Robertson Ceclures. (Western Colleges). 1964-65

The Legacy of Thomas McCulloch

Carlyle pays a fine tribute to the ministers of the Secession Church of his childhood in Scotland. "Very venerable are those old Seceder clergy to me now when I look back", he said "men so like Evangelists in modern vesture, and *poor scholars and gentlemen of Christ* I have nowhere met with among the Protestant or Papal clergy in any country of the world." In their preaching there were sacred lambencies, tongues of authentic flame which kindled what was best in one, which has not yet gone out."

Some of the Seceder ministers crossed the Atlantic with, or following, their compatriots who emigrated to North America. It was the good fortune of Nova Scotia that some of them settled in that part of our country where they made their own distinctive contribution to our traditions and left a deposit that, it is hoped, will not soon disappear. One indication of the impressing that of the nineteen ministers who formed the original Presbyterian Church of Nova Scotia, no fewer than fourteen belonged to that persuasion.

of them, Reverend Thomas McCulloch. He was not strictly a representative of the "old Seceder clergy", the was Carlyle's junior by only about twenty-five years, but he was a devoted Christian scholar who regarded his vocation, whether as preacher or teacher, as a spiritual calling. And if he is not remembered today for his "sacred lambencies," he compensated for their absence by his witness, as one historical writer phrases it, of "fearless courage and self-sacrifice, which shone forth in the higher interests of his people and country."

A Carlyle, 6 1795,

The McCullochs were natives of the parish of Neilston, was born there in 1776, the year of the American Revolution. His father, a factory worker, died while still a young man, and left a family of six children. It is safe to assume that Thomas learned the meaning of frugality very early in life.

When he was old enough to go to the University he registered in the Faculty of Medicine at Glasgow and helped to cover his expenses there by teaching private classes - in Hebrew! He seems to have completed all, or most of his medical course, but he did not proceed to graduation, for he heard the call to the ministry of the Gospel in the Secession Church: and when he had completed the stipulated theological training, he was duly licensed to preach by the Presbytery of Kilmarnock.

Stewarton

His first and only pastorate in Scotland was at Stewarton, not far from Glasgow. The Secession Church in that community was by no means imposing - indeed the building, without a spire or any other distinctive mark ,looked like a modest single-family dwelling. The smallness of the congregation was providential, for it gave him time to read widely and lay foundations for his future career. His community is like wear, private library, as his son and biographer remembered it, contained not only standard works on Church history and the writings of the Christian fathers, but also Blackstone's commentaries on English Law and, it may be assumed, works on Medicine and Science, and at least the novels of Scott for he completed (but never published) a story designed to correct the unfavourable impression of the Covenanters as they were represented in Scott's "Old Mortality".

In all this diversity of reading he was undoubtedly following the devises and desires of his own heart, but the range of his reading was undoubtedly exceptional in the ministry or any other learned profession in Canada at that time.

he announced to his congregation that he was resigning. His people did not accept his decision graciously, and showed their displeasure for by "unanimously refusing him the means of removal, which kindness he was indebited to outsiders." Without knowing all the facts it would be hazardous to say whether this resolution on their part was really a ruse to persuade him to change his mind, or a reflection of the fact that he had not their their cooperation and support. If the latter were the case, it would be by no means a unique instance of a congregation failing to appreciate the unusual promise of their young minister, or of an immature leader showing himself inept in dealing with the intransigence of some of his laymen.

McCulloch left Stewarton without any definite plans, and for an interval he supplied vacant charges. He seems to have been an effective preacher, who spoke quietly and without gestures and had complete confidence in the relevancy of what he had to say. The publisher of one of his sermons remarked that in point of firmness he was another John Knox: but this seems to have exhausted his resemblance, for his style was hardly reminiscent otherwise of that great national hero who, even when he was so infirm that he had to be helped into the Church, was likely to "ding the pulpit into blads" before the end of his sermon.

McCulloch either did not commend himself very strongly to the Churches that he visited - and this has happened to not a few men who afterwards became famous - or he did not find a challenging field of labour in any of them; and at last he volunteered his services to the Synod of his Church, indicating his willingness to go wherever it might care to send him. The reply to his letter came back without delay, informing him that he had been appointed to Prince Edward Island. His Church had a special interest in the Island at that time, because the Earl of Selkirk had recently organized an emigration of eight hundred Scotsmen to it, as part of a plan to relieve economic pressure at home. Arrangements were made at once for McCulloch, his wife and three children, to embark on the third day of August, 1803.

