Scottish Influence On Higher Education In Nova Scotia

In trying to assess influence of any kind in history there is often the risk of seeking to document intangibles. In this paper, though there are direct references made to the Scottish system there are certain views put forth which cannot be supported by chapter and verse, but they are nonetheless real. In order to determine their validity, it is necessary to look at least generally at conditions in Scotland. (1)

The most obvious impact of the Scots upon education was in the sphere of religion; for many, in Nova Scotia and Scotland, education and religion were the oats and water of porridge. There had been a long and close association among the churches, religious organizations and schools, education could be used to dispel error as well as to combat ignorance. Beginning with the Druids, (2) with St. Ninian and especially St. Columba at Iona in 563, there started a strong and steady relationship which lasted well into the nineteenth century. (3) During the reformation it was strengthened by the work of John Knox who expressed his views in his First Book of Discipline. One of his objectives was to have a school house in every parish where the son of the farm labourer could receive the same education as the son of the laird...

"The provisions of the Book of Discipline with regard to education have rightly become famous; ...apart from providing that every child in Scotland was to go to school, they drafted a syllabus for the universities ...it is largely due to Knox and the Protestant Reformation that universal education, which was not instituted in England till 1870, came to Scotland in 1696." (4)

It was also during the Reformation that a more democratic spirit developed amongst the Scottish clergy. Since the Reformation was largely the work of the nobility who, after 1560, refused to share their gains with the Protestant clergy, there developed a bitterness towards the upper classes. From their pulpits and general assemblies, and relying on the people for support, the clergy encouraged a democratic and insubordinate tone towards the nobility. (5) This became a factor in their attitude towards episcopacy, which they would eventually abolish, and also towards the class structured educational system which some would later encounter in Nova Scotia. Thus, it is impossible to isolate religion in attempting to assess Scottish influence on education. (6)

The actions of the nobility succeeded in drawing the clergy and the people closer together; from this association there developed an unusually strong trust
in the clergy, in temporal as well as in spiritual issues. Some believed that they
were endowed with special powers and there were clergy who acted
accordingly. Their authority was used to check church attendance, to interferes
in people’s private concerns, and to issue threats of damnation for any lack of
compliance. Naturally, people could be kept on edge by such celestial
bookkeeping but there was a considerable amount of it in Scottish-Presbyterian
thought during the seventeenth century. (7)

Certain basic political and economic changes in the eighteenth century
made other avenues of discussion more prominent. The union of 1707, the
increase in trade and manufacturing, along with emigration, all provoked
a greater pre-occupation with matters other than theological. And, as you are
aware, the eighteenth century was one in which great intellectual strides were
taken. (8) In the field of theology they had been accustomed to reasoning from
principles without much serious questioning of the original proposition. This
form of deductive reasoning was carried over into other areas of learning -
generally, the facts would be made to conform to a principle or theory. The idea
was to understand the general principle first, whether in theology, philosophy,
classics, literature, mathematics or the physical sciences. From these general
principles they would reason to particulars and, since the clergy controlled
education, this deductive reasoning was widely used. (9)

The meetings of the General Assemblies became great centres of debate
and the eruptions suffered in the Church of Scotland during the eighteenth and
nineteenth centuries were at least partially generated by the Scots’ love for
theological dispute. He could not seem to help himself in this regard. This
tension within Presbyterianism is carried to settlements in the new world,
particularly to Pictou where it will erupt once again. I would strongly suggest
that much of the tension was creative, for while there were negative results
both at Pictou and Dalhousie, I believe the propensity for debate, the
willingness to argue theological fine points, was carried over into other
disciplines and was later an important factor in the character of Pictou
Academy graduates.

