

## PART II: RHETORIC IN CANADA

### McCULLOCH TO deMILLE: SCOTTISH INFLUENCES ON THE TEACHING OF COMPOSITION AND RHETORIC IN NINETEENTH-CENTURY CANADA

Anne Tayler

The history of rhetoric and composition instruction in Canada is yet to be written. Such a study will examine not only the curricula at various levels of instruction, but also the textbooks used, along with the traditions upon which courses and texts relied, and the various forces which influenced the choice of texts and the shape of courses. Equally important, such a study will examine the context in which rhetoric and composition developed in Canada--for example, those social and political conditions which encouraged belles-lettres rather than oratory.

One piece of this yet unassembled puzzle involves the influence, on texts, curricula and context, of early Scottish Canadians. Virtually from their arrival, Scottish immigrants became deeply and vitally involved in every aspect of education--teaching, administration, curricula development, patronage, and even the production of teaching materials--making many significant contributions to Canada's emerging educational system. The Scottish influence seems to have been particularly wide-ranging and long-lasting, especially considering conditions in Canada--the vastness of the country, the many different immigrant groups, gradual settlement over three centuries, and lack of funding, and the many diverse influences on the early education systems.

That the Scots moved quickly and surely, and with success, where the English and French and even the Loyalists had not, is remarkable,

especially given that they arrived on the scene relatively late, were significantly outnumbered, and were generally poor and uneducated. Yet historians are quick to point out that Scots were excellent settlers. Most of the Scots who came to Canada were escaping extreme poverty, and were determined not to return to their homeland. In addition, the climate, geography and history of Scotland prepared them well for Canada. Fiercely independent and hard-working, they moved quickly into farming, business and trades, often succeeding where others failed (Reid 13). Moreover, the Scottish immigrants were not prepared to wait for the government to do something and they were willing to tackle the job themselves.

The Reverend Thomas McCulloch was just such an immigrant, and his arrival in Pictou, Nova Scotia, in 1803, signalled the beginning of a very important period for education in Canada, in particular for rhetoric and composition instruction. Over the next seventy-five years, thanks in no small measure to the work of McCulloch and other Canadian Scots, a public education system was created; most of Canada's major universities were established; and the publishing industry expanded, and started publishing textbooks. In addition, Canadian scholars began to do original work, rather than simply adapting, abridging or paraphrasing the work of others. Meanwhile, the teaching of composition and rhetoric developed from a discipline dependent on old world teachers, texts and methods, to one in which teachers were trained in Canada, methods and materials were adapted to local conditions, and texts were written and produced locally.

A very particular set of circumstances existed in 1803 which set the stage for the work McCulloch and other Scottish-Canadian educators would do. First, very little had been done, outside of Quebec. Early settlers and their governors alike had grown increasingly concerned about education,

and had discussed public education, non-sectarian schools, and higher education; yet little had been accomplished, and only a tiny percentage of immigrant children had access to any form of schooling. In some communities, enterprising individuals offered private instruction, but the Church of England, which was responsible for education throughout English Canada, had set up only a few small parish schools.<sup>1</sup> To make matters worse, most of the first teachers were no better educated than their students.<sup>2</sup> On arriving in Halifax, in 1787, Bishop Inglis remarked that "the country [was] destitute of the means of education--there was not even a good Grammar-school in the whole province."<sup>3</sup>

Second, the state of higher education was even worse. Until late in the century, post-secondary educational facilities existed only in Quebec, and those all but died when the British took over in 1763 (Harris 14-26). Canadian families seriously interested in educating their sons had to send them to Europe, or to the United States where colleges had been in existence for over a century (Harvard was founded in 1636, Yale in 1701).

