

Bibliography of Published Works Relating to the Upper Canada Rebellion, 1837-1838

Chris Raible

Volume 101, numéro 2, fall 2009

Consequences of Rebellious Acts: The 1837 & 1838 Rebellions

URI : <https://id.erudit.org/iderudit/1065619ar>

DOI : <https://doi.org/10.7202/1065619ar>

[Aller au sommaire du numéro](#)

Éditeur(s)

The Ontario Historical Society

ISSN

0030-2953 (imprimé)

2371-4654 (numérique)

[Découvrir la revue](#)

Citer ce document

Raible, C. (2009). Bibliography of Published Works Relating to the Upper Canada Rebellion, 1837-1838. *Ontario History*, 101(2), 222–251.
<https://doi.org/10.7202/1065619ar>

Bibliography of Published Works Relating to the Upper Canada Rebellion, 1837-1838

Compiled by Chris Raible

(with thanks to John Carter, Patricia Kennedy, Stuart Scott and many others)



"Rebels marching" by C.H. Jefferys.

The only published comprehensive bibliography of works related to the Canadian Rebellions of 1837-38 was issued more than eighty years ago: Public Library of Toronto. *The Rebellion of 1837-38: A Bibliography of Sources of Information in the Public Reference Library of the City of Toronto, Canada* (Toronto: Public Library of Toronto, 1924).

Broad though it was, that bibliography was restricted to works held by the library. It covered the rebellions of both Lower and Upper Canada and included manuscripts and published material. It also dealt with the clergy reserves and other political controversies that prompted the rebellions as well as the aftermath, including the Durham Report of 1839, the union of the Canadas of 1841, and the rebellion losses controversy of 1849.

The only published substantial survey of the historiography of the Upper Canadian Rebellion is also now very dated: J. E. Rae, "Rebellion in Upper Canada. 1837," *Transactions of the Historical Scientific Society of Manitoba*, series 3, 22 (1965-66).

Rae evaluated major works, from

the narratives of Mackenzie (1838) and Francis Bond Head (1839) to Kilbourn's biography (1956) and Craig's provincial history (1963).

This bibliography, compiled from a great variety of sources, focuses on works specifically on Upper Canada. It lists, but does not attempt to evaluate, more than 500 published writings and commentaries. Undoubtedly there are many more. Its last section (9) lists a number of unpublished graduate theses on Rebellion related topics—again, there are surely others. Thus additions and corrections are eagerly solicited and gratefully received (chrisraible@georgian.net).

No attempt was made to list internet websites—valuable as they are, they are both vast and ephemeral—and the search engines make them readily available. For example, a Google search (23 January 2009) for "Upper Canada' Rebellion 1836" produced 42,000 pages, while "Patriot War' 1838" produced 1,410 pages and 'Patriots' War' 1838" some 1,400 more.

The Bibliography is compiled in nine sections:

<p>1. General & preliminary works</p> <p>1.1. Prior to 1868</p> <p>1.2. 1868-1967</p> <p>1.3. 1968-2008</p> <p>2. Border incidents & Patriot Hunters</p> <p>2.1. Prior to 1868</p> <p>2.2. 1868-1967</p> <p>2.3. 1968-2008</p> <p>3. Trials & transportation</p> <p>3.1. Prior to 1868</p> <p> 3.1.1. Narratives by transported prisoners</p> <p>3.2. 1868-1967</p> <p>3.3. 1968-2008</p> <p>4. Individual & regional studies</p> <p>4.1. Prior to 1868</p> <p>4.2. 1868-1967</p> <p>4.3. 1968-2008</p>	<p>5. Specialized studies</p> <p>5.1. Prior to 1868</p> <p>5.2. 1868-1967</p> <p>5.3. 1968-2008</p> <p>6. Aftermath & reflections</p> <p>6.1. Prior to 1868</p> <p>6.2. 1868-1967</p> <p>6.3. 1968-2008</p> <p>7. Lower Canada—works of particular relevance to Upper Canada</p> <p>7.1. Prior to 1868</p> <p>7.2. 1868-1967</p> <p>7.3. 1968-2008</p> <p>8. Fiction</p> <p>8.1. Prior to 1868</p> <p>8.2. 1868-1967</p> <p>8.3. 1968-2008</p> <p>9. Theses</p>
--	--

All works are categorized according to the year written rather than the year published.

1. GENERAL & PRELIMINARY WORKS

1.1. Prior to 1868

Bell, Andrew. *History of Canada from the Time of its Discovery till the union year 1840-41*, Book 16 (Montreal: John Lovell, 1862).

Chapman, Henry Samuel. *An Impartial Account of the Civil War in the Canadas* (London: J. Saunders Jr., 1938).

Chisholm, David. *Annals of Canada for 1837-38*, n.p., n.d.

Coventry, George. "A Contemporary Account of the Rebellion in Upper Canada, 1837," *Ontario Historical Society Papers and Records*, 17 (1919).

Davis, Robert. *The Canadian Farmer's Travels in the United States of America: in Which Remarks are Made on the Arbitrary Colonial Policy Practised in Canada and the Free and Equal Rights and Happy Effects of the Liberal Institutions and Astonishing Enterprise of the United States* (Buffalo: Steele's Press, 1837).

Elliott, Thomas Frederick. *The Canadian*

Controversy: Its Origin, Nature and Merits (London: Longman, Orme, Brown, Green, & Longmans, 1838).

Gore, Montague. *Observations on the Disturbances in Canada* (London: Saunders & Otley, 1838).

Head, Francis Bond. *A Narrative* (London: John Murray, 1939 – abridged and reprinted: S. F. Wise, editor. Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1969).

Head, Francis Bond. Chapters VIII-XVI of *The Emigrant* (London: John Murray, 1846).

Mackenzie, William Lyon. *The Caroline Almanack and American Freeman's Chronicle for 1840* (Rochester: Mackenzie's Gazette Office, 1839).

Mackenzie, William Lyon. *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* (first published

- [Watertown, New York] *Jeffersonian*, January 1838 – republished with critical notes by Charles Fothergill and an appendix by John Powell (Toronto: Palladian Office, 1838).
- Mackenzie, W. L. "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, Stating 'We are in arms near the city of Toronto, 2½ Miles Distant,'" *Quebec Gazette* (27 December 1837).
- M'Leod, D. *Brief Review of the Settlement of Upper Canada* (Cleveland: F. B. Penniman, 1841 – republished Belleville, Ontario: Mika Publishing, 1972).
- M'Mullen, John. Chapter xxi of *The History of Canada from Its First Discovery to the Present Time* (Brockville: J. M'Mullen, 1855).
- Miller, H. Orlo, editor. "The Letters of Rebels and Loyalists," *Canadian Science Digest*, 1 (1938).
- n.a. "Account of the Attack on Toronto," *Cobourg Star* (13 December 1837).
- n.a. "Account of the Rebellion at Toronto, Upper Canada," *Montreal Transcript* (18 & 21 December 1837).
- n.a. "The Affairs of Canada: A Review and Criticism," *Quarterly Review*, 61 (1838).
- n.a. "British Policy in Canada, 1838," *Quarterly Review*, 64 (1838).
- n.a. "Canada" *Army and Navy Chronicle*, 6, 8 (29 November 1838).
- n.a. "Canada: False Principals of Government the Cause of Its Sufferings," *The Colonial Magazine & Commercial Maritime Journal*, 1 (January-April 1840).
- n.a. "The Canada Question," *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine*, 37 (1835).
- n.a. "The Canada Question," *The United States Democratic Review*, 1, 2 (January 1838).
- n.a. "The Canada Question, a Review," *Dublin Review*, 3 (1837).
- n.a. "A Canadian," *The Affairs of the Canadas in a Series of Letters* (London: J. King, 1837).
- n.a. "Canadian Affairs," *Fraser's Magazine*, 1 (1830).
- n.a. "The Canadian Revolt: A Short Review of its Causes, Progress and Probable Consequences," *United Service Journal and Naval and Military Magazine*, 115 (June 1838).
- n.a. "Causes of the Rebellion in Canada," *Dublin University Magazine*, 11 (1838).
- n.a. "The Causes of the Revolution in Canada," *The [Toronto] Mirror* (30 December 1837).
- n.a. "Colonial Discontent – Lower Canada – Upper Canada," *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine*, 26 (1829).
- n.a. "Dr. Horne's Narrative of the Burning of his House, Toronto, 28th December, 1836," *The [Toronto] Patriot* (2 January 1838).
- n.a. "The Execution in Canada," *The United States Democratic Review*, 5, 3 (March 1939).
- n.a. "Gentlemen Settlers in Canada," *The Colonial Magazine and East India Review*, 17, 2 (August 1849).
- n.a. "History of the Recent Insurrection in the Canadas," *Monthly Historical Register*, (March-June 1838).
- n.a. "History of the Recent Insurrection in the Canadas - Part First," *The United States Democratic Review*, 4, 3 (March-June, 1838).
- n.a. "History of the Recent Insurrection in the Canadas - Part Second," *The United States Democratic Review*, 4, 3 (March-June, 1838).
- n.a. "Narrative of the Attack on Toronto by Mackenzie," *The Albion* (30 December 1837).
- n.a. "Official Correspondence and Relation of Incidents in Connection with the Rebellion in Upper and Lower Canada," *Quebec*

- Gazette* (27 December 1837).
- n.a. "Opinions of the American Press on Canadian Affairs," *Cobourg Star* (20 December 1837).
- n.a. "Ministerial Policy in the Canadas...," *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine*, 43 (1838).
- n.a. "Political History of Upper Canada to 1840," *Colonial Magazine and Commercial-Maritime Journal*, 2 (1840).
- n.a. "The Rebellion in Lower and Upper Canada," *Annual Register* (1836-1839).
- n.a. "A Sketch of the Canadas," *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine*, 43, 3 (February 1838).
- n.a. "War in Canada, Its Causes and Consequences," *Eclectic Review*, 67 (1838).
- Preston, T.R. "Incidents of the Insurrection of 1837 and 1838," chapters III-V of *Three Years' Residence in Canada, from 1837-1839, vol. 1* (London: Richard Bentley, 1840).
- Reed, T. A. "Extracts from the Diary of a Loyalist of 1837," *York Pioneer and Historical Association Report* (1948).
- Ryerson, Egerton. *The Affairs of the Canadas, In a Series of Letters By a Canadian* (London: J. King, 1837).
- Rolph, Thomas. "Political History of Upper Canada," *Colonial Magazine and Commercial-Maritime Journal* (May-August 1840).
- Rolph, Thomas. "Rebellion in Upper Canada and Invasion of the Americans," *Colonial Magazine and Commercial-Maritime Journal* (May-August 1840).
- Strickland, Samuel. Chapter XVI, volume II of *Twenty-Seven Years in Canada West, or the Experience of an Early Settler* (London: 1853 – republished Edmonton: M.G. Hurtig, 1970).
- Wells, William Benjamin. *Canadiana, containing sketches of Upper Canada and the crisis in its political affairs* (London: C & W. Reynell, 1837),
- See also issues – December 1837 through 1841 – of The Albion, The Cobourg Star, The Quebec Gazette, The [Toronto] Mirror, and The [Toronto] Patriot as listed in Public Library of Toronto, The Rebellion of 1837-38: A Bibliography of Sources of Information in the Public Reference Library of the City of Toronto, Canada* (Toronto: Public Library of Toronto, 1924), pages 59-80.
- Warburton, G. D. "Historical Sketch of Canada," chapter III of *Hochelaga, or England in the New World, vol. 1* (London: H. Colburn, 1846).
- 1.2. 1868-1967**
- Bryce, George. "The Canadian Rebellion, 1837," in Rossiter Johnson, editor. *Great Events by Famous Historians, volume 16* (New York: National Alumni, 1919).
- Caniff, William. "The Rebellion of 1837 in Upper Canada," chapter of Hopkins, J. C., editor, *Canada: An Encyclopaedia, vol. 3* (Toronto: Linscott Pub. Co., 1898-1900) – see also "Constitutional Development and the Rebellion; editorial notes," and "The Rebellion of 1837 and the United States," chapters of the same volume.
- Carnochan, Janet. "A Wife's Devotion; A Canadian Heroine of Sixty Years Ago; the Story of Maria Wait, the Wife of Benjamin Wait, the Exile," *Niagara Historical Society Papers*, 13 (1905).
- Clark, S.D. chapters 14-18 of *Movements of Political Protest in Canada, 1640-1840* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1959).
- Cockburn, A.P. chapters VII-VIII of *Political Annals of Canada* (Toronto: W/ Briggs, 1905).
- Conant, Thomas. "Incidents of the Rebellion of 1837-8," chapter VI of *Upper Canada Sketches* (Toronto: W. Briggs, 1898)
- Conant, Thomas. "The Canadian Rebellion of