Concerned with general principles, and reasoning from them, the Scots
believe that the specifics could be worked in to fit the theory or principle. As
Professor Angrave has mentioned, the English often sneered at Scottish
pretensions in the classics, considering the Scots poorly trained. The Scots’
reply was that they were concerned with the idea in a work, not with a pretty
play on words; in literature, they appreciated it for its own sake, not for the
details of a given piece of work. With the eighteenth century Scot, philosophy
became all important for it was believed that it should be allied with all
disciplines. Though one may be ignorant of the details of a mathematical
equation, one could appreciate mathematics through studying the principles
and/or the philosophy behind it. Students could study and discuss the history
and/or philosophy of mathematics, a cultural matter anyway, without being
mathematically inclined. Such an approach was necessary to a well-rounded
education. More important, it was open to all:

“They gave access to instruction to the lowest and the
poorest, as well as the highest, for the laird and the
ploughman’s sons, the sons of the carpenter and of the
lords of the Session met together; they opened to them professions and posts in which many rose to distinction; they effected an unequalled diffusion of education to every class in the country, and the teachings of the schools formed an easy stepping stone for all, to the highest training of the universities.” (10)

Once the student arrived at university the curriculum was so constructed as to give him a general education, heavily laced with philosophy, and designed to develop the “all-round intellectually complete” personality. (11) They believed that in order to do this all students should be exposed to the philosophical basis of areas in which they were not specializing. Thus, in addition to the religious basis, in which education was to help make man moral, theirs was also a belief in a general education based on philosophy.

Another characteristic of their system, and one that also lived on in Nova Scotia, was the idea that the “lad of parts”, regardless of economical background, was entitled to a good education. The democratic ideal, nurtured in the Reformation, by the clergy, maintained that the sons of the labourer and of the laird should be educated together; there has long been a tradition concerning these bright lads who, in spite of poverty, managed to get a university education. (12) It can quite legitimately be argued that the poverty of many served as an impetus, not as a handicap. There were those, perhaps because of a puritan strain in the Scottish character, who made a virtue of poverty. Thrift and frugality became quite acceptable, if not virtuous. In this sense, education was not only a religious and an intellectual weapon, it became an economic bludgeon as well. With an education one could more easily climb the social and economic rungs to success. But it was not quite as simple as that for there was an innate curiosity that could not be satisfied easily by an increase of worldly goods. One source claims that they were “too imaginative to be matter of fact.” (13) The same writer goes on to say that:

“...their curiosity was more than personal, that it was the curiosity of a people of natural endowments, eager to learn about the great world.” (14)

Another thought that the Highlander “...was more an artist than a labourer.” (15) Those in the Highlands, often living in isolation, found objects of wonder and curiosity in the actions of others, the single act of somebody passing along the road could set off a train of intellectual scrutinizing that passed the time and sharpened the wits.

Finally, the emphasis on the academic aspects gave undue prominence to university education at the neglect of other areas, particularly secondary education for the major part of the population. (16) There were several by-products of this: It meant that the development of technical and vocational training was neglected; the competitive nature of academic courses and marks received too much attention, as did the cult of the professional. This latter was to have marked effects in Nova Scotia where, in many homes, the bright lad would be educated to leave the farm, having been assisted along the way by the less fortunate brothers and sisters.

By the end of the eighteenth century then, certain traditions had developed
in Scottish education, a fairly well developed national system of education, a close connection between religion and education, an emphasis on philosophy as a basis for learning, the ideal of general principles rather than details, the ideal of the all round educated gentleman with a general background, the democratic belief that all should have the same opportunities, and the emphasis upon the academic pattern.

By this time, Scottish emigration to Nova Scotia had been underway for a quarter of a century and the flood would increase after 1800, particularly to Cape Breton. What effect did these Scottish views on education have? How did they affect the average farm labourer who was leaving Invernesshire for Pictou? They did have an influence, even though many of those were illiterate and spoke only Gaelic. They did have an impact on the Highlanders, though many of the ideas had originally been promulgated by Lowlanders, for Lowlanders. In time, the Roman Catholic Highlanders would be affected by them in the new world.

