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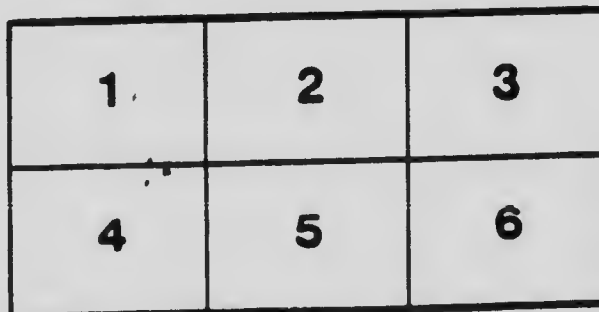
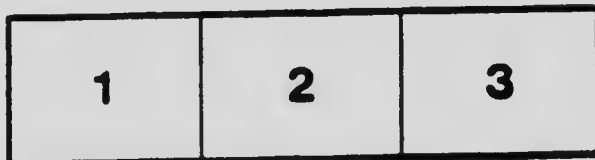
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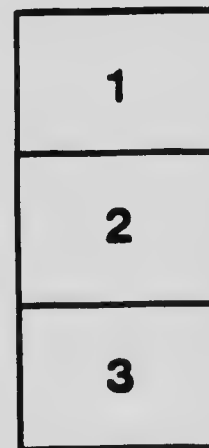
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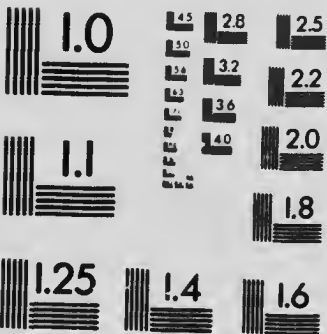
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Some Unusual Sources of Information in the
Toronto Reference Library on the
Canadian Rebellions of 1837-8

BY
FRANCES M. STATON



Reprinted from Ontario Historical Society Papers and Records, Vol. XVII

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SOME UNUSUAL SOURCES OF INFORMATION IN THE TORONTO
REFERENCE LIBRARY ON THE CANADIAN REBELLIONS OF
1837-8.

By FRANCES M. STATON.

When about three years ago we decided, after some consultation on the subject, to publish, at intervals, a series of bibliographies of material available and readily accessible in the Reference Department of the Toronto Public Library, our object was two-fold:

In the first place, to bring to light many of the treasures of which we were possessed, and in a general way to make known to the public the vast resources of material on Canadian topics with which our library is so richly endowed.

Our object, secondly, was to endeavour by these means to aid the student and other readers who were desirous of pursuing some particular course of study, by removing as many impediments as possible out of their paths, and to make their fields of investigation as interesting and as fruitful as possible.

The value of a library and especially a reference library, is increased manifold if its consultation, by the readers who frequent it, is made easy and attractive. Therefore, special bibliographies bringing together all the resources of the library on a particular topic, cannot fail to make pleasant the paths of those who wish to venture into the long avenues of research. In this way, too, the student is not only guided in his reading, but receives much encouragement and incentive to further efforts in his chosen branch of study.

Again, when our clients come to the library with the object and hope of obtaining material on a certain subject, their chief desire is to find out what books and other material can be provided there and then.

While general bibliographies are not to be despised or under-valued, giving, as they do, many numerous sources of information on particular subjects, they are, as a rule, confined to lists of books, and do not convey to the reader, where those references are accessible; whether or not they are available in their own town library—they are utterly silent in this regard. They merely mention there are certain books on that topic to be had on the "Beautiful Isle of Somewhere." It does not interest or help readers to be told what books have been published, nor to be informed that material may be obtained in the library of New York or Boston. What they do want to learn is, what their own city or town library can produce. Therefore the value of a special bibliography on a special subject, in our own particular library, cannot be over-estimated.

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To this end then, we planned a series of special bibliographies on Canadian topics, and the first of these undertaken and compiled by the speaker, was a list of all the early Canadian printed books in the Reference Library, dating from 1764, when the first printing press was established in Canada, to the year 1837, which in a way, gives us a very good idea of the progress of printing and publication in Canada during that period.

This list is chronologically arranged, and is comprised of about 600 entries, which include books, pamphlets, periodicals, almanacs, directories and government documents. The title of the bibliography is: "Books and pamphlets, etc., published in Canada up to the year 1837, copies of which are in the Public Reference Library in Toronto." As stated in the preface, "the date of ending the list is purely arbitrary, having no connection with book production, but marking an historical event which was influential in shaping the destinies of our country."

That our first effort was somewhat successful, was evidenced by the many congratulatory letters, received by the Chief Librarian, Dr. Locke, and the favourable comments of the newspaper press and book reviews, not to speak of the use made of it by our readers, and the number of copies that were sold—all of which it is needless to say was very gratifying, and encouraged us to go on with the good work.

Our next attempt was rather more ambitious, as we decided the next contribution to our series would be a bibliography of one of the most salient points in the history of our country—that of the Canadian rebellion of 1837-8, both in Upper and Lower Canada.

This work being assigned me, I felt at first that it was no easy task, and at times was rather appalled at its magnitude, and that it was impossible to do adequate justice to so important a subject. But fortunately it was a favourite theme in Canadian history, which made the work more congenial, and the interest in it soon grew to be a labour of love, and when the task was ended, I felt amply repaid by the knowledge that it was indeed, not "Love's labour lost."

Now the title of this paper suggests a special bibliography on a special topic—The Canadian Rebellions of 1837-8.