Third, the first serious effort to improve the situation produced nothing more than an exclusive Loyalist-Anglican college. Five Loyalist clergymen in New York petitioned the governor-in-chief of British North America, arguing that without a college or seminary, Nova Scotian youth would be forced to go to the States where they would "soon imbibe principles . . . unfavourable to the British constitution."<sup>4</sup> In spite of the strong language, nothing happened until several Loyalist settlers in the province presented their own petition in 1785. That petition led to the establishment of two colleges--King's College at Fredericton (1787) and King's at Windsor, Nova Scotia (1789)--but the New Brunswick college did not offer advanced instruction for many years. King's at Windsor began to

operate as a college at once, largely because of the presence of Bishop Inglis. Inglis wanted "to prevent the importation of American Divines and American policies."<sup>5</sup> Predictably, the college was modelled after English universities, with instruction concentrating on Classics and Mathematics, and the administration went to great lengths in defense of the Church of England--the President was a Church of England clergyman, prayers were read morning and evening, and in 1803 the Board published Statutes requiring all students to sign The Thirty-Nine Articles of the Church of England. Consequently, admission to the only college in British North America, outside of Quebec, was effectively and severely limited.

Fourth, in addition to shortages of educational facilities, qualified teachers, and course offerings, there was also a serious lack of educational materials. The first press was set up in 1752; but by the time McCulloch arrived, the publishing industry had produced nothing more than government pamphlets and reports, and a few religious treatises. And it was virtually impossible to purchase a book in the provinces, even if one could afford it. Ministers and tutors alike turned to their churches, relatives and friends in England, Scotland and Ireland, asking them to send whatever they could. There are no official records to show what texts were used before 1803, only occasional references made in the letters of teachers and students, and a few copies of 18th-century texts held in private collections or university archives. The texts referred to here are contained in an uncatalogued collection of three hundred textbooks, in the University of British Columbia Library, Special Collections Division.

The collection contains five books dated prior to 1803, two by Englishmen, three by Scots, and all published in England or Scotland. All but one were issued in the last three years of the century, so probably

were not used in Canada until after the turn of the century. Nevertheless, they give some idea of what kind of text was used. The earliest, A Guide to the English Tongue (London, 1770), by Thomas Dyche, focuses on pronunciation, and offers a little information on punctuation and orthography, but none on grammar or composition. The other, George Fisher's The Instructor: A Young Man's Best Companion (London, 1799), contains a little of everything except grammar and composition--spelling, reading, writing, arithmetic, "merchant's accompts," "practical gauger," geography, astronomy, and "interest tables"--a good all-purpose book for a settler to take to the colonies. The other three are grammars: A Practical Grammar (Glasgow, 1797), by John Burn; Lindley Murray's famous English Grammar (York, 1799), and an abridgement of Murray's text (York, 1799). First published in 1795, Murray's Grammar was by far the best-known and most popular of several hundred texts published in the eighteenth century. So it is not surprising to find his texts among the first used in Canada.

Finally, the lack of basic educational facilities became intolerable after the 1763 British victory, when a sudden and rapid increase in the population occurred. In addition to thousands of British settlers, sent to back up the victory, full-scale Scottish and United Empire Loyalist immigrations began, with over 25,000 Scots and 30,000 Loyalists arriving in just three decades. The immigrants had no money and little time for education or recreation. Still, many were eager to have their spiritual needs attended to, and so they sent out urgent appeals for clergymen. The churches, equally eager to ensure that the Christian gospel was spread in the New World, responded quickly. And within a few years, the settlers and

clergy both began to consider the need to provide education for the future clergy and leaders of the colonies.

Into that environment came Thomas McCulloch. He left a comfortable parish near Glasgow, offered to go to British North America, and was sent to Prince Edward Island. He landed at Pictou, Nova Scotia, so late in the fall of 1803 that he had to winter over there. The residents, eager to have a minister, hastily built a house and church for McCulloch and his family, and convinced him not to move on in the spring. Within a few months he was tutoring the local children, and by 1808 was unofficially offering advanced instruction.

It was one thing for a teacher to set up a small private school in his home, quite another for a minister of the Secession Church to establish an academy that would give Presbyterian settlers educational opportunities comparable to those available at the nearby King's College. Also quite another matter to train Canadian youth for the Presbyterian ministry, when the official church was the Church of England. None of this would have mattered if McCulloch or the citizens of Pictou had been independently wealthy. But they were not, and the academy would need funding.

