



Egerton Ryerson: His Life and Letters

C. B. Sissons

*** A Distributed Proofreaders Canada eBook ***

This eBook is made available at no cost and with very few restrictions. These restrictions apply only if (1) you make a change in the eBook (other than alteration for different display devices), or (2) you are making commercial use of the eBook. If either of these conditions applies, please contact a <https://www.fadedpage.com> administrator before proceeding. Thousands more FREE eBooks are available at <https://www.fadedpage.com>.

This work is in the Canadian public domain, but may be under copyright in some countries. If you live outside Canada, check your country's copyright laws. IF THE BOOK IS UNDER COPYRIGHT IN YOUR COUNTRY, DO NOT DOWNLOAD OR REDISTRIBUTE THIS FILE.

Title: Egerton Ryerson: His Life and Letters

Date of first publication: 1937

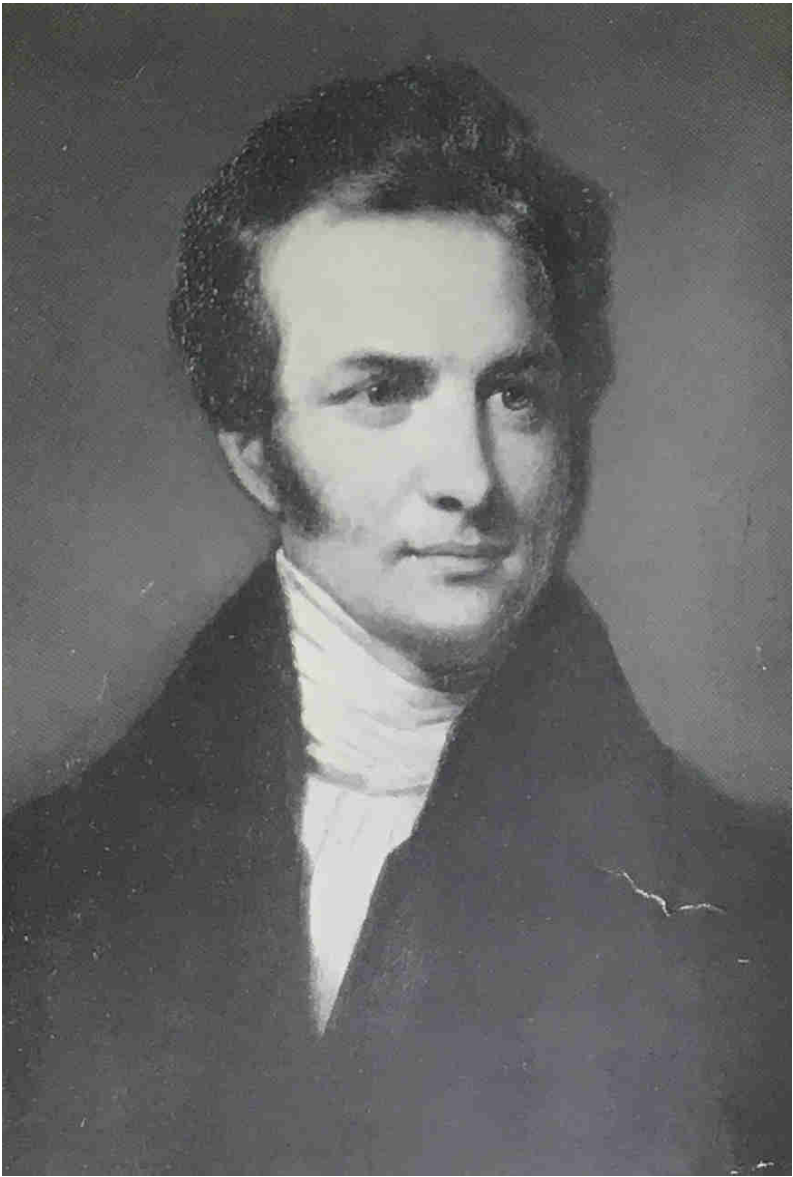
Author: C. B. Sissons (1875-1965)

Date first posted: Nov. 28, 2022

Date last updated: Nov. 28, 2022

Faded Page eBook #20221154

This eBook was produced by: John Routh & the online Distributed Proofreaders Canada team at <https://www.pgdpCanada.net>



EGERTON RYERSON AT THIRTY-THREE

From a portrait by the noted English artist, William Gush, in the possession of Arthur Maybee, Esq., Toronto.

PREFACE

Fifty-five years have passed since Ryerson with trembling hand wrote the last of his letters, and another fifty-five years since his first published letter made the young itinerant the recognized champion of religious equality in Upper Canada. Perhaps we are now sufficiently distant from the struggles in which he took so large a part justly to appraise his worth.

Shortly after he died the work of recording his life was undertaken by his friend and assistant, Dr. J. George Hodgins. *The Story of My Life*, published in 1883, was not an autobiography by Ryerson as the title would suggest, but rather a compilation by Hodgins from the documents left him as a literary executor, with only occasional comments by Ryerson himself. But while this large volume is rich in information as to the man and his work, Hodgins was quite too close to his chief in affection to draw a picture true in every line. The briefer biographies by Dr. Nathaniel Burwash (1901) and Dr. J. H. Putman (1912), and particularly the latter, are chiefly concerned with his achievements as the founder of a system of education; to them he was something of an institution, certainly less than a man of flesh and blood working beside men frail like himself. The chapter on Ryerson in William Smith's posthumous work *Political Leaders in Upper Canada* (1931) gives an excellent summary of Ryerson's earlier career. Smith, who was thoroughly familiar with the public documents of the period, deeply regretted the necessity of writing this chapter without access to private letters here reproduced for the first time.

The purpose of the present work is to use the private and public correspondence of Ryerson as the basis for a complete study of the man in relation to the Upper Canada of his day, which he understood more clearly and influenced more widely than did perhaps any other of its citizens. It is presented in the hope that it may throw new light on a side of Canadian history too often neglected. Wars, explorations, constitutional changes, romantic or significant as these may be, must for our purpose take secondary place to a story of common people—and uncommon people as well—at work in the forging of the spirit of a nation. In the reproduction of the letters themselves every care has been taken to give the exact form of the original. Nothing has been withheld; where a life has been lived on such a plane as was that of Ryerson, there can be no occasion for reticence. And the purpose has been to understand, not to celebrate. It is impossible perhaps in a work of such range and detail to avoid certain errors and omissions, but it is hoped that these will prove to be neither many nor serious.

It is not possible to acknowledge the assistance of all those whose kindness has lightened my labours,—archivists and librarians, colleagues and friends, descendants of the *dramatis personae* who have placed their treasures at my disposal. They are held individually in grateful remembrance. I wish, however, particularly to refer to these: Professor A. E. Lang, who as Librarian of Victoria College twelve short years ago first turned me to the reading and ordering of the Ryerson letters; Dr. Walter T. Brown, Principal of Victoria College, whose counsel has been of great value in the later stages of the work; Professor J. D. Robins whose feeling for pioneer life and literary taste have been equally at my command; the members of the Centenary Committee, Professor G. W. Brown, Professor D. G. Creighton and the late Dr. George H. Locke who gave valuable suggestions as to the form and scope of the present volume; and Mrs. T. F. Nicholson whose skill and interest as secretary have greatly facilitated the progress of the work.

C. B. S.

February 23, 1937.

EGERTON RYERSON
HIS LIFE AND LETTERS

By
C. B. SISSONS

With a Foreword by
E. W. WALLACE
Chancellor of Victoria University

VOLUME I

TORONTO
CLARKE, IRWIN & COMPANY LIMITED
OXFORD UNIVERSITY PRESS
1937

COPYRIGHT, CANADA, 1937
by CLARKE, IRWIN & COMPANY LIMITED

PRINTED IN CANADA
BY THE RYERSON PRESS, TORONTO

FOREWORD

Dr. Ryerson, who was the first Principal of Victoria College, and who for half a century was one of the powerful personalities in the life of Canada, named as his literary trustees the Reverend Dr. S. S. Nelles, Chancellor of Victoria University, the Reverend Dr. John Potts, Secretary of Education of the Methodist Church, and Dr. J. George Hodgins, the Deputy-Minister of Education for the Province of Ontario. Through these executors, there came into the possession of Victoria University the correspondence of Dr. Ryerson, comprising about two thousand letters, and many rare and valuable printed documents.

In this correspondence the University possesses material which is vital to the understanding of the social, political, and religious life of one of the most formative periods in the history of Canada. In order that the correspondence might be made available to students of Canadian history, the Board of Regents arranged for its publication as part of the celebration of the one hundredth anniversary of the founding of Victoria in the year 1836. Professor C. B. Sissons, who has been working on the material for some years, has been asked to carry his work to completion. The first fruit of his labour will be found in this volume, which presents a new and significant interpretation of the life of Dr. Ryerson in relation to his time.

E. W. WALLACE

*Victoria University,
February 3, 1937.*

CONTENTS

- I. [INTRODUCTION](#)
 - II. [CREDIT RIVER AND COBOURG CIRCUIT: September 1826 to September 1828](#)
 - III. [AT ANCASTER: September 1828 to August 1829](#)
 - IV. [TWO GREAT ENTERPRISES: August 1829 to September 1831](#)
 - V. [TURNING THE OTHER CHEEK: September 1831 to October 1833](#)
 - VI. [APOSTATE OR PROPHET?: October 1833 to June 1834](#)
 - VII. [THE LEVELLERS SECEDE: June 1834 to December 1835](#)
 - VIII. [AT THE FOOT OF THE THRONE: January 1836 to July 1836](#)
 - IX. [DEEP IN POLITICS: January 1836 to July 1836](#)
 - X. [THE ARM OF FLESH: August 1836 to December 1837](#)
 - XI. [THE SHADOW OF MONTGOMERY'S TAVERN: December 1837 to April 1838](#)
 - XII. [VAE VICTIS: March 1838 to May 1838](#)
 - XIII. [DURHAM AND ARTHUR: June 1838 to June 1839](#)
 - XIV. [THE LAST YEAR AS EDITOR: June 1839 to June 1840](#)
 - XV. [THE SEAL OF SYDENHAM: July 1840 to September 1841](#)
- [INDEX](#)

ILLUSTRATIONS

EGERTON RYERSON

THE THREE BROTHERS

COBOURG IN 1841

OUTER SHEET OF REV. HARVARD'S LETTER

CONCLUSION OF A LETTER FROM EGERTON RYERSON TO
HIS BROTHER JOHN

Egerton Ryerson: His Life and Letters

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

PART I—THE MAKING OF AN ITINERANT

Egerton Ryerson was born on March 24, 1803, the fifth of the six sons of Joseph Ryerson and his wife, Mehetabel Stickney. His place of birth was in the township of Charlotteville, near the village now called Vittoria, a few miles back from Lake Erie in the County of Norfolk. The district was known as the Long Point Settlement, taking its name from the cape which stretches out into the lake like a duck's foot about a third of the distance between the Niagara and the Detroit. Joseph Ryerson was a native of New Jersey, and had served as an officer with the Prince of Wales Regiment during the American Revolutionary War, enlisting as a mere lad. After the defeat of British arms he had retired to New Brunswick where he had married. In 1799 he followed an elder brother, Samuel, to Upper Canada. Here as a Loyalist he received a grant of 2,500 acres of land. On half-pay as a pensioner, he settled on a farm of six hundred acres near his brother's farm and mill, raised his family of six sons and three daughters, served the state in civil and military offices and, in spite of what are described as distressing physical infirmities, reached the age of ninety-three and died on the farm he had occupied some sixty years.

The Ryerson family was of Dutch Huguenot origin. The late Dr. George Sterling Ryerson, a son of George Ryerson, the oldest of Joseph's sons, was at pains to trace the history of the family.^[1] He found the name in the list of "Sheppen", or Sheriffs, of Amsterdam of the year 1330. The Canadian branch of the family is descended from Martin Reyerzoon, who with his brother, Adrian, migrated to New Amsterdam (New York) in 1647. The name was abbreviated to Reyertz, later Ryerse, and about 1700 anglicized to Ryerson.

Egerton Ryerson has left us some account of his boyhood and youth in a sketch written at his Long Point cottage on the seventieth anniversary of his birth. From this and other accounts it may be inferred that the Ryersons

escaped the severe privations incidental to pioneer life in many less favoured sections of Upper Canada, while at the same time hardly achieving the dignity and leisure of a landed aristocracy. The glimpse we get of their manner of life would suggest that Joseph Ryerson's position resembled that of Robert Baldwin "the emigrant", who took up land in Clarke township in 1798.^[2] Like Robert Baldwin, he was Colonel of Militia, and as early as 1800 he was appointed High Sheriff. To what extent he himself laboured on the farm we are not told, nor do we know how far the one son who did not become a travelling preacher helped him. The sons, however, were brought up to work. While Egerton was teaching he hired a man in his place, and when he returned home the following year he "ploughed every acre of ground for the season, cradled every stalk of wheat, rye and oats and mowed every spear of grass, pitching the whole first on a waggon and then from the waggon on the hay-mow or stack".^[3] Of his mother, Ryerson has this to say: "That to which I am principally indebted for any studious habits, mental energy or even capacity or decision of character, is religious instruction, poured into my mind in my childhood by a Mother's counsels, and infused into my heart by a Mother's prayers and tears."^[4]

Egerton was unusually fortunate as to facilities for education. One of the several Public, afterwards known as Grammar, Schools projected by Simcoe was within half a mile of his home, and was in charge of his brother-in-law, James (afterwards Judge) Mitchell. The seven trustees of this school included his father, his uncle and Colonel Talbot. While attending school he was also learning to do all kinds of farm work and laying the foundations of that physical strength which enabled him to accomplish the prodigious labours of later years.

The Ryersons were naturally drawn into the War of 1812. Colonel Ryerson himself saw service, as did his three oldest sons. Loyalty to the Crown and the menace of republicanism must have been constantly in the mind and on the tongue in the Ryerson home. Democracy rampant had driven the family from their old New Jersey home; and an offshoot of the same movement a quarter of a century later had brought the danger of eviction to them in their new home which lay in the route of trampling armies between Niagara and Detroit. Indeed the widow Ryerse's^[5] farm buildings and mill were burned on May 15, 1814, by American marines, the house being spared only through her personal appeal to the officer in charge. The atmosphere in Simcoe's grammar schools would serve to confirm the first impressions of the home. Thus while in mature years Ryerson was happily free from those anti-American prejudices which too often have

afflicted lesser minds in his native province, his natural bent was loyalist and conservative. This serves in large part to explain his break with the Reform movement in 1833 and his effective support of Sir Charles Metcalfe in 1844; and in his old age and retirement it compelled him to labour as much as fifteen hours a day in the British Museum on two large volumes which traced the history and appraised the achievements of the United Empire Loyalists.^[6]

But in spite of what has sometimes been said, political interests were secondary with him. The primary and dominant motive of his life was religious. His mother was deeply religious, and her influence, supplemented by that of the itinerant preachers, nourished his naturally serious mind. His father also was a staunch member of the Church of England. During its first few years the Long Point Settlement was without religious ministrations. Mrs. Amelia Harris of Eldon House, London, the daughter of Samuel Ryerse, describes the marriage ceremonies performed by her father, as magistrate, and the want of baptism, and tells how at last the Reverend Robert Addison was induced to come from Niagara to baptize the children. She continues:

The neighbourhood was notified, and all the children, from one month to eight or nine years old, were assembled to receive baptism. The house was crowded with people anxious to hear the first sermon preached in the Long Point Settlement by an ordained minister. Upon my own mind I must confess that the surplice and gown made a much more lasting impression than the sermon, and I thought Mr. Addison a vastly more important person in them than out of them; but upon the older part of the community, how many sad and painful feelings did this first sermon awaken, and recall times long past, friends departed, ties broken, homes deserted, hardships endured! The c[h]ord touched produced many vibrations, as Mr. Addison shook hands with every individual, and made some kind inquiry about their present or future welfare. The same God-hopeful smile passed over every face, and the same "Thank you, sir, we find ourselves every year a little better off, and the country is improving. If we only had a church and a clergyman we should have but little to complain of." But it was a hope deferred for many long years. A Baptist minister, the Rev. Mr. Finch, was the first clergyman who came to the little settlement to reside. His meetings were held in different parts of the settlement each Sunday, so that all might have the opportunity

of hearing him if they chose to attend. He preached in houses and barns without any reward, labouring on his farm for his support. He, like all the early Dissenting ministers who came to the province, was uneducated, but possessed and sincerely believed a saving knowledge of the Gospel, and in his humble sphere laboured to do all the good in his power. Many of the young people joined his Church. He was soon followed by the Methodists. Too much cannot be said in praise of the early ministers of these denominations; they bore every privation and fatigue, praying and preaching in every house where the doors were not closed against them—receiving the smallest pittance for their labour. A married man received \$200 a year and a log-house for his family; an unmarried man had half that sum, the greater portion of which was paid in home-made cloth and produce. Their sermons and prayers were very loud, forcible and energetic, and if they had been printed verbatim, would have looked a sad jumble of words. They encouraged an open demonstration of feeling amongst their hearers—the louder the more satisfactory. But notwithstanding the criticisms cast upon these early preachers, were they not the class of men who suited their hearers? They shared their poverty and entered into all their feelings; and although unlearned, they taught the one true doctrine—to serve God in spirit and in truth—and their lives bore testimony to their sincerity. In this world they looked forward to neither preferment nor reward; all they expected or could hope for was a miserable subsistence. Nor was it surprising that in twenty years afterwards, when the path was made smooth, the church built, and the first clergyman, the Rev. Mr. Evans, came, that he found a small congregation. Every township had one or two Methodist and Baptist chapels.^[7]

Apparently the Methodist circuit-riders began regular work in the Long Point Settlement in 1802. At all events, the Long Point Circuit was established by Nathan Bangs in that year.^[8] The range of the circuit cannot now be determined, but we know that it stretched at least as far west as Burford. Just when the leaven first began to work in the Ryerson family we do not know, but Egerton Ryerson informs us that at the close of the American War in 1815, when he himself was twelve years of age, three older brothers, George, William and John, became deeply religious. It was then that he experienced the change of heart known as “conversion”, a very

real and definite and indeed essential experience to the early Methodists. Strangely enough, Ryerson nowhere mentions the Methodist preacher under whom his conversion took place, although he describes in some detail the experience itself. In the year 1815 the two preachers stationed on the Long Point Circuit were Thomas Whitehead, a gentle man with considerable pulpit talents, and David Youmans, a man of strong sense and warm heart, formerly a blacksmith and hence familiarly and affectionately known as “The Old Hammer”. Possibly we may infer that young Egerton’s conversion was less due to the exhortation of one or other of these contrasted colleagues than to the influence of his brothers. While his conversion meant new joy and earnestness of purpose in his life, it had no marked outward effect; he continued his studies and his work on the farm till the age of eighteen. Then he became persuaded that it was not proper for him to enjoy the privileges of the church without joining it, and he gave in his name for membership. His father soon heard of this, and delivered the ultimatum that he must either leave the Methodists or leave his home. The next day he became “usher” at the district grammar school, where he remained for two years a student-teacher. After two years his father came to him one day and said, “Egerton, you must come home.” His first reaction was hostile to the suggestion, or command, but on second thought he determined that as he had left home for the honour of religion, the honour of religion would be promoted by his showing that “the religion so much spoken against would enable me [him] to leave the school for the plough and the harvest-field. . . .”^[9]

After a year of varied and strenuous farm labour, having now attained his majority, again he left home, this time with the entire good-will of his father. His purpose was to pursue classical studies at the Gore District Grammar School under John Law. At the time he was attracted to the legal profession. He boarded at the home of John Aikman, “one of the most respectable residents” of the village of Hamilton. At this time he began to keep a diary,^[10] occasional extracts from which have been preserved by Hodgins. While giving religious experiences the first place, incidentally the diary enables us to follow the secondary interests of the young student and itinerant during the period it covers. On August 16, 1824, he commenced his studies, reading Latin and Greek with Mr John Law. He began the duties of the day in imploring the assistance of God, without whom he could do nothing. On April 17th he read Virgil’s Georgics, finding them very difficult and reading only seventy lines. On September 8th he found himself too much mingled with the common crowd and, like others, too indifferent to “the subject of all others the chief”. On September 15th he replied to a letter from his brother George, making light of the fear expressed that he would

injure his health. He had read three books of the Georgics and the Odes of Horace, but during the past week had read scarcely any because of company; the Attorney-General had been stopping at Mr. Aikman's during Court, and had been most sociable and open in conversation. On September 26th he was much oppressed with a man-fearing spirit, but what had he to fear if God be with him? From the 3rd to the 9th of October he had been much distressed with bodily pain. On November 25th he found his mind perplexed. The comforts and tranquillity of domestic happiness attract his attention. He asks whether he is not "to taste the pleasures which two hearts reciprocally united in one mutually communicate". He prays that he may be directed by divine wisdom, and prevented from following the dictates of his own will.

From November 26, 1824, till February 12, 1825, there is a gap in the diary. The entry of February 12th reads,

During the long period since I last penned my religious meditations, my feelings, hopes, and prospects have been extremely varied. While I was promising myself health and many temporal pleasures, God saw fit to show me the uncertainty of earthly things, and the necessity and wisdom of submission to his will, by the rod of affliction. During my sickness I have derived much pleasure and profit from the visits of pious friends, so that I have felt it is good to be afflicted.

In the course of this serious illness, during which for a time his life was despaired of, he had a second deeply religious experience. He resolved no longer to resist the call to the ministry. On March 15th he returned to his studies, but had not long to wait for the occasion which definitely threw him into the work of the Methodist ministry.

Having incurred his father's displeasure by joining the Methodists in 1815, Joseph William Ryerson (henceforth called William) had left his home. He had gone west to Oxford, where he took up a bush farm, received his education, as in later years he laughingly confessed, in the college of Buck and Bright,^[11] and at an early age even for those days took unto himself a wife. In the minutes of the Methodist Episcopal Conference of 1823 we find him received on trial as a preacher. The entry reads,

William Ryerson, aged twenty-five, wife and two children, clear of debt, admitted.^[12]

In the spring of 1825 he was serving his second year as junior to Ezra Adams on the Niagara Circuit, which embraced the whole peninsula from four miles east of Hamilton to a point west of Fort Erie. During the latter part of November he was to attend a quarterly meeting at “The Fifty”, just west of Grimsby. Egerton went out from Hamilton on Saturday to attend the Sunday services.

William was not able to be present, being laid aside by “bleeding of the lungs”. The Presiding Elder of the District, Rev. Thos. Madden, and the two stewards of the circuit came to Egerton and asked him if he had any engagements which would prevent him from supplying his brother’s place. He replied that he had none beyond his own plans and purposes, but pleaded his studies and weakness of body from his recent illness. Nevertheless he felt the hand of God upon him, and he could not resist. The diary of March 24th reads,

I have this day finished twenty-two years of my life. I have decided this day to travel in the Methodist Connexion and preach Jesus to the lost sons of men. Oh, the awful importance of this work! How utterly unfit I am for the undertaking! . . .^[13]

Returning to the circuit, he began his travels as an itinerant, being provided with a horse, saddle and bridle by his stewards, Smith Griffin and Hugh Willson.

Thus ended the formal education of the man who afterwards conducted the most influential newspaper in Upper Canada, who met in controversy, and usually vanquished, the ablest men of the day, and who became the first principal of Victoria College and the founder of the educational system of Ontario. For the duties of a preacher he was not so ill prepared as might appear. During the few months of study with John Law, he had made some progress with the Classics, and while “usher” at the Grammar School he had compassed such works as Locke, *Essay Concerning Human Understanding*, Paley’s *Moral and Political Philosophy*, and Blackstone’s *Commentaries*.

His first sermon was preached at Beamsville on Easter Sunday from the text “They that sow in tears shall reap in joy”, or from the next verse in the same Psalm, “He that goeth forth and weeping, bearing precious seed, shall doubtless come again and rejoicing, bringing his sheaves with him”.^[14] His manner of beginning befitted the text; the young preacher, according to Willson, spoke with great fear and trembling.

All was not peace. The change from home comforts at Vittoria and Hamilton to the casual vicissitudes of the itinerant preacher was hard to endure. He had determined upon a rigorous course of study, for which he rose very early in the morning. On April 13th he writes that he has been “depressed on account of having no abode for domestic retirement, and becoming exposed to all the besetments of public life”. On April 15th he was so bowed down with temptation that he was almost resolved to return home. On April 17th he delivered three discourses; in the morning his mind was dull and heavy, in the afternoon warm and pathetic, in the evening clear and fertile. On April 29th, while he was travelling, a tree fell across the road some four or five rods before him, and another close behind. He felt the Lord had been his protector. Two persons, a woman and her son, were killed on the road not far behind him during the same storm. On May 4th he watched a large concourse of people assembled to witness horse-racing. Curiosity and excitement were depicted on every countenance. He pondered upon what was to become of this thoughtless multitude and why they would not be saved. On May 5th he preached once to a listening but wicked assembly. He heard his brother William in the afternoon and was affected by the force of his reasoning and the power of his eloquence.

Two days later he was at Cummer’s Mill at the Yonge Street Camp Meeting. This was the first one held so near York, and the first John Carroll ever attended. Every scene and circumstance was novel, and made a deep impression on Carroll’s young and receptive mind and memory. Here, at 8 A.M., he heard Ryerson preach from *Hosea*, 13: 9, “O Israel, thou hast destroyed thyself; but in me is thine help.”

He was then perhaps twenty years of age, fat and boyish-looking, like Spurgeon, when he began; only with a far more intellectual face. The physique and physiognomy of our hero, whether in youth or riper years, has been such as became our notions of a great man. Rather over than under the medium size—well proportioned—fair complexioned—with large, speaking, blue eyes—large nose, more Jewish than either Grecian or Roman—and then such a head! large, full, well-balanced, without any noticeable prominences; but moderately embossed all over like a shield. The mass of brain before the ears is greater than that of any other man we wot of. The height, breadth, and fullness of that forehead is remarked by all observers.^[15]

On the first Sunday after the camp-meeting, Ryerson rode some thirty miles, preached three sermons and met two classes. Two weeks later he attended a camp-meeting at Mount Pleasant, at which both Mississauga and Mohawk Indians were present. Peter Jones appears for the first time in our narrative at these services. He spoke both in Indian and in English with great effectiveness. He was the son of Augustus Jones, deputy Provincial Surveyor, and his Indian wife.

On June 29th the diary shows Ryerson cast down by a weight of care. His father was very anxious for him to return home and offered to deed his farm to him; further, a position in the Church of England presented itself. Three ways thus lay open before him, two of which offered a comfortable living, satisfying his father and permitting early marriage, while the third offered a bare livelihood, many hardships and a postponement of marriage for some years. Fourteen years later, Ryerson found it necessary in meeting detractors to recount all the circumstances in detail:

On the 24th March, 1825, I was induced to commence my itinerant labours as a Methodist Preacher, in the place of an elder brother whose health had failed, on what was called the Niagara Circuit, embracing at that time the whole of the Gore and Niagara Districts east of Stony Creek, and north of the Chippewa River—over which I travelled and preached 29 times every four weeks. From March to September of that year, I travelled under a Chairman or Presiding Elder. The annual Conference was held in September—so that up to September I was at liberty to desist from travelling without violating any engagement or abusing any confidence reposed in me. My parents desired me to reside with them, and as an inducement my father offered to secure his landed property to me if I would do so—I declined, and begged him never to put his property out of his own hands while he lived, and requested him to give any portion he might intend for me to an elder brother who had a family. Some of my friends desired me to take orders in the Church of England, and a gentleman (now an Episcopal Clergyman) was authorised by the late Bishop of Quebec (then a general Missionary) to request me to make an appointment to see him on his then contemplated tour through the Niagara District, where I was travelling. It was also intimated to me that if I consented to take orders in the Church of England, I would be assisted to a situation in a public school, or otherwise, until I had finished my preparatory studies and attained to a

sufficient age to enter into orders. After mature and I trust prayerful deliberation, I replied by letter, declining the proposals made, but at the same time appreciating the kindness and partiality of my friends. A short time afterwards I accidentally met the friend who had been the medium of this communication from the late Dr. Stewart. He was deeply affected at my decision. When I assigned my religious obligations to the Methodists as a reason, he replied that all his own religious feelings had also been derived from them, but he thought the Church required our labours. Now, in reply to these ten years' calumnies against me on this score, I will here transcribe *verbatim et literatim* an entry into my private journal on the whole affair:

“June 29th [1825]. For several days past I have been much afflicted in my mind. Many objects present themselves before me, and many cares weigh upon my mind. My father is exceedingly anxious that I should return home and remain with him during his lifetime. A situation in the Church of England presents itself, and other advantageous situations with regard to *this world* offer themselves. When I reflect on the situation of my father's family and the anxiety of my parents, my heart bleeds. My soul sinks. But is it duty? If my parents were in want, it would be my duty to relieve them, and I would do it without hesitation. But when they [have] every necessary at command, is it my duty to gratify them at the expense of the cause of God? Souls are perishing for lack [of] knowledge; and shall I leave these destitute, for any personal advantages of my own, or to gratify my relations? Surely if a man may leave father and mother to join himself to a wife, how much more reasonable would it be for him to leave all to join himself to a Christian Ministry, to devote himself to the welfare of mankind, and the cause of the ever blessed God? My parents are dear, but my duty to God is dearer still. It would be desirable to live in the society of my relations, but how much more desirable to live in the favour of God, and enjoy the communion of the Holy Spirit. One thing do I desire, that I may live in the house of the Lord for ever. And shall I leave a Church by whose faithful instructions and parental care I have been taught to know God, and been encouraged and strengthened in my feeble efforts since I was induced to enter the way of salvation; shall I leave such a Church for any advantages that the entrance of another might afford me? No, far be it from me. As I received the Lord Jesus, so will I walk

in him. Worldly advantages can be possessed but a little while. Earthly distinctions will be but short. But the favour of God will last for ever; and humble piety will deck its possessor with laurels of glory, and translate him to regions of uninterrupted happiness to all eternity. Besides, is it a sacrifice to do my duty? Is it not a cause of gratitude that I am brought to a sense of my duty, and is it not a privilege that I am allowed to perform it? Surely it is my happiness, my honor, my glory, and no sacrifice at all, to discharge my duty to God and my fellow-creatures. But is it my duty to travel and preach among the Methodists? How can I doubt it? God has blessed my soul in so doing, my labours have been blest, his cause has in some degree prospered in my hands. My heart is united with them. My soul is one with theirs. My labours are acceptable. They are anxious that I should continue them. I believe their articles. I approve of their Constitution. I believe them to be the Church of Christ.”^[16]

Thus, with characteristic thoroughness, Ryerson sought to scotch a *canard* to the effect that he was hostile to the Church of England, being a disgruntled applicant for holy orders. Evidently he did not quite succeed. The fiction had been repeated so often that it almost became history. Its latest appearance is in the excellent life of Lord Durham, by Professor New, as follows:

John Strachan was a convert to the Church of England from Presbyterianism; Egerton Ryerson, the Goliath of the Dissenters, had been refused ordination in the Church of England.^[17]

The source of the error is probably to be traced to an unpublished letter by Strachan, dated August 14, 1828, addressed to Dr. Hamilton of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, in part as follows:

Agreeable to my promise in my letter dated the 15th July, I now send such explanations to be laid before the Venerable the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts as your remarks in your letter to the Lord Bishop of Quebec seem to require. You say Dr. Strachan has stated in “his letter printed last year by order of the House of Commons that the Majority of the Methodist Teachers were educated in the United States, whereas a document has been transmitted to Mr. Huskisson by Mr. Ryerson shewing that out of 42 only six are open to such an imputation.

This apparent mistatement has produced an unfavourable effect upon Dr. Strachan's statements in general."

In justice to myself I must begin with observing that before the unworthy suspicion implied in this extract ought to have been entertained, I was entitled as a gentleman setting aside my rank in the Church & twenty-five years arduous service to have had Mr. Ryerson's communication referred to me for explanation as it might I think have been anticipated without any great stretch of Charity that I would be able to make good my statement.

1. It seems right to premise that the Mr. Ryerson at present in England was an unsuccessful candidate for Holy Orders, and is now a Methodist Preacher or Exhorter—that he has two Brothers Methodist Preachers in this Province—and that these Brothers as is notorious in the colony are most virulent against the Church—this much can be proved by affidavit if necessary.^[18]

The Mr. Ryerson then in England was George Ryerson, who, if he was a rejected applicant, was not properly refused on the ground either of ability or piety. As applied to Egerton, the statement was palpably false. The very opposite indeed was the case. He on his part would not allow himself to be seduced from his duty as he saw it. Nor was he ever hostile to the Church of England. It was merely its establishment and exclusive endowment to which he objected, and in this he had the support of not a few of its members.

It is clear that during these first months of circuit-riding he was not unduly elated by the fact that his labours were acceptable. He had to lament the injustice done to important subjects on account of his ignorance. His general practice was to retire at ten and rise at five for study. When he was travelling he endeavoured to refrain from conversing more than was necessary or useful, remembering the remark of Dr. Clarke that a preacher's whole business was to save souls. On his leisure days he read ten to twenty verses of Greek a day, studied history, the Scriptures and works on divinity, of which he considered Chalmers the best.

On July 9th, for the first time in his life, he crossed the river to the United States, and recorded, "the manners of the people are not pleasant to me". Late in the month he was considerably agitated in mind and fatigued in body, having been forced to hunt his horse for two days. The diary of July 29th reads: "Thank God she is found." On August 1st he was formally licensed as a local preacher and recommended to Conference to be received on trial. On August 10th he was rejoiced to hear that his oldest brother,

George, had resolved to join the Methodists to become a missionary among the Indians, and that his father was reconciled.

September was the month of Conference, which in the year 1825 was held at “The Fifty” on the 14th of September. Bishop Hedding was in the chair. One of the sessions was made memorable by the eloquent addresses of the two converted Indian chiefs, Peter Jones and Thomas Davis. Ryerson himself has left us no account of its proceedings; but we learn something of them from Anson Green who, like Ryerson, was received on trial at this Conference.^[19] The Stationing Committee consisted of the Bishop and Elders Case and Madden, and the appointments were not revealed till the last day of Conference. No man knew where his lot for the next year might be cast. With saddle-bags packed and horses tied to the fence, they awaited God’s will as revealed to the Stationing Committee. When this was made known, Ryerson found himself assigned to the York and Yonge Street Circuit, with James Richardson as his Superintendent. It was a momentous decision which sent young Ryerson to York. We cannot now read the minds of the Bishop and the two Elders who made the choice. Possibly Carroll gives us a hint when he says,

. . . both preachers took and held a respectable social status. They were both very pious; and several persons of great respectability united with the church then and soon after.^[20]

Having ministered to the pioneers for a generation, the Methodists were now seeking to save the respectable.

-
- [1] George Sterling Ryerson: *Looking Backward*, pp. 13-15.
- [2] George E. Wilson: *Life of Robert Baldwin* (grandson of “the emigrant”), p. 4.
- [3] *Story of My Life (Egerton Ryerson)*, edited by J. George Hodgins, p. 27.
- [4] *Ibid.*, p. 25.
- [5] Samuel Ryerse retained the older form of the name. He came to Long Point in 1795, and died in 1812.

- [6] Egerton Ryerson: *The Loyalists of America and Their Times* (1880).
- [7] Egerton Ryerson: *The Loyalists of America and Their Times*, Vol. II, pp. 251-252.
- [8] John Carroll: *Past and Present*, p. 25.
- [9] *S.M.L.*, p. 27.
- [10] It extended from 1824 to 1832. After 1832 only occasionally and for brief periods did he keep a record. Hodgins says (*S.M.L.*, p. 32): “These voluminous diaries and journals are full of detail, chiefly of Dr Ryerson’s religious experience. . . . They are singularly severe in their personal reflections upon his religious shortcomings, and want of watchfulness. They are tinged with an asceticism which largely characterized the religious experience of many of the early Methodist preachers of Mr Wesley’s time. . . .” Unfortunately the diaries have not been preserved with the Ryerson papers.
- [11] And not the College of William and Mary! It may be necessary in this age to remark that a team of oxen was regularly so named.
- [12] Carroll: *Case and His Cotemporaries, Vol. II*, p. 441. After 1824 the minute books of Conference are available in the Library at Victoria College.
- [13] *S.M.L.*, p. 39.
- [14] The former according to Ryerson’s diary, the latter according to Carroll (as reported by Levi Willson).
- [15] *Case, Vol. III*, p. 9.
- [16] *Christian Guardian*, Oct. 17, 1838.
- [17] Chester New: *Lord Durham*, p. 333.

[18] *Letter Book of John Strachan*, Public Archives of Ontario.

[19] *Life and Times of Anson Green*, p. 71. In 1825 Green was twenty-four years of age. He had been converted at the age of eighteen in New York State. On attaining his majority he migrated to Canada, taught for a time and then became an itinerant. His autobiography is a readable and reliable work.

[20] *Case*, Vol. III, p. 60.

PART II—YORK AND ITS ARCHDEACON

When Richardson and Ryerson were assigned to York in the autumn of 1825 that town was already assured of priority in Upper Canada. But it was still “muddy York”, more easily traversed in winter than in summer, and more readily accessible by water than by land. When Richardson arrived with his family by schooner from Presqu’Ile in September, the night was dark and rainy. He went ahead to the home of his father-in-law on the corner of King and Yonge Streets to get a lantern. Returning he met his wife and three young children struggling through the mud and rain, “James Henry in his mother’s arms and the little girls following as best they could, Sara Jane minus a shoe, which had come off in the mud while crossing Wellington Street”.^[1] The whole population in that year Green puts at fifteen hundred. The little Church of England stood where the cathedral now stands on the corner of Church and King Streets, but the Methodists, noting that the trend of the town was westward, had built their new chapel a few yards west of Yonge Street—“a little out of town, on the corner of King and Jordan Streets”.^[2]

The most prominent of the citizens of York was its Archdeacon. After a quarter of a century in Upper Canada, most of it passed in York, John Strachan had definitely established himself as one to whom on other and prudential grounds respect was due. During the War of 1812 he had shown himself possessed of decision and courage. Many members of the governing party, already coming to be known as the Family Compact, were his old pupils; and, whether pupils or not, members of the government circle were inclined to defer to him as a man of shrewdness and energy and power. His was an open hand, to receive and to give. Another Scot of parts had but

recently arrived in York from Niagara, but in a few months had the town and the province at attention. Less solid and less poised to command respect but not less indefatigable or determined than Strachan, William Lyon Mackenzie already was achieving great influence through the breezy columns of the *Colonial Advocate*, and setting the town into two hostile camps. There were other prominent figures in York—the Robinsons, the Macaulays, the Boultons, the Baldwins, Jesse Ketchum, John Dunn, John Rolph. These and others occasionally took the centre of the stage, and they appear in the narrative to be woven about these letters; but in 1825 none was so influential as Strachan and none so much in men's speech as the busy little editor who had chosen to be a gadfly to the coterie of which Strachan was the centre.

To such citizens, respectable and otherwise, of the tawdry capital of Upper Canada as might choose to listen to him, young Ryerson was sent to minister. In a society so restricted it might have been expected that he would fall under the eye of both editor and archdeacon, but none could have dreamed that before his year had expired this youth of twenty-two would have shared celebrity with them.

His preaching soon brought him within the notice of Mackenzie. Perhaps here, however, it may be remarked that Ryerson was never regarded by the Methodists as an outstanding preacher. He was considered able and impressive in the pulpit, but others, and notably his brother William, were placed higher in point of pulpit talent. If in his middle and later life he was in great demand as a preacher, men were drawn to hear him by respect for the man and his message rather than by any expectation that they would be moved by his oratory. Possibly to an Anglican or Presbyterian communion he would have made a greater appeal than to the Methodists. However, in the Scotch tradition Mackenzie went devoutly to divine service on the first Sunday of the New Year—twice, to be exact—and in the evening heard Ryerson. To his readers on January 5, 1826, he promised to review the sermon in his next issue. Then on January 12th he devoted a column to the Methodists' service at York.

In the afternoon of the first of January, we found as large a congregation attending the ministry of the Rev'd. Mr. Harris in the presbyterian church, as the house could conveniently hold—and in the evening the methodist church was crowded to excess to hear the Rev'd. Mr. Ryerson, to whose fascinating delivery we in a former number bore testimony.

About five or six years ago, the Rev'd. Fitch Reid was stationed in York, and we have often listened with unalloyed pleasure to the excellent discourses he delivered to an attentive audience. We were personally acquainted with this gentleman, and his manners in private life were meek, mild, and persuasive; in so much that his congregation were much grieved when he had to leave them. While he remained in York, we generally divided the sabbath so as to hear a sermon in the episcopal church one part of the day, and in the Wesleyan meeting at the other. During the last three or four years, however, we have not attended a discourse in the former Church, although the Rector, as we hear, is occasionally relieved by Mr. Wenham, and by the learned, amiable, but unfortunate Dr. Thomas Phillips, formerly of Cambridge, neither of which last named ministers we have ever heard preach.

To the best of our recollection, we were not in a methodist meeting in Upper Canada oftener than twice, except in York, and there only thrice, during the three bygone years. In fact, we had conceived a dislike to those (in our view) improper interruptions of divine service which were prevalent at some Wesleyan meetings; we had seen something of them, and enough had been told us by others to counterbalance any desire we might have had to listen, even to their most distinguished preachers.

When we entered the church that sabbath night, they were singing a hymn, and we found ourselves in the midst of the largest congregation we had ever witnessed in Upper Canada. Beside Mr. Ryerson, in the pulpit, sat an aged and venerable man whose name we have not learnt. . . .

During prayer all was still, save for the deep and sonorous voice of the minister, as he put up a petition to the Holy One of Israel in behalf of the humble supplicants under that roof; in behalf of the whole human race: fervently did he implore a God of Mercy, for the sake of Him who died on the accursed tree, to blot out the transgressions, and forgive the backslidings of his people. Earnestly in the sermon, did he call upon those who heard him to remember the shortness and uncertainty of time, to think of everlasting eternity, and to make up their peace with Jehovah—for to many, another New-Year's day might never revolve on this side the grave. He impressed upon their minds the immortality of the

soul,—every voice was hushed, except where some one deeply sensible of his own unworthiness in a soft whisper responded to the truths which fell from the lips of the servant of Christ.

The SUN is but a spark of fire,
A transient meteor in the sky;
The SOUL, immortal as its Sire,
SHALL NEVER DIE.

It is of great advantage to a preacher when he has read much and studied much, not only in the sacred scriptures, but also in that vast record of human perseverance, miscellaneous literature. And that Mr. Ryerson has not been negligent in this respect, is apparent from the tenor of his discourses—he touches every chord of the human heart, but never forgets his index—AN HEREAFTER. . . .

But we had forgotten to name the text; it was in the eighth chapter of *St. Luke*, and there the first clause of the 18th verse. Take heed, therefor, how ye hear. . . . Nor did Mr. Ryerson forget happily to illustrate these truths—no; he reminded all who heard him that the good seed did not all fall on good ground—only one quarter of it. But our limited space causes us to stop here; otherwise we could have filled columns with what we remembered of that night's service. . . .

N.B.

We were pleased to see Mr. Rolph, the Hon. the Speaker,^[3] and many others who were in the Presbyterian Church in the afternoon, in the Wesleyan Church in the evening—this is a beginning of the times when such distinctions shall be done away, and the term Christian alone remain. A full and attentive audience wonderfully encourages, aids and strengthens a pious preacher.

But in Ryerson's immediate success the work of his senior, himself a man of distinction, must not be overlooked. James Richardson was fourteen years older than his colleague, but had not yet completed his first year in the active ministry. His father, a native of Lincolnshire, after some years in the Royal Navy, had settled at Kingston and become a captain on the lakes. As a youth James sailed with his father for five years. In 1809 he entered the Provincial Marine, and at the outbreak of the war in 1812 he held the rank of Lieutenant. The arrival of Sir James Yeo with five hundred officers and men disturbed the ranking in the Provincial Navy, and all the commissioned officers resigned but Lieutenants Richardson and Smith. They realized the

injustice and unwisdom of displacing officers who knew the lakes and their men, but decided to remain with the service. Richardson was given the rank of Master, and it was he who piloted the *Wolf* through the rocks and shoals that environ the entrance to the Oswego River on May 6, 1814. He tells us:

Our ship had rather a warm berth after the gunners of the Fort obtained the range, every shot telling on some part of her, a fixed object at anchor. The shots with which they complimented us were evidently hot, for they set our ship on fire three times. One of them made so free with me as to carry off my left arm just below the shoulder, which rendered amputation at the socket joint necessary.^[4]

In September he was sufficiently recovered to return to the service, and was assigned to the *St. Lawrence*, a fine ship of one hundred and ten guns, which patrolled the lake unmolested till the setting in of winter. With peace during the winter, James Richardson received an annual pension of one hundred pounds sterling, and a certificate from Commodore Yeo which recited in detail his honourable service, commended him for “diligence, sobriety and attention”, and concluded with a sentence whose structure seems to reflect a lack of coherence elsewhere observable in Sir James’ naval career—“In addition to the loss of an arm, his general good conduct was such as merits my warmest commendation.”

James Richardson had been brought up in the Church of England, of which he had been a faithful member. In 1818, however, while settled at Presqu’Ile Harbour, near Brighton, he was converted in a Methodist meeting held in a barn in Haldimand township. For several years he continued to live on his farm, with increasing influence in the community as collector of customs, justice of the peace, and occasional local preacher. Indeed he was secretary of the local preachers’ conference in 1824. The following year when an unexpected vacancy occurred in York, he felt called to give up the comforts of his home for the life of an itinerant preacher.

In the month of September 1824, [he tells us] after arranging my affairs, disposing of stock and household goods, other than what I took with me, putting a tenant into my house and a deputy into the Collector’s office, preparatory to resigning it; I took leave of the endearments of home, of my dear father and other relations and friends, and embarked on board a small schooner of about 30 tons, with my dear wife and the three lovely children with which

the Lord had blessed us during our sojourn at Presque Isle, besides a few things for housekeeping, and in about two days we anchored in York harbour.^[5]

Carroll says that he well remembers Richardson's arrival in York and the favourable opinions he very soon won:

. . . his manners were easy, and made him free of access; there was an air of the most unmistakable piety about him—not asceticism or grievance, but simple goodness. An upright man was he. His preaching was truly Wesleyan: sound, simple, clear, and unctious. It stood not in the wisdom, or device of men, but in the power of God.^[6]

Such then was the man with whom Ryerson's lot was cast. They were men set in different moulds, whose ways were destined to diverge and whose wills to clash in later years; but when on March 9, 1875, the body of Bishop Richardson, honoured in death, was borne from the Metropolitan Church in Toronto, his old colleague of 1825 was one of those who with Bishop Carman immediately preceded the hearse in funeral procession to the Necropolis.

The York and Yonge Street Circuit in 1825 extended from Pickering to Weston and from the lake to North Gwillimsbury. It was covered in four weeks, and for each itinerant this involved preaching from twenty-five to thirty-five sermons and attending numerous class meetings. The roads were bad, to be compassed only on horseback or afoot, and the accommodations primitive in the extreme.

York itself afforded some comforts. Here, each itinerant spent two Sundays out of four, preaching morning and evening in what came to be known as the "old framed meeting house".

Mackenzie may have been unduly enthusiastic as to the New Year's sermon; it was with his pen in controversy that Ryerson was destined to excel. It would be in March of the year 1826 that the first great opportunity came. Every four weeks the two preachers in their orbits met in York, and the conjunction was made the occasion of a meeting of the Society for conversation and prayer. To this particular meeting some member had brought a sermon recently published by the Archdeacon of York. Strachan had made the death of Bishop Mountain of Quebec the occasion for a sermon, delivered on July 3, 1825, in which he sketched the rise and

progress of the Church of England in Canada, of which Bishop Mountain had been the head. Not content with this, however, he had proceeded to cast aspersions on certain others who were not in the fold, and particularly on the Methodists. Their preachers he represented as American in origin and sympathies, as ignorant persons who had forsaken their proper callings to preach what they neither understood nor cared to learn. To counteract their influence and to enable an Established Church to maintain the loyalty of Canada to the Crown, he asked for a large grant, in addition to exclusive enjoyment of the Clergy Reserves. Strachan's sermon had fallen into the hands of one of the York Methodists who attended this social meeting. Its reading at the gathering caused profound indignation. It was proposed that "The Boy Preacher", as Ryerson was called from his youthful appearance, should prepare some reply. He agreed on condition that his superintendent also would prepare something. In four weeks they came together again; Richardson was empty-handed, but Ryerson had a document which he had written "piecemeal in the humble residences of the early days, in the course of eight days",^[7] during which he had travelled and preached as usual. It was commenced near Newmarket at the home of Elias Smith, whose wife was a Lount and a woman of great excellence. The reading of this essay brought a demand for its publication, which the young author refused until he should have time to rewrite it.

It was no slight matter, this facing the Archdeacon of York and his friends and associates. The sermon to which he replied was "the third formal attack made by the Church of England clergy upon the characters of their unoffending Methodist brethren".^[8] It was bad enough to be refused the right to solemnize marriages or to receive a title to land for chapels and parsonages and burying-grounds; to be charged with disloyalty and sloth was quite too much. The Methodists of York could no longer endure an imputation so unjust. It so happened that their preachers of the year were hardly strangers to loyalty; the one had been an officer in the navy during the War of 1812 and had lost an arm, the other was the son of a Loyalist officer who with his sons had served in the same struggle. Further, they had seen these circuit riders return after a fortnight in saddle and log house and knew that they were far from slothful. They offered the revised letter to the press as that of "A Methodist Preacher", and William Lyon Mackenzie was glad to publish it in *The Colonial Advocate*, then in the third year of its adventurous and stimulating career.

The issue of May 11th has little space for anything else, since the letter runs to some twelve thousand words. Ryerson makes no apology for its

length, since “the diffusion of Christianity is the most important subject that can engage the attention of men”. At once he comes to the core of his argument in one of those periods fashionable while the technique of Cicero brooded over English prose:

When we see the heavenly affection which she infuses into the minds of men represented as nothing more than an attachment to a particular constitution or establishment, and those bonds of charity by which she embraces all mankind described as the principle which only unites colonies to “the Parent State”, to the unchristianizing of all other kingdoms who bow not to this political shrine; when we see the balm of her consolation, which the beds of affliction require to unite the distressed to their God and to prepare them to meet him in person, perverted to the sordid purpose of extending the influence of a favourite church; but above all when we see that which is converted into a vehicle of preferment, a political tool, exhibited as a bright emanation from Heaven, the Church of Christ, founded upon Jesus Christ and his Apostles, we are sensible that the religion of the meek Saviour is made to bleed by a wound more fatal than those which are inflicted by the ravings of infidelity. She is attacked by the most dangerous of all enemies, one who lurks within her borders, shelters himself under her canopy, and feeds upon her benevolence.

He hastens to assure his readers that he means no reflection on the doctrine, liturgy, or discipline of the Church of England.

I firmly believe in her doctrines, I admire her liturgy, and I heartily rejoice in the success of those principles which are therein contained.

But he points out that he is

far from paying such servile homage to the disputed documents of history as to acknowledge the unbroken succession of episcopal authority from the Apostles to the present day.

Then at some length he discusses the matter of Apostolic Succession, and the origins of the Church of England. After a considerable excursion into theology and history, he remarks:

The Doctor, however, does not lay so much stress on this part. The fire of animation does not appear to kindle till he comes to the chain on which the purse hangs.

Thereupon he visits with devastating criticism Strachan's main argument that a Christian nation without a religious establishment is a contradiction. He quotes Scripture and refers to history to show that the founder of Christianity "never intimated the union of his church with the civil polity of any country", and that the church of Christ was never so prosperous and so pure as she was in the first three centuries, when "she was not only without the aid of civil government but most violently opposed by it". "Is it not plain," he concludes, "that whoever insists upon this heterogeneous union degrades the religion of Jesus and displays an ignorance of its gracious power?"

Strachan had argued for a religious establishment as the only means of supporting the clergy. Ryerson points out that the first ministers of Jesus were supported by free will offerings, and then delivers what must have been a stinging blow:

Their "venerable" successors have become more wise, and have learned to take the world more easily and not preach Christ from house to house, in season and out of season, as the "uneducated itinerant" Apostles did. Many of their "venerable" successors have become so completely master of their profession that they can spend two or three nights a week at the card table; one or two in the ball room, etc., etc., etc., and there preach, by their pious example, the doctrine of Christian purity. The Apostles never had the zeal to do this, though they sometimes preached Jesus in the streets, at the tribunal, and in prison.

After dealing by means of statistics with Strachan's contention that without establishment religion has failed to touch the mass of the people in the United States, and emphasizing the need of preaching rather than liturgy if religion is to flourish, he turns to the more offending part of Strachan's sermon.

But he considers those obstacles which the "venerable church" has to surmount the greatest which are occasioned by dissenters and sectaries. And here as a hungry parson once did upon the poor man's beef, the Doctor makes a dead set upon the Methodists.

Strachan had admitted that even where churches were erected the persons who gave regular attendance were so few as greatly to discourage the minister, since their congregations were frequently broken up or injured by uneducated itinerant preachers who preached the gospel out of idleness and disdained to learn that which they sought to preach. Here follow two sentences which must have provoked a broad smile across Upper Canada.

With respect to the small number who give regular attendance to the ministrations of the Church of England, I am of the Doctor's opinion. For I believe those instances are not very rare, which almost compel the venerable clergymen of Canada to say with Dean Swift, "My dearly beloved Roger, the Scripture moveth us in sundry places, etc."

But he continues in serious wise.

And as a remedy for this doleful complaint we may say with the eloquent Chalmers, "To fill the Church well, we must fill the Pulpit well." Until this is done, the Doctor's mournful cries of Sectarianism! Schism! Republicanism! will still be screeching in our ears, and the repose of the "Imperial Parliament" will continue to be disturbed by the desponding exclamations, "The Church is in danger—money! power!" Is there no deliverance from these tedious qualms with which the Doctor has for so many years been pained? Yes, it is found in II *Tim.*, 4:2, "Preach the word; be instant in season and out of season; reprove, rebuke, exhort with all long-suffering and doctrine."

He then proceeds to quote the Methodist discipline and to refer to matters of fact to show that the Doctor's remarks on the qualifications, motives and conduct of the Methodist itinerant preachers are "ungenerous, unfounded and false". He recounts the various stages through which the preachers must pass—member, class-leader, exhorter, local preacher, preacher on trial, deacon and finally elder or presbyter. He gives the list of books prescribed for study. He quotes the instruction that young preachers are to spend five hours out of four-and-twenty in study, and that if they fail to develop a taste for reading they must return to their former employment. Strachan had dwelt upon the difficulty of securing gentlemen from England to come as clergymen "to so distant and inhospitable a colony", and urged this as a ground for grants from the Imperial chest, of whose neglect in this respect he complained. Ryerson has nothing to say about this, except to

opine that the Imperial Parliament are “quite capable of defending themselves and taking care of their purse”. For the claim that the Methodist preachers are American in origin and Republican in sympathies, he has winged words:

The assertion is false. They are not republicans; neither are they infected with republican principles, nor have they come “almost universally from the republican States of America”.

He points out that of all the Methodist ministers there are only eight who have not been born and educated in the British dominions, and of these eight all but two have become naturalized British subjects according to the statutes of the Province. With this he concludes,

I take my leave of the Doctor’s Sermon at present. He may trust in Legislative influence; he may pray to “the Imperial Parliament”. But we will trust in the Lord our God, and to Him will we make prayer.

Mackenzie was right in his estimate of the news value of this document. Ryerson himself records that it produced a sensation and that “before every house in Toronto might be seen groups reading and discussing the paper”. Anson Green has left us a description of its effect upon himself and his older colleague, Franklin Metcalf, when the *Advocate* reached Hallowell (Picton):

Mr. Metcalf and myself were together when we received the paper; and we went into the field in the rear of the parsonage, sat down by the fence, and read the review. As we read we wept, and speculated about the unknown author. Again we read and wept; and then kneeled upon the grass, and prayed and thanked God for the able and timely defense of truth against the falsehoods that were then being circulated amongst the people. Little did we then think that the able reviewer was a youth who had been received on trial with myself at the previous Conference.^[9]

William Smith’s verdict on the letter, in the posthumous work embodying the fruits of ripe scholarship, is as follows:

The pamphlet which was signed “A Methodist Preacher” aroused much excitement and brought down upon the head of the writer a torrent of vituperation. It was, in spite of a certain

immaturity of style, an astonishing performance. The pretensions of the Church of England to any peculiar spiritual authority, and to a dominant position among the religious denominations were shown to have no foundation, and the refutation of the reckless charges against the Methodist preachers was vigorous and conclusive. The thirty-page pamphlet was notice to whom it might concern that that body had found a champion and that such charges could no longer be made with impunity.^[10]

On Ryerson's return to town at the end of two weeks he found four replies to the "Review" awaiting him, three by clergymen and one by a scholarly layman. He saw that he must either flee or fight. "I decided upon the latter," he says, "devoted a day to fasting and prayer, and then went at my adversaries in good earnest."^[11] Once begun, the controversy in the press lasted for several weeks. On June 7, 1827, his diary reads,

My mind has been much afflicted with care and anxiety, for some days, on account of the controversy in which I am engaged. I feel it to be the cause of God; and I am resolved to follow truth and the Holy Scriptures in whatever channel they will lead me. Oh, Lord, I commend my feeble efforts to thy blessings! Grant me wisdom from above; and take the cause into thy own hands, for thy name's sake.^[12]

Later in the year he visited his father, the burden of whose conversation for the first two days was this controversy which was agitating the country. At length while they were walking in the orchard his father turned short and in a stern tone said, "Egerton, they say you are the author of these papers which are convulsing the whole country. I want to know whether you are or not." When he was compelled to acknowledge the fact, his father threw up his hands and exclaimed, "My God, we are all ruined!"^[13] As events proved, and the older Ryerson and the Archdeacon of York, as well, lived long enough to recognize it, this bold act had not ruined the Ryersons, but had given them a place in history.

[1] Webster: *Life of Bishop Richardson*, p. 102.

[2] *Life and Times of Anson Green*, p. 69.

- [3] Marshall Spring Bidwell.
- [4] Webster: *Life of Bishop Richardson*, p. 56.
- [5] Webster: *Life of Bishop Richardson*, p. 101.
- [6] *Case, Vol. III*, p. 17.
- [7] *S.M.L.*, p.50.
- [8] *S.M.L.*, p. 49.
- [9] *Case, Vol. III*, p. 87.
- [10] William Smith: *Political Leaders of Upper Canada*, p. 194.
- [11] *S.M.L.*, p. 50.
- [12] *Ibid.*, p. 56.
- [13] *S.M.L.*, p. 51.

PART III—THE BROTHERS

For some years three of the brothers take a large place in our narrative. Seldom has a Canadian home produced four such men as were George, William, John and Egerton Ryerson. Differing in character and talent, they all had upon them the mark of greatness.