Some time ago, in looking through an old volume of the *Library Journal*, published many years ago, I came across an article on bibliography, in which the writer states, that bibliography may be divided into two branches, the first having reference to the contents of books, and which may be termed intellectual bibliography, the second treats of the external characteristics of books, their names, prices, dates and places of publication, and to this class may be applied the term material bibliography. This last class will not claim our attention to-day, but to the former—intellectual bibliography, we shall devote our consideration for a short time.

Having decided on the subject, the next thing to consider was the plan of campaign in regard to the research work. Although the undertaking was an arduous one, no trouble was anticipated so far as the general material was concerned, for the Canadiana of our reference library, is one of which Toronto may be justifiably proud, being as a general collection, the finest in America, and some have gone so far as to say the best in the world.

Of course, we had several histories of the rebellion, and numerous histories of Canada which dealt in detail on the subject as an epoch in the

history of our country, but a history, unless very attractively written, is a rather dry and uninteresting source of material to put into the hands of the budding historian.

General histories of course, have their place, as all things have, and indeed contain a mass of valuable information, but there is very little that is bright or attractive to be found in their pages. They do not convey to the reader the spirit of the times unless he is possessed of an uncommonly vivid imagination. Then again, he is apt to see things from the viewpoint of the historian, becoming biased in his judgment, not having sufficient scope for independent thought.

So I thought I would try to lead the student to more interesting sources of the fountain of knowledge, than at the dried up springs of the ordinary history.

I then arranged to begin the bibliography, by doing the easiest part first, which was to collect and make a list of all the histories of the rebellion, then books dealing with the rebellion, then the most important histories of Canada which dealt with the subject to any extent. This in itself presented quite a goodly list.

I next turned my attention to pamphlets, in which we are very wealthy. In regard to pamphlets dealing with Canada in some phase or another, it is not an exaggeration to say that we have to the number of about 6,000. Now a word on the use of pamphlets as an aid to the study of history. No one can deny that their value is inestimable. It is generally written on some important topic, or some event or question, political or social, that is agitating the minds of the people at the time; and its interest is enhanced by the fact, that it only relates to present day questions. As an instrument in shaping and moulding the opinions of the people in times of political storm and stress especially, it is, as a rule, very keen and convincing. Pamphlets, like some periodicals, do not enjoy a very long existence. Many of them, like human beings, are only born to die. They are seldom reprinted—hence the importance of preserving them as aids to research, and the study of history for the future generations.

Let me quote what Disraeli in his "Aménities of Literature" says of pamphlets: "We must not consider pamphlets wholly in a political view, their circle is boundless, holding all the world of man, they enter into every object of human interest. The silent revolution in manners, language, habit, are there to be traced; and indeed it is the multiplicity of pamphlets on a particular topic or object, which appear at a particular period, that offer the most correct picture of public opinion."

So we see the importance of pamphlets as an aid to historical study.

Another interesting source was the magazine literature, and though not quite so valuable of results as the pamphlets, a good deal of valuable material was brought to light. Our collection of bound periodicals is very extensive, comprising several thousands of volumes, many of our sets dating back, as far as—and some beyond, the rebellion period. This literature too, like the pamphlets, is an expression of the thought and opinion of the writers on the various vital and important questions of the times, and was, to some extent, influential in shaping the destinies of nations and peoples. Therefore we cannot overlook the fact of their importance, they having always proved a ready and faithful friend in need.

Then scrap books were searched, but as we did not possess many of these, that is of clippings of that period, the exploration of that source was soon over. My efforts, however, were not in vain, for some very interesting matter was secured.

The next field of investigation was the Transactions of Learned Societies of which we have over 5,000 vols. Of these, of course, there were only certain ones that would likely contain any of the desired references. These were searched, with the result that several interesting papers were unearthed. Thus we see that the Transactions of Learned Societies are also desirable mediums for history study.

Then an excursion was taken into the realm of books, seeking hither and thither for incidental chapters, for odds and ends and out of the way information, which search was very satisfactorily rewarded. Government documents too, was another by-path to the high road of history, and their importance also is universally recognized, recording as they do the events, the heated discussions and debates, that took place in parliament in those far off stormy times.

Next to be entered was the field of romance, cherishing a hope to glean there at least a few tales and stories founded on such an exciting and interesting a topic as the Canadian rebellion of 1837-8. The reward was not commensurate with the labour, but I felt very well satisfied at having secured three or four works of fiction. These are of interest, from the fact that they throw more or less light on the life of the people at that time.

Last but not least, and the most interesting and prolific of all our sources, were the newspapers, of which we have a very representative collection, dating from 1830, to the end of the rebellion period.

The task of examining them was a rather formidable one, involving a good deal of eye and nerve strain and brain fatigue, but on searching through the files, turning over one by one the musty yellow leaves, such a mine of wealth was revealed, that I only realized for the first time, the immense value of the newspaper as an historical source. More so than periodicals and pamphlets are they a revealer of public sentiment and opinion. Much more vividly do they chronicle the daily events of the times, and by a thorough search cannot fail to bring to light many important facts and much curious information, which it would be impossible to find elsewhere.

Through the medium of the press, the people in those days, as now, voiced their grievances and opinions of affairs, political and social, thus exerting a wide and far reaching influence, and in this way too, we get at the pros and cons of many important questions that exercised the minds of the public. From the newspapers also, we obtain a much more graphic and accurate picture of the period than we can possibly do from other sources. Here, as may easily be seen, the student of history has abundant scope and opportunity for securing unusually interesting material for his work.

As previously stated, our collection of early newspapers is fairly representative, and while we cannot boast many complete sets, what we have is sufficient to meet all reasonable demands.