Pictou County was the first to receive any significant number of Scots, and they were the much publicized group on the Hector in 1773. This county, originally part of Halifax, was to continue absorbing emigrants into the 1820’s. Among those who arrived were a number of ministers, the first belonging to the Secession and Anti-Burgher branch of Presbyterianism, the best known of these would be the Rev. Thomas McCulloch. This man, who was to have a greater impact than any other upon the educational progress of Nova Scotia, had been born in Neilston, Renfrewshire, in 1776. He went to the local parish school and later to Glasgow University where he studied both arts and medicine; having completed his course requirements but not taking the degrees, he turned to theology and graduated in 1799, being licensed to preach in the Secessionist Church. (17)

Rev. Thomas McCulloch arrived in Pictou in 1803, enroute to P.E.I. as a missionary of the Secession Church. Prevented by bad weather from finishing his journey he decided to remain in Pictou during the winter of 1803-04; when the people there learned of his education, and his medical training, they urged him to remain for they had no resident minister. A lot was procured, a church built on it and early in 1804 a house was erected for McCulloch. Soon, through his ministry and his teaching, as well as for the medical assistance he gave, McCulloch became widely known throughout the area. The first small school was burned and a larger one was erected. Under the Grammar School Act of 1811, this building, in which both elementary and secondary classes were taught, was classified as a Grammar School and entitled to a grant of 150 pounds a year. Shortly after his arrival it was obvious to McCulloch that neither the religious nor educational needs of the people were adequately cared for. Though his first concern was for the ecclesiastical he, like so many of his contemporaries, believed in the value of liberal education. During these first few years, as he came to appreciate the obstacles in the way of securing an education for all, he was determined that his objectives would be met and he was to spend the most productive years of his life in this quest.

The two most powerful groups McCulloch faced were the Anglicans, and later the Kirkmen. The Anglican ascendance was evident in the Legislative
Council politically, and in King's College, educationally. The College was established at Windsor in 1789 and was granted a charter in 1802; moreover, it was given annual grants by the governments of both Nova Scotia and Britain. (18) Despite this public support it was practically closed to all except Anglicans who constituted only one-fifth of the population. Thus, other groups, including the Pictou Dissenters, were effectively barred from access to higher education. To McCulloch, who believed that education should be open to all, this was intolerable and served only to motivate him towards the quicker establishment of another kind of institution. His would be one, not modelled on Oxford, as King's was, not exclusive, as King's was; but modelled on Edinburgh and open to all. It was the belief of McCulloch and his supporters that a native ministry should be trained, for those imported from Britain often arrived with superior notions concerning their roles. (19) Secondly, the people of Pictou, in order to survive, had learned to adapt to a variety of conditions and in the process had acquired a broad general knowledge on many matters. Such people could benefit from a liberal education. The Scottish experience, in religion and education, was already in operation in Nova Scotia and, as in Scotland, it was impossible to separate the two. As he watched his little school develop, and as he became convinced of the need for ministerial training, McCulloch was determined to see the establishment of a liberal arts college providing for these needs. The seeds of sectarian education, planted with the awarding of a degree granting charter to King's in 1802, were taking root in Nova Scotia. Among the arguments that McCulloch would use was that unless higher education was available in Nova Scotia, the young would remain in ignorance or be forced to study in Britain or the United States and in the latter they would have little safeguard against American "intellectual imperialism." (20)

An educational society was established in Pictou in order to raise funds for an institution of the liberal arts which would also provide theological training. About 1000 £ was subscribed and a charter for an Academy was obtained in 1816. McCulloch had intended that the institution be open to all, regardless of religious denomination; certainly, this was in keeping with his belief that religion should be non-sectarian and liberal. (21) ... "The design shall be ... to provide the means of a liberal education for persons of every religious denomination who wish to improve their minds by literary studies." (22)

Though the charter was granted in the Assembly there were restrictions put on it by the Legislative Council which sealed the ultimate demise of the Academy. Anglican dominated, and largely holding political views not shared by McCulloch, this small unrepresentative body declared that: (a) the trustees and teachers should belong to the Church of England or the Presbyterian Church - this would have the affect of alienating other denominations against the Academy (b) degree granting powers were not given - though for all practical purposes the Academy functioned as a college until 1832 when it was reduced to grammar school status (c) refused to allow a permanent annual grant - though King's College enjoyed one. This meant that the trustees of the Academy had to beg annually for funds and thus its financial position, as well as McCulloch's ability to develop long range policies, was severely weakened. The policy of sectarianism in N.S. education was
strengthened; perhaps McCulloch and his supporters made a mistake in accepting these conditions but they preferred half a loaf to none, believing that some of the handicaps could later be removed.

