thomas More College students would pay their tuition to the college and their student fees to the university. The university agreed to teach them any other courses in arts and sciences without further adjustment, provided the same annual tuition fee was required by both the college and the university.

President Murray made this concession in return for the college relieving the university of responsibility for the scholastic philosophy courses according to the following arrangement:

St. Thomas More is to assume responsibility for the instruction in Scholastic Philosophy which the University has hitherto borne. To facilitate this

²²University Senate Minutes, July 13, 1936. AUS.

²³Carr to W. Murray, Apr. 29, 1936. STMA, RG101.2.2.

transfer without undue hardship the University agrees to make up for the next three sessions the difference between one-half of the fees received by St. Thomas More each year and the amount of the salary now paid to the Lecturer in Scholastic Philosophy.²⁴

Salaries of its other faculty were, of course, to be paid entirely by the college itself from the outset.

Fr. Carr and President Murray also agreed that students in law, medicine, education and other professional schools would be free to take St. Thomas More College classes where arts classes were called for in their academic programs, and the provision was made for graduate studies to be carried out through St. Thomas More College in conjunction with the University Graduate Committee at some future time. The final provision involved classrooms, and was one which would have a strong influence on the development of a closely integrated relationship between St. Thomas More and the rest of the university: "Until St. Thomas More College is in a position to provide sufficient accommodation for its lecture courses, the University will grant such classroom accommodation as is available."²⁵

In order for the college to be established as a legal entity, formal approval was required from three sources: the University of Saskatchewan, the Basilian Congregation in Toronto, and the Sacred Congregation of Seminaries and Universities of the Roman Catholic Church at the Vatican. On July 3rd, 1936 the Basilian General Chapter recommended that the Congregation undertake the Saskatoon college project and the General Council gave its approval on July 7th. Bishop Murray was in Toronto giving a retreat at that time and Fr. Carr notified him by phone at the conclusion of the

²⁴University Senate Minutes, July 13, 1936. AUS. In October 1936, Murray proposed a change in the financial arrangements to Basilian Frs. Rush and Anglin. The change, which did not seem to be a significant one at the time, had the result of leaving the college short of funds and in a precarious financial situation for the first few years. See M. Sanche, *Heartwood: A History of St. Thomas More College and Newman Centre at the University of Saskatchewan*, (Muenster, Sask.: St. Peter's Press, 1986), p.70.

²⁵*Ibid.* The temporary classroom arrangement eventually became a permanent one by mutual agreement between the university and the college. See M. Sanche, *Heartwood*, p. 89.

General Chapter that the college project had been recommended. Unfortunately, Henry Carr, who had been so careful to deal with the university president in writing all through the negotiations, did not put the Basilian recommendation in written form. The telephone notification was the only one given to the bishop, an oversight which later led to a misunderstanding over who was financially responsible for the expenses of the college.²⁶

The way was now clear for Bishop Murray, on behalf of the Diocese of Saskatoon, to make formal application to the university for the affiliation of St. Thomas More College.²⁷ The bishop sent the application on July 7th, and the matter was placed on the agendas of the University Council and the Senate. Walter Murray's old friend, former University of Toronto president, Sir Robert Falconer, had been at the University of Saskatchewan in May to receive an honorary degree and deliver the convocation address.²⁸ At an informal luncheon with members of the University Senate, Falconer had described in glowing terms the successful arrangement between St. Michael's College and the University of Toronto. Whether Falconer's testimonial was necessary or not, it did the proposal no harm, and St. Thomas More College was given approval by both the University Council and the Senate on July 13th, 1936.²⁹

The papal delegate to Canada required a written submission to set before the Sacred Congregation of Seminaries and Universities in Rome in order to obtain approval for the college. As part of this submission, Bishop Murray forwarded a copy of a letter he had received from Henry Carr outlining the rationale for such a college.

²⁶M. Sanche, *Heartwood*, p.72.

²⁷Though St. Thomas More College was constituted as a federated college, it was described as an "affiliated college" at the time of its founding. The *de facto* federation arrangement was officially recognized by the University in 1953. See M. Sanche, *Heartwood*, p.106-107.