It is not within the scope of this paper to enter into any of the details of the causes and agitations that led to the rebellion, nor to comment on any of the events connected with it. The purpose now is to show what our different sources can produce; therefore a few examples from each will be given by way of explaining the nature of the bibliography.

The first source to be noticed are the books—and to begin at the beginning, it will be understood that in order for the student to arrive at a fair and accurate knowledge of the causes which led to the rebellions of 1837-8 it will be necessary to read, mark, learn and digest the Quebec Act of 1774, and the Constitutional Act of 1791. The text of these acts may be found in "Documents of the Canadian Constitution," by Wm. Houston, and "Documents of the Canadian Constitution," by Professor W. M. P. Kennedy. Examples of the other material are "The Quebec Act of 1774," by Gerald E. Hart, "Account of the proceedings of the British and other Protestant inhabitants in the Province of Quebec, in North America, in order to obtain a House of Assembly in that Province," London, 1775, and "Debates of the House of Commons in the year 1774, on the bill for making effectual provision for the Government of the Province of Quebec, drawn up from the notes of Sir Henry Cavendish."

Again, in order to learn the causes of the rebellion we should not like to omit the works of the famous Robert Gourlay, that much abused Scotsman, who came to Canada in 1817, as land agent, with a view to promoting immigration, and was the first to agitate against the many abuses which had sprung up in the country under the tyrannical rule of the Family Compact, the then dominant party. Everyone is familiar with his story, of his treatment by the Family Compact, his unlawful imprisonment, and lastly his exile from the Province. His writings are worthy of consideration, and are as follows: "The Chronicles of Canada, being a record of Robert Gourlay, No. 1, concerning the convention and gagging law, 1818;" "The Banished Briton" and "Neptunian;" "The unpublished papers of Robert Gourlay to 1818;" "Statistical Account of Upper Canada," 3 vols.

Examples of histories of the rebellion are: "Story of the Upper Canadian Rebellion of 1837," by J. C. Dent; "The Canadian Rebellion of 1837," by D. B. Read. In general histories of Canada, those that give fairly detailed accounts are: "History of Canada," by William Kingsford; and "The History of Canada," by John McMullen. The latter is particularly good. Other fruitful sources are: "A Narrative," by Sir Francis Bond Head, giving a full account of the rebellion and its causes.

"The Seventh Report from the Select Committee of the House of Assembly on Grievances," W. L. Mackenzie, Chairman, 1835.

"Annals of Canada for 1837-8," by David Chisholm.

"Papers relating to Sir Francis Bond Head, ordered by the House of Assembly to be printed," 1837.

Lord Durham's "Report on the affairs of British North America," 1839.

"Lithographic views of the Military operations in Canada, under His Excellency Sir John Colborne, during the late insurrection," by Lord Charles Beauclerk, accompanied by notes, historical and descriptive.

"The Canadian Farmer's travels in the United States of America, in which remarks are made on the arbitrary Colonial Policy, preached in Canada, and the free and equal rights and happy effects of the liberal institutions and astonishing enterprise of the United States, by Robert Davis, Buffalo, 1837." "The relation of the United States with the Canadian Rebellion of 1837-8, by Orrim E. Tiffany."

After the quelling of the rebellion, many of those who took a prominent part, were banished to Van Dieman's Land, there enduring a long captivity,

and the story of those political prisoners during their exile in that country, told by themselves, is extremely interesting. It would take up too much time to give any review of these books, or to name all of them, but the titles of a few will explain their contents.

Among others, are the following:

"Letters from Van Dieman's Land, written during four years imprisonment for political offences committed in Upper Canada," by Benjamin Wait. Buffalo, 1843.

"The Exiles' Return: or Narrative of Samuel Snow, who was banished to Van Dieman's Land for participating in the patriot war in Upper Canada in 1838." Cleveland, 1846. This book is now very scarce.

"Recollections of life in Van Dieman's Land" by Wm. Gates. One of the Canadian Patriots. Lockport, 1850.

"Canada in 1837-8, showing by historical proofs the causes of the late attempted revolution and of its failure, together with the personal adventures of the Author, and others who were connected with the Revolution," by E. A. Theller, Brigadier-General in the Canadian Republican Service. Phil., 1841.

"A Narrative of the adventures and sufferings of Captain Daniel Huestis and his companions in Canada, and Van Dieman's Land during a long captivity, with introduction. The Canadian Movement, by Benjamin Kingsbury." Boston, 1847.

"A brief review of the settlement of Upper Canada, by the U. E. Loyalists and Scotch Highlanders in 1783, and of the grievances which compelled the Canadians to have recourse to arms in defence of their rights and liberties in the year 1837-8, with an account of the Military executions, burning and sackings of towns and villages by the British in the Upper and Lower Provinces during the commotion of 1837-8, by D. M. McLeod, Major-General, Patriot Army, U. C. Cleveland, 1846."

"A letter to Her Majesty, the British Queen, with letters to Lord Durham, Lord Glenelg and Sir George Arthur, to which is added an appendix embracing a report of the testimony taken on the trial of the writer, by a Court Martial of Toronto, in Upper Canada." by Thomas Jefferson Sutherland. Albany, 1841.

"Report on the case of the Canadian prisoners, with an introduction to the writ of Habeas Corpus," by Alfred Fry, one of the counsel in the case.

Our next source—chapters from books—is a very interesting one, obtaining as we do, the view points of the different authors, and securing many odds and ends of information, and items of local interest, that we do not find in the general history.