George was born in New Brunswick in 1791. Of his early life we know little; all his son tells us is that he “endured the hardships of pioneer life in the then wilds of Norfolk County”.^[1] He was a powerful man, above six feet in height. When the War of 1812 broke out, he was commissioned by Sir Isaac Brock as a lieutenant in the First Norfolk Regiment, commanded by his father. He played a considerable part in the capture of Detroit. He was severely wounded in the mouth during a night attack from Fort Erie on Black Rock on November 13, 1813, and for some months was in hospital at Fort George. Later he took part in other engagements. For a time after the war he was stationed in the Old Fort at York, but soon resigned his commission and went to Union College, Schenectady, N.Y., from which

institution he received the degree of Bachelor of Arts. He married a daughter of Dr. Thomas Rolph and settled down as teacher of the District Grammar School near his home. In 1824 he was an unsuccessful candidate in Norfolk County for the Legislative Assembly, but of this venture into active politics we have no further information.^[2]

We know less of him than of John or William or Egerton. He takes a prominent place in this correspondence for a few years, and indeed gave indications of taking a prominent part in the life of Upper Canada, but after 1832 he became more or less a religious recluse. His decision to join the Methodists was made in the summer of 1825. While continuing his profession he began to take an active interest in the Indian work recently taken up by that body. At his home during the following March Peter Jones spent sixteen days studying English Grammar.

Mr. Ryerson and family have treated me with the greatest kindness, [he records] for which I feel truly thankful, and for the pains Mr. Ryerson has taken to instruct me. I pray that he may not lose his reward.^[3]

In the next entry in the diary, Peter Jones tells of George Ryerson speaking to the assembled Indians on the Grand River from *I Corinthians*, 13. It is somewhat ironical, in view of his later religious views, that the chapter of his choosing should begin, "Though I speak with the tongues of men and of angels". In the spring of 1827, as we learn from our first letter (p. 67), he contemplated a visit to England, which he accomplished in the fall.

The nature of this mission has been misunderstood and its importance in Canadian history overlooked. The evidence in the matter may perhaps best be explored here. The *Colonial Advocate* of October 18, 1827, carries the news item,

We have been informed that Mr. George Ryerson is on his way to England, and sincerely trust that he will interest the whole body of the English Methodists on behalf of their slandered and aspersed brethren here, who have been the victims of an executive counsellor's secret stabs.

An excerpt dated "Cramahe, January 24, 1828", evidently copied from a letter written by his mother to Egerton, and preserved with our correspondence, reads:

Your brother George has left for England. He desires that all your letters be sent to him in England which contain anything interesting about the Indians or of the work of religion.

The evidence given by George Ryerson in London before the Committee of the House of Commons on June 19, 1828, includes the following questions and answers:

Are you a landowner in either of the Canadas?—Yes, I am a landowner and magistrate in the district of London in Upper Canada, and have been for a number of years.

Did you come here as agent for any petition?—I was appointed agent after I came here, I came on private business.

What petition is that which you have been appointed to represent?—A petition relative to the constitution of the University of Upper Canada, and the appropriation of the clergy reserves.^[4]

A letter of 1831 (see p. [68](#)) shows that he was detained in England by business in connection with his wife's estate. Further, in 1833, Egerton Ryerson made an affidavit in connection with the matter. In 1839 a settlement was still pending.^[5]

Hodgins, however, has this reference to the mission of 1828:

A Central Committee at York having, of [on] behalf of the various non-Episcopal denominations, deputed Rev. George Ryerson to proceed to England to present petitions to the Imperial Parliament against the claims of the Church of England in this Province, the Rev. William Ryerson was requested to write to his brother George on the subject.^[6]



THE THREE BROTHERS

Left, JOHN RYERSON; centre, GEORGE RYERSON; right, WILLIAM RYERSON.

Hathaway accepts this view.^[7] William Smith has a passing reference. In connection with George Ryerson's second mission three years later, he writes,

and the gentleman chosen as delegate was the Reverend George Ryerson (Egerton Ryerson's brother) who represented the several

non-Anglican interests before the Committee of the House of Commons in 1828.^[8]

Smith states that the mission of 1831 was a complete success in enlisting the sympathies of the Colonial Secretary, and recognizes that even as early as 1828 “the tide of fortune was now definitely set against the plans to which Strachan was devoting his life”,^[9] but he fails to connect the turning of the tide in 1828 with the labours of George Ryerson.

As to the primary object of his mission there can be little doubt. Whatever place aspersed Methodists or benighted aborigines or exasperated reformers may have had in his thoughts, he went to England in the first instance in the hope of settling the estate of his wife’s mother. The Rolph papers add certain details which complete the story. At the age of sixteen, Frances Petty, a ward in chancery, had eloped with Dr. Thomas Rolph. Some years later they had migrated to Canada and taken up land in Norfolk County. They had five sons and twelve daughters. John Rolph was the second son, and Sarah Ryerson the sixth daughter. Whether from the unusual character of the marriage or from some other circumstance, the considerable estate of Frances Petty had come into Court of Chancery, where it reposed for long years. It was the hope, and possibly the necessity, of realizing from this property which took George Ryerson to England. It may be inferred that, having joined the Methodists and attached himself to the cause of the reformers, he could not expect long to continue as teacher at Vittoria. The Simcoe tradition could hardly stand the strain of a Methodist and a Reformer, albeit wearing honourable scars, in charge of one of its Grammar Schools.

It was only after his departure from Canada that it was decided to appeal for redress to the Imperial authorities. A meeting was held in York in December. A petition was circulated protesting against the sectarian character of the Charter which had been secured by Strachan in 1827 for a provincial university requiring all teachers to subscribe to the Thirty-nine Articles and naming himself as president, and also against the claim of representatives of the Church of England to exclusive enjoyment of one-seventh of the lands set apart by the Constitutional Act for the support of the Protestant clergy. The petition was signed by some eight thousand inhabitants of the province, and forwarded to George Ryerson with the request that he should act as their agent. He received the petition on April 15th and had it presented in the House of Commons on May 2nd by Joseph Hume. He twice wrote to Huskisson, the Colonial Secretary, interviewed several members of parliament, and “used every means to procure a fair, and

consequently, to so good a cause, a favourable hearing”.^[10] In the House, Huskisson had “disclaimed the least desire or intention of doing anything contrary to the wishes or interest of the people of Upper Canada”.^[11] Stanley, who had seen the Canadas, was particularly friendly and favourable. Indeed George Ryerson reports in one of those penetrating observations which one comes to expect in his letters, “The *liberal* sentiments uttered on both sides of the House would with us have been branded as republicanism.”^[12]

Extracts from the speeches of Stanley and Hume are included with the report furnished by George Ryerson to the York Committee, published in the *Colonial Advocate*. Hume is bitterly critical of the government and accuses it of flouting the definitely expressed opinion of the House in the terms of the Charter given for a sectarian university on March 15, 1827. Stanley is more polite but not less emphatic. He is decidedly opposed to any exclusive privilege to the Church of England, and declares: “Not only would the measure be repugnant to every principle of sound legislation, but contrary to the spirit and intention of the Act of 1791.” In the course of his argument, Hume takes occasion to correct the statistics furnished by Strachan to the government. He points out that of 235 clergymen in Upper Canada, only thirty-one are in the Church of England, and notes that in an Assembly of thirty members, twenty-seven had voted against exclusive appropriation. George Ryerson also included in his report clippings from the British press to show that outside the House opinion had been aroused to the injustices under which the Canadas were labouring. The London *Times* of May 5th is definitely critical of the way in which Huskisson had handled the Canada situation, and declares that the Legislative Council must be remodelled or abolished; and the *Glasgow Chronicle*, which speaks as if Establishment had actually been granted, takes a similar position.

This is the only letter published in the *Colonial Advocate* written by George Ryerson as agent and assigned to him. On August 7th, however, an extract appears from a private letter “from a Canadian gentleman now in London to his friend in this town”. The letter is of the date, May 30th, and bears the mark of being a second letter from George Ryerson to Dr. T. D. Morrison, or John Rolph, the name for some reason being suppressed. The letter refers to the resignation of Huskisson and of “the most valuable part of the administration”.

I should feel discouraged were I not assured that an overruling Providence will direct our affairs for the best, and that a special Providence watches over the religious concerns of

America. . . . I am increasingly convinced of the necessity of a more systematic union amongst liberal men in Canada. . . . The grievances which we now complain of would never have existed had proper information been given his majesty's government. I can confidently assert that misinformation and misrepresentation have been the origin of the whole. The people of England are rapidly pulling down the temple of spiritual tyranny that was erected in this country in the dark ages; but a little party are diligently engaged in building it up amongst us in Canada—they are endeavouring to rivet upon our hands the fetters which free-born Englishmen have burst and indignantly spurned from them. . . . Remember me kindly to Mr. _____, and _____ [probably Mr. Ketchum and William]. I am sorry I have no better news to send them, but assure them that I never more deeply felt the necessity and importance of the stand which they have taken. Those who have witnessed the overgrown corruptions of European countries will, while they rejoice that they live in a new world, be very cautious how they suffer the seeds to take root there. A timely, vigorous, constitutional resistance may prevent miseries that we are little aware of.^[13]

And thus it was that this able, quiet, devout teacher of the London District Grammar School, with the tell-tale scar to disfigure his handsome face and to refute Strachan's theories of Methodist political depravity, went to England and returned, unheralded by fame. He was the first of the Canadian reformers—Gourlay was less than a Canadian and more than a reformer—to seek redress at the foot of the throne, and perhaps not the least effective.

On his next visit to England in 1831, George Ryerson was similarly employed, and presented a like, but larger, petition, of which more hereafter. In the meantime he had served on Indian fields at the Credit and on the Grand River. While on this second mission to London he fell under the influence of the Rev. Edward Irving and the "heresy" which resulted in the founding of the Catholic Apostolic Church (see p. [166](#)). Returning to Canada he was instrumental, says Carroll, "in inoculating the Methodists of both Toronto and Kingston with the errors of Irvingism to a most disastrous extent".^[14] After a further brief residence in England he assumed the pastorate of the Catholic Apostolic Church in Toronto, situated on Gould Street opposite the Normal School grounds, and so continued till the infirmities of great age prevailed.

He was married three times. Dr. G. S. Ryerson was his son by the third marriage in 1853 to a daughter of the Hon. Ansel Sterling of Connecticut.^[15] He died in his ninety-second year in 1882. A photograph of him taken at the age of eighty is preserved in his son's book—a strong yet refined face; the forehead is higher, but is not so massive as that of Egerton, and the mouth clearly shows the effect of the wound at Fort Erie, which permanently impaired his elocution.

William Ryerson was a man of a very different type. His early experience had left him rough-hewn, and this he remained. Enlisting at the age of fifteen he served in the War of 1812. Then came his joining the Methodists, his leaving his father's roof, his pioneering in the woods of Oxford County and his early marriage. For some years he served as a local preacher before his admission on trial to the regular itinerant work in 1823. At once his power as a preacher brought him prominence. Carroll in introducing him expresses the opinion that "had he enjoyed the training-advantages which older countries afford; and had he been saved from many annoyances and drawbacks, he would have stood second to no pulpit orator of the present day".^[16] Elsewhere he says,

We can remember masses of people moved by his word, like forest trees swayed to and fro by the wind. And even now, there are few localities in Canada where the news that the "old man eloquent" is to be the speaker, will not bring out multitudes to hear. . . . He is a man of some little learning—of most universal general information—and of a rare order of genius. He has devoured books with perfect voracity. Plan of study he has never had; but, like the ox, he has gulped every kind of edible that came in his way into his capacious reservoir, and ruminated on it at his leisure. He has a mind unceasingly active; hence, if he is not in conversation with a friend, or with book in hand, he is usually pacing backwards and forwards, like a chained bear, (he will pardon the figure) working out some of those huge masses of thought which are ever laboring through his intellectual laboratory. His conversational powers are extraordinarily good, having such stores of information, such accurate recollection, and such a sprightly conception.^[17]

His rise in the Conference was rapid. Fortright speech, and a tendency to sarcasm, sometimes provoked hostility, but he was human and likeable. The extent of his influence and popularity is shown by the fact that, after a

short complimentary term to Father Whitehead (a man of eighty-seven), he was the first of the Canadian preachers to be elected president, when in 1840 the Conference was freed from the obligation to accept a British president. Meanwhile, he had twice been delegate to the American General Conference, once a delegate to the British Conference, and had served as Presiding Elder, as District Chairman,^[18] and as Superintendent of the Toronto City Circuit. Carroll has high praise for his zeal and energy as Presiding Elder of the Bay of Quinte district: covering his extensive district once a quarter on horseback; never missing an appointment; looking after the wants of the preachers in his care; sternly reproofing any slackness on their part; starting out on a journey of ninety miles against a biting winter wind; running beside his horse to keep himself warm. The manner of life seems rather heroic for a man who once at least had been laid aside by “bleeding of the lungs”.

Anson Green notes particularly his organizing of camp meetings. At this peculiarly Methodist means of grace he would be much at home. Carroll has left us the best description of such a meeting, that at Cummer’s Mills, two miles east of Yonge Street, in the summer of 1825.^[19] The ground had been cleared of underbrush but was delightfully shaded by the straight and towering forest trees. It was surrounded by a fence eight or ten feet high, consisting of pointed slabs sloping outward at an angle and resting on stakes firmly driven into the ground. Within the fence were the “tents”, mostly of boards, and a large “tent” for the preachers opening out on the preachers’ stand. This was at the lower end of the ground, which sloped gently upwards, with slab seats sufficient for a vast concourse. A primitive bema and pnyx it was; only the good people of York were shaded, while the sun beat mercilessly on the heads of the Athenians. Each of the gates was strongly framed and secured by bars. An active camp police in shifts kept watch throughout the night.

Camp meetings were a natural, almost a necessary, part of the Methodist economy in Upper Canada during the first quarter of the nineteenth century. There was little incentive to the building of churches; only in 1828 were the Methodists as a body granted the right in law to a deed to property. Meetings were held wherever occasion offered—in busy market-places, stuffy kitchens, even noisy and noisome taverns. James Richardson was converted in a barn; we hear of Egerton Ryerson in his first year preaching in a dirty schoolhouse by the light of a candle pinned to the wall by a pen-knife, and again feeling “very hard while preaching to a company of graceless sinners”^[20] in a tavern. Nature’s forest temple was a vastly more proper place

for the gospel message. But such was not the universal opinion. Sometimes the British Wesleyan felt squeamish about camp meetings, which after union in 1833 were not a little frowned upon: they were not always decorous, and then they were American in origin. This was decidedly the attitude of the Church of England. The opinion of the Rev. Crosbie Morgell, for eighteen months Chaplain to the Bishop of Quebec, deserves to be treasured:

What description of Methodists?—Not Wesleyan Methodists, according to our idea in this country. They are in country places most wild in their religious worship, they have camp meetings constantly: during which they will stay out in the woods for a whole week, and continue their religious exercises, praying, singing and preaching the whole time, night and day. They call themselves Episcopal Methodists.^[21]

The Presbyterians with their memory of the Covenanters were not so critical. William Proudfoot might doubt their entire propriety, but was at pains to examine the nature of their appeal and the ground of their success.

At the conclusion of the first camp meeting at Cummer's Mills, then, William Ryerson was chosen to speak to the converts. At this meeting, "sixty-two professed to have obtained the pardon of their sins, and forty-two gave their names as desirous of becoming members of the Methodist society".^[22] His preaching at that time, says Carroll, "was characterized by a pathos and persuasiveness that seemed to bear down all before it".^[23] But now he addressed them for their edification as members of the Church of Christ. He urged upon them their duty to God as parents and as children. He spoke of the aspersions that had been thrown out against them in the press. He insisted on a support and respect for the civil government both from the beneficence of its laws and from the authority of God. Egerton describes the concluding ceremony as the most affecting he had ever witnessed, while Carroll thirty-five years later remembered the regret he felt at "going back into the world after the meeting was over".^[24]

The vicissitudes of William Ryerson as a Methodist preacher, at times rejoicing in the consciousness of the Divine presence, at times in deep waters as health or friends failed, will sufficiently appear in the letters themselves. In 1858 he superannuated, and retired to a farm at Sour Springs on the Grand River. But he was always interested in politics, unduly so for a preacher, as Carroll thinks. In 1861 he presented himself as Independent candidate for the West Riding of Brant in opposition to the late member, a

Reformer. The *Toronto Globe* of July 1st devoted a whole column to exhorting its readers to reject this relic of a former age and brother of Egerton Ryerson. The voters failed to accept the advice of the *Globe*, and he represented the riding for two sessions. His last years were spent on his farm. His grandson, Robert E. Ryerson, who represented Brant in three federal parliaments, remembers the spot opposite the Sour Springs church at the corner of a field on his farm, where the old orator of Methodism in the years of increasing infirmity would sit on a circular bench built around a great basswood tree. There with the sweep of the Grand River to right and left before him, he would watch the barges floating down stream or drawn by horses on the tow-path below him, while across the river the endless and aimless procession of Indians with their wives and children and dogs followed the trail from the Reserve to Brantford. He died at the age of seventy-five, and lies buried in the wind-swept graveyard behind the church and beside the river.

John^[25] was the brother nearest Egerton in age and affection. The relation between them was intimate and beautiful throughout their lives. John was essentially the statesman of the brothers—keen, sane, conservative; and in the course of his active ministry and even during the early part of his career as an educationist, Egerton leaned much on the arm of this older brother. As time went on, and John's never rugged health yielded somewhat to the strain put upon it by large responsibilities, gradually the parts were reversed. But to the end each seems to have shared the implicit confidence of the other. When John lay dying in Simcoe in 1877, Egerton left the literary work which then engrossed him and spent the last ten days with him in prayer and such conversation as weakness would permit. "He was so nervously sensitive," Egerton wrote, after his death, to Hodgins, "that he could hardly bear being talked to. On one occasion he said, 'Egerton, don't talk to me but kiss me.'"

John began preaching, as supply to the Presiding Elder, on the Long Point Circuit in 1820-1821. The following year he was regularly admitted. To quote Carroll,

"Aged twenty-one, single, not in debt, admitted," was the laconic entry in the Journals anent the first mention of a name which was to figure often and long in Colonial Methodist doings. He had even then a good degree of intelligence; a genteel appearance and manner; great gravity of demeanour in general company, which carried weight; a sound judgment, and strong will, which soon gave him prominence in matters of government;

and certain spasmodic bursts of fervor, approaching to eloquence, in the pulpit, made his ministrations effective and noticeable.^[26]

On his visit as Presiding Elder to Anson Green's charge for the summer quarterly meeting of 1829, he had one of these bursts of fervour.

His subject was "We shall be like Him", and he quite outstripped us all. As he spread his wings he soared; as he soared he plucked flowers, and towering higher and higher, threw them out with a profuse hand, freshly perfumed as from the Garden of Paradise. Bro. Belton—as our custom was in those days—was to exhort; but, turning to me, he said, "Can you exhort? he is too high for me. If you can go up and find him, and bring him down within sight of ordinary mortals, I may then deliver my message."^[27]

But often, indeed usually it would appear, John Ryerson was restrained even to the point of taciturnity. At all events, one good lady found him such, as Carroll is mischievous enough to report.

A very excellent Christian lady, the leader of a class, whose husband had settled in the township of Ramsay, a Mrs. Mansell, greatly desired to draw out Mr. R. in conversation. She devised a project to do it. She contrived to be out of candles the next time that he lodged at her house. Unable to read successfully, the silent preacher was fain to respond to the good lady's overtures for conversation. Six years after that event, she spoke to the writer in raptures of the pleasures of that evening's converse with this well-read servant of God.^[28]

Native ability and earnestness of purpose combined to raise John Ryerson to a position of prominence in the Conference at a very early age. His brother Egerton is sometimes described as the leader of the Methodists, or even as the Pope of Methodism, by writers with a better knowledge of political history than of the Methodists. The fact is that John, and at times William, were equally powerful figures in the Conference where policies were determined; and a "pope" is not annually subject to the suffrages of peers. In the annual conference of the Methodists John Ryerson for two or three decades probably wielded an influence greater than that of any other man. William's greater popularity, as shown by the fact that he was elected president two years before John, may be accounted for by the greater warmth of his nature and the fact that his political views more nearly

coincided with those of the majority of his fellow ministers. John's strength lay in his ability to grasp a situation, his great determination, and his skill in managing men. In the years when his career was in the making, Egerton Ryerson never took an important step without consulting this brother who commanded his entire respect and affection. The advice when asked for was always forthcoming, and usually couched in such terms that its import was unmistakable. The cautious diplomat was never masked in the presence of his younger brother.

The indomitable spirit of the man is well illustrated by an enterprise undertaken at an age when most men have taken to slippers. In the summer of 1854 he led a missionary expedition from Sault Ste. Marie to Fort William, thence by river and rapid and lake and portage through Fort Garry to Hudson Bay, whence he made a perilous passage through ice-floes to England, and back to his church and family. The record of this trip, by canoe and batteau, as to distances and difficulties furnishes the most reliable and accurate account available of this early trade route. It is preserved in a series of letters later collected and published by the Missionary Society of the Wesleyan Methodist Church in 1855.^[29]

Our narrative is enriched by his numerous letters. Egerton once remarked that he learned more from a weekly letter by John than from all the prints. Of the mysteries of English orthography he was delightfully ignorant, but not of men or affairs or of the power of language. His observations on the progress of Methodism as preserved in certain chapters of *Epochs and Events of Canadian Methodism* are not entirely free from the errors which creep into the narratives of men who in advancing years depend on memory rather than on documents; nor are his judgments always tempered by charity. After a long and much honoured ministry, and after a few years of retirement and declining health, he too died at the age of seventy-five, and lies beside his wife, Mary Lewis, in the burying-ground at Simcoe.

There were two other brothers in the family. Samuel (1794-1830), the second son, settled on a farm of his own near Vittoria. Edwy (1811-1858), the youngest of the sons, appears occasionally in the correspondence. He was the least considerable and perhaps the most personable of the five brothers who became preachers. Carroll does not trace his career to the end, but George Sterling Ryerson informs us of his going over to the Baptists.

- [1] George Sterling Ryerson: *Looking Backward*, p. 18.
- [2] George Sterling Ryerson gives the date of his father's candidature as 1826 (*Looking Backward*, p. 86), but from the *Colonial Advocate* and the *Journal of the House of Assembly* we learn that the candidature was in 1824 and that there was no by-election in 1826, the elected members, McColl and Walsh, sitting throughout the ninth Parliament.
- [3] Rev. Peter Jones: *Life and Journals of Kah-ke-wa-quona-by*, p. 61.
- [4] *Report from the Select Committee on the Civil Government of Canada*, p. 216.
- [5] These latter two facts we learn from private papers in the possession of T. T. Rolph, Esq., barrister, son of John Rolph.
- [6] *S.M.L.*, p. 83.
- [7] E. J. Hathaway: *Jesse Ketchum and His Times*, p. 168.
- [8] William Smith: *Political Leaders in Upper Canada*, p. 178.
- [9] *Ibid.*, p. 176.
- [10] *Colonial Advocate*, July 5, 1828—Report of George Ryerson to the Committee on the Petition to the Imperial Parliament from Christians of all denominations in Upper Canada.
- [11] *Ibid.*
- [12] *Ibid.*
- [13] *Colonial Advocate*, Aug. 7, 1828.

- [14] *Case, Vol. III*, p. 294.
- [15] He did not leave “a numerous family” as the *Dictionary of National Biography* asserts, but had four children. *D. N. B.* gives the facts of George Ryerson’s life under William Ryerson, following a reporter’s error in the Toronto *Globe* in an account written at the time of the former’s death.
- [16] *Case, Vol. II*, p. 441.
- [17] Carroll: *Past and Present*, pp. 271-272.
- [18] The offices of Presiding Elder and Chairman were the same, but the name “Chairman” came with British connection in 1833.
- [19] *Past and Present*, pp. 62-65.
- [20] *S.M.L.*, p. 51.
- [21] *Report of Select Committee on the Civil Government of Canada*, p. 176.
- [22] *S.M.L.*, p. 40.
- [23] *Past and Present*, p. 65.
- [24] *Ibid.*

[25] He was baptized John Henry Bostwick. He never used the full name, and the first and only place it appears is in the minutes of Conference of 1836 and 1837. Similarly with Adolphus Egerton and Joseph William. The insertion of the full names for these years may perhaps be explained by the fact that Hamilton Biggar, the assistant secretary at Conference, having been stationed at Long Point, had seen the names in the family Bible at Vittoria, or in the register of the Church of England at Woodhouse. But it was as plain William, and John, and not so plain Egerton, that they wished to live and die; and only the librarians have disregarded their wish.

[26] *Case, Vol. II*, p. 350.

[27] *Green*, p. 133.

[28] *Case, Vol. III*, p. 86.

[29] *Hudson's Bay; or A Missionary Tour in the Territory of the Hon. Hudson's Bay Company*, by the Rev. John Ryerson, co-delegate, and deputation to the Wesleyan Missions in Hudson Bay, 1855.

PART IV—THE CONFERENCE

The American Revolution following closely on the British conquest of Canada had turned the faces of a good many Methodists in the thirteen colonies northward. Whether the motives were primarily loyalist or pacifist or merely the restless urge which has pushed back frontiers in all ages, it is not necessary to enquire. Whitefield and Wesley had both laboured in the American colonies, and as their followers trekked into Canada they brought Methodist ways with them. The first services were held on the Upper St. Lawrence, and the burying-ground of the old "Blue Church" at Adolphustown bears witness to the work of Barbara Heck, as well as to the fact that the American Methodists, though not to the same degree as the Quakers, gave women in things religious their due. A little later they came in considerable numbers to the Bay of Quinte area, which remained for a century predominantly Methodist. Here the first chapel was built at Hay Bay in 1792, and the first camp meeting held in 1805. The Niagara district was

another area of Methodist influence. Here were Warner's Chapel and the Old Red Meeting House; here the great Nathan Bangs, while practising as a surveyor and "bush teacher" was converted and in 1802 began as an itinerant the career which was to bring him the highest honours of the continent in the Christian ministry. York was still a village in a swamp; it was 1818 before the "Old Framed Meeting House" was built by the zeal of Henry Ryan, who mortgaged his farm to do it.

By 1812 the Canadian cause was organized in two districts, that of Upper and that of Lower Canada. Each was under a Presiding Elder appointed at the annual meeting of the Genesee Conference, a unit under the General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church which met every four years. The international boundary was not considered, and in 1812 the Genesee Conference was to have met in Canada at Warner's Chapel had the outbreak of war not interfered. The war caused considerable dislocation of the work. Some of the preachers were not British subjects and could not continue; others took up arms or located.^[1] Meanwhile, the Maritime Provinces had been receiving missionaries from the Wesleyan Missionary Society in London. An application was made to Nova Scotia by the Society at Quebec for a preacher, and this was relayed to London. The result was the sending of a Wesleyan missionary to Quebec in 1814, and another to Montreal in 1815. Here then at the close of the war we have the elements of a dispute which was destined to continue for a generation. As the Canadian districts once more were manned, and the jurisdiction of the American Conference resumed, the question was raised as to whether religious organization should, or sound religion could, neglect national boundaries. It was recalled, however, that John Wesley a few days before his death in 1791 had written to Rev. Ezekiel Cooper, "Lose no opportunity of declaring to all men that Methodists are one people in all the world." In the strife between national and international ideas, religion and politics became hopelessly confused, personal friendships were severed, and the Church was divided and re-divided. Indeed while the main breach was repaired in 1847, it was not until 1874 that the reunion of all the Methodist bodies was achieved and Egerton Ryerson, then retired from the Department of Education, became the first President of the first General Conference of the Methodist Church of Canada.

By the year 1820 the situation had become serious. Gradually the British missionaries were extending their work westward. The most aggressive and successful of this little group of British preachers was Henry Pope. During his ministry at Cornwall the most respectable persons of the town, who belonged to the Episcopal Church, showed him special favour, since he used

to read Mr. Wesley's abridgement of the English Liturgy. Strachan had been rector in Cornwall before coming to York, and there had married in 1807 a lady of that town, who, to quote Bishop Bethune, "had become the youthful widow, with a handsome annuity, of the late Mr. Andrew McGill, of Montreal".^[2] While visiting her former home Mrs. Strachan attended Henry Pope's preaching one Sunday morning and was "deeply impressed under the Word".^[3] Pope inferred that the good she received was permanent, since more than a year later, on his way to Niagara, the Doctor invited him to breakfast and he "was treated with great kindness by him and his lady".^[4]

But with all his respectability, Henry Pope was not above chancing a ride from Kingston to York on his way to his new charge at Niagara, having missed the weekly stage. Stranded but quite undismayed, he anticipated by more than a century the technique of the "hitch-hiker". Standing at the top of a hill near Belleville, he hailed a fine span of horses and sleigh; and he arrived in York in style in the company of no less a personage than Henry Boulton, Esq., Solicitor General of the Province and a leading member of the Compact. Before leaving York he breakfasted, as was noted, with the Strachans, but the nature of the table talk on this occasion, as Carroll would put it, "deponent doth not say"!

Arriving at his new field at Niagara, Pope soon found himself in conflict with the "American" preacher stationed there, George Ferguson.

Soon after my labors commenced at St. Catharines, Elder Ryan honored me with a message, inviting me to meet him at the house of one of his friends. On my arrival I found a prayer-meeting had just commenced, conducted by Bro. George Ferguson. Elder Ryan was in a small room behind that in which the prayer-meeting was held. Bro. Ferguson, seeing me come into the room, gave out the hymn:

Jesus, great Shepherd of the sheep,
To thee for help we fly;
The little flock in safety keep,
For O! the wolf is nigh.

And it was amusing to see with what stentorian power Bro. F. went through the next verse—

He comes with hellish malice full,
To scatter, tear, and slay, etc.

I was not in the least discomposed, and could not help saying within myself, “Brother George, you have missed your mark this time: I have not come ‘with hellish malice full, to scatter, tear, and slay’.” I had heard of Bro. Ferguson, who had belonged to the 100th Regiment, and who was now a zealous, laborious, and useful preacher of the everlasting gospel.^[5]

But, however laudable Henry Pope’s motives may have been, the effect of his labours at Niagara was that the Methodist Episcopal membership decreased in proportion as that of the Wesleyan missionary increased. In April, 1820, Pope was transferred from Niagara to York, now for the first time occupied by the British Wesleyans. The “very respectable appearance” of Pope and his wife greatly impressed Carroll:

He and his good lady were handsome in person, and well dressed. But their beauty was enhanced by the elegant simplicity with which they habited themselves. Mr. Pope was dressed in black, his coat bearing the true orthodox curve from collar to skirt, while his head was surmounted with a comfortable broad-leafed beaver. His truly beautiful wife was clad in “Quaker silk”, with a “Methodist bonnett” tastefully adjusted to the head, as much prettier than those feathery “hats” which now disfigure the crowns of some ministers’ ladies, as anything can possibly be. The writer remembers how the simple beauty of this Methodist parson and his wife impressed his young imagination, as they passed one day in their “light waggon”, while he and some other boys were at play under the shade of the oaks which then so ornamentally skirted the whole line of bank which bounded the Toronto bay—trees which the stupid vandalism of the authorities suffered to be hacked away for firewood!^[6]

Meanwhile the situation as between the two bodies of Methodists in Upper Canada had become so embarrassing that representations had been made by the American Conference to their British brethren. It was agreed between the two conferences that the British Wesleyans should receive Lower Canada, and the American Conference Upper Canada, as their respective fields for missionary effort. The London secretaries in a letter to their missionaries conceded that the American Methodists should be treated as brethren, and that the political reasons known to exist in many minds for supplying Upper Canada also with British missionaries should be disregarded. In consequence, the British missionaries all withdrew from

Upper Canada, Pope, at least, with great reluctance. An exception, however, was made of Kingston, as a military post, and this station was to prove the thin edge of the wedge of division.

Carroll who admits in his preface his admiration for Herodotus never more closely follows the manner of the father of history than in his discussion of the event. He weighs the matter on this side and that, with much charity and circumspection. He sees the good on both sides, the various circumstances which palliated the British aggression “abetted by the so-called Canadian authorities”. Finally he sums up as follows:

Suffice it to say, that to the formation of the first rival Societies in the Province may be traced all that have since arisen. And to the writer it now satisfactorily appears, that had this Missionary organization remained, there would not have been so many Methodist bodies in our divided Canada Methodists as there are now.^[7]

The “treaty” of 1820 was honourably observed for a decade. Its violation, as will sufficiently appear, was mainly the work of two men, John Strachan of Toronto and Robert Alder of London.

But during the twenties the Methodists of Upper Canada were confronted with another, and as it appeared at the time, an even more serious division. Here the difficulty was less with principles than with persons, and particularly with a certain Henry Ryan. Of his early life we have no certain knowledge. Carroll believed that he was of Irish, and probably Catholic, parentage. His youth was spent in New York. It was commonly believed that he had once been a stage-boxer.

And we know of no man who would have been more likely to succeed in that infamous calling than himself, had he turned his attention to it, and been trained for it, such was his courage, agility, and strength. This made his conversion to a life of holiness and usefulness, all the greater triumph of infinite mercy and grace. . . . He was bony and muscular, but plump and compact. His complexion was dark—head and face massive—forehead rather projecting,—his nose curved a little downwards—and his chin, which was a double one, with a dimple in the centre, curved upwards, towards the nose. He was very sprightly in his movements; he would start to his feet, when an old man of sixty,

and beginning to be corpulent, without ever putting his hands to his chair.^[8]

Fitch Reed, a young American of good education, who spent only two years in Canada and was the first regular pastor of the little flock of some forty souls at York, has left us his impressions and an anecdote of his Presiding Elder:

He was well nigh six feet in height, of large, symmetrical proportions, with prodigious muscular developments, and without doubt one of the strongest men of his age. . . . On another occasion Mr. Ryan was passing on horseback the shop of a blacksmith who had frequently threatened to lay violent hands on him. The smith came out of his shop, seized the horse by the bridle, and commenced a tirade of abuse and threats, declaring his purpose to beat him. Mr. Ryan dismounted, seized the smith by his collar and pants and threw him forcibly over the fence into a heap of brush. . . . His voice excelled, for power and compass, all that I ever heard from human organs. When occasion required, and he gave it its full power, it was “as when a lion roareth”.^[9]

His energy and enterprise were as great as his physical strength. As a local preacher in New York, and later an itinerant in Lower Canada, he was indefatigable. In his earlier years he had combined business and preaching; and after coming to Upper Canada in 1805 he owned, and his family conducted, a farm in Flamborough while he visited the circuits as Presiding Elder. This high office he held continuously from 1810 to 1824.

At the annual conference of 1823 Ryan was passed over in the naming of three delegates to be sent to the General Conference to be held the next year in Pittsburgh. This appears to have been the beginning of the trouble, but is in itself perhaps some indication that his hold on the respect of his fellow preachers was weakening, and that Methodism was reaching a stage where other than Homeric virtues were in demand. The particular question at issue was the right of the American bishops to name Presiding Elders of the Canadian districts, and the desire for a more democratic system of appointment. In the circumstances neither Presiding Elder was named a delegate. Case accepted the situation with good grace but Ryan was piqued. During the year he shifted his ground and began to agitate for a complete separation of the Canadian ministers from the Methodist Episcopal Church of the United States. He also advocated the admission of local preachers to

annual conferences, whose membership was restricted to itinerants. He attended the General Conference at Pittsburgh, irregularly, taking with him David Breckenridge, an officer of militia and a local preacher of some considerable standing in his community. He was permitted by Conference to state his case and was given a respectful hearing. In the end a separate annual conference for Canada was secured, and at the request of the regular delegates. This was established in 1824, and marked the first definite step towards complete independence and democratic control.

For the present, however, the Annual Conference was under the authority of the General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church. Thomas Madden was chosen Elder for the Niagara district, and Ryan, reduced to the ranks, now appeared as “Missionary to Chippeway and Grand River Falls, and the new and destitute settlements in those parts”.^[10] Playter observes that his own and his family’s comfort was regarded in the matter since he owned a farm and other property at Chippewa, but that “his lowly situation did not agree with his nature”.^[11] He definitely broke with Madden, in former years a warm friend, and mutual criminations resulted. The time of the Conference of 1825, held at “The Fifty”, was largely taken up with the unpleasant business of dealing with these charges. However, the forbearance of his brethren and his own distinguished record combined to save Ryan from expulsion; his character “passed”^[12] both at this and at the succeeding Conference. But the matter came to a head at the Conference of 1827. When the inevitable question was raised, “Are all our preachers blameless in life and conversation?” Case called attention to printed circulars which had been distributed throughout the Conference attacking policies of the Church and the conduct of certain prominent members. The material in these circulars resembled closely the kind of thing Ryan had lately been saying. Among the speakers for the accusation were the three Ryersons. The accused defended himself in masterly fashion, and was supported by at least two of the ablest members of the Conference, Whitehead and Green; the latter records that his first speech in Conference was that in defence of Ryan. By vote of the members his character “passed”, but later in the Conference a member who had voted with the majority moved a reconsideration. Thereupon, after solemnly declaring that he would never make or head a party and hoped that if he ever did so his right hand might lose its cunning and his tongue cleave to the roof of his mouth, Ryan walked out of the Conference, heedless of the entreaties of Green, who sprang from his seat and sought to detain him as he passed down the aisle.^[13]

His great energy and considerable influence were now employed to disrupt the body he had served so long. In October he secured entry into the chapel at York. He had been refused entry by the trustees, but had threatened to preach in the market-place, whereupon they yielded to avoid strife. Using this as a precedent, he got into other chapels. In 1829 he launched his new organization, the Canadian Wesleyan Methodist Church. The following year Anson Green was confronted with his unique method of operation. It was on the Niagara circuit. The previous Sunday when his colleague had reached the chapel in Niagara he had found Ryan occupying the pulpit, and had been compelled to sit by while his congregation heard another preach, and presume to announce that he would occupy the same pulpit at the next service on the following Sunday evening. Forewarned but not dismayed, on the following Sunday evening Green went early to the chapel, but found Ryan already in the pulpit. The teacher of the Grammar School came to him and offered him the school building. He declined and entering the chapel sat down at the front of the pulpit stairs. Six people were in the pews. One minute before the clock reached the hour, Green stepped up to the pulpit and began to read the hymn. The people flocked into the church, and he preached to a large congregation. When he had finished, Ryan asked the privilege of speaking. Green replied, "No! you have come here to divide the body of Christ, my Divine Master, and I will bear no part in your sin. . . ."^[14] He then dismissed. Ryan rose to speak, but the people hastened out.

But not all the ministers were as resourceful as Green, nor all congregations as wanting in sympathy to Ryan as that at Niagara. The seceding body for some years gained a considerable following. Both Webster and Playter state that it received financial support from Dr. Strachan to the extent of fifty pounds, and this is confirmed in a note appended by Egerton Ryerson to the account of Ryan given by his brother John.^[15] Further, the Public Accounts show that John Willson, Speaker of the House of Assembly, formerly a member of the Wesleyan Methodist Church, obtained grants from the government to assist the Ryanites. By 1840 the movement, which never had any very solid basis, had worked itself out. Some of its ministers connected themselves with the British New Connexion Conference, and others, including Moses Blackstock and John Sanderson, applied for admission to the Canada, now the Wesleyan, Conference and were accepted.

The General Conference at Pittsburgh in 1824 had prepared the way for a separate Canadian church. This was brought into being four years later at the annual Conference at Ernestown. The new body was named the

Methodist Episcopal Church in Canada. It was intended that the episcopacy should be continued, and until a bishop could be secured William Case was appointed President of the Conference *pro tempore*. The honour was a recognition of the part he had taken in the Ryan controversy, but it was more than that. He embodied the character of the Conference at that time. He had now reached the age of forty-seven and had served the Methodist connexion, first in the New England States and later in Canada, for twenty-four years. Born in 1780 and converted in 1803, he had passed through the necessary stages of exhorter and local preacher, and at the New York Conference of 1805 had been appointed to the Bay of Quinte circuit in Upper Canada as junior itinerant with Henry Ryan.

Carroll has made him the central figure in his great work published in 1867.^[16] “His life is the principal stream,” Carroll tells us in the preface, “the others are the tributaries”. It is a curious fact, however, that nowhere in the course of these five volumes does he present a full-length portrait of Case, and, what is stranger still, nowhere in his earlier and anonymous literary venture, *Past and Present*.^[17] Yet the pen portraits in both these works are not the least of the features which arrest and charm the reader whose interest in Canadian history transcends mere matters of war and government. In the preface to the former work he admits that he has no materials for Case’s private and interior life, but he thinks that the “presentation of the example of his many public virtues, and those of his cotemporaries, is an act good in itself, and adapted to have a beneficial influence on all who contemplate those examples”. To the author then, Case is a sort of symbol of the Methodist evangel; and it may well be that his delicate artistry suggests that the physical appearance and the personality of his hero should not be presented in too sharp outline.

We have, however, from his pen an account of Case and Ryan at work during the first year of the former’s itinerancy.

Among the people in general, especially the young people, Case “took” at once, on account of his youth and beauty, his amiable spirit and winning manners, but especially his powers of song, in which he excelled, and which he made to subserve the great object of his ministry. He was wont then, and for many years after, when he finished his sermon, which was always persuasive, to break out in one of his melodious strains, by which he first spell bound and then melted his auditors. Next, he would pass around the room, shaking hands and speaking a word to each, perhaps

throwing his arms around the necks of the young men, and entreating them with tears to give their hearts to God. There was no society in the town of Kingston, and its inhabitants were very irreligious. The market house was the only chapel of the Methodists. Case and his colleague made a bold push to arouse the people. Sometimes they went together. Ryan was a powerful singer, too, with a voice less sweet but stronger. They would ride into town, put their horses at an inn, lock arms, and go singing down the street a stirring ode beginning with

Come let us march to Zion's hill.

By the time they had reached the market place, they usually had collected a large assembly. When together, Ryan usually preached, and Case exhorted, for which he had a peculiar gift. Ryan's stentorian voice resounded through the town, and was heard across the adjacent waters to the neighboring points of land. They suffered no particular opposition, excepting a little annoyance from some of the baser sort, who sometimes tried to trip them off the butcher's block which constituted their rostrum; set fire to their hair, and then blow out their candle if it were in the night season. This was accomplished one evening by a wicked sailor, who then sung out, "Come on, boys, and see the Devil dance on a butcher's block!" Such opposition the preachers regarded trivial, and held on. An intelligent and respectable man, who years afterwards became converted, and was a leader and local preacher among the Methodists, in conversation with the author, dated his first convictions in boyhood from having heard the then youthful William Case preach from a butcher's block in the Kingston market.^[18]

Ten years later he had attained the rank of Presiding Elder. This office entailed ceaseless travelling through the circuits, in summer on horseback or by canoe, and in winter on horseback or by "pung" (the ancestor of the late cutter) to which the horse was attached not by shafts but by a single pole and a neck-yoke. But Case was welcome wherever he went, both to his fellow ministers to whom his visits brought encouragement and comradeship and to the numerous homes refreshed by his cheery presence. The variety and range of this hospitality may be illustrated by two incidents described by Carroll.

He loved to break in on his old friends, and give them an agreeable surprise. A pleasing incident was related to the writer many years ago by old Mrs. Boice, of Elizabethtown, . . . On the occasion referred to [after an absence of ten years], he came to the house, and the old lady was alone. He came softly to the door and gently tapped, which drew Mrs. Boice to the entrance. Said the stranger, in a voice she soon recognized: "Do you still keep Methodist Tavern?" She assured him that she did, with even more than her wonted cordiality to the travelling preachers; and the applicant for lodgings found that the fare was unchanged, namely, still "without money and without price".^[19]

And again:

He used to tell an amusing incident of an old Scotch-woman's considerateness of his comfort in the Glengarry county. From Moulinette to Van Kleek Hill, in Hawksbury, there was a region thinly inhabited with Highland Scotch, most of whom were of the Roman Catholic persuasion. This was a sort of *Alentejo*, so graphically described by Borrow in his "*Bible in Spain*", where few comforts could be found; and through which the traveller usually pushed his way with all possible dispatch. In one of his journeys across it to attend the Ottawa Quarterly Meeting, in a very hot day, water being very scarce, he became very thirsty. At length, to his great joy, he espied an old Scotch-woman crossing the road with a pail of water which had been obtained at some hole dug in a neighboring swamp. Accosting her, he asked for a drink. Observing his respectable appearance, she said that the water was "no fit for him" as it was, for there were "wee motes in it", by which she meant the embryo musquitos, usually called "wigglers," "but," said she, "I'll strain it!" And suiting the action to the word, she pulled off a soiled old cotton handkerchief which she wore around her shoulders, saturated with perspiration, through which she poured some of the water out of the pail into a cup and offered it to him, minus the "wee motes". With his usual politeness he thanked her, but whether this very cleanly man really drank it or not, deponent doth not say.^[20]

It has been noted that in time the Conference moved past Ryan, and his nature resented it. To a degree the same thing was true of Case; in him there may have been pain but there was no resentment. After 1828, and in the

interval between complete separation from the American Conference and the imperfect union with the British Conference, Case continued to preside. Early in his career he had acquired a particular interest in the Indian work, and this gradually developed with the years as other and abler men gained prominence in the Conference. And in 1833 when the Methodist Episcopal Church in Canada became the Wesleyan Methodist Church in Canada and English presidents became a part of the arrangement, he returned to the ranks and restricted himself to Indian work under the superintendency of Joseph Stinson. Then when the break came with the British in 1840 he could not leave his beloved charges. The Indian Missions, it appeared, would still be controlled from London, and he preferred to remain with the British Conference. To the surprise of many, and to the regret doubtless of all the Canadian party, Elder Case, as he was still called, was to rise in his place and take his stand with the eleven dissenters. His broken sentences of farewell at once reveal the man and the spirit of the older members of Conference. To hardship in the saving of souls they were inured; in the strife which came with the issue between church and state they were confused and bewildered.

But for its younger members the Methodist Conference in the twenties and thirties had been a training school in statesmanship. The proceedings, which followed in general the discipline of the American Conference, were conducted with strict regard to parliamentary usage. Before 1824 under American bishops, and between 1833 and 1840 under English presidents, there was a suggestion of autocracy or outside direction, but by the close of the period covered by the present volume in complete autonomy the Methodist preachers settled affairs for themselves and the church at large simply on the basis of orderly argument on the floor of Conference.

It is true that only the itinerant preachers were members of Conference. Here two seceding bodies, the Ryanites in 1825 and the Episcopalians ten years later, with a democratic gesture encouraged the claims of local as distinct from itinerant preachers. But in the Canada Conference within the limits of membership neither station nor age gave any man undue influence. The sessions continued for a week or ten days. The first act of the first session was the election by ballot of a President and a Secretary, this years before the ballot was adopted in elections for the Legislature. Apparently nominations were free; we hear of no nominating committee. The business of the Conference was considered by committees, which met in the evenings and reported to the sessions held in the morning and afternoon. To other standing committees was entrusted the conduct of business throughout the year, and these reported to Conference for ratification of their acts. Between

conferences the powers of the President and Secretary do not appear to have been large, and in any case these officers were amenable to the opinion of their brethren within a twelvemonth. They and all other members had to answer for their “character”, and any member might bring them to book for any infringement of the discipline. The names were called one by one beginning at the oldest even to the youngest, and frequently the minutes record reproof administered or the extreme penalty of striking the name from the rolls.

The province was divided into several districts, each in the charge of a Presiding Elder, or Chairman. District meetings were called from time to time and resolutions from these came up to Conference. Then on the individual circuits Quarterly Meetings were held, at which local preachers and laymen were present and important matters of church policy discussed. Attendance at classes was regarded as essential to membership, and class leaders had a large part to play, especially in the more remote districts less frequently visited by the itinerants.

Such was the economy of the Methodist body in Upper Canada. Its effectiveness as a frontier organization is amply attested by its rapid increase in numbers and influence as compared with that of other religious bodies. But its reaction on the ministers in general and the Ryersons in particular is our immediate concern. And it is not surprising that at times they grew restless under a form of secular government where the will of an elective legislature was regularly thwarted by that of two nominated councils, and was subject to delay or defeat while a governor consulted his own judgment or that of a distant colonial secretary who was himself in turn subject to the varying winds of Westminster.

[1] A term used when an itinerant preacher reverted to local preaching and a secular occupation.

[2] Bethune: *Memoirs of Bishop Strachan*, p. 30.

[3] *Case*, Vol. II, p. 209.

[4] *Ibid.*

[5] *Case*, Vol. II, p. 211.

- [6] *Case, Vol. II*, p. 341.
- [7] *Ibid.*, p. 346.
- [8] *Case, Vol. I*, p. 23.
- [9] *Case, Vol. II*, pp. 313-314.
- [10] *Case, Vol. III*, p. 24.
- [11] G. F. Playter: *The History of Methodism in Canada*, p. 245.
- [12] Early in the sessions of Conference the names of the preachers were called in turn, and it was the duty of the members to raise any question of character. If the objection was sustained, the sinner was dropped from Conference.
- [13] The account given by John Ryerson of this incident in *Epochs and Events of Canadian Methodism* (p. 259) differs somewhat in detail from the account here taken from Anson Green, but Green is writing with his diary before him and John Ryerson merely from recollection, and the version of the former preferred where they differ as to detail.
- [14] *Green*, p. 138.
- [15] *Epochs*, p. 359.
- [16] The full title is *Case and His Cotemporaries or The Canadian Itinerants' Memorial: constituting a Biographical History of Methodism in Canada, from its Introduction into the Province, till the Death of the Rev. Wm. Case in 1855*.
- [17] The full title is *Past and Present, or a Description of Persons and Events connected with Canadian Methodism for the Last Forty Years by a Spectator of the Scenes*.

[18] *Case, Vol. I*, pp. 112-113.

[19] *Case, Vol. II*, p. 42.

[20] *Ibid.*, p. 43.

CHAPTER II

CREDIT RIVER AND COBOURG CIRCUIT

September 1826 to September 1828

The Conference of 1826, which was held in the “Back Chapel” in Hamilton township near Cobourg, proceeded with such harmony and despatch that it lasted only five days. William Ryerson was brought from Niagara to York. In consideration of his health he was assisted in the townships by “a gentleman of good property, somewhat in years, a zealous Methodist and an able local preacher”,^[1] then known as Squire Beatty, and later appearing in connection with the affairs of Upper Canada Academy as the Rev. John Beatty. In York itself the preaching was shared by Egerton, who took the services for two Sundays each month. The latter’s charge, however, was a new missionary station at the Credit. Here the work was exclusively with the Indians. Carroll tells us that it was Elder Case who selected Ryerson for this work, since he was young and knew something of the structure of language. It was Case’s hope that he could reduce the dialects to order and produce a grammar and lexicon, the better to promote the Christianizing of the Indians. If this was Case’s idea in placing Ryerson at the Credit, it was probably the idea of others, more politically minded than Case ever allowed himself to become, that it might be desirable to keep this young man near York and the headquarters of the Compact.

The constant change from York pulpit to Credit wigwam must have proved stimulating to the mind. To the body it was trying. In January Ryerson records that he has been unwell for nearly two months with a continuance of violent colds, occasioned by frequent changes from a cold house and a thinly clad bed on boards to warm rooms in York. When he commenced at the Credit in September, the Indians had not yet moved into the twenty cottages which the government had built for them on high ground; they were still living in bark-covered wigwams in the flats. For a time one of these was Ryerson’s home, and right comfortable he was, apart from lack of privacy, in the lovely months of a Canadian autumn. During the first fortnight he resolved to build a combined school and chapel. With the head of a barrel for a desk, he took down such subscriptions in cash or kind as in their poverty the Indians could offer. He and they worked together, and on November 26th the building was opened and the Lord’s Supper

celebrated, with Case as preacher. When William visited the school in the following March he found forty on the roll and thirty in attendance, the rest being absent making sugar. On his arrival he discovered Egerton “about half a mile from the village stripped to the shirt and pantaloons, clearing land with between twelve and twenty of the little Indian boys, who were all engaged in chopping and picking up the brush”.^[2] The latter explained that he spent an hour or more every morning and evening in this way for the benefit of his own health and the education of the Indian children. Here he adopted the methods which after a century are recognized as the most effective, if any progress in education is to be made with the Indians. Indeed without the aid of educational psychologists, and quite in advance of the theory of his time, he appears to have realized that the training of the hand is closely related to that of the head.

From the diary it is clear that he developed a deep interest in the lives of his charges. He made such progress in the language, though at the expense of his Latin and Greek, that by the spring his congregation was overjoyed to hear him preach in their tongue. The old chief gave him the name “Cheehock”, or “a bird on the wing”, an eloquent translation of our pedestrian “itinerant”. He organized class meetings and reported amongst “the dear objects of his care” considerable growth in grace and in power of resistance against what had become the almost universal vice of drunkenness. At the close of the year he made a missionary tour through the Indian settlements of Lake Simcoe and what is now called Georgian Bay.

But time has confirmed the drowsy observation of our first letter^[3]—“in some respects they are Indians though they have become Christians”. For a few years the Methodists rapidly extended their missions among them, with stations at Rice Lake, on the Grand, at Grape Island, on Lake Simcoe, on Georgian Bay, and at Muncey. Soon the number of members had risen to a thousand, and there it remained. Somewhat later we have the heroic missionaries of Hudson Bay, and the Western Plains, and the Pacific Coast. But the high purpose to which men like Case and Evans and Maclean devoted themselves has not been realized. The race has proven incorrigibly unadaptable to what we call civilization.

Of Ryerson’s other life in York, we know very little. The preaching of the two brothers was popular. In the *Colonial Advocate* of December 21st an article appeared from the pen of Peter Russell describing one of the services. The building, he tells us, had been greatly enlarged and the number of hearers was perhaps ten times greater than it had been under Mr. Fitch Reed’s excellent preaching. The audience was respectable as well as large.

Several members of the legislature were present; a negro shared a hymn book with the writer of the article.

But in his diverse duties Ryerson was not allowed to forget the struggle for civil and religious liberty. In a lost letter to George of January 10, 1827, in part reproduced by Hodgins,^[4] he tells us that by the advice of Marshall Spring Bidwell, now Speaker of the Assembly, and others, he was induced to continue the Strachan controversy till it should be brought to a favourable conclusion; and on February 27th his diary tells us that he has written that day from fifteen to sixteen hours “in vindicating the cause of dissenters against the anathemas of high churchmen”.^[5] But he finds that such controversial writing makes for “leanness of soul”. On his twenty-fourth birthday, March 24th, the entry reads: “During the past year my principal attention has been called to controversial labours. If the Lord will, may this cup pass by in my future life.”^[6] The prayer was not to be answered; for half a century he was destined to swing from one well-fought controversy to another.

At the Conference of 1827, which met in the rising village of Hamilton, he was received into full connection and assigned to what was possibly the hardest circuit on the front. His headquarters were near Cobourg, but the field which he covered, as junior preacher to William Slater, extended from Bowmanville to Brighton and included Indian work at Rice Lake. William remained at York for a second year. John was appointed Presiding Elder to superintend the circuits between the Niagara and the Detroit. His elevation was anticipated but not yet announced when, as one of a committee and with the dignity and gravity which became him, he was examining the candidates for ordination. The five were Richardson, Green, his brother Egerton, Daniel McMullen, and the inimitable John Black. “Brother Black, will you please tell us who Polycarp was?” “Polycarp! Polycarp! your reverence, I think I have heard he was presiding elder at Smyrna.” Carroll tells us that the effect upon the examiner was convulsive and that it was a long time before he could sober down again.

On September 23rd, the diary informs us, Egerton commenced his ministerial labours among strangers with whom religion was at a low ebb. By January 1, 1828, he was able to report the societies growing in piety. Most of the entries are cheerful, but not all. On October 2nd he has been labouring under severe affliction of mind. He is “as one tempest driven, without pilot, chart, or compass”.^[7] On December 12th his mind has been greatly afflicted in settling a difference between two brothers. On January 30th he visited a poor woman in the last stages of consumption. He finds it a

heavy cross to visit the sick, and prays the Lord to help him “search out the mourner, bind up broken hearts and comfort the sorrowful”. Here frankly he admits what must be the general experience of younger pastors, themselves healthy and forward-looking. Twice only in the entries preserved by Hodgins does he refer to his controversial writing, once as a temptation to desist from the ministry, and once as a great trial. A few years later he was the object of some criticism and even censure for meddling with politics. There can be no question, however, that at this time he was officially encouraged to engage in the discussion of the question which was not on the fringe but at the very centre of the political strife of the day. Carroll puts it this way:

Mr. R. at that time, otherwise very powerful and impassioned in his public ministrations, had his thoughts and time very much engrossed in the Clergy Reserve Controversy, to which he was encouraged to devote himself by Mr. Case. The question whether one-seventh of the landed property should go to the support of a dominant church, or be so applied as to be for the general good of all the inhabitants, was an absorbing question to all the non-conformists of the land. But among them all there was no champion prepared to go forth and confront his goliath but Egerton Ryerson. By tacit consent his clients all felt to say, “We have no man like-minded who will naturally care for our state.”^[8]

When the joint committee of Christians of different denominations sent its petition^[9] out to the Cobourg Circuit, a public meeting was called in the chapel at Cramahe. Elder Benjamin Farmer was in the chair. It was moved by Ebenezer Perry, Esq., and seconded by Ozem Strong, Esq., that the Rev. Egerton Ryerson should open the meeting. This he did, reading the documents and moving a series of resolutions. He was made one of a general committee of five to secure signatures, and sub-committees were named for each of eight townships of the Newcastle District. This we learn from the *Colonial Advocate* of January 10, 1828.

In July general elections for the Legislative Assembly were held. In Northumberland Henry Ruttan, later Sheriff, ran as a Compact candidate. At a meeting he made a broad attack on Ryerson, without calling him by name. Ryerson attempted to mount the hustings, but was denied their use. Many in the audience were disgusted with the attack. They improvised a rostrum by drawing a waggon to one side. The crowd gathered around Ryerson, and Carroll states that “those who heard him thought his appeal to fact, and

scripture, and law, was most triumphant".^[10] In any case Ruttan was not one of the two candidates to be elected, but stood last in the list with 158 votes, while the poll was headed by James Lyons (a Methodist) with 319 votes. The whole election, however, favoured the Reformers, or, as they were then called by Mackenzie, the Independents. All four candidates in York County, then a two-member riding, were more or less Reform in complexion, Ketchum and Mackenzie being returned in the order named, with Small a rather poor third, and Robert Baldwin a very poor fourth. Even in the town of York, Dr. T. D. Morrison, a prominent Methodist, ran quite close (110-93) to the Attorney General, John Beverley Robinson, the ablest member of the governing party.

The correspondence preserved during this period is slight: one letter of 1827 is reproduced, and five of 1828. They carry the narrative forward to the amicable separation of the Canadian from the American Conference and to Ryerson's second assault on the rocking defences of Strachan.

April 15, 1827, EGERTON RYERSON, York, to GEORGE RYERSON, ESQ., Vittoria.

MY DEAR BROTHER,

I am much fatigued with the labours of the day and it is now nearly 12 o'clock. I shall therefore be able to say but a few words at present.

We are all well, and are blessed in our labours both at this place and at the Credit. I think the Indians are growing in knowledge and in grace. They are getting on pretty well with their Spring's work. But in some respects they are Indians though they have become Christians. I think we shall be able to raise a considerable grain this season.

I came from Long Point with a full determination to live *wholly for God and his church*. Through the blessing of God I have received greater manifestations of grace than I had felt before during the year. I have lately read Law's *Serious Call to a Devout & Holy Life*, which has been very beneficial to me.