Pictou.

Crossing the Atlantic now takes only a few hours by jet. The McGullochs however left the Clyde early in August, as stated, and did not reach Pictou, Nova Scotia, until the third day of November. Summer had gone, and fall had descended early that year, and Pictou Harbour was covered with a skim of ice. The little family would still have fifteen miles to travel in an open boat to the nearest point in the Island, besides some distance over-land, before they reached the Scottish settlement. They would then have to find, or probably build, a temporary home for themselves before the winter storms began. In the circumstances the Pictonians did not have to advance coercive argument to convince McGulloch that he should remain where he was, where some shelter was available for him, for the time being.

Stolds-

By spring they had persuaded him to cast in his lot with them, and minister to the spiritual needs of their community and the sparsely settled countryside about it. He acceded to their request; and until they were able to find a medical doctor, he was not only their pastor but, With his medical training, the physician of their bodies as well.

The village of Pictou then consisted of fourteen houses, and the meeting house of the congregation was only a barn. Whether or not McCulloch took the trouble to obtain prior approval of the courts of his Church is not recorded, but he apparently did not jeopardize his presbyterial standing. Pictou was to be his home for the remainder of his life, except for the last few years that he spent in Halifax, and when he died his widow took his body back there, and a monument on a street corner, erected by the Nova Scotia Historical Society, acknowledges his great public services.

One feature of the situation in Pictou that concerned him deeply was the appalling ignorance of the Scriptures that he found among the young people. It was not surprising that this should have been so for they received little if any formal religious instruction. He had just completed a "diet of catechim" in an outlying part of the congregation, and his worst impression of the prevailing religious illiteracy had been confirmed. As he walked or rode name of horse-back afterwards - he could never afford the luxury of a carriage - he kept asking himself what could be done for these youngsters with their darkened minds.

The answer came to him in a flash of inspiration - train a native ministry!

Calyo He churrent entry to see

He submitted the suggestion to several of his ministerial friends in Nova Scotia, but with only one exception they replied that it was fantastic, although some of them afterwards assured him that he had their support to prove that he was right if he could. He then tried it out in Scotland, where it received equally short shrift. One prominent divine said that Nova Scotia would have to look to Scotland for its ministers for the next hundred years. The basic need of education, and the importance of training a native ministry, had, however, caught his imagination, and before long he was offering classes in his own home to young men who were anxious to proceed beyond the limits of the country schools.

It would take too long to trace the development of his project, and it must suffice for the present purpose to say that it resulted in the formation of Pictou Academy in 1818, with McCulloch himself as its He felt that he could continue simultaneously, to be first Principal. the | minister of his congregation and Principal of the Academy, and he fulfilled both functions for six years, for in his mind the two were However some of the members of his Church eventually closely related. objected to this division of his time and the question was raised at a congregational meeting in 1824. There were clear signs that a distressing split in the congregation was in the making, and McCulloch & it by resigning his charge and devoting his interest to the Academ Freed from his responsibility for one congregation, he was now free to preach where opportunity offered. Picton Acadamy

The fame of the Academy spread rapidly, and it attracted students not only from all parts of the Maritime Provinces but even from the West Indies. They were predominantly non-Anglicans, for the

Episcopaleans were served by Kings College, which had been as in Windsor, Nova Scotia, in 1789. In those days the Anglican Church was the Established Church of Nova Scotia, and dissenting ministers, did not even have the right to perform marriages. In keeping with the spirit of the day, Kings had a regulation that "no members of the University shall frequent a Roman Mass, or the meeting houses of the Presbyterians, Baptists or Methodists, or the conventicles or places of worship of any dissenters from the Church of England. degree shall be conferred till the candidate shall have subscribed to the Thirty-nine Articles." In Nova Sectia, dissenters who could not send their sons to Kings without compromising their denominational population of hova loyalty, made up four-fifths of the population of the Province. McCulloch's plan was to build an institution for all such, and particularly for the Presbyterians, which would combine sound plearning with a due regard for the actual conditions of colonial life. His hope was that it might ultimately be given the same degree granting powers as Kings.