McCulloch and his colleagues made a humble, carefully phrased proposal to the government. They promised not to grant degrees, not to offer religious studies, to remain non-denominational, to have both Presbyterians and Anglicans on the board, and not to compete in any way with King's College. McCulloch's plan worked remarkably well: Pictou Academy was established in 1815, and granted a charter in 1816. The Academy turned out some exceptional graduates, many of whom will turn up later in this discussion. Students did not get Pictou degrees, but McCulloch had something better up his sleeve. They simply went to Scotland and took MA

exams at Glasgow, and did so with great success.<sup>6</sup> The Kirk and government officials eventually caught up to the Academy; various officials worked together, forcing the Academy to stick to the conditions of its charter, and then withdrawing all funding. As a result, Pictou Academy was transformed into a secondary school, in 1838, the same year that Lord Durham published his momentous Report.

While McCulloch charged ahead with Pictou Academy, major developments occurred elsewhere in elementary, secondary and college education. The government began to set up a public schooling system to replace the private and semi-private schools of the 18th century, and Public School Acts were instituted in Nova Scotia and New Brunswick in 1811 and 1816 respectively--Acts which, if not effective immediately, did establish a framework. The demands on the elementary education system began to increase dramatically not only because the population continued to grow rapidly, but also because a greater percentage of settlers were sending their children to school, at least occasionally.

In the meantime, several other colleges struggled into existence, among them Dalhousie, McGill and King's College, Toronto. It is often quite difficult to sort out the first years of these universities. Usually they were established first on paper by their founders, then granted charters by the governor's office; next someone or some group lobbied for money and land, to set up the physical university. That done, curricula and programs were planned and staff hired. At every stage, politics, religion or personality clashes could bring the entire project to a standstill. For example, the cornerstone for Dalhousie was laid in 1820; but it took many years to plan and build the college, and teaching did not commence until 1838. McGill was planned in the teens and granted a charter

in 1821; but legal complications delayed the opening until 1829; meanwhile, in 1828 the Montreal Medical Institution (which had been operating for four years) was engrafted on to McGill as a medical faculty.

As academy and post-secondary facilities grew, more and more Scottish instructors were hired directly from Scotland. Although Scotsmen often served on the boards of the institutions, their hiring decisions were not mere favouritism. For it was generally believed that Scottish teachers would work harder for less money. Bishop Strachan, speaking of English teachers, said: "Learning they may have in abundance, but the industry, the labour (I may say drudgery) and accommodation to circumstances cannot be expected from them."<sup>7</sup> And a report on a newly appointed Scottish mathematics professor reads:

[H]e is an intelligent, steady sort of man. . . of exceedingly good attainments and most successful in tuition. . . . We could not have expected to get anybody from an English University at the same rate.<sup>8</sup>

Those early Scottish-Canadian educators--teachers and administrators alike--along with the patrons, wanted to model Canadian universities on Scottish ones. Admission policies were perhaps the first thing affected. Scottish universities had long maintained open admission policies, and education generally was open to all, in theory if not in practice. Poor rural families--that is, most Scots--usually were unable to send their children to school. Nevertheless, the government experimented energetically and persistently, if not always successfully, with various types of rural education, for which admission was not restricted according to class or religion. So the immigrants brought with them at least the



idea of public schooling. Lord Dalhousie expressed this attitude clearly in a ceremonial address in 1820:

This College of Halifax is founded for the instruction of youth. . . It is formed in imitation of the University of Edinburgh: its doors will be open to . . . all who may be disposed to devote a small part of their time to study. . . . It is founded upon the principles of religious toleration secured . . . by the laws (Harvey 19-20).<sup>9</sup>

Teaching methods and curricula at the early universities also bear the mark of the Scots. The lecture system still in use today is based on a system originally developed at Scottish universities early in the eighteenth century.<sup>10</sup> One of the strongest proponents for the lecture system, John Strachan, argued that "so much more can be done at one fourth of the expense."<sup>11</sup> But the Scots were not motivated only by frugality. They also believed that students would benefit from attending lectures given by mature, distinguished scholars and learn more than they would participating in tutorials supervised by young, inexperienced graduates. There were still relatively few teachers in Canada, certainly not enough to have distinguished scholars running tutorials.