- 1837-38 and the Causes That Led to It. chapter VII of *Life in Canada* (Toronto: W. Briggs, 1903).
- Croil, James. "The Rebellion of Upper and Lower Canada," chapter V of *Dundas; or a Sketch of Canadian History* (Dundas: B. Dawson & Son, 1868).
- Corey, Albert B. *The Crisis of 1830-1842 in Canadian-American Relations* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1941).
- Craig, Gerald. "The American Impact on the Upper Canadian Reform Movement Before 1837," *Canadian Historical Review*, 29, 4 (December 1938).
- Craig, Gerald M. "Mackenzie and the Grievances of Upper Canada," "Conservatives and Rebels, 1836-37," and "An End and a Beginning, 1838-1841," chapters of *Upper Canada: The Formative Years, 1784-1841* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1963).
- Creighton, D. G. "The Economic Background of the Rebellions of Eighteen Thirty-Seven," *Canadian Journal of Economics and Political Science*, 4 (1937).
- Dent, John Charles. *The Story of the Upper Canada Rebellion* (Toronto: C. Blackett Robinson, 1885).
- Dunham, Aileen. *Political Unrest in Upper Canada 1815-1836* (London: Longmans Green, 1927 – republished Toronto: McClelland & Stewart, 1963).
- Earl, David W. L. *The Family Compact: Aristocracy or Oligarchy?* (Toronto: Copp Clark, 1967).
- Ermatinger, C.O. "Political Affairs of the Province," "Duncombe Rising and Flight," "Invasion of Western Frontier," and "Port Stanley Threatened," chapters XXVI-XXIX of *The Talbot Régime* (St. Thomas: Municipal World, 1904).
- Guillet, Edwin C. *The Lives and Times of the Patriots: An Account of the Rebellion in Upper Canada, 1837-1838 and of the Patriot Agitation in the United States, 1837-1842* (Toronto: Thomas Nelson, 1938 – republished Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1968).
- Hoolden, J. Rose. "Rebellion of 1837-1838," *Journal & Transactions of the Wentworth Historical Society*, 5 (1908).
- Hopkins, J. Castel. Chapters X-XII of *In Progress of Canada in the Nineteenth Century* (London & Edinburgh: W. & R. Chambers, 1905).
- Jackson, Eric. "The Organization of the Upper Canadian Reformers, 1818 – 1867," *Ontario History*, LIII, 3 (June 1961).
- King, John. *The Other Side of the "Story"* (Toronto: James Murray, 1886).
- Kingsford, William. *History of Canada, volume 10* (Toronto and London: Rowsell & Hutchison 1898 – republished New York: AMS Press, 1968).
- Landon, Fred. *Western Ontario and the American Frontier* (Toronto: Ryerson Press & New Haven: Yale University Press, 1941 – republished Toronto: McClelland & Stewart, 1967).
- Lindsey, Charles. *The Life and Times of William Lyon Mackenzie, Volume 2* (Toronto: P.R. Randall 1862 – republished Toronto: Coles Publishing, 1962).
- Lizars, Robina and Kathleen. *Humours of '37 Grave, Gay and Grim: Rebellion Times in the Canadas* (Toronto: William Briggs, 1897).
- Manning, Helen Taft. "The Colonial Policy of the Whig Ministers, 1830-37," *Canadian Historical Review*, XXXVIII, 3 & 4 (1952).
- McArthur, Duncan. "The Canadian Rebellions of 1837," in Shortt, Adam and A. G. Doughty, editors. *Canada and Its Provinces, vol. 3* (Toronto: T. & A. Constable at the Edinburgh University Press for the Publishers' Association of Canada Limited, n.d.).
- McDougall, D. J. "Lord John Riddell and the Canadian Crisis 1837-1841," *Canadian Historical Review*, XXII, 4 (December

- 1941).
- McMaster, John Bach. "The Patriot War in Canada," chapter XLVI of *History of the People of the United States, vol. 6* (New York: D. Appleton, 1893).
- McMullen, John. "Rebellion of 1837-8," chapters I-V of *History of Canada, Vol. 2* (Brockville, Ontario: McMullen, 1891-1892).
- Middleton, Jesse Edgar and Fred Landon. "The Mackenzie Rebellion," chapter X of *The Province of Ontario: A History, 1615-1927* (Toronto: Dominion Publishing, 1927).
- Munro, W. Bennett. "Canada and British North America," chapters XIV-XVI of *History of North America Volume XI Canada and British North America* (Philadelphia: George Barrie & Sons, 1905).
- Oberlander, Alexander (translated by Marie L. Bishop). "The Patriots' War 1837," in *Geschichte der Deutschen in Syracuse and Onondaga County*, (Syracuse: Public Library, Local History Department, 1897).
- Ormsby, William, editor. *Crisis in the Canadas 1838-1839: The Grey Journals and Letters* (Toronto: Macmillan of Canada, 1964).
- Ouellet, Fernand. "The Rebellions of 1837/38" in J.M. Bumstead, editor. *Interpreting Canada's Past, Vol. I* (Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1993).
- Parks, Malcolm G. *The Rebellions of 1837 in Upper and Lower Canada* (Toronto: Imperial Oil Limited, n.d.).
- Public Library of Toronto. *The Rebellion of 1837-38: A Bibliography of the Sources of Information in the Public Reference Library of the City of Toronto, Canada* (Toronto: Public Library of Toronto, 1924).
- Rea, J.E. "Rebellion in Upper Canada, 1837," *Transactions of the Historical and Scientific Society of Manitoba*, 3, 22 (1965-66).
- Read, D. B. *The Canadian Rebellion of 1837* (Toronto: C. Blackett Robinson, 1896).
- Roger, Charles. Chapter IV of *The Rise of Canada from Barbarism to Wealth and Civilization, vol. 1* (Montreal; H. Ramsey and B. Dawson, 1856).
- Ryerson, Stanley B. *1837 The Birth of Canadian Democracy* (Toronto: Francis White Publishers, 1937).
- Terrill, F. W. "Chronology of the Rebellion in Lower and Upper Canada, 1837-8," chapter of *Chronology of Montreal and of Canada* (Montreal; J. Lovell, 1893).
- Tracy, Frank Basil. "The Uprising in Upper Canada," chapter 45 of *The Tercentenary History of Canada: From Champlain to Laurier, MDCVIII-MCMVIII* (New York & Toronto: P. F. Collier & Son, 1908).
- Tuttle, Charles R. "Rebellion of 1837-8," chapters LXXXV-LXXXII, XCI-XCII in *Popular History of the Dominion of Canada* (Boston: Tuttle & Downie, 1877).
- Sullivan, John D. "The Canadian Rebellion of 1837-38," *Essex Historical Society Papers and Addresses, Vol. II* (Windsor, Ontario: Essex Historical Society, 1915).
- Wallace, W. Stewart. *The Family Compact: A Chronicle of the Rebellion in Upper Canada* (Toronto: Glasgow Brook & Co., 1915).
- Withrow, W. H. "Rebellion of 1837-8," chapters XXIII-XXVI of *History of Canada* (Toronto; W. Briggs, 1886).

1.3. 1968-2008

- Beer, Donald R. "Toryism in Transition: Upper Canadian Conservative Leaders, 1836-1854," *Ontario History*, LXXX, 3 (September 1988).
- Benn, Carl. "Fort York and the Yonge Street Rebellion," *Historic Toronto*, 10 (Spring-Summer 1996).
- Benn, Carl. "Yonge Street Rebellion," in *The Simcoe Legacy: The Life and Times of Yonge Street* (Toronto: Ontario Historical Society, 1996).
- Bishop, Olga Bernice. *Publications of the Province of Upper Canada and of Great Britain Relating to Upper Canada 1791-1840* (Toronto: Ontario Ministry of

- Citizenship and Culture, 1984).
- Bull, Stewart. "The Queen's Rangers in the Rebellion of 1837," *York Pioneer*, 82 (1987)
- Burroughs, Peter. *British Attitudes Towards Canada, 1822-1849* (Toronto: Prentice Hall of Canada, 1971).
- Burroughs, Peter. *The Canadian Crisis and British Colonial Policy, 1828-1841* (Toronto: Macmillan of Canada, 1972).
- Burroughs, Peter. "The Canadian Rebellions in British Politics," in John E. Flint and Glyndwn Williams, editors. *Perspectives on Empire: Essays Presented to Gerald S. Graham* (London: Longman Group, 1973).
- Cadigan, Sean T. "Paternalism and Politics: Sir Francis Bond Head, the Orange Order, and the Election of 1836," *Canadian Historical Review*, LXXII, 3 (1991).
- Carter, Terry. "Rebel Country: The 150th Anniversary of the Yonge Street Rebellion," *Newmarket Historical Society Occasional Papers*, 1, 5 (1987).
- Champion, Isabel. "Tories, Reformers and Rebels," chapter of *Markham 1793-1900* (Markham, Ontario: Markham Historical Society, 1979).
- Craig, Gerald, editor. *Discontent in Upper Canada* (Toronto: Copp Clark, 1974).
- Creighton, Donald G. "The Rebellions of 1837," in *Canadian viewpoints - An Anthology of Canadian writing* (Victoria: British Columbia Ministry of Education, 1983).
- Cross, Michael S. "'The Laws Are Like Cobwebs': Popular resistance to Authority in Mid-Nineteenth Century British North America," in Peter Waite, Sandra Oxner and Thomas Barnet, editors. *Law in a Colonial Society: The Nova Scotia Experience* (Toronto: Carswell Co., 1984).
- Duffy, John J. and H. Nicholas Muller, III. *An Anxious Democracy: Aspects of the 1830s* (Westport, Connecticut: Greenwood Press, 1982).
- Francis, R. Douglas, Richard Jones and Donald Smith. "Upper Canada, 1815-1840," chapter 12 of *Origins: Canadian History to Confederation* (Toronto: Holt, Rinehart and Winston of Canada, 1988).
- Frank, Mark. *1837 Rebellion: A Tour of Toronto and Nearby Places* (Toronto: Red Robin Press, 1993).
- Fryer, Mary Beacock. *Volunteers & Redcoats, Raiders & Rebels: A Military History of the Rebellions in Upper Canada* (Toronto: Dundurn Press for the Canadian War Museum, 1987).
- Keilty, Greg, editor. *1837: Revolution in the Canadas as told William Lyon Mackenzie* (Toronto: N.C Press, 1974).
- MacDonald, Mary Lu. "Present Politics and Past History," chapter 7 of *Literature and Society in the Canadas 1817-1850* (Lewiston, New York & Queenston, Ontario: Edwin Mellen Press, 1992).
- Mackay, Claire. "Rise of the Rebel," chapter of *The Toronto Story* (Toronto: Annick Press, 1990).
- Mallon, Mary Frances. "Mackenzie, Economics, and the Rebellion of 1837," *York Pioneer*, 82 (1987).
- Mann, Michael. *A Particular Duty: The Canadian Rebellions 1837-1839* (Salisbury: Michael Russell, 1986).
- Morton, Desmond. "The Rebellion in Upper Canada," chapter of *Rebellions in Canada* (Toronto: Grolier, 1970).
- Ontario Historical Society. *1837 Rebellion Remembered: Papers Presented at the 1837 Rebellion Remembered Conference* (Willowdale, Ontario: Ontario Historical Society, 1988).
- Read, Colin. "Conflict to Consensus: The Political Culture of Upper Canada," *Acadiensis* 19, 2 (Spring 1990).
- Read, Colin. "The Duncombe Rising, Its Aftermath, Anti-Americanism and Sectarianism," *Histoire Sociale/Social History*, 9 (May 1976).
- Read, Colin. *The Rising in Western Upper Canada 1837-8: The Duncombe Revolt*

- and After* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1982)
- Read, Colin. "Steadfast in Their Allegiance," chapter of *Loyal She Remains* (Toronto: Loyalist Press, 1984).
- Read, Colin & Ronald J. Stagg, editors. *The Rebellion of 1837 in Upper Canada* (Ottawa: Carleton University Press for the Champlain Society, 1988).
- Ryerson, Stanley B. "Revolt Against Colonialism," part 1 of *Unequal Union: Confederation and the Roots of Conflict in the Canadas, 1815-1873* (Toronto: Progress Books, 1968).
- Salutin, Rick and Theatre Passe Muraille. *1837, William Lyon Mackenzie and the Canadian Revolution* (Toronto: James Lorimer, 1976).
- Stagg, Ronald. "The Upper Canadian Rebels of 1837," in *1837 Rebellion Remembered* (Willowdale, Ontario: Ontario Historical Society, 1988).
- Stagg, Ronald. "1837 Revisited," *York Pioneer*, 82 (1987).
- Stuart, Reginald C. "The Provincial Rebellions," chapter 6 of *United States Expansionism and British North America, 1775-1871* (Chapel Hill, North Carolina: University of North Carolina Press, 1988).
- Thomas, Mary. *Turning Point: The Story of Anna Jameson - And the Rebellion in Upper Canada* (Belleville, Ontario: Epic Press, 2007).

2. BORDER INCIDENTS & PATRIOT HUNTERS

2.1. Prior to 1868

- Gavin, Russell. *Thoughts and sentiments connected with the invasion of Upper Canada by a band of lawless and unprincipled men from the United States in November 1838: a poem* (Montreal: Campbell & Becket, 1839).
- Mackenzie, William Lyon. "Winter Wanderings Sixteen Years Since being A Narrative of Remarkable Adventures during a Five Days Journey between Toronto and Buffalo' undertaken under peculiar circumstances, in December, 1837," *Mackenzie's Gazette*, (8 & 15 September 1853),
- Maitland, James. "'Glorious Action on the Western Frontier: - The Brigands Driven From Point Pele Island," reported (among other newspapers) in *Bytown Gazette & Ottawa Advertiser* (21 March 1838).
- Morgan, Scott, editor. "The Battle of the Windmill Revisited: As recounted by Lieutenant Andrew Agnew, 93rd Highland Regiment of Foot, 8 December 1838," *Canadian Military History*, 9, 4 (Autumn 2000).
- n.a. "Account of the Attack Upon the Steamboat 'United States' and the Engagement at Prescott, in a Letter to the editor of the Argus, by a Passenger Who was on Board the Vessel," *Niles' National Register* (14 November 1838).
- n.a. "Account of the Destruction of the Steamboat 'Sir Robert Peel,' While in American Waters," *Niles' National Register* (30 May 1838).
- n.a. "Account of the Escape of Theller and Dodge from the Citadel of Quebec," *Niles' National Register* (15 October 1838).
- n.a. "The Affair of Alexander M'Leod," *The Monthly Chronicle of Events, Discoveries, Improvements, and Opinions*, (May 1841).
- n.a. "Attack on Point au Pelee Island, in Upper Canada, by Part of H. M. 32nd Regiment," *United Service Journal and Naval and Military Magazine*, part 2 (July 1838).
- n.a. "Canadian Affairs – Great Meeting at the Court-House," [Watertown, New York] *Jeffersonian* (21 December 1838).