His ambitions for the Academy never materialized. He received no support from the Bishop, a powerful person in colonial life, who did not wish to share the exclusive privilege of Kings with another Church college. He tried to get a fairer share of government funds but all his efforts in that direction were thwarted. He visited Scotland, in 1825, believing that, having suffered all his life as a Seceder, I did consider myself as having a claim on my brethren in Britain", but he had not been able to evoke any response there.

"I am the only individual" he said, "who ever visited Britain on a religious mission without success." He had unfortunately chosen a poor time to make his appeal because the United Kingdom was then in the throes of an economic depression. To make matters worse for him, some of his critics in Nova Scotia — and they were not a few — wrote letters to Scotland to discredit him, and these carried weight in some important quarters. Finally, as the late Doctor J. W. Falconer stated in an essay on his life, "even within his own Synod he had to face indifference and criticism, and these hostile forces increased in violence till the Academy was so crippled that its standing as an Arts College ceased."

A college can only continue to serve if it remains solvent, and McCulloch saw the (support) that he needed) was not forthcoming. "The increase of the Academy is of God," he remarked, "and he seems to withold it! " Later a he wrote, " thousand times have I said, at evening time it will be light. I am deep in the valley of affliction, and the way is dark. Pray that I may have the presence of Him who leads the blind by a way that they know not." Only when his best efforts proved fruitless was he prepared to admit that he had failed, and there was nothing left to him now but to strike his tents as he had done long ago when he left Scotland, and seek out when he landed in Pictor physical strength seemed boundless, but he was now well beyond his The Academy was not to be me degree granting sixtieth birthday. institution for dissenters but one of the excellent High Schools of the Province In its greatest days it had been the home of many illustrious men, no fewer than six of whom attained to knighthoods.

Divinity Hall

taken some pams to note McCulloch, as I have natura, was first of all, a minister, and he was as much concerned as the founders of Harvard about the leadership that would be available to the Church when the present generation of ministers were slumbering in the dust. He firmly believed in the importance of education as such: indeed he could have subscribed to the philosophy of Mazzini that votes, education and work are the true foundations of a nation's life: but the training of ministers has been uppermost in his mind from the He had this definitely in mind when he gave leaderbeginning. ship in founding Pictou Academy. I He had won his spurs as a theologian during his pastorate in Pictou by two publications, We has published two ways "Papery condemned by Scripture and the Fathers" in 1808, and a These books were second volume in the same series in 1810. greeted with high praise by controversialists in England, including the Bishop of Durham; and the circumstances that produced them may deserve a passing reference.

The story is that a debate developed in Halifax from instructions issued by Father (afterwards Bishop) Burke to the members of the Roman Catholic Church in his diocese. Exception to some of the statements in it was taken by Reverend Robert Stanzer of St. Paul's Anglican Church, and the dispute was on. Although Stanzer's name was used the letters were actually written by Judge Alexander Croke, who incidentally was mainly responsible, over the objections of his own Anglican bishop, for the regulations that made Kings exceptionable to dissenters. It became increasingly clear to Mr. Stranzer's friends that he was being worsted

in the discussion, and as the subject was one on which McCulloch was well-informed it was not too difficult to induce him to come to Mr. Stanzer's assistance, from which he emerged at last as the chief spokesman. His knowledge and debating skill drew from a disinterested observer the astonished remark that a man who could produce so scholarly an acedemic criticism should be found in a small Nova Scotian village.

Pictou Academy had been established, in 1818, and McCulloch announced to the Synod, at its meeting in 1820, that several of his students were now ready, and anxious, to proceed to the study of Divinity. The Synod was delighted with the news, and proceeded to establish Divinity Hall, with McCulloch as its first professor and head. It is interesting now to recall that three members of that class went to Glasgow University on the completion of their studies, were examined by a special committee and war and were awarded the degree of Master of Arts without attendance at any classes. They had received all their instruction logical sphalarship To from McCulloch himself. It was abou

college, New York in 1821, and from Glasgow in 1822. Divinity

Hall, under his successors, after various changes and amalgamations, settled in Halifax sa the Presbyterian College, and after it secured its present property in 1877; was popularly known as Pine Hill, from the area of the city in which it is situated. After Church Union in 1925, the Presbyterian College and the Theological Faculty of Mount Allison University, Sackville, New Brunswick, united in Halifax, using the popular name Pine Hill and adding McCulloch's