Curricula at most of the first colleges were also based on those of the Scottish universities. At Pictou, Classics, Hebrew, Philosophy, History, Mathematics, Natural Philosophy and Theology were included. In contrast, the curriculum at King's (Windsor) appeared quite broad on paper, but was actually quite narrow; the principal, Dr. Edwin Jacob, an Oxford graduate, believed the aim of the college was to impart intellectual and moral culture, which could be achieved through the study of ancient classical languages and literature. In 1826, Strachan recommended the inclusion of Classical Literature (and English composition), Mathematics,

Natural History, Natural Philosophy and Chemistry, Moral Philosophy and Divinity, and Surgery and Anatomy in the curriculum at King's, Toronto. Still, it would be some time before curricula would reflect the extensive influence of Scottish educators.

While teachers continued to acquire texts from Scotland and England, they began also to import them from the United States. And in the 1820's Canadian publishers at last began to produce textbooks. Of the twenty-two books in the collection dated between 1803 and 1840, sixteen were published in the United States, four overseas, and two in Canada. Among the American and overseas books are seven later editions and versions of Murray's work, seven other basic grammars, five rhetoric texts (including an edition of Hugh Blair's Lectures), and an anonymous work called The Mental Guide: Being a Compend of the First Principles of Metaphysics and a System of Attaining an Easy and Correct Mode of Thought and Style in Composition by Transcription: Predicated on the Analysis of the Human Mind. This last one is particularly interesting inasmuch as the title and the contents point both to an increasing interest in the relationship between writing and thinking, and continuing concerns for correctness.

Of the Canadian publications, the earliest is an edition of William Lennie's Principles of English Grammar, published in Montreal in 1834. Next to Murray, Lennie is the name that appears most often in the collection--eighteen editions of his work in all. And there is considerable evidence in official and personal records to indicate that Lennie's book was widely used throughout the Maritimes for much of the nineteenth century. In the 1860's, county inspectors throughout Nova Scotia refer to its widespread use. The other Canadian book, A New Guide to the English Tongue, by Thomas Dilworth, published in 1836 in Halifax was

also very popular in elementary and preparatory schools of the Maritimes. One Nova Scotian of the time recalled that he had "begun school in Dilworth and graduated in Dilworth" (Perkins 86). Like Murray's and Lennie's, and most other grammar texts used in Canada at the time, Dilworth's text deals almost exclusively with detailed definition and complex classification of the elements of language.

The developments which occurred in the thirty-five years following McCulloch's arrival established the framework for Canada's educational system. And the closure of the Pictou Academy, while a battle loss for McCulloch and the Scottish Presbyterians of the Maritimes, was in many respects the real beginning of higher education in the colony. The most significant developments occurred over the next five decades. Attendance at school increased dramatically, becoming general rather than selective and occasional. More than a dozen universities opened, all of which survive today. The Canadian publishing industry became seriously involved in textbook publication. And Canadian Scots, including several Pictou graduates, were involved at every level.

Dalhousie University opened the same year that Pictou was closed, in 1838, and the authorities asked McCulloch to be the first principal there--they thought, quite rightly, that it was the best way to keep an eye on him. He served until his death in 1843, at which point Dalhousie ceased to act as a university and became a secondary school. Pictou graduate James Ross was largely responsible for re-opening the university in 1863. Meanwhile, another Pictou graduate, William Dawson, became the first Superintendent of Education in Nova Scotia in 1850. The work that he did as superintendent was crucial because school attendance in the province increased sharply while he was in office, then tripled soon after he left

the job.<sup>12</sup> In 1855, Dawson was asked to take over the principalship at McGill. The university had been stumbling badly since its opening in 1829, with only seven graduates in 25 years (outside of the medical faculty). As one scholar notes, "when he arrived at McGill the University's very survival was in doubt; when he retired its place as one of the important universities in the world was secure" (O'Brien 24). Almost the same situation occurred at Queen's University, which opened in 1841, but struggled ineffectively until the arrival, in 1877, of another Pictou graduate, George Munro Grant. Grant did an incredible job of fundraising, organizing and energizing the campus. Among the other colleges that opened were Acadia in 1838, Victoria in 1841, King's at Toronto in 1843, and Trinity in 1852.