- n.a. "Case of Alexander McLeod, The Decision of the Supreme Court of New York," *Law Reporter*, 4, 5 (1841).
- n.a. "Discussion in the House of Representatives, Washington, on the Disturbances in Canada, and the Outrage on the Steamboat Caroline," *Niles' National Register* (4 January 1838).
- n.a. "Foreign News – Canada," *Gentleman's Magazine*, 9 (May 1838).
- n.a. "Good News" report Windmill prisoners' release, *unidentified newspaper* (n.d. ca April 1839). Clipping #4682, Mackenzie-Lindsey papers, Archives of Ontario.
- n.a. "Invasions of Upper Canada from the United States – Battle of Point au Pelee," *The Colonial Magazine and Commercial-Maritime Journal*, 4, 15 (1841).
- n.a. "Is it Lawful to Aid the Canadians? – Opinion of the Judges," [Watertown, New York] *Jeffersonian* (15 February 1838).
- n.a. list of "American Citizens now at Van Diemen's [sic] Land," (Utica, New York) *Daily Gazette*, 14 May 1844.
- n.a. "List of persons who participated in the Canadian disturbance in 1838 and were sent to Van Diemen's Land," *Albany* (New York) *Evening Journal*, 23 May 1844 – reprinted from *The Madisonian*.
- n.a. [Ogle Gowan?] "Memoirs of the Rebellions in Canada, in 1837 and 1838," Chapter XIX, *Kingston Statesman* (1842 October 26), Clipping #4682, Mackenzie-Lindsey papers, Archives of Ontario.
- n.a. "Rebellion in Upper Canada and Invasion of the Americans," *The Colonial Magazine & Commercial-Maritime Journal*, 2, 8 (1840).
- n.a. "Salinians Aided in Canadian Revolt," *Syracuse* (New York) *Journal*, 20 March 1839.
- n.a. "The Wind Mill Prisoners," (Lowville, New York) *Northern Journal*, 17 October 1839.
- Nichols, Thomas L. *Address Delivered at Niagara Falls on the Evening of the Twenty-ninth of December, 1838, the Anniversary of the Burning of the Caroline* (Buffalo: Charles Faxon, 1839).
- Preston, T.R. "Hunter Lodges in 1837-38," chapter IV of *Three Years' Residence in Canada, from 1837-1839, vol. 1* (London: Richard Bentley, 1840 – republished Buffalo: Buffalo Historical Society, 1905).
- Rolph, Thomas. "Invasions of Upper Canada from the United States - Battle of Point Au Pelee," *Colonial Magazine and Commercial-Maritime Journal*, IV, January-April 1841).
- Rolph, Thomas. "Rebellion in Upper Canada and Invasion of the Americans," *Colonial Magazine and Commercial-Maritime Journal*, II, (May-August 1840).
- Sprague, (no first name cited). "The La Manche: Case No 8,004 District Court D, Massachusetts" 14 F. Cas. 965, 25 Law Rep. 585; 2 Sprague 207 (June 1863).
- Williams, Nathan. "The Prescott Expedition," [Watertown, New York] *Jeffersonian* (3 January 1839) – reprinted from the *Oswego Palladium*.
- See also articles and commentary in issues of The Freeman's Advocate published in Lockport, New York October 1838 to March 1839 and Mackenzie's Gazette published in New York and Rochester May 1838 to December 1840.*
- See also articles cited in December 1837 through 1841 issues of The Albion, The Cobourg Star, The Quebec Gazette, The [Toronto] Mirror, and The [Toronto] Patriot in Public Library of Toronto. The Rebellion of 1837-38: A Bibliography of Sources of Information in the Public Reference Library of the City of Toronto, Canada* (Toronto: Public Library of Toronto, 1924). pages 59-80.

2.2. 1868-1967

- Alexander, Edward P. "The Hunters' Lodges of 1838 – Documents," *New York History*, 19 (1938).
- Bierce, L.V. "Biographical Sketch," in *Historical Reminiscences of Summit County* (Akron, Ohio: T & H.G. Canfield, 1964).

- Bishop, Levi. "Recollections of the 'Patriot War' of 1838-9, on this Frontier," *Michigan Pioneer Collections, Pioneer Society of Michigan*, 12 (1887).
- Bonham, Milledge L. "Alexander McLeod: Bone of Contention," *New York History*, 18, 2 (1937).
- Bonney, Catharine Van Rensselaer, compiler/arranger. Chapters IV and V of *A Legacy of Historical Gleanings* (Albany, New York: J. Munsell, 1875).
- Brook, Michael. "Lawrence Pitkethely, Dr. Smyles, and Canadian Revolutionaries in the United States, 1842," *Ontario History*, LVII, 2, (June 1965).
- Colquhoun, A. H. U. "The Arrest and Trial in 1841 of Alexander McLeod for Murder in Connection with the Burning of the Steamer Caroline," *The Canadian Magazine*, 44, 3 (1915).
- Colquhoun, A.H.U. editor. *The Niagara Frontier in 1837-38: Papers from the Hamilton Correspondence* (Niagara-on-the-Lake: Niagara Historical Society, 1916).
- Comins, Ethel. "He Dieth in Full Strength - Job 21-23: 9 December 1838, Watertown New York," *Bulletin of the Jefferson County Historical Society*, 6, 24 (October 1965).
- Comins, Ethel. "Hickory Island Fiasco," *Bulletin of the Jefferson County Historical Society*, 7, 4 (October 1966).
- Cook, Ernest G. Articles about William D. Sweet in *Watertown* (New York) *Daily Times* (April & May, 1930).
- Cross, D. W. "The Canadian Rebellion of 1837," *Magazine of Western History*, 7, 4 & 5 (February & March, 1888).
- Cruikshank, E. A. "A Twice-Told Tale (The Insurrection in the Short Hills in 1838)," *Ontario Historical Society Papers and Records*, 23 (1926).
- Cruikshank, E. A. "The Insurrection in the Short Hills in 1838," *Ontario Historical Society Papers and Records*, 8 (1908).
- Cruikshank, E. A. "The Invasion of Navy Island in 1837-8," *Ontario Historical Society Papers and Records*, 32 (1937).
- Denison, George Taylor. "The Burning of the 'Caroline,'" *Canadian Monthly National Review*, 2 (1873).
- Dougall, James. "That Windsor Battle: the Account of it from a Canadian Standpoint," *Michigan Pioneer Collections, Pioneer Society of Michigan*, 7 (1888).
- Drew, Andrew and Judge Woods. *The Burning of the Caroline and other Reminiscences of 1837* (Chatham: Banner Printing Company 1896).
- Duff, Louis Blake. "Samuel Chandler of St. Johns," *Welland County Historical Society Papers & Records*, 5 (1938).
- Fuller, L.N. "1838 Patriot War," *Watertown Daily Times*, (March, April & May, 1923).
- Gates, Lillian F. "A Note on Dr. John Smyles," *Ontario History*, LVII, 4 (December 1965).
- Gray, John Morgan. "The Life and Death of 'General' William Putnam," *Ontario History*, XLVI, 1 (Winter 1954).
- Green, Ernest, editor. "The Song of the Battle of the Windmill," *Ontario Historical Society Papers and Records*, 34 (1942).
- Green, Ernest. "Upper Canada's Black Defenders," *Ontario Historical Society Papers and Records*, 27 (1931).
- Group. Thetis, Chapter on the Patriot's War, *The Liverpool Legend* (Onondaga, New York: n.p., 1962).
- Haddock, J.A. "The 'Patriot' War," chapter of *The Thousand Islands of the St. Lawrence River* (Albany, New York: Weed-Parsons, 1896).
- Hand, Augustus N. "Local Incidents of the Papineau Rebellion," *New York History*, 15, (1934).
- Harden, H. S. Scott. "Convict Prisons of Van Dieman's Land," *Canadian Magazine*, XXX, 1 (November 1907).
- Harmon, John H. "Battle of Windsor: John H. Harmon's Story of the Last Fight in the

- Patriot War," *Detroit Free Press* (December 1884) – republished in *Essex County Historical Society Papers and Addresses*, 2 (1915).
- Heinmiller, Gary L. "Recollections of Patriot's War Participants," *Liverpool* (New York) *Telegraph* (January-April, 1894).
- Hemans, Lawton T. "The Patriot War," chapter XVII of *Life and Times of Stevens Thomson Mason* (Lansing: Michigan Historical Commission, 1920).
- Holden, J. Rose. "Some Incidents of the Rebellion in Upper Canada," *Journal & Transactions of the Wentworth Historical Society*, 5, (1908).
- Hough, F. B. "The Patriot War; Events of 1837-1840," chapter in *History of Jefferson County in the State of New York* (Albany, New York: J. Munsell, 1854).
- Hough, F.B. "The Patriot War of 1837-40," chapter X of *History of St. Lawrence and Franklin Counties, New York* (Albany, New York: Little, 1853).
- Ireland, John. "Andrew Drew: The Man Who Burned The Caroline," *Ontario History*, 59, 3 (September 1967).
- James, Pat. "Information on the Patriot War of 1837-38," *Genealogical Journal of Jefferson County*, 4,4, (December, 1992), 118-127.
- Johnson, Crisfield. "The Patriot War," chapter XXXVI of *Centennial History of Erie County, New York* (Buffalo Matthews & Warren, n.d.).
- Kinchen, Oscar A. *The Rise and Fall of the Patriot Hunters* (New York: Bookman Associates, 1956).
- Kurtz, Henry L. "The Undeclared War between Britain and America, 1837-1842: Part One & Part Two," *History Today*, XII, 11 & 12, (November & December 1962).
- Leavitt, T. W. "Battle of the Windmill, with return of killed and wounded British & Canadian Force," and "The Rise of Responsible Government and the Rebellion of 1837," chapters XII and XIII of *History of Leeds and Grenville* (Brockville, Ontario: Recorder Press, 1879).
- Manning, William R. *Diplomatic Correspondence of the United States Canadian Relations, Vol. III 1836-1853* (Washington: Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, 1943).
- Mansfield, J.B. Chapter XXXV of *History of the Great Lakes, Vol. 1* (Chicago: J.H. Beers, 1899).
- Martyn, J.P. "The Patriot Invasion of Pelee Island," *Ontario History*, 56, 3 (September 1964).
- M'Farlan, Robert. "The 'Patriot War' The Battle of Fighting Island," *Michigan Pioneer Collections, Pioneer Society of Michigan*, 7 (1888).
- McCrae, John. "Battle of Fighting Island, February, 1838," *Essex Historical Society Papers & Addresses*, 1 (1913).
- McCrae, John. "Battle of Windsor, Canada, December 4th, 1838," *Ontario Historical Society Papers and Records*, 2 (1905).
- McInnis, Edgar W. "The Uneasy Border," chapter 7 of *The Unguarded Frontier: A History of American-Canadian Relations* (Garden City, New York: Doubleday, Doran, 1942).
- Merriam, Justice. "A Brief Outline of the History of the Merriam Family Originally Written by Johnston Merriam about the year 1834," (re-written 1898 – n.p., 1983).
- Moir, John S.. "Mr. Mackenzie's Secret Reporter," *Ontario History*, LV, 4 (December 1963).
- n.a. "The Affair of Alexander M'Leod," *Monthly Chronicle of Events, Discoveries, Improvements and Opinions* (May 1841).
- n.a. "George H. Kimball: Death of the Last Survivor, But One, of the 'Patriot War' in Canada in 1838," (Lowville, New York) *Journal and Republican* (23 December 1908).
- n.a. "Historical Society Now Has Document of the Patriot War," *Watertown* (New York) *Daily Times* (11 April 1929).

- n.a. "An Interesting Relic, History of the Fight of 1837 found in St. Thomas," *Michigan Pioneer Collections, Pioneer Society of Michigan*, 13 (1888).
- n.a. "Incidents of the Patriot War," chapter XXVI of *History of Niagara County New York* (Lockport, New York: 1880).
- n.a. "Last of the 'Patriots,'" *Watertown* (New York) *Herald* (30 January 1915).
- n.a. "Patriot's War: A Tale of Unknown Heroes and a Battle Forgotten by History," *Watertown* (New York) *Herald* (5 August 1893).
- n.a. "Patriot's War: Local Annals with All the Charm of Fanciful Romance," *Watertown* (New York) *Herald* (29 July 1893).
- n.a. "Patriots War: The Tragic Final Chapter of the Struggle for Canadian Freedom," *Watertown* (New York) *Herald* (12 August 1893).
- n.a. "Salinians Aided Canadian 'Revolt,'" *Syracuse* (New York) *Journal* (20 March 1939).
- n.a. "Stories of 1837 – thrilling experiences of John Stewart," [Toronto] *Globe*. (17 May 1890).
- n.a. "Uncle David House: Death of a soldier of the Patriot War," *Watertown* (New York) *Herald* (29 August 1896).
- Nattress, Thomas. "Fort Malden and Old Fort Days," *Essex Historical Society Papers & Addresses*, 1 (1913).
- Northman, John. "How a Stone Mills Girl, Teacher in Gananoque Nearly 100 Years Ago, Brought the Warning Across the Ice That Saved That Village From Capture by the Patriots," *Watertown* (New York) *Daily Times* (8 October 1932) – reprinted from the *Canadian Magazine*.
- Overman, William D. "A Sidelight on the Hunters' Lodges of 1838: Documents," *Canadian Historical Review*, 19 (1938).
- Palmer, Friend. "Battle of Windsor," extract of Francis Cleary, *Early Days in Detroit*, in *Essex Historical Society Papers and Addresses, Vol. II* (Windsor, Ontario: Essex Historical Society, 1915).
- Parker, Jenny M. "The Patriot War," chapter XVII of *Rochester: A Story Historical* (Rochester, New York; Scranton, Wetmore, 1884).
- Prucha, Francis Paul. "Reports of General Brady on the Patriot War," *Canadian Historical Review*, XXXI, 1 (March 1950).
- Riddell, W. R. "A Contemporary Account of the Navy Island Episode, 1837," *Royal Society of Canada, Proceedings and Transactions*, 3rd series, 13, (1918).
- Riddell, William Renwick. "A Patriot General," *The Canadian Magazine*, 44, 1 (1914).
- Riddell, William Renwick. "Another Patriot General," *The Canadian Magazine*, 47, 3, (1916).
- Ross, Robert. "The Patriot War," *Michigan Pioneer Collections, Pioneer Society of Michigan*, 31 (1894).
- Shortridge, Wilson Porter. "The Canadian-American Frontier During the Rebellion of 1837-1838," *Canadian Historical Review*, 7 (1926).
- Smith, H. Perry, editor. "The Patriot War," chapter XXII of *History of the City of Buffalo and Erie County*. (Buffalo: n.p., n.d.).
- Stacey, C. P., editor. "An American Account of the Prescott Raid of 1838," *Canadian Defence Quarterly*, IX, 3 (April 1932).
- Stacey, C. P., "A Private Report of General Winfield Scott on the Border Situation in 1839," *Canadian Historical Review*, 21, 4 (1940).
- Stanley, George F. "The Battle of the Windmill," *Historic Kingston*, 3 (1953).
- Stanley, George F.G. "Invasion: 1838," *Ontario History*, 54, 4 (December 1962).
- Stanley, George F. "William Johnston: Pirate or Patriot?," *Historic Kingston*, 6 (1957).
- Struthers, Irving E. "The Trial of Niles Von Schoultz," *Canadian Magazine*, 48 (1917).