term Divinity Hall

I wish it were possible to say that McCulloch was uniformly This unhappily was not the case. happy in his Church relations. He believed, as George Bernard Shaw has put it, that there is no use saying anything unless you say it provocatively, and in his official sermon as Moderator of the Synod, he was so outspoken in his criticism of ministers who combine profitable farming with ecclesiastical duties, that some of the commissioners wanted a vote of disapproval inscribed in the minutes, and one even suggested that some of his statements were libellous. I He was deeply hurt when some of his brethren gave credence to the rumour that he was a man of "unbounded pretensions" of a purely selfish character, and his statement in self-defence to the Synod reveals a sensitive wounded soul. As to his selfishness, his entire estate, as probated, shows no real estate, a gun, some theological books (and who would buy them?), now seconohow, that he needed in collecting. his collection of stuffed birds (and they are not easily marketed), some loans to needy friends (and these would be a doubtful asset), and six hundred dollars in cash for his wife and other dependents, It seems shameful that men ever made such a good man unhappy by accusing him of love of money quabler. Leverous in judgments

but after their graduation he gladly accepted the forty pounds per annum that the Synod allows him for his work. Then, when the problem of financing the academy was becoming acute, the question of his income reached the floor of the Synod. "You will hardly believe me", he wrote to a friend in 1836, "when I tell you that after disputing for days whether they should allow me thirty or forty pounds, a majority carried that thirty was their utmost ability, and even that they would not guarantee." The upshot of this

unfortunate altercation was that he tendered his resignation from his theological professorship but he was persuaded to withdraw it follows on the understanding that Pictou Presbytery alone would pay his salary. His future, even in theology, was thus uncertain. "My own opinion", he said, "is that (the College) will never prosper until its doors are closed". Then perhaps Synod, and the Church at large, would realize how important a divinity School was, and demand that its doors be kept open.

McCulloch's dream of seeing Pictou Academy with a strong theological faculty, raised to a degree granting institution, was doomed to disappointment. In spite of his energetic promotion it had not prospered. In 1835 he stated in a private letter that his own relations to the Academy in future had become "utterly uncertain": later he said that the termination of his connection with it was merely a matter of time, and he anticipated this final breach by asking the Synod for a letter of recommendation that he could use when applying for another appointment. The Synod's resulution is now a metter of record. It praised him in the highest terms for his services to the Church and education, and regretted the fact that his menemies had "bespotted him with the foulest and most groundwithat a burden for a mante line meet! less slanders . McCulloch's last days in Pictou were thus filled with dark foreboding. He could conscientiously say that "as long as there was the least prospect that the Academy could be carried on, I hung by it." The end had come; but sometimes an unexpected door opens, and it was so with him.

opens, and it was so with him.

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In the year 1818 the Earl of Dalhousie, the Governor of Noval Scotia, had founded the college in Halifax that was to bear his name. It was intended mainly for students who could not attend Kings, for the reason already given. The Earl had secured a modest endowment for it from fands collected at Castine, Maine, when an expedition assembled in Halifax in 1814 invaded and annexed a portion of that State. This, by the way, is the real explanation of Ripley's dubious reference to Dalhousie as the University that was built with "pilfered funds".

The Earl had chosen the Principal of Ayr Academy in Scotland as

the first head of his new institution, and he had accepted the appoint
ment, but at the last minute he had refused to come. The College thus

had a fine stone building and an impressive charter, but it had no staff

and it offered no university courses. The building was been used for

various social purposes.

Archibald, a former pupil of the Academy, visited Pictou and heard about the hopeless financial predicament of the school and the sad predicament of its aging Principal. On his return to Halifax he told the story to his influential father, the Honourable S. W. 3.

Archibald, whom he converted to his view that Dalhousie should be revitalized as a degree-granting institution and McCulloch named its first President. In 1838 a bill was introduced into the Legislature giving effect to both proposals.

ip his plans for Pictou in 1818, and it is coubtful if the Earl would have accepted him because he said that he was a "man to be watched," but Dr. D. C. Harvey, the retired Archivist of the Province, has reminded us of what, under happier circumstances, might have been the case. "As a clergyman and a great educator," he said, "McCulloch had seen that imported clergymen were not adequate to meet the needs of Nova Scotia, and to meet these his early efforts were directed: but if (the Earl of Dalhousie had been allowed to rise to the height of his own ideal, he would have made McCulloch Principal of his College at the beginning, and thus secured a scholar who knew his constituency, and a loyal supporter of the liberal arts, around which haw, medicine and theology could have gathered in due time."