It was his view that any system of education in Nova Scotia should be adapted to the needs of the province; that while Greek and Latin were essential to a good education it would be preferable for the students to train their minds and classify their knowledge. The objective of a liberal education was “the improvement of man in intelligence and moral principle, as the basis of his subsequent duty and happiness.” All members of all professions should be thoroughly educated and education should be related to life; in Nova Scotia the professors and students could make a greater contribution if they received a good general education - for so often they had to be “jacks of all trades.” He also argued that ...

“The object of education is not merely knowledge but science” ... A liberal education, then, not only brings into view the knowledge of individual facts, but presents them arranged and classified under general principles; and by these means knowledge is more easily retained; progress facilitated; and the basis of subsequent improvement, laid...” (23)

The Scottish view on the importance of general principles in education is also reflected in McCulloch’s views:

....“Every avocation in life, however, may be traced to general principles, and perfection requires that these be observed....” (24)

A liberal education not only improved the individual intellectually and morally, it was also eminently practical. In his teaching he followed through on his philosophy for his plan was to make the student develop his own powers, work out details for himself after he had absorbed the general principles of the subject. Along with philosophy, theology and classics, the students should also be exposed to the knowledge of mathematics and the physical sciences in order “to understand the principles of the art or trade which they practised and the spirit of the society in which they lived.” Understanding was the key word, an understanding of the nature of men and his duties in a society. In McCulloch’s view this was just as important for the tradesman as it was for the highly educated specialist. In order to develop that understanding he gave first places in the curriculum to natural and moral philosophy, mathematics and natural sciences.

Having projected such beliefs, Dalhousie then appeared in practice to negate them. Though the new institution was to be modelled on Edinburgh he sought, unsuccessfully, to obtain Professor Monk of Cambridge as Principal. Though the new institution was to be non-sectarian he appointed to the Board of Governors some of the very men who had so strongly opposed Pictou Academy. (32) The initial request for a charter was turned down for reasons involving religion. (33) Dalhousie had originated in part out of frustration with the existing situation; its foundation pleased neither King’s nor Pictou for, in fact,
it meant competition for both. So long as Dalhousie, in Halifax, sought degree granting powers the less likely was it that similar power would be granted to the Academy. In an effort to solve the dilemma two attempts were made to unite King’s and Dalhousie during the 1820’s but neither met with any success and the newly established institution languished until 1838 when McCulloch, probably because he was the best qualified person in the province, was appointed. (34) One cause of this delay was the insistence upon Kirk control; again we witness the impact of a struggle that began in Scotland years before. (35)

Though McCulloch accepted the appointment to Dalhousie he seemed to find sweet irony in the fact: ...

"God has given me to possess the gate of my enemies, he has covered for me a table in their presence, and made even those who afflicted me come bending to me. Lord Dalhousie, who for the sake of his college, hated me, built it for me. Our Bishop, in the expectation of making it his own, was the principal means of preventing it from going into operation till I had need of it."....(36)

Revenge may have been sweet but it makes a poor diet for posterity. At Dalhousie McCulloch continued to insist on a liberal education, and with a Scottish flavour. In reply to Dr. E.A. Crawley, a Baptist, who had been promised a position at Dalhousie and who had written his views on the proposed curriculum, McCulloch explained:

"...but that boys should in Halifax or elsewhere spend six or seven years upon Latin and Greek and then four more in college partially occupied with the same languages is a waste of human life adapted neither to the circumstances nor the prosperity of Nova Scotia ... Afterward, if they choose to devote themselves to the study of languages, their collegiate instruction will contribute to their success, but should they direct their 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. If Dalhousie College acquire usefulness and eminence it will not be by imitation of Oxford, but as an institution of science and practical intelligence..." (37)