- Sumner, Elsie Graham. "Activities of Canadian Patriots in the Rochester District, 1837-38," *Ontario Historical Society Papers and Records*, 36, (1940).
- Tiffany, Orrin Edward. *The Canadian Rebellion of 1837-38* (Buffalo: Buffalo Historical Society, 1905 – republished Toronto: Coles Publishing, 1980).
- Waterbury, Edwin M. "Oswego County During the Patriot War," *Papers of the Oswego Historical Society* (Oswego: 1944).
- Watt, Alastair. "The Case of Alexander McLeod," *Canadian Historical Review*, 12 (1931).
- Watt, R. C. "The Political Prisoners in Upper Canada, 1837-8," *English Historical Review*, 42 (October 1926).
- Wella, George C. "The Battle of Windmill Point: An Incident of the Rebellion of '37," *Canadian Magazine*, 47 (1916).
- Williams, Fred. "Mackenzie's Escape to Navy Island," [Toronto] *Globe* (13 December 1837).
- Wittke, Carl. "Ohioans and the Canadian-American Crisis of 1837-1838," *Ohio Archaeological and Historical Quarterly*, LVIII (January 1949).
- 2.3. 1968-2008**
- Antal, Sandy and Kevin R. Shackleton. "The Patriot War of 1838," chapter of *Duty Nobly Done: The Official History of the Essex and Kent Scottish Regiment* (Windsor: The Scottish Borderers Foundation, 2006).
- Bederman, David J. "The Cautionary Tale of Alexander McLeod: Superior Orders and the American Writ of Habeas Corpus," *Emory Law Journal* (Spring 1992).
- Bedford, John W. *Journal* entry XVII re border incidents and US politics, 1840 – Long Beach, California, private publication by Clarence E. King, n.d. (ca. 1990).
- Bonthius, Andrew. "The Patriot War of 1837-1838: Locofocoism With a Gun?," *Labour/Le Travail*, #52 (Fall 2003).
- Brook, Michael. "Lawrence Pitkethely, Dr. Smyles, and Canadian Revolutionaries in the United States, 1842" *Ontario History*, 57, 2, (June 1965).
- Carter, George E. "Daniel Webster and the Canadian Rebellions 1837-1838," *Canadian Historical Association Papers* (1970).
- Carter, John C. "Events in the Western District, 1838: The Other Rebellion," in *1837 Rebellion Remembered* (Willowdale, Ontario: Ontario Historical Society, 1988).
- Carter, John C. "Patriot Wars: Blazing Saga of Discontent," *Windsor Star* (23 January 1988).
- Carter, John C. "Patriot Wars: Rout at Fighting Island," *Windsor Star* (19 April 1988).
- Carter, John C. "The Battle of Pelee Island: Third Patriot Attempt at Bloody Confrontation," *Windsor Star* (30 April 1988).
- Carter, John C. "The Battle of Windsor: Last Chapter in the Patriot Wars," *Windsor Star* (9 July 1988).
- Carter, John C. "Rebellious Acts in the Western District of Upper Canada: Precursor to Transportation to Van Diemen's Land," *Australian Canadian Studies Journal*, 22 & 23, 1 (2004 & 2005).
- Carter-Edwards, Dennis. "Bound in honour ... to Maintain': The Defence of the Western District During the Border Crisis of 1838-1841," unpublished paper, presented to the Canadian Historical Association, June 1988.
- Carter-Edwards, Dennis. "The Frontier Under Attack 1837-38," "The Frontier Defended (Part I) 1838," and "The Frontier Defended (Part II) 1838-40" sections in "The Defended Border: Fort Malden, 1837-1842," *Research Bulletin* No. 65, National Historic Parks & Sites Branch, Parks Canada (October, 1977).
- Carter-Edwards, Dennis. "Fort Malden: A Structural Narrative History 1796-1976, Vol. 1," *Parks Canada Manuscript Reports*,

- 401 (1980).
- Crawford, Irene. "Captain Andrew Drew," *Oxford Historical Society*, (1980).
- Douglas, R. Alan. "The Battle of Windsor," *Ontario History*, 61, 3 (1969).
- Douglas, R. Alan. "Communities," "Rebels and Yankees" and "Men in Capital," chapters 6-8 of *Uppermost Canada* (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 2001).
- Dunley, Ruth. "The Canadian President: In 1838 a radical group of Americans elected a president of Canada, His name was A.D. Smith," *Ottawa Citizen* (1 July 2003).
- Dunley, Ruth. "On the Trail of the Mysterious Mr. Smith," *Ottawa Citizen* (1 July 2003).
- Dunning, Thomas P. "The Adventures of Patriot Hunters: Danger, Memory, Place and Virtue at the Windmill," *Canadian Review of American Studies*. 29. 1 (1999).
- Dunning, Thomas P. "Convict Bodies in Van Diemen's Land: The North American Experience," *Australian Studies*, 13, 1 (1998).
- Dunning, Thomas P. "Canadian Rebellions of 1837-38: An Episode in Northern Borderland History," *Australian Journal of American Studies*, 14, 2 (December 1995).
- Fraser, Chad, "The Battle of Pelee Island: The Upper Canadian Rebellion of 1837," chapter 3 of *Lake Erie Stories: Struggle and Survival on a Freshwater Ocean* (Toronto: Dundurn Press, 2008).
- Graves, Donald E. *Guns Across the River: The Battle of the Windmill, 1838* (Toronto: Robin Brass Studio, 2001).
- Greer, Allan. "Rebels and Prisoners: The Canadian Insurrections of 1837-38," *Acadiensis*, XIV, 1 (Autumn 1984).
- Hice, John R. "The Detroit Arsenal at Dearborneville and The Patriot War: 1838" *The Dearborn Historian*, 16, 1 (Winter 1976).
- Hitsman, J. Mackay. "Border Problems," chapter 7 of *Safeguarding Canada 1763-1871*, (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1968).
- Johnson, Arthur L. "The New York State Press and the Canadian Rebellions, 1837-1838," *American Review of Canadian Studies*, XIV, 3 (1984).
- Jones, Howard and Donald A Rakestraw. "Freedom Awakened: Remember the Caroline!," and "Mother Country at Bay: The Strange Case of Alexander McLeod," chapters of *Prologue to Manifest Destiny: Anglo-American Relations in the 1840s* (Wilmington, Delaware: S R Books, 1997).
- Kenny, Stephen. "Stranger's Sojourn: Canadian Journalists in Exile, 1831-1841," *American Review of Canadian Studies*, 17, 2 (1987).
- Lee, David. "The Battle of the Windmill: November 1838," *History & Archaeology No. 8*, Parks Canada (1976).
- Lozo, Mark H. "Defending the Undefined Border: The Patriots' War on the Niagara Frontier," [Old Fort Niagara Association] *Of Now & Then*, 48, 10 (October 1998).
- May, Robert E. "Narcisco López's Predecessors," chapter of *Manifest Destiny's Underworld: Filibustering in Antebellum America*, (Chapel Hill, North Carolina: University of North Carolina Press, 2004).
- Martyn, John. *Upper Canada and Border Incidents 1837-38: A Study of the Troubles on the American Frontier Following the Rebellion of 1837* (Ottawa: National Library of Canada, 1977).
- McNaught, Kenneth. "Political Trials and the Canadian Political Tradition," in M. L. Friedland. *Courts and Trials: A Multi-Disciplinary Approach* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1975).
- n.a. *The Battle of the Windmill* (Ottawa: Parks Canada, Minister of the Environment - Mister of Supply and Services Canada, 1982).
- Nafus, Roland L. *Navy Island: Historic Treasure of the Niagara* (Youngstown, New York: Old Fort Niagara Publications, 1998).

- Pierce, Richard A. "Nils von Schoultz - The Man They Had to Hang," *Historic Kingston*, 19 (1970).
- Polebaum, Beth M. "National Self-Defense in International Law: An Emerging Standard for a Nuclear Age," *New York University Law Review* (April 1984).
- Raible, Chris. "James Mackenzie, Advocate for Canadian Freedom," *Australasian Canadian Studies*, 25, 2 (2007).
- Read, Colin. "Edward Alexander Theller, the 'Supreme Vagabond' - 'Courageous, honest, and true?'," *Ontario History*, 84, 1 (March 1992).
- Read, Colin. "The Short Hills Raid of June, 1838, and Its Aftermath," *Ontario History*, LXVIII, 2 (June 1976).
- Rosen, Max. "State Prisoner Use of Federal Habeas Corpus Procedures: the Great Writ - A Reflection of Societal Change," *Ohio State Law Journal*, 44, (1983).
- Rosentreter, Roger L. "Brigands or Paragons: Michigan Officials During the Patriot War, 1837-1839," *Michigan History Magazine* (September-October 1989).
- Scott, K.F. *Prescott's Famous Battle of the Windmill, November 13-18, 1838* (Prescott, Ontario: St. Lawrence Printing, 1970).
- Scott, Stuart D. "The Patriot Game: New Yorkers and the Canadian Rebellion of 1837-1838," *New York History*. 63, 3, (July 1987).
- Seible, George A. "The Mackenzie Rebellion and Navy Island," chapter of *Ontario's Niagara Parks 100 Years: A History* (Niagara Falls, Ontario: Niagara Parks Commission, 1985).
- Sillanpaa, Lennard, "Death of a Liberator, 1838," *The Beaver*, (Feb-March 1990).
- Stevens, Kenneth R. *Border Diplomacy: The Caroline and McLeod Affairs in Anglo-American-Canadian Relations, 1837-1842* (Tuscaloosa, Alabama: University of Alabama Press, 1989).
- Stevens, Kenneth R. "James Grogan and the Crisis in Canadian-American Relations, 1837-1842," *Vermont History*, 50 (Fall 1982).

3. PRISONERS, TRIALS AND TRANSPORTATION

3.1. Prior to 1867

- Adams, Zadock and N. E. Murdock. "Public Meeting in behalf of the Captive Patriots" held in Plymouth, New York 14 April 1842, *unidentified newspaper* (n.d. ca. 1 May 1842), Clipping #4682, Mackenzie-Lindsey papers, Archives of Ontario.
- Aislabie, W.J. "Remarks on Transportation to Australia," *The Colonial Magazine and India Review*, 22, 4 (April 1852).
- Burn, David. "Sketches of Van Diemen's Land," *Colonial Magazine*, 1 (1840-41).
- Burn, David. *Vindication of Van Diemen's Land* (London: W. W. Southgate, 1840).
- Chapin, Roswell and Nathaniel Agustin. "Public Meeting in Behalf of the Captive Patriots," (26 October 1841), *unidentified Buffalo newspaper* (n.d. ca. 1 November 1841), Clipping #4682, Mackenzie-Lindsey papers, Archives of Ontario.
- Douglas, R. Alan, editor. *John Prince, A Collection of Documents - Ontario Series XI* (Toronto: Champlain Society, 1980).
- Dwyer, C.P and E. Scoville. "Meeting in Behalf of the American Captives" held in Rochester, 1 February 1842, *Rochester Democrat* (n.d. ca. 10 February 1842) Clipping #4682, Mackenzie-Lindsey papers, Archives of Ontario.
- Forster, John. "Notes of a Residence in Van Dieman's Land in 1842-3," *Simmond's Colonial Magazine*, 1, 1 (January 1844); 3,1 (May 1844); and 3, 2 (September 1844).
- Fry, Alfred A. *Report of the Case of the Canadian Prisoners; with an Introduction on the Writ of Habeas Corpus* (London: A. Maxwell,

