

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

A. & P.	—	<i>Acts and Proceedings of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in Canada</i>
OA	—	<i>Ontario Archives</i>
NAC	—	<i>National Archives of Canada</i>
PCA	—	<i>Presbyterian Church Archives</i>
QUA	—	<i>Queen's University Archives</i>
UCA	—	<i>United Church Archives</i>

NOTES

Chapter 1

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2. James Mackinnon, *Calvin and the Reformation*, New York, 1962, p. 289.
3. David Laing, ed., *The Works of John Knox*, Edinburgh, 1895, IV, 240.
4. Quoted in Jasper Ridley, *John Knox*, New York, 1968, p. 390.

Chapter 2

1. H. P. Biggar, ed., *The Voyages of Jacques Cartier*, Ottawa, 1924, p. 89.
2. H. P. Biggar, ed., *A Collection of Documents relating to Jacques Cartier and the Sieur de Roberval*, Ottawa, 1930, p. 178.
3. Quoted in G. M. Wrong, *The Rise and Fall of New France*, 2 vols., Toronto, 1928, I, 89.
4. *Ibid.*
5. Samuel Champlain. *Works*, ed. by H. P. Biggar, 6 vols., Champlain Society, 1922-36, V, 54.
6. Gabriel Théodat-Sagard, *Histoire du Canada*, 4 vols., Paris, 1866, I, 26.
7. Champlain, *op. cit.*, V, 207.
8. J. S. Moir, ed., *Church and State in Canada, 1627-1867: Basic Documents*, Toronto, 1967, p. 2.
9. George Patterson, "Sir William Alexander and the Scottish Attempt to colonize Acadia," *Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada*, 1892, Sec. II, 85.
10. R. G. Thwaites, ed., *The Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents*, 73 vols., Cleveland, 1896-1901, XXXI, 99.
11. L. J. Trinterud, *The Forming of an American Tradition*, Philadelphia, 1949, p. 66; M. W. Armstrong, L. A. Loetscher and C. A. Anderson, eds., *The Presbyterian Enterprise*, Philadelphia, 1956, pp. 35-6.
12. See James Tanis, *Dutch Calvinistic Pietism in the Middle Colonies*, The Hague, 1967.
13. W. W. Sweet, *Revivalism in America*, New York, 1944, pp. 28-9.
14. *Autobiography of Benjamin Franklin*, Airmont edition, p. 100.
15. Quoted in Armstrong *et al.*, *op. cit.*, p. 47.
16. Sweet, *op. cit.*, p. 73; Trinterud, *op. cit.*, pp. 125-6.

17. E. S. Gaustad, *Historical Atlas of Religion in America*, New York, 1962, p. 20.
18. Trinterud, *op. cit.*, p. 195.
19. Carl Bridenbaugh, *Mitre and Septure*, London, 1962, p. 257 ff., p. 185 n.22.
20. Quoted in Trinterud, *op. cit.*, p. 250.

Chapter 3

1. Cf. W. S. Reid, *The Church of Scotland in Lower Canada, Its Struggle for Establishment*, Toronto, 1936, p. 24, where it is suggested that McPherson may have been a Church of England clergyman.
2. J. S. Moir, ed., *Church and State in Canada, 1627-1867: Basic Documents*, Toronto, 1967, p. 33.
3. William Gregg, *History of the Presbyterian Church in the Dominion of Canada... to 1834*, Montreal, 1885, p. 61; Ian Mackinnon, *Settlements and Churches in Nova Scotia*, Montreal, 1930, p. 79.
4. *Census of Canada, 1871*, IV, 71.
5. NAC, Nova Scotia "B", 17, 153, Council Minutes, 10 November, 1778.
6. Gregg, *op. cit.*, p. 78.
7. Eliza Frame, "Rev. Jas. Murdoch, 1767-1799," *Collections of the Nova Scotia Historical Society*, 1879-80, II, 101.
8. T. W. Smith, "The Slave in Canada," *Collections of the Nova Scotia Historical Society*, 1896-8, X, 10, 16.
9. J. fon Wearinga, "The First Protestant Ordination in Canada: The Story of Brun Romkes Comingo, 1723-1820," *United Church Archives Bulletin*, Number Eleven, 1958, pp. 19-32.
10. J. B. Brebner, *The Neutral Yankees of Nova Scotia*, New York, 1937, pp. 190-1.
11. *Ibid.*, p. 306, n.
12. J. M. Bumstead, *Henry Alline*, Toronto, 1971, is the only full-scale biography of this man.
13. Gregg, *op. cit.*, pp. 96-7.
14. *Ibid.*, pp. 8 1-5; in some documents the name is spelled Gillmore.
15. NAC, Nova Scotia "A", Vol. 103, pp. 156-60, Sir Guy Carleton to Lord North, 26 August, 1783.
16. Gregg, *op. cit.*, p. 95.
17. Walter Murray, "History of St. Matthew's Church, Halifax, N.S.," *Collections of the Nova Scotia Historical Society*, 1912, XVI, 137.
18. *Ibid.*, 155.