Generally, a broad, liberal education would be McCulloch’s plan for Dalhousie, just as it had been at Pictou Academy. It would be, however, some years before Dalhousie operated as he had intended it should. In 1838 a “rump group” of the Board of Governors, (38) determined that Dalhousie would be controlled by the Church of Scotland, appointed two of its ministers (39) and McCulloch to the three chairs at Dalhousie. Conveniently overlooked was the promise made earlier to Dr. E.A. Crawley, a Baptist. They argued in their narrowness that they were simply respecting the wishes of the founder but they ignored his dedication to the non-sectarian idea. Their action drove Dr. Crawley into working towards another institution, the founding of Acadia; St. Mary’s Seminary was opened to Roman Catholics in 1840-41, Mount Allison started as Wesleyan Academy in 1843, St. Francis Xavier for the Scottish Catholics in 1853.
A series of educational presbyteries, all insisting on local autonomy, was established in Nova Scotia. The ideal of one provincial non-sectarian university evaporated with the Fundy fogs in the 1840's. In time, Dalhousie reached that objective, but during its earlier decades it was just as effectively Presbyterian as Acadia was Baptist.

Following McCulloch's death in 1843 Dalhousie lapsed once again only to be revived in 1863 along the lines originally intended - on a basis of liberal studies. Those who carried out the intent of the founder were all educated in Glasgow (40) and in the first decade of revival the outstanding professors were Scottish. (41) The ideal of a liberal education for which McCulloch labored so arduously in Pictou was finally realized at Dalhousie. President John Forrest went farther; he credited McCulloch with laying down the principles out of which the public school system in Nova Scotia developed. (42)

When the first classes got underway in Pictou Academy, Rev. Thomas McCulloch taught logic, moral and natural philosophy; Rev. John McKinlay gave instructions in mathematics and classics. Within a few years, a natural science collection started by McCulloch attracted a lot of favorable attention; he also built a very respectable library and laboratory. Whatever spare time he was able to take from his teaching, lecturing and writing, he spent on field trips attempting to augment this collection. The divinity classes were taught at the request of the Nova Scotia Synod; this body was formed as the result of a union of the various Secession groups in Nova Scotia in 1817. The great majority of the early ministers in Pictou were Secessionists and wanted the proposed institution to prepare native sons for the ministry. McCulloch strongly shared this view. As a result, he taught divinity classes in his room, and later in rented rooms at the Academy. This was a tactical error for it gave his opponents strong cause for objection. Eventually, the divinity classes would be transferred to Halifax, to be taught in Pine Hill Divinity College - but they would be taught. Moreover, he was quite successful in having candidates qualify, not only to preach the gospel, but in preparing to take the M.A. examinations at Glasgow University. Perhaps it was the success of McCulloch which aroused the animosity of the Kirk clergy, led by Rev. Donald F.A. Fraser who arrived in Pictou in 1817 and Rev. K.J. MacKenzie who came in 1824. The academic record of the academy was evident to all and the scarlet gowns of the students were a familiar sight to the towns people. In spite of the annual struggle for a grant, one in which he was not always successful, and despite the refusal of the Council to assent to a permanent annual grant, McCulloch had managed to carry on in his efforts to promote liberal education in Nova Scotia. Now, even though the theological studies were kept separate from the others, and rent was being paid for the use of the rooms used by the divinity students, the cry went forth in the mid 1820's that the Academy was being subverted for purposes of the Secessionists. (25) Despite denials issued by McCulloch some members of the Legislative Council were only too willing to exploit this split among the Presbyterians. Even though McCulloch's efforts had generally been supported by the Baptists, and by some members of the Legislative Council, there was sufficient opposition from the Kirk and the Council to thwart his objectives. Between 1825-32 eight applications for grants were rejected. (26) The Kirk argued that the Academy was being used by the Secessionists; the Council
argued that the Presbyterians were divided on the issue and therefore not entitled to public support.