The following are a few examples:

"Events of a Military life," by Walter Henry, Esq., Surgeon to the Forces. London. W. Pickering, 1843. Vol. II, chaps. 44-55.

"Account of the Rebellion of 1837-8." In the History of Galt and Dunfries, by James Young. Chaps. 13-14.

"Incidents of the Rebellion of 1837-8." In "Upper Canada Sketches," by Thomas Conant. Chap. 6.

"Pickering and the Canadian Rebellion." In "Past years in Pickering," by W. R. Wood. Chap. 4.

"Political Affairs of the Province and the Rebellion of 1837." In "The Talbot Regime," by C. O. Ermatinger. Chaps. 26-29.

"The Rebellion of 1837." In "Twenty-seven years in Canada," by Major Strickland. Chap. 16.

"Reminiscences of the Canadian Rebellion of 1838, by one who was an eye-witness and shouldered his musket at that time." In "Canadian Pen and Ink Sketches," by John Fraser. Chaps. 5-9.

A very full account of the rebellion may be found in "Canada as it was, and is, and may be," by Sir Richard Bonnycastle, 2 vols.

"The Canadian question and the principal causes of the late insurrection," in "A Dairy in America," by Capt. Marryatt. Chaps. 1-6.

"The Patriot War of 1837-40." In "History of St. Lawrence and Franklin Counties," New York, by T. B. Hough. Chap. 10.

An unusually good book, containing many interesting incidents of the rebellion, is "Three Years Residence in Canada, from 1837-1839," by T. R. Preston. In this work is found some out-of-the-way material, for instance, he gives an uncommonly good account of the Hunters' Lodges and Associations, with the object of their foundation; the names and nature of the various signs, and the wording of the oaths in the various degrees of the lodges, also the mode of initiating persons to the different degrees of membership. Vol. I, chaps. 3-5.

The next source to be noticed is the pamphlets. The collection on, and relating to, our subject is an interesting one, comprising, as it does, a great wealth of material on the rebellion, and the causes and events connected with it. The titles of some of these will give some idea of their contents as it will be impossible, in this paper, to remark on their nature or merits:

Statement of facts relating to the trespass on the printing press of Mr. William Lyon MacKenzie, in June, 1826, addressed to the public generally, and particularly to the subscribers and supporters of the *Colonial Advocate*. York, 1826.

The Legislature Black List of Upper Canada, or Official Corruption and Hypocrisy Unmasked, by William Lyon MacKenzie. York, 1828.

First report on the state of the representation of the people of Upper Canada in the legislature of the Province. Members of Committee. Messrs. Lyons, Buell, Shaver, Howard and MacKenzie. York, 1831.

The celebrated letter of Joseph Hume, Esq., M.P., to William Lyon MacKenzie, Esq., Mayor of Toronto, declaratory of a design to "Free these provinces from the baneful domination of the Mother Country" with the comments of the press of Upper Canada, on the pernicious and treasonable tendency of that letter, and the speeches, resolutions, and amendments of the Common Council, of this city, which were the result of a motion of that body, to disavow all participation in the sentiments of Mr. Hume. Toronto, 1834.

MacKenzie's own narrative of the late rebellion with illustrations and notes critical and explanatory; exhibiting the only true account of what took place at the memorable siege of Toronto in the month of December, 1837. Toronto, 1837.

A canvass of the proceedings on the trial of W. L. MacKenzie for an alleged violation of the neutrality laws of the United States, with a report of the testimony. The charge of the presiding judge to the jury. The arguments of the United States Attorney, and a petition to the Presidency for his release, by T. Jefferson Sutherland. New York, 1840.

Proceedings had in the House of Assembly on the subject of an address to His Excellency Sir F. B. Head, for certain information on the affairs of the Colony. Toronto, 1836.

Letters addressed to the people of the Canadas, on Elective Institutions. Coburg, 1835, by an East-Anglian (M. S. Bidwell).

Message from His Excellency Sir Francis B. Head, in answer to the address of the House of Assembly, of the 5th February, 1836, with sundry documents requested by the House in said address. Toronto, 1836.

There are also a number of interesting pamphlets on the Clergy Reserves, one of the most agitated topics of the time, and one of the principal causes of the rebellion. The term "Protestant Clergy" being interpreted "Church of England" by that body, aroused a great storm of protest from people, both lay and clerical. Titles of the following pamphlets will throw some light on the nature of the discussions and dissensions that took place between the clergy of the different denominations:

The exclusive right of the Church to the Clergy Reserves defended, in a letter to the Rt. Hon. the Earl of Liverpool, being an answer to the letter of the Protestant of the Church of Scotland to His Lordship.

An apology for the Church of England in the Canadas; in answer to a letter to the Earl of Liverpool, relative to the rights of the Church of Scotland, etc., by a Protestant of the Church of Scotland. By a Protestant of the Church of England. Kingston, 1826.

Speech in the Legislative Council, Upper Canada, 6th March, 1828, on the subject of the Clergy Reserves, by the Venerable John Strachan, D.D.

Reply of William Morris, member of the Legislative Council of Upper Canada, to six letters addressed to him by John Strachan, D.D., Archdeacon of York, 1838.

A pastoral letter from the Clergy of the Church of Scotland, in the Canadas, to their Presbyterian brethren, on the subject now agitated between them and the Clergy of the Church of England, relative to the appropriation of the lands reserved for the support of the Protestant Clergy in these provinces. 1828.

A circular letter from the Bishop of Quebec to the Clergy and Congregations of the Church of England, in the diocese of Quebec, in relation to some existing difficulties of opinion respecting the Clergy Reserves, and certain other points, cautioning the congregations against the claims of the Presbyterians to a participation in the Clergy Reserves. Quebec, 20th Dec., 1827.