My greatest grief of late is that my love to God and his people is not more humble, more fervent & more importunate. Could I feel as Jesus felt when he said my meat and drink is to do the will of him that sent me, how much more happy and useful I would be. I pray that I may. John & Peter Jones^[11] seem to be thirsting after

holiness, and growing in grace. J. Jones has had a severe trial lately. We buried his little boy four days ago. The society in this place appear to be increasing in grace and in numbers. I was abundantly assisted by heavenly aid today while trying to speak from *Rom. V*, v. 33, 34 & from *Heb. 10*, v. 19-22. The congregation seemed to be deeply affected this evening. I hope the word has not gone forth in vain. Br. Vaux^[12] from the Head of the Lake was here to day, & spoke very forcibly to the people both in the morning & evening. He says he saw you last Sunday at Hamilton. I am surprised you have not written. I can not learn whether you are going to England or not. I wish you would write immediately.

I wish you to write for four copies of the "*Youth's Friend*" including the copy I take. I have not got any subscriptions for the *S.S. Magazine* yet. It is probable I will. I shall continue to take them.

Remember me to them all. I will try and write to Father or Edwy or both in a week or two.

Monday morning

P.S. The copies of the *Youth's Friend* to commence from the first of January, 1827. I have nothing less than a ten dollar bill and have not time to get it changed this morning. I will send the money for them in my next. Shall I send you the Postage? Let them be directed to me at York probably by the way of Cape Vincent, as there is no postage on this side that way.

The Sunday schools are prospering in this place, and I am establishing one between this and the Credit (on the Lake road) having got Mr. Gamble to take an active part in it.

I want you to write soon & any enquiries you may wish to make shall be attended to without delay and I shall gratefully receive any advice you may see fit to give.

Your

affectionate

EGERTON

N.B.

Wm. & I preach to the Sunday School children every sabbath. I proposed the new method of increasing the Sunday Schools by

giving a reward ticket to every scholar who would procure another, that had not attended any other school, and in two Sabbaths between twenty and thirty new scholars were procured in one school, and I have not yet heard the result in the other.

January 28, 1828, JOHN RYERSON, River Thames, to REV. EGERTON RYERSON, Cramahe.

MY DEAR BROTHER:

Your kind & affectionate letter came safe to hand the 16th inst. & I should of answered it amediately, but the next day I had to leave for the west & was engaged that night till long after midnight making my arrangements, etc. I am happy to hear that Mr. Ryen is defeated & that the measures you have adopted to frustrate his diabolical maceenations against Elder Case, etc., have proved successful. I hope you will continue to assist and support E — Case, especially in this affair & on many other accounts he is deserving of much esteem. His disinterested exertions in behalf of the missionary interest in Canada is deserving of the highest praise. The work is prospering in different parts of this district. Niagara & Ancaster circuits are riseing—there is a good work in Oxford on the L. P. Ct. as also in London & Westminster circuits. The Indian mission on the Grand River is prospering finely. At the Salt Springs about 30 have been added to society among whom are some of the most respectable Chiefs of the Mohook & Tukarora Nations. Last week I spent two dayes at the Muncey Mission—visiting them from wigwam to wigwam. They in general appeared to be thankful, teachable & kind, & I think that prospects here are more favourable at present then they have hitherto been. Great harmony and unanimity appear every where to prevail & I think I can say we have peace in all our borders. The L. P. Qt. meeting I attended three weeks since. I found all our friends well. Mother was enjoying good health & appeared to be in tolerable good spirits. Father has got through his pecuniary embarassments & is playing the old tune again; his ungovernable passins again usurp dominion over him & he is as unhappy as he ever was. These things much afflicted me & greaved me to the heart. Edwy is doing well. I was much pleased with his amiable conduct. He appears to be growing in grace & Wisdom. I think there is every prospect of his becoming a useful man. He treated me with every act of kindness & hospitality in his power. I stoped

with them two dayes, taulked with them, prayed with & for them & then took my leave commending them to God & the Word of Grace.

With regard to Miss A—— I am not a little surprised that this subject is revived again. I had thought that I never would either write or taulk to you in relation to it. The instability & indecision of character that you have manifested in this affare have not a little surprised me. I shall never give any more advise on subjects of this kind if I can help it, but as you wish for information with respect to one or two things, I would just say (though with reluctance) that my opinion, relating to Miss A—— general character & quallefications, is the same that it has always been, *but* the haisty, inconsiderate & indisoluble engagements she made with Edwy I highly disapprove of & so must every person of since. The correctness & propriety of her conduct in now breaking these promises I leave her own conscience to determon; but am of the opinion that had they of got married that neather of them would of been happy; it never appeared to me that they were made for each other. Edwy is now glad that it is broken up & he has given up all idea of settleing himself at present. He intends prepareing himself for the ministry. He is now going to school & intends in the coarse of 5 or 6 months to go to Casanovia^[13] if the Lord should open the way. In these intentions I tryed to strenthen & encourage him.

Mother's views with respect to Miss A. & E. are in every respect, in accordance with my own. Now my dear Egerton I have told you all that is in my heart, on this subject, & let the plain and artless maner in which I have expressed my feelings to you show you how much you are still loved by your affectionate

Brother

JOHN

During Ryerson's stay with the Aikman family in Hamilton in 1824-1825, a friendship developed between himself and Hannah, the youngest daughter of the home, and one year his junior. After his serious illness and his definite call to the ministry Ryerson determined to resist the temptation to an early marriage and devote himself with a single heart to the studies and labours necessary to success in his high calling. It is clear from at least two notes in his diary that at times his resolution faltered and he was lonely and

dejected. In the meantime Miss Aikman was left free. Let the affair with Edwy rest with the passing notice of this letter; in the diary or correspondence no further comment appears. In affairs of this sort an indulgent posterity may be inclined to be less severe on the “instability and indecision of character” of Egerton Ryerson than was his stern and at times censorious older brother. The marriage took place that autumn. The diary entry reads:

On the 10th of September, 1828, I entered into the married state with Miss Hannah Aikman, of Hamilton. Through the tender mercy of God, I have got a companion who, I believe, will be truly a help-meet to me, in spiritual as well as temporal things.^[14]

It was necessary for them to travel twenty miles and secure the services of a Presbyterian minister to perform the ceremony.^[15]

February 22, 1828, WILLIAM RYERSON, York, to GEORGE RYERSON, ESQR., to the care of MR. SAML. THOMAS, No. 1 Roebuck Terrace, Great Dover Street, Southwark, England.^[16]

DR. BR.

I wrote to you sometime since & gave you an account of our situation. I also informed you that it was the intention of a committee in this place to appoint you their agent to act in behalf of a large number of petitioners in presenting their petitions to the Imperial Parliament etc., etc. I am now directed by the central committee to inform you that they have appointed you their agent.

Your appointment & instructions will be forwarded early next week, with the petitions to the Imperial Parliament, which will be directed to Mr. Jos. Hume, M.P. for Mr. George Ryerson. Mr. Hume will be instructed to hand them to you if you should still be in London, but should you leave that before your instructions arrive, he will be requested to bring our petitions before the Imperial Parliament for us. You will therefor please call on Mr. Hume immediately on receiving your appointment & instructions from this Committee. The Committee have also written to Mr. Wilkes the secretary of a society for the protection of Dissenters in England & elsewhere, requesting him to assist you in forwarding the object of the petitioners; also to the delegates from the Lower Province requesting their assistance.

Accompanying the petitions you will receive a short description of the religious state of this province, which will assist you in giving such religious information as may be required of you.

It may be proper to apprise you that the church of England have been making an enquiry into the religious state of the province, the result of which they have [sent] home to the Imperial Government. And in order to swell their numbers as much as possible, they have sent persons through almost every part of the province who where they come into an house enquire of the head of the family to what church he belongs; if he says to the Methodist or any other body of Dissenters they next enquire if their children belong to the same church; if they say no, they then set the children down as members of the Church of England. If they say that neither themselves nor children belong to any particular church, they then set them down as members of the Church of England. So that should they make a parade of their numbers, you can tell how they get them.

Can you obtain the report of the Society for the promotion of Christian knowledge and in that you will find the number of communicants in the Church of E. in Canada. The report for 1821 states that the number of communicants for that year to be between 4 & 500 which was the most that had ever communed before. The Committee direct me further to inform you that they will pay you for all the time, trouble, & expense you may incur in attending to the petitions so that you will keep an account of all your expenses which will be allowed you.

In the chart the Methodists have returned the number of regular communicants only, which is about 9000. The number of those who call themselves Methodists (who profess to believe in the doctrine & discipline of the Methodist Church) is at least four times that number, 36000. This is the way in which almost all the other bodies estimate their numbers, the Baptist Church excepted. A committee of the House of Commons^[17] are now sitting on an enquiry in to the truth of Dr. Strachan's letter & chart. As soon as the House decides on the subject, their decision will be forwarded to you.

Yours etc. etc.

WM. RYERSON

March 8, 1828, REV. WILLIAM CASE, *Hallowell*, to REV. EGERTON RYERSON, and MR. JOHN McCARTY,^[18] *Cobourg*.

DEAR BROTHER:

I have just received a letter from Bro. Biggar^[19] detailing a painful circumstance in the conduct of Mr. E. towards him. But of which I have all along feared, considering his intemperate habits & his moral disposition. Tho I could not think that he would go so far as to threaten to beat & even to take the life, of a harmless youth, who had neither the disposition, nor the ability (on account of lameness) to defend himself.

It appears that Mr. E was offended because the Indians did not trade with him, and he suspected first, that Bro. Biggar, and then that I had persuaded the Indians not to trade with him. His suspicion appears to have arisen from the circumstance of our taking out provisions to supply the wants of the children while at school & while their parents were gone on their hunt. Now, as we have given no instructions to the Indians whatever about trading with Mr. E., so we have nothing to do with Mr. E. relative to our duty to the Indian School and *which we shall pursue without any instructions from him whatever.*

Now Brother I hope Bro. Perry^[20] or Bro. McCarty will interfere immediately, and do the best they can to save the feelings of Bro. Biggar & prevent the breaking up of the school. Mr. E. should be convinced that he should make concessions to Bro. B; at the same time urge Bro. Biggar to forbearance and sacrifice of feeling, following the example of his Lord & Master who *endured* the contradiction of sinners, for the sake of the welfare of his flock. But as I cannot know all the circumstances of the case, I leave the matter to be conducted in the best way you can to save the School. Bro. Ryerson will no doubt visit the School as often as possible, and assist in bringing matters to an amicable adjustment, tho I think Bros. Perry or McCarty will be able to get along the best with Mr. E.

Most probably we shall find it necessary to fit up a residence for the Teacher where he may be free from the abuse & noise of

rum, and perhaps it may be found necessary to remove the House, especially if the lease should not be legal. I wish Bro. Ryerson to charge himself with the care & oversight of the interests of the School, & hope Bros. Perry & McCarty will afford all the aid in their power.

YOURS IN LOVE,
W. CASE

Hallowell, 11 March.

Last evening was exhibited the improvement of the Indian School of Grape Island, tho the darkness of the night & bad state of the road, a large congregation attended. They performed well. One Boy read well in the Testament whose time at school amounted to but about 6 months. Several new tunes which were not known in the congregation were well sung & had a fine effect, and their whole performance was excellent. The collection was . . . and more than 20 names were given in to furnish provisions for the children of the school. These exhibitions have a fine effect. It animates the children and the Teacher, & affords a most gratifying opportunity to the friends of the Mission to witness that their benevolence is not in vain.

W. C.

April 1, 1828, WILLIAM RYERSON, York, to EGERTON RYERSON.

DR. EGERTON,

I wrote you a line last week in which I informed you that I had not yet heard from John. I have since received a letter from him in which he informs me that he had been at Buffalo & made enquiries & arrangements about going to conference.^[21] Our plan is to go from Buffalo to Erie in the steam bark,^[22] from thence we take the stage for I think about twenty miles, when we take the water again down the river to Pittsburgh. John is very anxious that Br. Slater & Chamberlain should come & go with us. We are to meet at the mouth of Lundies lane on Monday evening, the 21st of April.

I send you a pamphlet containing Dr. Strachan's Defence before the Upper House.^[23] It is a pitiful thing indeed. If I had time

I was intending to write a reply to a part of it under my real name. I think as soon as you can get the report of the committee on the subject & the evidence on which that report is founded, you had better write a full answer to it. You will perceive that the Drs. defence consists in telling what he told certain gentlemen in England & what they told him. The falshoods & contradictions with which he has been charged he has not noticed, as The Church is rapidly increasing, is spreading over the whole country, the tendency of the population is towards the Church of England, the Instructions of Dissenters is rendering the people hostile to our institutions, civil & religious & he says it is said I have offended the Methodists. Who told him so? I presume it must have been his own guilty conscience, if he has any conscience. It appears from the evidence of one of the most inteligent that they are all british subjects but eight, although until very lately they come from the U.S. If they came from the U.S. till very lately, how could they be all British subjects & especially British born & educated etc.

If you could take time to write a full answer, would it not be better to do it in the form of letters addressed to the Dr. & signed by your real name. Should you persue this course you had better endeavour to write in a candid, mild & sweet stile. It will have a much more powerfull effect on the mind of the public. If you should continue to persue such a course it will be necessary for you to have all the Drs. publications before you so as to compare them together & show them contradictious as well as fals. You will therefore want his pamphlet which I have in my possession & which I was wishing to take to the conference with me. So that if you should particularly want it, you will let me know & I will send it to you. I would advise you to scratch the Dr. a little annomously but in such a way as to prevent their knowing who the author is, but be carefull to leave [seal] as not to cramp yourself when you are prepared to attack him more seriously & effectually. Before you attempt a serious you ought to possess the report of the committee^[24] & all the testimony on the subject. This will be printed in about four or five weeks when you will be able to get a copy from Br. Lions.^[25]

Yours in great haste,
W. RYERSON

P.S. Write before I start for conference & let me know your own & every boddys else opinion about our affairs, etc.

May 18, 1828, JOHN RYERSON, Pittsburgh, to REV. EGERTON RYERSON, Hamilton, District of Newcastle, Upper Canada.

MY DEAR BROTHER:

I should of writen to you before, but I have been working for the decision of the conference in relation to Canada affaires. About four dayes after the commencement of the C. there was a committee of five persons appointed on the C—— question (Dr. Bangs was the President). The committee reported last Thursday pointedly against the seperation declaring in their opinion to be unconstitutional. Dr. B—— after having sind the report, introduced the business to the conference by a long speach against the seperation. Wm. & myself replied to him pointedly & at lenth, & we were supported by Fisk & Luckey. Dr. Bangs was suported by Hening, Linsey, etc., etc. The matter was debated with astonishing ability & deep felt interest on both sides for two days, when the question being put, there were in favour of the seperation 105 & against it 43, a majority on our side of 62. Our kind friends were much delighted & highly gratified at our singular & remarkable triumph & those who have opposed us treat us with a great deal of respect and affection. You will doubtless be surprised on hearing of Dr. B—— opposing us as he has done, but you are not more surprised & astonished than what we were & we had no knowledge of his opposition to the seperation until the morning that the debates when he got up & commenced his speach in the conference, but Blessed be God for ever. Amidst all the painful & trying scenes through which we have passed in this conflicting business, the God of David has stood by us & has given us a desided victory.

You doubtless will now enquire whom we will select for a Bishop; to this I would reply that we are to have an interview with Bishops George & Hedding to morrow or next day to secure their avise, etc. on this subject. It is uncertain who will be elected. We have thought of several but it is useless now to mention any of them.^[26] The C—— will close its session 24 inst, when I will write you the particulars as also a reply to the queries of your last kind letter, that I received by Mr. Chamberlain. We are all well & the

business of C—— is going on tolerably well. The reform^[27] has entirely failed—it was lost in the C—— by a majority of 25. I am, my dr. E., your affectionate Bro.

JOHN

Thus was concluded, with complete agreement and all good will, a question which had been at issue for five years. The documents as preserved by Bangs, Playter and Webster afford refreshing relief from the disputes of the same year carried on in the name of religion in Upper Canada. Here we see dignity and statesmanship and desire to serve; there a struggle for place and power and revenues.

In furtherance of the proposal for complete separation mooted at the General Conference at Baltimore in 1824,^[28] in August of that year the Canadian Conference had drawn up a memorial for presentation to the seventeen other annual conferences. The argument of the memorial appears under five heads in as many paragraphs, but may be resolved into three contentions: the difficulty of particular and immediate oversight of the work on the Canadian circuits by bishops residing at a distance; the dislocation of the work which would be caused by another war between the two countries; and the objections raised in government circles to the Methodist ministry as coming from the United States, resulting in the denial of certain privileges in respect of performing the marriage ceremony and the holding of property. The memorial lays no emphasis, nor indeed does it mention, such minor matters of dispute among the circuits as the mode of electing elders or the inclusion of laymen in the conference. It is clear that the difficulty was not in the least doctrinal nor in the main administrative; in the last analysis it was political and arose from the fact that the connection of the Canadian preachers with a United States conference and their ordination by United States bishops was being used by the governing party to discredit them, to deny them privileges enjoyed by other denominations, and to foment disunion amongst themselves.

Between 1824 and 1828 this memorial had been considered by all the annual conferences. A committee of the General Conference, with Dr. Bangs as chairman, reported against the petition. The ground taken by the committee and Dr. Bangs in introducing the report was purely constitutional: the General Conference was under obligation as a delegated body to preserve the union entire. But there was a desire in some way to meet “that which the Canada brethren so earnestly requested, and for which they pleaded with much zeal, and even with most pathetic appeals to our

sympathies”.^[29] It was Bishop Emory who found the way—typically American in its technicality—and brought to a happy and harmonious issue the two days’ debate. He pointed out that in the first missionary enterprise to Canada Bishop Asbury had called for volunteers, and that this had continued to be the practice with preachers to Canada, while in the United States the bishops claimed the right to designate preachers to circuits. This gave a voluntary character to the Canada conference, and tended to make the contract voluntary and conditional; and since it appeared that the Canadians were no longer willing to accept such help and superintendence from abroad, they had a perfect right to request and receive the withdrawal of these services. This opinion was contested, but the vote was decisive, 105 to 43 in a conference of 170 delegates.

The minute of separation contains three clauses: the first providing for the means of separation by vote of the Canada conference; the second instructing the delegate from the General Conference to the next annual British Wesleyan Conference to express the earnest and affectionate desire that the arrangement of 1820 as to missionaries to Canada from the latter body be preserved; and the third, granting to “brethren and friends, ministers or others” in Upper Canada access to any of the Conference books or periodical publications on the same terms as given in the United States, and a share in the dividends from the “Book Concern”, the Methodist publishing house in New York, as long as it should be patronized by them.

The entire good will with which the relations of almost forty years were severed, as attested in John Ryerson’s letter of May 18th, is further revealed by these last two clauses. The parent conference is prepared to give such assistance, financial and in respect of a delicate problem with their British brethren, as lies in its power. How the British Conference responded to this magnanimity will presently appear.

In the meantime, as his brother William had urged, Ryerson had taken issue with Strachan. In a careful series of eight letters, over his own name, he assailed along its whole front the Compact position in matters of religion and education. As guardians of the Simcoe tradition, Strachan and those who saw with him had sought to rear in Upper Canada a social system which like the constitution should be the “exact image and transcript” of that of England. In religion, all should defer to an Established Church, and contribute to its support; in education, a few well-placed Grammar Schools, and at the capital a preparatory College and a University, should produce the men to maintain the system. But already the people of Upper Canada were objecting to being pressed in any such mould. Realizing that, under the

Constitution of 1791, the issue would be determined in England rather than in Canada, Strachan had crossed the Atlantic in the spring of 1826. He remained in England till mid-summer, 1827, negotiating with the government, with officials of the Church of Scotland, and also, it may be added, with the British Wesleyans. On March 15th he secured a Charter for the University, to be known as King's College. While more liberal than those of the two ancient English universities, the charter required all professors to subscribe to the Thirty-nine Articles and to teach under the Governor, as Chancellor, and Strachan, as Principal, the veto power over all ordinances of the Council being in the hands of the Bishop of Quebec.

In April Lord Liverpool's ministry fell, and Bathurst was succeeded by Goderich as Colonial Secretary. Strachan thought it well to place his views in writing before the new administration. This he did in a letter dated May 16, 1827, to the Under Secretary, the Honourable R. W. Horton—afterwards described by himself as "hastily prepared". Once more he sought to make good the claims of his own Church by disparaging others. With the letter he transmitted an "Ecclesiastical Chart", giving statistical information as to the religious facilities of the province and specifying the number and location of the clergymen of the Church of England and the ministers of both the Independent Presbyterians and the Kirk. At the end of the Chart appears this sentence:

As the Methodists have no Settled Clergymen, it has been found difficult to ascertain the number of Itinerants employed; but it is presumed to be considerable, perhaps from twenty to thirty in the whole Province. One from England settled at Kingston, appears to be a very superior person. The other denominations have very few teachers and those seemingly very ignorant. One of the two remaining Clergymen in communion with the Church of Scotland has applied to be admitted into the Established Church.

[30]

In the autumn all this became known in Canada. Quite to Strachan's surprise the House of Commons had ordered the printing of the Horton letter as a public document. It was published in the *Quebec Gazette* whence it was copied in the *Colonial Advocate* of September 20th, together with the obnoxious terms of the University Charter. Angry protests at once arose from Presbyterians, Baptists and Methodists. The palpable inaccuracies of both letter and chart were fully exposed. A more deliberate statement which Strachan had printed in pamphlet form while in London^[31] did not improve

matters. It reiterated, though in modified terms, the implication of disloyalty contained in the Horton letter, as follows:

Indeed the teachers of all other denominations, with the exception of the two ministers of the Church of Scotland, four Congregationalists, and a very respectable English missionary who presides over a congregation of Wesleyan Methodists at Kingston, are for the most part from the United States. This is notoriously the case with the Methodist teachers who, next to the Established Church, are decidedly the most numerous and who are subject to the orders of the Conference in the United States of America.

Finally on March 6, 1828, in the congenial atmosphere of the Legislative Council, Strachan expounded and exposed his whole policy. The Speaker of the Council wrote him a flattering letter the next day, conveying a resolution requesting publication of the speech, the Council having voted for it "*nemine contradicente*". Strachan expressed his pleasure in "complying with commands so agreeable". But it is doubtful if he ever committed a graver blunder than the publication of this speech. It is difficult to imagine what he could have hoped to gain. Possibly he feared that the repeated attacks in the Canadian press, and the attitude of Stanley and others in the House of Commons, were beginning to tell even in the Legislative Council and he felt that something must be done to sustain their *morale*. Indeed in the course of the speech he refers to the effect of the Horton letter in these terms:

Its publication was immediately followed by a torrent of abuse altogether incredible. Had this abuse been confined to a certain party, now too well known in this province, I should not have been surprised, because, to their censure I have long been accustomed; and I trust, that it has been the study of my life to deserve it. But I was somewhat mortified to find some of whom I had argued better things joining in the cry.

Later he refers to the editor of the Gore Gazette as one of the very few editors who during the clamour had treated him with common civility, and he concludes in this sentence:

I am anxious to retain the good opinion of those who know me best, and with whom I have acted for so many years, and I feel

proudly conscious that I deserve the friendship and esteem of all honorable men, and the approbation of the whole Province.

Doubtless he succeeded in rallying his immediate audience to his support. The general circulation of his speech, however, merely added to the exasperation, and offered a rather easy target to able opponents.

The speech begins with a review of certain negotiations with the Colonial Office in reference to the Clergy Reserves, and describes his efforts during two visits to London to secure a more advantageous use of these lands, and his partial success in the bill of 1827. He then proceeds to discuss the Chart and to make light of its errors, admitting that it would have been better, in view of the incompleteness of his information, had he confined himself to the Church of England and the Kirk of Scotland. He defends himself on the ground that the other bodies had never given any authentic account of themselves. He professes himself by no means hostile to the Kirk or the Roman Catholic Church, since the one is established in one section of the Empire and the other in a sister province. He contends that the Kirk has no legal right to the Reserves; still he has been prepared to forward their claim for assistance. Towards the end of the speech, which impresses one as somewhat rambling and discursive, he turns to a personal defence. He states that this is the first public notice he has ever taken of the discussion in Canada, but concedes “the necessity of refuting calumnies the most gross and statements the most incorrect”. Dealing with the accusation that he is an apostate from the Kirk, he explains how as a lad in Scotland he had often gone with his father to hear Bishop Skinner. He is bitter in his denunciation of the person responsible for the publication after twenty-five years of a letter to a friend in Montreal in which (while tutor to Cartwright’s children) he had made inquiries about an opening in the Presbyterian Church there. He concludes with the emphatic statement that the Church of England is, by law, the established Church in the province and the Charter of the University the most liberal ever granted.

William Ryerson was not far wide of the mark when he described it as a pitiful thing.^[32] The evidence of the speech itself points clearly to the fact that personal criticism had at last penetrated Strachan’s imperturbability. It may have been as much as anything the story that was going the rounds and that the busy mind of Mackenzie had seized upon for the *Advocate*—how Strachan had met in the streets of York the sturdy William Jenkins, minister and farmer from Markham, an old neighbour in Scotland who knew his youth and his Presbyterian origin, and how Strachan had noted and

commented on the shabby coat of the Presbyterian divine; “Ah weel, Jock,” the latter had replied, “I hae na turned it yet.”

But the trouble lay deeper than this. Already the ground was slipping beneath his feet. In less than six months his position was to be revealed as untenable in Canada by the report of the Select Committee of the Legislative Assembly and by the thorough letters of Egerton Ryerson; while in England, the Select Committee of the House of Commons was to report against his exclusive theories and to note the inaccuracy of his statements. In fact, the only hope for the future—and before the end of the year Strachan must have realized it—lay in a return to his earlier policy of negotiating privately with individuals.

Ryerson’s eight letters appeared in the *Upper Canada Herald*, published by H. C. Thomson, M.P., of Kingston, himself an Anglican, during and after the election campaign; almost simultaneously they appeared in the *Advocate*.^[33] The immaturity noted in the Reviewer’s letter of 1826 is no longer in evidence. The range of argument is wide, the authorities quoted numerous and weighty, and the logic exact and convincing. Considering the age and the continent, Egerton has measurably well observed William’s advice as to tone; generally speaking, he has endeavoured to write in a “mild and sweet”, if “candid” style. Only when he is dealing with the aspersions on the Methodists and the selfishness of the terms of the University Charter does he permit himself to slip into the biting sarcasm and denunciation noticeable in his first encounter with Strachan and characteristic of the press of Upper Canada at the time. Indeed these eight letters rank high amongst the fruits of Ryerson’s mind and pen. How he contrived to compose them, while preaching from twenty to thirty times a month and travelling one of the hardest of the circuits, with no access to libraries and little to kindred minds, is something which may well excite wonder and admiration. He himself tells us that they were largely thought out on horseback, and we may infer that his saddle bags during these months bore the additional weight of the essential documents. And when he returned to headquarters at John McCarty’s, he would have at his elbow his little library of historical and philosophical works, and especially his beloved Paley. William Smith has no doubts as to the effectiveness of this second great literary venture of Ryerson, “who by his controversial skill shattered Strachan’s immediate defence, and by clinging to his flank eventually overthrew the plans of a lifetime”.^[34] By a strange lapse Hodgins entirely overlooks the whole affair.

The first three letters are more or less introductory and remain in the suburbs of the fundamental issue. In the first he explains the imperious

obligations which are laid upon him to enter the controversy. He refers to Solon's law of stasis which inflicted capital punishment on the citizen who remained neutral in an issue of importance to the state. Certainly he could not, without shame, remain silent with such a challenge as this. He has no personal feelings in the matter, and nothing but profound veneration for the Church of England, but "he conceives it for the public good that the gross errors both as to fact and principles should be detected and exposed". Strachan had pleaded the support of the whole Legislative Council and the sanction of his own conscience. Ryerson calls attention to the evidence given by certain Councillors before the Select Committee of the Assembly as disproving their unanimity. In any case in such matters the individual conscience must yield to the public conscience, since civil authority is founded on general opinion. Then, by selecting contradictory statements from his published appeals, he permits Strachan to confound his own arguments. Strachan had scored rather neatly by referring to the projected separation of the Canadian from the American conference and expressing gratification that the Methodists had acted in accordance with his advice. Ryerson points out that it is more than four years since the Canadian Conference had set on foot the move for separation, and meeting thrust with thrust, he calls on Strachan to point out just where and when he gave the advice. "If there is any such advice in existence, I fear it is amongst the sealed papers of the Privy Council." He contradicts the statement that the Methodists have always shown hostility to the Church of England, and calls attention to the opening of Methodist Chapels to Church of England services—a courtesy never reciprocated. He places the evidence of fifty witnesses before the Committee of the Legislative Assembly against Strachan's varying statements as to the origin and loyalty of Methodist preachers. He notes that the tactics employed by Strachan of complimenting the Wesleyan Methodist missionaries, as opposed to the Episcopal Methodists, are as old as Persian diplomacy in Greece and as fresh as Sidmouthe's attempt to divide the dissenters in 1811.

But this is all more or less by way of clearing the ground. In the fourth and three succeeding letters he comes to the root of the matter. The whole question of church establishment is reviewed. Is establishment in the interests either of the state or of the church, or is it at once a divisive principle, inimical to political freedom, and a weakening and corrupting influence "fatal to the spirituality of Christ's simple and unassuming religion"? To support this latter view he appeals to the lessons of history and the works of several clerical authorities. He next undertakes to prove that the Church of England is not the "Established Church" of Canada, as Strachan

had always contended. He argues that the term “a Protestant Clergy”, of 31 George III, 36, cannot rightly be interpreted as referring exclusively to the Church of England. The fact that the Church of England is specifically mentioned in the clause dealing with rectories, and the use of the phrase “any Minister, Priest, Ecclesiastic or Teacher according to any religious form and mode of worship” elsewhere in the Constitutional Act, are regarded as conclusive evidence that its framers did not intend to “establish” the Church of England or endow it exclusively with the Reserves.^[35]

The Church of England, then, was not “established” in Canada. Nor ought it to be established, and this on several grounds. Its members were comparatively few, and its progress was surprisingly slow in spite of the privileges and endowments it had enjoyed. Strachan had stated that the Church of England had no special privileges. Ryerson exclaims:

How can you say so, sir . . . when you have been refusing year after year to sanction a Bill passed as often by a large majority of the House of Assembly to allow the clergy of other denominations to marry . . . when you have been throwing under the table a Bill passed session after session by the House of Assembly authorizing different denominations to hold lands on which they might build their parsonages, erect their churches and in which they could bury their dead?

Indeed establishment would be a disservice to the Church itself; avarice and pride and sloth tend to fasten on a favoured church. The seventh letter concludes with an eloquent description of what Canada will become when religion shall really flourish there. “Yea, happy is the people whose God is the Lord.”

The eighth letter is confined to a discussion of the University. It begins with a paragraph on the effects of the general diffusion of education and the need of such in Canada—Ryerson’s first glimpse of his future field. His Majesty, he noted, had designed a University which would “conduce to the general welfare of the Province”; through misrepresentations on the part of Strachan, His Majesty’s advisors had set up the framework of a University which was bound to fail of this noble purpose. The terms of its Charter had met with almost universal disapproval in Canada. The governing body and professors had been restricted to those who subscribed to the Thirty-nine Articles, and its main purpose as conceived by Strachan was to educate missionaries for the Church of England and to proselytize the inhabitants of the province to that church. The attempt to transplant to Canada the Oxford

and Cambridge tradition, with their appeal to the wealthy classes and their exclusion of dissenters, was contrasted with the Scotch system founded by their own parliament and suited to their own conditions.

The letters conclude:

While as a public man, pursuing your present measures, I feel myself in duty bound decidedly to differ from you; as a private individual, I entreat the smiles of Heaven upon yourself and family. With some of the clergymen and many exemplary and highly respectable members of your church, I have the pleasure of a personal acquaintance, and am happy to call them my friends; and it is my sincere prayer to Almighty God, that all our errors and improprieties may be corrected and forgiven, and that it may be your and my portion, and that of all with whom we may be respectively blended in church fellowship, to be enabled to say at our approaching departure—"I have fought the good fight, I have kept the faith, and henceforth there is a crown of life laid up for me, which the Lord the Righteous Judge shall give me in that day."

I have the honour to be,
Rev. Sir, Your Humble Servant,
EGERTON RYERSON

[1] *Case, Vol. III*, p. 108.

[2] *S.M.L.*, p. 69.

[3] See p. [67](#).

[4] *S.M.L.*, p. 67.

[5] *S.M.L.*, p. 69.

[6] *Ibid.*, p. 69.

[7] *S.M.L.*, p. 80.

[8] *Case, Vol. III*, p. 192.

[9] See p. [34](#).

[10] *Case, Vol. III*, p. 192.

[11] John Jones was the older brother of Peter Jones and had been trained by his father as a surveyor. At this time he was employed in teaching the village school. The conversion of Peter Jones in 1823 was an event of considerable importance in the history of Indian Missions in Canada. He was born at Burlington on January 1, 1802. He had been brought up by his mother and had lived the life of an Indian boy until, at the age of fourteen, he was sent to a school by his father. At the age of twenty, at his father's request, he was baptized by the Rev. Ralph Leeming of Ancaster, a clergyman of the Church of England, but continued, so he tells us, "the same wild Indian youth as before". (*Case, Vol. II*, p. 409.) He was converted, along with a half-sister, at the Camp Meeting at Ancaster in 1823. Then began an interesting and romantic career, recorded after 1825 in his *Journal*. In the course of his visits to England on behalf of his people, he was much honoured and fêted. A graphic account of his audience with Queen Victoria has been preserved both by himself and by Carroll.

[12] Thomas Vaux conducted a school at York. The following year we find Carroll, who had given up his school at Scarboro, studying with him. At this time he was a Methodist, interested in Sunday Schools, the Temperance movement, and liberal policies. Later he went over to the Irvingites.

[13] The Cazenovia Seminary, in New York State, in lieu of suitable facilities for higher education in Upper Canada, was much frequented by young Methodists of ambition.

[14] *S.M.L.*, p. 86.

[15] In November of the same year Anson Green was married by the Rev. Ralph Leeming of the Church of England at Ancaster. Green records that Mr. Leeming handed him back the fee, assuring him that he would much rather be considered a brother than a hireling. Green's wife was a daughter of Caleb Hopkins of Nelson, later member of the Assembly, so that they would have to travel even farther than the Ryersons for the ceremony. At that time the right to marry was still denied Methodist preachers. Strachan discusses the question in the letter to Dr. Hamilton above quoted in part (p. 14). Evidently local preachers with a stake in the community were regarded by him as more worthy of the privilege than were the ordained itinerants "subject to" the American Conference.

[16] This letter is one of those found in the beautifully bound book of Presidents of Conference, compiled by the Hon. James Ferrier of Montreal. It contains in the case of each president a photograph, the important dates of his life, and one or more letters written by him. Apparently most of the letters were supplied Ferrier by Hodgins from this collection. The volume is in the library of Victoria University.

[17]

The Select Committee of the House of Assembly of 1828, under the chairmanship of M. S. Bidwell. Of a committee of five, two were members of the Church of England, one a Presbyterian, one a Methodist, and one a Unitarian. Fifty-two witnesses were summoned. The report of the committee runs to some four thousand words. The findings on the place of the Methodists in the life of Upper Canada must have been gratifying to the members of that body:

“To the disinterested and indefatigable exertions of these pious men this Province owes much. . . . Their influence and instruction, far from having (as is represented in his letter) a tendency hostile to our institutions, have been conducive, in a degree which cannot easily be estimated, to the reformation of their hearers from licentiousness and the diffusion of correct morals, the foundation of all sound loyalty and social order . . .”

Accepting the findings of the Committee, the House expressed in a petition to His Majesty, its surprise and regret at Dr. Strachan’s letter and Chart; its belief that any apprehension of a design on His Majesty’s part to establish any one church would cause grief and alarm; its desire for the cancellation of the University Charter, and for the setting apart of money from the sale of the Clergy Reserves for education and local improvements long delayed through lack of funds.

[18]

The John McCarty here referred to was a man of some standing in the community and a pillar of Methodism in the Cobourg district. He later appears as one of the Committee of the Upper Canada Academy. At this time he was largely responsible for the erection of the school at Rice Lake. It would appear that Ryerson made McCarty's home his headquarters on this circuit. His father has been described by Burwash (*Egerton Ryerson—Makers of Canada Series*, p. 40) as the “martyr of early Canadian Methodism”, having been banished for persistence in preaching and drowned in the St. Lawrence. The whole story of the elder McCarty's disappearance well illustrates the difficulties which confront the student of Canadian history. There can be little doubt that the Charles Justin McCarthy of the court records, “the vagabond impostor and disturber of the peace”, and James McCarty, the Whitefield Methodist, are one and the same person. The sentence to banishment is also beyond question, as well as the rough justice of early days and official hostility to Methodists. The exact fate which befell him and the cause and manner of his disappearance must remain a matter of doubt. John McCarty, at all events, was unable to establish a settled tradition as to the end of his father. A documented discussion of the whole incident will be found in *Vol. IV*, pp. 12-18, of *The Canadian Journal of Religious Thought—The Martyrdom of McCarty, Fact or Myth*, C. B. Sissons.

[19] During the previous year a school had been built at Rice Lake, and a young man, Hamilton Biggar, had begun his work as teacher on November 13th. He is described by Carroll as a well-educated, pious young man trained at the district school at Cobourg. The next year we find him on a circuit and succeeded as master of the school by James Evans, who was later to become famous as the translator of the Gospel into Cree. Biggar remained in the active ministry till 1854. The name Hamilton Biggar will remain green in the memory of the heirs and successors of Methodism in Canada through the benefactions of his son, the late Dr. Hamilton Fisk Biggar of Cleveland, whose generous scholarships enable several students each year to pursue their studies at Victoria College.

[20] Ebenezer Perry, a prominent business man and Methodist in the Newcastle district.

[21] This was the General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, which in 1828 met at Pittsburgh. In addition to the four delegates of the Canada Conference mentioned here, there was a fifth, Samuel Belton.

[22] Already steamers were being operated on the Great Lakes. In October of this year Anson Green, in returning to York from the Conference at Ernestown, had his first ride on a steamboat, the *Niagara*, an old schooner fitted up with an engine and plying between Prescott and Niagara. The lake was so rough and Green so sick that he wished he were in his saddle again.

[23] *A Speech of the Venerable John Strachan, D.D., Archdeacon of York, in the Legislative Council, Thursday, sixth March 1828, on the subject of the Clergy Reserves. Published by request, York, U.C. Printed by Robert Stanton. (See p. 83.)*

- [24] *Report of the Select Committee to which was referred the Petition of Bulkley Waters and others, and other petitions from Christians of various denominations, on the same subject.* (See p. [73](#).)
- [25] James Lyons, member for Northumberland. (See p. [66](#).)
- [26] A Bishop was never appointed, and the Canadian church remained episcopal only in name. The term “General Superintendent” was used to designate the executive head of the new Canadian body. Rev. Wilbur Fisk, A.M., Principal of the Wilbraham Academy, was asked to accept the position of General Superintendent, and others also were approached. Case was chosen President of the Conference, *pro tempore*, and Superintendent of all the Indian Missions of the province. It would appear, then, that the new body took a turn decidedly democratic (if a word so abhorrent to many of them may be used) and agreed to entrust the direction of their affairs not to a Bishop, or even to a General Superintendent, but to an annually elected President. The decision, however, appears to have escaped notice or comment in the records.
- [27] This: probably refers to what Clark (*Life and Times of Rev. Elijah Hedding, D.D.*, p. 352) calls the “radical” movement, which commenced as early as 1820 and aimed at reducing the power of the bishops and introducing lay delegates to the conferences.
- [28] See p. [51](#).
- [29] Dr. Nathan Bangs: *History of the Methodist Episcopal Church, Vol. III*, p. 391.

[30] The evidence of Ryerson before the Select Committee of the House of Assembly on this point was as follows:

“This is incorrect, for the methodists have 71 local or settled clergymen, and 46 itinerants employed in the province, and as the methodists have annually, for more than 50 years, published minutes which contain the names, stations, and numbers of itinerants employed, together with the number of members belonging to the Methodist church, and as these minutes may be had of any itinerant in the province, it could not have been difficult to have ascertained the number of itinerants employed by the methodists. . . .

“According to a chart of the baptist church founded upon the authority of 2 baptist clergymen, there are 45 baptist clergymen in the province; with several of these I have conversed, and although they may be ignorant of political intrigues, they are as well acquainted with the truth, doctrine and duties of the bible, as the clergymen of the church of England.”

[31] *Observations on the provision made for the maintenance of a Protestant Clergy, etc.* Printed by R. Gilbert, St. John's Square, 1827.

[32] P. 76.

[33] These letters were reprinted at the *Herald* office in a pamphlet of 232 pages entitled *Claims of Churchmen and Dissenters of Upper Canada brought to the test in a Controversy between several members of the Church of England and a Methodist Preacher*. The pamphlet included extracts from Strachan's sermon of 1825, the Reviewer's reply, and a series of anonymously published letters between Ryerson and two champions of the Church of England.

[34] William Smith: *Political Leaders of Upper Canada*, p. 172.

[35] It is an interesting fact that while Ryerson was writing this legal argument the Committee of the House of Commons, having examined an imposing array of witnesses including George Ryerson and William Hamilton Merritt from Upper Canada, was framing its report which included a finding to the same effect.

CHAPTER III

AT ANCASTER

September 1828 to August 1829

The Conference of 1828 met during the first week of September in the old Switzer Chapel at Ernestown. Its business was conducted with unanimity and despatch. And the business was no less than the setting up of a separate Methodist Episcopal Church in Canada. Bishop Elijah Hedding attended and presided till the resolutions of separation were passed. Then he vacated the chair, but was prevailed upon to continue throughout the sessions. The terms of separation agreed upon at Pittsburgh were ratified. In addition, concessions were made to the “democratic” movement in the church in two important respects. No new regulation respecting “temporal economy” could be of effect without the consent of two-thirds of the Quarterly Meetings, consisting of laymen, and no preacher had the right to appoint a leader to a class without the consent of the members.

Ryan hovered about the Conference but was not, so Carroll thinks, admitted to its sessions. A publicity committee, of which Egerton Ryerson was a member, was appointed in connection with his campaign against the Conference. Case was made President *pro tempore*, and William Ryerson took his place as Presiding Elder to range the Bay of Quinte District. Franklin Metcalf took over the York circuit. John remained Presiding Elder of the Niagara District. Egerton was transferred along with his Superintendent—an unusual procedure—to the excellent Ancaster circuit, there to spend the first busy but comparatively uneventful year of his married life. George was received on trial, and placed with Case and Richardson on an important committee, whose duty it was to keep in touch with the British Conference with a view to the maintenance of the arrangement of 1820. Carroll remarks on the fact that such a duty should have been assigned to a neophyte, but cannot find that the committee did anything. Perhaps the reference to Mr. Reece in Case’s letter of March 19th^[1] may be regarded as evidence to the contrary. Other candidates received on trial, whose names will again appear, were William Smith, John Beatty, Ephraim Evans and Hamilton Biggar. The Rev. Andrew Prindle, who since 1817 had travelled the Genesee Conference, now transferred to his native province, but was placed on the superannuated list. However, the

death of William Slater during the year brought him into the active work to assist Ryerson on the Ancaster circuit. The number of members returned was 9,678 of whom 915 were Indians. Thus the Canadian church started its independent career with a membership just under 10,000. The rapid increase in numbers for a few years, then the significant stay and decline, will be noted in due course.

The Conference created precedent and signalized its changed status by framing a resolution to the new Governor, Sir John Colborne, who had succeeded Sir Peregrine Maitland. Amidst merely complimentary phrases it called attention to the fact that it was “unconnected with the civil and ecclesiastical authority of any other country”. While describing His Majesty’s Government in Canada as “mild and beneficent”, it ventured to refer to civil and religious liberties as “the strongest bonds of perpetual union between this Colony and the Mother Country”. Sir John’s reply was equally complimentary. He referred to the zeal and pious sentiments of the preachers labouring “in a colony where the temptations are many, the pastors few”.

October 27, 1828, H. C. THOMSON, Kingston, to REV. EGERTON RYERSON.

MY DEAR SIR:

I know not how to apologize to you for the delay which has taken place in the publication of the Controversy.^[2] Immediately after I last wrote to you, one of my men absconded and another was seized with an illness that has deprived me entirely of his services. Unfortunately their places cannot be supplied at present, and I am therefore greatly embarrassed. Nearly 100 pages of the work are finished, and I think there will be at least 100 more. All *possible* diligence shall be used to get the Book completed at an early period.

Permit me to congratulate you on your marriage, and believe me,

Sincerely yours,
H. C. THOMSON.

November 17, 1828, WILLIAM CASE, Cobourg, to REV. EGERTON RYERSON, JOHN RYERSON, WILLIAM SLATER, Hamilton, District of Gore.

DEAR BRETHREN

I again write you to say that information is received by Bro. Evens who has just come up to his circuit that Mr. Ryan is again proceeding in his work of stirring up the feelings of the people to discontent and division. His plan is said to be that of inducing Brethren & others to appt. delegates in different places who are to meet at Hallowell in January or sooner, to inquire into the affairs of Mr. R. and all who have any thing to say to his charge are there to appear & present them. Similar meetings are to be called in your part and a similar judicature formed & their proceedings forwarded to the Hallowell meeting. . . .

His manner is to complain of the Conference, that they refuse to do him justice and that he can get no hearing. At Kingston a considerable portion of the society were for deferring proceedings till they should hear the other side of the question, which they understood was soon to be published to the societies. "What can they publish, nothing contrary to what I have here", alluding to the paper our secretary gave him. "If they publish I will publish", and added further, "I have worn myself out in the Church, I now throw myself on their protection; if they will cast me out to the world, I must be cast off". This again awakened their sympathies & they renewed their exertions and appted delegates as above.

These meetings have been got up in great haste & before the preachers had time to get on their circuits or the people time to consider what they were doing or what the consequences, for many of them have no idea that a division is intended. But at Kingston he openly avowed his purpose. He said, "I have declared that I would never head a party, but I have never said I would not *preach* for a party. I now perceive there will be a division, *and I will go with my friends*". . . .

As Bro. Egerton is one of the Committee for publishing the proceedings of Conference relative to Mr. Ryan, I hope he will assist Bro. Richardson to complete it without delay, & have it published & circulated as soon as may be. Perhaps the printing by McKenzie under the inspection of Bro. Metcalf.

I would suggest that the circular go to shew that the Conference, as far as they have had evidence have laboured in every instance to do justice to Mr. Ryan, and even to afford him greater lenity on account of former standing than perhaps the

Discipline of the Church would justify. In proof of this statement shew the indulgent manner of their passing over the statements he made on his return from the Genl Conference.

2. The attention which was paid to his numerous charges against Bros. Madden & Culp.

3. The course pursued by the Hamilton Conference of 1827 as suggested in my last, not forgetting to mention the names of & the circumstances of the appt of the Committee (to take into consideration any grievances which Bro. Ryan may have against the Conference or any individual of the Conference) and not forgetting to mention, that Mr. R. objected to his case being left to be examined by a Committee "because it would deprive him of an appeal to the next Genl Conf." And that after his trial instead of *applying for an appeal*, he chose rather to withdraw from the Church. Instead of availing himself of the advantages of an appeal to a body who could have no motive but justice, assembled from every part of the Church, he has chose to take an unprecedented one & contrary to all order of Discipline.

4. The inconsistency of his late proposals etc. etc., not forgetting that in them, there is no wish expressed to return to the fellowship of his Brethren.

Affectionate caution against division, shewing the fate & consequences of parties in christian society, etc. etc.

Respectfully yours in Christ,
W. CASE

P.S. I think to visit Brockville & below this week and may write you from thence to Hamilton.

P.S. I would advise Bro. Slater to say nothing more on this subject on his circuit than advise to defer proceedings till they have the whole subject before them. If he attempts to take any part in the matter his opponents will take advantage of the manner of his expressing himself on the subject. This advice is affectionately given.

The first of the two conventions of Ryan's friends was held on the Ancaster circuit at Copetown. Acting on instructions from Case, John and

Egerton attended the convention during the whole eight days of its sitting and “allowed no allegations or statements of an injurious or false character against the Conference or preachers to pass unexamined”.^[3] The convention was presided over by Hugh Willson of Saltfleet, brother of John Willson, late Speaker of the House of Assembly, and an admirer of Ryan. The secretary was Ebenezer Griffin of Waterdown, son of Smith Griffin, the donor of Ryerson’s first horse, and father of Rev. Dr. W. S. Griffin whose ready wit and skill in debate is still a pleasant memory amongst the older Methodists. Ebenezer Griffin was a prominent business man of those days and an owner of mills at Waterdown, but he devoted the whole eight days to the convention. At the end of it all, the convention decided unanimously against Ryan and in favour of the Conference. With a copy of the decision Ryerson rode post-haste through the winter night to York. He left about nine o’clock at night and reached York the next morning about eight. “When Mr. Case read the decision of the Convention”, Ryerson wrote some fifty years later, “he was greatly affected and thanked God, with many tears, for His Providence and goodness to His servants.”^[4]

Fully expecting that Franklin Metcalf would represent the Conference at Ryan’s next convention about to meet at Hallowell, Ryerson went to bed quite worn out by the eight days of worry and the night’s ride. When he awoke in the afternoon he found that his horse had been shod and he was commanded to go to Hallowell and face Ryan again, and without the aid of his trusted brother. He felt his lot to be hard, but obeyed. Arriving in Hallowell he was compelled to argue for nine whole days. For the first four or five days both his arguments and himself received scant courtesy from Ryan and his followers, largely Irishmen. In the end, however, he was able to secure a unanimous verdict for the Conference. Thereafter Ryan contrived to organize congregations on a few circuits and to provide them with preachers. Only two of the members of Conference, however, joined him in revolt. These were James Jackson and Isaac Smith, neither at the time on circuits, and the latter Ryan’s son-in-law.

November 28, 1828, H. C. THOMSON, Kingston to REV. E. RYERSON, Hamilton, Gore District.

MY DEAR SIR,

Yours of the 18th came duly to hand, and in reply I beg to state that your former letter was answered early in the month, and the *Herald* has since been regularly forwarded to Ancaster. In future, it shall be sent to Hamilton.^[5]

I am really ashamed that it is not in my power to give you more satisfactory information respecting the Book. It lingers in the Press merely for the want of workmen, who cannot be procured in this place. To fix a time for its completion I dare not, but be assured that all possible diligence will be used. I think it will exceed 200 pages, and the immense quantity of press work makes it a heavy job.

The changes which have recently taken place in the two Provinces cannot fail to gratify every lover of his country, though the "*Tools of power*" will no doubt hang their heads in sullen silence. I am highly pleased with the Methodist Ministers' Address, and the reply thereto—Strachanism must seek a more congenial climate!

In haste,

Yours truly,

H. C. THOMSON

December 11, 1828, J. S. HOWARD^[6], York, to THE REV.'D E. RYERSON, Hamilton.

MY DEAR SIR

Perhaps you are not aware that a lot of ground has been purchased here for the avowed purpose of building a Wesleyan Missionary Meeting house and I understand that subscriptions are now gathering. Indeed, Mr. Baldwin^[7] informed me that Mr. Fenton^[8] had said in their shop that it was the case as the Society here was still in connection with the U. States and that a Bishop was sent for to that country. I understand, (but not from a very authentic source) that Mr. Wenham, John Gamble & John Mourse have subscribed fifty dollars a year. I write you these few lines, in great haste, in order that you may use such measures as you conceive to be necessary to counteract so vile a proceeding, for I can view it in no other light. I wish very much however that the office of Bishop may be dispensed with and that things may remain as they are.

What do you think of an appeal being sent home against it, signed by our Society and others here, and backed by a letter from your brother George.

Ever Yours,
J. S. HOWARD

*January 2, 1829, JOHN RYERSON, London, to REV. EGERTON RYERSON,
Hamilton, Gore District.*

MY DR BROTHER

I came here yesterday & have been freazing ever since, yet in the midst of my sufferings I cannot deny myself the pleasure of writing you a line. The day I left you I did not get any further than to Shavers.^[9] The next day I wrode to Oxford (52 miles) & preached in the evening after which I gave an explanation of Ryan's case an hour & a half long. He had got two delegates elected but I succeeded in entirely over throwing it & the delegates & friends expressed themselves as muched oblidged & as fealing very thankful that I had taken the pains to give them so ful an account of the affare. How I shall succeed in other places I cannot say. The preachers appear to be entirely impotant in withstanding the old mans endeavours. I think he has got delegates elected in most of the neabourhoods he has visited; he has went up no higher than Wesminster & he has not come on this Ct for he new if he had that there were some intelegent friends who would entirely defeat him. . . . My Dr. Br. this is a desperate struggle. I am using every posable exertion to defeat the old man. I go from house to house to see those friends whom I do not see at the meetings. Could you not go to Burford to see Bro. M. I shall not be able to see him. I am shure if you were to see him you would entirely convince him; it is important this be done as he has a great deal of influence in Burford & the Governs Road, etc. etc. Egerton by all means try & go & go as soon as you can. If you should have to neglect appointments no matter for that. I know it is hard for you but I [am] shure the approbation of your conscience & the approbation of church will afford you an ample reward. I think it will be necessary for you to keep a look out about Ancaster lest the old fellow get them together there again. Write to Br. Richardson & tell him to be on the look out & also write to Br. Belton & Br. Green. The Qt. M. are as follows . . . Don't fail to go to Burford & if you posable can try & go to Long Point also & have Publick Meetings.

I am my dr Egerton your affectionate Brother

Remember me affectionately to Hanah

I think that it is all important that Mr. Ryans Pamflet be fully answered & the conference fully vindicated. All the friends up this way universally wish it. I am afraid that the Committee will not be sufficiently full & conclusive in this. I therefore very much wish that you would go amediately on & write a full exposure of it & I will write to Br. Case & have your reply published by way of Apendix to the statement of the committee and have it attested to by 5 or 6 Preachers. I wish very much that you would write a reply yourself as our friends wish a full confutation of the thing. I will also write to Br. Medcalf & tell him that you will write a confutation, to publish it as an apendix to the committee's statement. Now my Dr. Br. do comply with my request in this as I know it is all important that it be done & that it be done right away. Please send word to Br. Youmans the time of his Qt. Meeting.

March 2, 1829, WILLIAM SMITH,^[10] Hallowell, to WILLIAM RYERSON, York, but addressed to JAMES R. ARMSTRONG,^[11] Merchant, York.

DEAR BROTHER:

You will please hand this letter to Mr. William Ryerson. For certain reasons I have thought it prudent on the outside to direct it to you, instead of him.

Yours,
WM. SMITH

REV'D. and DEAR BROTHER:

It is with feelings extremely painful that I this morning assume my pen to fulfill my promise of writing to you. Several events have transpired since you left this place. After Mr. Jackson concluded preaching on Friday evening, he publicly announced his determination to withdraw from the Society. The reasons why this fastidious gentleman was urged to this act was in consequence of the overwhelming torrent of corruption that is pouring itself into our Society through the Ministry. His pure and pious soul, I suppose, wept over us with such tears as the miser sheds at the poverty of his poor neighbours. Mr. Ryan at the conclusion gave

out an appointment for himself on the Tuesday evening following. The trustees in conjunction with ourselves thought it prudent to close the doors against him (Ryan). This excited the feelings of many of the village gentlemen, who immediately called a meeting, and deputed five of their number to wait upon Bro. Hopkins and request the key. It was refused. They told him to consider the subject and they would call again in the evening. They called and met with a second refusal. In the evening they entered the House by drawing the nails from above the windows, with a pair of pincers, and then unlocked the door. A very numerous congregation attended, when Mr. R. preached from a text (*James V. 20*) which he often quotes in favour of himself. One of the members of the public meeting then read an Address to Mr. R. expressing their approbation of his conduct. They also drew up several resolutions in which (I am told) they pour out a torrent of abuse against the Mr. Ryersons and the convention. These resolutions have gone to the press, you will therefore see them.

Such has been the rage of public feeling, that they are basely determined, if possible, to destroy our title to the Chapel. We entertain the most painful fears respecting our title. We are bound by our Deed to let every regularly authorised *Protestant Preacher* occupy the House when not wanted by ourselves. And if refused, the land again reverts to its former owners. It all depends upon the authority of Mr. Ryan's credentials. He declares that he has never forfeited them by any immoral action, and that when he withdrew from the Conference, his moral character was unimpeached. Under these circumstances, has he forfeited his credentials? Or can he be considered as a regular authorised Protestant Preacher? Answer me these questions candidly and free from error. Make no mistake, all depends upon the authority of his credentials. Is there no precedent to which he can refer in justification of himself?

I here quote you two items which [I] consider the most objectionable in our Deed. . . . "and in further trust and confidence that they shall at all times hereafter permit all such Ministers and Preachers belonging to the said Methodist Episcopal Church as shall be duly authorised and appointed by the General Conference, or by the yearly conference, authorised by the said General Conference. . . . And in further confidence that at any time, and at all times hereafter, when the said Ministers and Members of the

Methodist E. Church shall not at such times occupy the said Church in the service of God, preaching and teaching, that then and in such case it shall and may be lawful for them, the trustees, now in trust and office, and their successors in trust and office forever hereafter to permit and allow all such regular Protestant Ministers and Preachers to enter into the said Church and preach and teach and expound the gospel therein.” . . . “And if at any time hereafter the said House and Church, thus to be erected on the said premises for the service of God, as aforesaid, shall be destroyed either by fire or otherwise, the said trustees now in office or their successors in trust and office shall neglect and refuse to rebuild a house of Worship thereon, or shall neglect and refuse the said Methodist Ministers and teachers duly authorized to preach and expound the Holy Scriptures therein, that then and in such case all and singular the said premises hereby given and granted and every part and parcel thereof shall revert back and become vested in us the said Arva Ferguson, etc. etc.”^[12]

It is probable that it may become a subject of legal investigation. I wish you would take the advice of some able Attorney and let me know immediately what chance we should run in the event of a lawsuit, for we feel no disposition to be driven from our rights as long as we can defend them.

That Mr. R. designs to form a party, is no longer a subject of doubt. He has shown the outlines of the rules by which he means to govern his future Church until a conference can be formed. If I could have obtained a copy I would have sent to you. His new Church is to be called the *Wesleyan Primitive* Methodist. (When will men cease to prostitute this venerable name) His people are to govern themselves until a Conference can be formed, and will then consist of an equal number of preachers and delegates who shall be competent to draft a discipline, and make all rules for their government. This I have from report. We are most painfully situated; the conduct of many of our members is extremely violent; we scarcely know what to do, or whom to trust; if God does not help, I know not what will become of us. I however still feel a confidence that God will yet overrule all for his glory, and that “the wrath of man will praise him”. This effervescence when it works off, will I trust carry away many of our dead weights. The commotion is principally among members of this stamp; there are however a few of our more worthy brethren whose feelings are

very much excited. Any advice which you may feel disposed to give will be gratefully received. We wish to act prudently, safely, and agreeable to the best interests of [the] Church. At present we are watching, rather than try[ing to] guide the storm. After it blows over a little, we hope we shall be able to pursue a steady and decisive course [in line with] our present determinations. I have heard that there is a combination of some 16 of the most worthless, urged on by some of the more respectable in the villiage, who are determined to break open the Chapel Door as often as Mr. Ryan wants it. We are resolved if we can do it with safety to prevent a similar occurrence for the future by some justifiable means. You must not be surprised if an attempt is made to degrade and injure the character of yourself and Edgerton. I hear that Edgerton has been very much hurt, pray let me know the extent of the injury.^[13] If any more particularly occurs, I will write you again. Let me hear from you immediately, for I know not how soon Mr. Ryan may return and we do not wish to endanger our Chapel.