Beneath this intransigence lay a deeper problem, one of a political nature. Could an appointed Council not responsible to the people, determine the success or failure of such an institution? With the establishment of the Colonial Patriot, edited by Jotham Blanchard, a lawyer and a student in the first class in the Academy, the school had a staunch advocate. The whole question of the Academy’s future became involved in the struggle for reform, with its supporters and the Secessionist clergy generally favoring a reform platform, and the Legislative Council and Kirkmen generally upholding the status quo. That, however, is another story. It is sufficient to mention here that the struggle wearied McCulloch for he never backed off from a fight. The financial uncertainties and the appointment of Kirkmen, (27) his enemies, to the Board of Trustees of the Academy, tired him and with the reduction of the Academy to Grammar School status in 1832, Dr. McCulloch realized that his objective could not be reached in Pictou. In 1838 he accepted a position as the first Principal of Dalhousie University.

It was ironic that McCulloch should come to Dalhousie for it was the establishment of this supposedly non-sectarian institution in 1820 that had also helped, in large measure, to destroy his dream for Pictou Academy. Founded by funds collected from customs revenue at Castine, Maine, during 1812, the cornerstone of this institution was laid by Lord Dalhousie, the Governor of Nova Scotia in May 22, 1820. (28) Dalhousie had first put forth his idea of a liberal non-sectarian college in a letter to Lord Bathurst, Colonial Secretary, on December 14, 1817. (29) He informed the Colonial Secretary that the new institution would be on the same plan and principle as that in Edinburgh, “open to all occupations and sects of religion.” Further, the advantages of having a seminary in the capital, the seat of the legislature - the courts of justice - of military and mercantile society, were obvious. (30) The same emphasis on the Scottish theme was repeated in his opening remarks on May 22, 1820....

“This College of Halifax is founded for the instruction of youth in the higher Classics and in all Philosophical studies; it is formed in imitation of the University of Edinburgh; ....It does not oppose the King’s College at Windsor, because it is well known that college does not admit any students unless they subscribe to the tests required by the Established Church of England, and these tests exclude the great proportion of the youth of this Province. It is therefore particularly intended for those who are excluded from Windsor; it is founded upon the principles of religious toleration secured to you by the laws...” (31)

The third institution of higher education to be influenced by the Scottish fact was St. Francis Xavier University. Established in 1853 by Colin Francis MacKinnon, Bishop of the Diocese of Arichat, its primary purpose was to train priests, the other was to train lay teachers and provide an education for the people of the Diocese, the majority of whom were Highland Catholics. Thus, as in Pictou, the need for their own clergy was paramount. Behind this event in
1853 was the story of another Grammar School, that of St. Andrew's (eight miles from Antigonish), established in 1838. A venture which gave rise to St. Andrew's had been started at Grand Narrows, Cape Breton, in 1824, by Rev. William Bernard MacLeod, the first native priest of the Diocese. Educated at Quebec he gathered around him a group of young men to whom he gave the rudiments of a classical education. Soon after, at East Bay, he converted an old glebe house into a school and continued to teach those who had been his students at Grand Narrows. (43) There, at East Bay, a classical scholar, Malcolm MacLellan from Aberdeen, was placed in charge. Four of the original students finished their course at East Bay in 1828 and all then studied for the priesthood, two at Rome, two at Quebec. (44) The best of these would be Colin Francis MacKinnon, who, after completing his studies in Rome, was appointed pastor at St. Andrew's where he established the Grammar School, the immediate predecessor of St. Francis Xavier University. Having been made Bishop in 1851 he then sought to establish a seminary for the training of priests and teachers; this objective was realized with the founding of the university in 1853 at Arichat. (45)

While there are similarities between St. F.X., Dalhousie and Pictou, there are some differences. There is not any documentation for the idea that St. F.X. was consciously modelled on any Scottish institution; Bishop MacKinnon, educated in Rome, was inclined towards a classical education. Since the majority of its early priests-professors went either to Quebec or Rome, there is no evidence to suggest that they were influenced by the curriculum of Scottish institutions. (46) At the same time, philosophy was always given a prominent place and courses in Logic, Metaphysics, Ethics, Moral and Dogmatic Theology were offered. (47) By 1860 eleven men had been ordained for the priesthood and the institution was giving evidence of meeting the expectations held for it. In 1866 a degree granting charter was obtained from the government of Nova Scotia. A temporary setback occurred in 1881 when the annual grant being given to the colleges was withdrawn. Following this, the authorities made the first of many appeals to the people of the diocese and depended on these, plus the charity of a few benefactors, to meet its needs.