Celebrated speech of Dr. J. Rolph, then member for Norfolk, delivered in the Upper Canada House of Assembly, in the year 1836, on the bill for appropriating the proceeds of the Clergy Reserves to the purposes of education. Toronto, 1836.

This speech is without parallel in the annals of Parliamentary debate.

The Clergy Reserve Question as a matter of history—a question of law and a subject of legislation: in a series of letters to the Hon. W. H. Draper, M.P.P., Member of the Executive Council, and Her Majesty's Solicitor-General of Upper Canada. By Egerton Ryerson. Toronto, 1839.

The above pamphlets are very representative of our collection.

Then come the Periodicals, but this literature being much akin to that of the pamphlets, their articles written chiefly with the object of expressing

the views and opinions of the writers on some outstanding question of the day, time will not be taken up with many examples, but it may be of some interest to mention the magazines contained in the bibliography where material on our subject may be obtained:

The Annual Register; Acta-Victoriana; Blackwood's Magazine; Canadian Christian Examiner; Canadian Magazine; Colonial Magazine; Dublin Review; Dublin University Magazine; Eclectic Review; Fortnightly Review; Fraser's Magazine; Littell's Living Age; Magazine of American History; Mirror of Parliament (English); New Dominion Monthly; Nile's Register; Nineteenth Century; North American Review; Quarterly Review; Rose Belford's Canadian Monthly.

The following are a few examples of the articles:

"Canada: False Principles of Government, the cause of its suffering." *Colonial Magazine*. Vol. I.

"Causes of the Rebellion in Canada." *Dublin University Magazine*. Vol. II, 1838. "War in Canada: Its Causes and Consequences." *Eclectic Review*. Vol. 67, 1838. "Remarks on the Proceedings as to Canada in the Present Session of Parliament," by one of the Commissioners. April 10th, 1837. *Quarterly Review*. Vol. 61.

"The Canadian Revolt; a short history of its causes, progress, and probable consequences." *United Service Journal*, May, 1838.

"Canada and Ireland: the strict analogy of the Whig Policy in regard to these countries clearly traced." *Blackwood's Magazine*. Vol. 43, 1838. "Personal Narrative of the Escape of W. L. MacKenzie from Toronto to the United States." *Littell's Living Age*. Vol. 16.

"Speech of Mr. Menefee of Kentucky, on the reference of the President's message relating to the attack on the Caroline, delivered in the House of Representatives, January, 1838." *Nile's Register*, January 27th, 1838.

Among the transactions and proceedings of learned societies, entries have been made from the following:

Niagara Historical Society Publications; Transactions Royal Society of Canada; Michigan Pioneer & Historical Society; Transactions Canadian Institute; Johns Hopkins University Studies; Buffalo Historical Society; Lundy's Lane Historical Society and Ontario Historical Society. By way of example, in paper No. 13 of the Niagara Historical Society, there is a very interesting paper "A wife's devotion, a Canadian heroine of sixty years ago." (The story of Maria Wait, the wife of Benjamin Wait, the exile), by Miss Carnochan.

In *Papers and Records* of the Ontario Historical Society, Vol. XVI, 1918, we find an interesting account of "The Books of the Political Prisoners and Exiles of 1838," by Mr. J. Davis Barnett.

Of the publications of the Buffalo Historical Society in Vol. V, 1902, we have an excellent general bibliography of the Upper Canada Rebellion of 1837, by Mr. Frank Severance, which is the best we have yet seen published.

From the source—Government documents, examples need not be given, as every one is quite familiar with the nature of the contents, comprising as they do, Parliamentary debates and discussions, Reports of Select Committees, Petitions, Memorials, Proclamations, etc.

Among our scrap books, are two which deal particularly with the rebellion. One composed of extracts from the *Montreal Star*, which deal

almost wholly with the insurrection in Lower Canada. The other is one which Dr. Locke was fortunate enough to secure in London, England, when on a visit there some years ago. It consists of copious clippings from American papers of that time, such as the *Herald and Sentinel*, Philadelphia; *Ledger and Daily Transcript*; *Rochester Democrat*; *The Pennsylvanian*, etc. These cuttings contain many interesting items we have not found elsewhere, and are particularly valuable because of the light they throw on the subject of American sympathy and opinion.

From the source—the Field of Romance—the examples are not many, but the titles may be of interest:

“The Empress of the Isles; or, the Lake Bravo, a romance of the Canadian struggle in 1837,” by Charley Clewline. The scene of this story is the Thousand Islands, in the St. Lawrence. The heroine of the romance is Kate, the daughter of the notorious Bill Johnson, the smuggler.

“The Prisoner of the Border; a tale of 1838,” by P. Hamilton Myers. Published in New York, 1857. In this story also, Bill Johnson figures very conspicuously.

“Rose and Minnie; or the Loyalists; a tale in 1837.” No author given. One of the series of historical tales (No. 28), published in London, Eng., 1868. pp. 106.

“The Volunteer’s Bride; a tale of the Canadian Rebellion,” by C.P.T. (Catharine Parr Traill?). Rice Lake, 1854. This is a short story contained in a magazine *The Maple Leaf*. Vol. 11.

“Two and Twenty Years Ago; a tale of the Canadian Rebellion,” by a Backwoodsman (Dr. William Dunlop). Toronto, 1859. pp. 112.