- 1839).
- Gould, Marcus T. C. "Trial of Alexander McLeod for the Murder of Amos Durfee," *Gould's Stenographic Reporter*, II, 1-6 (Washington, D.C. 1841).
- Hume, Joseph. "The Soldiers of Freedom Places in Chain Gangs with Thieves, Felons, Murders and Forgers – English Faith in 1841!!" letter dated 24 November 1840 *unidentified newspaper* (n.d. ca. February 1841), Clipping #4682, Mackenzie-Lindsey papers, Archives of Ontario.
- Jackson, J. A. "The Regeneration of Van Diemen's Land," *Simmond's Colonial Magazine*, 13, 49 (January 1848).
- Mackenzie, William Lyon. "More Escapes from Van Dieman's Land," (New York) *Daily Plebian* (n.d. ca 15 July 1842), Clipping #4682, Mackenzie-Lindsey papers, Archives of Ontario.
- Meredith, Louisa Ann. *My Home in Tasmania, or Nine Years in Australia* (New York: Bruce & Brother, 1853).
- Miller, Linus. "Letter from Mr. Miller, Late from van Dieman's Land," dated 28 January 1846, (New York) *Express*, (n.d. ca. 30 January 1846 - republished Lowville, N.Y. *Northern Journal*, 5 February 1846), Clipping #4682, Mackenzie-Lindsey papers, Archives of Ontario.
- n.a. "American Citizen in Exile at Van Dieman's Land," report of U.S. Congressional debate, *unidentified newspaper* (n.d. ca. July 1841), Clipping #4682, Mackenzie-Lindsey papers, Archives of Ontario.
- n.a. "American Prisoners at Van Dieman's Land," lists prisoners as of 29 January 1845, *unidentified newspaper* (n.d. ca 1945), Clipping #4682, Mackenzie-Lindsey papers, Archives of Ontario.
- n.a. "Letter from the Citizens of Oswego to Colonel W. J. Worth, Commandant of the United States Army at Sackett's Harbour, Asking for his Intercession with the Military Authorities in the Province of Upper Canada in Behalf of the Unfortunate Young Men Captured at Prescott, Oswego, November 20th, 1838," *The Church* (1 December 1838).
- n.a. [British sympathizer] "Letter from London to Sutherland," dated 2 October 1841, *unidentified newspaper* (n.d. ca 15 November 1845), Clipping #4682, Mackenzie-Lindsey papers, Archives of Ontario.
- n.a. "Meeting in Behalf of the Captive Patriots at Van Dieman's Land," held in Newark, New Jersey, 21 June 1841, *unidentified newspaper* (n.d. ca. 30 June 1841. Clipping #4682, Mackenzie-Lindsey papers, Archives of Ontario.
- n.a. "Our Banished Countrymen," *Albany* (New York) *Evening Journal* (7 December 1840) – reprinted from the Jefferson County *Carthaginian*.
- n.a. "The Patriot Prisoners," letter to *Albany Argus* (n.d. ca 15 September 1842).
- n.a. "Release of American Prisoners on Van Dieman's Land," *Auburn* (New York) *Christian Advocate* (October 1845).
- n.a. *Reports of State Trials, News Series, Vol. VIII, 1831-1840* (London: Eyre and Spottiswoode, 1891).
- n.a. "Resolution on American Prisoners," New York Assembly, *unidentified newspaper* (n.d. ca 1942), Clipping #4682, Mackenzie-Lindsey papers, Archives of Ontario.
- n.a. "Van Dieman's Land Prisoners," report U.S. arrival nine prisoners, *unidentified newspaper* reprinting *Utica Gazette* (n.d. ca 1845), Clipping #4682, Mackenzie-Lindsey papers, Archives of Ontario.
- n.a. "A Voice from the Living Dead," report of a meeting "in behalf of American citizens now prisoners at Van Diemen's Land" 8 July 1841, *unidentified newspaper* (ca 15 July 1841).
- Pocock, Zachary Pearce. *Transportation and the Convict Discipline Considered* (London: Simmonds & Co., 1847).
- Robinson, John Beverley. *Charge of the Honorable John B. Robinson, chief justice of*

- Upper Canada to the Grand Jury at Toronto* (Toronto: R. Stanton, 1838).
- Sutherland, Thomas Jefferson. "American Prisoners at Van Dieman's Land," *Albany* [New York] *Arbus*, (n.d. ca. July 1840), Clipping #4682, Mackenzie-Lindsey papers, Archives of Ontario.
- Sutherland, Thomas Jefferson. "American Prisoners at Van Dieman's Land," *New-York Tribune*, n.d.. (ca. 10 November 1844), Clipping #4682, Mackenzie-Lindsey papers, Archives of Ontario.
- Sutherland, Thomas Jefferson. "The Captive Patriots," letter (3 February 1841), *Rochester Daily Advertiser* (n.d. ca 10 February 1841), Clipping #4682, Mackenzie-Lindsey papers, Archives of Ontario.
- Sutherland, Thomas Jefferson. "The Captive Patriots," *Norwich* [New York] *Journal*, n.d. (ca. Feb. 1842), Clipping #4682, Mackenzie-Lindsey papers, Archives of Ontario.
- Sutherland, Thomas Jefferson. "The Case of the Captives," *unidentified newspaper* (22 November 1841), Clipping #4682, Mackenzie-Lindsey papers, Archives of Ontario.
- Sutherland, Thomas Jefferson. *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 at Toronto in Upper Canada* (Albany, New York: n.p., 1841).
- Sutherland, Thomas Jefferson. *A Letter to Lord Brougham, in behalf of the Captive Patriots to which is annexed a List of Their Names* (New York: n.p., 1841).
- Sutherland, Thomas Jefferson. "Letter about American captives," *New-York Tribune* (n.d. ca 1845) Clipping #4682, Mackenzie-Lindsey papers, Archives of Ontario.
- Sutherland, Thomas Jefferson. *Loose Leaves, from the Port Folio of a Late Patriot Prisoner in Canada* (New York: William H. Colyer, 1840).
- Sutherland, Thomas Jefferson. "Sublime Patriot," letter and petition, *unidentified newspaper* (n.d. ca 1 November 1841), Clipping #4682, Mackenzie-Lindsey papers, Archives of Ontario.
- Sutherland, Thomas Jefferson, "To the friends of the American Prisoners at Van Diemen's Land," report and letter, *unidentified newspaper* quoting *The Buffalo Commercial Advertiser* (n.d. ca July 1840). Clipping #4682, Mackenzie-Lindsey papers, Archives of Ontario.
- Sutherland, Thomas Jefferson. "To the friends of the American Prisoners at Van Diemen's Land," letter (28 October 1841) and report, *Albany Argus*, (n.d. ca 1 November 1840), Clipping #4682, Mackenzie-Lindsey papers., Archives of Ontario.
- Syme, James. *Nine Years in Van Diemen's Land* (Dundee: n.p., 1848).
- Theller, E. A. *Canada in 1837-38, Showing by Historical Facts, the Causes of the Late Attempted Revolution, and of its Failure...* (Philadelphia: Henry F. Anners, 1841).
- Tyler, John, et al. "American Citizens - Prisoners in Van Dieman's Land," Document No. 39, 27th Congress, 1st session." United States Congress (20 July 1841), Clipping #4682, Mackenzie-Lindsey papers, Archives of Ontario.
- Waite, Benjamin. "Extract of a letter received in New York from the Canada State Prisoners, dated Newgate Prison, London, 14 March 1839," *unidentified newspaper*, (n.d. ca. June 1939), Clipping #4682. Mackenzie-Lindsey papers, Archives of Ontario.
- Wright, S. S. and Aaron Dresser. Letter: "Americans in Van Dieman's Land," *New York Daily Tribune* (20 February 1844), Clipping #4682, Mackenzie-Lindsey papers, Archives of Ontario.

3.1.1. Narratives by transported prisoners (Upper and Lower Canada)

Ducharme, Leon (Léandre), translated by

- George Mackaness. *Journal of a Political Exile in Australia* (Sydney: D. S. Ford, 1944 – first published in French 1845).
- Gates, William. *Recollections of Life in Van Diemen's Land*, (Lockport, NY: D. S. Crandall, 1850 - republished George Mackaness ed. Sydney: D. S. Ford, 1961).
- Gemmell, James. "Two years in Van Diemen's Land," *The [New York] Plebian* (25 & 26 June 1842) – republished by Chris Raible, editor. "Two years in Van Diemen's Land: the personal experiences of a transported Canadian rebel," *York Pioneer*, 100 (2005).
- Gilman, John. Letter dated 13 February 1840, *Albany [New York] Argus*, n.d., Clipping #4682. Mackenzie-Lindsey papers, Archives of Ontario – republished by Chris Raible, editor. *York Pioneer*, 100 (2005).
- Heustis, Daniel D. *A Narrative of the Adventures and Sufferings of Captain Daniel Heustis* (Boston: Redding, 1848).
- Marsh, Robert. *Seven Years of My life, or a Narrative of Patriot Exile* (Buffalo: Faxon & Stevens, 1847).
- Miller, Linus. *Notes of an Exile in Van Diemen's Land* (Fredonia, New York: W. McKinstry, 1846).
- Monroe, Mitchell. Letter to his brother, [Columbus, Ohio] *Statesman*, n.d., Clipping #4682, Mackenzie-Lindsey papers, Archives of Ontario – republished by Chris Raible, editor, *York Pioneer*, 100 (2005).
- Morrison, Thomas David. *Trial of Dr. Morrison, M.P.P. for High Treason at Toronto on Wednesday, April 24, 1838* (Toronto: Donlevy & McTavey, 1838).
- Prieur, François Xavior, translated by George Mackness. *Notes of a Convict of 1838* (Sydney: D. S. Ford, 1949 – first published in French 1845).
- Sweet, Alvin B. Letter to his parents, [Albany, New York] *Evening Journal* n.d., Clipping #4682, Mackenzie-Lindsey papers, Archives of Ontario – republished by Chris Raible, editor, *York Pioneer*, 100 (2005).
- Snow, Samuel. *An Exiles Return or Narrative of Samuel Snow* (Cleveland: Smead and Cowes, 1846).
- Stevens, Elizur. Letter to Isaac & Persis Phelps, Clipping #4682, Mackenzie-Lindsey papers, Archives of Ontario – republished by Chris Raible, editor, *York Pioneer*, 100 (2005).
- Wait, Benjamin. *Letters From Van Diemen's Land Written During Four years Imprisonment for Political Offences Committed in Upper Canada* (Buffalo 1843 – see also extracts in *The Wait Letters* (Erin, Ontario: Porcépic Press, 1976).
- Woodman, Elijah. Letters edited by Fred Landon in *An Exile from Canada to Van Diemen's Land* (Toronto: Longmans, Green, 1960).
- Wright, Stephen S. (Caleb Lyon, editor). *Narrative and Recollections of Van Diemen's Land During Three years Captivity of Stephen S Wright* (New York: Winchester, 1844).

3.2. 1868-1967

- Barnett, J. Davis. "The Books of the Political Prisoners and Exiles of 1838," *Ontario Historical Society Papers & Records*, 16 (1918).
- Barry, J. V. "The Transported Canadian Patriots," *The Journal of Criminal Law, Criminology, and Police Science*, 43, 1 (May-June 1957).
- Harden, H.S. Scott. "Convict Prisons in Van Diemen's Land," *Canadian Magazine*, 30, 1 (November 1907).
- Hemmeon, Douglas. "The Canadian Exiles of 1838," *Dalhousie Review*, 7, 1 (April 1927).
- Johnson, S. W. "In the Shadow of the Gallows," chapter of *Jewels of Masonic Eloquence and True Stories of Mercy and Assistance* (Enid, Oklahoma: Masonic Research Society, 1915).
- Lacey, E.A. "The Trials of John Montgomery," *Ontario History*, LII, 3, (September 1960).
- Landon, Fred. *An Exile from Canada to*

- Van Diemen's Land: Being the story of Elijah Woodman, transported overseas for participation in the Upper Canada troubles of 1837-38* (Toronto: Longmans, Green, 1960).
- Landon, Fred. "The Exiles of 1838," *Waterloo Historical Society Annual Report*, 13 (1925).
- Landon, Fred. "The Exiles of 1838 From Canada to Van Diemen's Land," *Transactions of the London & Middlesex Historical Society*, part 2 (1927).
- Macdonnell, John, editor. *Report of the State Trials, Vol. 3* (London: Eyre & Spottiswoode, 1891).
- Riddell, William Renwick. "A Trial for High Treason in 1838," *Ontario Historical Society Papers and Records*, 18 (1920).
- Scott, Ernest. "The Canadian and United States Transported Prisoners of 1839," *Royal Australian Historical Society Journal*, 21 (1936).
- Severance, Frank H. "Misadventures of Robert Marsh," chapter of *Old Trails on the Niagara Frontier* (Buffalo, New York: Burrows bros., 1899).
- Sheppard, Mrs. O.B. "Incidents in the Life of John Montgomery During the Rebellion of 1837-38," *York Pioneer*, 21 (1926).
- Sheppard, Mrs. O.B. "Life of John Montgomery," *York Pioneer*, 6 (1911).
- Stewart, Janet. "The Little Boxes of 1837," *York Pioneer*, 54 (1959).
- Struthers, Irving E. "The Curious Case of Benjamin Mott," *The Canadian Magazine*, 45, 6 (October 1915).
- Watt, R. C. "The Political Prisoners in Upper Canada, 1837-8," *English Historical Review*, 41 (October 1926).
- White, Charles. *Convict Life in New South Wales and Van Diemen's Land* (Bathurst: C. & G.S. White, 1889).
- Overall Legal Strategy in the Upper Canadian Rebellion," in *Canadian State Trials Volume II: Rebellion and Invasion in the Canadas, 1837-1839* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2002).
- Boissery, Beverley. *A Deep Sense of Wrong: The Treason, Trials and Transportation to New South Wales of Lower Canadian Rebels after the 1838 Rebellion* (Toronto: Dundurn Press for the Osgoode Society for Canadian Legal History, 1995).
- Brand, Ian. *The Convict Probation System: Van Diemen's Land 1839-1854* (Hobart: Blubber Head Press, 1990).
- Cahill, Jack, *Forgotten Patriots: Canadian Rebels on Australia's Convict Shores* (Toronto: Robin Brass Studio, 1998).
- Carter, John, "Introduction – Aftermath of Rebellion: Patriot Stories in Other Lands," *Australasian Canadian Studies*, 25, 2 (2007).
- Carter, John C, and Chris Raible. "Remembrances of the 1837 Rebellion: An Inventory of Known Prisoners' Boxes," *York Pioneer*, 101 (2006).
- Cline, Bev. "The Unrelenting Wait," *The Beaver* (June-July-2006).
- Causer, Tim. "'On British Felony the Sun Never Sets': Narratives of political prisoners in New South Wales and Van Diemen's Land, 1838-53," *Cultural and Social History*, 5, 4 (2008).
- Duncan, Dorothy. "Prisoner's Boxes," *Canadian Antiques Collector* (April 1971).
- Dunning, Tom. "Convict Care and Treatment: The American Experience in Van Diemen's Land," *Bulletin of the Centre for Historical Tasmanian Studies*, 2, 2, (1989-90).
- Dunning, Tom. "Convict Bodies in Van Diemen's Land: The North American Experience," *Australian Studies*, 13, 1 (Summer 1998).
- Foran, Max. "Exiles: French Canadian Patriots in the Land of a Thousand Sorrows," *The Beaver* (June-July 1987).