Yours truly,
WM. SMITH.

P.S. Address to Wm. Smith, Methodist Preacher, for there is a miserable fellow here by the same name who some times takes my letters from the office.^[14]

W. S.

March 19, 1829, W. CASE, New York,^[15] *to EGERTON RYERSON, Hamilton, Gore District, U. Canada.*

My dear Brother,

Yours of March 3rd was received on my arrival here the 17th. Thank the Lord that in your misfortune your life was preserved. The enemies of our Zion would have triumphed in your death. May God preserve you to see the opponents of religious liberty, and the abettors of faction frustrated in all their selfish designs, and hair-brained hopes! By the Kingston papers you will now see what Mr. Ryan's course is now like to be, and it will now remain with the trustees of our Chapels whether the peace of the Church is to be further invaded by a man who has done so much to destroy its unity, and whose proceedings have been so thoroughly

examined and so unanimously condemned, & that too by a body of his own choice. Certainly the persons who signed the address to Mr. R. at Hallowell have committed themselves much to a candid public, and I am not certain but their inconsistency should be exposed. But perhaps, when the spirit of faction subsides (as it must) the —— will die.

Since my arrival here I received a letter from Bro. W. Fisk, date 13 inst., in which he mentions the receipt of your letter. He thinks he must “decline the invitation”. “Such is his situation, his connection with the School, his health, etc., that he can hardly deem it duty to accept”. My letter to him dated the 12th will be forwarded to him with addl. remarks. I advise him not to give a decided answer till after your visit,^[16] which I hope *you will not relinquish*. Whether you succeed or not, your visit will be important and we may yet hope he will finally accept.

A letter before me from Mr. Richard Reece,^[17] dated London, 10 Jan. 1829, to Mr. Francis Hall, at whose house I write, says, “I am of opinion that we can do very little good in U. Canada. Had our preachers been continued they might have raised the standard of primitive English methodism, which would have had extensive & beneficial influence upon the work in that province, but having ceded by convention the whole of it to your Church I hope we shall not interfere to disturb the people. They must, as you say, struggle on for a while and your Bishops must visit them & ordain their Ministers till they can do without them.” Again—“The squabbles at Leeds have had very little influence [seal] a distance”. He speaks of being highly gratified at the accounts of the conversion of the Indians in Canada & hopes Mr. Hall will make annual visits & publish his remarks on the work there.

Dr. Bro., please say to your Bro. John that we wish him to provide for Munceytown in that way which the state of things seems to require, of which he can better judge than myself. You will see by McK’s paper, that I have recalled Mr. Jackson’s authority to make collections for the Muncey mission, and I wish you to caution Bro. Griffin against answering any order I have given to Jackson for materials & tools. Leave this caution also with his Clerk at the store in Hamilton.

I desire your Bro. will also be always ready to afford advice & instructions to the missionary & teachers in the Grand River Mission. I am heartily glad to hear that Bro. Messmore is likely to succeed in accomplishing the building of the Chapel at Salt Springs. "Bless the Lord, he does help us."

I will attend to your instructions relative to the *Advocate*. I am happy to hear that prospects are so favourable & hope your colleague will learn *prudence* from the past. Your constant attention to him, & frequent cautions and advice will be necessary, and to which I think he will pay respect. With all his indiscretion, he is a good hearted Brother.^[18]

Our visit has been every where well received, and abundantly repaid with kindness and donations for our Missions. The advantages of this tour appear to be mutual; Sabbath Schools & Missionary Societies will receive a favourable & powerful impulse, and we shall be able to obtain considerable assistance for carrying on the work so gloriously progressing. Doxtater's visit to the Oneidas is well received & it gladdens the heart & strengthens our cause in the minds of the missionary friends that we are endeavouring to assist in the conversion of the Indians on this side of the line. The Christian spirit of benevolence to the poor & the heathen beats higher than I ever saw it before. As an evidence of this, at the female anniversary^[19] on the 17th the collection amounted to 217 doll., a handful of gold rings (I believe more than 20) and the addition of near 50 new subscribers.

Different societies are engaged in publishing our works. The Gospel of Mark is now in the press, as also a Hymn Book & spelling book in Mohawk, & a Hymn Book in the Chipeway. Our whole attention is called to anniversaries & our duties in forwarding our publications.

Thank you for your good wishes for my welfare, and compliment of my expected *fair one*^[20]. Your Milton's Adam speaks the language of my heart, and believe there is

"Union of mind, or in us both one soul".

Thank you for your letter; hope you will write again. Direct to No. 14 Crosby St., New York till your date of about 16 Apl. We think

to complete all our business & leave this for Canada about the 5th or 6 May. Anniversary of the Parent Society is the 4 May.

As ever, very affectionately,

W. CASE.

P.S. Please write your Bro. George whatever of the above you may think proper.^[21]

March 20, 1829, W. CASE, New York, to MR. GEORGE RYERSON, Missionary at River Credit near York, U. Canada.

MY DEAR BROTHER:

I write to day to Egerton, requesting him to give you an extract from Mr. Reece's letter to F. Hall of this City. He thinks they can do nothing by sending missionaries to Canada, etc.

Our way this far has been prosperous. I never saw the pulse of missionary arder beat higher. Tickets for admission at the Anniversary might be sold by hundreds for a Dollar each, but they were distributed gratis. The collection at the female Anniversary was 217 Dolls. & a handful of gold rings. The spt. is truly missionary, rejoicing in the plan for aiding them in the conversion of the Indians on this side of the line. Bro. Doxstader & Hess visit is well received, and a good work commenced at the Oneida.

We shall not get Peter's translations of the Scriptures printed till we return to Canada, but the Hymn Books are now on press, and must be done here, as they are wanted immediately, and beside, the numerous accents cannot be furnished at any printing establishment in Canada. We hope the Bible Society of York will soon be able to provide for the further printing of the Mohawk translations now preparing of the Gospels & Epistles.

We are very grateful for the kind offers of his Excellency, Sir John Colborne, and that he feels desirous to promote the welfare of the Indians on the most liberal principles in matters of religion. This will have no unfavourable effect on the feelings of the Indians towards their Great Father the King. We are happy to hear that his Exclcy. is placed at the head of the Indian department. From the kindness already manifested, we believe he will be ready to comply with any reasonable wishes of the Indians and they will feel a confidence in communicating their wants for their religious

welfare & improvement in civilised life. On this account we could wish that his Excellency might be made acquainted with the fact that the Mohawks of Bay Quinty, & the Missaugahs of Kingston & Grape Island, have petitioned that Mr. Clench of York might be appointed agent of the Indians at the Port of Kingston. The petition was forwarded last fall to General Darling, before his departure for England. Mr. Clench's attention to the Indians, together with his liberal & friendly disposition with respect to their religious profession, has much endeared him, and they would be much pleased with such an appointment. Bro. Jones & myself desire you will signify to his Excellency these circumstances and the wishes of the Indians on this subject.

We are glad to hear that the Brethren at the Credit are engaged in preparing for putting up the contemplated houses for industrious improvements & hospital for the sick. Hope nothing will interrupt so laudable a work. I think you might furnish the labouring men with provisions, get such tools as are wanted, etc., etc. Had you not better send for a couple of loads of corn to Grand River, or have you done so? You will call on Bro. Armstrong for any money you may want for the purpose. He has 100 Dolls. & I shall place more in his hands soon for the Credit & Lake Simcoe Missions. We should not neglect to make an early appeal to the people in your vicinity to aid in these improvements. Hope you will call on them for the purpose.

Respects to your family & the friends. Say to Bro. Peter^[22] that we shall not forget him, & shall be able to assist him in some clothing. Hope he will pay strict attention to his studies and the instructions of his friends, to yourself in particular. Several religious friends in this city send their love to Peter, deeply sympathising with him in the late loss of his wife and child. We are all well & hope after our visit to Phila. & the anniversary the 4 May to return to Canada. In the meantime desire you will write & inform us of events & wants. Direct to No. 14 Crosby St., New York.

Respectfully,
W. CASE

P.S. I have received no letters from you since I left York.

The kind offer of the Governor related immediately to the printing of the translations. From the diary of Peter Jones we learn the particulars. On March 17th he reports having received letters from Canada; one from his brother John, one from Captain John Brant, and one from Mr. J. B. Clench. These letters brought the information that Sir John Colborne had been appointed by the British Government to be the head of the Indian department in Upper Canada, and that he wished Peter Jones to return to Canada with his translations, and that “he would have them printed at his own expense in the town of York”.^[23] Two weeks after his return Peter rode down to York and was admitted “into the presence of His Excellency”, who at once began to talk about the printing of the Scriptures, and engaged to have this done at the Government press. He expressed his desire to have the Indians located in villages and taught useful trades and farming. He invited Peter to call at any time he might find it convenient.

This was on Monday, June 8th. The following Friday Peter received a special message from the Lord Bishop of Quebec, Dr. Stewart, to attend at Government House. Here he had an audience with the Bishop, the Lieutenant Governor, and Dr. Mountain.^[24] He was asked five questions as to the Indian work of the Methodists and his own position in that body. The Bishop complained about the intrusion of the Methodists on Church mission grounds at the Grand River and Bay of Quinte, but admitted that they had done much good. The Governor appeared free from sectarian prejudices and remarked “that the main point was to get the Indians converted and reformed”. A week later Peter met the Baptist and Presbyterian ministers of York, who wished to defray the expenses of printing. He informed them of the Governor’s offers and also of his obligation to the Methodist Conference, whereupon they agreed to see Case.

A few days later he again saw the Governor, this time with Robert Stanton, the Government printer. The matter came to a head; Sir John Colborne ordered 2,000 copies of the first seven chapters of *St. Matthew*. Apparently this was the sum of the offer; but the conversation did not end with the business of printing. The general situation as between the government and the Methodists in relation to the Indians was canvassed, and particularly the new developments on Lake Huron. On being informed by Peter that the Methodists had arranged to send in a Scotchman named James Curry as schoolmaster, the Governor said,

Very well—only we must be careful not to clash with each others operations; it makes no difference by whom they are

educated; the main object is to benefit the Indians. I will patronize your efforts and that of the Methodists in reforming the Indians.^[25]

The narrative continues:

Having been informed that Archdeacon Strachan wished to see me, I accordingly called on him and had a conversation about my translations. He kindly offered to loan me books which might help me in the work. He also asked me if I had given up going to Camp meeting? I told him I had not. He then asked if I found any thing in Scripture to sanction such meetings? I said that I found nothing in the Bible against such meetings. He replied, that he thought I could. Upon this our talk ended.

March 28, 1829, H. C. THOMSON, Kingston to REV. E. RYERSON, Gore District.

MY DEAR SIR,

“The Claims of the Churchmen” etc is at length completed, and I shall forward the 700 copies, as soon as the navigation opens to Mr. Armstrong. Would it not be well to send a few copies to Lower Canada for sale? The account is below.

Yours truly,
H. C. THOMSON

REV. E. RYERSON

To HUGH C. THOMSON, *Dr.*
To Printing 1200 copies of “Claims of the Churchmen & Dissenters of Upper Canada”, 232 pages, 8vo, viz.

Composition	33	12	“
45 Reams paper	45	“	“
Press work	27	“	“
Stitching etc.	10	“	“

	£115	12	“

Errors Excepted

H. C. T.

Kingston, March 28, 1829.

April 11, 1829, JAS. RICHARDSON, JR., York, to THE REV. EGERTON RYERSON, Ancaster Circuit.

MY DEAR BROTHER:

Understanding that you are expected here shortly, I have written a certificate of your appointment to wait on brother Fisk and hope it will answer. As I have not the Journals^[26] with me, I could not give a copy of the Resolution, but presume it is not essential. I hope you will succeed in obtaining him for the good of the cause. You shall have my prayers for success.

I wish to say that it appears to me necessary that some person should proceed against James Jackson^[27] and give him timely notice, but in order to do it he must be acquainted with Jackson's testimony before the Convention. As you have it, you ought to furnish it to some one to proceed on it. I have no objections to take it up if no one else more suitable offers.

Yours in Love & haste,
JAS. RICHARDSON, JR.

May 12, 1829, REV. W. CASE, Utica, to REV. GEORGE RYERSON, Missionary at River Credit.

DEAR BROTHER:

Not having time to be particular, I must refer you to Bro. Jones, only to say that your letter was received and your wishes have been attended to. The Hospital will be provided for, and whatever may be needed for providing for the work, only that a rigid & prudent economy must of course be observed. I wish you to write me at Belleville, and give me your plans of improvement & expense, that we may be able to know how far we may venture for the present year. We must keep in view that every effort should be used this season to carry the Gospel among the Indians at Penetanguishene. I have written to Bro. Beatty to make every preparation practicable, and I hope you will be able to spare from the Credit a number of your faithful men for this service.

My respects to your family & the Brethren,

As ever,
W. CASE

P.S. You will call on Bro. Armstrong for money when wanted.

As settlement extended northward along Yonge Street, the Conference found it necessary to divide the circuit of that name. In 1829 a new circuit was established with headquarters at Newmarket, and John Beatty, that strong and striking figure amongst the early Methodists, was placed in charge. He had now quite given up his fine property at Meadowvale, and had been received on trial as a regular itinerant. Evidently the limit of settlement to the north was the limit of his field. Yonge Street extended to the arm of Lake Simcoe where Barrie now stands. North of that what is known as the "Penetang" road had been surveyed, terminating on a deep harbour of Georgian Bay (then spoken of merely as Lake Huron) at Penetanguishene. Brother Beatty, then, was to prepare the way before this advance of the Indian cause to Lake Huron.

June 2, 1829, REV. W. CASE, Grape Island, to MR. GEORGE RYERSON, Missionary at Credit.

MY DEAR BROTHER:

I write to request you will afford your advice & assistance in forwarding the Mission to Penetanguishene. We desire that some 6 or 10 of the most suitable from the Credit may accompany Bro. Jones to that place. I have written to Bro. Beatty, & he is preparing their way so as to facilitate the Mission. He says he will meet Peter there, & Capt. Anderson invites earnestly our assistance in the good work.

Those who may be sent to that work, you will allow cash or provisions for their families to the amount of a Dollar or Dollar & half per week, and give them, or Peter, money to help them on their way.

As ever,

Yours,

W. CASE.

P.S. We are putting up some Articles for Credit, among which are a Clock, Chipeway Hymns, etc., and Peter's clothing. We direct to J. R. Armstrong.

W. C.

June 14, 1829, JOHN RYERSON, London, to REV. EGERTON RYERSON, Hamilton, District of Gore.

DR BROTHER

Our Camp Meeting closed yesterday. It was thought by our friends to be the most powerful & interesting meeting ever held in these parts. There were a number of whites experienced religion & a great number more most powerfully awakened. There were also a number of Indians from Muncey Town & the River Sawbil. I baptised between 20 & 30, children & all. Jackson has gone to the conference. He is going to York first (& as it [is] reported,) with the intention of calling on the governor^[28] etc. etc. He has formed 2 classes, one consisting of about 10 persons & the other of about 7, besides scattering individuals in other places, making in all, I am told, about 30. About 12 or 14 of whom were members of our society but not one of them of any consideration in our church & some of them most despicable. Jackson attempted to form a society in Br. Prusdichs neighbourhood. Only one person joined him who is a most notorious drunkard. The fellow when he joined him got up & said "I am a poor crature etc. etc. I am not fit to belong to any society but I believe I will join you". Jackson took him & his society is made up of just such stuf. The Brothers Hunts and others (—the delegates) told me at the Camp Meeting that they were fully of the opinion that this "schism would work for the good of the Church, that they had not enjoyed so much peace for some time in their class, as what they do now & that prospects were dayly becomeing more favourable".

The very much esteemed & most ameble Br. Holmes (a Local Preacher on the Thames Ct.) is no more. He died of an illness that only lasted a few hours. This is another heavy stroke to our Church. He was one of the most inteligent, exclent & amiable men belonging to the Local connection in this country or in any other country. He had a very considerable knowledge of the ded Languages & was a critick in the French & as an English scholar he had very few eaquals if any. While the Lord permits us to be vilified, abused & attacked on the one hand, he is taking away our friends on the other. O, will his rod never depart & [seal] will he draw out his anger to all generations.

As ever your affectionate

-
- [1] See p. [103](#).
- [2] The delay encountered by Ryerson in the printing of this work and the necessity, if a bit of work was to be done promptly, of turning to Mackenzie, the temper of whose paper did not improve with age, may have had not a little to do with the decision next year on the part of the Conference to go into the printing business.
- [3] Ryerson: *Epochs of Canadian Methodism*, p. 265.
- [4] *Epochs*, p. 267.
- [5] From this it appears that Ryerson resided at Hamilton, not at Ancaster. Probably the bride preferred to be with her people rather than to be alone while her husband was journeying.
- [6] James Scott Howard was Postmaster of York, and a Methodist. Evidently he was not given to demonstrativeness in religion. Five years later, writing from London, Ryerson refers to superintending a “love-feast” at the City Road Chapel, and says, “the people were a little bashful in speaking at first, like some of your York friends, such as Dr. Morrison, Mr. Howard and others”. In 1838 he was dismissed from his position as Postmaster by Sir Francis Bond Head on the ground that he was a radical and had not taken up arms for his country. Ryerson came to his defence, as he did in the more notorious case of M. S. Bidwell. He later became Treasurer of the counties of York and Peel. Dr. Henry Scadding (*Toronto of Old*, p. 426) describes him as “an estimable man, and an active promoter of all local works of benevolence”. He died in Toronto in 1866, aged 68.

[7]

John Spread Baldwin, a brother of Dr. W. W. Baldwin, had a shop on King Street.

John Fenton was something of a celebrity in old York. Carroll tells us that he was “the son of a Wesleyan minister, well educated in one of the English Connexional Schools”. He was given to preaching at times, and had assisted and supplied for Henry Pope in 1820. When the Wesleyans were recalled, he did not join with the “Americans” but became parish clerk to Strachan at St. James. Dr. Scadding thus describes him (*Toronto of Old*, p. 145):

“He was a rather small shrewd-featured person, at a glance not deficient in self-esteem. He was a proficient in modern popular science, a ready talker and lecturer. Being only a proxy, his rendering of the official responses in church was marked perhaps by a little too much individuality, but it could not be said that it was destitute of a certain rhetorical propriety of emphasis and intonation. Though not gifted, in his own person, with much melody of voice, his acquisitions included some knowledge of music. In those days congregational psalmody was at a low ebb, and the small choirs that offered themselves fluctuated, and now and then vanished wholly. Not unfrequently, Mr. Fenton, after giving out the portion of Brady and Tate, which it pleased him to select, would execute the whole of it as a solo, to some accustomed air, with graceful variations of his own. All this would be done with great coolness and apparent self-satisfaction.

“While the discourse was going on in the Pulpit above him, it was his way, often, to lean himself resignedly back in a corner of his pew and throw a white cambric handkerchief over his head and face. It illustrates the spirit of the day to add, that Mr. Fenton’s employment as official mouth-piece to the congregation of the English Church, did not stand in the way of his making himself useful, at the same time, as a class-leader among the Wesleyan Methodists”.

Apparently from this letter John Fenton was quite as busy and important out of church as in it, and in much the

same character. He afterwards removed to the United States where he obtained holy orders.

[9] In Ancaster is to be found a burying ground about an acre and a half in extent entirely given over to Shavers. The ancestor of the family was of Dutch origin and came to Upper Canada with the first rush of settlers after the Revolutionary War. Tradition has it that his sole equipment was a wife, a blanket and an axe. Shaver is the anglicized form of the Dutch name variously spelled.

[10] William Smith is described by Carroll as one of the most cultivated and excellent young men of the Canada connexion. He was of Scotch origin, born in Niagara in 1802. As a young man he was engaged in business with his uncle, James Lyons, and both had business associations with Charles Biggar of Carrying Place, then a bustling village. In a revival the three partners were converted. Smith became a class leader, and in 1824 repaired to the Methodist Seminary at Cazenovia where he studied for two years, thus adding a knowledge of classics and science to his training in business. He was the first Canadian to enrol at the school just opened. After teaching in the Indian School at Grape Island for a time, an employment which he found monotonous, he entered the regular work of the ministry. In December 1830 we find him taking an important part in the great public meeting at York.

[11] James Rogers Armstrong is described by Ryerson, writing in 1833, as "a pious and wealthy merchant" of York. In 1826 we find him residing at Kingston and conducting Peter Jones and some converted Indians on a tour through the district. Moving to York in 1828, he at once identified himself with the growing Methodist cause there. His wife was the president, and a daughter the treasurer, of the Female Missionary Society of that place, a "novel enterprise" whose officers presented their first report to the Conference of 1829 "with diffidence". Two younger daughters and a son attended Cazenovia.

- [12] The terms of this deed were probably by no means exceptional. Frequently throughout Upper Canada Methodist meeting houses were used by other denominations.
- [13] We have no details of this accident. We may perhaps assume that it was on the journey home after the second convention at Hallowell.
- [14] We may conclude from this note and the introduction to the letter that the postal service was not entirely safe or private.
- [15] On February 27th Case crossed the St. Lawrence with a group of Indians to tour the Eastern States in the interests of missions. The party included Miss Barnes and Miss Hubbard, teachers; Peter Jones; at least three other adult Indians, Simpson, Snake and Hess; and a number of children, boys and girls. The double purpose of the trip was to raise funds for the missions and to arrange for the publication of Peter Jones' translations of Scripture and hymns. The venture was a success in every way. On the very day this letter was written a meeting attended by 2,000 children was held in New York. While in that city, the party was the guest of Francis Hall, publisher and friend of missions, who had visited the Credit the previous year. By May 18th the party had returned to Grape Island.
- [16] Ryerson had been deputed to visit Rev. William Fisk and offer him the position of Bishop or Superintendent of the Canadian church.

[17] Rev. Richard Reece was a prominent member of the British Conference. He had been President in 1816 and was to be again President in 1835. In 1826 he had been one of the two delegates of the British Conference to carry fraternal greetings across the Atlantic to the American Conference. Richard Reece's ministry went back to Wesley himself, and he had the distinction of travelling without interruption a longer period than any other Wesleyan preacher—fifty-nine years.

[18] The man in question was Andrew Prindle, Ryerson's senior by more than twenty years. We know nothing definite of the indiscretion referred to. Carroll merely says, (*Vol. III*, p. 212):

“At our present date (1829), he was mentally vigorous; and he was strong in body, but so corpulent and unwieldy as to render it very difficult for him to perform the work of an itinerant preacher in Canadian circuits such as they were in that day”.

Circuit riding was only for *accincti*, as Tacitus would say—men girded. Night rides from Copetown to York, or a day's journey from Ancaster to Oxford (52 miles) with a sermon and a meeting thrown in were for the elect of body as well as spirit. From a minute of Conference we learn that he was sociably (and convivially) inclined, and was a member of the Masonic order, which in a Methodist preacher was regarded as a very doubtful proceeding.

[19] The Female Missionary Society, a novel and bold experiment in Canada, was well established in New York.

[20] The lady was Miss Hetty Hubbard, the school teacher at Grape Island, who with Miss Barnes accompanied Case on this tour.

- [21] Ryerson forwarded the letter to his brother George, who wrote the name of the sender and the date on the back of the letter, and folded it long and narrow to be kept in a package, as was customary with old letters before the days of envelopes.
- [22] A young Indian by the name of Peter Jacobs.
- [23] *Journal of Peter Jones*, p. 206.
- [24] Dr. Mountain was the son of the late Bishop of Quebec, and after an interval of about ten years, himself became Bishop.
- [25] *Journal of Peter Jones*, p. 227.
- [26] The Journals of the Conference. Apparently Ryerson, although not an officer of Conference, had been appointed to wait on Fisk, but had merely written him in November. The written refusal of Fisk is postmarked April 9th at Niagara. Richardson probably would not know of its contents by the 11th, and was still arranging for the interview in person.
- [27] Jackson made his headquarters in the Westminster district, and was greatly disturbing this and other western circuits. He was expelled from the church at the next Conference.
- [28] As noted above (p. 54) the Ryan party received a grant from the public revenues for several years. Strachan would probably be included in the "etc."

CHAPTER IV

TWO GREAT ENTERPRISES

August 1829 to September 1831

The Conference of 1829 assembled on the 26th of August at Ancaster. It was distinctly a Ryerson Conference. Case and Richardson were re-elected President and Secretary, but two of the three Presiding Elderships went to William and John and the selection for the editorship of the new connexional paper lay between George and Egerton. The first step in the matter of establishing a weekly newspaper had been taken at the Conference of 1828. The minutes carry the following resolution:

Resolved that a Committee consisting of W. Ryerson, Philander Smith, David Wright, J. Richardson and T. Madden be appointed to superintend the establishment and circulation of a weekly paper to be entitled the *Christian Guardian*.^[1]

In the meantime, the necessary information as to expenses had been secured. The printing apparatus would cost \$700, and it was estimated that the annual expenditure would be \$2,050. Against this was the sum of \$800 forwarded from the American Conference as the Canada Conference's share of the profits of the Book Room. In 1829 the Conference resolved to proceed with the enterprise. Stock was issued to the amount of \$2,000 in shares of \$20. These shares the preachers purchased themselves; but it was provided that if they were not all taken up at the Conference, friends were to be induced to purchase them. To what extent the itinerants were able themselves to finance the undertaking has not been recorded, nor do we know who proposed the name, *The Christian Guardian*, with its suggestion of armed defence. It had been provided that the editor should be elected "annually, by ballot, without debate",^[2] and when the ballots were counted, Brother Egerton prevailed over Brother George by one vote. This we learn from Anson Green, who says:

I was in favour of Mr. George Ryerson, but his brother John preferred Egerton, and he elected his candidate by a majority of one. I was satisfied, only I desired to find something for George Ryerson to do and keep Bro. Egerton in our circuit work.^[3]

Franklin Metcalf, the resident preacher at York and the chairman of the 1829 committee of Conference on the project, was appointed Assistant Editor.

As to editing and printing the paper, Ryerson himself says that the hardships and difficulties of producing the paper during the first year in their poverty and without a clerk “can hardly be realized and need not be detailed”.^[4] It would appear that the senior editor was given a fairly full hand in determining the policy of the paper. Neither Metcalf nor the printing committee of five laymen, namely, Jas. R. Armstrong, Wm. Patrick, Jas. Howard, T. D. Morrison and Barnabas Brennan, appear to have taken any large part in the management. To Ryerson’s ability and industry the immediate success of the venture must be attributed. The first impression was 1100, though the subscribers numbered less than 500. Three years later the subscription list had increased to some 3,000 and the paper was unquestionably the most widely read of the weeklies of the province. There were, of course, no dailies at the time, and not a few editors were like Mackenzie, who was not always sure that the week would see his paper issued.

The amount of reading matter crammed into the eight quarto pages of *The Christian Guardian* would appal a modern editor: no illustrations—no head lines—no display advertisements to attract or distract the reader—no crowding of feature news in the front page in the hope that the reader may sample and search elsewhere. All was plain and straightforward and solid. Gradually advertising came—a half inch, an inch, or two or three inches of space at most: a runaway apprentice, Weller’s Stage route, the steamer Sir James Kempt, Robert Baldwin’s appeal to the electors of York, Rev. Dr. Phillips’ new Presbyterian school, Upper Canada College, an advertisement for a first rate Brewer immediately followed by a notice of a temperance meeting at Thorold. A few shops came to advertise regularly, notably the general store of Jas. R. Armstrong. But these advertisements are kept strictly in their place at the end of the paper.

Turning to the *Guardian* from the secular press of the day, and even from Ryerson’s pamphlets, one is impressed by the charity and moderation which prevails. Clearly the editor is at pains—and here the gentle sanity of Metcalf may have helped—to conduct what was primarily a religious journal in a Christian spirit, keeping as far as possible from the bitter controversy of the period and softening the asperities of political life. He takes particular pleasure, for instance, in commenting upon the orderly conduct and the courtesy of the candidates in the by-election in York, which

was necessitated by the elevation of Attorney General Robinson to the Bench, and which gave Robert Baldwin his first brief taste of public life. Only once or twice, perhaps, may he be said to deviate from this policy. In the issue of February 6, 1830, he publishes a strong letter written by his brother George in reply to an anonymous article appearing in the *Kingston Herald*. The writer had attempted to discredit George Ryerson's evidence before the Select Committee of the House of Commons in 1828. The four-column reply is a severe rebuke to this mischievous assailant. It quotes largely from the evidence and presents an argument which in clarity and weight quite equals anything yet produced by Egerton. One is led to wonder just how the history of Upper Canada might have been affected if John had been by two votes less influential in the Conference of 1829. In the course of his argument he comes to the defence of two of his liberal friends in Toronto. Of Jesse Ketchum's opposition to a bill which would have disenfranchised Canadians born in the United States, he has this to say:

In thus triumphing over the selfish designs of interested men, Mr. K. and his friends have done more for the stability of British authority in this colony and the peace and prosperity of the country, than any equal number of individuals in the Province.

The evils of patronage are disclosed in a statement as to T. D. Morrison:

Dr. Morrison was a clerk in the Surveyor General's office, and a nominal Churchman, but from conscientious motives he joined the Methodists—for this, without a single cause of complaint alleged against him, he was dismissed from his situation, and cast destitute upon the world.

The editor himself has at least one barbed remark to make. After years of agitation a Marriage Bill had finally passed both Houses in March 1829, but sanction was refused by the Governor. The Bill was sent to England to be laid before the King, and nearly two years elapsed before it received the Royal assent. Ryerson's comment is:

Under such circumstances, and especially as the Royal instructions have uniformly declared the intention of His Majesty to consult and act agreeable to the wishes of his faithful subjects in U.C., I may ask, whether it is not more than probable His Majesty's Royal Assent would have been given to such a bill before this time, had it not unfortunately fallen in company with

some ruthless vagrant (in the shape of a secret communication) who has slandered, abused, and tommehawked it at the foot of the Throne.

But excursions into the region of politics in the first year of the *Guardian* are exceptional. In general, the paper adheres to the definite policy set down in the first issue: "The fact we may furnish; but for *interpretation*, our readers must look into the resources of their own minds, or to other periodicals."

Two topics which particularly appealed to the *Guardian* during its first year were missions, particularly Indian missions, and the temperance movement. In almost every issue news items, often of considerable length, appear on the progress of the Indian Missions in Upper Canada. George Ryerson and Peter Jones are frequent contributors, and here for the first time are published considerable extracts from the latter's diary. The conversion of the Indians, with their education in letters and manual arts, was proceeding apace. In the course of an interesting account of a mission to the tribe on Yellowhead Island, in what is now Lake Couchiching, George Ryerson incidentally discusses the various possibilities of joining Georgian Bay to Lake Ontario by a canal or by a railroad.

The temperance movement in Canada had its birth at about the same time as the *Guardian*. The society at Ancaster, whose organization meeting on October 24, 1829, was reported in the third issue of the *Guardian*, was one of the first to be organized in Canada. Its object was "to restrain the use of arduous spirits to cases in which the use of them may be recommended by medical advice". The mover and seconder of the resolution for the formation of the society were Egerton Ryerson and John Rolph. Rolph's speech on this occasion was printed in the *Guardian* of January 2, 1830, and January 9th, four columns in each issue. It will be noted that at this time the temperate use of wine and beer was not abjured by members of these societies; but the place of all beverages, including tea, came in for review in the pages of the *Guardian*. As the movement swept across the province in 1830 almost every issue either recorded the formation of some new society or presented some incident or argument to bring home to its readers the evils of drunkenness and tipping, and the dangers even of moderate indulgence.

It is quite evident from the outset that the editor is determined to provide interesting and even amusing information on less serious topics. On the basis of this miscellany a valuable study might be made of the manners and tastes of the people of Upper Canada. Such jokes as appear are rather of the

nature of wit than humour, and would provoke a smile rather than a laugh. At the beginning a Ladies' Department and a Youths' Department are presented, but these are not regularly sustained throughout the year. Accidents and murders are simply and briefly described and usually in such a way as to point a moral. But in any issue one is likely to find homely topics of interest, such as hints on health, a definition of female beauty, methods for removing grease, how to shift a hive of bees, cure for stammering, remarkable marriages, how to destroy rats and mice, the art of brewing, the relative merits of a brush and comb. We can very well imagine that the several members of the family would be deeply disappointed when the Post Office failed of its duty, as it often did, and the *Guardian* missed delivery.

As the end of his first year as editor approached, and at the same time a general election,^[5] Ryerson, with his finger on the political pulse of Upper Canada, appears to have realized that his policy of neutrality had been carried too far. He finds himself in a position of some delicacy. He has received letters from several of the candidates asking for the support of the *Guardian*. One of these communications is made the subject of a considered editorial pronouncement. Ryerson states that he finds it impossible to announce his support of this or that candidate. The interest of the paper is primarily with issues, not with individuals. On the great questions of equal religious privileges and general education he is prepared to express himself in no uncertain terms. However, he calls upon the individual candidate to commune with himself after this fashion:

I am now about to give my name and influence towards entailing upon my posterity and country a dominant Priesthood—a partial system of education—a monopoly in the hands of a few individuals, of one seventh of the Province, and all the national calamities which invariably accompany such a state of things;—or to confer upon the present and future generations of Canada the means and opportunities of education,—the tranquil and various advantages of equal religious freedom and privilege—and the enviable estate of general contentment and easy independence: Now [to] which of these will I give my voice to become my children's and country's inheritance?^[6]

He deprecates the influence of sectarian feelings in making a choice and notes,

that the most industrious, able and successful supporters of the religious rights and general interests of the people of this Province for years past, are *Churchmen* and *Presbyterians* and *Catholics*—only let them be of the right sort, men who do not just now begin to trumpet their liberal patriotism, but men who have showed in the trying times of bygone years the integrity of their principles and the sincerity of their intentions, to do to others as they would others should do to them in like circumstances.^[7]

No comment whatever appears on the outcome of the election, which took place in October. The failure of Baldwin in York and Rolph in Middlesex must have been a matter of disappointment, as well as surprise, to the editor. Perhaps we may infer from the last sentence above quoted that Ryerson realized that the liberal movement in the province was attracting to itself unworthy support which was bound to weaken it. In the face of a rebuff to the party of Bidwell, Rolph and Ketchum—all men very much after his own heart—he determined to alter his policy as editor. The references in his letters to George to “a most decided course”^[8] and to taking up the whole question “decidedly, fully and warmly”^[9] indicate a new attitude unmistakable in the issues of the *Guardian* of the next two years.

The Conference of 1830 swung to the eastern end of the province. It assembled on August 17th in the town of Kingston, but adjourned one week later to Belleville. Peace and unanimity prevailed in its deliberations. The *Guardian* had proven a success, and Ryerson was continued in the editorship without opposition. Metcalf was made a Presiding Elder, and William Smith, who replaced him at York, became Assistant Editor.

This Conference like its predecessor had a momentous decision to make. It resolved to embark on no less an undertaking than the establishment of a seat of higher learning. For some time the matter had been in contemplation. At the Ancaster Conference of 1829, so the minutes inform us, it was

Voted—that a Committee of Five be appointed to take into consideration the propriety of establishing a Seminary and drawing up a Petition to the next session of the Provincial Parliament for an act of incorporation. The Committee to be nominated by the Chair and appointed by the Conference. The following persons were accordingly appointed.

Franklin Metcalf, John Ryerson, Wm. Ryerson, Anson Green and James Richardson.

Two days later the committee reported, and the report was taken up item by item and adopted, and filed as No. 17E.^[10] Nothing further appears to have been done between conferences. But in the *Guardian* of June 5, 1830, a stirring letter appears from Belleville signed “a Methodist Youth” and demanding to know why something was not being done to provide education in Upper Canada and to prevent the exodus of young Canadians to institutions in the United States. The eager lad offers his “mite, £10”, for such a purpose. By the autumn of 1830 opinion had ripened, and Conference appointed a committee whose report was adopted as follows:

1. Resolved, that it is expedient to establish a Seminary of learning to be denominated the ——— to belong to, and under the direction of the conference of the M. E. Church in Canada.

2. Resolved, that the committee appointed by the Conference to fix the place of the location of the above Seminary meet for that purpose at Hallowell, the 27th Jany., 1831, at 9 o'clock A.M.

3. Resolved, that the above committee have authority to determine the place of the location of a Seminary, and if in the judgment of the Committee, the amt. received by good subscriptions or otherwise be such as to justify the undertaking, they shall have full authority to obtain by purchase or otherwise a suitable situation, to choose Trustees for the time being, to appt. a building committee, and to transact all other business necessary to forward the building, as far as practicable till the next session of the conference.

4. Resolved, that the place, Constitution, and design of said Seminary be published, and that each preacher belonging to the conference be furnished with a copy of the same and also a form of subscription, and that they be requested to use their utmost endeavours to obtain funds and scholars for this institution.^[11]

A fifth clause in the report was defeated: “Resolved that every preacher belonging to the travelling connexion having a child or children and having travelled eight years, shall at all times have the tuition and board of one scholar gratis”. The sturdy circuit riders were not asking for benefit of clergy. No one was to be allowed to say that their founding the Academy was an act of selfishness.

The members of the Committee chosen to determine the location were: from the Niagara District, Thos. Whitehead, John Ryerson, and Samuel

Belton; from the Bay of Quinte District, Wm. Ryerson, D. Wright, and J. Beatty; from the Augusta District, Wm. Brown, Thos. Madden, and James Richardson. After a spirited contest, Cobourg finally was chosen as the site. It offered several advantages: a fine situation overlooking the lake; proximity to a thriving town and busy port; most liberal local subscriptions, including a gift of the property by Geo. B. Spenser; a location probably more central to the Methodist population of the province than York or any other of the competing towns. It was determined that the administration should be in the hands of a Board of nine trustees and five visitors, all chosen by the Conference. But while under Conference and founded by it in the interests of religion as well as learning, broad and liberal principles were to apply. It was enacted that “no system of Divinity shall be taught therein; but all students shall be free to embrace and pursue any religious creed, and attend any place of religious worship which their parents or guardians may direct”.

This was the reply of the Methodist Conference to the Government’s neglect of higher education in the province. The University Charter secured by Strachan in 1827 had produced nothing except discord and two or three sinecures; there was no prospect of the opening in the near future of a provincial institution of higher learning. Upper Canada College was making some progress, but its appeal was to the wealthier classes, and its curriculum was strictly classical. Ambitious lads of small means throughout the province had nowhere to turn. The Presbyterians had become concerned about the matter, and in their Presbytery at Brockville, early in 1830, had passed a resolution favouring the establishment of such an institution, but so far nothing had come of it. The Methodists regarded the need as urgent, and in lieu of wealthy benefactors or state subvention they set themselves to the task of raising the funds by small subscriptions throughout the circuits. Several of the subscription books have an honoured place in the archives of the College. The names appear under the several circuits, and opposite each signature is the amount promised, payable in four annual installments. Thus the Conference years 1829 and 1830 were years of high adventure for the Methodists of Upper Canada. For Ryerson himself they were crowded with labours, for which he received merely the regular salary for a married itinerant, that is \$250. The editing and printing, on the plan proposed and with the facilities at hand, was a Herculean task; and in later years he shuddered to think of the effort it had involved. Naturally in such a case private correspondence suffered. The letters of interest preserved in this period are few. Events must be followed largely through the pages of the *Guardian*.

The first of the letters is one from James Richardson to George Ryerson. Richardson had spent a year on the Credit Mission, succeeding Egerton Ryerson, and George in turn had succeeded him. The letter is reproduced as throwing some light on the relation of the Indians to the economic life of the province.

October 2, 1829, JAS. RICHARDSON, JR., Niagara, to GEORGE RYERSON, ESQR., Missionary, River Credit.

MY DEAR SIR

As I know of no way of getting the Salmon over for which I spoke, will you have the goodness to direct Bro. Jones to dispose of them except 2 or 3 which I may bring over with my sleigh in winter, as I expect to be round your way in the course of the winter. I will let you have my cutter for \$23; if you please to take it, let me know that I may furnish myself with one here. Drop a line by mail should no other direct conveyance offer as soon as possible.

As I came home I stoped at Bro. James Gage's and in conversation with him found he was much displeas'd with the Indians for holding their fish so high. He says his son could obtain them for less than $\frac{1}{3}$ Cy; take large & small together and some of them were not worth more than $\frac{1}{2}$ that. He remarked that Wm. Kerr and others expressed great dissatisfaction with the Indians for what they consider taking advantage of the privilege granted them and also for haughtiness in their manner of dealing with their old friends. I am afraid that unless they be moderate and civil, a prejudice will be excited against them which may prove very detrimental to the missionary cause. Would it not be well for them to have an understanding of these things and govern themselves accordingly. The respectable part of the inhabitants would be pleas'd to have the Indians supported in the privilege if they could purchase of them at a moderate price. Please excuse the liberty I take in making those remarks.

I found all well and we enjoy peace in all our borders. Bro. Green has been brought near to death by fever but is now recovering.

With love to all, I remain

Your affectionate friend & Brother

JAS. RICHARDSON JR.

Should there be any boat or any mode of conveying a barrel of good salmon to St. Catharines, I would be glad to have it sent, as I could easily dispose of what I should not want. But as I know of no conveyance I cannot positively order them.

April 26, 1830, H. C. THOMSON, Kingston, to REV. E. RYERSON, York.

DEAR SIR:

I am favored with yours of the 5 ult., objecting to the payment of my account for printing the "Claims of Churchmen and Dissenters", and containing a remittance of £15 15, which sum is at your credit.

With respect to the charge for the work, I have only to observe, that the *paper* cost £45, and the folding and stitching £10, so that only £60. 12 remains to pay for the trouble and labor which it occasioned. The Book was expected to contain only 150 pages, instead of which there are 232. This circumstance ought to be some excuse for the delay in printing. I cannot admit that the 200 errors discovered by your correspondent are justly chargeable to me, as many of them were doubtless in the copy, and you had an opportunity of preparing the Errata, which does not point out one fourth of that number.

It is evident that a loss must be sustained, but I do not think that I ought to be the loser to the amount you propose. I will, however, agree to the following arrangement, *viz.*: you keep the 700 copies forwarded to York, and I will make the best I can of the 500 in my possession and in the hands of my agents; I shall then expect you to pay me *Fifty-five pounds*, less £12.8.9 received, which is the amount of *Cash* actually paid for paper & stitching. Thus I will lose £60.12, which appears to me punishment enough for the delay and errors that have occurred.^[12]

I am,

dear sir,

Yours truly,

H. C. THOMSON

In July, 1829, Sarah Rolph, wife of George Ryerson, had died leaving two young children. She was buried at the Credit amidst the grief of the Indian women whose lot she had sought to improve by efforts beyond her

strength. The *Guardian* of Nov. 2, 1829 has a touching description of her funeral. Egerton took the two children to his home in York.

October 11, 1830, REV. E. RYERSON, York, to REV. GEORGE RYERSON, Brantford.

MY DEAR BROTHER:

In acknowledging your kind favor of the 6th ult. I have to apologise for not writing before. In the multiplicity of business on Post day, it escaped my mind until after the mail was closed.

The children are very well—appear to be contented—and I think are improving. [Here follows an account in some detail of the conduct and petty misdemeanours of the two children, Fanny and Joseph.] We endeavour to take care of your children as we would our own in like circumstances, and I trust we shall be able to do it to much greater advantage to them and less trouble to ourselves when we remove from this hateful corner.^[13]

Of the two, I think we can do much better by Fanny than Joseph. I shall feel it a duty and a pleasure, as far as is in my power to comply with all your requests respecting them.

I herewith forward you a parcel of papers, which may, perhaps, contain some items that will be interesting to you, altho' most of the papers that are of any importance we cut up, or keep until they would become stale to you.

As to elections, Mr. Bidwell, who is now in town, thinks that the majority of them below this will be favorable. There is no doubt of McKenzie & Ketchum's being returned. Mr. Baldwin's success is uncertain. I do not know what the prospects are in other counties.^[14]

I am glad to hear that you enjoy peace of mind and feel an increasing attachment to your charge. It is more than I do. I am scarcely free from interruptions long enough to settle my mind on any one thing, and sometimes I am almost distracted. I hope it will be better when we remove the establishment.

On questions of *right* and *liberty*, as well as in other subjects, I am resolved to pursue a most decided course. Your retired situation will afford you a good opportunity for mental improvement and writing useful articles on various subjects.

Mrs. Armstrong and Family are well. Mrs. R. joins in affectionate respects to you. I hope you will write often & freely.

Your affectionate
E. RYERSON

November 1, 1830, REV. EGERTON RYERSON, York, to REV. GEO. RYERSON, Brantford, Grand River, U.C.

MY DR. BROTHER:

I should have written to you before but for my continual press of business. Mr. Sharp kindly called upon me on Saturday, and I intended to have written by him, but was prevented by unexpected visitors.

The children are well, and I think are improving. Fanny is acquiring an increased taste for her book. Joseph is broken of his bad propensity, and is becoming a good boy, and I am in hopes Fanny will become a fine girl. We try to instruct them all in our power, but Joseph does not seem to improve in his talking.

Miss Bliss, preceptress at Cazenovia, has paid a visit to this place and returned. Miss H. Rolph^[15] would have come with her, but expecting *you hourly*, determined to wait your arrival, and return with you.

I have no news of importance. The posture of affairs in England appear, upon the whole, more favorable to Reform than in U. Canada.^[16] We are resolved to double our diligence—To have general petitions in favor of the abolition of every kind of religious dominancy circulated throughout the Province, addressed to the Provincial and Imperial Parliaments, and take up the whole question decidedly, fully & warmly. Perhaps you can furnish some articles on the subject.

I understand that a meeting was held by the Church of England people, in the Court House on Friday last, to form a Society for Christianizing the Indians from this to Baffin's Bay. The plan of it, or the proceedings of the meeting, I have not heard.

We intend to *remove* our family next week, and glad I shall be when we get through with it.

Our *London Xtian Advocate* is very interesting. It is becoming daily more decided. It evidently sides with the *Whig* interest. It copies a good deal from our paper, and refers to us very respectfully. I think that and the *World* will espouse our cause, if we were to commence a correspondence with them and furnish them with reports of our House of Assembly, etc., etc. I wished you were here to write to the *World* and Mr. Reece, etc.

We must be up and doing while it is called to day—It is the right time. There is a *new* and *Whig* Parliament in England and I am sure our own House of Assembly *dare* not deny the petitions of the people on this subject.

I hope to hear from you shortly. Cannot you come to York soon? Have you no missionary intelligence?

We are all well.

Yours affectionately
in haste

E. RYERSON

January 20, 1831, REV. WM. BELL, Perth, to REV. E. RYERSON, York, U.C.

(*Private*)

REV. DEAR SIR:

Though differing from you in many particulars, yet in some we agree. Your endeavours to advance the cause of civil and religious liberty *have generally* met my approbation. Some of your writings that I have seen discover both good sense and christian feeling. The liberality too you have discovered both in regard to myself and in regard of my brethren has not escaped my observation. God is Love! And love is the fulfilling of the law. It is the atmosphere of heaven and the more we breathe in it while on earth the better.

Be not discouraged by the malice of the enemies of religion. Bear in mind that the carnal mind is enmity against God and he that hateth Him that begot will hate also them that are begotten of Him.

Your *Guardian* I have seldom seen but from this time I intend to take it regularly. If you can send it from the beginning do so. If not, send what you can and from this time consider me one of your

“*constant readers*”. The matters in which we differ are nothing in comparison of those in which we agree.

Tell your brother George that his statements before the Canada Committee are the most *correct* and sensible I have seen and if they do not suit Dr. Strachan and his friends we cannot help it!

We have heard of various kinds of wisdom; but the wisdom which comes from above is *first pure and then peaceable, etc.* Under the influence of this wisdom I say Peace be with all that love our Lord Jesus Christ in sincerity and truth.

I am Dear Brother

In the bonds of Christian affection

Yours truly

WM. BELL

The manner in which William Bell, the Presbyterian minister in the fine Scotch settlement of Perth, introduces himself to Ryerson reveals something of the place which the *Guardian* was coming to have in the province. Hodgins has given certain postal returns for 1830-31 to show that the *Guardian* paid more postage in that year than thirteen “following” papers whose names and payments he mentions. This has sometimes been interpreted as meaning that the *Guardian* had a larger circulation than any other thirteen prints in Upper Canada.^[17] In strict accuracy, the postal returns show that the *Guardian* in the years 1831 and 1834 paid approximately as much postage as its three nearest competitors combined. But postal returns are not a reliable criterion of circulation. A newspaper like the *Guardian* with a large number of rural subscribers would use the mails more, proportionately, than such papers as the *York Courier*. In any case, it is probably well within the mark to say that under Ryerson’s editorship the *Guardian* rapidly became much the most widely read and widely influential paper in the province.

The “most decided” course which Ryerson had resolved to pursue during his second year as editor brought readers to the *Guardian*. It also made its editor a subject for chastisement by the government. He had a considerable part in two separate petitions forwarded to the Imperial Parliament in 1831; and the Governor, objecting to such agitation, was to inform the Conference that it was presuming quite too much with its paper and its Academy and its insistence on equal rights in religion.

The first of these petitions was the result of a remarkable gathering in York of earnest and determined men in December, 1830. It may be inferred that this meeting was directly the outcome of the unsatisfactory results to the reform cause in the general elections held in October. The new Legislature could not be depended upon, and the liberal-minded citizens of Upper Canada felt that once more they must turn to the Imperial Parliament. Robert Baldwin took the chair, and the Rev. Wm. Smith, now the Methodist preacher at York, was secretary. The result of the meeting was the formation of a committee of twenty-three members, with power to add to their numbers, committed to the preparation and circulation of a second petition drafted by Jesse Ketchum and Ryerson on behalf of the "Friends of Religious Liberty". The committee consisted of three members of the Church of England, ten Presbyterians, eight Methodists, one Baptist and one Friend. The Anglicans were Dr. William Warren Baldwin, who was named chairman of the committee, his son Robert, and Joseph Cawthra, erstwhile member for Simcoe. There were only three preachers on the committee—Jenkins, Smith and Ryerson,—and two members of the Legislature—Ketchum and Mackenzie. This was probably the last time that the citizens of York of liberal sentiments were able to unite in a common undertaking. They produced a document setting forth in some detail the inequalities of the existing situation. It noted how the Clergy Reserves, whether disposed of or held for increase in value, were causing the "labours of the many to be turned to the undeserved aggrandizement of the few", and how many members of the Church so enriched were dissatisfied with the whole system. Its prayer was summarized in a concluding sentence:

May it therefore please your Honourable House, to take the subject of promoting religion and education in Upper Canada, into your most serious consideration:—to take such steps as may be within the constitutional powers of your Honourable House to leave the ministers of all denominations of Christians to be supported by the people among whom they labour, and by the voluntary contribution of benevolent societies in Canada and Great Britain—to do away with all political distinctions on account of religious faith—to remove all ministers of religion from seats and places of political power in the Provincial Government—to grant to the Clergy of all denominations of Christians the enjoyment of equal rights and privileges in every thing that appertains to them as subjects of His Majesty's Government, and as ministers of the Gospel, particularly the right of solemnizing Matrimony, of which many of them have long been

deprived, contrary to the repeated and unanimous votes of the House of Assembly—to modify the Charter of King’s College established at York in Upper Canada, so as to exclude all sectarian tests and preferences—and to appropriate the proceeds of the sale of lands heretofore set apart for the support of a Protestant Clergy, to the purposes of general education and various internal improvements.^[18]

This document was sedulously passed along the highways and by-ways of Upper Canada, and again George Ryerson was asked to lay the views of his fellow citizens of like mind before the Imperial Parliament.

By the end of March it had been sufficiently signed, and George Ryerson was on his way to England. The Bishop and clergy took up the challenge and projected a counter petition. It was May 7th, however, before the readers of the *Guardian*, and we may conclude the public of Upper Canada generally, knew anything definite about their action. On that date the *Guardian* prints the text of this second petition as copied from the *Farmers’ Journal* and thanks the editor for publishing it. “We think it was not intended for the public eye in Canada,” says Ryerson. “At all events it has been kept secret until it is too late for the persons implicated to send home to the British Government a refutation of its gross perversions of truth.”

In analysing the petition from the Lord Bishop of Quebec and his clergy, and criticising it paragraph by paragraph, Ryerson brings out an interesting bit of information. The clergy had stated:

It has appeared to your Petitioners that the peace of society, and the interests of religion would be best consulted by their forbearing to excite even their own congregations to an expression of their opinion in the same popular form. . . .^[19]

In his comment Ryerson notes that a public meeting was in fact called in the Court House of the Newcastle District by the Rev. A. N. Bethune to oppose the petition of the Friends of Religious Liberty. The meeting broke up without coming to a decision, since it was discovered “that most of the persons upon whose cooperation Bethune was depending to sanction and promote his measure, were either circulating, or had signed, or were favourable to the other petition”. Ryerson adds,

We think that Mr. Bethune deserves credit for thus bringing the measures, expressive of his real sentiments, before the public, and

putting them to the test of public opinion; and if such a measure would succeed in any town or village in Upper Canada, we believe it would in the vicinity of Cobourg, under the management of Mr. Bethune.^[20]

This may have been the only public meeting called, and Bethune's failure may have determined the method finally adopted. It was simpler and easier and, above all, quicker; so that the Lord Bishop and Mr. Bethune, adequately fortified, were able to sail by the same packet as George Ryerson and reach London, being relayed by a skiff, a few days before the latter with his bulkier missive.

The voyage on the *Birmingham* shall be described by George Ryerson himself, who was probably quite in the dark as to what was in the portmanteau of the Lord Bishop.

*Near the Coast of Ireland, Lat. 50, Lon. 9,
April 25, 1831.*

MY DEAR BROTHER:

I wrote to you on the 24th March from the Coast of America near New York. At that time I did not anticipate so long a passage, confidently expecting to be in London by this date; but He who rules the winds and directs the storms hath ordered otherwise. We have had rather a rough passage but without any disasters. 17 days head wind drove us many degrees from our course, as far as 36 South Latitude, in the same parallel with Gibraltar and not many hundred miles from that place. At 10 o'clock tonight (about one hour hence) we will be in Latitude 50° 54 North and Longitude 8° 20 West 42 miles South East from the Old Kinsale-Head, in Ireland, where the Albion was wrecked in 1820. Yesterday we fell in with an English vessel 4 days from Liverpool for South America; as it was calm the Captain ordered the boat to be let down and sent on board, and we procured an English Paper giving us the first intelligence we had received from Europe since the 4th February. From it we were gratified to learn that public affairs were going on much more prosperously in England, and Reform was the order of the day; that Poland was successfully maintaining the struggle with Russia; but that Ireland, poor ill-fated Ireland, was in a most wretched state, etc. We were rejoiced to learn that, that nauseous drug, "Toryism", had become a very stale and cheap article in Great Britain. You know it has been customary in

England to ship unfashionable and unsaleable goods for the Canada markets. If this filthy article be sent that way, our Solicitor General and his liberal coadjutors may procure, “Dog cheap”, abundance of that ultra loyalty that has long fattened upon corruption, trampled upon the rights of the people, frittered away the constitution, and squandered the best blood of England.

The incidents of our voyage are so few and uninteresting that I need not take up your time by dwelling upon them, particularly as my fellow-traveller Peter Jones will write to you more in detail, and under the influence of those more vivid impressions which the novelty of the scenes he remarks on, cannot but make upon his mind.

A description of the general routine and incidents of one day will with a small allowance for wind and weather, etc. answer for the whole. About half past 7 o'clock the steward's bell rings to prepare for breakfast; about 8 o'clock the breakfast bell rings; if the night has been rough several vacant seats may be seen—bad appetites—distant intimations of stomachs in distress—many anxious inquiries addressed to the Captain, as, “how does the ship head? The Latitude? The Longitude? Any prospects of a change, etc., etc.?” The operation of eating being performed, a short respite takes place, when at 12 o'clock the table is again spread with a variety of eatables, wines, etc. Another intermission now prepares the company for a plentiful dinner which is served up at 4 o'clock—tea about 6, and for those who wish it, some other refreshment about 10 in the evening. This is a faint outline of one day's eating and drinking. To this we may add a few of the inconveniences that sometimes attend the operation. We will suppose that the sea, no unusual occurrence, is very rough at our dinner hour; by a sudden roll of the ship a dish of gravy is emptied into the lap of one gentleman, a boiled ham makes a sudden stride in the direction of another, etc., etc. During the intervals between hours, when the wants of animal nature are attended to, the passengers occupy or amuse themselves in various ways; some read, others write—walk upon deck, or employ, to kill time, in amusements less edifying and innocent.

You will perceive by this slight sketch, that a man who is fond of idleness and good cheer, and who at the same time is favored with a good appetite may make himself quite comfortable; but as

this does not happen to be my case, I find the voyage exceedingly tedious.

By the gentlemen who compose our company nine different countries are represented; and our religious and political sentiments are almost as diversified as our places of nativity. We have adherents of the English Church, the Dutch Church, Lutheran, Methodist, Roman Catholic, etc., Monarchists—Republicans, Whigs and one poor Tory, a quiet good gentleman—His lordship the Bp. professes not to be a Tory and a “right divine” man. I have no doubt of his sincerity, for he certainly is a very good and liberal man. But our diversity of opinion has not been allowed to interrupt the harmony of the company, and the utmost kindness and good feeling has uniformly prevailed.

Since writing the above, we have with a gentle breeze sailed many miles along the coast of Ireland. Last night we saw the sun in all his splendor gently sink behind the distant hills of the “Emerald Isle”—We are now (27th April) lying nearly becalmed in St. George’s Channel about —— miles from Liverpool. We were today boarded by the Captain of a ship from Grenock who informed us that the question of “Reform” was lost in the Commons by a majority of 8. This put new life in Mr. B. A dissolution of Parliament will be the consequence, which will necessarily detain me considerably longer in England.

Thursday Morning, 28th. This morning we found ourselves nearly becalmed about 8 miles off Holy Head the North West extremity of the Isle of Anglesea in Wales and 60 miles from Liverpool. This place is nearly opposite to Dublin, which is 60 miles distant, and the mountainous coast of Carnavonshire in North Wales for many miles may be seen. Notwithstanding the weather is dull and smoky, I have this moment, without the aid of a glass, counted 77 ships and other vessels in sight, most of them sailing in the direction of Liverpool.

Thursday Evening. The tide has drifted us back as much in the afternoon as we made in the morning. About noon a small boat came off from Holy Head; the Bishop and three other passengers went ashore intending to proceed to London from this place, as from the state of the weather it is uncertain when we shall reach Liverpool. But as we could not take our baggage, Mr. Jones &

myself had to remain with the ship. The tide is now in our favor and we are making a little progress; Holy Head light still in sight.

Liverpool, 30th April, 1 o'clock.

We have this moment reached this place. We wish to go to London this afternoon, if possible, to be at the Anniversary of the British and Foreign Bible Society on the 1st of May. I have only time to conclude my letter without adding any thing respecting the town. We find the whole country in a flame of patriotism. The Parliament has been dissolved by the King in a manner suited to the energy and promptitude that characterizes all his acts. He is emphatically “the friend of the people”, and no King was ever more popular. Never was there in England such preparations for a general Election. All other business appears to be laid aside. The Election in this town takes place on Monday. General Gascoyne is now making a speech in the town hall. He is an anti-reformer, and will probably lose his election.

You can scarcely conceive the excitement which prevails. We are at the Talbot Inn, and at this moment several thousand people, friends of Mr. Dennison, are assembled in the street and in the House.