We have now arrived at the Newspaper Sources, where I am compelled to hesitate. Their contents proving a veritable embarrassment of riches renders it impossible, by giving only a few examples, to convey an adequate idea of the matter contained in the volumes, and the difficulty is increased by the number of the different papers that have been examined. The following are those from which entries have been made: *New York Albion*. This paper is full of excellent material, containing many official documents and despatches, accounts of battles, and particularly the frontier troubles. Other papers are: *The Loyalist*; *The Canadian Courant*; *Western Mercury*; *Quebec Gazette*; *Coburg Star*; *The Vindicator*; *British American Journal*; *Canadian Correspondent*; *Brockville Recorder*; *Upper Canada Courier*; *Dundas Weekly Post*; *Correspondent and Advocate*; *Montreal Transcript*; *The Traveller*, or *Prince Edward Gazette*; *Toronto Mirror*; *The Church*; *The Examiner* and the *Globe*. From this list will be seen that our library contains a fairly good number of newspapers, on and around the rebellion period. We find them a true mirror of past events; their contents are unusually interesting, receiving, as we do, a delightfully clear and vivid account and description of the occurrences of those bygone days. Through their medium may be traced a complete and accurate history of the revolt, and of the events and incidents relating to it. Some idea of the nature of the material may be gained by saying, that in these may be found discussions and debates in the Houses of Parliament on many vital questions concerning the province. Despatches, messages and instructions of the Imperial Parliament to Governors of the Provinces, the replies in return, etc.

There are the accounts of the organization of various societies, both

Constitutional and Reform, their reports, meetings, etc. Then a wealth of interesting matter may be culled from the proceedings of the numerous public meetings that were held in almost every section of the province in order to attest loyalty to the crown or otherwise. The resolutions read and adopted, and the speeches, almost invariably ending with an address to the King, expressing their unyielding allegiance, or presenting a petition of grievances. There are interesting editorials, letters from citizens and residents in the province, each voicing his opinion on the events and troubles of the day. We find also, accounts of the battles and skirmishes that took place, in connection with which there is a mass of official correspondence. There are also many proclamations and messages of the United States Presidents, relative to the troubles on the Frontier, besides addresses, and militia orders, as well as detailed reports of the trials of some of the political prisoners, the charge of the Judge to the Jury, and his speech on passing sentence.

Then too, as now, many bouquets were thrown at each other through the medium of the press, by individuals who unhappily held different opinions on certain agitated questions. Only in these days they would be made up of old-fashioned flowers.

The amount of material selected from the papers is rather a formidable one, consisting, as it does, of almost a thousand entries, many of them curious and amusing. The task was no easy one, but I felt rewarded for the labour, by the fact of having amassed a great deal of information on the rebellion that was quite foreign to me before.

Out of so many entries it has been very difficult to select examples, as almost all are interesting, and time will not allow to give more than a few, neither would I tax your patience.

By way of example, after the title will be given the name and date of the paper that contains the article. These examples are arranged chronologically:

Debate in the House of Commons Imperial Parliament on the Civil Government of the Canadas, May 2nd, 1828.

The Loyalist, York, U.C., June 14th, 1828.

Report of the Select Committee to the House of Commons, Imperial Parliament, appointed to inquire into the state of the Civil Government of Canada, in regard to several petitions from the inhabitants of the two provinces which had been referred to them by the House, July 22nd, 1828.

The Loyalist, York, U.C., Sept. 27th, 1828.

Letter to the Farmers residing in the County of York, who have ranged under the banner of W. L. MacKenzie, Esq., Editor of the *Advocate*, York, Upper Canada.

By A. Frecholder of the County of York, Oct. 20th, 1831.

The Western Mercury, Nov. 24th and Dec. 1st, 1831.

Mr. MacKenzie's grievances! His Meetings!! and his addresses!!! Notice of some of the movements which this missionary of the Christian Guardian, and of the old Central Junto, is now making throughout the Province to obtain signatures to the list of "grievances" which were fabricated by the said Guardian, and the said Junto, at this town some months ago. With copy of a letter to the members of Chinquaceousy Committee, by W. L. MacKenzie.

The Western Mercury, Oct. 27th, 1831.

A detailed account of the proceedings of the meeting convened at St. Thomas, on the 17th inst., for the purpose of addressing the King and obtaining a public expression of the people, on the subject of grievances so strongly urged by the revolutionary party in the country, by A Bystander. St. Thomas, March 19th, 1832. *Western Mercury*, 1832.

Despatch of Lord Goderich to Sir John Colborne, regarding communications and statements of Mr. MacKenzie upon the subject of grievances said to exist in Upper Canada, and for redress of which various petitions have been addressed to His Majesty, Nov. 8th, 1830. *Cobourg Star*, Jan. 30th, Feb. 6th, 13th, 20th, 1833.

Letter to the Freeholders of the County of York, discussing the charges against Mr. MacKenzie for Libel and Mr. MacKenzie's defence in the House of Assembly. By an Elector of the County of York.

Western Mercury, Jan. 12th.-19th, 1832.

Debate in the House of Assembly of Upper Canada, on the expulsion of Mr. MacKenzie from the House of Assembly, Dec. 16th, 17th, 1833.

Election address of Mr. T. D. Morrison, to the Free and Independent electors of the Third Riding of the County of York.

Signed T. D. Morrison, Toronto, 19th Sept., 1834.

The Vindicator, Oct. 10th, 1834.

Resolutions adopted at the formation of the Canadian Alliance Society, and a statement of the objects for the attainment of which the Society is established. Motto of the Society:—"Where bad men conspire, good men must unite." *Cobourg Star*, Dec. 24th, 1834.