3.3. 1968-2008

Bachre, Rainer. "Trying the Rebels: Emergency Legislation and the Colonial Executive's

- Gibson, James A. "Political Prisoners, Transportation for Life, and Responsible Government in Canada," *Ontario History*, 67, 4 (December 1975).
- Greenwood, F. Murray and Barry Wright. "Introduction: Rebellion, Invasion and the Crisis of the Colonial State in the Canadas, 1837-9," in *Canadian State Trials Volume II: Rebellion and Invasion in the Canadas, 1837-1839* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2002).
- Greenwood, F. Murray. "The Prince Affair: 'Gallant Colonel' or 'Woodland Butcher'?" in *Canadian State Trials Volume II: Rebellion and Invasion in the Canadas, 1837-1839* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2002).
- Greer, Allan. "Rebels and Prisoners: The Canadian Insurrections of 1837-38," *Acadiensis*, XIV, 1 (Autumn 1984).
- Gunn, Thomas. "Convicts to Bermuda: A Reassessment of Earl Durham's 1838 Bermudan Ordinance," *Australasian Canadian Studies*, 25, 2 (2007)
- Hastings, Patricia. "Escape from Botany Bay," *Blackwoods Magazine* (May, 1968).
- Hawkins, John. "Edward Augustus Wilson, American-born patriot, cabinetmaker, political convict and 'British Slave,'" *Australiana*, (February 2005).
- Healey, Robynne Rogers. "Elizabeth Lount Denounces John Beverly Robinson and the Family Compact," *York Pioneer*, 103, (2008).
- Hughes, Robert. Chapters 11 & 12 of *The Fatal Shore: The Epic of Australia's Founding* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1986).
- Hunter, Andrew T. with William J. Hunter. *Heart-Shaped Box or The ballad of Daniel Sheppard; Being a poetic reflection on the Upper Canada Rebellion of 1837* (Toronto: City of Toronto, Museums and Heritage Services, 2005).
- Karskens, Grace. "Defiance Deference and Diligence: Three Views of Convicts in New South Wales Road Gangs," *Australian Historical Archaeology*, 4, (1986).
- Kerr, James S. *Design for Convicts: An Account of Design for Convict Establishments in the Australian Colonies During the Transportation Era* (Sydney: Library of Australian History, 1984).
- Kerr, James S. *Out of Sight, Out of Mind* (Sydney: National Trust of Australia, 1988).
- Kennedy, Patricia. "In Pursuit of Rebels at the National Archives of Canada: Beyond the Usual Round-up of Suspect Sources," and "Tables of National Archives Sources with Commentary," in *Canadian State Trials Volume II: Rebellion and Invasion in the Canadas, 1837-1839* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2002).
- Kennedy, Patricia. "Seeking suitable punishments," *The Archivist*, 15, 3 (May-June 1988).
- Kercher, Bruce. "Perish or Prosper: The Law and Convict Transportation in the British Empire," *Law and History Review*, 21, 2 (Fall 2003).
- Laugeson, Amanda. *Convict Words* (Melbourne: Oxford University Press, 2002).
- Lewthwaite, Susan. "Rebellion Trials Sources in Ontario Archives," in *Canadian State Trials Volume II: Rebellion and Invasion in the Canadas, 1837-1839* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2002).
- Mackey, Frank. "Bound for Australia," *Horizon Canada*, 7, 84 (October 1986).
- MacFie, Peter. *Dobbers and Cobbers* (Dulcot, Tasmania: P. MacFie, 2002).
- McLeary, Kathy. "The Little Boxes of 1837," *The Upper Canadian*, (2 & 9 March 1993).
- McLeod, Wallace. "An Exile from Canada to Van Diemen's Land," chapter 15 of *The Quest for Light* (Melbourne: Australian & New Zealand Masonic Research Council, 1997).
- McRae, Mary Milne. "Yankees from King Arthur's Court: A brief study of North American Political Prisoners transported from Canada to Van Diemen's Land, 1839-40," *Tasmanian Historical Research*

- Association Papers and Proceedings*, 19, 4, (December 1972).
- Murison, Barbara C. "Riches to Rags to Rebellion: The Case of James Aitchison, Sometime Resident of Scotland, Upper Canada and Van Diemen's Land," *British Journal of Canadian Studies*, 4, 2, (1989).
- Pybus, Cassandra. "Patriot Exiles in Van Diemen's Land," in *Canadian State Trials Volume II: Rebellion and Invasion in the Canadas, 1837-1839* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2002).
- Pybus, Cassandra and Hamish Maxwell-Stewart. *American Citizens, British Slaves: Yankee Political Prisoners in an Australian Penal Colony 1839-1850* (East Lansing: Michigan State University Press, 2002).
- Raible, Chris. "Two years in Van Diemen's Land: the personal experiences of a transported Canadian rebel," *York Pioneer*, 100 (2005).
- Read, Colin. "The Treason Trials in 1838 in Western Upper Canada," in *Canadian State Trials Volume II: Rebellion and Invasion in the Canadas, 1837-1839* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2002).
- Romney Paul and Barry Wright. "The Toronto Treason Trials, March-May 1838," in W. Murray Greenwood and Barry Wright. *Canadian State Trials Volume II: Rebellion and Invasion in the Canadas, 1837-1839* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press for the Osgoode Society for Canadian Legal History, 2002).
- Rudé, George. Chapters 1, 2, 3, & 4 of *Protest and Punishment: The Story of the Social and Political Protesters transported to Australia 1788-1968* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1978).
- Schrauwers, Albert. "Letters to the Children in Prison, 1838," *York Pioneer*, 1982 (1987).
- Sexton, Robert. *HMS Buffalo* (Adelaide: Australasian Maritime Historical Society, 1984).
- Scott, Stuart D. "A Frontier Spirit: the Life of James Gemmell," *Australasian Canadian Studies*, 25, 2 (2007).
- Scott, Stuart D. *The Outskirts of Habitable Creation: Americans and Canadians Transported to Tasmania in the 1840s* (New York: iUniverse, 2004).
- Thompson, John. "No Ordinary Convicts," *The Sunday Tasmanian* (30 December 1995).
- Thompson, John. "The North American Patriot Prisoners at Convict Stations in Van Diemen's Land," *Australasian Canadian Studies*, 25, 2 (2007).
- Thompson, John. *Probation in Paradise* (Hobart: John Thompson, 2008).
- Watson, Reg A. *Canadian/American Rebels in Van Diemen's Land* (Landisfarne: Anglo-Keltic Society, 2004).
- Webber, Alan C. *In the Shadow of the Gallows, The Story of Samuel Chandler* (Purcellville, Virginia: n.p., 1993).
- Williams, Brad. "The archaeological potential of the colonial prison hulks: The Tasmanian case study," *Bulletin of the Australian Institute for Maritime Archeology*, 29 (2005).
- Wright, Barry. "Harshness and Forbearance: The Politics of Pardons in the Upper Canada Rebellion," in Carolyn Strange, editor, *Qualities of Mercy: Justice, Punishment and Discretion* (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1996).
- Wright, Barry. "The Ideological Dimensions of Law in Upper Canada: The Treasons Proceedings of 1838," *Criminal Justice History: An International Annual*, 10 (1989).
- Wright, Barry. "The Kingston and London Courts Martial," in *Canadian State Trials Volume II: Rebellion and Invasion in the Canadas, 1837-1839* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2002).
- Wright, Barry. "Sedition in Upper Canada: Contested Legality," *Labour/Le Travail*, 29 (Spring 1992).

4. INDIVIDUAL AND REGIONAL STUDIES

4.1. Prior to 1868

- Burnett, Robert, editor. "John Stewart, Jr.: The Adventures of an Esquering Rebel in 1837-38," in *Collections 3*, (Georgetown, Ontario: Esquering Historical Society and the Halton Hills Public Libraries, 1995).
- Henry, Walter. Chapters XLIV-LV of *Events of a Military Life, vol. 2* (London; W. Pickering, 1843).
- Moody, Susanna. "The Outbreak," chapter X of *Roughing It in the Bush* (London: Richard Bently, 1852).
- Trail, C. P. "The Mackenzie Rebellion," chapter of *The Backwoods of Canada* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1929).
- Kirby, William. "Troubles on the Niagara Frontier in 1837," chapter XXXIII of *Annals of Niagara* (Welland, Ontario: Tribune, 1896).
- Landon, Fred. "The Duncombe Uprising of 1837 and some of Its Consequences," *Proceedings and Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada*, xxv, ii (1931).
- Landon, Fred. "London and Its Vicinity, 1837-38," *Ontario Historical Society Papers and Records*, xxvi (1927).
- McKay, William A. "Pickering and Rebellion of 1837," chapter of *The Pickering Story* (Pickering: The Township of Pickering Historical Society, 1961).
- Merrill, George. *Canada's Gallant Volunteers of 1837-38: roll call, winter of 1890* (Kingston, Ontario: 1891).
- Morgan, Henry James, editor. "Mrs. William Lyon Mackenzie," and "Lady McNab," in *Types of Canadian Women Who Are or Have Been Connected with Canada* (Toronto: William Briggs, 1903).
- Muggeridge, John. "John Rolph – A Reluctant Rebel," *Ontario History*, LI, 4 (Autumn, 1959).
- Mulvany, Charles Pelham. "The Rebellion of 1837-38," chapters XXII-XVII of part 1 and "Military Peterborough, the Part It Played in the Rebellion of 1837-38," chapter VI of part 2 of *History of the County of Peterborough, Ontario* (Toronto: C.B. Robinson, 1884).
- Reville, F. Douglas. "The Rebellion of 1837," chapter XVIII of *History of the County of Brant, vol. 1*, (Brantford, Ont.; Hurley Printing, n.d.).
- Riddell, William Renwick. "Egerton Ryerson's Views of the Government of Upper Canada in 1836," *Canadian Historical Review*, XIX (1938).
- Stacey, C.P. editor. "The Crisis of 1837 in a Back Township of Upper Canada, Being

4.2. 1868-1967

- Barnett, John. "Silas Fletcher, Instigator of the Upper Canadian Rebellion," *Ontario History*, XLI, 1 (March 1949).
- Bell, E. E. "Landmarks of 1837: Incidents of the Rebellion in the District Between Toronto and Richmond Hill," *Acta Victoriana*, 28 (1904).
- Gibson, James. "The 'Persistent Fallacy' of the Governors Head," *Canadian Historical Review*, XIX (1938).
- Guillet, Edwin C. "The Cobourg Conspiracy," *Canadian Historical Review*, 18 (1937).
- Harrison, William. "The Two Colonels; An Incident in the Rebellion of 1837," *Canadian Magazine*, 29 (1906).
- Heyes, Esther. "Aftermath of Rebellion," chapter of *The Story of Albion* (Bolton, Ontario: The Bolton Enterprise, 1961).
- Johnson, J.K. "Sir James Gowan, Sir John A. Macdonald, and the Rebellion of 1837," *Ontario History*, LX, 2 (June 1968).
- Kerr, W.B. "Van Egmond's Apology for His Presence in Mackenzie's Camp at Montgomery's," *Ontario Historical Society Papers and Records*, 33 (1939).