Yours, etc.,

GEORGE RYERSON

August 6, 1831, GEORGE RYERSON, Bristol, to (REV. EGERTON RYERSON)

MY DEAR BROTHER,

I wrote to you as soon as I landed at Liverpool also enclosing a letter from Peter Jones, but as I do not see it acknowledged in the Guardian I fear it has miscarried.^[21] In our letters we gave some account of our voyage. We kept no copy. I have since written but I believe Bro. Jones has not. I have not written to you as often as I should have done had I not written to Dr. Morrison and forwarded the papers to him, which I considered the same as writing to yourself so far as business & news were concerned. Peter Jones has recovered a considerable degree of health. After his return to London he experienced several weeks' delay in getting his translation prepared for the press in consequence of a letter from the Committee on the translations of the York Bible Society, Drs.

Harris, Baldwin & Mr. Wenham, stating that the translation was imperfect, etc. He had in consequence to go over the whole translation with Mr. Greenfield, the Editor of The Bible Society Translations. Mr. Greenfield is a very clever and pleasant man & has an extensive knowledge of languages—he very soon acquired the idiom of the Chippewa so that he became better able to judge of the faithfulness of the translation. It is probable Mr. Wenham understands the idiom of but one language & thinks all others must conform to that; to these qualifications for censorship I may add a large share of bigotry, and a very competent sprinkling of self-sufficiency, and no little personal hostility to Methodism. I attribute the letter chiefly to the influence of these qualifications on the understanding of Mr. Wenham. Mr. Greenfield went carefully through every sentence with Mr. Jones and made some unimportant alterations, when he expressed himself much pleased with the translation and thinks it is the *most literal* of any published by the Bible Society. It is now passing through the press and we expect it to be finished in time to send to Canada by the 25 inst.

We came to this place to attend the Wesleyan conference and were publickly introduced to them by the President, Mr. Marsden, & we have been treated by them with much kindness and attention. Before the conclusion on the last day I gave them a short account of the rise, change, and present standing of our connection in Canada, and stated that we now stood *precisely* in the same relation to our brethren of the Methodist conferences in the United States, as we do to our brethren of the Wesleyan conference, independent of either, agreeing *in faith*, in *religious discipline*, in name & *doctrine* and *unity of spirit*, but differing in some ecclesiastical arrangements rendered necessary from local circumstances. I also expressed my firm conviction that the situation in which we stand is *decidedly* that the best calculated to spread Methodism & vital religion in Canada & that if expedient I *could adduce* satisfactory reasons to support this opinion. This last statement I do not think gave so much satisfaction as the others, for what Pope said of Churchman (“Is he a churchman, then he’s *fond of power*”) may also be literally applied to Wesleyan ministers, & I may add, to Englishmen generally—and our brethren cannot with pleasure see us exist in a *British Colony* independent of their control. I was therefore very pointed and

explicit on this subject. My prayer is—"May the Lord continue to save from the government of an European Priesthood!" I have reason to know that they would gladly govern us, and for that purpose would not hesitate to afford pecuniary aid, but I still most heartily pray "*Good Lord deliver us*". I do most heartily rejoice that our country lies beyond the Atlantic and is surrounded by the atmosphere of *freedom*. A few months' residence in this country would lead you to value this circumstance in a degree that you can scarcely conceive of, and you would with unknown energy address this exhortation to the Methodists & to the people of Canada, "Stand *fast* therefore in the liberty wherewith God's Providence hath made you free, and in this *abound more & more*". I also assured them of our respect and love for them as our fathers & elder brethren. And mentioned my reasons for giving them this information to prevent future collision & misunderstandings, etc.

The Conference closed yesterday (5th inst.) after a session of only 9 days, an unusually short time.

You will no doubt wish to have my undisguised opinion of the Wesleyan Conference & connection. What I say is in confidence and for your private information, for it would be unhandsome and ungenerous in me, besides its impolicy, to publish anything to their disparagement after having received much civility and some kindness from them.^[22] But to you I will speak freely. I admire their talents & zeal as preachers & in numerous instances their devoted piety as Christians. I approve of many parts of their system—: but further than that I cannot go. Perhaps I do not use too strong terms when I say that I *detest* their politics and I much dislike their blind veneration for the writings of Mr. Wesley (excellent in themselves, but not *inspired*, & containing much of human infirmity & the prejudices of a High Church education); their exalted opinion of themselves & their system, their servile reverence for great men and great names and their servile & time-serving clinging to the skirts of a corrupt, secularized and anti-Christian Church. They are very generally either anti-reformers or half-hearted, lukewarm, hesitating reformers. I speak particularly of the preachers, and especially of the older ones. Amongst the body of the Wesleyan people & many of the young preachers I am happy to say that more liberal views and feelings are fast gaining ground. And many of the old preachers who were tories are gradually coming around to more liberal principles. But altogether

I fear that the Wesleyan Conference is an obstacle to the extension of civil & religious liberty. I hope I may be disappointed, but I have the best reason to fear, that if the Reform Bill pass into a law & the elective franchise be so extended as to give them a great influence in elections, that the members returned by their influence will not be men for reforming and purifying the Church & State. The Reform Bill is only important as it enables the people to return an independent Parliament, but if when the people receive the privilege of voting they return a tory or aristocratic parliament the object of the Bill will be defeated, and the present system of extravagance, of pensions, sinecures, tythes, etc., etc. will continue. A *peaceable* reform in these matters is, I fear, very distant.

But to return to the Conference; every act is a legislative act, even on so trifling a subject as, whether a certain chapel shall have an organ, etc., and at the conclusion of the conference the whole proceedings, resolutions, etc., etc., are by a vote of the 100 *legalized*, signed by the President and Secretary, and become laws binding on the whole connection. The Conference is thus with [out] check or control a legislative & executive body, disposing of large annual funds, four times the revenue of U. Canada, the funds [of] the Missionary Socy. alone amounting annually to about \$450,000, and passing regulations affecting the interests and liberties of a population larger than that of U. Canada. How far the existence & exercise of such an authority is consistent with [the] character that Christ gives of His ministers, I will not pretend to decide. I believe it is not suited to the meridian of America. This Conference is more devotional in their manner of doing business than ours, that is, prayer and other religious exercises more frequently recur. Many of their customs might be very profitably imitated by us.

I looked around with much attention to see if we could obtain a suitable Gen. Superintendent in the Wesleyan Conference, but I think not. They are too well provided for to be willing to leave this country for Canada & too arbitrary, or something approaching near to it, in their feelings & habits to be borne by our preachers. I was more pleased with the manners & sentiments of the Irish Delegates, but on inquiry I found, to use the words of my informant, that *they* were too *churchified*, many having sons educated for the Church or already Clergymen; in short I think it

will be far better for you to look to the U.S. for a Gen. Superintendent. Better to bear the temporary censure of enemies in Canada, than the permanent evil & annoyance of having a Church & State Tory Superintendent from this country. I mention these things only by the way as reasons why I paid more particular attention to the conduct and principles of the W. ministers at conference.

The Conference or Missionary Socy. have not given up their intention of establishing an Indian Mission in U. Canada, but in consequence of my remonstrances have delayed it. A letter was read from the U. States inviting them to send a delegate to the next Genl. Conference. They declined it on account of the expense, but finally consented that if the Missionary Society chose to send a deputation to visit their missions in the West Indies & Canada & to take this in the plan they might do it. I recommended this measure & told [them] they would gain more than the expense by the missionary information they would collect and at the same time invited them to take our conference in the plan, as I knew it to be the wish of our preachers; they assented to it. I think it probable the Missionary Society will do this, and such a visit to U. Canada will no doubt prevent them interfering with our missions & will be highly gratifying to all parties.

In answer to brother Richardson I wish you to say that I submitted his letter to the Missionary Committee and I was some time after told by Dr. Townly, one of the Secretaries, that they would by no means withdraw their missionary from Kingston as it was still their intention to establish a mission to the Indians in U. Canada & that this station would then be very necessary to them. I wish to apprise you of their intentions but I think you had better say nothing about it publickly, only be prepared should any division be attempted, as I see they are a little vexed that emigrants from their Societies should augment our numbers & I should not [be] at all surprised if they again attempted to form Societies in U. Canada. I think it will not be done this year.

The session of Conference passed with much harmony & unanimity. It is remarkable that they have had no increase the last year, but as they appeared to be unwilling to speak on the subject I could not learn the exact state of the Societies. A respectable Wesleyan in Birmingham expressed to me much surprise and

uneasiness that they had not increased during the year. He said when he reflected on the immense machinery in operation, their travelling preachers, great body of local preachers, Sunday Schools, etc., he could not account for it. The connection is also enormously in debt for chapels, etc. The whole morning service of the Church is now read in most of the Wesleyan Chapels & with as much formality as in the Church. Many of the members when they become wealthy and rise in the world join the Church and their wealth & influence are lost to the Society. Organs are also introduced into many of their chapels. [The letter is incomplete]

George Ryerson was measurably just in his estimate of the British Wesleyans, but it took Egerton nine years fully to realize it. The union with the British Conference completed in 1833 was destined to last only seven years. It had disturbing effects at its inception, detracted from the effectiveness of the church while it continued, and when broken off caused a serious disruption and the loss to the Canadian Conference of several of its ablest ministers. In fact it took British Methodism some sixty years to change the political complexion given it by its founder. “John Wesley had been a Tory and a High Churchman. His High Churchmanship was modified because it interfered with his work, his Toryism was subject to no such strain, and remained unaltered.”^[23]

Wesley, however, insisted on the “no politics” rule amongst the preachers, and this was observed in the letter after his death as well as during his life. His mantle very shortly was assumed by a man of like mind, wanting in Wesley’s range of interest and restless energy, but equally authoritarian. “Jabez Bunting, who dominated Methodism for half a century, was politically a Tory, and, whilst preserving the traditional Methodist attitude of isolation from politics, he used his influence to discourage Liberal and Radical elements within the Connexion.”^[24] Under the strict system of British Wesleyan discipline, a member could be expelled at the will of the Superintendent of his Circuit, and Radicals frequently found themselves unwelcome and excluded from the Societies. In the light of this attitude the decrease in membership in 1831, here noted by George Ryerson, was not surprising. Many a Methodist must have entertained an admiration for Lord Durham, otherwise known as “Radical Jack”, and his political associates. A distinct change in attitude came in 1849; but in the thirties the “Friends of Religious Liberty” in Upper Canada had little to expect from the British Wesleyans. This fact, however, they had yet to learn by sad experience.

George Ryerson interviewed Lord Goderich, the Colonial Secretary in the new administration, on June 5, 1831, and discussed further with him in a letter of July 20th a suggestion which his Lordship had made in reference to the University Charter. This was to the effect that King's College might be confined to members of the Episcopal Church and another College endowed "for the accommodation of other denominations, that is, for the country generally". In discussing this proposal with deference but with candour, George Ryerson points out "that many of the most powerful opposers of the institution in its present character and of the system of an ecclesiastical establishment with which it is identified are churchmen", and that 30 or 40 youths from Upper Canada are now pursuing their studies in the United States and at least six of these from York where Upper Canada College is located, and "these youths are from the families of English people and Canadian loyalists".^[25] Speaking for the petitioners he assures his Lordship,

that we act from principles, and not from jealousy or party spirit. And I am well assured, that the only certain security and permanent protection for British power in North America will be to give those Colonies a liberal Government, free and popular institutions, and full power to regulate and manage all their internal concerns, civil, literary, and ecclesiastical, themselves.

When on October 14th the petition finally was presented by Joseph Hume to the House of Commons, it met with a favourable reception. Even the former Tory Secretary of State, Sir George Murray, gave it qualified support. When Lord Goderich wrote to the Lieutenant Governor on November 2nd, he earnestly recommended the surrendering of the University Charter, and expressed the conviction that the Clergy Reserves were wrong in principle and a serious obstacle to material progress as well as to good will and affection on the part of the people towards the Clergy.

Meanwhile the Bishop of Quebec and Mr. Bethune were representing the other side of the case. The latter in his *Memoir of Bishop Strachan* tells us something of this visit. He says that Dr. Stewart had been urged by Dr. Strachan and others to go, since from family connection he had influence with several of the ministry, but he does not mention the petition from the Clergy. Lord Goderich was most friendly to them. He made a proposal in regard to the University "to divide the endowment, giving one half to the Church of England, with her present Charter unchanged; and the other half to the Province for the establishment of a University entirely satisfactory to the Colonial mind".^[26] Bethune himself favoured the proposal, but "others of

more weight and experience differed”, and the Bishop declined the offer. Thus nothing was done. A half loaf failed to satisfy, and a whole loaf could not be had, in view of public opinion. Only after two denominations had founded their own universities in Upper Canada did the “others of more weight and experience” capitulate, so that the walls of a provincial university might begin to rise.

The Conference of 1831, meeting in York on August 31st, thought it well to address a Memorial to the King in refutation of certain statements contained in the Lord Bishop’s petition. A letter from the Colonial Secretary, dated May 2, 1831, (three days after the arrival in London of Dr. Stewart), had advised all and sundry in Upper Canada that any petitions to His Majesty or the Secretary of State should pass through the hands of the Governor in order to regularize procedure and facilitate action. By way of courtesy, and in compliance with this suggestion, the Conference presented its Memorial to Sir John Colborne for forwarding to His Majesty, as follows:

TO THE KING’S MOST EXCELLENT MAJESTY
MOST GRACIOUS SOVEREIGN:

The Memorial of the President and Itinerant Ministers of
the Methodist Episcopal Church in Canada, assembled
in Conference—

MOST HUMBLY SHEWETH:

That your Memorialists have read with pain a copy of a Petition, purporting to be from the “Bishop and Clergy of the Diocese of Quebec”, lately forwarded from this Province to be presented to your Majesty by the Lord Bishop of Quebec; in which the motives, character, and conduct of your Memorialists are represented in a false and prejudicial light, and the state of public opinion respecting the claims of the Episcopal Clergy to the Clergy Reserve lands in this Province, is, by intelligible and strong insinuations, stated to be quite different from what it really is.

Your Memorialists regret the occasion of addressing Your Majesty on the topics brought forward in the petition of the Episcopal Clergy. They consider that points of difference, not affecting the essential principles of the Christian Faith, but of merely prudential consideration, ought not to destroy or interrupt the exercises of Christian friendship and mutual good will among different classes of Christian Ministers, whose avowed object is to

impart to mankind the instructions and blessings of a common Gospel. But your Memorialists conceive that for them, under present circumstances, to remain any longer silent, either as to statements and insinuations which relate to themselves, or, to the general question of a Church Establishment in Upper Canada, would be a dereliction of duty to Your Majesty, to themselves, and to the religious interests of the Province; for the improvement and happiness of which, and its undisturbed continuance under Your Majesty's beneficent Government, your Memorialists deem it alike their duty and privilege to pray and labor.^[27]

The Memorial proceeds in detail and at some length to correct the misstatements of the petition; at the conclusion the Methodist preachers put themselves on record as to the policy of their Church:

The Methodist Church in Canada includes at this time sixty *travelling* Ministers, upwards of one hundred and fifty *local* Preachers, and nearly thirteen thousand communicants;—and your Memorialists impart religious instruction to at least one fourth of the whole population of Upper Canada. But they do not ask for themselves any part of the proceeds of those lands heretofore set apart for the support of a “Protestant Clergy”; nor could they desire any public provision which would be opposed to the general wishes of those for whose welfare they profess to labor; for they cannot conceive that any system of doctrine or form of worship should be forced upon a province any more than upon an individual. Your Memorialists ask nothing from the Government by way of public support but that which they confidently believe will not be withheld from them—“protection, equal and impartial protection”.

When the Committee of Conference, of which Egerton Ryerson was a member, called upon the Lieutenant Governor in connection with the Memorial to the King, Sir John was not content simply to comply with their request that he should forward the document with enclosures, but astonished his visitors by reading them a lecture. Having done so, he handed the document from which he read to the Committee, requesting its return. They copied the lecture and returned the copy. His secretary sent the copy back and asked for the document itself. This was returned with the request for a certified copy, here reproduced as follows:

GENTLEMEN:

I shall not fail to transmit to the Secretary of State your Memorial addressed to the King.

In returning my best thanks to you for your good wishes I may venture to affirm that the assurances of your desire & determination to promote the interests of pure Religion will afford general satisfaction, because a very unfavorable impression has been made from one end of the Province to the other as regards an imputed secular interference on the part of your Preachers—an impression, I am afraid, that must tend to counteract the salutary effect that ought to result from the active piety and zeal of your Society. I refer with reluctance to the public opinion formed of the Doctrines inculcated by Ministers of any denomination of Christians, or of the principles which they are said to espouse; but on this occasion I think it right to acquaint you that, although the character of your Ministers is probably aspersed, and although they may not, as it is said, take advantage of the influence acquired by their sacred Office, to conduct the political concerns of the people committed to their care to be instructed only in the Words of eternal life, yet I cannot imagine that if there were not some grounds for the imputation of their inconvenient attention to secular concerns, a desire for the return of the Wesleyan Missionaries to resume their pastoral labors in this Province would not have been generally expressed. This conclusion may be erroneous, but I am in some measure led to it from the reports which I have received of the absurd advice offered by your Missionaries to the Indians, and their officious interference; if any reliance can be placed on the statements of the Indians themselves, the civilization of whom the Superintendents of the Indian Department are endeavoring to accomplish.

With our excellent Constitution, in this Province, I trust, we shall always find a sufficient number of the supporters of civil and religious freedom without the interference of the Ministers of the Gospel. Your Preachers whether they are brought from the United States or from any other foreign Country will I hope experience, while they act honestly and respect British institutions, the same protection, encouragement and freedom which all Americans enjoy who have found an asylum among us and choose to live under the British Government in this Province and securely enjoy

the rights of our own Colonists, which are assured to every Denomination, party, sect or persuasion.

Your dislike to any Church Establishment, or to the particular form of Christianity which is denominated the Church of England, may be the natural consequence of the constant success of your own efficacious organized System. The small number of our church is to be regretted, as well as that the organization of its Ministry is not adapted to supply the present wants of the dispersed population in this new Country; but you will readily admit that the sober-minded of the Province are disgusted with the accounts of the disgraceful dissensions of the Episcopal Methodist Church and its separatists, recriminating Memorials, and the warfare of one church with another. The utility of an Establishment depends entirely on the piety, assiduity and devoted zeal of its Ministers, and on their abstaining from a secular interference which may involve them in political disputes.

The labors of the Clergy of Established Churches in defence of moral and religious truth will always be remembered by you who have access to their writings and benefit by them in common with other Christian Societies. You will allow, I have no doubt, on reflection that it would indeed (with the inconsiderable population in the Province) be imprudent to admit the right of Societies to dictate on account of their present numerical strength, in what way the Lands set apart as a provision for the Clergy shall be disposed of. Ample information on the question has been laid before the Imperial Parliament, and no inconvenience while it is pending can arise in respect to the occupation of these Lands; for there are more acres now offered for sale than purchasers can be found for them.

In a few years the Province will be peopled by millions of our own countrymen, and many of the arrangements of His Majesty's Government will have reference naturally to the population of the Mother Country destined to occupy the Waste Lands of the Crown.

The system of Education which has produced the best & ablest men in the United Kingdom will not be abandoned here to suit the limited views of the leaders of Societies, who perhaps have neither experience nor judgment to appreciate the value or advantages of a liberal education; but the British Government will, I am confident,

with the aid of the Provincial Legislature, establish respectable Schools in every part of the Province; and encourage all Societies to follow their example.

A Seminary, I hope, will not be styled exclusive, that is open to every one, merely because the Classical Masters are brought from our own Universities.

It may be mentioned without giving offence to the Members of any church or persuasion that there are few individuals who think that Ministers of the Gospel can conduct political Journals, and keep themselves unspotted from the world, and put away all bitterness and wrath and clamor and evil speaking, which the attacks of their adversaries may engender: or that their avocation will not force them to spend their time like the Athenians in their decline, in nothing but “either to tell or hear something new”. I am persuaded that the friends of religion will strongly recommend Ministers of the Gospel to labour to increase the number of Christians rather than the numbers of their own Sects or Persuasions; to close their Churches and Chapels against all political meetings, and indeed all meetings for the transaction of secular business,—and never to permit their consecrated places to be profaned by the Party Spirit of the hour.

The motives which prompted the writing of this curious document can only be surmised. Hitherto Colborne’s attitude towards the Methodists had been fair enough. The sneering reference to their want of education, as well as the whole tone of the letter, suggests personal pique and gives some colour to Hodgins’ view that he “resented the efforts of the Methodist Conference to establish an Institution which might possibly prove a rival to Upper Canada College”,^[28] which he without consulting the Legislature had just founded.

It is evident that Ryerson was not a little worried by this deliverance of His Majesty’s representative and the pointed reference to his editorship. In a brief editorial introducing it he sighs, “We confess that the flesh is quite wearied with our present responsibilities: may we ask an interest in the supplications of those who have an interest to impart.” In his dejection he seems to doubt that all his readers would wish to pray for him. Nevertheless he takes occasion to reply to Sir John, through his secretary, in a letter which while studied in its tone of respect is pointed enough to meet the needs of the situation. It is doubtful if Ryerson ever penned a more effective

rejoinder, or Sir John ever received one less to his liking. It was dated Dec. 15, 1831, and six days later, along with the letter to which it was a reply appeared in the *Christian Guardian*.^[29]

After deprecating any desire to add to the Governor's responsibilities or difficulties, Ryerson confesses that he is compelled so to write since "His Excellency assumes the correctness of every material slander which has been circulated against them" [the Methodist preachers]. He observes how serious an effect this must have on British opinion.

If His Excellency's representations of the Methodist Clergy to His Majesty's Government correspond with those contained in His answer to their address—their respectful and courteous address—they must undoubtedly be viewed by a Sovereign whose good opinion it is their high ambition to deserve and enjoy, as the very reverse of the Ministers of righteousness and peace, and their expressions of attachment to His Majesty's Royal Person and Government, must appear but the deceitful vapourings of interested hypocrisy.

He then proceeds to deal with the imputed "secular interference" of the preachers. He sets over against one another the evidence to be found in the Report of the Select Committee of the Provincial Parliament and the irresponsible paragraphs of scurrilous prints. The Methodist preachers, impartially judged, will be found as "desiring to possess no other power than that which personal worth bestows and to enjoy no other wealth than the voluntary contributions of their faithfully instructed flocks".

As to the "general wish" for the return of the Wesleyan missionaries, he asserts that the wish is not general, but particular on the part of those who desire "to *divide* and *destroy* its [the Conference's] influence, and to erect high church and political toryism on its ruins".

He cannot imagine what His Excellency means by "absurd advice to the Indians", and trusts that "it will be admitted on all hands that the Methodist Conference have given pretty strong proof of a desire to ameliorate the condition of the Indian tribes". He admits, however, that the Missionaries have at times been seriously embarrassed by drunkenness and immorality on the part of workers and others sent amongst them by the Indian Department, now directly under the oversight of the Governor.^[30] His Excellency had admitted the small number of the Church of England and noted some defect in the organization of its ministry. Ryerson remarks that it would have been

well for the honour of the Church and the peace of the province if the Venerable Archdeacon of York had made the same admission instead of claiming that the tendency of the whole population was towards the Church; and expresses the belief that it is its political relation to the government which makes its organization weak.

The reply to Sir John's remarks on the limited education of the Methodist clergy must appear in full.

In the next place, His Excellency has thought proper to taunt the Methodist Clergy with their supposed ignorance—with having “neither experience nor judgment to appreciate the value and advantages of a liberal education”. To the advantages of a *university* education the Methodist Clergy may not make pretensions; nor may many of the Episcopal Clergy; nor may hundreds of other Ministers of the Gospel who have shown by their works, that they were more thoroughly versed in the essential qualifications of able Ministers of the New Testament than those who could pompously boast of their long residence in College halls. No Ministry in the Province is more successful than that of the Methodists; nor are any congregations larger and more numerous, or more intelligent. At least one fourth of the population have shown a preference for the Ministrations of those on whose incapacity His Excellency has seen fit to reflect. If exertions to extend the “advantages of a liberal education” indicate a “judgment to appreciate” them, the Methodist Clergy are at this very hour employing their utmost energies for the promotion of that great object among the youth of the Province.

The charge as to “publishing political journals” is met by a review of the purpose of the *Guardian* and a comparison of its success with the failure of a similar journal sponsored by the Bishop of Quebec. “Ministers of the Episcopal, Presbyterian and Baptist churches as well have not thought it inconsistent with their sacred office to conduct such journals.”

Infinitely more fitting [this to Strachan] is such an employment to a Minister and more profitable to the World, than sitting in the Legislature and guiding the affairs of the State. Whether “few individuals” or many think favourably of such a course, is, I think, sufficiently attested by the fact, that the “journal” which has attracted His Excellency's anxious attention,

receives a support and patronage from the public unequalled by any other publication in British North America; a patronage which, after the thorough trial of two years, is rapidly increasing.

After calling attention to the fact that only in the case of one chapel has the rule of no political meetings been violated, and this through the indiscretion of two trustees, an act publicly condemned in the Conference paper, Ryerson brings his rejoinder to an end.

In conclusion, I beg to observe that if undue liberty has been taken in the preceding observations, the impropriety is one of ignorance not of design, and has arisen from the extraordinary strictures which His Excellency has thought proper to avail himself of a particular occasion to make.

To His Excellency, I cheerfully offer the tribute of every personal respect, as has the Conference of which I have the happiness to be a member, however unworthy we may be of His Excellency's confidence or respect in return. We must however, still claim and exercise the privilege, guaranteed by the constitution, of regulating the affairs of our own household in that way which we conceive will best conduce to the permanence and success of our own ecclesiastical and religious institutions, and the great interests of our common christianity.

I have thought it due to His Excellency, to make the foregoing remarks, previous to laying the whole matter before the public.

I have the honour to be,

Sir,

Your most obedient,

Humble Servant,

E. RYERSON

When Sir John's lecture to the Methodists came to the attention of Lord Goderich his observations were briefer and less thorough than those of Ryerson, but just about as severe as the formality of official correspondence permitted. In future, Sir John had the Conference in greater respect. We are not informed that he became a faithful reader of the *Guardian*, but he did give Ryerson his blessing when the latter went to England in the interests of the Academy. To one at least of the two great enterprises of the Conference he had become reconciled.

- [1] From the ink and hand it is clear that the words “*Christian Guardian*” were later added in the Minute Book.
- [2] Thomas Webster: *History of the Methodist Episcopal Church in America*, p. 231.
- [3] Green, p. 135.
- [4] *S.M.L.*, p. 93.
- [5] The death of George IV and the succession of William IV was the occasion of the dissolving of a Legislature which had run only two years and by pressing for reforms had made itself not a little objectionable to the Government and the Governor. The same reason did not exist when William IV was succeeded by Victoria, and there was no dissolution of Parliament.
- [6] *C. G.*, Oct. 2, 1830
- [7] *Ibid.*
- [8] October 11, 1830
- [9] November 1, 1830.
- [10] And lost—a sad illustration of the folly of filing reports rather than inserting them in minutes.
- [11] These clauses are reproduced directly from the Minutes. The version usually printed is copied from the *Guardian* and differs from the Minutes in certain respects.
- [12] Amongst the papers is a receipt for £42.11.3, acknowledged on August 23, 1830 by H. C. Thomson as being the balance due.

- [13] The first office of the *Guardian* was on March Street, “a thoroughfare of ill repute” (*Scadding*, p. 170), north of the New Court House and near the gaol. In January, 1831 better quarters were occupied over the new brick store of Jas. R. Armstrong on King Street.
- [14] Both Bidwell and Ryerson were over sanguine as to the election. The eastern part of the province was not “favourable”, and Kingston returned Christopher A. Hagerman to be the new Solicitor General. Ketchum headed the poll in York County and Mackenzie had a safe, if not a large lead, over Washburn who stood next. Baldwin was defeated in York town. The official party were able to elect as Speaker, Archibald McLean, who sat for Stormont, by a majority of twelve votes over Bidwell, who with Peter Perry survived in Lennox and Addington.
- [15] Helen Rolph, sister of George Ryerson’s late wife, had been one of the first Canadian girls to attend Cazenovia.
- [16] By the irony of fate, the electors of Upper Canada had returned a Legislature lukewarm or even hostile to reform at the very time that the tide of sentiment in England was carrying that country to the Reform Bill of 1832.
- [17] *S.M.L.* p. 144. N. Burwash: *History of Victoria College*, p. 5. Miss A. Dunham: *Political Unrest in Upper Canada, 1815-1836*, p. 151.
- [18] *C.G.*, Dec. 18, 1830. The petition was drawn up by Ryerson and Ketchum.
- [19] *C.G.*, May 7, 1831.
- [20] *C.G.*, May 7, 1831.
- [21] Both these letters reached the editor safely, and were such as could be printed in the *Guardian*. They appeared in the issue of June 25, 1831.

[22] A striking phrase. From the monumental *History of the Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society* by Findlay and Holdsworth, in five volumes, we learn just how George Ryerson and Peter Jones were received by the Wesleyan authorities (*Vol. 1*, p. 423).

“On presenting himself at Hatton Garden, Jones was informed that he could not be allowed to utilize the English missionary platforms for the Canadian missions; but a grant of £300 on this account was offered him on behalf of the Missionary Society, on condition that he should be at its disposal during his sojourn in the country. To these terms, with some demur, he and George Ryerson consented. . . . The British missionary leaders saw a new and promising field opened to them, which, as they judged, the Canadian Church could very imperfectly occupy. . . . Overtures were made accordingly from Hatton Garden, not with the best grace, for the transference of the Indian Missions, and their incorporation in the work of the British Society, which could not consent to grant pecuniary aid without powers of control.”

[23] Maldwyn Edwards: *John Wesley and the Eighteenth Century*, p. 14.

[24] E. R. Taylor: *Methodism and Politics, 1791-1851*, p. 13.

[25] *C.G.*, Jan. 25, 1832.

[26] Bethune: *Memoir of Bishop Strachan*, p. 133.

[27] *C.G.*, November 16, 1831.

[28] *Documentary History, Education in Upper Canada, Vol. II*, p. 10.

[29] Hodgins is wrong in stating that “for various reasons, (apparently prudential at the time) this reply was never published in the *Christian Guardian*” (*Story of My Life*, p. 98). The reply was printed with Ryerson’s rejoinder in the *Guardian* of December 21, 1831. It runs to some 5,000 words.

[30] In subsequent issues of the *Guardian* instances of such conduct appear, and notably one case at Coldwater in Simcoe County where Samuel Rose (father of Dr. S. P. Rose and grandfather of Professor H. J. Rose) as teacher over his name lays serious charges of incompetence and intemperance against the Indian agent.

CHAPTER V

TURNING THE OTHER CHEEK

September 1831 to October 1833

For ten years the arrangement of 1820 between the Wesleyan Missionary Society of London and the Upper Canada Episcopal Methodists had been maintained honourably on both sides. The Missionary Society had confined its interests to Lower Canada and Kingston in Upper Canada, while the Episcopalians had surrendered Lower Canada and were content to see their work increase year by year among the settlers and Indians in the upper province. But a cloud was appearing on the horizon. George Ryerson had seen it, and had warned Egerton. The British Conference once more was insisting on entering Upper Canada, and of this decision Dr. James Townley, Secretary of the London Missionary Society officially notified the Canada Conference.

There can be little doubt that the pressure was political in its origin. It was not just zeal for the saving of souls, or for the extension of that international polity, the Kingdom of Heaven. In the name of religion, pure and undefiled, they were playing the game of the Government party. The Wesleyan authorities, still predominantly Tory in complexion, were persuaded that the miasma of republicanism had floated across the Great Lakes and settled over their brethren in Upper Canada; otherwise how could they criticize the government as they were doing? But they did not put it quite that way. They argued that the appeal for funds made by Peter Jones in England had indicated inability on the part of the Canadians to cope with the demands; and that the British Society could hardly be expected to contribute without some oversight. Further, they claimed to be absolved from the agreement of 1820, since it had been made with the American Conference, not with a separate Canadian church.

The central figure in the drama of 1832, or “plot”, as the acid Webster has it, was Robert Alder. He is thus portrayed by Carroll:

He was medium-sized, but compact—his was a very large head, surmounted by a luxuriant coating of curly locks—his full face bore a very remarkable resemblance to that of King George IV. He had, like a vast number of other great men, been a printer in

early life. His preaching was elaborate, dignified, and not wanting in power. As a pulpit man, he stood high at the time of which we write, and long after.^[1]

His early ministry had been passed in the Maritime Provinces. Returning to England from Montreal, his last charge in British North America, he became active in the London Wesleyan Missionary Committee. In 1827 he gave evidence before the Select Committee of the House of Commons. Replying to the question, “Are the Methodist congregations in Upper Canada under the direction of the missionaries sent out by the British Conference?”, he stated,

They are not: hitherto they have been under the direction of the Methodist conference of the United States; that connection, however, is now dissolved, and we expect that an arrangement will soon be made, by which the Methodists of Upper Canada will be brought to act under the direction of the British conference, as the Methodists of Lower Canada have done for several years.^[2]

After five years the expectation had become a resolution; and it was he who was appointed by the Committee to visit Canada in 1832 and place missionaries in the upper province. In the spring he wrote John Ryerson to the effect that “he with twelve missionaries would, in the course of a few days, sail from England”.^[3] John Ryerson was dismayed at “the prospect of rival Methodist congregations in every town and principal neighborhood”. For many days, he tells us, he ate little and slept less. Finally one day when walking along Bay Street, a plan suddenly came to his mind, as though “some supernatural power had suggested it”. He talked over the idea with Egerton, who “after some consideration” concurred. Then the members of the Missionary Board were consulted and general agreement reached.

The plan was simple and scriptural; it involved turning the other cheek. The English Conference had demanded the coat; they were given the cloak also. The Canadian proposal included union, the acceptance of a British president, the adoption of the English Discipline as far as was practicable, and the surrendering of the Indian Missions to the direct superintendence of the London Committee.

Alder must have been not a little surprised at this turn of events. When he arrived in York in June with three, not twelve, missionaries he was received with open arms. The pulpit in the Methodist Chapel was opened to him. He was attended by Egerton Ryerson on a visit to the Credit Mission.

Even when he had forwarded a gratuitous address to the Lieutenant-Governor on behalf of the Wesleyan missionaries of the Canada district, stating that they were “prompted no less from a sense of duty than from inclination to abstain from all political disputes” and that they endeavoured faithfully to observe the advice, “Fear thou the Lord and the King, and meddle not with them that are given to change”, the *Guardian* was meekness itself. It took no offence from the fact that the address had first been published in that bitterly hostile journal, the *Courier*. It copied the address from the *Courier* without critical comment, merely placing beside it the complimentary address of the Conference on Sir John’s arrival in the colony.

When the Conference met at Hallowell in August, the outlines of union were reduced to twelve brief clauses. After careful consideration they were adopted by a large majority. No record has been preserved of the vote for or against. Green reports that the Conference “was somewhat divided in sentiment on the subject”, and that “Case, Metcalf, and Whitehead were opposed to the change”.^[4] Had the members of Conference been aware of the communications which had passed, and were about to pass, between Alder and the British and Canadian authorities, the issue might well have been different.

To Egerton Ryerson the decision must have been one of peculiar difficulty. For seven years he had battled manfully for certain principles, alike political and religious. He had achieved much; but much remained still to be done. While his mission had brought him into terrific conflict with Strachan, while it had forced him to cross swords with the Governor, while it had caused a Tory-Irish mob at Peterboro to burn him in effigy along with Mackenzie, he had the satisfaction of knowing that the church he championed was rapidly extending its borders, and that the paper he edited was gaining in influence and circulation each year. Union with the Wesleyans would involve many adjustments from which he must have recoiled. Possibly at times it may have appeared a hopeless task, with Governor, Assembly and Wesleyans opposed, to accomplish the aims for which he had striven so valiantly. In the *Guardian* of August 29, 1832, he sets down six advantages which he trusted would result from the proposed measures. They do not stress the things of the spirit; it is doubtful if they quite satisfied him. Immediately, the decision involved his yielding the editorship to Richardson and taking a charge at St. Catharines, till it should be time for him to go in the spring to England to discuss the proposals with the British Conference as delegate from the Canada Conference. He was to return in time for the next session of Conference to be held in York when, if all agreed, the union would be consummated.

We have no definite information that either he or John was aware that a grant of £900 to missions was involved, and that the Canada Conference was thereby to be placed in the position so often deprecated by the *Guardian* in the case of the Catholics and the Kirk as well as the Church of England. Nor would Alder have shown them a letter he sent to Sir John Colborne immediately after Conference, dated Montreal, August 27, 1832, telling him of a result much more favourable than he had “allowed myself [himself] to anticipate”.^[5] Alder notes the terms agreed upon and two others not before mentioned, “that the propriety of continuing camp-meetings shall be seriously considered, and that the *Christian Guardian* shall, for the future, be an exclusively religious journal”. “From these statements,” he continues, “your Excellency will perceive that I have rigidly adhered to those great principles to which I had occasion to advert during the several interviews with which you were pleased to honor me.”^[6] He expects to be made the first President of the Canadian Church, and ventures to ask His Excellency’s opinion of such an arrangement.

Over the next few months of Egerton Ryerson’s life an almost complete silence hangs. We have no diary, no record of his sermons, and only one letter. Bereaved in his own home and perplexed as to the future, he was passing through perhaps the darkest days of his life.

If the days were dark for Ryerson, they were beginning to be stormy as well as dark for the liberal movement to which he had attached himself. It was not long after the new Parliament assembled in November, 1831, that the government forces determined to get rid of Mackenzie. They could find no irregularity in his election, but they soon discovered that he had “libelled” his colleagues in the words, “Our representative body has degenerated into a *sycophantic* office for registering the decrees of as mean, as mercenary an executive as ever was given as a punishment for the sins of any part of North America in the 19 century.”^[7]

This for Mackenzie was a fairly moderate statement, indeed much more moderate than many of the things said against him both inside and outside the House. However, in spite of the sane arguments of Bidwell and others on the floor of the House and the strong editorials of the *Christian Guardian* and other prints as to the freedom of the press, they condemned him by their vote and expelled him from the House on December 12, 1831.

The by-election was held in the Red Lion Inn up Yonge Street, and gave ample proof of the sharp difference of opinion between the electors of the

riding of York and the majority of the Legislature. In the issue of Jan. 4, 1832 the *Guardian* prints an account of the proceedings as “communicated”.

The Election closed on Monday afternoon about 3 o'clock, P.M., the poll having been opened about an hour and a half; at the close the poll stood thus—

Mr. Mackenzie	119
Mr. T. Street	1

Mr. Street was nominated by Col. Thompson, and, I understand, had the promise of Col. Washburn's interest. But as well might you uproot Mount Atlas, as to resist the people of the wealthiest, and most populous County in Upper Canada, when united as the voice of one man, and roused by an infringement upon their rights. The assemblage was the largest that has ever been witnessed in the Home District on any occasion, notwithstanding it was the day on which Town Meetings were held in every Township. The assemblage at one time was generally estimated at between 2 and 3000, and it is believed that there would have been twice that number, had not the Election been appointed on the day of the Township meetings. Previous to the opening of the poll, about 40 sleighs came through the Town and escorted Mr. Mackenzie to the hustings. On the morning of the Election, Mr. Mackenzie distributed a great number of large handbills, headed, “Articles of Impeachment or Public Accusation, to be submitted to the consideration of the Electors of the County of York, in County Court assembled, on January 2nd, 1832, by Mr. Mackenzie, their late member, against the Lieutenant Governor of the Province and advisers of the Crown.” The handbill was half of an Imperial sheet, and contained five columns of closely printed matter, and embraced numerous and specific charges against the conduct of the Lieutenant Governor, the Executive and Legislative Councils, and the majority of the present House of Assembly. In his speech to the Electors, Mr. Mackenzie read his handbill, commenting upon it, and stated, in conclusion, that if the people of the county believed the charges were true, they would elect him; if not, he would wish to return to private life. After the close of the poll, a Gold Medal and Chain was presented to Mr. Mackenzie by a committee appointed for that purpose, with an address read by Mr. Charles Mackintosh, to which Mr. Mackenzie made a short

reply. This medal cost \$250 and is a superb piece of workmanship. On one side is the Rose, Thistle and Shamrock, with the words—“His Majesty King William 4th, the People’s Friend”. On the other side is inscribed—“Presented to Wm. L. Mackenzie, Esquire, by his Constituents of the County of York, U.C. as a token of their approbation of his political career, January 2nd, 1832”. A procession was then formed, to escort Mr. Mackenzie to the town. Mr. Mackenzie was placed on the second story of an immense sleigh belonging to Mr. Montgomery, which was drawn by four horses and carried between 20 and 30 men, and two or three Scotch Musicians. From 50 to 100 sleighs followed, and between 1 and 2000 of the inhabitants. The procession passed by the Government House, from thence to Parliament House, thence to Mr. Cawthra’s, and then to Mr. Mackenzie’s own house—giving cheers at the different places. One of the most singular curiosities of the day was a little *printing press*, placed on one of the sleighs warmed by a furnace, on which a couple of boys continued, while moving through the streets, to strike off their New Year’s Address and throw it to the people. Over the press was hoisted a crimson flag, with the motto, “The Liberty of the Press”. The mottos on the other flags were—“King William IV and Reform”, “Bidwell and the glorious Minority”, “1832, a Good beginning”, “A Free Press the Terror of Sycophants”, “Mackenzie and the People”. The proceedings were conducted with general order and sobriety—though with much spirit. No treats were given. I was told by some electors, that a proposal to treat the electors would have been considered as a general insult. Thus has the County of York ten times more than undone in one hour, what 24 vain inconsiderate men employed six days in doing at an expense to the Province of 2 or 3000 dollars. The responsibility of the consequences of these proceedings, rests with those whose spleen and party spite originated them.

In the editorial columns a brief note informs us that the following day Mr. Mackenzie took his seat in the Legislature after being introduced to the Speaker by Messrs. Perry and Ketchum as “Wm. L. Mackenzie, Esq., member for the County of York, in the place of Wm. L. Mackenzie, Esq., expelled from this house”. The following issue reports his second expulsion from the House.

January 3, 1832, MARY RYERSON, York, to MR. JAMES LEWIS,^[8] *Grimsbby.*

MY DEAR BROTHER & SISTER:

Being entirely alone this evening except my little children who are both asleep, I thought it good opportunity of dropping a few lines to you. We are all well at present for which we have great cause to be thankful to our Gracious Redeemer for his long continued goodness & mercy to us. I hope these few lines may find you & your family enjoying the same blessing. I am told it is very sickly in town—four or five funerals in a day.

Mr. McKenzie had his election yesterday. I thought that there never were so many people in the town of York before. The procession came down Yong street upwards of 50 sleighs & took Mckenzie about a mile up, agoing strait where the election was held. After he was elected the procession proceded back to town & [it] was thought there were more than a hundred sleighs, with many cheers by the way. His constituents presented [him] with a gold medal which cost a hundred and fifty pounds. They went to the Governor's & gave him a salute and then went to the parliament house. When the members heard them acoming, they adjourned & every one took his hat and ran. I have not heard since noon from the house. They had kept closed doors the first part of the day and would not so much as let the reporters in. I have not heard since. McKenzie's expulsion from the house & the Governor's reply to the petition presented to him by our Conference has caused a very great excitement and it is hard to know how it will terminate.

We have had good sleighing ever since we were over & cannot see why Levi does not come over [unless] he is waiting for the snow to go away. I thought certainly he would have come over last Saturday. I hope that him & Hannah will come next Saturday without fail. If all is well I wish very much that you & Betsy would come over & mother. If you have apples to sell I think you would sell them very soon for half a dollar a bushel, or a dollar and half a barrel; that is the price for apples here. I hope Levi will fech us some lard & a few cabbages. They are dear here.

Please remember me to all enquiring friends. Tell mother I think she might come over if she wanted to. I wish to be remembered affectionately to her.

No more at present but remain

your affectionate Sister,
MARY RYERSON

P.S. McKenzie has got his [seat] today about noon. I wish you would write soon.

January 5, 1832, York, J. GIVINS, Chief Superintendent of Indian Affairs, Upper Canada, to REV. EGERTON RYERSON, York.

SIR,

Mr. Clench, the Superintendent of the Munsee Town Indians on the River Thames having notified to me that a Schoolmaster may be appointed with much advantage to the Establishment, both with respect to the Indians residing there, and to those expected from Big Bear Creek, I have it in command from the Lieutenant Governor to request you will be pleased to acquaint me whether such an appointment will interfere with the arrangements of the Methodist Conference.^[9]

I have the honor to be,

Sir,

Your most obedient servant,
J. GIVINS

March 29, 1832, GEO. RYERSON, London, to EGERTON RYERSON, York, Upper Canada.

MY DEAR BROTHER:

I avail myself of Mr. Monro's kind offer to be the bearer of a small parcel & a letter, to write a few lines, all that the time will admit. I assure you I sympathize with you in your afflictions.^[10] I know how to feel for you, and you as yet know but a small part, a very small part, of your trials. Years will not heal the wound. I am even now often quite overwhelmed when I allow myself to dwell upon the past. I [scarcely] need to suggest to you the common place topics of comfort & resignation, but I have no doubt you will see the hand of God so manifestly in it that you will say, "it was well done". I will further add that the saying of St. Paul was at no time so applicable as at the present. "But this I say, brethren, the time is short; it remaineth that both they that have wives, be as

though they had none, and those that weep as though they wept not—for the fashion of this world passeth away”. I *Cor.* vii, 29, etc. I well know that “the *day of the Lord*”, which he hoped & waited for, is now at the very door; and I believe you will see it & possibly the Lord may intend you for one of those chosen witnesses whom he will fill with his spirit to warn & prepare the world for his coming.

I send by the mail two nos. of *The Sun*. One contains a sketch of an exposition of viii ch. *Rev.* by Mr. Baxter; it contains a tolerable outline of the truth. . . . The students of Prophecy were at first only instructed in Christ’s Kingdom over Israel in the flesh, but since the Spirit has been given to open these things they have learned that all these things are first fulfilled spiritually in the mystical Israel,—that is true believers—the children of promise or faith.

I again warn you to avoid popular politics. There is a mystery of iniquity about the subject which you do not understand but which will be manifested as the “kingdom of the beast” & the “Man of Sin”. *Thessalonians & Rev.* Who is Lord of Lords & King of Kings? & to whom does all power belong & from whom does it *rightfully* come but from him who *redeemed* the earth? What is a beast?—earthly, unbelieving, cruel—from the ground not from heaven. What is the character of the present popular movements & whence is the power they acknowledge? From the earth. The *consummation* of this will produce the kingdom which Christ will destroy by the breath of his mouth & the highways of his coming.

I am still detained by my inability to close the business of Mrs. Rolph’s estate.^[1] Peter Jones intends sailing on the 16th April. The *present* prospect is that I shall not be ready to accompany him, though I much desire it if it please God. Elder Case has not sent me the order I mentioned of money due me from the M. Socy. I shall keep the money from P. Jones & I wish you to see that it be placed to his credit with the Socy. when he arrives. I also shall get him to advance what is due to the Tract Society for books, hoping that you will have sold the books. In much love

I am Dear Egerton your affectionate brother

GEO. RYERSON

I write in much haste

April 6, 1832, GEORGE RYERSON, *London*, to REV. EGERTON RYERSON,
York, Upper Canada.

MY DEAR BROTHER,

I wrote to you 2 weeks ago informing you in a few words of my welfare & of the probability of my being detained for the want of means to return till I could get a part of Mrs. Rolph's estate settled. I have been detained so long on expences & continually advancing money for postage & other matters for the Committee that I hope not to be disappointed in having the money paid to you to be given to Peter Jones on his arrival. I was nearly six months attending on that business to bring it to the only practicable arrangement, that is of having it submitted to the Legislature of U. Canada with such recommendations & instructions as would give satisfaction to the country by consulting the wishes & interests of all parties. On the last page I give an account of money that I have had to advance not connected with my private expences which are heavy and which fall on myself. I wish you to receive the money from the Committee and also the balance due me on the £100 which the[y] agreed to pay for my time & expences though my *expences* alone are very much more. This is your authority for receiving the money in my name. . . . You may sell *any* of my own books if necessary to raise the money. I am not careful about *them*, but I am very desirous *to owe no man anything but to love one another*. I do not righteously owe these societies the amt. but I have from a wish to do good to my country taken upon myself a responsibility, that I have had cause to regret. You will do me a great kindness my dear brother in attending to this business.

I have been often applied to for letters of introduction to you, particularly of some who have an eye to becoming preachers in Canada. I do not like the general manner of these inquiries. I notice they all inquire *first* and apparently with the most solicitude about the *pecuniary* part—the last & least of the concerns of a true minister & one truly called. . . . Beware, I beseech you of these “Little foxes”—they will spoil your *tender vines* (*Canticles* II, 15, *Ezekiel* XIII, 4-16). There are hosts of them in this country and like their progenitors of Judea they will still *compass* sea and land to make one proselyte. They have lost none of their primitive zeal, and this zeal is now whetted to the utmost keenness by the hardness of the times at “*home*”. The Wesleyans have a very

abundant share of this kind of men, & many *willing* to emigrate, as they will inform you (after making the more important preliminary inquiries), “*for the good of souls*”! But be warned, and be sure you “try the spirits”. I know such who go out to spy out the land, to ascertain whether it will be more gainful to join you or to persuade the Wesleyan M. Socy. to carry into operation their ambitious plans & employ them.

You spoil certain persons here by your flatteries. If you knew with what sneering contempt Mr. Watson speaks of American Methodist Episcopacy & ordination, and “that Christian Guardian”, you would let his praises rest till they were awarded by him who judges not “by the sight of the eye”. Mr. Wesley was of a highly respectable family & he was a *humble* man & *humbled* himself on all occasions; the same I may say of Dr. Clarke. Mr. Watson has risen from the most humble mechanical profession you can conceive of—a patten tie maker—and I have met with few Christian ministers with more supercilious pride of intellect, particularly of fancied superior intellect. Dont encourage by fawning either him or the Missionary Society of which he is the organ. They have no friendly feeling or designs towards Canada Methodism, & let their spies report to them that in the strength of the Humble Saviour you fear them not, but will stand fast in your liberty wherewith Christ hath made you free. From some expressions in a letter of Elder Case, I would gather that some of our brethren have formed very unjust apprehensions in regard to my conduct towards this Society, as though I had countenanced or encouraged their plans in regards to Canada. Nothing could be more erroneous. I resisted their designs at every intimation of them, both in the Committee & in their Conference & gave no little offence by so doing, & so little did I approve of the Society that I have for the last 8 months lived at my own private expence as I could not conscientiously connect myself with their plans & proceedings. I believe none of my brethren will give more substantial proofs of disinterestedness.

I have never more in my life been shut up to walk in all things by simple faith than I have for some months past. Yet I was never kept in greater stedfastness & peace of mind, nor had such openings of the spirit & life of Jesus in my soul. I have in myself the most substantial evidence of the reality of the work of God in this place, which I have mentioned in several letters. The

judgments of God are spreading apace—the Cholera is more deadly in London, and it has now broken out in Ireland and in the citie of Paris where it is said to be very destructive.^[12] You need no other evidence of its being a work of God than to be informed that it is made the public mock of the infidel population of this city, a state of feeling & conduct in regard to this pestilence that never perhaps was witnessed in any country & that would make a heathen or a Mahometan ashamed. I have seen gangs of men traversing the streets and singing songs in ridicule of the Cholera & have seen caricatures of it in the windows. The “tongues” & the “cholera” have become the song of the drunkard; the one God speaking & warning in his church and the other his doing the same in his providence by judgments. I am sorry to see that you have copied some of this blasphemy into your paper. Do not so any more till you are better informed lest you be found fighting against God. The Lord has the nation & the world to warn of his speedy coming & the world has risen up to put down the warning voice, but he will not be delayed though all are unbelieving. The text of this warning you will find *Rev. XIV—6, 7. . . .* My business still detains me, or rather the Lord by preventing the final settlement of my affairs, but Mr. Jones has left this city for Canada to embark from Liverpool on the 24th. I intend to write by him next week. He proposes to spend a few weeks in the U. States. He has been very successful in collecting for the Missions. He was introduced to their Majesties, the King & Queen, & treated with much kindness. The amt. advanced by Mr. Jones to me for which I wish you to make the provisions to repay him as it is money for the Missionary Society is £50 Stg.

You may suppose that I am very desirous to return to my own country & to my family & my friends, but by faith I crucify the desires of the flesh, when providence says they must not be indulged. My dear Egerton you are much on my heart & I may say the same of your brothers—pray that you may with all readiness enter into the mind & counsels of the Lord—for I fear that many strong men will fall. Dont lean upon an arm of flesh, I mean an arm of flesh in the most specious & seductive form—human opinions. You are scarcely aware of how much of our religion stands upon no other basis. The Papists amidst much rubbish have retained the whole truth; Protestants have horribly marred it in their fear of retaining any of its rust. I have not time to fill my

paper, but request you give my love to my brothers & famys. and to my dear friends & brethren.

Pray for me dear Egerton. May the peace of God be with you.

Yours most affectionately,
GEO. RYERSON

P.S. I have recd. your papers to 8th March as early as the 7th April.

April 14th.

Thus with a request for a brother's prayers, George Ryerson passes out of our correspondence. He had definitely abandoned his political interests and associated himself with the "Irvingite" movement, afterwards organized as the Catholic Apostolic Church. Edward Irving (1792-1834) was a Scot, a graduate of Edinburgh and a minister of the Established Church of Scotland. As a young man he had been tutor to Jane Welsh, and a strong mutual attachment developed between them. It was Irving who introduced Jane to Carlyle in 1821. For some time he assisted the great Chalmers at Glasgow, but achieved fame only after his call to London to become minister of the Scots church at Hatton Garden. The admiration of Sir James Macintosh for his eloquence, and an incidental reference in one of Canning's speeches in the House of Commons, brought him into prominence. He was compelled to move to a new and larger church in Regent Square. Although increasingly unorthodox, he was not expelled from the Church of Scotland till 1830. He was a friend of Coleridge, whose mystical, and obscure philosophy made a deep appeal to him. The second coming of Christ, divine healing, and the gift of tongues were elements in the farrago which constituted his peculiar creed, held together in a setting of elaborate ritual and semi-oriental liturgy. The gift of tongues was not vouchsafed to Irving himself. Among the prominent members of his congregation was Henry Drummond, banker and member of the Commons for West Surrey. In 1833, Egerton Ryerson attended his meetings, but was not greatly impressed. His diary entry reads:

Today I went to hear the celebrated Edward Irving. His preaching, for the most part, I considered commonplace; his manner, eccentric; his pretensions to revelations, authority, and prophetic indications, overweening. I was disappointed in his talents, and surprised at the apparent want of feeling manifested throughout his whole discourse.^[13]

It is difficult to overestimate the importance of the loss of George Ryerson to the liberal movement in Upper Canada. As has previously been noted,^[14] he was the first Upper Canadian to plead the cause of reform effectively in Great Britain. His two visits of 1828 and 1831 and his presenting of the numerously-signed petitions on both occasions definitely convinced the British authorities of the inaccuracy and disingenuous nature of representations which had reached them from Upper Canada. But interested as George Ryerson was in politics, his interest in religion was greater; and now separated for more than a year from the problems of Upper Canada, bereaved and solitary in a land where the foundations of society might appear to be crumbling, he accepted the strange teaching of Edward Irving. The effect upon Egerton of the withdrawal of his oldest, and perhaps ablest, brother from an interest in public affairs is all too apparent during the next few years of his life. He came increasingly to depend upon John for advice. John was shrewd and practical, but, unlike George, he had never been deeply moved by the liberal thought that was the leaven of the times. Had Egerton accepted George's estimate of the spirit of the British Wesleyans—an estimate which agrees closely with that of the historians of Wesleyan Missions^[15]—and had he rejected the policy of expediency advocated by John, he and the Church he served might have been spared distress and disillusionment. And it would not have been necessary to record a certain compromise of principle involved in maintaining friendly relations with Robert Alder and his associates.

November 21, 1832, EGERTON RYERSON, St. Catharines, U.C., to REV. R. ALDER. (copy)

REV. & DEAR BROTHER,

I had hoped to have heard from you previous to your embarking for England. I suppose your other pressing engagements prevented it. In the hasty scrawl I sent you from Hallowell I mentioned some discussion that took place between Mr. Case and myself. On that point I would only add that the question for the union was principally sustained by my brothers in the discussion, and was sanctioned by the vote of the large majority of the Conference.

The proceedings of Conference in this affair, when made known, met with the nearly unanimous approbation of the *membership*, and there was every prospect that but one opinion & feeling would be entertained in regard to it throughout our

Societies. But in some parts where *Presidential* visits have been made, certain local preachers have found out that the Societies ought to have been consulted, that they have been sold ("by the Ryersons") without their consent, that no Canadians will henceforth be admitted into the Conference, that our whole economy will be changed by arbitrary power, and all revivals of religion will be stopped, and that something ought to be done. The first of these objections is the most popular; but they have all failed to produce the intended effect, to the extent desired by the disappointed few. The object contemplated is to produce an excitement that will prevent me from going to England and induce the Conference to retrace its steps. But wherever explanations have been given, the fears of every candid mind have been removed, and not more than one out of twenty in any place could be persuaded to do any thing to promote these secretly instilled views of a disappointed man, who, I understand, intends to leave the country should the union take place. Such appeals, however, tho' they cannot excite positive opposition, may produce indifference; especially as the result of the whole affair is yet rather a matter of conjecture than of moral certainty. The consequence may be that collections may not be taken up to a sufficient amount in our Societies (the mode recommended by our Conference) to defray my expenses to England. In such a case I shall be at liberty to act my pleasure; and should I go I shall incur some personal risque, which I shall be unwilling to do without a strong probability of being successful in my mission. The merit or demerit of the measure has been mainly ascribed to me, and on its result, should I cross the Atlantic, my standing in a great degree depends. If our proposals should meet with a conciliatory reception, and your Committee would *recommend measures*, rather than *require concessions* in the future proceedings of our Conference, every thing can be accomplished without difficulty or embarrassment. Should you be appointed President, you know that I am willing as an individual to adopt your whole economy without exception, *ex animo*. You also know that my brothers are of the same mind, and that a majority will readily concur. But caution and delicacy will be necessary in those matters which relate to the membership, especially when fears have been excited. I earnestly beg that you will have the kindness, without delay, to write me the apparent prospects in regard to this important business. May the Lord direct aright!

I am, my dear Brother,
Yours very truly,
E. RYERSON

The reference to “presidential visits” and “a disappointed man” do less than justice either to the writer or to William Case. Case lived out his useful life in Upper Canada. Earnest, devoted, and agreeable as he was, he never quite reached the stature of a statesman. However, in this instance his views were probably as sound as those of his critic. Grape Island and the frontier circuits, which Case liked to travel, were in the suburbs of the present problem; John and Egerton Ryerson were at York and felt the full impact of the plan laid by Alder and his confederates. Carroll also knew his York; as a boy he had played under the oaks that bordered the bay. He notes one small but significant detail. When the four Wesleyan missionaries visited York in July before the Conference, all four were given an opportunity to preach; two of them preached in the Chapel, but Alder and Hetherington had the District School opened to them.