McCulloch regarded the call to become President of Dalhousie as a high compliment, and we can only imagine the questions that must have coursed through his mind when word of his selection reached him. had seen the thing he had given his life to broken - could he now stoop and build it up with worn-out tools? He has tried to mould a noble institution of higher learning: but it, like the vefsel of the potter in the Biblical parable, had been marred in the process: could he make of the material not a second best but a new best entirely? hitherto thought mainly of Presbyterians: could he now widen his "It has frequently occurred horizons to embrace all men whatsoever? to me" he said, "that my eagerness to preserve the Gospel among the Presbyterians might proceed from a narrowness of view not very consistent with the spirit of the gospel, and that God by his dealing is showing me what I owe not to a section of mankind but to the whole human family: how this may be I cannot decide. I trust to an over-ruling Providence."

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He never assumed that the Presidency of Dalhousie would be a bed of roses. He says in a letter that his appointment met with furious opposition in the Legislature. A friend also told him that the Kirk Synod seat a letter about him to the Legislature that was so "utterly malignant" that it was not passed on to the Board. The editor of the Pictou Observer wondered what was wrong with the University when the chose a "feeble old man whose state jests could go but a litte way in the illustration of science", and called on them "by the claims of your children, yea of your children's children, by the demands of decency, to cancel the appointment of Dr. McCulloch." However the Legislature and the Board had agreed to it, and there was no going back.

In one of his Presidential addresses at Dalhousie he left no doubt that a great mind had been let loose in Provincial education. He told the friends of the University - including the twelve men who made up the student body: I wonder if it occurred to him that a far mightier movement had begun with just that number - that he rejected the idea that "rank and wealth entitled (men) to a monopoly of intellect, and that it was sufficient for the lower orders to read the Bible, obey their superiors, and discharge the duties of their several avocations in life, when they were considered by the wealthy and powerful as mere links in the chain of creation between them and This was the logic of democracy. the lowest orders of animated nature." and of the Christian religion, and he was responding to it with new denga per determination. He was however, as an old Highland saying phrases it,

determination. He was however, as an old Highland saying phrases it,
"travelling with the wind in his back." He was sixty two years of age
and time was running out for him.

He began his work without fanfare. "I meddle with nobody, and nobody now ventures to meddle with me," he said. Unfortunately that peaceful condition did not long persist; for the criticism that had been outspoken at the time of his appointment had been "scotched", not killed, and with very little encouragement it would soon revived. The high cost of operating the College provided the occasion, and the deficits were attributed to McCulloch's mismanagement. The clamour of the fault-finders reached such a pitch that it was considered by the Board of Governors in the President's absence, in the summer of 1842, and a Committee was appointed to look into it.

The members of it sent the President a list of written questions. They wanted to know, among other things, the subjects that were faught in the Arts course, the text books that were used, the length of the students holidays, and the actual amount of time that the President had to give to his College work. Some of these questions were plainly "loaded".

McCulloch did not reply prompily to the letter - he says that he was out of the city when it reached his desk. He provided the answers to each of the questions submitted, and said that since he was not clear what information the Committee headed he would be glad to confer with them about it. This reply was apparently unsatisfactory, and it brought from the Governor's secretary a request that McCulloch do not leave the Province again until he had supplied the needed facts.

Nothing further was done about the matter at the time. When College opened in the fall, McCulloch was back at his desk. The unrest however continued, and it was reliably reported that the Honourable Joseph Howe had made the proposal - which the Committee accepted although

it does the great statemman little credit - that the first step in cutting down the Dalhousie deficit was to reduce the President's salary, which was two hundred and twenty five pounds a year. Howe was really a strong supporter of the University, and some personal factors must have adversely influenced his usual friendly judgement in this instance.