19. NAC, Nova Scotia "A", Vol. 116, pp. 273-8, Memorial of Andrew Brown, 24 September, 1791.
20. Murray, *op. cit.*, pp. 157-61 *et passim*.
21. Robert Stewart, *St. Andrew's Church (Presbyterian) Quebec: An Historical Sketch of the Church and its Ministers*, Quebec, 1928, p. 39.
22. A. H. Young, "The Bethunes," *Papers and Records of the Ontario Historical Society*, 1931, XXVII, 559.
23. R. A. Preston, ed., *Kingston before the War of 1812*, Champlain Society, 1959, xcvi, n.
24. Moir, *op. cit.*, pp. 108-10.
25. *Ibid.*, pp. 142-3.
26. E. A. Cruikshank, ed., *The Correspondence of Lieut. Governor John Graves Simcoe*, 5 vols., Ontario Historical Society, 1923-31, IV, 76-7, 222, 310.
27. Moir, *op. cit.*, p. 145.
28. Cruikshank, *op. cit.*, III, 249-50; Preston, *op. cit.*, p. 121.
29. Moir, *op. cit.*, pp. 147-9; W. R. Riddell, "The Law of Marriage in Upper Canada," *Canadian Historical Review*, II(3), September, 1921, 226-48.
30. Quoted in Robert Campbell, *A History of the Scotch Presbyterian Church, St. Gabriel Street, Montreal*, Montreal, 1887, p. 45.
31. *Ibid.*, p. 59.
32. Quoted in Campbell, *op. cit.*, p. 48.
33. Cruikshank, *op. cit.*, IV, 134-5.
34. *Ibid.*, V, 204, 192, 214.
35. *Papers and Records of the Ontario Historical Society*, 1899, I, 70. McDowall's marriage and baptismal registers are printed *ibid.*, 72-108.
36. C. H. Johnston, ed., *The Valley of the Six Nations*, Champlain Society, 1964, p. 238.
37. *Papers and Records of the Ontario Historical Society*, 1902, III, 81.
38. Quoted in Campbell, *op. cit.*, p. 53.
39. *Papers and Records of the Ontario Historical Society*, 1902, III, 82.