²⁸J. Greenlee, *Sir Robert Falconer: A Biography* (Toronto: Univ. of T. Press, 1988), p.331. UTA. Falconer Papers A67-0007/102.

²⁹See Appendix: "Chronology of Events Leading Up to the Establishment of St. Thomas More College, 1936."

Though the letter was addressed to Bishop Murray, it was written with the Church authorities in mind, and emphasized the aspects of the project which would be of particular concern to the Church at that time:

In a province like Saskatchewan there is no Catholic institution with a degree-granting charter from the Provincial Legislature. As far as we can see into the future, there never will be such a charter granted to a Catholic college or university. . . .

It is not, therefore, a question of drawing Catholic students into the University. It is true that some Catholics will go to the University when they know there is a Catholic College there, who might not otherwise have gone. On the whole, however, Catholic students are going to go to the Provincial University whether there is a Catholic college there or not. The function of the Catholic College is to save the Catholic students from the unfavourable influences of secular education by drawing them into the Catholic College and enabling them to acquire the best instruction obtainable in university subjects and courses, and at the same time sending them out with a thorough grasp, in theory and practice, of Catholic doctrine and Catholic life.

There remains one possible further objection. Can the College itself, the authorities and the staff, remain unaffected by the contact with the secular university? We know from experience that we can give an affirmative answer to that. Anyone who knows anything about conditions at St. Michael's will say, without hesitation, that in this respect the College is almost ideal. There is a Catholic consciousness and a pride in the Church. We can truly say with confidence that a Catholic student can come to the Catholic College and be sure of thorough instruction, not only in the doctrines of the Church as expounded in the classroom, but also of a Catholic outlook, a Catholic mentality.³⁰

The papal delegate gave Bishop Murray tentative approval to go ahead with the college project, subject to later formal ratification from Rome. The official approval from the Sacred Congregation of Seminaries and Universities in Rome for the establishment of St. Thomas More College in affiliation with University of Saskatchewan was given September 8, 1936.³¹

By late July, 1936 the negotiations were complete and discussions took place within the Basilian Council regarding who would be sent to Saskatoon. Fr. E. Leonard Rush and Fr. Gerald Anglin were the two who were eventually asked to carry out the

³⁰Carr to Bishop Murray, July 30, 1936. CSBA, STM Letters 1936- 20.

³¹Sacra Contregatio de Seminariis et de Studiorum Universitatibus to James Charles MacGuigan, Archbishop of Toronto, Sept. 8, 1936. Num. Protoc. 1466/35/11. ARCAT, Papal Delegate Records, Roman Correspondence. MGRC 17.703.

pioneer work of the new venture. Rush, who was to be the first principal of the college, was a native of Toronto and had studied at Toronto, Western and Columbia Universities as well as at the Universities of Paris and Munich. Just prior to coming to Saskatoon, he had been professor of French at the University of Toronto. His companion, Fr. Anglin, was a graduate of Osgoode Hall and had been principal of St. Michael's College School prior to his Saskatoon assignment.

The two Basilians arrived in Saskatoon on August 21, 1936 and, after recovering from the first sight of the campus with its wide open spaces and lack of trees, the two "pioneers" settled themselves into the white house, erecting a sign over the front door announcing its new name: "St. Thomas More College." After more than 23 years and many false starts, a Catholic college had finally been established at the University of Saskatchewan, housed in the white house which had been the focal point of Catholic student activity as Newman Hall since 1927. St. Thomas More College, with a teaching faculty of Rush, Anglin, Markle and J.F. Leddy, officially opened its doors to its first students, 39 in number, on September 24, 1936.

The statement of the college's objectives at the time of its establishment is worth noting because of the kind of providential mission it describes:

[St. Thomas More College's] aim is the development of a cultured, courageous Catholic, and the development of the power to fulfill the Divine destiny as a Catholic, University-trained leader of tomorrow. . . . It accomplishes this end through the Liberal Arts; the Power of Expression; Reasoning in Religion; Reasoning in Philosophy.³²

Whereas in the past, providentialism had involved the belief that a mission had been given to a people by virtue of their common homeland or ancestry or linguistic group, at this time the sense of mission was articulated in terms more acceptable to a multiethnic community. The mission as portrayed here was perceived to be an individual rather than a communal one; it involved a call for young people to develop

³²STM brochure, 1936. CSBA, STM Letters 1936- .20.

the intellectual gifts or talents which had been given to them by God, and to fulfill their "Divine destiny" within the larger society as "Catholic, University-trained leaders of tomorrow."