The Scottish influence on St. F.X., if not found so much in the curriculum, is found in other areas. The liberal arts have always had prominence, until fairly recently, and the university has always been considered a "Peoples' School." Over the past 121 years the majority of its students have come from small towns, fishing villages, and the rural areas. It was the generosity of the average person towards the institution that enabled it to survive. The bright son of the laborer never felt out of place at St. F.X. - despite the social pretensions of a few there were no lairds, and consequently no sons of lairds, in Antigonish. The idea that this was a university for the people, and was to assist in meeting the practical needs of the people, was basic to the development of an Extension Department in the 1920's. Led by men like Dr. Coady and Father Tompkins, both farm boys from Margaree, a programme of practical self-help was developed. They believed in a common sense approach to education. Both men lamented the fact that so many of those being educated were themselves becoming members of the exploiting class.

Another factor, though one that is perhaps intangible, was the constant
emphasis given to the educational development of "the whole person" - his moral, intellectual and physical powers. Inherent in this were principles of a liberal education and any examination of the Arts curriculum up until a decade ago, will bear this out. However, it is not possible to document this as a Scottish influence.

From the beginning the university has been open to all; though it may often have more resembled a seminary than a university, no denominational qualifications were ever imposed. The late Keiller MacKay, former Lieutenant-Governor of Ontario, and a Presbyterian from Pictou, spoke highly of the tolerance he found there as a student.

Gaelic classes, as well as courses in Celtic history and literature, have long been taught, and are still being taught, at the university. The collection of Celtic material in the library is easily one of the best in Canada. The library's main reading room is adorned with the crests of the clans who settled the constituency and is appropriately referred to as the "Hall of the Clans."

There are a number of Gaelic speaking people on the faculty including two of my colleagues in history. They are, to use the current cliche, fluently bilingual - in English and Gaelic. A few years ago the then Dean of Arts, and his secretary, were also fluently bilingual. It is very doubtful if any university in Scotland could lay claim to a similar situation. Of the thirteen presidents, all but two have been Scottish in descent and came from the rural areas. Thus, while Scottish ideas on education may not have had a direct impact, the cultural ties have always been there.

The principles of a liberal education, a common sense philosophy, the lack of class distinctions, the insistence on a number of courses in philosophy; all of these have been present - just as they were at Pictou and at Dalhousie. The pattern established by McCulloch may have been a factor; the curiosity (some call it nosiness) was probably a factor, certainly, religion was as closely intertwined with education at St. F.X. as it was at Pictou Academy.

Some Scots in the new world came with certain views on education and on man's role in society; they found here an opportunity to mould those as part of an educational system - whether it was in Antigonish, Pictou or Halifax. Their story is one in which sectarianism has been present; it is also one in which the dignity of the individuals has been generally upheld.

NOTES


2. "Long before there were books or written records, the Druid bards recited in simple verse the deeds of the great men of the past and present times... It is to our rude Celtic forefathers that we owe the beginnings of Scottish education." Morgan, op. cit., 3.
3. The state assumed control of education in 1872.


12. There is at least one study that does not support this view. See: Bullough, op. cit., 1048, "Eighteenth century Scotland produced many important intellectual leaders. Study of the lives of individual achievers as well as the parishes in which they were born and educated indicates that education was the key to achievement and that most of the achievers came from urban areas, were born into the upper class, attended university, and lived longer than the average person. In sum, the eighteenth century Scottish achiever seems to resemble his twentieth-century counterpart in many ways."