Chapter 4

1. George Patterson, *Life of James MacGregor, D.D.*, Edinburgh, 1859, p. 96.
2. *Ibid.*, p. 106.
3. *Ibid.*, p. 380.

4. *Ibid.*, p. 387.
5. *Ibid.*, p. 288.
6. *Ibid.*, pp.519,518.
7. *Ibid.*, p. 478.
8. William McCulloch, *Life of Thomas McCulloch, D.D., Pictou*, n.p., 1920, p. 9.
9. *Ibid.*, p. 48.
10. Patterson, *op. cit.*, p. 408.
11. William Gregg, *History of the Presbyterian Church in the Dominion of Canada... to 1834*, Montreal, 1885, pp. 128-9.
12. Patterson, *op. cit.*, p. 409.
13. For the early history of Presbyterianism in Newfoundland. see W. M. Moncreiff, "A History of the Presbyterian Church in Newfoundland, 1622-1966," unpublished B.D. thesis, Knox College, 1966.
14. McCulloch, *op. cit.*, p. 56.
15. *Ibid.*, p.62.
16. NAC, Daihousie Papers, V, 1, Michael Wallace to Lord Dalhousie, 6 June, 1822.
17. Patterson, *op. cit.*, p. 476.
18. McCulloch, *op. cit.*, p. 95.
19. For a brief, interpretive modern biography, see J. L. H. Henderson, *John Strachan*, Toronto, 1969.
20. Robert Campbell, *A History of the Scotch Presbyterian Church, St. Gabriel Street, Montreal*, Montreal, 1887, p. 181.
21. *Ibid.*, p. 180.
22. See W. R. Riddell, "When a Few claimed Monopoly of Spiritual Functions," *Papers and Records of the Ontario Historical Society*, 1925, XXII, 202-9.
23. Campbell, *op. cit.*, p. 178.
24. Quoted in Gregg, *op. cit.*, p. 163.
25. Campbell, *op. cit.*, p. 262.
26. Gregg, *op. cit.*, p. 175.
27. G. F. Playter, *The History of Methodism in Canada*, Toronto, 1862, pp. 63-4.
28. Gregg, *op. cit.*, p. 178.
29. Lawrence Kitzan, "The London Missionary Society in Upper Canada," *Ontario History*, LIX (1), March, 1967, 43-4.
30. Isabel Skelton, *A Man Austere, William Bell, Parson and Pioneer*, Toronto, 1947, pp. 114-15, 116.
31. Gregg, *op. cit.*, p. 201.

32. Mariel Jenkins, "Grace Seasoned with Salt: A Profile of the Reverend William Jenkins, 1779-1843," *Ontario History*, LI (2), Spring, 1959, 95-104.
33. Quoted in Skelton, *op. cit.*, pp. 183-4.
34. *Ibid.*, p. 187.
35. *Ibid.*, p. 189.
36. A. W. Taylor, ed., "An Account of the First Mission of the Associate Synod to Canada West," *Ontario History*, L (2), Spring, 1958, 110.
37. H. I. Cowan, *British Immigration Before Confederation*, Canadian Historical Association, Historical Booklet No. 22, 1968, p. 7.
38. J. S. Moir, ed., *Church and State in Canada, 1627-1867: Basic Documents*, Toronto, 1967, p. 161.
39. *Ibid.*, p. 160.
40. British Parliamentary Papers, 1840, No. 83, pp. 1-2, Sir P. Maitland to Lord Bathurst, 17 May, 1819.
41. Moir, *op. cit.*, pp. 16 1-2.
42. British Parliamentary Papers, 1840, No. 83, p. 2, Lord Bathurst to Sir P. Maitland, 6 May, 1820.
43. NAC, *Report, 1899*, Note A, pp. 1-2.
44. *Ibid.*, pp. 3-4.
45. Queen's University Archives, Church of Scotland Synod Papers, Box I, D. Mearns to H. Esson, 5 June, 1821.
46. NAC, Q 159-II, 337-8, D. Mearns to Lord Bathurst, 29 August, 1821.
47. NAC, G 1, 11, 2 17-20, Lord Bathurst to Lord Dalhousie, 6 November, 1821.
48. NAC, Q 166-1, 97, Lord Dalhousie to Lord Bathurst, 24 January, 1823; PAC G 1, 12, 180, Lord Bathurst to Lord Dalhousie, 19 March, 1823.
49. NAC, Q 167-II, 474-5, Bishop Mountain to Lord Bathurst, 20 February, 1823; *ibid.*, 476-81, same to same, 21 February, 1823; T. R. Millman, *Jacob Mountain, First Lord Bishop of Quebec*, Toronto, 1947, pp. 161-2.
50. Toronto Reference Library, Scadding Collection, Strachan Papers, J. Strachan to Bishop Mountain, 24 November, 1823.
51. British Parliamentary Papers, 1840, No. 83, p. 4.
52. *Ibid.*, pp. 8-9, Bishop Mountain to Lord Bathurst, 27 December, 1823.
53. NAC, Q 174, 325-33, D. Mearns to Lord Bathurst, 21 May, 1825, and enclosure.
54. Moir, *op. cit.*, p. 168.