* * * * *

John Henry Newman described the nature of a university in this way:

A university is the place to which a thousand schools make contributions; in which the intellect may safely range and speculate, sure to find its equal in some antagonistic activity, and its judge in the tribunal of truth. It is a place where inquiry is pushed forward, and discoveries verified and perfected, and rashness rendered innocuous, and error exposed, by the collision of mind with mind, and knowledge with knowledge.³³

With the establishment of St. Thomas More College, the Catholics of Saskatchewan were finally able to have a place of their own within such a university. After nearly a quarter century of "collision of mind with mind" over what kind of higher education would be best for Saskatchewan's Catholic students, St. Thomas More College had emerged as an educational institution which would bring together the Catholic and secular worlds. To Catholics it would provide a place where the "intellect [could] safely range and speculate" and to the university it would contribute a long heritage of Catholic culture and thought, adding a healthy diversity to the scholarship of the larger institution. For the Catholic community of Saskatoon the establishment of a Catholic college after so much controversy and strife represented a turning away from the past divisiveness and alienation as represented by the Tower of Babel, and a moving toward reestablishing the original harmony of the human community and the union of humankind with God, as symbolized by the Tree of Eden, which is perhaps the providential mission of all peoples.

³³J.H. Newman, "What is a University?" in C.F. Harrold, ed. *A Newman Treasury* (London: Longmans, Green & Co., 1943), p.41.

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APPENDIX
CHRONOLOGY OF EVENTS LEADING UP TO THE ESTABLISHMENT
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- March to May, 1936: negotiations carried on between Fr. Henry Carr, csb, Basilian Superior-General (in consultation with Bishop Gerald Murray, cssr, Bishop of Saskatoon) and Dr. Walter Murray, President of the University of Saskatchewan.
- May 7, 1936: President Murray makes a presentation to the University Senate about the proposed college; a committee is empowered to carry on with the negotiations "provided the decision is unanimous."
- May 9, 1936: Former President of University of Toronto, Sir Robert Falconer, in Saskatoon to receive an honorary degree from the University, meets with the Board of Governors at an informal luncheon and explains the financial and educational aspects of federation at University of Toronto, with particular reference to St. Michael's College.
- May [30?], 1936: President Murray sends a 25 page report to the Board of Governors detailing his negotiations with Fr. Carr between March 6th and May 20th, and the proposed affiliation of Catholic College with the University.
- June 23, 1936: U. of S. Board of Governors approves the financial aspects of affiliation of Catholic College with the University.
- June 30 - July 3, 1936: Basilian General Chapter: Report of the Superior General and General Chapter Minutes: The Chapter recommends that the Basilians establish a college in Saskatoon. Fr. Carr telephones Bishop Murray, who is in Toronto giving a retreat, and tells him of the Basilian recommendation.
- July 7, 1936: The Basilian General Council approves the Saskatoon college project for 3 yrs.
- July 7, 1936: Formal application is submitted to the University for the affiliation of St. Thomas More College, signed by Bishop Murray on behalf of the Diocese of Saskatoon, according to terms outlined in the latest memorandum from President Murray to Fr. Carr.
- July 13, 1936: Application for affiliation of St. Thomas More College is approved by the University Council and the University Senate according to the terms set out in the latest memorandum from President Murray to Fr. Carr.
- c. July 28, 1936: Fr. Carr visits the papal delegate in Ottawa to apprise him of the approval of the University for the establishment of the college.

July 30, 1936: Carr writes to Bishop Murray outlining the advantages available to Catholic students at an affiliated or federated Catholic college; this letter is sent to the papal delegate to place before the Sacred Congregation of Seminaries and Universities in Rome with a request for approval of the college project.

August 21, 1936: Two Basilians, Frs. Rush and Anglin, arrive in Saskatoon to establish St. Thomas More College.

Sept. 8, 1936: Official approval of the establishment of St. Thomas More College is given by the Sacred Congregation of Seminaries and Universities of the Roman Catholic Church in Rome.