- the Diary of Joseph Richard Thompson," *Canadian Historical Review*, xi (1930).
- Wood, William R. "Pickering and the Mackenzie Rebellion," chapter IV in *Past Years in Pickering* (Toronto: William Briggs, 1911).
- Young, James. Chapters XIII and XIV of *Reminiscences of the Early History of Galt and the Settlement of Dumfries* (Toronto: Hunter Rose & Co., 1880).
- 4.3. 1968-2008**
- Anderson, Charles D. *Bluebloods & Rednecks: Discord and Rebellion in the 1830s* (Burnstown, Ontario: General Store Publishing House, 1996).
- Bearley, David. *Hotbed of Treason: Norwich and the Rebellion of 1837* (Norwich, Ontario: Archives Committee of the Norwich and District Historical Society, 1986).
- Boyce, Betsy Dewar. *The Rebels of Hastings* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1992).
- Cardno, E. Jayne. "The Commander in Chief from Huron," in *1837 Rebellion Remembered* (Willowdale, Ontario: Ontario Historical Society, 1988).
- Carter, Terry. "Samuel Lount: Rebel or Victim?," *York Pioneer*, 28 (1987).
- Duquemin, Colin K. *Niagara Rebels* (St. Catharines: Norman Enterprises, 2001).
- Fyfe, Douglas. "David Gibson's Involvement in the Rebellion in Upper Canada," in *1837 Rebellion Remembered* (Willowdale, Ontario: Ontario Historical Society, 1988).
- Godfrey, Charles. *John Rolph: Rebel With Causes* (Madoc, Ontario: Codam Publishing, 1993).
- Hoogeveen, Moira. "A Huron Hero [Anthony Van Egmond]," *York Pioneer*, 82 (1987).
- McFall, Jean. "Samuel Lount," *York Pioneer*, 69 (1974).
- McGillivray, Allan. "Joseph Gould, The Reluctant Rebel," in *1837 Rebellion Remembered* (Willowdale, Ontario: Ontario Historical Society, 1988).
- McIntyre, John. "David Willson and Government, Politics and Society in Upper Canada," *York Pioneer*, 69 (1974).
- n.a. "Architect William Steward - Interesting Career of a Well Known Citizen, Now Retired from Active Business," *Hamilton Herald*, (21 January 1905).
- Peel, Bruce. "Switzer of Streetsville and Mackenzie," in *1837 Rebellion Remembered* (Willowdale, Ontario: Ontario Historical Society, 1988).
- Read, Colin, "Rebellion Days in and about London," in Guy St. Denis, editor. *Simcoe's Choice: Celebrating London's Bicentennial 1793-1993* (Toronto: Dundurn Press, 1992).
- Read, Colin. "The London District Oligarchy in the Rebellion Era," *Ontario History*, LXXII, 4 (December 1980).
- Scott, John W. "John Rolph and the Rebellion of 1837," *York Pioneer*, 82 (1987).
- Severance, Frank H. "Contributions Toward a Bibliography of the Niagara Region - the Upper Canada Rebellion of 1837-'38," appendix to *Buffalo Historical Society Publications*, vol. 5, (1903).
- Sissons, C.B. "The Case of Bidwell: Correspondence Connected with the 'Withdrawal' of Marshall Spring Bidwell from Canada," *Canadian Historical Review*, XXVII, 4, (December 1946).
- Stagg, Ronald. "Jesse Lloyd and Silas Fletcher: Two Well-known Unknowns," in R. B. Fleming. *Boswell's Children: The Art of the Biographer* (Toronto: Dundurn Press, 1992).
- Trimble, Bernice. "The Rebel's Cave," section of "Great Excitements," chapter in *"Belfountain" Caves, Castles and Quarries in the Caledon Hills* (Grand Valley, Ontario: Landsborough Printing, 1998).
- Wilson, R. C. G. *A History of Lloyd Town* (Lloydtown, Ontario: King Township Historical Society, 1973).

5. SPECIALIZED STUDIES

5.1. Prior to 1868.

- Bridgeman, F.L. George W. Spragge, editor. "A Letter from Government House, Toronto, December 1837," *Ontario History*, LI, 4 (December 1959).
- Goodeve, William. "A Letter of 1837," *Ontario History*, XLII, 3 (September 1950).
- Howard, James S. *A Statement of Facts Relative to the Dismissal of James S. Howard, Esq. Late Postmaster of the City of Toronto* (Toronto: J. H. Lawrence, 1839 – republished Toronto: Town of York Historical Society, 1983).
- Mackenzie, William Lyon. *Head's flag of truce; or, A defence of the memory of the late Colonel Samuel Lount...* (Toronto: Message Office, 1854).
- Read, T.A., editor. "Extract from the Diary of a Loyalist of 1837," *York Pioneer*, 43, (1948).
- Sibbald, Thomas. "A Few Days in the United States and Canada with Some Hints to Settlers," *Women's Canadian Historical Society of Toronto, Annual Report* (1916/1917).
- 5.2. 1868-1967**
- Callahan, James M. "Canadian Rebellion and Boundary Questions," chapter V of *The Neutrality of American Lakes and Anglo-American Relations, Studies in Historical and Political Science, series 16* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1898).
- Green, Ernest. "Upper Canada's Black Defenders," *Ontario Historical Society Papers and Records*, 27, (1931).
- Guillet, Edwin C. "Memorial to the Patriots," *Saturday Night*, (19 February 1939).
- Heyes, Esther. "Aftermath of Rebellion," chapter of *The Story of Albion* (Bolton, Ontario: The Bolton Enterprise, 1961).
- Kerr, W.B. "The Orange Order and W. L. Mackenzie in the 1830's," [Orange Order] *Sentinel*, (16 March, 6 & 20 April, and 4 May 1939).
- Kerr, W.B. "When Orange and Green United 1832-9; The Alliance of Macdonell and Gowan," *Ontario Historical Society Papers and Records*, 33 (1939).
- Landon, Fred. "Canadian Negroes and the Rebellion of 1837," *Journal of Negro History*, 7 (1922).
- Landon, Fred. "Social Conditions Among the Negroes in Upper Canada Before 1865," *Ontario Historical Society Papers & Records*, XXII (1925).
- McInnis, Edgar. "A Letter from Alexis de Tocqueville on the Canadian Rebellion of 1837," *Canadian Historical Review*, XIX (1938).
- McKay, William A. "Pickering and Rebellion of 1837," chapter of *The Pickering Story* (Pickering: The Township of Pickering Historical Society, 1961).
- Moir, John S. "Fitzgibbon's Secret Visitor," *Ontario History*, XLVIII, 3 (September 1958).
- Moir, John S. "Four Rebellion Poems of Susanna Moodie, 1837," *Ontario History*, LVIII, 1 (March 1956).
- Moir, John S. editor, *Rhymes of Rebellion* (Toronto: Ryerson Press, 1965),
- Olney, Mabel G. "William Lyon Mackenzie: Rochester Newspaper Man," *University of Rochester Library Bulletin*, XVIII, 2 (Winter 1964).
- Piet, Steve. "The Patriot Rebellions of 1837-38," chapter 7 of *To Stand and Fight Together: Richard Pierpont and The Coloured Corps of Upper Canada* (Toronto: Dundurn Group – Sandcastle Book, 2008).
- Read, T.A. editor. "Extract from the Diary of a Loyalist of 1837," *York Pioneer*, 43, (1948).
- Sissons, C.B. "Dr. John Rolph's Own Account of the Flag of Truce Incident in the Rebellion of 1837," *Canadian Historical Review*, XIX,

- 1 (March 1938).
- Spragge, George W. "The Steamship Traveller and the Rebellion of 1837," *Ontario History*, LII, 4 (Autumn 1960).
- Staton, Frances. "Some Unusual Sources of Information in the Toronto Reverence Library on the Canadian Rebellions of 1837-38," *Ontario Historical Society Papers and Records*, 17 (1919).
- Stavrianos, L.S. "The Rumour of Russian Intrigue in the Rebellion of 1837," *Canadian Historical Review*, XVIII, 4 (December 1937).
- 5.3. 1968-2008**
- Adamson, Anthony. "Why not an Aristocracy?," in *1837 Rebellion Remembered* (Willowdale, Ontario: Ontario Historical Society, 1988).
- Brown, Melody. "Blacks and the Rebellion of 1837," in *1837 Rebellion Remembered* (Willowdale, Ontario: Ontario Historical Society, 1988).
- Duncan, Dorothy. "The Rebels at Supper," in *1837 Rebellion Remembered* (Willowdale, Ontario: Ontario Historical Society, 1988).
- Eady, Ronald J. "Anti-American Sentiment in Essex County in the Wake of the Rebellions of 1837," *Ontario History*, LXI, 3 (September 1969).
- Ferry, Darren. "The Politicization of Religious Dissent: Mormonism in Upper Canada, 1833-1843," *Ontario History*, LXXXIX, 4 (December, 1997).
- Frank, Mark. *1837 Rebellion: A Tour of Toronto and Nearby Places* (Toronto: Red Robin Press, 1993).
- Frank, Mark. *The Mackenzie Panels: The Strange Case of Niagara's Fallen Arch* (Toronto: Red Robin Press, 1987).
- Fryer, Mary Beacock. "Militia and Regulars," in *1837 Rebellion Remembered* (Willowdale, Ontario: Ontario Historical Society, 1988).
- Gates, Lillian. "A Canadian Rebel's Appeal to George Bancroft," *New England Quarterly*, (March 1968).
- Gilchrist, J. Brian. "The Search for Rebellious Relations," in *1837 Rebellion Remembered* (Willowdale, Ontario: Ontario Historical Society, 1988).
- Harris, Marc L. "The Meaning of Patriot: The Canadian Rebellion and American Republicanism, 1837-1839," *Michigan Historical Review* (Spring 1997), 23, # 2
- Hunter, Cecil. "Orangemen and the Rebellion of 1837," in *1837 Rebellion Remembered* (Willowdale, Ontario: Ontario Historical Society, 1988).
- Johnson, J.K. "The Social Composition of the Toronto Bank Guards, 1837-1838," *Ontario History*, LXIV, 2 (June 1972).
- Lee, Dennis and John Beckwith. "1838 - Part-song for SATB," *Musical Times*, 111, 1534 (December 1970).
- Littlefield, Angie. "The Thomsons of Durham," chapter 5 of *Tom Thomson's Family Heritage* (Ajax, Ontario: Durham West Centre, 2005).
- Marshall, Peter. "George Bancroft on the Canadian Rebellions and the American Revolution," *The New England Quarterly*, 63, 2 (June 1990).
- Murray, Joan. "The Perils of the Post: Communications in Upper Canada," in *1837 Rebellion Remembered* (Willowdale, Ontario: Ontario Historical Society, 1988).
- n.a. "Bearded Tales of the Rebellion," *York Pioneer*, 82 (1987).
- Nielson, Eleanor. "The Rebellion of 1837-38," chapter 5 of *The Egremont Road, Historic Route from Lobo to Lake Huron* (Petrolia, Ontario: Lambton Historical Society, 1993).
- Peers, Laura L. "The Not So Peaceable Kingdom," *The Beaver* (June-July 1988).
- Potter, Penny. *Rebellion in North York, 1837* (Toronto: North York Historical Society, 1987).
- Quick, Douglas. "A Rebel in the Family,"

- Families*, 36, 2 (1997).
- Senior, Elinor Kyte. "Links Between Upper and Lower Canada, 1837-1838: The Well-Affected and the Disaffected," in *1837 Rebellion Remembered* (Willowdale, Ontario: Ontario Historical Society, 1988).
- Sketch, Marian Ogden. "William Lyon Mackenzie: On the Road to Dundas, Ontario, 7:00 p.m. on December 7th, 1837," chapter of *Ten Moments in Canadian History* (Victoria, British Columbia: Campbell's Publishing, 1980).
- Sprague, George W. "The Rebel Banner of 1837," *Ontario History*, LXXX, 1 (March 1988).
- Spur, John W. "The Night of the Fire, April 17, 1840," *Historic Kingston*, 18 (1969).
- Vaughan, Carol Lawrie. "The Bank of Upper Canada in Politics 1817 – 1840," *Ontario History*, LX, 4 (December 1968).
- Wilson, R. C. G. *A History of Lloyd Town* (Lloydtown, Ontario: King Township Historical Society, 1973).
- Wilton, Carol. "Lawless Law': Conservative Political Violence in Upper Canada, 1818-1841," *Law and History Review*, 13, 1 (Spring 1995).

6. AFTERMATH AND REFLECTIONS

6.1. Prior to 1868

- Bonnycastle, Richard S. *The Canadas in 1841* (London: Henry Colburn 1841 – republished New York: Johnson Reprint Corporation, 1968).
- Evans, William. "Introductory Address to the Farmers of Upper and Lower Canada," *Canadian Quarterly Agricultural and Industrial Magazine*, 1, 1 (May 1838).
- Fitzgibbon, James. *An Appeal to the People of the Late Province of Upper Canada: Narrative of the Rebellion of 1837* (Montreal: 1847).
- Mackenzie, William Lyon. "On Canadian Annexation and Insurrection," chapter of *The Life and Times of Martin Van Buren: The Correspondence of his Friends, Family and Pupils; Together with Brief Notices, Sketches and Anecdotes...* (Boston: Cook & Co., 1846).
- Mackenzie, William Lyon. "Letter to the Editor of the Montreal Herald from William Lyon Mackenzie, 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, Montreal, March 6, 1849," *The [Toronto] Mirror* (16 March 1849) republished in *The [Toronto] Examiner* (21 March 1849).
- Mackenzie, William Lyon. "Who Began the Frontier Troubles? Who Broke the Treaty?" *Mackenzie's Gazette*, 18 April 1840.
- Marryat, Capt. "The Canadian Question and the Principal Cause of the Late Insurrection," chapters I-VI of *Diary in America, volume 3* (Philadelphia: Carey & Hart, 1839).
- n.a. "Canada, False Principles of Government, the Cause of Its Suffering," *Colonial Magazine and Commercial Maritime Journal*, 1 (1840).
- n.a. "The Canadas – How Long Can We Hold Them?," *Dublin University Magazine*, 34 (1849).
- n.a. "Civil Revolution in the Canadas," *Blackwood's Edinburgh Journal*, 65-67 (1849-50).
- n.a. ["A Conservative of 1837"]. "Lessons from the Past: Being a Review of Ten Years of Canadian Politics, for 1837 to 1847," *Barker's Canadian Monthly Magazine*, 1, 10, (February 1847).
- n.a. "Prospects of the British Empire in Relation to Canada," *Dublin University Magazine*, 13 (1839).
- Papineau, M. Louis. "History of the Resistance of Canada to the British Government," *Canadian, British American and West*