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1. William McCulloch, *Life of Thomas McCulloch, D.D., Pictou*, n.p., 1920?, pp. 93-4.
2. *Ibid.*, p. 99.
3. *Ibid.*, pp. 109, 133 ft.
4. *Ibid.*, p. 156; G. W. Sprott, ed., *Memorials of the Reverend John Sprott*, Edinburgh, 1906, pp. 35-6.
5. *A Historical and Statistical Report of the Presbyterian Church of Canada in Connection with the Church of Scotland for the Year 1866*, Montreal, 1867. pp. 165-72.
6. Isabel Skelton, *A Man Austere, William Bell, Parson and Pioneer*, Toronto, 1947, p. 144, and see also *ibid.*, pp. 165-6, 210.
7. Quoted in William Gregg, *History of the Presbyterian Church in the Dominion of Canada... to 1834*, Toronto, 1885, p. 441.
8. QUA, Church of Scotland Synod Papers, motion of W. Rintoul, 3 August, 1833.
9. Skelton, *op. cit.*, pp. 2 15-16.
10. H. E. Parker, "The Diary of Rev. William Fraser (1834-1835) with an Introductory Essay on Early Presbyterianism in Western Ontario," *Transactions of the London and Middlesex Historical Society*, Part XIV, 1930, 38-40; John Banks, "American Presbyterians in the Niagara Peninsula, 1800-1840," *Ontario History*, LVII (3), September, 1965, 136.
11. Quoted in Banks, *op. cit.*, 139.
12. W. H. Elgee, *The Social Teachings of the Canadian Churches, Protestant, The Early Period, before 1850*, Toronto, 1964, pp. 148-51; *Canadian Christian Examiner and Presbyterian Review*, July, 1840; *Canadian Temperance Advocate*, April, 1841.
13. QUA, Church of Scotland Synod Papers, report of Toronto Presbytery on sabbath violation, 1837.
14. *Canadian Christian Examiner and Presbyterian Review*, March, 1838.
15. *Ibid.*, July, 1838.
16. QUA, Church of Scotland Synod Papers, overture of H. Esson to Synod,
20. September, 1836.
17. *Canadian Christian Examiner and Presbyterian Review*, November, 1838, June, 1839.
18. NAC, Q 180: 306-7, R. Burns to Wilmot Horton, 12 June, 1827; Q 179: 361. Lord Dalhousie to Wilmot Horton, 23 October, 1827.

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20. T. R. Millman, *The Life of the Right Reverend The Honourable Charles James Stewart, D.D., Oxon., Second Anglican Bishop of Quebec*, London, Ont., 1953, p. 75.
21. Reid, *op. cit.*, pp. 85-90.
22. J. S. Moir, ed., *Church and State in Canada, 1627-1867: Basic Documents*, Toronto, 1967, pp. 175-6.
23. *Ibid.*, p. 179.
24. *Ibid.*, p. 182.
25. Toronto Reference Library, Scadding Collection, Strachan Papers, Lord Goderich to Sir J. Colborne, 5 April, 1832, copy; QUA, Church of Scotland Synod Papers, W. Rowan to Synod, 15 March, 1833.
26. *Report of the Committee of General Assembly on Colonial Churches, 30 May, 1836...*, Glasgow, 1836, pp. 3,7.
27. Moir, *op. cit.*, p. 203.
28. E. C. Kyte, "Journal of the Honourable William Morris's Mission to England in the Year 1837," *Papers and Records of the Ontario Historical Society*, 1934, XXX, 2 12-62.
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30. Kyte, *op. cit.*, 230, 234.
31. *Ibid.*, 239.
32. QUA, Church of Scotland Synod Papers, printed resolutions, St. Andrew's Church. Toronto, 25 September, 1838; *ibid.*, W. Macaulay to A. Gale, 10 August, 1838; *ibid.*, printed statement of A. Gale, July, 1838.
33. QUA, Clergy Reserves Collection, A. Gale to W. Morris, 19 April, 1839.
34. G. M. Craig, ed., *Lord Durham's Report*, Toronto, 1963, p. 95.
35. OA, Macaulay Papers, I. Macaulay to Ann Macaulay, 5 May, 1839.
36. *Ibid.*. John Strachan to J. Macaulay, 21 May, 1839.
37. G. P. Scrope, *Memoir of the Life of the Right Honourable Lord Sydenham, G.C.B.*, London, 1843, p. 168.
38. QUA, Morris Papers, W. Morris to T. W. C. Murdoch, 4 January, 1840, copy.
39. *Ibid.*, W. Smart to W. Morris, 7 January, 1840.
40. *Ibid.*, same to same, 13 July, 1840.
41. Paul Knaplund, ed., *Letters from Lord Sydenham, Governor-General of Canada, 1839-1841, to Lord John Russell*, London, 1931, pp. 45, 44, 48.