"To my own true blues." A letter to the Alliance Societies of Upper Canada, by Patrick Swift. (William Lyon MacKenzie). *Corres. and Advoc.*, July 30th, 1835.

Letter to Egerton Ryerson, Andrew Bell, John Wilson, and the rest of the bribed parsons in Upper Canada, by an English Reformer. Toronto, May 27th, 1835. *Corres. and Advoc.*, May 29th, 1835.

Letter to A. N. McNab, and the rest of the loyal itinerant reformers of the Gore and Home districts, by "A hater of the factions hypocrites." Boston, Nov. 3rd, 1831. *Corres. and Advoc.*, Feb. 5th, 1835.

Letter to William Lyon MacKenzie, Esq., late M.P.P., Knight of the most ignoble order of agitators, corresponding secretary to the Machiavelian Anti-British Societies in North America, Grand Promotor of discontent and Anarchy therein, Commander-in-Chief of the Radical Malcontent Forces of Upper Canada, etc., etc., etc., on the subject of his political tergiversation, by James McMillan. Toronto, July 20th, 1836.

The Patriot, July 29th, 1836.

Proceedings and resolutions passed at a meeting held in the Free Church, Dundas, 30th March, 1836, to give an expression of Public Opinion at this important crisis. *Corres. and Advoc.*, 4th April, 1836. John Patterson, Chairman.

What has Parliament done for us this winter? Why were the supplies amounting to about £5,000 refused? Letter to the Electors of the Second Riding of the County of York, from William Lyon MacKenzie, Queenston, 2nd May, 1836. *Corres. and Advoc.*, May 4th, 1836.

Resolutions adopted at a meeting held at the Alliance Societies Cham-

bers, in the City of Toronto, May 5th, for the purpose of taking into consideration the state of the province at the present critical juncture; and of devising some mode of attesting public esteem and gratitude for the invaluable services of Daniel O'Connell, Esq., M.P. *Corres. and Advoc.*, May 11th, 1836. T. D. Morrison, Chairman.

Meeting at Finch's tavern, Yonge St., for the notice of which the following hand-bill was posted: York Township Meeting.

The Gore of Toronto Meeting that was to be held at Charles King's store, East Toronto, is postponed for a few days, then to be called in a more central situation. The meeting of the township of York, to choose delegates, enroll the names of members of societies, and take efficient steps for the numbering and classing the Reformers, so that they may act with unison and system in their effort to get justice for Canada, will take place at Finch's tavern, Montgomery Town, Yonge St., at noon, on Friday, August 18th, 1837, with an account of the proceedings, and the resolutions adopted at the meeting. Robert Moodie, Chairman.

Finch's tavern, Yonge St., 18th Aug., 1837.

The Patriot, August 22nd, 1837.

A letter to Dr. O'Callaghan, Editor of the *Vindicator*, Montreal.

Toronto, Aug. 25th, 1837.

Signed: "Yours to the shoe tie," William Lyon MacKenzie, of the Rebel race.

The Patriot, Sept. 12th, 1837.

Short letter from W. L. MacKenzie to the Editors of the *Buffalo Whig* and *Journal*, informing them that the reformers of Upper Canada, have taken up arms in defence of the principles of independence of European domination:

"We are in arms near the City of Toronto, 2½ miles distant."

Signed "William Lyon MacKenzie,"

Yonge St., Dec. 6th, 1837.

Quebec Gazette, Dec. 27th, 1837.

Proclamation by William Lyon MacKenzie, Chairman Protem of the Provincial Government of Upper Canada, setting forth a list of grievances, etc., and offering a reward of £500 for the apprehension of Sir Francis B. Head, Navy Island, Dec. 13th, 1837.

Cobourg Star, Jan. 3rd, 1838.

Proclamation by Sir Francis Head, offering £1,000 for the apprehension of William Lyon MacKenzie, and £500 for the apprehension of David Gibson, Samuel Lount, or Jesse Lloyd, or Silas Fletcher.

New York Albion, Dec. 23rd, 1837.

Resolutions passed at a public meeting of a numerous and respectable body of the citizens of Buffalo, held in the Ball Room of the Buffalo Court House, expressive of sympathy for our neighbors of the Provinces of Upper and Lower Canada.

John O'Meara, Chairman.

From the *Buffalo Commercial Advertiser*.

Cobourg Star, Dec. 27th, 1837.

Copy of a letter from Captain Drew, Commander Royal Navy, to the Hon. Col. A. N. McNab, reporting the capture and burning of the *Caroline*, Chippewa, 30th Dec., 1837.