The curricula at virtually every college plainly reflect the presence of Scots educators and administrators. When Dalhousie re-opened in 1863, the curriculum included Classics, Mathematics, Logic and Ethics, Natural Philosophy, Chemistry, and Metaphysics; with a course in modern languages added soon after. McGill's curriculum, shaped of course by Dawson, included a number of professional programs; its medical school bore the mark of the four Edinburgh graduates who founded it. Similarly, Queen's curriculum, almost an exact replica of Edinburgh's, was designed by several Edinburgh graduates involved in founding and reviving the university--among them, James Liddell, James Machar, John Watson, and Clark Murray. At Toronto, Scotsmen George Paxton Young, H. A. Nicholson, R. Wright, and Daniel Wilson helped shape the programs. And even at the Loyalist stronghold of King's College at Fredericton, a Scot--William Brydon Jack--worked to expand the curricula and create a professional school of engineering (Falconer 2.7-20).

Wherever there were Scottish teachers there was deep concern for the relevance of higher education to life in the colonies. The general feeling was that as much as possible the curriculum should prepare students not just for the clergy or leadership, but also for frontier colonial life and work. In 1838, McCulloch rejected a proposal to give special attention to classics, and argued that "[i]f Dalhousie College acquire usefulness and eminence it will be not by an imitation of Oxford, but as an institution of science and practical intelligence."<sup>13</sup> McCulloch was one of the first to advance the following argument:

That boys should, in Halifax or elsewhere, spend six or seven years upon [Latin and Greek] and then four more in a college, partially occupied with the same studies, is a waste of human life adapted neither to the circumstances nor the prosperity of Nova Scotia . . . but should they direct attention to the real business of life, they will not have just cause to complain that they have spent their youth upon studies foreign to their success (McCulloch 172).

Thus, very early on, we find courses in surveying, piloting, engineering, commerce, agriculture, law and medicine.

Meanwhile, more texts (and a greater variety) became available, especially once Canadian publishers began to publish textbooks. Indeed, the UBC collection contains 130 books published between 1838 and 1888, compared to 21 published between 1800 and 1838, and most of them were published in Canada. The proportion of Canadian publications and Canadian authors is unexpectedly high. The little information that is available suggests that very few texts were published before 1900, which is simply not true.<sup>14</sup> However, texts are often held in private and archival collections, so the material is scattered and difficult to find.<sup>15</sup> Of the

130 texts, only nine were published overseas, and thirty-two in the United State; the other eighty-nine were produced in Canada.

These trends in textbook publishing correspond not only with growth and development of the education systems, but also with sudden and rapid growth in the publishing industry. In Ontario, two firms specializing in texts planted the seeds for firms well known to most teachers and students today--Gage, and Copp, Clark. In 1880, William J. Gage took over a shop originally established in 1860 by Adam Miller; Gage had trained with and worked for Miller for many years. In 1869, Walter and Henry Copp, along with Henry J. Clark, took over a bookstore originally run by Scottish immigrant, Hugh Scobie (Hulse) and by the end of the century had turned it into one of the most active textbook publishers. But A. W. Mackinlay (another Scot) was really the first publisher in Canada to get heavily involved with textbooks. The leading publisher and bookseller in Nova Scotia, and the only Maritime publisher to sell his books in Upper Canada, Mackinlay won first prize at the 1868 Nova Scotia Exhibition for "Educational Books and Apparatus, Superiority of Blanks Books, and Superiority of Printing and Binding."

Most of the Canadian publications dated between 1838 and 1888 are editions of standard works--including Murray, Lennie, Kirkham, Bullions, and Swinton. However, many of the standard works have prefaces or appendices directed at Canadian teachers and students, while others are labelled as recommended or required for use in a given school or district. There are also a number of Canadian versions of standard works--for example, Swinton's Language Lessons by J. MacMillan of Ottawa, and Grammar on the Basis of Bullions by T. G. Chestnut of Toronto. A number of the texts also include or append collections of exercises as well as sample

exam questions (written in Canada), and some contain nothing but exercises. Finally, there are a number of books written by Canadians, including some rather curious efforts such as A Series of Lectures on Etymology and Syntax, by James B. Lynn, published by the author in Ontario in 1842.