42. *Ibid.*, p. 91.
43. QUA. Morris Papers, R. McGill to W. Morris, 4 September, 1840.
44. Knaplund, *op. cit.*, p. 95.
45. QUA, Morris Papers, W. Morris to Lord Sydenham, 2 October, 1840, draft.
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47. D. C. Harvey, "From College to University," *Dalhousie Review*, XVII, January, 1938, 411.
48. McCulloch, *op. cit.*, p. 183.
49. D. C. Harvey, "The Dalhousie Idea," *Dalhousie Review*, XVII, August, 1937, 141.
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52. *Ibid.*
53. *Quoted, ibid.*, p. 26.
54. QUA, Queen's University Papers, W. Morris to T. W. C. Murdoch, 22 January, 1840.
55. NAC, G 5, 30, No. 255, Lord J. Russell to Lord Sydenham, 4 November, 1840; J. G. Hodgins, ed., *Documentary History of Education in Upper Canada*, 28 v., Toronto, 1894-1910, IV, 108.
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58. C. R. W. Biggar, *Sir Oliver Mowat*, 2 v., Toronto, 1905, I, 30.
59. *Canadian Christian Examiner and Presbyterian Review*, August, 1840; QUA, Morris Papers, R. McGill to W. Morris, 9 December, 1840.
60. J. S. Moir, *Church and State in Canada West: Three Studies in the Relation of Denominationalism and Nationalism, 1841-1867*, Toronto, 1959, p. 85.
61. QUA, Church of Scotland Synod Papers, draft of memorandum to the Lieutenant-Governor, 1834.
62. *Canadian Christian Examiner and Presbyterian Review*, July, 1837.
63. QUA, Church of Scotland Synod Papers, A. Mathieson to Lord Glenelg, c. 10 April, 1838; same to J. Stephen, 4 April, 1838. Recent research on the Upper Canadian rebellion suggests that in general Scottish immigrants and Presbyterians were significantly rare among

the rebels. An exception was the Rev. Robert Thornton, Secessionist minister in Pickering, who, along with some of his congregation, were implicated in the uprising. William Proudfoot was suspect in the eyes of the government and loyalists because of his politics, but he was never involved in the Rebellion or the disturbances that followed it.