- The Patriot*, Jan. 5th, 1838.
Account of the rebellion near Toronto, by William Lyon MacKenzie.
- Navy Island, U.C., 14th Jan., 1838.
- The Patriot*, Feb. 16th, 1838.
Special message of Governor Marcy, to the Legislature of Upper Canada on the subject of the burning of the *Caroline*.
- Cobourg Star*, Jan. 10th, 1838.
Address of the Hon. Chief Justice Robinson on passing sentence of death upon Samuel Lount and Peter Matthews, 29th March, 1838.
- The Patriot*, April 6th, 1838.
Narrative of facts connected with Frontier Movements of the Patriot Army of Upper Canada, with a copy of the correspondence between Rensselaer, and W. L. MacKenzie.
- The Patriot*, April 10th, 1838.
Address of Dr. Theller at his trial for treason, on being asked by the Judge why sentence of death should not be passed upon him.
- The Mirror*, April 14th, 1838.
Report of the trial of David Morrison for High Treason. 24th April, 1838.
- The Patriot*, May 4th, 1838.
Report of the trial of Charles Durand for High Treason, before Mr. Chief Justice Robinson. 7th May, 1838.
- The Patriot*, May 15th, 1838.
Copy of a proclamation recently issued by the leader of the gang that destroyed the Steamboat *Sir Robert Peel*, obtained for Governor Marcy.
Signed "William Johnson."
10th June, 1838.
- The Albion*, June 16th, 1838.
A letter from Elizabeth Lount, widow of the lamented Judge Lount, to the Hon. John Beverley Robinson, Chief Justice of Upper Canada.
Pontiac, Mich., June 12th, 1838.
- The Toronto Mirror*, July 14th, 1838.
Biographical and character sketch of Bill Johnson, the Lake Buceaneer, leader of the gang of Refugees, on the "Thousand Islands" in the St. Lawrence, and known also as the leader in the recent destruction of the *Sir Robert Peel*.
- The Patriot*, July 17th, 1838.
Battle of Windmill Point. Result of expedition to Prescott under Colonel Dundas, and an account of the attack on the mill with the number killed and wounded.
- Cobourg Star*, Nov. 22nd, 1838. (From the Kingston Chronicle).
The arrest of Bill Johnson. *Cobourg Star*, Dec. 12th, 1838.
- Resolutions passed at a meeting of the Ladies of the City of Buffalo, held at the Ladies' parlor of the United States Hotel, on Saturday, the 29th day of December, for the purpose of forming a society in aid of the suffering Canadian Patriots now struggling to free themselves from the yoke of tyranny and oppression, and to relieve, so far as possible, the suffering of those families who have been driven destitute from their country and their homes, and compelled to seek refuge among us.
Mrs. Burgess, President.
Cobourg Star, Jan. 9th, 1839.
- (From the *Buffalonian*)

Report of the trial of William Lyon MacKenzie for breach of the Neutrality laws. From the *Rochester Democrat*, of June 21st, 1839.

Quebec Gazette, July 1st, 1839.

The charge of Judge Thompson to the Jury, on the occasion of the trial of William Lyon MacKenzie for breach of the neutrality laws, at Canandaigua, Ont. Co., N.Y.

June 20th and 21st, 1839.

Nile's Register, July 6th, 1839.

MacKenzie the rebel and the Colonial Office. Motion by the Earl of Ripon in the House of Lords, for the production of certain papers relative to the correspondence which, in 1832, had taken place between himself, then secretary for Colonial affairs, and an individual by the name of MacKenzie. March 12th, 1839.

Cobourg Star, May 1st, 1839.

The case of William Lyon MacKenzie: What sort of a man is MacKenzie, and what is his real character? An article from the *New York Reformer*.

Toronto Mirror, Oct. 25th, 1839.

MacKenzie and our British relations: An article on the imprisonment and punishment of MacKenzie by the Government of the United States. From the *New York Reformer*.

Toronto Mirror, Nov. 1st, 1839.

We now pass over the interval of a decade, when we find Mr MacKenzie, in the winter of 1849, taking a trip through the Canadas. He says "After an absence of twelve years, I availed myself of the provisions of the Amnesty Act, passed in February, 1849, to visit Canada."

While in Montreal, he writes the following: "A letter to the Editor of the *Montreal Herald*, giving a true account of the death of Colonel Moodie, in refutation of the charge that he was personally responsible for Colonel Moodie's death."

Signed "W. L. MacKenzie," Montreal, March 7th, 1849.

The Toronto Mirror, March 19th, 1849.

The Examiner, March 21st, 1849.

Mr. MacKenzie next pays a visit to Toronto, where he evidently was not very cordially received, at least by the Tories, as our entry reads thus: "Account of the Tory riots in Toronto, 22nd March, 1849, on the occasion of Mr. MacKenzie's visit to the city.

The Examiner, March 28th, 1849.

While on his trip through the Canadas, Mr. MacKenzie writes a series of very interesting articles for the *New York Tribune*, entitled "A winter's journey through the Canadas," in which he reviews the state of the affairs of the country, and the events and causes connected with the rebellion. We have never seen these articles published in book form, and if not already done, that work would be well justified of the labour and expense. Evidently few are aware of their existence, for we know definitely that one, at least, of Mr. MacKenzie's descendants had no knowledge of them until they were brought to his notice. This series of articles was taken from the *N. Y. Tribune*, and published by the *Examiner*, and may be found in *The Examiner* from April 25th, to July 25th, 1849.

Some time after his return to New York, Mr. MacKenzie writes a long address to his old friends of the County of York, which is entered as follows: Copy of the highly interesting address written by William Lyon MacKenzie

to the inhabitants of the County of York: "A County he represented, so long, so faithfully and with so much ability in Parliament."

The address is signed "W. L. MacKenzie," New York, Nov. 6th, 1849.

We are very pleased to have as our final entry, the following just and well-deserved tribute to our hero:

"A letter to the Editor of the *Examiner* on Mr. MacKenzie's address to his old friends, and on the incalculable services that he has rendered to the good cause of civil and religious liberty in Canada," by "Justice." Dec. 3rd, 1849.

Examiner, Dec. 12th, 1849.

Having come to the last of the examples from our sources, given, as has already been stated, with the object of describing the nature and arrangement of the bibliography, it only remains to be said that it is a very exhaustive one, containing at least, 1,700 entries: Books, about 200; pamphlets 150, and periodical entries, about 100, besides over 1,000 newspaper items.

It will be noticed that no examples have been given of the entries for the Lower Canadian Rebellion, judging that it would make too lengthy a paper, but the material, though not quite so exhaustive, is no less interesting and valuable.