No instance had ever occurred of any Methodist minister preaching in one of these school houses; and no one believes that they would have been granted, if asked, to any Canadian preacher; but now the Metropolitan school-house, under the direction of the Archdeacon of York himself, is thrown open to two newly-arrived Wesleyan ministers.^[16]

At all events, there is no evidence to support the view that Case was not honest and unselfish in his approach to the whole problem. It is true that he had been acting as President of the Conference for four years; there may have been some twinge of pride at the thought of handing over the presidency to Alder or some other appointee of the British Conference. But there is no need to suppose that this was so important a factor in determining his attitude as was a recognition of the fact, apparent to George Ryerson, that any control by British Wesleyans was not likely to make permanently for peace and union among the Methodists of Upper Canada. Even Egerton himself seems to have feared that the British Conference might “require concessions” rather than “recommend measures”.

While this is the only letter preserved of the correspondence between Ryerson and Alder at this time, other letters are referred to in *The Story of My Life*. Evidently as the months passed and collections for the fund to defray his expenses to England came in more slowly than anticipated, Ryerson became very doubtful as to the wisdom of undertaking the mission

at all. Case was right in taking the view that the circuits ought to have been consulted more than they were before the action taken at the Conference of 1832. It would have been difficult, of course, to get the opinion of the Quarterly Meetings; the whole situation had developed suddenly. And technically the union was not a question which required submission to the Quarterly Meetings; the ministers evidently regarded it as something which it was quite within their province to determine.^[17] Nevertheless, it would have been prudent to refer so important a matter directly to all the Quarterly Meetings and not merely to accept the casual expression of opinion on the part of those few laymen who were able to assemble at Hallowell and who were allowed by special provision to hear the discussion in Conference. The British Wesleyans, it is true, paid little or no attention to the opinion of the lay members, and their ministers had an authority which would have been resented in Upper Canada. As it proved, the Conference had committed itself rather hurriedly to a course which effected union with the British Wesleyans but imperilled unity of spirit amongst their own flock in Upper Canada.

On March 4, 1833, Ryerson left York to proceed by way of Kingston and New York to England, where he remained until the middle of August. His main purpose was to forward the union, and to this he devoted the greater part of his time. For four weeks he travelled through the country, addressing missionary meetings in eighteen different counties. Everywhere he was cordially received. Before leaving Canada he had been not a little doubtful of the undertaking, but after six weeks in England he could write to Richardson expressing confidence that the terms to be agreed upon would “disappoint the enemies and satisfy the expectations and wishes of the friends of Methodism in Upper Canada”. When the Conference assembled at Manchester on July 31st the business was well in hand, and the large and representative committee which was appointed on the question had no trouble in agreeing on the terms of union, which followed closely the Canadian proposals. The President of the Canadian church was to be named each year by the British Conference, and also the Superintendent of Indian and other missions, to which a grant of £1,000 was made. The Canadian Conference, as heretofore, were to select all other officials and assign preachers to their circuits. The Rev. George Marsden, twice President of the British Conference, was appointed as the representative to the Canadian Conference, and Joseph Stinson as Superintendent of Missions. In replying to the Address presented by the Canadian Conference the British Conference referred to Ryerson in the following terms:

We are truly thankful for the appointment of your excellent Representative, the Rev. Egerton Ryerson. The urbanity of his manners, his pious deportment, and his efficient public labors, have strengthened the general feeling in favor of the proposed union; and the talent and temper with which he has negotiated the business entrusted to his management, have proved him worthy of your confidence.^[18]

Ryerson had also been commissioned by Conference to “embrace every opportunity and do all in his power [to sol]icite donations and subscriptions for the completing of the U.C. Academy and [to m]ake enquiry as to the practicability of procuring suitable teachers; to [endeav]our to enlist the committee in behalf of the institution, so as to afford such [aid and] patronage in raising funds as they may [cons]ider prudent and justifiable”.^[19] He was able to enlist the interest of several members of the Conference and two members of the Government. The Right Honourable Edward Ellice, Secretary of War, who knew and had investments in Canada, unsolicited contributed £50, and the Earl of Ripon (Lord Goderich), now Keeper of the Privy Seal, £5. Calvinistic dissenters Ryerson found especially friendly. A “pious and estimable female” collected £12. Altogether he secured for the Academy £111.17.0. Sterling. He was not successful in getting a Principal.

The third, and last, and least, of his concerns in England was with politics—or rather with the Reserves and kindred questions affecting the churches, which in Canada impinged on politics. He had intended to go to Ireland in June, but was informed in a letter from Canada that petitions on the Reserves had arrived at Portsmouth, and that he was needed for their presentation. He still felt he should persist in his Irish engagement, but a day or two later early in the morning Mackenzie called at his lodgings and prevailed upon him to remain in London and see Ellice about the petitions.

Now Mackenzie had been more than a year in England. Following a dastardly attack on him at his lodgings by henchmen of the official party at Hamilton on March 19, 1832,^[20] in which he was kicked and beaten, and a riot with considerable damage to the office of the *Advocate* four days later in Toronto, he had determined to withdraw his person and his ideas from the affronts of Tory mobs and a hostile legislature and at the same time to lay the grievances of Upper Canada before a higher tribunal. He sailed from New York on May 1st, and arriving safely in England was soon busily at work laying siege to the Colonial Office, assisted by Hume, Roebuck and Cobbett, as well as by D. B. Viger of Lower Canada and George Ryerson of

Upper Canada. His industry was prodigious, and the mass of literature—Mackenzie had never learned that virtue resides in the mean—that he piled on the desk of Lord Goderich was sufficient hopelessly to antagonize a less considerate and conscientious man than the then Secretary. Rarely has a more amazing public document been penned by a busy official than the despatch of Lord Goderich to Sir John Colborne of November 8, 1832, dealing with the grievances Mackenzie had presented. As printed in the *Guardian* of February 6, 1833, it occupies eight full columns and extends to some 13,000 words. When it was forwarded by Sir John to the Legislative Council, that body promptly returned it to the Governor declaring that it did not require serious consideration. The Assembly considered it; but in the debate both the Attorney General, H. G. Boulton, and the Solicitor General, C. A. Hagerman, did not spare Lord Goderich in their criticism of his attention to what was described as “Mr. Mackenzie’s rigmarole trash”.^[21] Whereupon the Assembly also resolved to send the despatch back, but after debate and by a vote of 22 to 17. Bidwell in an able speech did not fail to call attention to the fact that Lord Goderich had thought it well to receive a man whom the Legislature had expelled as unfit for their company.

At Mackenzie’s solicitation, then, Ryerson went to Ellice. Ellice was very friendly. He asked Ryerson what he thought of Mackenzie’s statement that two or three thousand troops would be needed for Upper Canada in case Hagerman and Boulton were reappointed. Ryerson replied that he “was confident very large deductions must be made from them [Mackenzie’s opinions] on that point”.^[22] He concurred in the view, however, that such a step would be impolitic. He further took occasion to comment on the need of better facilities for education, and this brought up the question of the Reserves as well as the Academy, to which Ellice subscribed fifty pounds. Here Ellice suggested that he should see Stanley, and arranged for an appointment two days later. At this and a second interview he laid before Stanley with his usual thoroughness documents and arguments bearing on the Clergy Reserves. Hagerman presented similar statements on the side of the Church of England.

In addition to interviews with members of the Government, Ryerson also had some contact with the more radical friends of Mackenzie. His contacts with Hume were confined to three occasions. The first meeting was necessitated by the fact that he had received the petitions from Canada with instructions that they were to be presented by Hume. At the time, he protested to Mackenzie against the use of Hume as an agent on a matter affecting religion, but together they went to see Hume. The interview lasted

about fifteen minutes. The second interview was of about the same duration. Hume proposed to present the petitions through Goderich, as he disliked Stanley. Ryerson insisted that they should be presented through the proper person, the present Colonial Secretary, and Hume consented. The third occasion was at the presenting of the petitions to Stanley, when they had no private conversation and Hume excused himself while Ryerson was speaking on the Reserves. The bearing of these facts will appear later.

In addition to this business connected with public affairs in Upper Canada, Ryerson improved his acquaintance with British politics by listening to the debates in the Commons for several nights, and in the Lords on one occasion. His movements and interests during an absence of seven months from Canada are further revealed in the six letters which follow.

March 21, 1833, EGERTON RYERSON, New York, to REV. J. RYERSON, Hollowell.^[23]

MY DEAR BROTHER:

On account of the Liverpool packet, (*Birmingham*) which had been advertised to sail on the 24th, being laid up, I shall sail in the morning in a London packet (*York*), a very elegant ship—the passage to London being the same as that to Liverpool. I did not arrive here until the day before yesterday, coming by the way of Hartford, Middletown, and Newhaven, (Conn.) finding that route cheaper and more pleasant than down the Hudson River by land. I staid with Dr. Fisk all night and part of two days; I need not say I was gratified and benefitted, and received from him some valuable suggestions respecting my mission to England and agency for the Academy. He was unreserved in his communications, and is in favor of the object of my mission, as were Br. Waugh, Dr. Bangs, Durbin, etc. I have conversed with them all and they seem to approve fully of the proceedings of our conference in the affair. As I have so many letters to write to my friends in Canada before I embark, and must do it all tonight, I have only time to say a word on these matters. I have been cordially received by all our brethren here and on the way. I came with Br. F. Reid^[24] from Middletown to this city—he wished to be remembered to you, as did Dr. Fisk also. It is now two hours after midnight—I must bid you farewell. I shall write to you soon after my arrival in England.

Your most affectionate

E. RYERSON

April 12,^[25] 1833, EGERTON RYERSON, *Portsmouth*, to REV. JAMES RICHARDSON.

MY DEAR SIR,^[26]

We arrived in this port this morning about 11 o'clock, after a very pleasant passage (in the packet ship *York*) of 21 days. I take the coach this evening, and expect to be in London tomorrow morning. Our ship is one of the *stadiest* best sailing ships in the line, and Captain Nye inferior to none in his profession, either in courtesy or skill. The London line of packets always stop at *Portsmouth* and land their passengers, who can go from thence to London in 8 hours. I was more or less sick every day during the whole passage. To place my foot again on *terra firma* was more than usually desirable.

This morning was clear and beautiful, and the entrance into the harbour to Spithead, through a long narrow channel of 26 miles, with the Isle of Wight on the right and the Hampshire coast on the left, afforded us a delightful and animating prospect.^[27] The land on the *country side* rose gradually from the water's edge to some miles distance—the *Island* (the favourite resort of gentlemen in the summer) reminds one of the garden of Eden—and the appearance of one farm house after another—here and there a magnificent plantation, and splendid *gothic* castle, with the beautifully cultivated *green* fields, indicate neatness, comfort and wealth.

E. RYERSON

April 30, 1833, EGERTON RYERSON, *Wesleyan Mission House, Hatton Garden, London*, to REV. JAMES RICHARDSON, *Editor, Christian Guardian*.^[28]

MY DEAR SIR:

As I stated to you in a note written a few moments after landing, I arrived at Portsmouth the *twelfth instant*, just one month from the day I left Kingston, U.C.—with a delay also of five days on the road previous to embarking at New York. No coach leaving Portsmouth for London until 9 in the evening, I employed the afternoon in *examining the military fortifications, dock-yard, and shipping* at this impregnable place.

[Here follows a description of the fortifications, the dock-yard, the old *Victory* (where he placed his hand on the spot on which Nelson leaned his head in death), some Botany Bay convicts awaiting sailing, and finally in the evening a visit to a prayer meeting in the Methodist Chapel and the kindness of a member he accosted there.]

I arrived in London about six o'clock the following morning, and after taking some refreshments, etc., at the London Coffee House, I called at the Wesleyan Mission House, where I was affectionately received by the Rev. Mr. Beecham, the excellent and the only surviving Secretary of the Missionary Society—his two colleagues, Messrs. Watson and James, having within a few months of each other been called to their reward, leaving behind them not only examples and works and labors which speak loudly to thousands while they are dead, but the most affecting dying testimonies of the truth, power and blessedness of those doctrines of which they were two of the most talented and popular advocates in the Connexion from the pulpit, and the former from the press. I was kindly invited to take up my residence at the Mission House, in the bereaved family of the late Mr. James, consisting of a deeply pious and very interesting wife and seven children. Being too feeble and not yet recovered from my long sea sickness, to accept of any of the invitations to preach the following day, I sat as a hearer;—and perhaps a short account of my first Sabbath in England may not be uninteresting to many of your readers.

In the morning I went with the family to Great Queen Street Chapel, rather the largest in the city, and combining in its architecture plainness and elegance, convenience and taste. The Rev. George Marsden, late president of the conference, preached from I John ii, 1, 2. Mr. Marsden is one of the most apostolic-looking old gentlemen that I ever saw; he is upwards of 60 years of age. The burden of his sermon was Christ our *propitiation* and *advocate*, with an application to sinners, backsliders, and fearful believers. Of the matter of the discourse I could not pretend to offer any opinion, as my mind was too much excited, and my feelings at times quite overcome, in hearing such an old servant of Christ pour forth all the powers and sympathies of his soul in developing the heart melting truths of redemption and present salvation.^[29] At three o'clock P.M., I went to the chapel again, and

heard Mr. Marsden address the Sunday Schools connected with that chapel. It was affecting to see and hear such a venerable patriarch surrounded by 4 or 600 children, and addressing them with parental tenderness and simplicity on the importance and advantages of early piety, relating several anecdotes that had come under his own observation. After he had concluded his remarks, at his request, I spoke a few words to them, and concluded by singing and prayer. I immediately repaired to the large vestry in the rear of the chapel, to what is called a fellowship meeting—a quarterly meeting of four or five classes, and serious persons, for speaking (as in *love-feast*) and prayer. The place was filled to overflowing—the first part of the meeting was concluded and those present were engaged in prayer. I thought the interest of the meeting might have been increased by a little more attention to *order*^[30]—but perhaps in this I might have been in some respects as deserving of counsel as some of my zealous neighbors. After two or three had prayed—and they did indeed pray with might and main—the leader of the meeting requested the whole congregation to stand up, and having related an anecdote most appropriate to his purpose, he requested all *penitent* sinners who felt the need of a present salvation *to sit down*. “All you [said he] that *are saved* into the Kingdom of God, or *don't want* to be saved, *stand up*; and all you that *want to be saved, sit down*”. Such as sat down were invited forward near the speaker; about a dozen complied, and kneeled down by a table that extended nearly half the length of the room. Those who did not advance to the table were conversed with and prayed for where they were. After two or three had prayed the conductor of the meeting told those of the penitents who had obtained pardoning mercy to rise up, and the rest to continue kneeling. *Six* rose, when the doxology, beginning with

“Praise God from whom all blessings flow”

was sung. As it was now about five o'clock, and preaching was to begin at six, the congregation was dismissed with a request that all who could conveniently would remain, and that if any penitents who had not yet found mercy would continue to seek the Lord there, several of God's instruments would tarry with them, adding, “you need not be afraid that there is no mercy or grace left for you, because Jesus Christ has saved a whole lot of *you*—he has loads of it left yet, and will give it to you as freely as ever”. The meeting was precisely like one of our liveliest Saturday Night quarterly

prayer meetings. It was a gracious season; but Mr. Beecham told me it was nothing uncommon.

[Here follows an account of the evening sermon in City Road Chapel by Mr. Lessey.]

I made my first humble attempt at preaching in England on Tuesday evening, the 16th inst., in the City Road, or Mr. Wesley's Chapel, on account of Mr. Lessey's illness, with an epidemic influenza which has laid up half London, and seriously delayed business in many of the public offices, and from which I have not escaped. Beside this chapel stands the house owned and occupied by the venerable Wesley; in the rear of it is his tomb, adjacent to which lie the remains of *Dr. A. Clarke*, and the *Rev. Richard Watson*. In front of the chapel, on the opposite side of the street, are the celebrated Bunhill Fields, among whose illustrious dead sleeps the dust of the venerated *Dr. Watts*. Had I room I should be glad to send you some account of the funeral of the *Rev. Rowland Hill*, at which I was present, and heard the Rev. Wm. Jay, author of several volumes of excellent sermons, preach an admirable discourse. I also attended the London District Meeting of Preachers, consisting of all the travelling preachers in the City of London, and about 30 miles of the surrounding country. About 40 preachers were present. The proceedings embraced examination of character of candidates, of state of the circuits, of the state of preachers families in want, of providing for them, of collections, etc. etc., together with official sketches of the characters and deaths of the preachers who have (as Mr. Entwistle, *Sen.*, the chairman, expressed it) "gone home". Amongst these were Dr. Clarke, Messrs. James, Watson, Stanly, and others. Sketches of these proceedings you may expect hereafter. On Wednesday evening last I attended the anniversary of the London District Missionary Society, of which I will send you some account by the next packet. On Thursday Evening I heard the Rev. Robert Newton, the president of the conference, preach in the City Road Chapel, and was introduced to him yesterday by Mr. Alder. Mr. Newton appears to be a very courteous man in his social intercourse—is mighty in doctrine, word, manner and spirit—is upwards of six feet, in person straight, well proportioned, a noble forehead, dark, penetrating eyes, an open countenance, and commanding and variously modulated voice. His style of

preaching is perfectly plain, occasionally interspersed with anecdote—his articulation distinct, often rapid—his manner and gestures, though frequently very animated, perfectly natural and spontaneous—his aim appears to be at the heart, and I should think he seldom misses his mark. He is by some called the “Orator of Methodism”, but I should be inclined to question the correctness of the appellation in *all* respects. Mr. Newton’s greatest strength evidently lies in *description and narrative*; common things from him appear new, or quite uncommon.

It is remarkable, that while the funds of every other religious and benevolent society in Great Britain have diminished during the past year, the funds of the Methodist Missionary Society [which are the largest in the kingdom] have considerably increased.^[31] This perhaps is mostly owing, not merely to their persevering exertions in this department of the evangelization of the world, but to the extensive revivals of religion which have taken place and are still prevailing throughout a large portion of the circuits in the kingdom. I learn from official returns already received, that notwithstanding the political agitation, emigration, etc., there has been a nett increase since the last conference of 12,000. And I heard Mr. Marsden, in concluding the Missionary Meeting the other evening with prayer, praise the Lord that “in different parts of the kingdom he was converting sinners not only by scores and hundreds, but by thousands”. It is regarded as a glorious year of jubilee to the Zion of Methodism in this country, as it certainly is in the New World. A great interest is felt in this country for the extension of the work in the British Provinces, in Upper and Lower Canada, and the Indian tribes; and all the preachers with whom I have conversed appear only anxious to know what means are best adapted to the promotion of the good cause there, in order to adopt them. Mr. Alder’s account of Methodism in Upper Canada has produced a most favourable impression, and I heard him speak of it the other night, at a missionary meeting, in higher terms than I ever heard any other man.^[32]

Yours truly,

EGERTON RYERSON

June 24, 1833, EGERTON RYERSON, *Hatton Garden, London*, to MR. JAMES R. ARMSTRONG, *York, Upper Canada*.

MY DEAR SIR,

I write you [a] few words by Mr. McKenzie and I only have time to write a very few. He embarks this afternoon for Quebec. I refer you to my letter to Mr. Patrick^[33] for particulars respecting the general affairs of my mission. I have no doubt of its advantageous results in harmony, peace and extended operation.

I apprehend that Mr. Stanley's appointment to the Secretaryship of the Colonies will not be very beneficial to us.^[34] The reason of Lord Goderich and Lord Howick (Earl Grey's son) retiring from that office was that they would not bring any other bill in parliament on Slavery, but one for its *immediate* & entire abolition. I understand that H. J. Boulton is appointed Chief Justice of Newfoundland & that Mr. Hagerman is re-appointed Sol. Genl., and that Lords Goderich & Howick are sadly annoyed at Mr. Stanley's course.

It will only be for the friends of good government to resist these new measures, and pray for the re-appointment of Lord Goderich, or insist upon a change in the colonial policy towards Canada. This part however belongs to political men. But I am afraid it may have an unfavourable bearing upon our religious rights & interests. A powerful interest is in active operation here.

I received Mr. Richardson's letter on Saturday, mentioning the petitions to the care of Mr. Hume—not the person to present a petition to his Majesty on *religious* liberty in the colonies,^[35] and especially after the part he has taken in opposing the bill for emancipating *slaves* in the West Indies. It has incensed the *religious* part of the nation against him. He is connected with the West India Interest by his wife—and his abandoning all his principles of liberty in such a heart-stirring question, destroys confidence in the *disinterestness* of his *general* conduct, and his *sincere regard* for the great interests of religion. I shall call upon him this morning. I expect however to leave London this afternoon for Ireland. My return to London at all depends upon whether I can do anything in this petition business. What I say, however, respecting these affairs is in confidence. It should not be

known that *we* are not pleased with the present Secretary for the Colonies, etc.

I have been two nights to the House of Commons; heard them debate one night on Slavery in the West Indies, & the other on tithes in Ireland. O'Connell was one of the speakers. I have no time to make remarks or mention individuals, but there was not much *dignity* in the collected wisdom of the nation in some of the proceedings. I went into the Court of King's Bench & heard Chief Justice deliver a charge to a Jury on a civil case. He looks & speaks something [like] old Mr. Bidwell,^[36] only he is a younger man, about 55 or 60. I have visited several of Public Institutions to witness varied wisdom of the Divine Architect in "making the world and all things therein", as well as to examine the productions of human ingenuity, skill & superstition.

I am anxious to return to Canada. I beg to be most affectionately remembered to Mrs. Armstrong & the family,^[37] to Mr. & Mrs. Irving to whom I would have written had it not been quite unnecessary after what I have stated in my letter to Mr. Patrick. And I have not time to write half the letters I *ought* to write. It is difficult to get a moment for retirement except very early in the morning or after twelve at night. It is not the way for me to live. I had however a very profitable & good day yesterday. I preached & superintended a Lovefeast last evening in City Road Chapel. It was a very good one, only the people were a little *bashful* in speaking at first, like some of our *fearful York* friends, who are *always* so *very* timid, such as Dr. Morrison, Mr. Howard, Mrs. Richardson & others.

Yours very affectionately,
E. RYERSON

July 13, 1833, EGERTON RYERSON, 77 Hatton Garden, London, to the
EDITOR OF THE *Christian Guardian*.

MY DEAR SIR:

The address from Upper Canada to the King, praying for the disposal of the Clergy Reserves to the purposes of education, and that all denominations of Christians may be placed upon the same footing, was presented to the Secretary for the Colonies on Monday the 8th ult. The important interests involved in the objects

of this address have induced me to sacrifice the pleasure and a journey through part of the land of heroes and statesmen, poets and orators, philosophers and divines. I have had two interviews with Mr. Secretary Stanley on the subject of this Address, and have drawn up a statement of the grounds on which the House of Assembly, and great body of the people of Upper Canada, resist the pretensions and claims of the Episcopal Clergy. Mr. Hagerman has been directed to do the same on behalf of the Episcopal Clergy. Assurance has been given that the question will be shortly decided. As I say nothing here that I am afraid to have laid before the Canadian public, my statement may hereafter be published in U. Canada. It may, however, be satisfactory to some of your readers, who feel so intense an interest in the subject, should I furnish a brief outline of what I shall in a day or two lay before His Majesty's Government on this all important question. It is drawn up in four separate papers, ranged under the four following heads:

“I. Observations, designed to show that the Church of England is not *the* Established Church of Canada, and that the provision for a Protestant Clergy, made in the Act of 1791, was not intended for the *exclusive* benefit of the Clergy of that Church.”

“II. Observations on the two adverse Addresses which have been recently presented to His Majesty's Government from Upper Canada, on the subject of the Clergy Reserves, the mode of their circulation, the statements they contain, and the reasons assigned in the Episcopal Clergy Address for the appropriation of the Reserves to their exclusive advantage.”

“III. Observations, designed to show, from the erroneous and contradictory statements of the Agents and Clergy of the Church of England on this question, and the proceedings of the U. Canada House of Assembly, that the Reserves ought not to be appropriated as an endowment to the Clergy of that Church.”

“IV. Observations on the present state of the question, and the probable effects of the different decisions to which His Majesty's Government may come in respect to it.”

Often and fervently have I wished that I possessed the head, and tongue, and pen, of some I know in U.C. in the statement and

discussion of this question of law, of equity, of policy, and of religion.

The advocates of the Episcopal claims certainly have a right to their opinions, and are entitled to respect as well as those who dispute those claims. But *unfairness* and untruth cannot be justified in either. I ought not to be surprised at any thing these days, but I confess I was a *little* surprised to find the Colonial Secretary fully impressed at first that Methodist Preachers in Canada were *generally* Americans, (Yankees)—that the cause of the great prosperity of Methodism there was the ample support it received from United States funds—that the missionaries in U. Canada were actually under the United States Conference and at its disposal. And the Colonial Secretary manifested a *little* surprise also, when I turned to the Journals of the U.C. House of Assembly, (with which I happened to be armed,) and produced proof to the reverse, which was pronounced “perfectly conclusive and satisfactory”. And a *little* surprised did His Majesty’s Colonial Secretary appear to be, when I cited him to the proceedings of the *present* House of Assembly, and showed him the resolutions, amendments, votes and names on the *Clergy Reserves*, where Mr. Sol. General Hagerman was left in a minority of *six*, and Mr. Attorney General Boulton in a minority of *three*. Mr. Secretary Stanley turned to the *dates*, to convince himself that such were the votes of the *present* House of Assembly.

I suppose that there is some curiosity and speculation in Upper Canada at the re-appointment of the Crown Officers, Messrs. Boulton and Hagerman, to office under the *present* administration. I have good authority for stating that it has been in consequence of assurances and proofs that these gentlemen gave His Majesty’s Government, that their conduct had not been opposed or disrespectful to the Government, and that the newspaper reports exaggerated and misrepresented their speeches and proceedings in regard to Lord Goderich’s despatch of the 8th of last November. I was not present nor in York when those proceedings took place. All that I can, or have been able to say, is, that I had never heard any complaints of that kind before. It is a serious affair for reporters to misrepresent public men in such a way as to remove them from office. Some measures should be adopted to prevent misrepresentation on any side.^[38]

I shall not write again until I leave, which will be the 8th of next month, Providence permitting. I have tho't it might be desirable for me to write this much by this packet.

Yours truly,
E. RYERSON

August 7, (1833), Strangeways, ANNE MARSDEN to REV. E. RYERSON.

(Copy)

DEAR SIR,

At length my rebellious heart is subdued by reason and by grace. I am made willing to give up my excellent Husband to what is supposed to be a great work. I am led to hope that as a new class of feelings are brought into exercise, that perhaps some new graces may be elicited in my own character, as well as that of my dear Husband; at any rate, it is a sacrifice to God, which I trust will be accepted, and both in a private and a public view be overruled for the glory of God.

I take the liberty of addressing this Note to you, Sir, because I am sure, notwithstanding your repeated attempt to reconcile me to this affair, I must have appeared very cold, and very unamiable to you; but the fact was simply this, I could not see you, or converse with you, without so much emotion, as quite unnerved me; therefore I studiously avoided you. Pardon me, dear Sir, in this; it is no part of my natural character to treat my friends unkindly, but I had not been prepared to expect such a trial.

My conduct in this affair may appear to you very extraordinary, but did you know the happiness which dear Mr. M. and I have enjoyed in each others society, for thirty-six years, you could not be surprised that I should be unwilling to give up so many months as will be required, for this Mission; but to God and his Church, I bow in submission.

I trust you will have a good voyage, and will have the happiness of meeting your dear children well. Believe me, dear Sir, yours with sincere respect, and affection,

ANNE MARSDEN

This letter shows Ryerson in a somewhat new light. The Rev. George Marsden was willing to undertake the mission to Upper Canada, but his wife could not bear to let him go. Apparently Ryerson undertook to persuade her. At length he succeeded. When not engaged in controversy, Ryerson was the most agreeable and charming of men. His personality was irresistible, as this touching letter attests. So the Rev. George Marsden returned with Ryerson, to attend the special Conference at York and become the first President of the new body. The choice seems to have been an excellent one. He not only played the part but looked the part admirably. He quite impressed that thorough-going Canadian, Anson Green, on his first Sunday in Canada when he reached Hamilton via New York and Niagara Falls.

As Mr. Marsden got out of the carriage at the church door, he amused the youngsters greatly by his antique dress: he wore a round-breasted coat, short breeches, and black silk stockings, with silver knee and shoe buckles. He is rather under-size, venerable in appearance, plain, but evangelical in preaching, and deeply pious. He is an ex-President of the British Conference; and having come down to us from Wesley, his experience must be great. I have quite fallen in love with this holy, apostolic man. He will do us good. He is more like Solon than Demosthenes; like Lord Chesterfield than Sir Isaac Newton; but he is more like Mr. Case than either. He has the plainness of Bishop Hedding in style, but does not equal him either in depth of thought or grasp of intellect. For pulpit power and oratory, he has several superiors in our Conference; but there is a vein of goodness, disinterested benevolence, and holy zeal visible in all his acts which makes him a welcome and useful guest amongst us.^[39]

The Conference convened on October 2nd at York. The articles of union were considered singly and passed, Carroll says, unanimously, the one dissenting member, Joseph Gatchell, absenting himself. Green, however, says that when the nays were called the veteran Thomas Whitehead “stood up, as straight as an Indian, and smoothing himself down in front with both hands, said, ‘I am an up and down man’ ”.^[40] With this honest gesture he then fell in line. Case gracefully yielded the presidency, retaining the title of General Missionary to the Indian Tribes. A legal opinion was read from Bidwell and Rolph to the effect that the claim on church property would not be impaired by relinquishing Episcopacy. Another increase in numbers was recorded, 1,138. The increase in the previous year had been 3,553, the

largest in the history of the Church. The Conference entered union with a membership of 16,039, having added 60 per cent. to their numbers during the five years of independence. Ryerson was elected Secretary, and at the same time Editor—a unique tribute to his success in England and the confidence of his brethren.

But trouble soon developed with certain of the British missionaries. John P. Hetherington at Kingston refused to co-operate in any manner with William Ryerson, who was assigned to that place; and John Barry, who had been ministering to some Wesleyans in the little George Street Chapel, was equally obdurate in his attitude. This was quite to the liking of the *Courier* which on October 26th carried the following news item:

The Rev. John Barry, late member of The British Wesleyan Congregation in this town, who left the place in consequence of the late mock Union between Mr. Marsden and the American Methodists, arrived in town this morning in company with the Rev. Mr. Sutcliffe (British Wesleyan Missionary from Montreal) who is about to take charge of the congregation lately under the pastoral care of Mr. Barry in this town, *to be totally unconnected* with the Ryersonian American Methodists or with any persons connected with them. The Rev. Mr. Barry returns to Montreal to take the place of Mr. Sutcliffe, to be also entirely unconnected with the Ryersonian faction.

November 7, 1833, REV. J. RYERSON, Hallowell, to REV. EGERTON RYERSON, York.

MY DR. BROTHER—

On Monday last I returned from Kingston, & as you are doubtless ankeious to hear of our prospects, I drop you a line to let you know the state of things there. There is no union & no prospect of any, between the two congregations, so long as Mr. Hethrington remains there. The bitterness of his feallings beggers all discription & he is doing all he can to excite the same kind of fealing in the minds of others & then publish abroad how much their members are opposed to the *Union*. Why Mr. Marsden should have left him there after the arrangements which were made at the conference & knowing his fealings is a mistery to me. No dout before next May he will do much harm. Barry has also been back, called the members together, exhorted them to stick

together, informing them that they had had a *Special* District Meeting & that they had sent an agent home & that York & Kingston would not be given up, etc., etc.^[41] I understand he accompanied Mr. Sutcliff to York on the same errand. Wm. & myself called on Mr. Hethrington. He said there could be no union, that we were *Radicles*, that they would not be unighted with us, that the District Meetings of Lower Canada, Hallafax, etc, intended to make common cause of it, especially they intended to remonstrate against giving up York & Kingston, that the conferencial union otherwise they did not care as much about. He said they intended to appeal to the British conference & if they were not heard they would appeal to the British *People*. He also said that our church government was as much Episcopal as it ever was, we had only changed the name & that he did not believe that any English Preacher had a right on divine authority to ordain our Preachers as Mr. Marsden had done, or words to this amount, etc., etc. If the British conference will allow its members to throw fire-brands, arrows & death around in this way & reprobate their proceedings after this manner with impunity, they are very different men from what I have always taken them to be. As weak & imperfect as we are, we would kill or cure a person who would proceed in this manner in short order.^[42] There would be no difficulty whatever with the congregation (with 4 or 5 individual exceptions) were it not for H—., B— etc.

On Monday morning I first saw the last *Guardian* & at the same time the *Colonial Advocate*.^[43] What will be the results of your remarks on the Political Parties in England I can not say, though doutless they will occation much speculation, some jealousy & bad fealling, etc. I have some times thought you had better not have writen the article, particularly at this time, yet I have long been of the opinion that we had (both with regard to measures & men) leaned to much towards *Radicleism* & that it would be absolutely necessary sooner or later to disengage ourselves from them *entirely*. You can see plainly that it is not Reform but Revolution they are after, & we would fare *sumptuously, should we not*, with Radcliff,^[44] McKenzey, etc. for our rulers. I have also felt very unpleasant in noticeing the endeavours of these men together with some of our own members to introduce their Republican *Leaven* into our Ecclesiastical *Polity*.

And it is not a little remarkable that not one of our members who have entered into their Politicks, but has become a furious leveler in matters of Church Government. Witness Dr. Morrowson, J. Cumer, E. Perry, Jas. Lyons, etc., etc., etc. And these very men are the most regardless of our reputation & the most ready to impune our motives & defaim our character, when we in any way cross their track. There are some things in your remarks I don't like—what you say about Mr. Atwood, etc., I think had been better left out. But upon the whole I am glad of its apperrence, & I hope whenever you have occation to speak of the Government, etc., will do it in terms of high respect. But at the present the less said about Polliticks or Political men the better; yet I am ankeous to obtain the confidence of the government & entirely disconnect ourselves with that tribe of villans with whom we have been too intimate & who are at any time ready to turn round and rend us when we don't please them. I fear Wm. is so much attached to those men & their measures that he will injure us & himself too. But perhaps he will come over after a little.

I have written this letter in very great haist; you will excuse the blunders. I will write again soon. Please write soon. As ever

Yours, etc.,

J. RYERSON

This, then, was the fruit of the sacrifice of complete autonomy made by the Conference to avoid collision: some Canadian preachers and more Canadian laymen fearful lest cherished principles might have been sacrificed, and certain British Wesleyans still lending themselves to the old game of the enemies of Methodism—*Divide et Impera*. It would not be surprising if already it had occurred to John Ryerson that he had mistaken the origin of the voice which came to him that day on Bay Street, when he thought it providential.^[45]

[1] *Case, Vol. III*, p. 88.

[2] *Report from the Select Committee on the Civil Government of Canada*, p. 297.

[3] *Epochs*, p. 299.

[4] *Green*, pp. 160-61.

[5] *Webster*, p. 262.

[6] *Ibid.*, p. 263.

[7] *Colonial Advocate*, Dec. 1, 1831.

[8] This letter came to the Library of Victoria University, through the kindness of Professor E. W. Banting, as one of ten letters written by Mrs. John Ryerson to her brother, James Lewis.

[9] This letter makes it clear that Sir John Colborne had recanted as to his strictures upon the Methodists for their “absurd advice to the Indians” (see p. 145). He was now prepared once more to adopt a policy of co-operating with the Methodists in the matter of the education of the Indians. It is peculiar that he writes to Ryerson rather than Case, the proper official of the Conference.

[10] In the *Christian Guardian* of February 1, 1832, appeared the following brief note:

“Died this morning at half past five o’clock, Hannah, wife of the Rev. E. Ryerson, aged 28 years. She has left, to sustain her loss, a husband and two children—a son and daughter—the former aged two years and a half, the latter two weeks and three days. In her life were most conspicuous the graces of patience, meekness and love; during the whole of her last illness was remarkably illustrated what has been called ‘the majesty of faith’, or what the Apostle terms, ‘the riches of the full assurance of faith’, and ‘the riches of the full assurance of understanding’. . . . The funeral will take place on Friday next at two o’clock, P.M., at Hamilton, Gore District.”

[11] See p. [33](#).

- [12] The ravages of the cholera in Canada, rather curiously, are not mentioned in our correspondence. The *Guardian*, however, during those terrible weeks gives considerable information to its readers both as to the progress of the plague and as to the best remedies to be employed. A graphic account is given by Green (pp. 186-188) of the symptoms and of his recovery in the home of Col. Arnold on the St. Lawrence. He was overtaken on the road, but managed to reach this hospitable home, where his life was saved by a potent dose administered by Miss Margaret. The plague was at its worst in Canada in midsummer, 1832. There was a less serious outbreak in 1834.
- [13] *S.M.L.*, p. 116. Among the Ryerson papers is a long unpublished account of one of these meetings describing its conduct graphically and in considerable detail.
- [14] See p. [36](#).
- [15] Findley and Holdsworth: *History of the Wesleyan Missionary Society, Vol. I*, pp. 424-442.
- [16] *Case, Vol. III*, p. 352.
- [17] The full clause of the Discipline, as passed in 1828, is given in *Case, Vol. III*, p. 216.
- [18] *C.G.*, Oct. 16, 1833.
- [19] This minute is found on a somewhat mutilated page of the frail Minute Book of the Methodist Episcopal Church in Canada, 1828-32. This is the least well preserved of the four old Minute Books of Conference in the possession of the Library of Victoria University. Burwash is in error in stating (*History of Victoria College*, p. 25) that Ryerson's first official connection with the college was in 1835. In addition to the above commission, he was a member of successive Academy committees in 1832, 1833, and 1834.

- [20] The principal assailant, William Johnston Kerr, Esq. (the *esquire* is to be noted) at the fall assizes was fined £25 for his part in the affair. His accomplice, one George Pettit, “A strapping son of Vulcan,” appears to have escaped the court.
- [21] In view of the part taken in this debate, these officials were notified that their resignations would be acceptable. Boulton was later given the post of Chief Justice of Newfoundland. Hagerman appealed in person to Stanley, who succeeded Goderich, and was reinstated.
- [22] *C.G.*, Dec. 11, 1833.
- [23] This letter appears in the *Guardian* of April 17, 1833, not in the correspondence. John forwarded the letter to the editor, noting that it was a private letter not written for publication.
- [24] The Rev. Fitch Reid, the first regular preacher of York (see p. [50](#)), was now a successful pastor in New England.
- [25] This letter appears in the *Guardian* of May 29th.
- [26] The degree of formality preserved between Ryerson and his first colleague as an itinerant is interesting.
- [27] Ryerson was still a young man—he reached his thirtieth birthday on the voyage—and impressionable enough to respond with enthusiasm to his first view of the English countryside.
- [28] This letter appears in the *Guardian* of June 26, 1833.
- [29] This admission draws attention to the fact that the mode of the Methodists tended peculiarly to the cultivation of the emotions. Professor A. P. Coleman, one of the oldest living graduates of Victoria College, recalls a sermon to the undergraduates in his day by Ryerson, distinguished both for its length and the tears of the preacher.

- [30] By this Ryerson evidently means the ejaculations so characteristic of the early Methodists, and so disturbing to a Scot from Dundee. See p. [19](#).
- [31] It has been noted that the membership of the British Wesleyan connexion declined in 1830-31. Again it was on the increase and by such means as Ryerson has described from the experience of his first Sunday in England. It was a matter of morning, afternoon and evening on Sunday, with week-day services added.
- [32] Ryerson means to suggest, perhaps, that in this speech of Alder's there was no indication that he regarded the present members of the Canada Conference as not quite capable of looking after the spiritual wants of Wesleyans emigrating from the British Isles or of the aborigines. Only on the grounds of such mistrust could the sending of British missionaries be explained. Again he is reassuring his friends in Upper Canada.
- [33] The name of William P. Patrick appears frequently in connection with various enterprises in York. In 1818 he became a class leader in the old "framed meeting house" and the first superintendent of the first Sunday School in York. At that time he was a Clerk of the Legislative Assembly. His sister was married to Dr. T. D. Morrison. In 1829 we find him on the printing committee of the *Christian Guardian*. In 1833 he was treasurer of the Temperance Society of York, of which in that year the Hon. J. H. Dunn, Receiver-General, was President and Jesse Ketchum and Rev. Wm. Rintoul were vice-presidents. He was one of several leading Methodists later to be caught up in the Irvingite movement. He was a liberal and a Methodist; his name does not appear in Scadding.

[34] So it appeared also to the *Upper Canada Courier*, edited by George Gurnett, and controlled by H. J. Boulton, serving the interests of the official party and being served in turn by extensive patronage in the way of advertising. The *Guardian* of May 15th reports that the appointment of Stanley was proclaimed through the town with great triumph by *The Courier* sending his boy blowing a tin trumpet along the streets as he distributed a bulletin announcing it. The bulletin contained as usual “a liberal quantum of abuse upon the Methodists, proclaiming their downfall”.

[35] While in England Ryerson had learned a good deal about Joseph Hume—the fortune he had made in India, his connection with the Greek loan, his coolness in the anti-slavery movement, his capacity for and interest in economics as distinct from religion. The judgment he formed of this able man, so long a force to be reckoned with in the British House, is substantially the verdict of history.

[36] This was Barnabas Bidwell, a graduate of Yale, who became Attorney General of Massachusetts. Being accused of embezzlement—unjustly as he always protested, and as a result of political conspiracy—he withdrew to Canada in 1810, settled at Bath and earned his living as a school teacher. He was elected to the Legislature for Lennox and Addington in 1821, thus greatly adding to the strength of the reform element. An emissary was sent to Massachusetts, however, to pry into his career, and he was expelled from the House, whereupon his constituents elected his son, Marshall Spring Bidwell, in his stead.

[37] The juxtaposition of these two sentences is interesting. At least one member of the family, the oldest daughter, may have noted it.

[38] This letter appears in the *Guardian* of September 4th. In the same issue by way of comment Richardson makes the following observations: “The reports, as published in the newspapers, had been before the public of Canada some months before these gentlemen left the country; they had gone the rounds of the papers, had become a common subject of remark and animadversion, and had been under the scrutiny of the members of the House of Assembly, in the discussion respecting compensation to reporters, when the *Guardian* in particular was complimented for the correctness of its reports, by several members who are known to be opposed to its general principles; and all this in the presence of Mr. Boulton, who spoke on the occasion, was in favour of paying the Reporters, and took no exceptions to the reports of either his own or Mr. Hagerman’s speeches; and yet, according to Mr. Ryerson’s letter, it is said, they were so shamefully misrepresented as to cause their dismissal from office.”

[39] *Green*, p. 175.

[40] *Green*, p. 176.

[41] This is evidence that certain British preachers from the first had sought to maintain an organization separate from the Conference. At the end of the conference year 1833-34, according to the articles of union, they were to come under the control of the Canadian Conference. This they were unwilling to do.

[42] The explosion here referred to shook all Upper Canada. It becomes the subject of our next chapter.

[43] The difficulties of maintaining discipline with an absentee president were already appearing. Canadian Methodism in its turn was experiencing something of the disadvantages of a colonial status.

[44] James Radcliffe, editor of the *Cobourg Reformer*.

[45] See p. [154](#).

CHAPTER VI

APOSTATE OR PROPHET?

October 1833 to June 1834

The Conference of 1833 had restored Ryerson to the editorship of the *Guardian*. Richardson retired with a brief editorial, generous in its references to his successor. The latter's reply was in kind, with complimentary references to his "excellent predecessor". Richardson's editing had been sound and restrained—and measurably dull. When Ryerson resumed control he determined to brighten the paper. Largely with this in view,^[1] he presented in the *Guardian* of October 30th the first of a series^[2] of articles giving his personal observations on English public affairs under the title, "English Impressions".

These innocent and casual "Impressions" were as spark to tinder in Upper Canada, such were the circumstances and such the persons involved. For some years a spirited contest had been waged against special privilege. The champions of the people most prominent in the public eye were Mackenzie and Ryerson. Their efforts had been to the same end, though they had employed different means and approached the problem from different angles. To Mackenzie the question was largely one of economic justice, to Ryerson it was primarily one of religious equality. To be sure, their interests converged in the broad field of liberty and equal rights. As to politics, Mackenzie tended to be doctrinaire, Ryerson to be particular and practical. Occasionally they had served together on committees, as for example in 1831, but in general, though fellow townsmen, their lives had moved in different orbits. While in England they had together approached the British Government. Here a third person was involved, Joseph Hume, powerful as an unattached member of the House of Commons because of his great industry and his knowledge of commerce and finance. He had been acting as agent for the Reformers of Upper Canada, and in his general political attitude had much in common with Mackenzie. Mackenzie's youngest son, born in England, was given the name, Joseph Hume. In England Ryerson moved amongst the Methodist people, in religion fervid, in social intercourse cordial, and in politics inclining to be conservative. But he mingled also to some extent with public men, and became convinced that a radical and atheist was not the man to forward in Parliament the cause of

religion in Upper Canada, whatever he might accomplish in other matters less dear to Ryerson's heart. He told Mackenzie so in London, apparently without serious offence. In the first of his "Impressions"—incidentally and amongst many other observations—he said the same thing to the Canadian public, but with surprising effect in a political atmosphere already gathering for an outbreak.

IMPRESSIONS MADE BY OUR LATE VISIT TO ENGLAND

More times than we can tell have we been asked, since our return to Canada, "What do you think of England?" And as often have we vaguely answered, "Much better upon the whole than I had anticipated". To one who had been born and educated under the British government;—whose earliest, and tenderest, and strongest recollections, were associated with British institutions;—whose forefathers and relatives had fought, and some of them bled, in defence and support of the claims of the British government, in successive wars;—whose warmest aspirations embraced the stability and prosperity of the British crown; who had been an anxious spectator of passing events in Great Britain for some years past, and had upon more than one occasion remarked upon her institutions, condition, and prospects;—to one thus circumstanced and excited, a personal visit to the "sea-girt isle" presented objects of no ordinary attraction, and awakened the strongest feelings of curiosity. To notice every thing that attracted our attention, or that is worthy of observation, is foreign from our present purpose, as it would require a volume rather than a column, a month rather than an hour, to journalize the excursions of every day's walk and ride, and reduce to chapter and section the tattle of every tea-party chit-chat, stage-coach rencontre, diversified scenery of park and field, and hill and dale, with palaces and castles, cathedrals and country seats, customs and manners, virtues and vices, prejudices and parties. We will merely state the impressions made upon our own mind during four months' residence in England, in regard to public men, religious bodies, and the general state of the nation.

There are three great political parties in England—Tories, Whigs and Radicals, and two descriptions of characters constituting each party. Of the first, there is the *moderate* and *ultra* tory. An English ultra tory is what we believe has usually been

meant and understood in Canada by the *unqualified* term *tory*; that is, a lordling in power, a tyrant in politics, and a bigot in religion. In religion, he is superstitious or sceptical, as it happens; in morals, he is profane or devout, sensual or abstemious, spendthrift or miser, as inclination and interest may prompt; in opinions, he is as intolerant as he is illiberal. This description of partizans, we believe, is headed by the Duke of Cumberland, and is followed not “a-far off” by that powerful party, which presents such a formidable array of numbers, rank, wealth, talent, science, and literature, headed by the Hero of Waterloo. This shade of the tory party appears to be headed in the House of Commons by Sir R. Ingles, member for the Oxford University, and is supported, on most questions, by that most subtle and ingenious politician and fascinating speaker, Sir R. Peel, with his numerous train of followers and admirers. Among those who support the distinguishing measures of this party are men of the highest christian virtue and piety; and our decided impression is, that it embraces the major part of the talent, and wealth, and learning of the British nation. The acknowledged and leading organs of this party are *Blackwood’s Magazine* and the *London Quarterly*.

The other branch of this great political party is what is called the *moderate* tory. In political *theory* he agrees with his high-toned neighbour; but he acts from *religious* principle, and this governs his private as well as public life—he contemplates the good of the nation and the welfare of mankind, without regard to party measures, and uninfluenced by political sectarianism. To this class belongs a considerable portion of the *evangelical clergy*, and, we think, a majority of the Wesleyan Methodists. This class, embracing for the most part, within the sphere of its religious exertions, the Bible, Tract, Church and Wesleyan Missionary Societies, evidently includes the great body of the piety, christian enterprise, and sterling virtue of the nation. It repudiates connexion with any avowedly political party;—its politics are those of justice—its charities are liberal—its measures are disinterested—its honour is inviolable—it supports established institutions from the authority of the Divine word instead of the caprice of expediency; moderate, but unbending and persevering in its purposes; and in time of party excitement, alike hated and denounced by the ultra tory, the crabbed whig, and the radical leveller. Such was our impression of the true character of what, by

the periodical press *in England*, is termed a moderate tory. From his theory (to which he seldom or never insists upon your subscribing) we in some respects dissent; but his integrity, his honesty, his consistency, his genuine liberality and religious beneficence, claim respect and imitation. Of this class Lord Goderich (now Earl Ripon) is a fair specimen and bright ornament; as may be supposed by his despatches to the government of this and other British North American Colonies; and to this class, we understood in England, that *His Excellency the Lieutenant Governor, Sir John Colborne*, had always been attached and associated.

The second great political, and now ruling party in England, are the *whigs*—a term synonymous with *whew*, applied, it is said, to this political school, from the sour and peevish temper manifested by its first disciples—though it is now rather popular than otherwise in England. It is, however, not so popular as it was before the passing of the Reform Bill—as the whig administration has not fulfilled the expectations of the public in its measures of retrenchment and reform. The whig appears to differ in *theory* from the tory in this, that he interprets the constitution, obedience to it, and all measures in regard to its administration, upon the *principles of expedience*, and is therefore always pliant in his professions, and is ever ready to suit his measures to the *Times*; an indefinite term, that also designates the most extensively circulated daily paper in England, or in the world, which is the leading organ of the whig party, backed by the formidable power and lofty periods of the *Edinburgh Quarterly*: whereas the tory maintains the implied contract of existing institutions and established usages, and the authority of Revelation as the true foundation of obedience to the civil government. To us, the theory of the truth lies between the two; in practice there is but little difference. The present whig ministry have not retrenched a farthing of their own salaries, (with one or two exceptions) any more than did their predecessors in office; and the present Premier has inducted more of his relatives into lucrative offices and livings, during the last two years, than did Lord Liverpool during the whole of his administration. The leaders of this party in the House of Lords are Earl Grey and the Lord Chancellor; at the head of the list in the House of Commons stand the names of Mr. Stanley, Lord Althorp, Lord John Russell, and Mr. McAuley.^[3] In

this class are also included many of the most learned and popular ministers of dissenting congregations. There appears to be no peculiar tendency in the examples, influence, and measures of the great politicians of this school to improve the religious and moral condition of the nation.

The third political sect is called *Radicals*; apparently headed by Messrs. Hume and Attwood; the former of whom, though acute, indefatigable, persevering, popular on financial questions, and always to the point, and heard with respect and attention in the House of Commons, has no influence as a religious man; has never been known to promote any religious measure or object as such, and has opposed every measure for the better observance of the Sabbath, and even introduced a motion to defeat the bill for the abolition of colonial slavery; and Mr. Attwood, the head of the celebrated Birmingham political union, is (if we may judge from hearing him speak two or three times in the House of Commons) a conceited, boisterous, hollow-headed declaimer. Never did we hear any public man speak, of whom we formed so unfavourable an opinion as of Thomas Attwood.

Radicalism in England appeared to us to be but another word for Republicanism, with the name of King instead of President. This school, however, includes all the Infidels, Unitarians and Soci[a]nians in the Kingdom; together with a majority of the population of the manufacturing districts. The notorious infidel character of the majority of the political leaders and periodical publications of this party, deter the virtuous part of the nation from associating with them, though some of the brightest ornaments of the English pulpit and nation have leaned to their leading doctrines in theory. And perhaps one of the most formidable obstacles to a wise, safe and effectual reform of political, ecclesiastical and religious abuses in England, is, the notorious want of religious virtue or integrity in many of the leading politicians who have lamentably succeeded in getting their names identified with *reform*; which keeps the truly religious portion of the nation aloof, and compels it in practice, to occupy a neutral ground. And it is not a little remarkable that that very description of the public press which, in England, advocates the lowest radicalism, is the foremost in opposing and slandering the Methodists in this Province. Hence the fact that some of these Editors have been

among the lowest of the English Radicals previous to their egress from the Mother Country.

Upon the whole, our impressions of the religious and moral character, patriotism, and influence of the several political parties into which the British nation is unhappily divided, were materially different in some respects, from personal observation, from what they had been by hear-say and reading. The conclusions to which we came were, 1. That there is nothing in the peculiar tenets of the different political parties, that can reasonably debar their advocates from religious communion with each other,—and, therefore, should never be made a condition of it; since there are included in each, men of generous patriotism, inviolable integrity, solid learning, and scriptural orthodoxy and piety. 2. That no Christian could safely and wisely identify himself with either of them, since they all alike—as parties—seek their own honor and gain, and care little or nothing for the interests of what he regards as the sum of human happiness. 3. That the most rational and effectual means for a true Christian to reform vice and correct abuses, is to know, enjoy, and always abound in the work of Him who went about doing good.

(to be continued)

Mackenzie's observations in the *Colonial Advocate* were penned and printed on the day the "English Impressions" appeared in the *Guardian*.

Second Edition Advocate Office Wednesday night [Oct. 30]

[This in very large type on the third page.]

ANOTHER DESERTER!

The *Christian Guardian*, under the management of our rev. neighbour Egerton Ryerson, has gone over to the enemy, press, types, & all, & hoisted the colours of a cruel, vindictive tory priesthood. His brother George when sent to London became an easy convert to the same cause, and it appears that the parent stock were of those who fought to uphold unjust taxation, stamp acts, and toryism in the United States. The contents of the *Guardian* of tonight tells us in language too plain, too intelligible to be misunderstood that a deadly blow has been struck in England at

the liberties of the people of Upper Canada, by as subtle and as ungrateful an adversary, in the guise of an old and familiar friend, as ever crossed the Atlantic. The Americans had their Arnold and the Canadians have their Ryerson; and oppression and injustice, and priestly hypocrisy may triumph for a time and wax fat and kick, but we yet anticipate the joyful day as not far distant in which the cause of civil and religious freedom shall win a great and lasting victory in this favoured land.

[Then in somewhat smaller type.]

The thorough defection of *The Guardian* and the *Ryersons* will leave York without a Newspaper having the least pretence to independence of principle, during the coming winter, and my remarks of tonight may lessen my chance of success in the Toronto riding next General Election, and *perhaps* render it expedient for me to decline being a candidate for the county in the case of an expulsion next month.^[4] But I hesitate not a moment, in expressing my sentiments—deceit and hypocrisy under the broad mantle of religion have not vanquished me. No, I was the dupe of a jesuit in the garb of a methodist preacher, and believed Egerton that I had been in error in opposing the Union, the fruits of which are so very soon ripened, but he and his new allies, the church and state gentry, shall now have me on their rear. Of course my plan of operations must be changed, for I feel that I am unable in my present condition to contend against such powerful odds. I held out in the good old radical cause, as an editor, as long and as well as I could—more my friends did not expect of me. Elder Ryan, poor fellow, is in his grave, but I well remember his telling me, “I have found out the Ryersons, and before long the people of Canada will find them out”. *He was right*.

RYERSON’S REJOINDER^[5]

We extract the above from the last number of the *Colonial Advocate*; and whatever may be the intelligent reader’s opinion of Mr. McKenzie’s insignificance or importance, veracity or dishonesty, merits or demerits, we beg liberty, once for all, to make a few remarks on his very extraordinary statement. Mr. McKenzie seems to have taken great offence at our Editorial article of last Wednesday’s *Guardian*, headed, “*Impressions made by our late visit to England*”. It will be perceived from the date

and circumstances under which Mr. McKenzie made his statement, that it was the ebullition of the moment and written under the excitement of passion: it therefore claims a favourable construction and lenient consideration. Our article contained the first part of a series of observations we intend to offer on the religious and political condition of Great Britain, as it appeared to us during our short residence there. This part of our remarks was confined to the political parties which exist in England; and of whose moral character, as *parties*, we endeavoured to give a true picture. We did so 1st, as a subject of useful information; 2nd. To correct an erroneous impression that had been industriously created, that we are identified in our feelings and purposes with some one political party; 3. To furnish an instructive moral to the Christian reader, not to be the passive or active tool, or blind thoroughgoing follower of any political party, as such. We considered this called for at the present time on both religious and patriotic grounds. We designed this expression of our sentiments, and this means of removing groundless prejudice and hostility, in the least exceptionable and offensive way; and without coming in contact with any political party in Canada, or giving offence to any, except those who had shown inveterate and unprincipled hostility to Methodism. We therefore associated the Canadian ultra tory with the English radical, because we were convinced of their identity in moral essence, and that the only essential difference between them is, that the one is top and the other bottom. We therefore said “that very description of the public press which, in England advocates the lowest radicalism, is the foremost in opposing and slandering the Methodists in this Province”.

That our Christian brethren throughout the Province, and every sincere friend to Methodism, do not wish us to be an organized political party, we are fully assured;—that it is inconsistent with our profession and duty to become such, we have on more than one occasion declared.

[Here follow several references to this effect from the *Guardian*.]

That the decided part we have felt it our duty to take in obtaining and securing our rights in regard of the Clergy Reserve question, has had a remote or indirect tendency to promote Mr. McKenzie’s political measures, we readily admit; and we have

even inserted petitions and other public documents embracing a variety of secular matters, for the single and sole purpose of bringing this great question to a successful issue—precisely in the same way as thousands of the friends of negro Emancipation in England have supported Candidates for Parliament with the sole object of abolishing slavery, although they would thereby be virtually instrumental in promoting other favorite objects of such candidates with which they had no fellowship whatever. But that we have ever supported a measure, or given publicity to any documents from Mr. Mackenzie, or any other political man in Upper Canada, on any other grounds than this, we totally deny, and could, were it necessary, produce abundant evidence to prove.

Mr. McKenzie's attack therefore, must have been called forth upon one, or all of four grounds: 1. That our language was so explicit as to remove every doubt and hope of our encouraging a "thick and thin" partizanship with him or any man or set of men in Canada; or 2. That we did not speak in opprobrious, but rather favorable terms, of His Excellency the Lt. Governor; or 3. That we expressed our approbation of the principles and colonial policy of Lord Goderich (now Earl Ripon) and those who agree with him; or 4. That we alluded to Mr. Hume in terms not sufficiently complimentary. If the abuse of Mr. McKenzie's pen has been created by the first of these causes, we can neither sympathise with him in his disappointment, nor retract our avowal, often made before, yet it seems never credited either by Mr. McKenzie or his opponents. We are confident we speak the sentiments of our whole church when we say we can never consent to become what our enemies have represented us—"a political faction". If Mr. McKenzie's wishes are crossed and his wrath inflamed, because we have not entered our protest against His Excellency the Lt. Governor, when we had learned the views of His Majesty's Government on a reply of His Excellency to an address of our Conference about two years ago, and when every unfavorable impression had been removed from the mind of His Majesty's Government which said reply might have created, and when good will was expressed towards the Methodists as a people, we have not so learned to forgive injuries—we have not so learned to "*honor and obey magistrates*"—we have not so learned our duty as a minister, and as a christian, and as a body of christians—we have not so learned to "*follow peace with all men*". We, as a *religious*

body, and as the organ of a religious body, have only to do with Sir John's administration as far as it concerns our character and rights as British subjects; His Excellency's administration and measures in merely secular matters lie within the peculiar province of the political journalists and politicians of the day. If our offering a tribute of grateful respect to such as Lord Goderich, who has proved himself the firm and magnanimous friend of the persecuted Baptist and Methodist Missionaries in the West Indies—who had declared in his despatches to Canada his earnest desire to remove every Bishop and Priest from our Legislature, to secure the right of petitioning the King to the meanest subject in the realm, to extend the blessings of full religious liberty and the advantages of education to every class of British subjects in Canada without distinction or partiality, and in every possible way to advance the interests of the Province;—if honouring such men and such principles be “hoisting the colours (as Mr. Mackenzie says) of a cruel, vindictive tory priesthood”, then has Mr. Mackenzie the merit of a new discovery of vindictive cruelty; and with his own definition of liberty, and his own example of liberality, will he adopt his own honorable means to attain it, and breathe out death and destruction against all who do not incorporate themselves into a strait-jacket battalion under his political sword, and vow allegiance and responsibility to every thing said and done by his “press, types, and all”.