64. Hodgins, *op. cit.*, IV, 32.

Chapter 6

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3. QUA, Church of Scotland Synod Papers, October, 1843.
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5. *Ibid.*, p. 186.
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7. W. M. Moncrieff, "A History of the Presbyterian Church in Newfoundland, 1622-1966," unpublished B.D. thesis, Knox College, 1966.
8. QUA, Morris Papers, Isaac Buchanan to W. Morris, 17 August, 5 July, 1844.
9. *Ecclesiastical and Missionary Record*, August, 1844.
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11. A. F. Kemp, *Digest of the Minutes of the Synod of the Presbyterian Church of Canada*, Montreal, 1861, pp. 278-9.
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14. Kemp, *op. cit.*, pp. 276, 277; *Ecclesiastical and Missionary Record*, July, 1845.
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16. Burns, *op. cit.*, p. 187; Kemp, *op. cit.*, p.412.
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18. Rennie, *op. cit.*, pp. 130-3.
19. *Ibid.*, p. 135.
20. Kemp, *op. cit.*, pp. 413-14.
21. *Ibid.*, pp. 413-5.
22. J.S.. Moir, *Church and State in Canada West: Three Studies in the Relation of Denominationalism and Nationalism, 1841-1867*, Toronto, 1959, p. 66.
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24. *Globe*, 24 June, 1852.
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26. *Historical Report of the Administration of the Temporalities' Fund of the Presbyterian Church of Canada. . . 1856-1900*, Montreal, 1900.
27. Moir, *op. cit.*, pp. 91-3.
28. *Ibid.*, p. 97.
29. *Ibid.*, p. 100.
30. J. G. Hodgins, ed., *Documentary History of Education in Upper Canada*, 28 v., Toronto, 1894-1910, VIII, 128.
31. William Gregg, *Short History of the Presbyterian Church in the Dominion of Canada*, 3rd ed., rev., Toronto, 1900, pp. 146-7; *Missionary Register of Nova Scotia*, April, 1851; *Canadian Presbyterian Magazine*, July, 1851.
32. *Canadian United Presbyterian Magazine*, November, 1856.
33. Moir, *op. cit.*, p. 119.
34. *Presbyterian Witness*, 3 February, 1849.
35. QUA, Church of Scotland Synod Papers, Addresses of the Synod to the Queen and Governor General, 18 July, 1853.
36. *Globe*, 14 March, 24 May, 1853; *Echo and Protestant Episcopal Recorder*, 23 March, 1855.
37. Moir, *op. cit.*, p. 160 ff.
38. *Globe*, 29 May, 1855.
39. Quoted in J. S. Moir, "The Canadianization of the Protestant Churches," *Canadian Historical Association Report*, 1966, p. 66.
40. *A Historical and Statistical Report. . .*, pp. 165-72.
41. *Ibid.*, *passim*.
42. Kemp, *op. cit.*, pp. 107-8.
43. *Ecclesiastical and Missionary Record*, June, 1848.

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46. *Canadian Presbyterian*, August, 1857.
47. F. H. Rennie, "Spiritual Worship with a Carnal Instrument (The Organ as aid or obstacle to the 'purity of worship' in Canadian Presbyterianism)," unpublished M.Th. thesis, Knox College, 1969, pp. 75-90.
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50. OA, Clarke Papers, J. McNab to Charles Clarke, 9 September, 1854.
51. J. M. S. Careless, *Brown of the Globe*, 2 v., Toronto, 1959, 1963, I, 160.
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54. *Barrie Herald*, 13 July, 1853; *Canadian Presbyterian Magazine*, January, 1854.
55. Ian Rennie, *op. cit.*, pp. 2 19-20.
56. Kemp, *op. cit.*, p. 168; Malcolm Wallace, "Pioneers of the Scotch Settlement on the Shore of Lake St. Clair," *Ontario History*, XLI (4), October, 1949, 192.
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Chapter 7

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12. *Ibid.*, p. 82.
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16. *Ibid.*, pp. 205-8.
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18. W. D. Mcintosh, *One Hundred Years in the Zorra Church*, Toronto, 1930, p. 81.
19. J. W. Grant, "Canadian Confederation and the Protestant Churches," *Church History*, XXXVIII (3), September, 1969, 328.
20. *Presbyterian Witness*, 14 April, 1866.
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24. Quoted in Johnston, *op. cit.*, p. 22.
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26. *Globe*, 4 June, 1870.
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28. *Ibid.*, pp. 174-5.
29. *Ibid.*, p. 196.
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31. Johnston, *op. cit.*, p. 247 ff.
32. *Montreal Witness*, 15 June, 1875, quoted in Johnston, *op. cit.*, p. 494.
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35. Johnston, *op. cit.*, p. 497.
36. Quoted in *ibid.*, p. 263.
37. Hugh McKellar, *Presbyterian Pioneer Missionaries in Manitoba, Saskatchewan, Alberta and British Columbia*, Toronto, 1924, pp. 203-6.

38. A. Dunn, *Experiences in Langley and Memoirs of Prominent Pioneers*, New Westminster, 1913, p. 70.
39. McKellar, *op. cit.*, pp. 203-4, 241; *A. & P.*, 1892, pp. 51-3.

Chapter 8

1. George Patterson, *Missionary Life Among the Cannibals: Being the Life of the Rev. John Geddie, D.D.*, Toronto, 1882, p. 47.
2. *Missionary Register*, November, 1853.
3. *A. & P.*, 1915, App. pp. 154-5.
4. *Gospel Tribune*, May, 1854; George Smith, *The Life of Alexander Duff*, Toronto, n.d., II, 280-5.
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