One set of texts in particular has a publishing record typical of many imported texts--Walter Scott Dalgleish's various texts. The earliest editions were published in Edinburgh, but subsequent ones bear dual imprints, and the latest ones bear only Canadian imprints. His Introductory Text-book of English Composition is particularly important as he intends it to serve as a preface to the study of the rhetorics of Blair, Campbell and Whately. There are several copies of this text in the collections, and records suggest that it was widely used.

If the Scots can be held accountable at all for the influx of traditional grammars and their abridged descendants, they were also responsible for introducing, writing and publishing a number of less traditional ones. And it seems that Canadian publishers were willing to publish texts that went against the grain. Several of the texts approach writing in terms of large units of language--phrases, clauses, and sentences--and then work up towards paragraphs. One unusual book, The Prompter: containing the principles of the English language, published in Montreal in 1844, is quite possibly the first grammar written in Canada by a woman. The author is identified only as Mrs. Fleming,<sup>16</sup> and she is, not surprisingly, a Scot. Her text is particularly interesting since in the final section she cites the theories of Murray and Lennie, side by side, and then comments on their work.

This section of the collection also contains the first rhetoric text that I know of written by a Canadian, A Class Book on Rhetoric, by the

Reverend D. F. Hutchinson, published in 1835 by the Canadian Christian Advocate Office in Hamilton. In his preface, Hutchinson says that "there are a few Rhetorics to be obtained in different sections of the Province, but they are so few in number and so rarely found as to most imperiously demand the present publication." He even goes so far as to claim that "the work, although small in size [98 pp.], is a practical one, and contains within the compass of a very few pages, every thing essential to written composition and public speaking (7).

While claiming to exhibit "the graces and style of English Composition and Public Oratory," the text nevertheless dwells on rules, including "rules for correct punctuation." Significantly, the work is not original--Hutchinson says that he "carefully consulted every text-book of any considerable note published in the British Empire or the American Continent, and whenever [he] found a known definition, or rule expressed in them all, [he] had no hesitation in adopting it" (6-7). Hutchinson's remark reflects a fairly common attitude to the instruction of rhetoric, grammar, and composition in Canada at the time--all was borrowed or adopted.

While Hutchinson was scavenging British North American texts for rules, and Dalgleish was preparing Canadian students for the rhetoric of Enlightenment Scots, another Canadian Scot, James deMille, was producing an original rhetoric text based on the work of Blair, Bain and Campbell. The Elements of Rhetoric is quite clearly not just an adaptation of some other popular work, and yet it is obviously modelled on the works of Scottish rhetoricians such as Hugh Blair and Alexander Bain. DeMille incorporates into his work the definitions and ideas of several Scottish rhetoricians, often citing their work. Even his table of contents reveals the extent to



which he is indebted to Blair and Campbell: he includes sections on Perspicuity, Persuasiveness in Style, Harmony in Style, Method, The Emotions, and The General Departments of Literature. Moreover, he advocates teaching rhetoric not only to the few orators of the world, but also to the many readers: rhetoric, he says, "affords a way towards a larger as well as a finer discernment of those beauties in which [readers] take delight" (iv). DeMille believes it has "a still higher value as a means of culture and educational discipline"--culture being "the refining and humanizing influence of art or letters through which one attains to a more delicate sensibility of taste, and a higher and purer stage of intellectual enjoyment" (iv). It will be interesting to see just how many universities used deMille's text, and in what context it was used; also to look at the relationship between his work and current approaches to literature and composition. Certainly the publication of deMille's Rhetoric marks well the seventy-fifth anniversary of Thomas McCulloch's arrival in Pictou.