But if it be the fact, as we suspect it is, that the treasonableness (under Mr. Mackenzie's government) of last Wednesday's *Guardian* consists in our speaking rather indifferently of *Mr. Hume*, then do we plead guilty; and submit to the intelligent reader, that when we, who, as well as a large portion of the people of Upper Canada, had been accustomed to regard Mr. Hume as the consistent and devoted friend of religious and civil liberty, found, on visiting England, that this same Mr. Hume would not (when publicly called upon and when publicly stating his belief) even avow his faith in the Bible—was profane in language, even while consulting on the religious interests of Canada, and instead of supporting the prayer of the Clergy Reserve petition at the Colonial Office to that effect, seemed to be impatient at having its merits urged, and immediatly introduced the general topic of the administration of the government—when we ascertained that the great advocates of religious liberty in its broadest extent in

England, such as Dr. Cox (Baptist Minister), Dr. J. P. Smith, Dr. Styles, etc. (Independent Ministers) regarded Mr. Hume as an enemy to their principles—when we learned that Mr. Hume was an enemy to the persecuted Baptist and Methodist Missionaries in the West Indies, and gave the weight of his influence to perpetuate the enormities of the persecuting slaveholders, Priests and magistrates, and at length introduced and advocated a motion to defeat the bill for the abolition of Colonial Slavery, and spoke and voted against any measure for the observance of the deplorably violated Sabbath in England—when we both heard and saw, in the House of Commons, Mr. Hume speak on and vote for a clause in the East Indian Charter, to erect a twofold church establishment in India, embracing one Roman Catholic and two Episcopalian Bishops, with a salary of one or two thousand pounds each, without any regard to any other religious body—when we knew all this, we ask what sort of religious and civil freedom the people of Upper Canada would desire us to recommend them to expect from such a source, notwithstanding the show of plausible letters and liberal professions? And we ask the people of this Province, whether they would be likely to enjoy much more liberty under the slave holding, missionary persecuting, government of Mr. Hume, even with Mr. Mackenzie private Secretary, than that under which they now live? And if “a deadly blow has been struck in England at the liberties of the people of Upper Canada, by as subtle and as ungrateful an adversary, in the person of an old and familiar friend, as ever crossed the Atlantic”, we would ask whether this “deadly blow” has been struck by him who, from want of discernment or of honesty, holds up Mr. Hume as the right arm of the Canadian’s liberty, wealth and knowledge, or by him who, desiring neither civil war nor revolution, would give the people of U. Canada a sufficient intimation not to trust in a broken reed or a false friend, for all that is dear to them as Christians, as Men, and as British subjects.

As to the nature of the “deadly blow” which we have “struck in England at the liberties of the people of Upper Canada”, or our advocacy of “civil and religious liberty”, we refer the reader to the communications which we laid before the British government, and which will be found in the columns of this day’s paper, and submit to the reading public whether we have not faithfully advocated the principles of “civil and religious freedom” and expressed

ourselves more strongly, and to a greater extent on the administration of affairs in this Province, than we had ever presumed to do before, either publicly or privately, or than we should have thought it advisable to publish at the present time, in the organ of any religious body, except under existing circumstances.

But Mr. Mackenzie is not contented with abuse and falsehood against us: he must attack Mr. George Ryerson also, and proclaim him as “an easy convert to a cruel, vindictive tory priesthood”; an individual who has altogether retired from public life, and embraces no set of politics but “obedience to the powers that be”; an individual who reads no other book but the Bible and only busies himself with instructing the ignorant, relieving the destitute and comforting the distressed; an individual who never ceased a single day for more than six months to advocate the object for which he went home to England, until he succeeded in getting a despatch sent out by Lord Goderich, authorising the Colonial Legislature “to VARY or REPEAL” the Clergy reserve appropriation, which was all that the petitioners could desire or His Majesty’s government give; an individual who visited Mr. Mackenzie and family in London from week to week during protracted afflictions, and showed them all possible kindness until the day of their departure; an individual who, when Mr. Mackenzie having received no remittances from his friends in Canada, and his resources completely exhausted, (and not daring to let his wants be known to his liberal friend Mr. Hume) borrowed and furnished Mr. Mackenzie with a considerable sum of money,^[6]—When Mr. Mackenzie, causelessly, and in his absence, and after the occurrence of such circumstances, drags such an individual before the Canadian public “as an easy convert to a cruel, vindictive tory priesthood”, we ask if Mr. George Ryerson has not good reason to regard Mr. Mackenzie as “as subtile and ungrateful an adversary, in the guise of an old and familiar friend, as ever crossed the Atlantic”.

* * * * *

Of Mr. Mackenzie we have but little to say. We have never, directly or indirectly, expressed our opinion publicly of his merits or plans of operation; though we have often been accused with originating and supporting them. Whatever measures Mr.

Mackenzie may have originated and pursued—however beneficial many of them may be, and whatever influence he may have acquired—he is not indebted to us for the ingenuity, excellence, or success of the one, nor the power of the other, but to his own unparalleled industry, his financial taste and talents, and his extraordinary public exertions. Wishing, in private life at least, to be the “friend of all and the enemy of none”, we have conversed, freely and friendly, in years past, with both Mr. Mackenzie and his opponents, and have always found Mr. Mackenzie as a man open, generous, ardent, punctual, and honourable to all his engagements; and have believed, that however exceptionable much of his proceedings and writings were, their *general* tendency would be to secure rigid economy in the public expenditure, and remove abuses which candour must admit have gradually grown up in some parts of the administration of public affairs; which, however, are not peculiar to Upper Canada, nor foreign to many of the States of the neighbouring Republic, and which abound in Great Britain. We, therefore, resolved not to become umpire or partizan between Mr. Mackenzie and his opponents in any way whatever—notwithstanding the great annoyance he gives them and many high public men in the Province. We regret that we have been compelled to do otherwise—desiring that all members of our society, and our readers in general of whatever merely political predilections, might feel themselves equally at home in their church membership, and equally profited by our editorial labours. Mr. Mackenzie’s great strength and merits, like those of his friend Mr. Hume, consist in eliciting *facts* and useful state documents, in which, we think, they have rendered important service to Upper Canada; but Mr. Mackenzie, not like his friend Mr. Hume, fails in the employment of his facts, and applies many of them to purposes of abuse, irritation, and excitement, instead of ingenuous, argumentative, conciliatory removal of abuses and improvement of imperfections. “Facts, (says Bulwer,) like stones, are nothing in themselves; their value consists in the manner they are put together, and the purpose to which they are applied.” So notorious is Mr. Mackenzie’s incapacity to make a judicious use of his facts, and his rashness and imprudence, and violence, (of which the article that has called forth these remarks is a striking but not an uncommon specimen,) that a distinguished legal gentleman, (evidently the Brougham of Upper Canada) and Member of the House of Assembly, known as a sincere friend of the people, never

would *identify* himself with Mr. Mackenzie, nor commit himself into Mr. Mackenzie's hands; nor become responsible for his statements or measures; nor defend Mr. Mackenzie, nor advocate any of his measures, except in connexion with some great general principle, dear and valuable to every British subject.^[7]

We may now dismiss Mr. Mackenzie from our columns, and can only justify our devoting so much of our columns and time to an article of this nature, upon the ground that under all the existing circumstances of the case, and of the Province, a full exposition of our views was alike due to ourselves, our friends, the church, and the public.

But the matter was not so easily settled for the public, or the church, or his friends. How disturbed they were—and continued to be—is revealed in the correspondence of the next few weeks. Amongst others, letters from three of the brothers illustrate the varied reactions to Mackenzie's attack and Ryerson's defence. The first to write was William, who in his own peculiar circumstances felt the effect of the entry of the divisive sword of politics into the Methodist body. The situation in which William Ryerson was placed immediately after the Union was absurd enough. The most eloquent of all the Methodist itinerants, formerly a successful Presiding Elder, and honoured only in June of this year by being brought from Brockville to York to preach the first sermon in the new Chapel on Adelaide Street, now finds himself in poverty and eclipse, more or less under the superintendency of a factious Wesleyan, a comparative newcomer from Ireland. Small wonder that his sense of justice is outraged and his ardour frozen.

November [after the 8th], 1833, WM. RYERSON, *Kingston*, to EGERTON RYERSON, *York*.

DR. BR.

Through the mercy of God we are all well at present and not quite starved or frozen to death, although our friend Mr. Marsden (his position & unqualified promise to the contrary notwithstanding) by his friendly arrangement in leaving Mr. Hetherington to foment troubles & if possible excite more violent feelings among his friends has done all that he could not only to

starve us, but also greatly to limit if not altogether prevent our usefulness.

I need not say what my feelings were when I arrived at this place and learned that arrangements were made so contrary to positive assurances, both to the Stationing Committee and to myself, in violation of the understanding with the conference and in defiance of the opinions & wishes of every one of *our* friends in the town or country, arrangements which have not only wounded & grieved the feelings of friends, and rendered the prospect of a union in this place more than ever doubtful, if not entirely hopeless, but also by which a large portion of the support of my large & helpless family is cut off, and after being compelled to relinquish the prospects of considerable usefulness, and a respectable support which was secured to me, and put to the unreasonable trouble & expense of breaking up & removing to this place, I find myself & helpless family thrown on a few poor members & friends for support not one of whom either in or out of the Society feel able or willing to give more than six dollars per annum & nearly one half of whom will not give one, and am thus left with nine in family to struggle through the best way I can. . . .

As to the prospects of an union it is my opinion that firm & judicious measures after the Conference would have easily triumphed over every difficulty & have saved nearly all of the W. Society at least every one that is worth saving; but as affairs have been managed, I speak advisedly when I say I do not believe a union *ever will take place* unless we allow Mr. Barry, Hetherington, etc. to *reform* our discipline to suit their views & feelings and also dictate in what manner our press shall be conducted. And after all Mr. Marsden's and others puffing about Union and hearty & friendly feelings, etc., etc., all I can say *I hope they were and still are sincere*; however a little stronger evidence of their sincerity would be acceptable at least to me. As to the feelings and conduct of Mr. H. & his friends, you may see a specimen of them by reading a communication in the *U. Canada Herald* of the 6th of Novm. signed "A British Wesleyan", which piece if Mr. Hetherington did not write it himself he has & still does express his approbation of it and assisted in correcting the proof sheet at the press.

You probably wish to know what are our prospects. I am sorry to say they are very discouraging & there is but little hope of their improving this year. As to the *Guardian* I am sorry to inform you that it has been much more popular than it is at present, and indeed if your *English impressions* are not more acceptable & useful in other parts than they are here, it will add little to your credit or to the usefulness of your paper to publish any more of them. Your last reply to Dr. Barker,^[8] however satisfactory in other respects, is not considered very creditable as to its spirit and language, and one of your sincere friends said to me, if you did not out-Dalton Dalton^[9] himself you was not far behind him, and I assure you that titles & names you apply to Dr. B. such as “Mushroom-born Patriot of Kingston, callumniating scribler, his professions, etc. heartless & hypocritical, his composition pitiable & ridiculous; dismiss him & all his fraternity from the columns of the *Guardian*, etc., etc.” breathe [very lit]tle of the spirit of Christ or his Gospel & are very little credit [to any] one especially a minister of the Gospel, and did you know Dr. B. personally you would treat him with at least common courtesy; he has ever treated the *Guardian* & the Methodists with respect & is the only editor with the exception of the *Brockville Recorder* that has treated you with any personal respect (compare his paper with the last *Reformer*) & yet he is the only one, the *C. Advocate* not excepted, that has been treated in return with the greatest severity if not roodness. I know you have been shamefully abused & treated in a most base manner & by no one so much so as the [*Cobourg*] *Reformer*. I am told that on his way down to Kingston before your English impressions were published he was showing a list of high Tories among [whom] were all the Ryersons & that he was soliciting your subscribers to give up such a contemptible paper as the *C.G.* & take the *R.* but I do not think the *Spectator* should be ranked amongst them. I hope you will take back or offer some short apology for such severity to him and at the same time expose the obvious designs etc. of the *Reformer* to our friends especially in the Newcastle & Prince Edward Districts. I cannot, however, but observe that it is rather unfortunate that if you did not intend to flatter or conciliate the Tory party in this country at the expense of the feelings of many of your valuable Friends, you should express yourself in such a way as to be altogether misunderstood by both friends and foes in every part of the country, not only editors but

every other individual from whom I have heard & such certainly was the opinion of Mr. Bidwell at one time whatever it may be now.

I should be happy to receive a line from you and respects to Mrs. R.^[10]

Yours affectionately,
WM. RYERSON

November 14, 1833, REV. ALVAH ADAMS,^[11] *Prescott*, to REVD. E. RYERSON, *Editor of the Guardian, York*. (Money letter—£2.5.0)

DEAR BROTHER

I assure you that I am much grieved and disappointed in not having the *Guardian* sent to me.

* * * * *

I am sorry to say there are a few disturbers of our Zion in these parts, some who seem bent on making mischief.

You need not be surprised that the *Grenville Gasette* speaks so contemptuously of you and the cause in which you have been and are still engaged, for he has all along opposed the *Union* and particularly lately. Nor need you marvel that he speaks so disrespectfully of the Temperance Society in Prescott, for in reference to himself he has lately (tho' once a zealous advocate of temperance) gone back to the flesh pots of Egypt and as I am credibly informed has been expelled [from] the M. Church in consequence, *I.E.* for intoxication,^[12] and considering his late spirit and practice and the fact that he has around him, not far off some anti-peace-making agitators, "speaking evil of the things that they understand not", accounts in a great measure for the torrent of scurrilous invectives with which his useless collums have of late abounded.

I have been considerably embarrassed in taking up collection on this Circuit to mete your expenses to and from England, not knowing the whole amount of expenses and what remains to be paid. I have been publicly & privately questioned on these points, and in one place a collection was refused to be taken up, till explanations are given. By this you will see that in too many places I am environed with jealousy. Perhaps you could give a few

statements of your expesnes, etc, on a peace of paper and enclose it with my *Guardian*. The public in these parts will expect some remarks in the *Guardian* on what is said in the *Grenville Gasette* of the 12th inst.^[13]

Excuse my prolixity and scrall and believe me as ever

Yours affectionately,
ALVAH ADAMS

November 15, 1833, REV. J. RYERSON, *Hallowell*, to REV. EGERTON RYERSON, *York*.

MY DR. BROTHER

The following subscribers, obtained by Mr. Shephard, you will please forward the paper to . . .

Your article on the Political Parties of England has created much excitement; through these parts, the only good that can result from it is the breaking up of the Union which has hithertofor existed between us & the Radicles. Were it not for this I should much regret its appearance, but we had got so closely linked with those fellows in one way or another that we cannot exspect to get rid of them with out fealling the shock & perhaps it may as well come now as any time. We have reason to respect *Sir John Colburn* & it is our duty & interest to support the *Government*. And although there may be some abuses which have crept in, yet upon the whole I believe that we enjoy as many Political & Religious advantages as any people & publick affares are as well managed as in any place on earth. And as it respects the *Reformers* so called, take Bidwell & Rolph from them & there is not scarcely one man of *character*, Honour or even deacency among them, but with very few exceptions (I mean the leaders) they are a banditti of compleat vagabonds. To disengage ourselves entirely from them is a work of no little difficulty. We have a host of Radicles in our Church—I am sorry to say it but it is so. On this account I give it as my opinion that the best way for the present is to have nothing to say about Polliticks or Political Men, but treat the government with great respect & such papers as the *Kingston Cronical*, *Muntreall Gazette*, with great civility, but the Radicle papers with *intire neglect*. The *Kingston Spectator* has come out in his true character. Radcliff is prepareing a heavy charge against

you, but let them come; fear them not. I hope they will all shew themselves *now*. I thought you, in your reply to McKenziey, did not speak sufficiently decided in favour of Sir John; in every way he is much better than his enemies. Although it would not be well to say this now, yet I would not ever [seal] acknowledge that he had been guilty of any sins whatever. You say you have not changed your views, etc., but I hope you have in some respects. Although you never was a Radicle, yet have not we all leaned too much towards them & will we not now smart for it a little; but one thing, the sooner the smart comes on the sooner they will be over. Please write me immediately about these things & also about the union, how Mr. Stinson feels, etc. You see the missionaries are making great efforts & the object is to have Kingston & York made exceptions to the general arrangements. Do you think it possible that the committee will listen to them. If they do confidence will be entirely destroyed, the union will be at an end & we ruined. If the British conference for the sake of gratifying a few [factious?] individuals or even congregations will in the least degree infringe the articles of agreement, then all union is gone; we can have no confidence hereafter; but I hope better things. And I hope you & Mr. Stinson^[14] will communicate to the M. committee & confute their slanders. Their object is to make the M.C. & British conference believe that we have supported Radicle Politicks to an unlimited extent, etc., & that the *People* will not submit to the Union when they (the Missionaries) are the authors of the whole of it; there would not have been five exceptions to a universal acquiescence with the union had it not been for Barry—Hetherington & Croscomb. Mr. Hetherington told me they were getting back no. of the *Guardian* to prove that we had been Political intermeddlers. And they have reported about Kingston that Mr. Marsden told them that if they could make it appear that we had done thus & so that they should be exempted from the Union & be supplied with a missionary from home.

Yours affectionate Brother
JOHN RYERSON

November 20, 1833, JOHN RYERSON, *Hallowell*, to REV. EGERTON RYERSON, *York*.

MY DR. BROTHER—

Although I have received no letter from you since I saw you, yet I cannot suppress the desire I have of troubling you again with a few lines, especially as I deeply feel for you in the present state of agitation & trial. My own heart aiks & sickens within me at times.^[15] I have no douts—however much of the philosopher you may be—but that you at times participate in the same feelings, but persueing a conciensious course I hope you will at all times be able to say, “Courage my soul, thou needst not fear—thy great provider still is near”. I fear more from the opposition of the Missionary party to the *union* than what I do from any other quarter; if Mr. Stinson should become disaffected towards the *union* or our church & suspitions should be excited at home & should the connection there from *any* consideration undertake to retain Kingston & York, we shall be compleatly ruined. In case of such an event I will retire amediately & bid farewell to the strife & toil we have been in ever since we have been traveling Preachers. I wish you would write to me without delay & let me know how Mr. Stinson stands affected & also (without reserve) what your own feallings & views are on these subjects. Let me know who have thrown up their paper; what Dr. Rolph thinks,^[16] etc., etc.

You will have seen the *Reformer* before this comes to hand. I think it is of much more importance for you to persue & expose that fellow than any one else; his paper is in *many* Methodist houses & unexposed he will do more harm then all the rest. I hope you will take pains & handle him thoroughly. You of course will not fail to shew that it is the *Reformer's* aim to create jealousy & make scism in our church. This is evident from the last number; witness his quiries & answers on the first page—all written by himself no dout—the article from the *Upper Canada Herald* & his editorial reference to it, as also the drift of all his remarks respecting the *Guardian*. It will be particularly important to expose the fellow in this point of vue & to let the publick know that his present *enmity* to Methodist Doctrine & Discipline is no new thing & that this is not the first time he has endeavoured to break her ranks & to throw fire brands, arrows & death among his friends.^[17] I would give them no explanation about my political views atoll; you are not a politician, nor the *Guardian* a political paper. I would not again call Bidwell Brohan [Brougham]. But I would treat all their inquiries & slander on that subject after this with silent contempt & take good care not to lean a hair's breadth

towards Radicleism. One reason of their making this bellowing is to scare you & induce you to say something which will excite the jealousy of the government & the disapprobation of our British Brethren & thereby destroy us with all parties. I would consult Mr. Stinson as much as posable. On the 900 pounds grant I am of the opinion that had the government of made it to our conference for missionary purposes—the instruction & improvement of the Indians—it would have been our duty to have received it, or any other sum, for that purpose. Supposeing the government had of given £900 for the benefit of the Indians in Upper Canada, & had employed suitable agents themselves—schooll teachers, mechanicks to build houses, etc—would not the justice & propriety of such an act be universally acknowledged. But now because the Government sees fit to appropriate £900 for the benefit of the Indians through the agency of the M. Missionary Society, we by those fellows are reproached for destroying that which we once built up. I say & I say it openly, that whatever the government may give for the education & improvement [of] the Indians, we, I hope, will thankfully receive; that four times the sum £900 would be less than the Indians ought to have annually; that the country owes a far greater det then this to them & there are no so suitable agents through which the Indians can receive what the government is in duty bound to give them as the Methodist M. Society.^[18] On this subject I think you ought not to beat the bush but come out plainly; it will be much the best *policy*. Pardon the liberty I take in expressing my views. You can give what wait to them you think proper. The enclosed \$50 is to go towards the \$70 you paid William, the rest I will send you as soon as I can.

Ever yours,
J. RYERSON

November 21, 1833, DAVID WRIGHT et al.,^[19] St. Catharines, to EGERTON RYERSON, Editor, Chris. Guardian, York.

For the Christian Guardian

BRETHREN & FRIENDS,

We, the undersigned, ministers of the W.M.C. in B.N.A., desirous to avert the evils which may probably result to our Zion

from impressions made by certain political remarks in the Editorial department of late numbers of the *Guardian*, take this opportunity of expressing our sentiments for your satisfaction, and to save our characters from aspersion.—

First—We have considered, and are still of the opinion, that the Clergy of the Episcopal Church ought to be deprived of *every emolument derived from Governmental aid* and what are called the *Clergy reserves*.

Secondly—That our political views are decidedly the same which they were previous to the visit of the Editor of the *Guardian* to England; and we believe that the views of our brethren in the ministry are unchanged.

Signed

DAVID WRIGHT
JAMES EVANS, *Junr.*
WILLIAM GRIFFIS, *Jun.*
HENRY WILKINSON
EDWY RYERSON

Private

DEAR BROTHER,

You need not to be surprised at the foregoing—it is in our opinions loudly called for.

On our Circuits we find it impossible to stem the torrent of opposition which is setting upon us; arising from your late (as we consider) injudicious & uncalled for remarks.

We consider that the *Guardian* has, in the estimation of the public, been identified with a political party—*viz.* the Reformers of Upper Canada.

We consider that, as a body, we have positively remonstrated against the emoluments of the Episcopal Clergy, and the endowment of their church.

We never were, nor are we now, one in opinion with the “moderate Tory”.

If *you* have changed *your* political opinions *we* have not; and we consider that you as the organ of the conference have misrepresented us, and thus opened the way for our brethren to pour censure on us; of which we can assure you they are not sparing.

We shall be unable, unless something be speedily done to produce a powerful reaction, to persuade our people to continue the *Guardian*. Orders on all hands are “discontinue my paper”. We exert ourselves to induce the people to wait in hopes of a turn in the tide, but every paper makes *bad* worse, and unless some step be taken by you, or us and others, or *all*, it is a gone case.

We hope you will give the address to the “Brethren and friends” a place in the next *Guardian* or we shall have to seek it a place elsewhere.

St. Catharines
21st Nov., 1833

DAVID WRIGHT
JAMES EVANS, *Junr.*
WILLIAM GRIFFIS, *Junr.*
HENRY WILKINSON
EDWY RYERSON

November 22, 1833,—R. SMITH, Edwardsburg, to REV. E. RYERSON, Editor, Christian Guardian, York.

DEAR SIR,

Being at the house of Mr. Webster this morning he informed me he was going to take your Paper but being called away in great haste he desired me to write to you, and wish you to send his Paper to Prescott Post Office; if you could send him the Paper from the time you commenced Editor the last time you might pack up all the books & papers and get Peter Shaver, *esqr.*, to Frank them. He wishes if it could be to commence as from the time above mentioned. On receiving his first paper he wished me to inform you he would immediately pay the Preacher stationed in Prescott. Address John Webster, *Esq.*, Collector at the Port of Johnston. I would beg leave to state to you the desire of many in this part of the country, *viz.* a great number of the ministers in the Methodist connection in England have departed this life the last

two years; if you would have the goodness to publish from the Minutes the names of those Ministers that have died with the short account to each name as published in the minutes would be very pleasing to many who received their first conversion under their ministry, and I think it would have a tendency to soften some feeling of opposition to you. We are in want of some channel to obtain information from home and we are in hopes your Paper will prove the channel.^[20] We cannot forget when we were first brought to God and all information as above will be the most gratifying we can have. May God bless you and keep you above all your enemies, and daily fill you with the holy Ghost. Amen.

—R. SMITH

November 26, 1833, EDWY RYERSON, Stamford, to REV. E. RYERSON, York, Guardian Office.

DEAR BROTHER

You will excuse my apparent remissness in not attending to the interests of the establishment with more promptness and zeal. I have not obtained, as yet, a list of the subscribers, or delinquents, on this circuit, but expect I shall the next time I see Mr. Wright. The present agitated state of the societies on this circuit, partly from the union, and in a greater degree, from your “Impressions” (which would have been a blessing to our Societies, had they *never* been *conceived*) make it very unpleasant to ask even for monies due the office, much less solicit new subscribers.

This part is in a state of commotion, politics run high, and religion low. The *Guardian* has turned “tory” is the hue & cry, and many appear to be under greater concern about it then they ever did about the salvation of their souls. Many, again, have got wonderfully wise, and pretend to reveal the secrets of your policy, as in profession a friend, but in reality an enemy. Many again in the third place, have turned great polititions, who formerly were only notable for ignorance, knowing as much about the politics of the province as they do about Mehomit.

Under these unpleasant circumstances the Ranters have availed themselves of the oportunity of planting themselves at nearly all our posts, and sowing tares in our societies; they are not very sparing of the character of the English preachers.

Perhaps you have received a few lines, signed by several preachers, and my name among them. Those were my impressions at the time, and for such impressions, you had given every reason. There manifestly appeared a different tone in your writing, comparing it with your views on the same points before your mission home. I conceived you had a right to change, but I felt no disposition to follow you. Therefore for the satisfaction of our friends, I thought it my duty in connection with my brethren to make my protest. I have however, since seeing the last number of the *Guardian*, been led to believe you had not changed from what you was.

Many have regreted (of the preachers) that you was put in the editorial chair & feel strongly disposed to exert their influence that you may not be replaced.^[21]

We enjoy pretty good health, but poor spirits.

Please send the *Guardian* to Isaac Bowman, Stamford.

On my next tour, I shall strive to collect for the paper.

Yours truly,
EDWY RYERSON

November 29, 1833, A. DAVIDSON, Port Hope,^[22] to The Editor of the Guardian, York.

REV. & DEAR SIR:—

I have had an opportunity of seeing most of the Provincial papers which exhibit a miserable picture of the state of the Press. The conduct of editors ought, I think, to be exposed which has been attempted in the foregoing. You are at liberty to make such verbal alterations as you may think necessary. I have my reasons for introducing the paragraph about reform; it expresses my views, will tend to conciliate Reformers, and cannot be objected to by the most violent Tory, at least I never saw one but would go as far.

I told Mr. Radcliffe last week that I would not give a pin for such papers as he lately published. He seemed much mortified as he always pretended to think very favorably of my opinion. Indeed according to his repeated acknowledgments I have assisted him both in writing and in circulating his paper more than any other person.

I have been afraid that from so much unmerited abuse you would quit the *Guardian* in disgust, and I am glad to see that though your mind may be as sensitive as that of any other person you remain firm.

W. C. Crafton, a Clerk of John Brown's, and formerly editor of the *Brockville Gasette*, wishes me to order your paper, commencing with your impressions in England. A. Culross lost in the street the first No. of the present volume—perhaps you can replace it.

I am, Dear Sir,

Very respectfully yours,

A. DAVIDSON

N.B. We have obtained about £130 towards the church—we want £250 or £300.

December 3, 1833, JAMES EVANS,^[23] *St. Catharines*, to REVD EGERTON RYERSON, *York*.

DEAR BROTHER,

I have taken upon me the responsibility, on account of your promise to acquit yourself of "all charges", to withhold this week from publication in the *St. Catharines*^[24] paper the communication sent for the *Guardian*. I am glad that you have made us this promise—nevertheless I with my brethren from all of whom I have heard, or have seen them, think it necessary that it should be inserted in the next *Guardian*—we have no objections to any remarks you may make on the measure. We consider its insersion in the *Guardian* loudly called for and we do not desire to be driven to [ins]ert it elsewhere.

You request me in Br. Vandusen's letter not to solicit any to continue the *Guardian* who dissatisfied & who wish to discontinue. This is worse than all beside. And do you suppose that in opposition to the wish of the conference and the interest of the church, I shall pay attention to your request. No my brother I cannot, I will not. It shall be my endeavour to obtain & continue subscribers by allaying as far as practicable their fears rather than telling them as you request that they may discontinue & you will abide the consequences. I am astonished! I can only account for

your strange & I am sure unRyersonian conduct & advice on one principle—that there is something ahead which you through your superior political spyglass have discovered & thus shape your course—while we landlubbers, short-sighted as we are have not even heard of it. If so why not tell us? and thus fill our mouths with those arguments which so fully “justify” you in “heart” and are worth (if they give you a quiet sea in these tempestuous times) to us a great price. I had I thought only a line or two to write but I have spun it out, & in all my remarks altho plain I assure you I desire nothing but good to you & the church, and remain as ever

Yours

JAMES EVANS

December 6, 1833, EGERTON RYERSON, York, to REV. DAVID WRIGHT.^[25]

MY DEAR BROTHER,

I received yours of the 3rd instant last evening, and hasten to answer it by the returning mail. I beg to say that I cannot publish the criminating declaration of which you speak. You will, therefore, act your pleasure respecting it. But at the same time, I feel it a duty to myself, to the cause & to you to give you a further statement of my views, of what I will do, and of the consequences of the course you say you at present intend to pursue. The charges against me are either true or false. If they are *true*, are you proceeding in the *Disciplinary* way against me? Tho' I am Editor for the Conference, I have individual rights as well as you, and the increased responsibility of my situation should render those rights if possible still more sacred. And if our Conference will place a watchman upon the walls of its Zion, & then allow its members to plunge their sword into his bowels at pleasure or whenever they think he has departed from his duty, without even giving him a court-martial trial, then is it composed of a different description of men from what I think it is. If, as you say, I have been guilty of *imprudent* conduct, or even “misrepresented my brethren”, make your complaint to my Presiding Elder, according to discipline, & then may the decision of the Committee appointed be published in the *Guardian* or any where else that they may say. So much as to the disciplinary course. Again, if the “clamor” as you call it, against the *Guardian* be well founded, are you helping the *Guardian*, or contributing to its support, by corroborating the

statements of that clamor? Can you consistently or conscientiously ask an individual to take or continue to take the *Guardian*, when yourselves publish to the world your belief that its principles are changed? Will this quiet the “clamor”? Will this reconcile the members over whom you may have influence? Will this unite the Preachers? Will this promote the harmony of the Church? Will it not be a *firebrand* rather than the “seeds of commotion”? Will not other Preachers publish their sentiments also as to whether I have changed or not? & what will be the result? Dr. Morrison, Joshua VanAllen & one or two others got a meeting of the Mail members of the York Society & proposed resolutions similar in substance to yours, which were opposed & reprobated by Br. Richardson on the very disciplinary & prudential ground of which I speak & rejected by the Society.^[26]

[Here he protests that he has not changed his sentiments, nor does he deserve such a reward for his years of service to his brethren.]

I will now say what I will do if you desire it. I will publish that you fully concur in the principles & opinions as expressed by the Editor in the *Guardian* of the 20th instant, or that, as aspersions have been thrown out against you & other Preachers, you declare your political sentiments unchanged, that the Episcopal Clergy ought to be deprived of all governmental aid & of all the proceeds of the Clergy Reserves. I do not pretend to dictate the words. Your sentiments can thus be expressed in full and implicate nobody & be expressing no opinion in regard to the Editor or the accusations against him, and if you find the direct or indirect criminating of the Editor necessary to your ministerial success, you can do so in all our congregations, but that success does not, in my opinion, require you to do so elsewhere. If you desire the brethren to wait a few weeks, why not wait that long yourselves? I shall next week finish all my explanations, some of which were excluded by other matter from this week's paper. But if you are determined to implicate me, I have only to see [say] I must then seek redress in the disciplinary way at the next Conference. I beg that this may be sent immediately to Br. Evans & other Brethren concerned, & if you resolve to publish, I wish you without delay to get a copy of this & my last letter to you drawn off by my brother Edwy & sent to me. May God bless you & preserve the Church.

Yours affectionately,
E. RYERSON

January 8, 1834, JOHN RYERSON, *Hallowell*, to REV. EGERTON RYERSON,
York.

MY DR. BROTHER

I returned from Kingston yesterday. William's congregation is increasing & he appears to be in purty good spirits. The £10 you sent him was a very timely assistance to him, as he has received from the station little more than his moveing expences, although the expences of his family are very great.^[27] The Missionary Society will have to afford considerable assistance. William still thinks that the publication of your impressions "was most injudicious". I tried to convince him otherwise, but with how much success I cannot tell. I heard little of Mr. Hetherington & his congregation. There is no intercourse between Wm. & him & very little between the two congregations. Wm. thinks that Mr. Stinson is of the opinion that should the Kingston & York congregations hold out against the union, the British conference will make them exceptions to the Articles of *Union*. I confess I am not without my fears unless we permit the missionaris to model our church government as they may think proper. But one thing I will say, that whoever may be the agents in making any alterations in our economy hereafter, I will not be one. With improvements, alterations, unions & discussions we have agitated long enough & if I keep my present mind I am done with such business henceforth & forever. At our conference it was understood & expressly stated that no alterations would hereafter be attempted, etc. & so we have assured the people, but behold before the *iron* is cold some other alterations are mooted—do way with P.E., lessen the districts, etc. etc. & a dozen other things which will necessarily follow. & the reason urged for it is worse then the thing itself, namely, if we don't the missionaris "will write home to the superintendents, raise such a storm in England, etc. etc." If this is the way we are to be *governed* & if this is the state of the connection at home, the Resolutions of *Union*, on parchment or paper, is a miserable farse.

I received a letter from James Lewis^[28] yesterday; he informs me H. Willson has left Society & a number of others will follow,

that they are greatly agitated in those parts, that the Local Preachers & others are to have a general meeting in Berford [Burford] soon for the purpose of reorganising the M. E. Church, that H. Willson says that he is the only legal minister of the 50 Chapel, & that all the church property will be theirs, etc. He, James, says John Willson^[29] had been home for three weeks writing, etc. & he thinks that a mighty effort will be made to get the chapels. I think it is very important that the Discipline be published as soon as possible. The Resolutions have passed five circuits on this District; they probably will pass two more & perhaps all. So soon as I get to the Ct. where they have not passed I will let you know the result. Some Local Preachers are to have a meeting at Bellville about ordination. I understand it will be next *friday*. The Resolutions are generally approved of, only they say nothing about ordination [which] is the great stick with them. The Politicle frenzey is a good deal subsided. The publication of the Resolutions in the *Guardian* and your remarks upon them will doubtless do good. The Preachers on the District are much engaged & appear to be of one mind. I will write again soon. I wish you would write & let me know how the Resolutions have succeeded on the other Districts.

As ever affectionately yours
J. RYERSON

March 4, 1834, MEHETABEL RYERSON, Vittoria, to EGERTON RYERSON, York, Guardian Office.

DEAR EGERTON

It is with emotions of gratitude to God that I now attempt to write to you and let you know the state of my health which is as good as usual. Surely the Lord is good and doeth good and his tender mercies are over me as a part of the work of his hands. And I find that my affections are daily deadning to the things of earth, and my desires for any earthly good continually decreasing, and an increaseing desire for holiness of heart and conformity to all the will of God, and think I can say with the poet, "Come life come death or come what will, His footsteps I will follow still". I long to say "I live, yet not I; Christ liveth in me". Besiege a throne of [grace] in my behalf. Pray that the Lord would finish his work and cut it short in righteousness and make my heart a fit temple

for the Holy Ghost to dwell in. And oh my son be continually on your guard, you have need to believe firmly, to pray fervently, to work abundantly; live Holy daily; watch your heart; guide your senses; redeem your time; love Christ and long for Glory. Give my love to your wife and tell her for me to live as she will wish she had when she comes to die. Love to all enquiring friends and except a share yourself from your affectionate Mother

MEHETABEL RYERSON

P.S. I observed in the *Guardian* an advertisement stating that a small seal skin trunk had been left at the York Hotel in december last containing wearing apparel and if not relieved in 3 weeks from the 19th of Feb. it would be sold to pay charges. Mr. Harris thinks William took them both on board the Steam Boat.

I have a crock of Butter; if you know of any chance of sending it, let me know of it.

The above is the only letter from Ryerson's mother preserved in this collection. Nowhere in the correspondence is it stated that she became a member of the Methodist body. It is probable that with her husband she retained her connection with the Church of England. The language of the Methodist class meeting, however, was not unfamiliar to her, as the above fully attests. It is interesting also that the practical matters which bespeak the careful housewife, and which were the occasion of writing, are relegated to a postscript; the body of the letter breathes only religion. Amid the confusion in church and state, she at least is undisturbed.

March 29, 1834, JOSEPH HUME, Bryanston Square, to W. L. MACKENZIE, Esq., M.P., York. U. C.^[30]

MY DEAR SIR:

I lately received files of the *Vindicator* and *Reformer* Journals, and am pleased to observe that the Electors of the County of York continue firm and consistent in their support to you, and that you manifest the same determined spirit of opposition to abuse and misrule.

The government and the majority of the Assembly appear to have lost that little portion of common sense and of prudence which society in general now possess, and they sacrifice the

greatest of principles in gratifying a paltry and mean revenge against you.

Your triumphant election on the 16th and ejection from the Assembly on the 17th must hasten that crisis which is fast approaching in the affairs of the Canadas, and which will terminate in independence and freedom from the baneful domination of the Mother Country, and the tyrannical conduct of a small and despicable faction in the Colony.

I regret to think that the proceedings of Mr. Stanley, which manifest as little knowledge of mankind as they prove his ignorance of the spirit and liberal feelings of the present generation, encourage your enemies to persevere in the course they have taken. But I confidently trust that the high minded people of Canada will not, in these days, be overawed or cheated of their rights and liberties by such men.—*Your* cause is *their* cause—*your* defeat would be *their* subjugation.—Go on, therefore, I beseech you, and success—glorious success—must inevitably crown your joint efforts.

Mr. Stanley must be taught that the follies and wickedness of Mr. Pitt's Government in the commencement of the French Revolution, cannot be repeated now either at home or abroad without results very different from what then took place. The proceedings between 1772 and 1782 in America ought not to be forgotten; and to the honor of the Americans, and for the interests of the civilized world, let their conduct and the result be ever in view.

I have lately seen, with mingled feelings of pity and of contempt, the attacks made by Mr. Ryerson against my public and private conduct, and also against those who generally act with me. I candidly acknowledge that, of all the renegades and apostates from public principle and private honor which during a long course of public life I have known (and with regret I say I have known many) I never knew a more worthless hypocrite or so base a man as Mr. Ryerson has proved himself to be.

I feel *pity* for him, for the sake of our common nature, to think that such human depravity should exist in an enlightened society, and I fear that the pangs of a guilty and self condemning

conscience must make his venal and corrupt breast a second Hell; and 'ere long, render his existence truly miserable.

I feel utter *contempt* for any statement that Mr. Ryerson can make of my private or public conduct, altho' he has had every opportunity of private intimacy^[31] and of public observation to know the truth.

It is humiliating to the character of man; aye and particularly of a pretended religious man, when I recollect with what earnestness he sought and obtained my sincere and zealous assistance to forward the cause of civil and religious liberty which he then advocated—You who witnessed his expression of thanks and of gratitude to me in public and in private, verbally and in writing, for the aid I had given him—You who heard his objections to any religious sect receiving any pecuniary assistance from the state, as subversive of religion and of moral independence, must view with detestation the course which Mr. Ryerson has taken. When you recollect that I invariably treated him with kindness and attention as the representative of a good cause and of a distant people,—that my time, amidst public business of importance, was always given with pleasure to attend to him and the objects of his mission,—you will agree with me that the black and heartless ingratitude of such a man deserves to be received with pity and with ineffable contempt. When, moreover, it is known to you that there is not one word of truth in Mr. Ryerson's Satanic effusions, I leave his pious and religious friends in Canada to unmask the hypocrite and throw him, as he deserves to be, an outcast from every honest society. . . .

In the hope that I shall never again meet with so abandoned a character as Mr. Ryerson has proved himself to be; and trusting that the people of Canada, in vindication of truth and honor, will treat him as he deserves,

I remain, Yours sincerely,
JOSEPH HUME

P.S. The people in Lower Canada are taking the means of forcing their affairs on the government, and will I hope succeed.

J. H.

The foregoing articles and letters have been presented without fundamental comment. It has seemed best to print the essential documents in this dispute, so serious in its consequences, and allow the reader from these to form his own conclusions. Lest, however, certain misrepresentations current at the time and persisting even in recent works should become fixed in history, it is perhaps necessary here to make some general observations on Ryerson's political views and principles. Ryerson suffered, as in stirring times many great and good men have suffered, by reason of the fact that he chose the middle way and was subject to attack from both sides. He could not have done otherwise. His sanguine disposition, the good he saw in men about him, his deep religious faith, forbade him to abandon himself to the extreme demands of political parties. But in the heat of contest, and particularly when his opponents had wounded him in his family pride or his love of the church espoused at some sacrifice to comfort, he at times forgot himself, and more than once in the columns of the *Guardian* do we find him admitting his fault. But a careful reading of his pamphlets and of his written opinions, so fully expressed in the *Guardian* for several years, will convince the reader that the modern author who, while admitting that she had not access to the files of the *Christian Guardian*, yet states that "Ryerson had mixed religion and radical politics in his paper", suggests that his "apostasy" was due to the "promise of government aid", and declares that he had "political interests rather than political principles", is chargeable with temerity at least.^[32] While possessed of a lively interest in public questions and persons, Ryerson never abandoned himself to the support of any political party, nor did he ever place himself in bondage to any politician. For this he was misjudged; like Cicero, he was regarded as a political trimmer. But courage, tenacity of purpose, and kindness and charm in personal relations usually prevailed in the end over baffling circumstances and dissolved the hostility of opponents. His panacea for the ills of Canada was good-will and unselfish devotion, with impeachment at the bar of public opinion as the penalty for public offences. The need for revision of the Constitutional Act did not appear pressing to him as it did to Baldwin. Essentially he was a liberal conservative. And he tended to see the good in each side quite as much as the evil.

By 1834 definite names happily had not attached themselves to political parties. It is true the current English terms, with the exception of "Whig", were in use in Upper Canada, but while Ryerson was rash enough to attempt to classify the public men of England, and to define the parties to which they belonged, he would hardly have cared to do the same with public men in Upper Canada. At the extremes he recognized radicals, though the word was

new, and Tories; but the great bulk of the Methodist people for whom he spoke stood in a sort of "No Man's Land" between these extremes, and there he wished to keep them. As a proof of the fact that party lines were not clearly drawn in Canada, the manner of announcing results of general elections may be cited. The successful and defeated candidates were never placed under party names. Nor in the House was party allegiance by any means maintained. Hence an Attorney General could find himself in a House generally favourable to the Government in a minority of six, and a Solicitor General find himself in a minority of three on another important measure. Since the introduction of the Cabinet system party lines have been more clearly drawn and party ties more rigid.

In one respect Egerton Ryerson, with his brothers, was strongly conservative—the old loyalist tradition had taken deep root. In another respect they were all inclined to be liberals and reformers—they believed in equal privileges to all classes and opinions. But the terms *Conservative* and *Liberal* were not yet definitely assigned to parties. Certainly in any ordinary use of the word Ryerson was never a radical; though not closing his mind, he inclined to respect authority. Rarely, however, does he allow himself to speak in general terms on these matters, so that his political views are to be inferred from his attitude on particular questions of public policy. Perhaps the nearest he comes to any formal statement is in an editorial article of Nov. 13, 1833, in which he replies to the repeated slander that the *Guardian* and the Methodists were republicans. He reprints an article of March 27th, 1830, in part, quoting with approval the words in which Dr. Adam Clarke describes the British Constitution in its three elements or estates:

These three estates are perfectly *mixed* by the constitution; they counterbalance each other, each having an equal legislative authority; and this government possesses in itself all the excellences of the three forms. It can only become *corrupt* when any of the three estates *preponderates* over the rest. In its nature and regular operation, it secures the *prerogative* of the *monarch*; it preserves the honor and *property* of the *nobility*; it respects and secures the *rights* of the *people*; it is, in a word, a *limited monarchy*, a *popular aristocracy*, and an *ennobled democracy*. God grant it permanence!

But in Canada in the year 1833 any such beautiful balance of constitution was conspicuously wanting. The authority of Sir John Colborne, as representing the monarchy, was restricted to be sure, but less by any

rational or responsible system of advice than by the necessity of living his life in York and at the same time consulting a distant Downing Street; the members of the small Executive Council and the larger Legislative Council, responsible only to the Governor and conscience, may not always have been as “mean and mercenary”, as Mackenzie had the hardihood to call them, but they were certainly not “popular” in the sense in which Ryerson uses the term; while the Legislative Assembly, representing the “ennobled” democratic element in the constitution, had objected to the term “sycophantic” so decidedly because there was real danger in 1832 that the reading public might believe the term appropriate. But quite apart from the defective machinery of government, a growing tendency to popular violence was developing, particularly amongst supporters of the government. For this Ryerson held the press primarily responsible. Richardson, who edited the paper for three weeks during Ryerson’s absence, concurred in this opinion:

It is with pain we observe the spirit which has been engendered in this Province, by means of an abusive, slanderous and inflammatory press, supported by the wealth and influence of men in office, and by the art and cunning of interested and evil minded persons . . . we are led to them [such remarks] from observing the turbulent spirit which has manifested itself at most of the public meetings of late in the Province . . . so that the several motions are not decided by reason, judgment, sense or numbers, but by *noise* and *violence*. And all that a certain party has to do to carry their measures, is to raise a party strife in a few naturally turbulent spirits, by means of liquor, or the prejudices of education, country, or opinions; or, what is worse than all the rest, —religious bigotry; and having prepared them by timely misrepresentation and slander, bring them up to the contest, and carry their resolutions by *acclamation*, *alias*, noise and clamour . . . if this state of things is much longer encouraged, as we have reason to fear it has been, we will soon be governed, not by a Monarchy, Aristocracy, or Democracy, but by a *Mob-ocracy*, alike fatal to Religion, good morals, order, peace, and the happiness of society.^[33]

In further reference to the riots in Toronto, Richardson observed:

The disorder which disgraces those meetings of late has in no instance originated with the yeomanry or mechanics of the country, but with a few poor ignorant men of turbulent

dispositions, accustomed in other countries to similar scenes of riot, and who are here prepared for, and led on to the work by interested individuals who seem to be much alarmed at any attempt to correct abuses, or the expression of public sentiment in a calm dispassionate manner, and therefore use every means to prevent it, that, by taking advantage of disorder and confusion, they may represent the voice of the people very different from what it really is.^[34]

In this connection he quotes the abusive language of several newspapers, including the *Courier*, the *Western Mercury*, and the *Cobourg Star*. From the *Courier* is taken the following: “. . . and Hogg the miller headed a herd of the swine of Yonge Street”—this of the founder of a thriving business at what is now known as Hogg’s Hollow, who had come to town to attend a public meeting under the chairmanship of Jesse Ketchum. The meeting ended in a riot precipitated by partisans of the government. The Steamboat Hotel was the headquarters of the disturbers, who were “plentifully supplied with stimulating liquors”.^[35]

A somewhat different angle of the situation was brought out in a similar display of violence to personal property at Peterboro, in which both Ryerson and Mackenzie were burned in effigy. Here definitely the tactics of the Tory party were disclosed; they were determined to identify the politics of Ryerson with those of Mackenzie. Upon this Ryerson comments:

Much pains have been taken by the Anti-reformers to identify the Editor of this paper with Mr. Mackenzie, although we have never said one word in favour of Mr. Mackenzie or his proceedings. . . . Sorry indeed should we be to be so destitute of moral courage and principle, and so regardless of the public welfare and happiness, as to advocate bad measures because Mr. Mackenzie opposed them, or to oppose good measures and equitable principles because Mr. Mackenzie advocates them.^[36]

Another and even more eloquent comment on the growing lawlessness of the period came from that stalwart reformer, the Rev. William Jenkins.

MURDER!

By either a Kerrite, Brownite, or Soupkitchenite^[37]

Living, as I supposed in peace with all men, and wishing even my greatest enemy better than perhaps he wishes himself, I conceived myself entitled to civil usage, neither knowing nor conscious of doing or wishing any evil to any one. Nevertheless about six weeks ago I bought, for eighty dollars, a horse; but had him only a few days when I found him stabbed mortally in several parts of his body. He lingered out his existence with most excruciating pain till a few days ago, when he died. Had the perpetrator one half-hour of the pain the innocent beast endured, he would form another opinion of the worse than Brutal action he hath been guilty of. . . . Do they think to intimidate me from duty by such treatment? If they do they are grossly mistaken. I would even rather die myself, doing my duty, than live by neglecting it; and had he tryed the same conduct with me he hath with my horse, he would likely have found that justice gives more fortitude than a villian ever yet possessed. Right ends are always obtained by just and lawful means, and a villian's end may ever be clearly seen by the wickedness of the way he takes to gain it. This is not the first nor fourth time I have been thus used for doing my duty since I came to Canada. If maintaining British rights and vindicating the ways of God to man is to be thus treated in Canada, what vexation will it soon produce? If persisted in is it not to be feared that it will have the most awful and tremendous consequences, and will turn our Goshen into an Aceldema—May the Almighty God prevent it, and in his own time and manner destroy (by converting or removing) those who are destroying the earth.

William Jenkins
Minister of the Presbyterian Churches in Markham,
Vaughan and Scarboro

P.S. Mr. Ryerson, please give this publicity in your useful and well conducted paper.

W. J.^[38]

Ryerson was greatly disturbed by these manifestations of violence. In the issue of January 8, 1834, he concludes an article entitled “Clergy Reserves—Government Pledges—Revolutionary Symptoms” with the words, “We believe, for many reasons, that affairs in this Province are approaching a crisis which will require skill in the helmsman to keep the ship from

foundering; and watchfulness on the part of the Christian lest he perish in the whirlpool of party spirit.”

Certainly it was not his intention to add to the acerbity of public discussion through his “English Impressions”. His identifying the attitude of the Canadian tories with that of the English ultra tories, for whom he had as little to say as for the radicals, could hardly have been expected to suggest apostasy to that party. The capital offence was his reference to Hume, and Ryerson fully intended to injure Hume’s influence with the Methodist reformers of Upper Canada. He may have reflected that the criticism of Hume would excite Mackenzie, but such an effect would be incidental, and for that matter Mackenzie’s reactions were becoming increasingly incalculable. At any rate he was only saying to the public what he had said to Mackenzie himself, and to John R. Armstrong and others. We may be sure that nothing was further from his thoughts than to wound the feelings of his brother editor at a very tender spot; that very week Mackenzie had buried his son, Joseph Hume, aged eleven months. The inference that this fact had much to do with Mackenzie’s sudden outburst—so difficult to explain on rational grounds—is strengthened by his statement that his resolve to discontinue the publication of the *Colonial Advocate* was occasioned by a “sudden and unforeseen domestic calamity” for which he was “wholly unprepared”, together with “other causes”, doubtless financial.

It is clear that the disturbance caused by his article took Ryerson quite by surprise. It may be gathered from his reply that his first thought was to let Mackenzie’s anger pass. Had he done so, the history of Upper Canada might have been appreciably different. But Mackenzie returned to the attack with a further slighting and irrelevant reference to his brother George, and with the suggestion that the church he loved had sold itself for 900 pieces of gold. Thus was he in turn wounded in his two tenderest loyalties. His fault—for weakness it was, but to the gain of history—was to think it his duty to challenge untruth in any form; and he could not resist setting his assailant and the public right on every phase of the whole matter. The result was a breach which not only shattered friendships and embittered feelings, but which deprived Mackenzie of the steadying influence of a great body of Methodists amongst his supporters, and thus hastened his course towards armed revolt.

In this difficult period of his life Ryerson had no longer the advice of his oldest brother. George had seen much of Hume and Mackenzie in England, and it is greatly to be regretted that his sane judgment and intimate knowledge of the men involved were not available at the time. From Edwy

and William and John advice did come. Edwy, whose roots were shallow, soon saw that his censure was hasty. William was too depressed by poverty and the old country faction—largely Irish—in Kingston, to be of much help. His injunction “to breathe more of the spirit of Christ and the Gospel” was needed; also perhaps the weight of his influence as a liberal leaning towards radicalism. John did not fail to impress his views. In his letter of November 15th we behold him in his true political colour. Egerton had not gone over to the Tories “press, types and all”, but John evidently had. In a broad way the political strategy he recommended to Egerton was sound. John Ryerson never lacked courage. He concluded that, since it was impossible to work longer with Mackenzie, the sooner the break came the better. Rolph himself soon came to the same opinion; hence his subsequent waiving of his claim to become the first mayor of the city of Toronto in March, 1834, and his withdrawal from the City Council.^[39] Bidwell too was drawing away; Ryerson who knew him intimately says that he never would identify himself with Mackenzie.^[40]

In the midst of assaults from the press, and the dissonant advice of his brothers and brethren, Ryerson stood his ground. As the months passed, and as he kept their attention fixed on what he had said and what he had not said, gradually the opinion of those he had chosen to satisfy came around to his side. Hume’s personal attack in the House of Commons and the publication in the *Advocate* of a similar diatribe, with the “baneful domination” sentence, finished the work. As to the former the *London Times* of August 6th remarked:

Of Mr. Ryerson whom Mr. Hume so grossly abuses we know nothing; but we dare say, when the whole truth comes to be laid open, that Mr. Ryerson will have just as much to say against Mr. Hume as Mr. Hume has at present to say against Mr. Ryerson.

Of the latter, Canadians who were not committed to separatist and republican policies were bound to agree that Ryerson’s observations, however uncalled for they may have appeared at the time, had proven prophetic.

- [1] “. . . our *object*, and only object, in giving our impressions to the public was to *entertain* and *profit*. We never consulted any individual on the subject—nor did any individual but the author and printer see them until they appeared in print—nor had we determined to write them two days before they were written. . . .” *C.G.* Dec. 11, 1833.
- [2] When the dust had to a degree subsided, other articles were printed by Ryerson (*C.G.* Dec. 18 and Dec. 25, 1833), but they dealt only with religious conditions and did not fall upon dynamite.
- [3] Thomas Babington Macaulay, who represented the new constituency of Leeds in the first Reform Parliament.
- [4] This sentence, curiously enough, was omitted when the article was reprinted in the *Guardian* on November 6th. In the last column of the same page Mackenzie informs his readers that “this is our last regular number”. Within two weeks, however, he again appears before the public in a sheet of the same size called the *Advocate* not the *Colonial Advocate*. The term *Colonial* may have irked him, or a change in name may have had financial advantages.
- [5] *C.G.* November 6, 1833.

[6] This money was borrowed from the Hon. Spencer Percival, a prominent member of Irving's Society. Yet Mackenzie actually associated Percival with George Ryerson in a subsequent attack on the Ryersons appearing in one of his Almanacs. Opposite the date April 1st, he writes: "Brother George Ryerson began to preach toryism in the *unknown tongues*. Elected Elder by Parson Irving with Brother Spencer Percival who has a pension of £2000 a year". He goes on to speak of office in Irving's church as being "a very lucrative trade". The reiterated attack on his brother George greatly annoyed Egerton and called forth a scathing rebuke to Mackenzie for his ungenerous conduct. (*C.G.* Nov. 6, 1833)

[7] M. S. Bidwell.

[8] Dr. Barker of the *Kingston Spectator* was the only editor in Upper Canada, as Ryerson states in the issue of November 20th, who attempted a formal review and criticism of the Impressions.

[9] Thomas Dalton had been the editor of the *Kingston Patriot*, a print notorious even in Upper Canada for its forcible language. In 1832 Dalton moved to York, where for some years he continued to edit the *Patriot*. He was greatly impressed by Mackenzie's blast against Ryerson. In the *Patriot* of November 8th, he wrote:

"We have seen Mr. McKenzie's supplement to his last *Advocate*, and to do it justice, it is the most powerful thing he ever put forth. It is said of the swan that he never sings but once, and that is when he is dying."

[10] Ryerson's second marriage took place on the 8th of November to Mary, eldest daughter of James R. Armstrong of York. The extract from the diary (*S.M.L.*, p. 120) is in part as follows:

“After many earnest prayers, mature deliberation, and the advice of an elder brother, I have decided within the last few months to enter again into the married state. The lady I have selected, and who has consented to become my second wife, is one whom I have every reason to believe possesses all the natural and Christian excellencies of my late wife. She is the eldest daughter of a pious and wealthy merchant, Mr. James Rogers Armstrong. For her my late wife also entertained a very particular esteem and affection; and, from her good sense, sound judgment, humble piety, and affectionate disposition, I doubt not but that she will make me a most interesting and valuable companion, a judicious housewife, and an affectionate mother to my two children. . . .”

[11] Carroll introduces Alvah Adams as “the son of parents who showed untiring love to Methodism, and the fruit of Mr. Metcalf's ministry in the Perth settlement, who baptized him by immersion in the river Tay”. (*Case, Vol. III*, p. 206.) His school advantages are described as “pretty good”. He had “sprightly manners” and was “a captivating singer”. Though not possessing “strong original powers of thought”, he had “a readiness in appropriating the thoughts of others”. During the few years of his itinerant ministry he travelled in the eastern section of the province.

[12] Without doubt the attitude which the *Guardian* and the Methodist preachers were taking on temperance, and their reiterated exhortation to total abstinence, had much to do with the dislike of Methodism in certain quarters. Here intemperance became a matter of action by the Church authorities of Prescott and reduced the membership by one, an editor at that. However the traffic and use of alcoholic beverages was not yet quite outlawed by the Methodists. The gentleman who laid the corner stone of Upper Canada Academy in 1832, Dr. John Gilchrist, in addition to several other business enterprises operated a distillery at Keene, thus assisting in the production of a staple commodity which at that time was sold by the gallon at a less price than milk fetches today.

[13] In the *Guardian* of November 20th, Ryerson pays some attention to the *Grenville Gazette*. He quotes briefly other extracts and this: "Judas was content with 30 pieces of silver and Esau with a mess of pottage; but *Priest Ryerson* and the *Conference*, through Mr. Marsden, must have 900 pieces and the promise of 1,000 more!" He then remarks, "This exceeds and supercedes any comment; and we will merely ask the reader what sort of liberty he would be likely to enjoy, under the government of a man who can utter such *statements?* and what sort of fellowship he can have with such a *spirit?*"

[14] Marsden's connection with the affairs of Methodism in Upper Canada was titular and temporary. Joseph Stinson, as superintendent of Missions, was the man on the spot, and to him John Ryerson looked for assistance.