17. In order for the reader to appreciate these religious distinctions it should be pointed out here that the Established Church of Scotland was the Kirk. A dispute arose in the church over patronage, namely, the issue of a patron of the
church, perhaps a Laird, to nominate the minister of a congregation, or at least to influence the nomination. Many Presbyterians disputed this arrangement and demanded that the congregation, rich or poor, should have an equal voice. Eventually, they break away and form the Secession Church which, in turn, became divided on the Burgess Oath. To subscribe to this oath meant that he accepted the Christian religion as practiced in the Church of Scotland, the Kirk. And even though the original split was on matters of church government, not theology, many of the Secession group refused to take the Burgess Oath and thus became known as Anti-Bughers. Both the Rev. James McGregor, the first resident minister in Pictou, and Dr. McCulloch, were Anti-Burghers and while there was later some co-operation between Burghers and Anti-Burghers in Nova Scotia there was also some dissension. Harold L. Scammell, "The Rise and Fall of a College," Dalhousie Review. Spring, 1952, Vol. 32, No. 1, p. 37.

18. W. Gregg D.D., History of the Presbyterian Church in Canada (Toronto, 1885) 239 ff. King's was, in effect, a branch of Columbia University, established in the post-Revolutionary period.

19. Address: "To the Office Bearers and Members of the Society for promoting the religious interests of the Scottish settlers in British North America," McCulloch Papers, Pictou Academy, M.G.I., P.A.N.S.

20. Acadian Recorder, January 24, 1818.

21. William McCulloch, op. cit., 47-49. Considerable credit is given to the Governor, Sir John Sherbrooke, for assistance he rendered McCulloch.

22. McCulloch Papers, VI, P.A.N.S., "Regulations Governing Pictou Academy."


24. Ibid., p. 22.

25. One of the petitions had pointed out that the original charter for the Academy had been granted for the purpose of "Teaching Religion and learning according to the most approved method pursued in the Schools and Academies of Scotland..." February 25, 1828, Pictou Academy, R.G. 14, No. 51. P.A.N.S. ... Since its commencement, also, its system of education has remained without change: This is the system of the Scottish universities. Colonial Patriot, 19 June, 1830. (Published, 1827-1834).


27. The Roman Catholic Bishop, William Fraser of Antigonish, was also a member of the Board, though this writer has not found any evidence that he ever attended a meeting.

28. E.M. Murray, Brief History of Dalhousie University (Halifax, 1919) 3.

31. Ibid., quoted in 138-139.

32. The Lieutenant-Governor, the Chief Justice, the Lord Bishop of Nova Scotia, the Treasurer of the Province, the appointed Minister of the Scottish Church, (whose name was omitted in the act of incorporation) the speaker of the House of Assembly.


35. D.C. Harvey, The Early Struggles...319.

36. Thomas McCulloch to John Mitchell, McCulloch Papers, VII, P.A.N.S.

37. Quoted in Harvey, An Introduction to the History of Dalhousie University (Halifax, 1938) 50.

38. Lieutenant-Governor Colin Campbell, Treasurer Michael Wallace, Speaker S.G.W. Archibald.


40. George Monro Grant, Allan Pollok, Sir William Young.

41. James Ross, President, 1863-1885, a Nova Scotia Scot; George Lawson, from Edinburgh; Charles MacDonald, from Aberdeen; John Forrest, President, 1885-1911; Arthur Stanley MacKenzie, 1911-1931; George Monro, benefactor, Pictonian.

42. Pictou Academy, Scrap Book, Hepburn Papers, Microfilm, P.A.N.S.


44. Ibid.

45. It was removed to Antigonish in 1855.

46. There is one reference which asserts that Bishop Fraser of Antigonish was willing to send his nephew to McCulloch at Dalhousie. D.C. Harvey, “An Introduction to”...325.
47. MacDonell, op. cit., 86.

48. All spoke Gaelic; nearly all played Scottish airs on the violin.

49. Dr. P.J. Nicholson, former President, received an honorary degree from St. Andrew's, The First Catholic cleric since the Reformation to be so honored. His telegram, sent at the 400th anniversary, was the only one in Gaelic. Direct connection with Scotland in conferring degrees: John Lorne Campbell - farmer and folklorist. Calum MacLean - poet; Lord Lovat - Scout movement, commando; Hugh MacPhee - military; Bishop Grant - religion.