- Indian Magazine*, 1 (1839).
- Ryerson, Egerton. *Civil government - the late conspiracy: a discourse delivered in Kingston, U. C. December 31, 1837* (Toronto: Joseph H. Lawrence, 1838).
- Sanderson, Charles R., ed. *The Arthur Papers: Being the Canadian Papers Mainly Confidential, Private and Demi-Official of Sir George Arthur, I: 1822-1838, II: January 1839-March 1840, and III: April 1840-June 1850* (Toronto: Toronto Public Libraries and the University of Toronto Press, 1959).
- 6.2. 1868-1967**
- Durand, Charles. Chapters 11-13 of *Reminiscences of Charles Durand* (Toronto: Hunter, Rose, 1897).
- "G. S. P." Quebec. "The Volunteers and Incidents of 1837," *New Dominion Monthly*, 7 (1870).
- Hansen, Marcus Lee & John Bartlet Brebner. "The Beginning of the Southward Migrations 1837-1861." chapter 6 of *The Mingling of the Canadian and American Peoples, Volume 1, Historical* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1940).
- Landon, Fred. "The Common Man in the Era of the Rebellion in Upper Canada," *Canadian Historical Association Papers* (1937).
- Longley, R.S. "Emigration and the Crisis of 1837 in Upper Canada," *Canadian Historical Review*, XVII, 1 (1936).
- MacMechan, Archibald. *The Winning of Popular Government* (Toronto: Glasgow, Brook & Co., 1920).
- New, Chester. "The Rebellion of 1837 in Its Larger Setting," *Canadian Historical Association Papers*, (1937).
- Smith, Goldwyn. Chapter VI of *Canada and the Canadian Question* (Toronto; Hunter, Rose, 1891).
- Thompson, Samuel. "Some Glimpses of Upper Canadian Politics," "Toronto During the Rebellion," and "The Victor and the Vanquished," chapters of *Reminiscences of a Canadian Pioneer for the last fifty Years: An Autobiography* (Toronto: Hunter, Rose & Co., 1884 – republished Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1968).
- Willson, Richard Titus. "Reminiscences of Richard Titus Willson 1793-1878," *Newmarket Historical Society Occasional Papers*, 1, 1 (n.d.).
- 6.3. 1968-2008**
- Adamson, Anthony Cawthra. *The Evening of November 24, 1837: An Interpretation of Events Occurring 150 Years Ago* (Toronto: Town of York Historical Society, 1987).
- Careless, J. M. S. "The Aftermath of the Rebellion," in *1837 Rebellion Remembered* (Willowdale, Ontario: Ontario Historical Society, 1988).
- Cross, Michael S. "1837: The Necessary Failure," in Michael S. Cross and Gregory S. Kealy. *Pre-Industrial Canada 1760-1849: Readings in Canadian Social History* (Toronto: McClelland & Stewart, 1982) 141-158 – first published as "Afterward" in Benjamin Wait. *The Wait Letters* (Erin, Ontario: Press Porcépic, 1976).
- Ducharme, Michael. "Closing the Last Chapter of the Atlantic Rebellion: The 1837-38 Rebellions in Upper and Lower Canada," *Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society*, 16, 2 (2007).
- Gates, Lillian F. *After the Rebellion: The Later Years of William Lyon Mackenzie* (Toronto: Dundurn Press, 1988).
- Greer, Allan. "1837-38: Rebellion Reconsidered," *Canadian Historical Review*, LXXVI, 1 (Spring 1995).
- Grigg, Robert S. C. "The McMurray Affair," *Journal of the Canadian Church Historical Society*, 43, 2 (2001).
- Johnson, Arthur. "The New York State Press and the Canadian Rebellions, 1837-1838," *American Review of Canadian Studies*, XVI, 3 (Fall 1984).

- Jones, Howard. *To the Webster-Ashturton Treaty: A Study in Anglo-American Relations, 1783-1843* (Chapel Hill, North Carolina: University of North Carolina Press, 1977).
- Kenny, Stephen. "The Canadian Rebellions and the Limits of Historical Perspective," *Vermont History*, 58, 1 (1989).
- Martin, Ged. "Self Defence: Francis Bond Head and Canada, 1841-1870," *Ontario History*, LXXIII, 1 (March 1981).
- Polebaum, Beth M. "National Self-Defense in International Law: An Emerging Standard for a Nuclear Age," *New York University Law Review*, 4 (April 1984).
- Read, Colin. "The Duncombe Rising, Its Aftermath, Anti-Americanism and Sectarianism," *Histoire Sociale/Social History*, 9 (May 1976).
- Stavrianos, L. S. "Is the Frontier Theory Applicable to the Canadian Rebellions of 1837-1838?," in Michael S. Cross. *The Frontier Thesis and the Canadas: The Debate on the Impact of the Canadian Environment* (Toronto: Copp Clark, 1970).

7. LOWER CANADA – WORKS OF RELEVANCE TO UPPER CANADA

7.1. Works Prior to 1868

7.2. 1868-1967

- Bellingham, Sydney. *Some Personal Recollections of the Rebellion of 1837 in Canada* (Dublin: Browne & Nolan, 1901).
- Brown, Thomas Storrow. *1837, My Connection With It* (Quebec: 1898).
- Brown, Thomas Storrow. "The Rebellion of 1837," *New York Evening Express* (22 April 1873).
- Decelles, Alfred D. *The "Patriots" of '37: A Chronicle of the Lower Canadian Rebellion* (Toronto: Glasgow, Brook, 1920).
- Hand, Augustus N. "Local Incidents of the Papineau Rebellion," *New York History*, 15 (1934).
- Hemmeon, Douglas. "The Canadian Exiles of 1838," *Dalhousie Review*, 6, 1 (April 1927).
- Howell, Ronald F. "The Political Testament of Papineau in Exile, 1837," *Canadian Historical Review*, XXXVIII, 4 (December 1957).
- Johnson, Walter S. "The Rebellion of 1837," *The McGill News*, 6, 2 (April 1925).
- Manning, Helen Taft. *The Revolt of French Canada 1800-1835: A Chapter in the History of the British Commonwealth* (Toronto: Macmillan of Canada, 1962).
- Monet, Jacques. *The Last Cannon Shot: A Study of French-Canadian Nationalism 1837-1850* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1959).
- Ormsby, William. *Crisis in the Canadas: 1838-1839: The Grey Journals and Letters* (Toronto: Macmillan of Canada, 1964).
- Parker, W.H. "A New Look at Unrest in Lower Canada in the 1830s," *Canadian Historical Review*, XL, 3 (September 1959).
- Robeson, Virginia R. *Lower Canada in the 1830s* (Toronto: Ontario Institute for Studies in Education, 1977).
- Struthers, Irving. "The Curious Case of Benjamin Mott - No. IX Famous Canadian Trials," *The Canadian Magazine*, 45, 6, (October 1915).
- Wallace, W. S. "Papineau: His Place in Canadian History," *Canadian Magazine*, 36 (1910).

7.3. 1968-2008

- Greer, Allan. *The Patriots and the People: The Rebellion of 1837 in Rural Lower Canada* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1993).
- Greenwood, F. Murray, editor and translator. *Land of a Thousand Sorrows: The Australian Prison Journal, 1840-42 of the Exiled Canadian Patriote, François-*

- Maurice Lepailleur* (Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 1980).
- Greenwood, F. Murray. "The General Court Martial of 1838-39 in Lower Canada: An Abuse of Justice," in W. Wesley Pue and Barry Wright. *Canadian Perspectives on Law and Society in Legal History* (Ottawa: Carleton University Press, 1988).
- Ouellet, Fernand. "The Failure of the Insurrectionary Movement, 1837-39," in C. M. Wallace, R.M. Gray and A. D. Gilbert, *Reappraisals in Canadian History: Pre-Confederation, 2nd edition* (Scarborough, Ontario: Prentice Hall Canada, 1996).
- Schull, Joseph. *Rebellion: The Rising in French Canada 1837* (Toronto: Macmillan of Canada, 1971).
- Senior, Elinor Kyte. *Redcoats & Patriotes: The Rebellions in Lower Canada 1837-38* (Stittsville, Ontario: Canada's Wings in collaboration with the Canada War Museum, 1985).
- Soderstrom, Mary. *The Words on the Wall: Robert Nelson and the Rebellion of 1837* (Ottawa: Oberon Press, 1999).
- Verney, Jack. *O'Callaghan: The Making and Unmaking of a Rebel* (Ottawa: Carleton University Press, 1994).

8. FICTIONAL WORKS

8.1. Prior to 1868

- Hunt, Jedediah, Jr. *An Adventure on a Frozen Lake: A Tale of the Canadian Rebellion of 1837-8* (Cincinnati: C. Clark & Co., 1853).
- n.a. ["A Backwoodsman" Thomas D'Arcy McGee?]. *Two and Twenty Years Ago: A Tale of the Canadian Rebellion by a Backwoodsman* (Toronto? 1859),
- Truill, Catharine Parr. "The Interrupted Bridal, A True Story of the First Rebellion in the Colony," *The [London] Home Circle*, 1, 1 & 2 (1849) – republished in Michael A Peterman and Carl Ballstadt, *Forest and Other Gleanings: The Fugitive Writings of Catharine Parr Truill* (Ottawa: University of Ottawa Press, 1994).

8.2. 1868-1967

- Adam, G. Mercer. *An Algonquin Maiden: A Romance in the Early Days of Upper Canada* (Montreal: John Lovel, 1886).
- Bellasis, M. "Rise, Canadians!" (Montreal: Palm Publishers, 1955).
- Cook, Lyn. *Rebel on the Trail* (Toronto: Macmillan of Canada, 1953).
- Hayes, John F. *Rebels Ride at Night* (Vancouver

- & Toronto: Copp Clark, 1952).
- King, Violet. *Bitter Harvest* (Toronto: J. M. Dent & Sons, 1945).
- Lancaster, Bruce. *Bright to the Wanderer: A Novel of the Upper Canadian Rebellion of 1837* (Boston: Little Brown, 1942).
- Lewis, Gladys Francis. *Joshua Doan* (Toronto: Ryerson Press, 1956).
- North, Anison. *The forging of the Pikes; A Romance of the Upper Canadian Rebellion of 1837* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1920),
- Price-Brown. *The Mac's of '37: A Story of the Canadian Rebellion* (Toronto: McLeod & Allen, 1919).
- Swayze, Beulah G. *The Man with the Pitchfork: A Story of the Rebellion of 1837* (Toronto: W. J. Gage, 1967).
- Taylor, Gladys. *The King Tree* (Toronto: Ryerson Press, 1958).
- Verne, Jules. *Family Without a Name: A Romance of the Rebellion of 1837 in Quebec* (Toronto: N. C. Press, 1982 – first published in French 1889).

8.3. 1968-2008

- Allinson, Sidney. *Jeremy Kane* (Princeton, New

- Jersey: Xlibris Corporation, 1998).
- Brandis, Marianne. *Rebellion: A Novel of Upper Canada* (Erin, Ontario: 1996).
- Crook, Connie Brummel. *Meyers' Rebellion* (Markham, Ontario: Fitzhenry & Whiteside, n.d.).
- Greenwood, Barbara. *A Question of Loyalty* (Toronto: Scholastic, 1984).
- Gutteridge, Don. *Turncoat: A Marc Edwards Mystery* (Toronto: McClelland & Stewart, 2003).
- Lett, Raymond. *Patriot Rebel* (Enumclaw, Washington: Pleasant Word, 2005).
- Lunn, Janet. *A Rebel's Daughter: The 1837 Rebellion Diary of Arabella Stevenson* (Toronto: Schoolastic Canada, n.d.).
- Scott, Munroe. *The Liberators* (Manotick, Ontario: Penumbra Press, 2001).
- Turner, D. Harold. *To Hang a Rebel* (Agincourt, Ontario: Gage Publishing, 1977).
- Turner, D. Harold. *Rebel Run* (Toronto: Gage Educational, 1989).

9. Theses

- Duncan, Stuart Mackay. *The Military Suppression of the Rebellions of 1837-38*, M.A. thesis, University of Western Ontario, 1965.
- Hillery, Joseph D. *The Niagara Frontier in the Canadian Rebellion of 1837-38*, M.A. thesis, Buffalo: Canisius College, 1941.
- Illey, C. T. *The Constitutional Act of 1791: A Study of the Causes of the Canadian Revolution of 1837*, M.A. thesis, University of Colorado, 1943.
- Johnson, Arthur L. *Northern New York and the Canadian Rebellions, 1837-1838*, M.A. thesis, Potsdam College, State University of New York, n.d.
- Kelly, Wayne Edward. *Black troops to keep an intelligent people in awe!: The coloured companies of the Upper Canada militia, 1837-1850*, M.A. thesis, York University (Canada), 1996.
- Lepine, John. *The Irish Press in Upper Canada and the Reform Movement, 1828-1848*, M.A. thesis, University of Toronto, 1946.
- Martyn, J.P. *Upper Canada and Border Incidents, 1837-38*, M.A. thesis, University of Toronto, 1962.
- McKenna, Katherine M.M. *The Impact of the Upper Canadian Rebellion on Life in Essex County, Ontario, 1837-1842*, research study for Park Canada, 1985.
- Milne, Mary Gordon. *North American Political Prisoners*, M.A. thesis, University of Tasmania, 1965.
- Olney, Mabel Gleason. *William Lyon Mackenzie: The Rochester Years 1938-1942*, M.A. thesis, University of Rochester, 1962.
- Rosentreter, Roger L. *To Free Upper Canada: Michigan and the Patriot War, 1837-1839*, M.A. thesis, Lansing: Michigan State University, 1983.
- Russell-Green, Crosby. *Enjoyment or Terror – An Archaeological Survey of a Convict Probation Station in Tasmania*, M.A. thesis, University of New England (2003).
- Stagg, Ronald J. *The Yonge Street Rebellion of 1837: An Examination of the Social Background and a Reassessment of the Events*, Ph.D. thesis, University of Toronto, 1976.
- Stephen, Mark Douglas. *Artisans, plebeians, and radical reform in the British Isles, New South Wales, and Upper Canada, 1790—1838*, M.A. thesis, St. Mary's (Canada) University, 1999.