McCulloch, whose "body, mind and will seemed to have been cut

from Secttish granite" - Dr. Harvey's fine phrase had not been well

that winter. It has been suggested that he was "worn out by his

arduous labours;" but perhaps his incessant struggle with frustrations

and disappointments had something to do with his exhaustion. At any

rate in September, before Howe's plan for reducing his salary was "ripe

for execution", he was stricken with influenza, and "death gave him the

rest that men had demied." So ends the story of Nova Scotia's most

illustrious educator, and the Provinces "most original and creative

educational reformer."

It is impossible to do justice, as Walt Whitman has reminded us us in a well-known poem, to a "biography famous" in any brief outline of a man's recorded life. I have read somewhere that when Marshall Hall, the distinguished British barrister, was approached for material for his biography, he replied that the title of the should be, "The Story of a Failure." There is sufficient ground for believing that McCulloch had moments, at least, when he would have made the same reply. We however, after almost a century and a quarter, can disregard a man's dispondent moods, and the public acclaim that he enjoyed or was denied, and consider the place that he occupied in our history. Any tabulation of McCulloch's accomplishments would have to include the following facts.

- 1. He stands as one of the intrepid race of missionaries men herces of whom the world was not worthy who voluntarily endured the hardships and privations of life on the Canadian frontier, to nourish men in their religious faith.
- 2. He founded a congregation in Pictou! that more than a hundred and sixty years since its organization, still continues its Christian witness and service.
- 3. He was a leader in the Synod which supervised the life of his denomination in the stratic area.

He was, within the limits imposed by his circumstances a fererunner of the occumenical spirit, for when he visited the United States
he provided himself with letters of introduction from the Methodist and
Called at hear people of the production of the Methodist and
Baptist connections, and when he came to Dalhousie he surmised that God
was leading him to see that he had an obligation, not to pre Church but
to the whole human (family.

- He initiated the training of a native Canadian ministry in the Presbyterian Church in this Dominion, and stands as the founded Procedure Hell During the coldent theological college mount field.

 He founded an Academy, as John Calvin did in Geneva; and although he was serely disappointed when it was defied degree-granting powers, his initiative proves that, as a true son of Calvin, he regarded colleges as a "public necessity to secure good political administration, sustain the Church unharmed, and maintain humanity among men."
- 7. He wrote political editorials for the newspaper, the Colonial Patriot, which made it a power in shaping public opinion in the Province; and Joseph Howe "used to say that he learned the principles of responsible government from a man in Pictou," a debt that he seemed to have forgotten when he suggested a reduction in McCulloch's modest salary.

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kind in the Province, which Audubon, the famous American naturalist,

thought the Province of Nova Scotia should have purchased. Part of his Collection

the seed while he was still a resident of the Huntarian Museum in Glasgow, and part is

still preserved in Dalhousie University.

- 9. He had a prophetic sense of the importance of science in which was the continuous of bulle welfules on Chamittey with the continuous of University education. "If Dalhousie aquire usefulness and eminence", he said, "it will not be by an imitation of Oxford, but as an institution of science and practical usefulness." He made that statement in 1838, which was sixteen years before Thomas Huxley delivered his lecture on "Education and the Value of the Development of Natural Science."

 Incidentally it was in McCulloch's tradition that Sir William Dawson, one of Canada's leading scientists grew up, and wrote books to prove that science and the Bible were not in conflict.
- 10. He was the author of Stepsure Letters, recently reissued in paper back edition, which in the opinion of Dr. H. Northrop Frye of Toronto, entitles him to be called the "father of Canadian humour."

 And if, as it has been said, professional humourists are often sad at heart, McCulloch was no exception, for his life was overshadowed by the death of three of his children; and in the midst of his defeats he often, as his son remembered him, seemed to say, "Why hast Thou made me thus?"
- ll. Finally, he was the first President of Dalhousie University, and he might well have prayed, as the Earl of Dalhousie did when he laid the corner-stone of the University's first building, "If my name is to be associated with the well-being of this part of Canada, it is upon the foundation of this College that I would desire it to rest."

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Mediansionary pastor, depreacher, Church builder, theologian and defender of the faith, afore-runner of the occumenical and professor of the coll and defender of the faith, a fore-runner of the occumenical spirit, -Ma first Brincipal and Brofessor of the college that grew into Pine Hill Divinity Hall, Nova Scotia's "most original educational reference advocate of democratic government porganizer of the Province's first Museum of Natural History, friend of science Ac father of Canadian humour, and first President of Dalhousie University what a legacy for one man to leave to future generations!