The contributions made by Scottish-Canadian educators in the 75 years following McCulloch's arrival were many and various, and clearly far reaching. Of course, that is not to say they were universally accepted. In Hugh MacLennan: A Writer's Life, Elspeth Cameron considers some negative reactions, looking specifically at how MacLennan's father seemed determined to make him as English as possible, and to replace his Scottish heritage with an English education. Such a response undoubtedly was not uncommon, and should be considered in a larger study. Also to be considered is the relative paucity of Canadian editions or versions of Scottish and English rhetoric texts, such as Blair's Lectures. Finally, the full extent and relative significance of all the work done by

Scottish-Canadian teachers, administrators, patrons, textbook authors, and publishers will be more readily measured once full details of curricula, texts and exams are assembled, along with more general information about social and political conditions, and the history of rhetoric and composition instruction in Canada takes shape.

#### NOTES

<sup>1</sup> Only five schools were operating in Upper Canada by 1800, all grammar schools open only to those who could pay for both a teacher and a building (Phillips 97-114).

<sup>2</sup> It seems the best teachers were those supplied by The Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, for they were at least trained to teach reading, writing and the catechism (Phillips 61-65).

<sup>3</sup> Letter to Lord Hawkesbury, cited in Vroom 20.

<sup>4</sup> Letter to Sir Guy Carleton, 8 March 1783, cited in Vroom 10.

<sup>5</sup> He also argued that "unless we have a seminary here, the youth of Nova Scotia will be sent to the Revolted Colonies--the inevitable consequences would be a corruption of their religious and political principles." Letter to Mr. Cumberland, cited in Vroom 21.

<sup>6</sup> To put McCulloch's accomplishments into perspective, consider the career of Bishop Strachan: he arrived in Upper Canada in 1799 expecting to find a university waiting, but found only uncleared forests; he began to lobby immediately for King's College, Toronto, yet could not procure a charter until 1827, and even then was unable to get the school operating.

<sup>7</sup> Letter from Strachan to S. Sherwood, Andrew Stewart and James Stewart, 14 February 1815, as cited in Masters (Reid 251).

<sup>8</sup> Letter from G. J. Mountain to Jasper Nicolls, 12 June 1845, Nicolls Papers, Bishop's University, as cited in Masters (Reid 251).

<sup>9</sup> "Religious toleration" was of course still limited to those "who profess the Christian religion." Nevertheless the policy did open the college doors to most Canadians.

<sup>10</sup> The universities there had changed from a program in which regents taught the entire curriculum, to one where specialists taught individual subjects (Grant 1. 182-263).

<sup>11</sup> Letter from Strachan to Sherwood, A Stewart and J. Stewart, 14 February 1815 (Spragge 67-68).

<sup>12</sup> From 33,000 to 93,000 between 1856 and 1880.

<sup>13</sup> Letter from McCulloch to Charles D. Archibald, 24 April 1838 as cited by William McCulloch (173).

<sup>14</sup> There is no national catalogue prior to 1900, and the few catalogues that do exist are incomplete.

<sup>15</sup> In contrast, much is known about texts in the United States. Andrew Hook gives a fine account of American publishing in the 18th and 19th centuries. Major publishing houses produced many editions of Campbell, Stewart, Blair, Hutcheson, Reid, Duncan, and Hume--56 editions of Blair's Lectures, for example, between 1805 and 1823. Small presses were equally active, with one in New Jersey publishing 74 of Blair's titles in just 22 years.

<sup>16</sup> Male authors have their names given in full, along with their degrees, positions, and other books they had written, no matter how irrelevant. Mrs. Ann Cuthbert Fleming came to Canada in 1815, after separating from her first husband. In addition to writing several texts and books of poetry, she also started a school for ladies in Montreal.

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ANNE TAYLER is a PhD candidate in the English Department at the University of British Columbia where she teaches undergraduate and continuing education courses in literature, composition and grammar. She is presently working on her dissertation, "The Rhetoric Quotation in The Cantos of Ezra Pound," and a catalogue of 19th-century grammar and composition textbooks. Forthcoming publications include "Witter Bynner" in Dictionary of Literary Biography: Modern American Poetry, ed. P. A. Quartermain (Detroit: Gale Research, 1985).