[15] Determined a man as John Ryerson was, even he quailed before the storm of opposition which the announcement of a government grant and the publication of the Impressions had brought upon the Methodists and the *Guardian*.

[16] A clear evidence of the reliance placed on the judgment of this great reformer.

[17] Radcliffe of the *Cobourg Reformer*, who advertised Ryerson to his little world as a “sanctimonious savage”, was ably seconding the assaults of the *Advocate*. In fact, when Mackenzie had recovered from his first rush of anger at what he regarded as Ryerson’s desertion, he reflected that there were still two papers which would fight the cause of Radicalism, the *Cobourg Reformer* and the *British Colonial Argus* of Kingston. The latter he quotes as asking at this time, “What is to become of the Cobourg Seminary, which, from corner to top-stone was built with the money of reformers?” It is a curious coincidence, not without significance, that the corner stone of the Upper Canada Academy was laid on the very day on which the second Reform Bill received the royal signature.

[18] The grant had not been definitely ear-marked for Indian work. However, the Canadian preachers resolved that no one should be able truthfully to say that they had received one shilling from the Government towards their own salaries. Hence it was arranged that the grant should be allotted exclusively to Indian work, its expenditure directly under the control of the London Missionary Society. The Indians were regarded as in a peculiar sense the wards of the Government. Thus was begun a practice which survives a century later in the arrangement between the Federal Government and the United Church of Canada for the support of the Indian work at missions like Muncey and Edmonton.

[19] The preachers who signed this protest, which they hoped to have printed in the *Guardian*, were all travelling in the Niagara District. David Wright was superintendent of the Stamford Circuit, with Edwy Ryerson to assist him; James Evans, superintendent of the St. Catharines circuit; Henry Wilkinson, superintendent of the Ancaster Circuit; William Griffis was stationed at Canboro.

[20] This letter indicates that Ryerson's broader policy of publishing news from "home" had won him friends and subscribers among the British immigrants. Their claims had to be considered. In fact, the great volume of immigration in the early thirties had not a little to do with causing Union to appear the best solution.

[21] Usually Hodgins is reasonably faithful, though not punctilious, in following the text of the letters he publishes. In this letter, however, reproduced in part (*S.M.L.*, p. 133), the sentence, "Many again, have got wonderfully wise, and pretend to reveal the secrets of your policy, as in profession a friend, but in reality an enemy" reads "Many, again, have got wonderfully wise, and pretend to reveal (as a friend, but in reality as an enemy) the secrets of your policy". And the meaning of a second sentence, "Many have regretted (of the preachers) that you was put in the editorial chair and feel strongly disposed to exert their influence that you may not be replaced" has been quite perverted. Hodgins has it, "Many of the preachers are rejoiced that you were put in the editorial chair and feel strongly disposed to exert their influence that you may not be replaced". Evidently Hodgins did not catch Edwy's meaning of "replaced", which is used in the letter, as not infrequently at that time, in the original sense, "placed back". Having made this error he needs must alter "regretted" to "rejoiced". His hero comes off better in the change, but history suffers.

[22] Alexander Davidson was a prominent layman at Port Hope. He published a hymn book, as a private venture, and advertised it in the *Guardian*. Later he was appointed postmaster at Niagara.

[23] James Evans (1801-1846) was born at Kingston-on-Hull, England, the son of a sea captain. He received a good education, and as a young man migrated to Canada. With his younger brother, Ephraim, he soon turned from pioneering to school-teaching. Each had a novel in process of writing when they were converted under Metcalf's preaching and put away such folly. After a year in the Indian School at Rice Lake he was now in the regular work. He later became famous as a missionary to the Indians of Hudson Bay, and as the inventor of the Cree syllabic alphabet.

[24] this was my orders when a copy was left with me.

[25] This strong letter perhaps affords as good an illustration as we have of Ryerson's manner of handling opposition in the Conference. David Wright was one of the older members of Conference; the minutes of 1823 read, "David Wright, aged thirty, wife and three children—admitted". By the year 1833 he had attained the superintendency of the fine Stamford circuit. Palpably a Reformer, his volatile soul had been stirred by the hue and cry raised against Ryerson. The latter's appeal to discipline resulted in the question being raised next Conference as from the Niagara District Meeting and prevented a discussion in the press.

[26] Richardson, whose training and temper had predisposed him to order and propriety, would at once realize that the Discipline of the Methodist Conference provided a better means of dealing with such issues than that of airing them in the public press. Dr. Morrison was a strong reformer—and with some excuse (see p. [116](#)).

[27] The Ryerson brothers frequently helped one another in money matters. Egerton was particularly generous, and never laid up a store against old age.

- [28] John Ryerson's wife was a sister of James Lewis, whose sister Anna was the wife of Hugh Willson. The Lewis family had their origin in New Jersey. They had settled on Fifty Mile Creek in the late eighties. The Willsons, also from New Jersey, came a few years later.
- [29] For some years John Willson, a younger brother of Hugh, had been estranged from the Conference. As Speaker of the Assembly during the enquiry of 1828 he had served them well, but, in subsequent years as a member for Wentworth in the Legislature had opposed them at every point. It was he who was said to have secured money from Strachan for Ryan.
- [30] This letter appeared in the *Advocate* of May 22, 1834, and was reproduced in the *Guardian* of May 28th. It did great damage to the Reform party, but gave Ryerson an opening, of which he was not slow to avail himself.
- [31] See p. 174. The most probable explanation of the discrepancy is not that Hume was deliberately falsifying, but that he too (see p. 14) was confusing George and Egerton Ryerson.
- [32] Aileen Dunham: *Political Unrest in Upper Canada, 1815-1836*, p. 151. On the whole, a careful and well-documented study.
- [33] *C.G.*, March 28, 1832.
- [34] *C.G.*, Apr. 4, 1832.
- [35] *C.G.*, March 28, 1832.
- [36] *C.G.*, Apr. 25, 1832.
- [37] Kerr was the assailant of Mackenzie in Hamilton; Brown, a leader in the riotous burning of Mackenzie and Ryerson in Peterboro; and soupkitchenites, the proletariat of York.

[\[38\]](#) C.G., June 20, 1832.

[\[39\]](#) Dent: *The Upper Canada Rebellion, Vol. I*, p. 269.

[\[40\]](#) See p. [205](#).

CHAPTER VII

THE LEVELLERS SECEDE

June 1834 to December 1835

The immediate effects of the quarrel were the secession of the Episcopalians and the financial embarrassment of the Academy, with still further departures from the policy of pure voluntaryism. The Episcopalians were in many ways the successors to Henry Ryan and his waning party. The name "Episcopal" had no particular significance. Indeed their opponents declared that it was an afterthought, calculated to give them a claim to the church property of the Wesleyans—a claim which in spite of irritating and prolonged litigation they were never able to establish in law. The real ground of dissension was their belief that the union would increase the authority of Conference at the expense of local preachers and laymen, and that it was in reality a tory and authoritarian movement within the church aimed at those whom John Ryerson, in private at least, described as "furious levellers in matters of Church Government". As for the Academy, there was much truth in the remark of the *British Colonial Argus* that "from foundation to top-stone it had been built with the money of reformers"—the word being broadly defined, and not applied to a political party. For as the preachers had carried throughout the circuits from the Ottawa to Amherstburg their subscription books^[1] with the principles of the institution set down in each, as farmers and mechanics and merchants and occasionally men in the professions had entered their names for smaller or larger sums to be paid in four annual instalments, all had done so in the firm conviction that the whole system which entrusted higher education in the land exclusively to men nourished on the Thirty-nine Articles was in need of reform. Later subscriptions secured by Lord and Stinson from the Governor, and John Strachan and J. B. Robinson and others, could not alter the fact that in conception the Academy was an enterprise of reformers. But as the anti-government press continued to assail Ryerson and the Union, fear and suspicion came into the minds of these scattered subscribers. To make matters worse, the country fell into hard times—or a depression, as economists with their graphs now have it. Thus the later instalments often were left unpaid, and the Conference was compelled to look elsewhere for assistance.

In 1834 Conference met in June at Kingston, but under clouded skies. The membership in the year had declined by 1,109. The President, the Rev. Edmund Grindrod, appointed by the British Conference, had not arrived owing to a slow voyage and illness after landing. Discontent was rife. It was clear that Union had raised grave doubts in the minds of many Canadians, and at the same time had failed to appeal to the immigrant “causes” at Kingston and York. But from the Minutes one would never judge that all was not well in Zion. Throughout its ten days the sessions appear to move in calm and orderly fashion. It is necessary to read between the neat lines penned by James Richardson, duly elected Secretary, to realize the tenseness of the proceedings. In the absence of the President, Case was voted to the chair. The names of sixty-one members were called. Then Robert Alder arose and reported he had been appointed to supply the President’s place. By resolution Alder’s claim was recognized, and he took the chair. We are not informed that there was any debate on the matter at the time, but it would not be surprising in those days of forthright speech if there was. Green’s comment is: “Strictly speaking, Mr. Alder had no right to the chair; and, not being a member of our Conference, we had no right to appoint him; but the President had requested him to act until his arrival, and, out of courtesy to both, we allowed him to take the chair, confirming all he did after Mr. G. arrived on Saturday. On Sunday the President preached a dry sermon, which produced no effect except that of disappointment.”^[2]

Ryerson did not escape criticism. He was accused by the York District meeting of having changed the wording of the Discipline in printing. A committee was appointed on the matter and its report passed and filed as “No. II K”. But this was only a minor matter. A minute on page twenty-four reads, “Proceeded to ballot for Editor of the *Xn G.* James Richardson was elected to this office.” Carroll records that this “made a profound sensation among the friends of last year’s editor”.^[3] A minute of the following day reads, “James Richardson having declined to serve as Editor of the *Xn G.*, the Conference proceeded to ballot for another. Egerton Ryerson was elected.” Hodgins tells us nothing of all this; he states that Ryerson had resolved to retire from the editorship, but was not permitted to do so. The version of the Minutes and of Carroll, who was present, must be accepted. This incident affords an additional illustration of the fact that each of its members—and Ryerson as much as any—was subject each year to the pleasure of the Conference. Further, this pleasure was expressed fairly and freely by the ballot, at a time when its advocacy for provincial elections was still considered a mark of dangerous radicalism. But while thus chastening him, his brethren elected him to several important committees, including

that on the Academy. A resolution passed on the second last day of Conference proves that the seed he had sown as editor had not gone to the birds of the air. It was resolved,

That this Conference views with feelings of disgust and cannot but express its unqualified reprobation of the letter from Joseph Hume *Esqr.* M.P. addressed to, and lately published by William L. McKenzie *Esqr.*, and of the slanderous attack therein made upon our beloved brother the Rev. Egerton Ryerson, in whose integrity and honorable principles we are happy to express our unshaken confidence. We also avail ourselves of this occasion to disclaim in terms of strong indignation the revolutionary principles and purposes contained in said letter

There may also be some significance in the fact that it was resolved, “That the Building Committee of the U. C. Academy be composed of the same gentlemen as were appointed last year, except Messrs. Gilchrist and McCarty, and that Messrs. Goldsmith, Austin B. Carpenter and John Beatty, *Jr.* be requested to act as members thereof.”

A report was drafted by Ryerson himself and accepted by the Conference stating that while the *Guardian* was to be “properly a religious and literary journal”, it was free to explain and defend Methodist doctrines and institutions “in the spirit of meekness”, but was not to be the “medium of discussing political questions, nor the merits of political parties”.^[4] The following day the *Advocate*, under the heading “Reformers! The Prospect Darkens”, declared:

The re-appointment of Mr. Egerton Ryerson to the office of editor of the *Guardian*, the approbation of his proceedings by the Conference of Methodist preachers, and their silence or rather worse than silence relative to the £900 bribe and the other official doucours which have fallen to their lot are but signs of the times.

Ryerson, however, no longer replies in kind. In the issue of July 2nd, in the course of an editorial which does credit to his head and heart, he deals with certain criticism which had been made, states his desire at all times to be fair and impartial, and concludes:

We now take occasion frankly and voluntarily, (and without heretofore intimating our intention to any human being, of so doing,) to state, that during the last year, under extraordinary

circumstances, it is true, we have made remarks unnecessarily and unbecomingly harsh and severe; and although we believe to the best of our knowledge the correctness of every material statement that we have made in regard to men and measures, we deeply regret the appearance of many sentences and paragraphs, and several articles in the columns of the *Guardian*, during the year. We hope that past experience may teach us forbearance and wisdom, in at least some degree, whilst we continue to crave the indulgence as well as candour of an enlightened religious public, in its criticism and estimate of our labours.

Whilst the Wesleyans were in session at Kingston preparations were in process for the first regular provincial meeting of the Episcopate on Yonge Street. This was held on June 25th, 1834, “just ninety years, to a day”, as Webster points out,^[5] after Wesley’s first conference. It consisted of only four ordained preachers, none of them in active service, and a few lay preachers; but Webster considered it the first conference. It was decided to call a larger meeting at Belleville on February 10th. The Rev. John Reynolds, a Methodist preacher, for some time located and keeping store at Belleville, was named Superintendent; and at another meeting held at Trafalgar, later in the same month, he was chosen first Bishop of the new body, which took the name, and regarded itself as the successor, of the former Methodist Episcopal Church in Canada. As such, it claimed the property which the Wesleyans supposed they had taken into union. A test case prolonged in litigation was made of the Waterloo Chapel, four miles north of Kingston, of which certain Methodists in the name of the Episcopalians had taken possession, changing the lock. Other chapels were occupied, and in certain sections, especially where dissatisfaction existed among the lay preachers, the new body rapidly acquired strength and numbers. Within a year it could claim to have 21 preachers and 1,243 members; by the following year the membership was nearly doubled, and within ten years it had reached 8,880.

The opinion is expressed by Findlay and Holdsworth^[6] that the unfortunate manner of the President of 1834, Edmund Grindrod, had much to do with creating dissatisfaction on the part of the lay, or local, preachers. He had peremptorily rejected their request to be allowed ordination while still continuing secular pursuits. In this attitude, however, he was supported by a majority of the Conference, and particularly by William Ryerson. The decision took the following form:

Resolved that whereas in the judgment of this conference the practice of ordaining men to the office of the holy ministry engaged in secular pursuits is contrary to the principles and practice of the venerable founder of Methodism, it is resolved that in future the ordination of local Preachers shall cease, as the altered circumstances in which the connexion is placed render it unnecessary and inexpedient.

The ordained local preacher was essentially a product of pioneer conditions. Devoted men of large families found it difficult to support their dependents from voluntary givings and without private means or earnings. Then at the end of the year, if itinerants, they would be confronted with the difficulty and expense of moving to another locality. The situation which excused the temporary locating of itinerants logically would countenance the occasional ordination of local preachers.^[7] But by the Conference of 1834 the door was closed, and this appeared to many to be another proof of aggrandizement by the British Wesleyans; their young men were to come in and occupy land pioneered by others.

The Episcopalians were particularly strong in the Bay of Quinte District where John Ryerson was Presiding Elder. Thus he found himself beset on both sides, by the Episcopal levellers whose prospective Bishop lived at Belleville, and the Wesleyan die-hards at Kingston who feathered “a kingly nest for the Superintendent of Missions”.

October 25, 1834, JOHN RYERSON, Hallowell, to REV. EGERTON RYERSON, City of Toronto.

MY DR. BROTHER

I received your kind letter yesterday. I have sent notes before precisely in the same state & they were filled up & accepted without any objections being made to them. The work of schism has been purty extencive on some parts of this District. There have left and been expelled on the Waterloo Ct. 150, on the Bay of Quinty 40, in Belleville 47, Sidney 50, on Cobourg 32, making in all 320. There have been received on these circuits since conference 170 which leaves a ballance against us of 150. I am much displeased with Mr. Stinson's proceeding in Kingston which has done more to injure me & to promote the work [of] schism on the Bay & Waterloo Cts. then anything else. From the beginning I have informed the friends in Kingston and on those Cts. that Kingston was to be given up, that it was to become a congregation

of our conference the same as any other congregation. Since the last conference the friends in Kingston have been told by Wm. & myself that these arrangements were now to go into operation, etc. & that Mr. Stinson was appointed there particularly in reference to this very business. But Mr. Stinson comes to Kingston & what does he tell his congregation, as he calls them, "*that it is no such thing, that they are to remain as they ever were, that the Chairman of the Bay of Quinty District has no charge of him nor them, that the superintendent of Missions or some person appointed directly from England will always be their superintendent & therefore you have got every thing in your own way*". Accordingly when I held my first Qt. Meeting for that place, Mr. Stinson had a quarterly meeting in *his* chapel at the same time. I know he kind of apologised to *me* for having it at that time, but it was a mere evagation; he did it no doubt to shew the Wesleyan congregation that I had no charge of them. Mr. S. told me that he considered that I had no charge of them & he had so informed his people. To be sure he talks about *union* etc. but what does he mean by that party term, which I have long since been sick of hearing. Why the *union* he means is that our congregation shall be united to them under the superintendance of what I have stated above. A kind of Missionary Supt,—a kingly nest for the superintendent of Missions with one or two *curates* to do his work for him. The plain object is to run our congregation down. And accordingly a week or so before I was at the last Qt. Meeting, Mr. S . . . friends fitted up a house for Tuesday night preaching within a stone throw of our chapel. I have not had even an invitation to *Preach*, in *Mr. Stinson's Chapel*. I have not time nor patience to mention one half of the trickery & abomination of their proceedings. Suffice it to say at present that nine tenths of the M. S. is in favour of the *conference* union & that Mr. S. is at the bottom of the difficulty & if you, Mr Marsden and the resolutions of Union have *deceived* conference & myself—which you have done, if Mr S—statements be true—it is the [last] deception which shall ever be practiced upon *me* in this affare. I shall lay this whole [seal] before conference when I hope to clear myself of the *Blood* of this affare, nor will a few fare speeches & hypocritical pretentions divert me from my purpose. *All* our friends in Kingston are deeply wounded & not one of them will remain in the church if Mr. Stinson's doctrine is imbraced, nor do I believe that 5 of them will remain if the union does not take place in the

way that they have been informed that it was to be. I feel deeply for them; they have stood by us through many a storm. I have much more to say but have not time now.

Yours affectionately
J. RYERSON

P.S. You will see from what I have said above that I am not putting my trust in ther "*arm of flesh*" at the present, however much I may have sined in this respect before, & that I *have* done so I am now painfully conscious & I find to my sorrow that [I] have been leaning on a *broken reed*. One thing I have to console myself with is that in advocating *union* I was sincere & thought it would be for the best, but every result of it thus far has been dizasterous & gloomy without a single *iota* of any thing growing out of it that is beneficial to us. I can never favour any party but I cant go on in this way & I never saw my way so clear to retire as now. You will excuse my very haisty & miserable scrawl.^[8]

J. R.

November 21, 1834, J. STINSON, Kingston to REV. EGERTON RYERSON, City of Toronto.

MY DEAR BROTHER

I received a letter from Mr. Lunn of Montreal the other day, in which he desired me to order a *Guardian* for him. He intends to take it regularly & will be glad if you will send the first *Guardian* of the present volume. Let him have them next week; he will send the pay by the first opportunity.

Mrs. Talkin of this town also wishes to take it; let her have the first of the present volume also. The enclosed is Mrs. Talkins pay in advance.

At our Quarterly meeting last week our Leaders agreed to admit of an interchange of pulpits; we begin next Sunday; I hope it will be attended with good.

I had a conversation with your brother John at Napanee the other day—Tuesday—which surprised and pained me not a little. He maintains that Mr. Marsden, Mr. Alder & Mr. Grinrod gave the Canada Conference to understand that Kingston was to be given up entirely to the Canadian Conference & he said that if it were

not so given up, it will be a violation of the articles of Union, etc., etc. He referred to you as supporting this view of the subject & threw out the idea in no very obscure terms that I had been sent to Kingston to induce our people here to give themselves up to the Canadian Conference & that in failing to accomplish that object I had greatly embarrassed him in his District. I can only say, that I have acted in perfect accordance with the instructions Mr. Grinrod & Mr. Alder gave me & have done my utmost to promote the Union of the two Societies, in this Town. But it is not very likely that much union can exist, while persons are allowed to remain in the other society who have acted & continue to act most dishonourably to our members & while some of the Preachers of this District tell our leading members that “There are *two* English missionaries in the Canada Conference now but that they will get rid of them as soon as possible”. If these persons have not sufficient generosity & piety to subdue, they ought to have sufficient policy to *conceal* their spleen, at least from people who have all along opposed the union from a fear that they should be deprived of their own ministers & their own discipline. If things are carried with too high a hand, we shall lose our Kingston Chapel and congregation altogether, & should the Kingston people be compelled in defence of their own privileges to shut their chapel against us, it will be next to impossible to keep things quiet in Lower Canada. I do not think it is necessary to sacrifice the union to Kingston, nor is it necessary to sacrifice Kingston, because a number of disaffected radicals in the Bay of Quinte like to make the state of things here an excuse for their anti Methodistical proceedings. If there were no Kingston in existence these men would never cordially love the Union. More of this hereafter.^[9]

We are all delighted with Mr. Lord^[10] & expect great good from his residence amongst us. I have been sick all week. I took a severe cold in my head & eyes while at Napanee. Will you be so kind as to send me those American Papers which contain the articles on the “preaching of Christ crucified”. I will return them when I have read them. With kind love to yourself & Sister Ryerson & Mr. Armstrong’s family,

believe me dear Sir
Yours truly

J. STINSON

December 14, 1834, MARY RYERSON,^[11] *Hallowell*, to MR. JAMES LEWIS,
Grimsby.

MY DEAR BROTHER

I have been anxously waiting for several weeks to receive a letter from some of you, but not receiving any I sit down and strive to ease my feelings by writing to you. We are all well at present, but have all been sick with colds which are very prevalent here. Mr. Ryerson^[12] left last thursday for Cobourg and expects to be gone near three weeks. Prospects on this circuit are pretty good as it respects religion, but in every other respect very poor. The Farmers say they never [had] such hard times. For the Farmers there is little or no money to be got at all. I suppose you have heard large stories about the Episcopalians in these parts. There has been no disturbance on this circuit at all. The letters in the last *Guardian* give a correct statement with regard to the bay and Sidney circuits. There were about 40 left in Belville. Some have come back and many others would come if they could. The increase in society there since Br. Wilkinson^[13] has been there is nearly that number so that the loss is not much felt. Mr. Gatchel's^[14] coming down here has been a great hurt to their cause. One Local Preacher said to Mr. Ryerson if he was to be their Presiding Elder he would have nothing more to do with them. We feel very anxious to hear from you all. I have been fancying that some of you are sick that you are delaying writing on that account. We have only received two letters since we came down. I think it is to bad. I expect you have a great deal of business on your mind but I think you might spend a few moments in the course of two or three months to write to me.

I hope you will [write] immediately on receiving this and let us know how you are all a doing, how Hughy is getting along. It has been reported here that Mr. Metcalf was a going to join the Episcopalians.^[15] How is Levi and Mary, Mr. Beach and Anne. Tell [her] that I think she might write to me if was to try very hard. If Mr. Ryerson's coat is at your place yet, I wish you to keep it till he comes up to Conference. I received a letter from Mary Swayze.^[16] She has had the fever this winter [but] she has got able to attend to

her school again. She has about 50 scholars. The children are going to school and learning very well. Egerton is begining to cypher. He says he thinks a great deal about little Levi. Please remember us affectionately to Mother and Betsy and enquiring friends. I remain my Dr. Brother

Yours affectionately

MARY RYERSON

P.S. Please write soon without fail.

January 28, 1835, JOHN RYERSON, Hallowell, to REV. EGERTON RYERSON, City Toronto.

MY DR. BROTHER

I herewith enclose you my sermon. As you will see I preached this sermon on Thanksgiving Day. Two or three days after there was a publick meeting called in our Chapel, when a resolution was passed, thanking me for my sermon & requesting a copy of it for publication; but I excused the matter & had no idea of writing it, untill I received your letter when I concluded to do so. It is the most popular sermon I ever preached here & is entirely *original*. The magistracy & gentry of this place say they will give five dollars a copy for it.

I wish you would send me John Barten. I am very much in want of young man to assist Br. McMullen; he is the only one I can think of. I think we can make him useful. Let him come amediately. We will find him a horse. Give him a way bill & direct him Charls Bigger, *Esq*, Carrying Place.

The more I think of your leaving the office, the more unfavourably I think of it; there is a tremendous opposition to it in these parts among both Preachers & People. I think it will do the paper amense harm; you had better stop untill conference. I think Richardson will get no support as Editor & it will be as easy to get another in as though you left the office now. More than one hundred persons have professed religion at Consecon & Pleasant Bay. We had a powerful meeting last sabbath at Sidney. Please write me amediately & let me know how things are in Toronto, the seat of war. You of course will correct & improve my sermon as you think. Br. McNabb copyed it for me. I think there was too much Egotism in the last paper.

Yours very affectionately
in haist

J. RYERSON

What circumstances may have suggested to Ryerson his giving up the paper in the course of the year we do not know. His leader of January 21st on the "Present State and Prospects of the *Guardian*" is cheerful enough. He notes that six of the seven papers which combined against the *Guardian* have ceased to exist, gone into other hands, or adopted a more friendly attitude, while the *Guardian* finds its readers increasing and its position more firmly established. Then, forgetting certain high resolves, he goes on to pay his respects to Mackenzie in a sentence which invites trouble:

The very author of that infamous warfare against us, and who had blown himself into a "little brief authority" by the whirlwind which he himself had created, has already sunk into disgraceful insignificance in the very place where he has been best known and where he had originated, and for a time successfully carried on all his plans of unhallowed warfare and civil disorganization; and is as rapidly sinking into oblivion in the legislature as in other parts of the province.

This is a reference to the results of the election for aldermen in Toronto. The candidates of the Alliance Society (Mackenzie's organization) were well beaten by those of the Constitutional Society. In St. David's ward, Mackenzie and Lesslie polled only 70 and 75 votes respectively, to 126 and 122 for Robert Baldwin Sullivan and George Duggan; and the aldermen elected Sullivan as the second mayor by acclamation. However, Mackenzie was not quite a spent force in the province. He was again a member of the Legislature, and the great majority of the members elected in the Provincial elections of October, 1834, were favourable to the Reform cause, so that Bidwell once more was chosen Speaker. Here for two years in a congenial atmosphere Mackenzie was able to carry on reprisals against Ryerson and the Conference, and pursue other labours more profitable to himself and the Province.

February 20, 1835, W. RYERSON, St. Catharines,^[17] *to REV. EGERTON RYERSON, City of Toronto.*

VERY DR. BR.

I recd. your most valued favour this morning and cannot let one hour pass without answering it, and returning my grateful acknowledgments for your kind favour enclosed,^[18] but especially for the brotherly spirit of sympathy & affection which breathes in every line & word of your most interesting letter. The spirit & feeling makes the deeper impression on my mind when I recollect that you have your own difficulties & troubles but which do not appear so wholly to occupy your mind as to prevent your feelings of friendship & sympathy for others. How sincerely do I pray that the God of mercy & truth may graciously support you under all your trials & difficulties and in his good time bring you out of them purified as gold. I fere that I might have made an improper statement of my domestic affairs; what I did say, I do not recollect, but certainly did not intend to complain of our *poverty*, etc, for although we have recd. very little as yet this year, I certainly *could have hired* my wood hauled although I did not feel myself able to pay a man for doing so without embarasing myself otherwise. My reason for advertng to the affair at all was to justify my *declining* to furnish a sermon for the press, namely, a want of time, as well as a want of ability, and not to trouble my Dr. friends with my affairs, especially when I could not forget that they had burdens enough of *their own* to bear. With your *permission* I will return your kind pecuniary favour in my next, after thanking you a thousand times for your kindness.

My principle reason for troubling you with another dull letter so soon is to remove as soon as possible a very improper impression, which it appears I have unfortunately made on your mind respecting my feeling towards Mr. Lord. . . . What I intended was to caution you against placing too much reliance on the friendship & support of *Mr. Stinson* and *Mr. Lord*. My reason for doing this was that in every instance in which I had placed any *particular reliance* on the friendship or *engagements* of *any* of the leading Brethren from England, I had been deceived.^[19]

* * * * *

I perceive we shall be much embarrassed about the editorship of the *Guardian*. I agree with you that Br. Evans is the most suitable of any one beside the present editor if he *positively* refuses if elected (although I think it very doubtful whether we could induce the Confce. to elect him.)^[20] I do not know who we

can get; let the paper be given up an *hundred times* sooner than Richardson should be permitted to disgrace it *again*.^[21] Perhaps Providence will point out some suitable person before your term expires. There is another unpleasant circumstance to which I would advert. When I was over at Toronto last fall I gave you a full statement about the Beaver Dam Chapel and my engagement to consult Mr. Rolph & Bidwell on the subject of the deed & you will recollect that I was prevented by being very unwell (which proved to be the beginning of a severe turn of the fever) from calling on them myself. You told me you would call & consult them on the subject immediately after I left the town. I think you parted with me at your own house or at Br. Armstrong's & when you went out I understood you was going then to see them. Afterwards I recd. your letter in which, if I recollect right, you said that "after consulting legal authority", or "the highest legal authority", I am not certain which, "such appeared to be the state of the case", etc. etc. Fully believing you had consulted Mr. R & B. & concluding as a matter of course that they were the legal authority referred to, I unhesitatingly stated that such was the case to the Qt. Meeting of the St. Cath. Crt. However it appears that Mr. Swayze has been over to Mr. R. & enquired if you had consulted him, & Mr. R. has said you have not; he then enquired of you & you informed him that you had not said any thing to Mr. R. or B. on the subject; hence I am accused with but little reserve of lies or falsehood & the use that is made of this affair is very unpleasant *indeed*. I wish you would write to Edwy^[22] or my self by the 21, when our Qt. Meeting will be at this place, a few words in explanation, etc.

You will endeavour to read this as well as you can. I have written in the greatest haste; my horse is waiting as I am just starting for Niagara.

My affectionate regards to Mrs. R., Br. Armstrong & family & all friends

Yours affectionately,
W. RYERSON

According to the *Guardian* of July 9, 1834, the Conference had resolved "to recommend petitioning from the Methodist congregations generally, and others friendly to the object, to the different branches of the Provincial

Legislature, at its ensuing session, for a grant to aid the subscriptions to complete and put into successful operation the *Upper Canada Academy*". The Minutes of Conference do not contain any account of this important decision; it was probably included in the unrecorded report of the Academy Committee. Until the following March nothing appears to have been done in the matter. Almost certainly no petitions were circulated; perhaps it was found that the friends of pure voluntaryism amongst the Methodists were too numerous for that. Only towards the end of the Legislative session did the officers of Conference take any action, and then to ask not for a grant, as the Conference had ordered, but merely for incorporation.

The petition had a short and mysterious history in the Assembly. It was brought up by John P. Roblin, member for Prince Edward, on March 14th and laid on the table.^[23] Three days later it was read, and referred to a select committee consisting of J. P. Roblin, Peter Shaver of Dundas, and Hermanus Smith of Wentworth, thereon to report by bill or otherwise.^[24] On March 25th Roblin informed the House that the Committee had agreed to report by bill, a draft of which he was prepared to submit whenever the House would be pleased to receive the same.^[25] The bill was read a first time, and a second reading promised for the next day. But something happened before the next day, and we hear nothing more of the bill, nor have we any means of knowing its terms. The *Guardian* says nothing further, and no reference appears in our letters. A reasonable inference is that several circumstances combined to cause the withdrawal of the bill. It was felt that within the Assembly it would have to face the hostility alike of voluntaryist reformers and friends of the Anglican interests, with the practical certainty that if it passed the Assembly it would fail in the Council. Then the House was much more interested in two other measures—the amending of the King's College Charter, and the diverting of the Clergy Reserves to purposes of General Education. In event of the success of this latter measure friends of the Academy might have expected it to benefit. But much fruitless time was spent in discussing these bills. The Rebellion, the Durham Report, and the Act of Union had to intervene before King's College could open its doors, and these events and many more before what remained of the Reserves was secularized. But if the House was hostile to the Academy Bill, the officers of Conference themselves were lukewarm. Lord and Richardson were not the men to forward the measure, the former by reason of ignorance of the country and a certain feebleness of spirit, the latter because he was disinclined to ask aid from the government and was already on his way out of the church. We are not made aware that any of the Ryersons had a part in

these negotiations. Egerton doubtless in some quarters stood the blame—as he paid the penalty—for their failure.

To the Honourable the Commons House of Assembly of the Province of Upper Canada

The Petition of the undersigned humbly sheweth:

That the Conference of the Wesleyan Methodist Church in Canada have, at a very heavy expense, and by the aid of the voluntary liberal subscriptions of the friends of Education in this Province, and elsewhere, erected and nearly completed, in the vicinity of Cobourg, Newcastle District, the Building for a Seminary of Learning, to be called the “Upper Canada Academy”, the object of which is the education of the youth of the Methodist connexion and other youth of the Province, with special care of their religious and moral principles and habits, as the union of education and Christian morality is essential to the well-being of every civilized country.

Nine Trustees have been appointed by the Conference (the three first on the list to go out annually, and the vacancies to be filled up by the Conference) who shall hold in trust all the property belonging to the Institution.

A Board of Visitors is provided for, consisting of five to be annually chosen by the Conference, who shall be associated with the Trustees, in appointing the Principal and Teachers, in forming all the Regulations and By-Laws, which relate to the government and instruction of the students, and in managing all the affairs of the Institution. To this joint Board the Principal and Teachers are to be amenable for their conduct.

The Board of Trustees and Visitors are to furnish annually to the Conference a full and explicit statement of the literary state of the Institution, and a full detailed account of its finances.

That in order to further the objects of said Academy, so much needed and so well adapted to promote the educational interests of this Province, an Act of Incorporation is necessary.

The undersigned, therefore, by order and on behalf of the Conference of the Wesleyan Methodist Church in Canada, humbly pray that your Honourable House will take the premises into your

gracious consideration, and pass an Act to authorize and provide for the succession of Trustees to hold property of and for the said Academy.

And, as in duty bound, your petitioners will ever pray.

WILLIAM LORD

President

JAMES RICHARDSON

Secretary

March 14, 1835

This application is the first definite admission that the noble attempt to build and operate an institution of learning by the voluntary contributions of members and friends of the Methodist body had failed. Men like James Richardson, avowed advocates of pure voluntaryism, must have winced in signing this communication. Economic conditions, political unrest, and, as will appear, certain extravagant ideas of Mr. Lord, combined to produce the embarrassment. But it was a great venture.

In the *Guardian* of June 15, 1835, Ryerson states that between £7,000 and £8,000 had been subscribed and £3,000 collected. Green gives the amount of the indebtedness as £4,100, and adds, "To this amount, at least, we think we are justly entitled. 740,275 acres of land were set apart for higher education; a venerable divine has laid the hand of spoliation upon 225,944 acres of these lands for King's College; and 66,000 acres have been given to the Upper Canada College; and why should not Upper Canada Academy have some assistance from the same quarter? King's College has already expended three times the amount which we ask; and the foundation stone is not yet laid!"^[26]

Failing with the people of Upper Canada, as represented in the Assembly, the Conference appealed to the King through the Governor for endowment as well as incorporation. This decision was made at the 1835 Conference, which met at Hamilton on June 10th, and the letter which implemented it was dated Hamilton, June 16th, and signed by Lord as President and Ryerson as the new Secretary, on the same day as the adoption of the report of the Academy Committee. The report had also recommended the appointment of a committee of four "to raise immediate means to carry on the building"; had named five visitors as follows: William Lord, John Ryerson, William Lunn, *Esq.*, of Montreal, Dr. John Rolph^[27] and Jas. R. Armstrong of Toronto; and had decided to apply to the British Conference for a Principal.

To His Excellency

SIR JOHN COLBORNE, K.C.B.

LIEUT. GOVERNOR of the *Province of Upper Canada*, and MAJOR GENERAL commanding HIS MAJESTY'S FORCES therein, etc., etc., etc.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR EXCELLENCY,

We, His Majesty's dutiful and loyal subjects, the Ministers of the Wesleyan Methodist Church in Canada, assembled in Conference, beg leave again to assure Your Excellency of our affectionate esteem, and gratefully to acknowledge Your Excellency's ardent desire, and successful exertions to promote the religious improvement of the Indian tribes and the New Settlements, and to advance the educational and general interests of this happy and flourishing Province.

We are fully aware, from Your Excellency's frequent communications to Parliament, and invariable course of proceeding that Your Excellency has no object more at heart than the education of the youth of this Province; and especially when the advancement of that noble object, by whomsoever promoted, is based upon Christian principles, and is connected with a vigilant and efficient guardianship over the morals of the pupils. In this light we are persuaded Your Excellency will regard every effort for the promotion of education made by us as a body of Christian Ministers, and will extend to it your approbation and assistance.

We are therefore encouraged to present, through Your Excellency, the accompanying Memorial to the King's Most Excellent Majesty, praying for a Royal Charter to incorporate a Seminary of Learning, and for an endowment of lands and pecuniary assistance to relieve the Institution from existing embarrassments and to carry it into successful operation.

We respectfully request Your Excellency to transmit this Memorial to England, to be laid before His Majesty; and we earnestly solicit the powerful, and we doubt not efficient, aid of Your Excellency's recommendation and influence in behalf of its objects.

We offer our daily supplications to the Divine Being for Your Excellency's health, happiness and prosperous administration over

this important portion of the British dominions; and we can assure Your Excellency of our devoted attachment to that Constitution and Government under which we have the happiness to live.

Signed in behalf, and by order of,
the Conference

Hamilton
June 16th, 1835

WILLIAM LORD, *President.*
EGERTON RYERSON, *Secretary.*

Ryerson had resolved at the Conference of 1834 to retire from the editorship at the end of the year. Plans had been laid, as we have seen, during the year for the succession of Ephraim Evans, who had been given a taste of the work during a two weeks' vacation of the editor. He was elected by Conference, whether with or without serious opposition we are nowhere informed.^[28] Ryerson once more took a charge, the difficult and strategic Kingston station. Here he hoped to settle down once more in the pastorate, and concern himself only with such church politics as were sure to present themselves for settlement in the town which was the headquarters of the London Missionary Committee. A few days after his arrival he wrote a chatty letter to S. S. Junkin, his young friend and assistant at the *Guardian* office, whose reliable reports of the proceedings of the Assembly place Canadian historians under considerable obligation.

July 15, 1835, EGERTON RYERSON, Kingston, to MR. S. S. JUNKIN, Guardian Office, City of Toronto.

MY DEAR BROTHER,

I seize a leisure moment to write you a few lines this morning. We are not yet in our own house. We are lodging at the house of Mr. Cassady, the lawyer, where we receive every possible kindness and attention.^[29] I have not yet been able to open any of my books; I am all heads and points. I cannot, therefore, furnish any lucubrations however crude, for the *Guardian*, until I get settled. I am highly pleased and delighted with Br. Evans' commencement.^[30] He has begun as if he would become better and better. The *Guardian* never appeared a tenth part as interesting to me. I am glad to see that the pecuniary interests of the establishment are like to be greatly advanced by *advertising* patronage. I doubt not but the prosperity of the establishment this

year will exceed that of any former year. I shall try and do what I can to get some new subscribers in this town, tho the *depressed* state of it is beyond all former precedent. Business appears to be almost entirely suspended. I will thank you for the accounts of subscribers for this town. The parcels have arrived. I will sell and transmit the proceeds of the Minutes^[31] for this town as early as possible. The parcels will be duly forwarded.

I am told the *Correspondent & Advocate*^[32] abounds in ribaldry against me. I have scarcely seen a paper since I left Toronto except the *Guardian*; nor do I desire to see any thing that is said about me. I thank Br. Evans for his kind remarks. I think they are sufficient. I hope he will not embroil himself any farther on my account. Bull has quite overshot the mark. I thought Br. Evans' remark calculated to bring out a disclaimer from Mr. R....d....n of any "fellowship" with O'Grady.^[33] I suppose the O'Grady & Mackenzie party are striving to divert public attention from the "Grievance Committee" proceedings.^[34] I hope you will write me by the Cobourg steamer on Tuesday next all the *domestic* news, good, bad and indifferent.

I have been very kindly received here. Strong prejudices in the minds of individuals existed against me. But they are not only broken down but in the principal cases are turned into warm friendship already. Some who were as bitter as gall and croaking from day to day "the glory has departed" are now like new born babes in Christ, are happy in their own souls, praying for sinners, and doing all they can to build up the cause. I can scarcely account for it. I never felt more deeply humbled than since I came here. I have indeed strove to give my whole soul, body and spirit to God and his Church anew, but I have had scarcely a *tolerable* time in preaching. Yet the divine blessing has specially accompanied the word. On Wednesday night last the fallow ground of the hearts of professors seemed to be completely broken up. On Thursday night I was in the country, but was told the prayer meeting was the largest that had been held for two years. On Sunday evening we had prayer meeting after preaching. Several came to the altar, two or three of whom found peace. I closed it at nine o'clock, but some staid and others collected and it was kept up until near one o'clock in the morning. On Monday night the altar was surrounded with penitents, and the meeting, I was told (for I was not there) was

better than any former, and was kept up until after midnight. Our preaching & leaders' meeting last night was a good time. We have preaching and prayer meeting again tonight. We have formed the Leaders' meeting of both chapels into one to the satisfaction of the brethren on both sides.^[35] I now begin to hope for better times. My soul was bowed down like a bulrush for some days after I came here. But I thank God I have a hold upon the salvation of Christ that I had not felt for a long time before; and I do believe the Lord our God will help us and bless us. I have preached at Waterloo twice since I came down. The last time several penitents came to the altar—two professed to find peace, but it was upon the whole a dry time to me. They are hard cases there. I attended a very blessed Quarterly Meeting on the Isle of Tanti^[36] on Thursday last. It was the best day to my own soul that I have experienced for years.

At the request of the building committee I shall go up to Adolphustown^[37] on Sunday a week to open a new chapel there. I can assure you, my dear Brother, I feel like a man liberated from prison; but I have reason to believe that the people are in general amazingly disappointed in my pulpit exercises. They expected great things—things gaudy, stately & speculative—and I give them the simplest & most practical things I can find in the Bible, and that in the plainest way. You would be amused at the sayings of some of the plain Methodist people. They think it is the “real pure gospel, but they did not expect it so from that quarter”. I am told that Barker has said in his *Whig* that my pulpit talents are nothing. I am very glad to have this impression go abroad—it will relieve me from distressing embarrassments, and enable me to do much more good in a plain way—for I know the utmost I can attain in the pulpit is to make things plain, and, sometimes, forcible.

I have given you a sort of diary of my labours and feelings because I have nothing else to write from this palzy-struck town & because I am perhaps more inclined to chat than you are to read. I am very anxious to hear how you are getting on in Toronto. How are the preachers received? How are they likely to succeed?^[38] Br. Davidson was highly esteemed here. How are the Bay street folks shaping their course? Are our good meaning Irvingite friends as

sure as ever that we are come to the stepping-off-place at the end of the world?

Thursday morning, 16th

I send this by an English local preacher who has just called on his way from Montreal to Toronto. I believe Br. Evans knows him. We had a very blessed prayer-meeting last night, after preaching. A considerable number of penitents came to the altar, and some found peace. The work seems to be deepening among the Society. Br. Stinson has been quite ill for a week past with a violent obstinate cold. He is mending a little, and has undertaken to go to Gananoque today. I think we shall have a comfortable & prosperous year.

I will thank you to call upon Preston, the tailor, and settle my a/c with him. We hope to get in our own house in a few days, probably Monday or Tuesday next.

As Mr. Armstrong will like to know all that we are doing, thinking and saying, and as I have not time to write another scrawl, please give him this to decipher, until the *Cobourg* arrives on Saturday, when they may expect a letter from Mrs. Ryerson (!!) and possibly from me likewise. My kindest regards to Brothers Evans, Lang & Davidson, Brs. Taylor, Hamilton and other inquiring friends, especially Mr. Lawrence.

I shall expect a long letter from you by the *Cobourg* on her return. Mrs. R. joins me in kind regards.

Yours very affectionately
EGERTON RYERSON

July 20, 1835, Monday even'g., S. S. JUNKIN, Toronto, to REV. E. RYERSON, Kingston.

MY DEAR SIR,

Although it is nearly eleven o'clock I take a few minutes before going to bed to write you—not a letter, but an apology for one. It would be almost an unpardonable neglect in me not to comply with your kind request to send you something by the *Cobourg* tomorrow morning. I feel very thankful for your long affectionate and interesting letter. I have shown it to some friends, and they are glad to hear of your good prospects at Kingston. Our

preachers seem very anxious for a revival of religion here, and your letter, and one that Mr. Lang^[39] recd. from Mr. Stinson, has stirred them up still more. Last evening at Geo. St. chapel prayer meeting was held after Mr. Lang preached. I was not there, but heard that it was a good time—continued till about 10 o'clock—8 or 10 at the alter—one professed to experience religion. Tonight there is a prayer meeting at Mr. Evans' of all the official members (including the trustees) of both chapels specially for a revival. I think it is a good time. I passed the house between nine and ten o'clock, and quite a crowd was standing listening; your brother William, who arrived in the evening, was praying, and all seemed to be much engaged.^[40] If there was any truth in the remark that “when the Lord is about to revive his work the Devil revives his also”, we might hope to see better times soon; for as I have heard several remark, never did drunkenness, sabbath breaking, and other sins of cities abound to such an extent as within a week past.^[41] A meeting is appointed to be held in Geo. St. chapel tomorrow evening at 7½ o'clock and to continue till ten or later; and a similar meeting in Newgate St. chapel on Wednesday evening.

The preachers appear to be well received by the people, but how they can be comfortably provided for by the (present) Society is more than I can imagine. Mr. Lang is not above a mediocrity as a preacher, but warm and persuasive, and tells plain truths in a plain way. He is not afraid to “mention hell to ears polite”. The Bay St. (Irvingite) friends appear to be getting along as usual. Mr. Patrick^[42] was twice at preaching yesterday, and seemed to listen to Bro. Davidson^[43] with great attention; but did not assist in singing. I do not know that they are favourable to singing in the mixed congregation. [Here follows a full account of the Evans-Richardson dispute.]

I do not know that you will find any thing of interest in this hasty written scrawl, except what relates to Mr. R.'s affair. I thought you [would] like to know about that. I shall be glad to hear from you often when you find time to write, but cannot promise always to acknowledge the receipt of your letters, for I have hardly a spare moment to write. I purpose to make a visit to my parents next Thursday, if well, and stay a few days. Give my kindest regards to Mrs. Ryerson, and to Mr. and Mrs. Stinson when you see them.

I am yours
most affectionately
S. S. JUNKIN

P.S. The box of books for Bro. Healy and the parcel for Bro. Ferguson directed to Mr. Stinson's care, which are sent with this by the *Cobourg*, you will see to forwarding with as little delay as possible. I have paid the freight of both to Kingston, and you will please pay charges at Kingston, if there are any, but not the forwarding freight.

S. S. J.

September 22, 1835, S. S. JUNKIN, Toronto, to REV. E. RYERSON, Kingston.

MY DEAR SIR,

I was again disappointed of an opportunity of writing to you last night, as I intended to do, and therefore just send you a hasty line, as a *memento*, this morning by S. E. Taylor on his way to Montreal. We have nothing new here at present. Mr. Evans went to Cobourg to see the Sol. Genl. immediately on receipt of your letter concerning the ejectment suit in the case of the Waterloo chapel. He retained him in case an action is entered; and he (Sol. Genl.) wishes to have a copy of The Declaration of the Plaintiff's counsel as soon as the trustees receive it, and a fee of 10 dollars. He also saw Mr. Bidwell at the Newcastle Assizes, and spoke to him on the subject. He was rather unwilling to take a fee or be retained on our side of the cause, as *he had returned the fee sent him by the others and refused to act in the former intended suit*. The fee was handed by the "Episcopals" to Mr. Cassidy, and by him sent to Mr. Bidwell. I think you will be glad to know that he does not plead for them.^[44] What is the meaning of R. Richardson being concerned in the affair of the chapel, and supporting the Radical "Episcopals"? I thought he was a great Tory, and one who in Methodist affairs "cared for none of these things". Might it not be possible that there was some under current flowing between Toronto and Kingston, more than's in Ontario? I hope not; but it would be no harm to keep a sharp look out.^[45] You have likely seen Mr. Richardson's last "production", as he calls his former one, in the *Correspondent and Advocate*. It purports to be a reply to Mr. Evans' statement of the case, some things in which he says

has an “unfavourable bearing upon him”, and is his reason for publishing again. To be sure some of them have an “unfavourable bearing” upon him; but how could it be otherwise? That is his fault, and not Mr. Evans’s. He tried to make them “bear” as lightly on him as possible—much more indeed than I would have done, or than was necessary to his argument in some places. He has got his thanks. He sent the article first to the *Guardian*, and Mr. Evans wrote him a long friendly letter giving his reasons for not publishing it, but it appears they were not satisfactory. I would attempt to describe the article to you if I thought you had not seen it. But I could not properly. It must be seen to be properly appreciated. The Conference I suppose will handle him roughly for his conduct, and then what? They were very wrong in not allowing him to locate. A request for a location ought hardly to be refused, for the man who makes it is no longer an itinerant in spirit, unless some peculiar circumstances of personal affairs or want of health is the cause.^[46]

Several pretend to be dissatisfied with your communication. You see we *pared* it pretty well, but I think improved it. Some are so unreasonable, I am told, as to ask why was it published and Mr. Richardson’s rejected. They might with as much propriety ask why we continue the *Guardian* after rejecting Mr. Richardson’s article. I perhaps should not say so much about this affair, but our enemies you know try to make a great deal of it. I think Mr. Evans’ conduct is generally approved by the preachers and people, and as he wrote to Mr. R. he is determined not to submit the matters at issue between them to the decision of “the world”. Give my best respects to Mrs. Ryerson. Mr. Taylor and Armstrong will probably call on you, if the Boat stops long enough, and tell you more particularly of our affairs here.

Yours affectionately,
S. S. JUNKIN

The “pared” letter is dated September 5th, and appears in the *Guardian* of September 16th. Evidently its purpose is to tell his friends and enemies that he is still alive and happy in his work, and that he is not in the least disturbed by the fiery darts of his detractors in the press. To begin with, he congratulates and warns his successor:

You know there is a description of persons on certain dangerous coasts who live by plundering the wrecks of ships, which they decoy upon the rocks by making false lights upon distant interior elevations or mountains. The persons with whom you have to deal appear not to be unacquainted with the tactics of those mountaineer “moon cursers”.

He sympathizes with Evans in having to peruse so many of “the works of darkness”. He has not read one of their journals since he left Toronto. But these men can do the Methodists no real harm; a mendicant news-dealer is not the ruler of the public mind. Kingston, for example, has had more than its share of this type of paper, yet nowhere has he ministered to more intelligent and affectionate congregations. The worst accusation against the Methodists is that they have been “bribed”, and this because they are the humble agents in expending a few hundred pounds of voluntary donations from the Crown, as well as their own and the contributions of the Christian public, to ameliorate and improve the religious and civil condition of those aboriginal tribes who once owned the soil on which we live, and to whom tens of thousands of pounds would not be an adequate remuneration for the country they have lost and the evils they have sustained from the white population. He could give instances to show that the detractors of Methodism are dishonest at heart and have chuckled at their success in prejudicing the public mind. “They are, indeed, professed *reformers*; and so are we,—but with this material difference; we begin with men, they begin with things; we begin about morals, they begin about dollars; we begin with insisting upon the rights of the Sovereign Majesty, they begin with insisting upon their own rights. . . .” He concludes with the prayer that the Methodist ministry may pursue its one work through good report and evil report.

The point and temper of the letter show that the sword of controversy had not rusted while hanging on the wall of a parsonage for three months.

The observations on the press of the day in this letter are direct and timely. But Evans scarcely needed the advice of the letter to warn him against the baiting of his fellow editors. This is apparent from the excellent manner in which he handled a little affair with O’Grady. In the issue of August 19, 1835, Evans had devoted half a column to an account of the formal presenting of the bridge on the forks of the Don River to the Corporation of Toronto by Capt. Bonnycastle of the Royal Engineers. The addresses of presentation and acceptance are given, together with a lively description of the royal salute, and the band of the 15th Regiment playing “God Save the King”, while Mayor Sullivan and the members of the city

council and a large number of citizens passed uncovered over the bridge; then three cheers for his Britannic Majesty and the “large concourse of spectators of all classes” dispersed. Evans expressed pleasure at having witnessed such a display of loyalty and dignity and good humour on the part of participants and spectators.

But the next week he was to suffer for it. O’Grady thus delivers himself in the *Correspondent and Advocate*:

And happy indeed the Reverend gentleman seemed to have been amidst the “robes of office”, the smoke of gunpowder, the flashes of artillery, the flattering of addresses the roars of plaudits and the bumpers of wine, if indeed he condescended to say grace for his jovial companions at the closing of the feast! . . . What is the cause of this new and unusual worldliness in that journal? Believe it, incredulous readers, it is the spirit caught from the bribe.

Thence he proceeds to enlarge on how the glory of Methodism has been obscured by this grant of £1,000 “from the pockets of the people”. To which Evans replies with the statement that

the story of our being present at the dinner is altogether of his own invention; that we never knew that there was a dinner given on the occasion, nor do we know it now, notwithstanding his assertion. We saw no bumpers of wine, no liquors of any kind on the spot, nor any persons in a state of inebriety, and retired home in company with two other ministers after the ceremony was concluded.^[47]

Then follow two paragraphs on the staleness of the vituperation about bribes and on how amusing it is to hear “a repudiated and degraded Romish priest mourning over the obscuration of the glories of Methodism”.

Ryerson was not the only one to advise Evans to avoid the snare of such fowlers as O’Grady. A Methodist of about thirty years standing in a letter had quoted for his edification Nehemiah’s reply to Sanballat and Geshen —“I am doing a great work, so that I cannot come down: why should the work cease while I leave it, and come down to you?”^[48]

O’Grady and his friends doubtless would say that the curse of Upper Canada was the lack of responsibility of the Government to the Legislature. Ryerson might well have replied, and it is clear the thought was much in his

mind in the years after 1833, that a hardly less serious curse was the lack of responsibility to any power on earth or heaven of a legion of journals which like the waves of mid-ocean swelled and foamed for a moment and were forgotten. For instance, in the town of Hamilton within six years no less than eight papers commenced and terminated their existence. From all of which it appears that “yellow journalism” is not an invention of this generation. Our enterprising forefathers in Upper Canada achieved this also.

The chapter concludes with two letters from Ryerson to Junkin, and another letter from Mrs. John Ryerson to her brother.

September 24, 1835, EGERTON RYERSON, Kingston, to MR. S. S. JUNKIN, Guardian Office, City of Toronto.

MY VERY DEAR FRIEND AND BROTHER,

My poor little John has been removed to the other and better country. He died day before yesterday about noon.^[49] He became a perfect skeleton, yet continued to walk until within ten minutes before his death. After attempting to take a spoonful of milk, he leaned back his head and expired in my arms, without the slightest visible struggle. He has suffered much, but expressed a desire that he might live, so that he could see his little Sister. But the night before he died, he told Mary that he wanted to die for he suffered so much and he wished to go to his Mother. He told me a few days before he died, that he hoped to go to heaven because Jesus had died for him and loved him.

O my dear Brother, I feel as a broken vessel in this bereavement of the subject of so many anxious cares and fond hopes. But this I do know, that I love God, and supremely desire to advance his glory, and that he does all things for the best. I will therefore magnify his name when clouds and darkness envelope his ways, as well as when the smiles of his providence gladden the heart of man. O may he make me and mine more entirely and exclusively his than ever. In this prayer and purpose Mrs. R. does most devoutly join me.

I thank you for your very kind and interesting letter. I beg a similar favor from you whenever you can spare a moment. I agree with you in the opinions you express. Br. Evans has more than justified what I assured some of the preachers (who feared his warmth) as to his coolness, discretion and forbearance. He has raised himself 20 percent in the estimation of the preachers, while

Mr. R. has lowered himself in the same ratio. My brother John told me that he had heard but one opinion on the subject among preachers and people, except Ebenezer Perry. I have not seen either of Mr. R.'s letters. Br. E. cannot more effectually advance his own influence, and disappoint and defeat Mr. R. than by taking no further notice of his "productions". Br. E.'s christian and manly explanation set the matter at rest in the minds of our friends. I do not feel concerned, for I am sure the *Lord is pre-eminently for us*, and I believe the enemies of our Zion have gone the length of their chain. I have not heard any thing more of the writ of ejectment by the Episcopalians. Present my affectionate regards to Br. Evans; tell him I received his letter, and will keep the necessary lookout. Please put the accompanying letters in the Post Office without delay. Mrs. R. joins me in kind regards.

Yours very affectionately
EGERTON RYERSON

November 14, 1835, E. RYERSON, Kingston, to MR. S. S. JUNKIN.

MY VERY DEAR BROTHER,

I do thank you most heartily for your very affectionate and interesting letter, but I have not time to answer it. I think you will see good days yet in Toronto when the "old leaven" gets fully purged out.

We all go into one chapel tomorrow, which will finish the union. Thank the Lord for it. Every one of our members of the "American" Society (so called heretofore) has already taken sittings in the newly enlarged chapel, and all things appear to be harmonious and encouraging.^[50] No public notice has yet been given for renting the pews, yet every one in the body chapel has already been taken by our brethren and immediate friends; and notwithstanding the new chapel will hold more than both the old ones, we are not likely to have enough sittings to meet the applications that are likely to be made, when it is known out of the Society, tho' the whole chapel above and below (except one form around the gallery) is pedwed.^[51]

You will not be more surprised to learn than I was that I have to take another trip to England. We had just got comfortably settled, had become acquainted with and got the goodwill of the

people on all sides, and are happy in our souls and in our work. Nothing but the alternative, as Mr. Lord deeply feels, of the sinking or success of the Academy could have induced me this year to have undertaken such a task. But, as you know, my motto is the cause of God, not private considerations.

The boat is going. Please send me the sixth volume of the *Guardian*. I will try and write again. My love to Br. Evans.

Yours as ever

E. RYERSON

December 8, 1835, MARY RYERSON to MR. JAMES LEWIS, Grimsby.

DEAR BROTHER

I again take up to communicate to you how we are and how we have been since I wrote last. We are all enjoying good health for which we have great reason to be very thankful. I would have written amediately on receiving your letter but I was just starting to Kingston with Mr. Ryerson. You have heard before this time that Egerton has again gone to England. I suppose he leaves New York today. We were in Kingston when he and his wife left. He has gone to make collections for the Academy. The friends in Kingston regretted very much his leaving. He has been very useful there since the Conference in uniting both Societies together. They have enlarged one of the Chapels so that it is sufficiently large for both societies and they were together two sabbaths before he left. The people considered it a great sacrafice to lose their Pastor as they expressed themselves in the Love feast the Sabbath I was there, and he felt it a great sacrafice to pack up their things after being settled in their own house about two months. Her friends thought it would be for her health to go with him. He will not return before next summer some time. The committee of the Academy found it necessary that some great exertions must be made and they thought Egerton was the most suitable to go home to England.

You wished to know how the Epsicopals were agetting along with the Waterloo Chapel. There has been no trial about [it] yet. We have possession of the house. Our friends did not wish to try them for house breaking till they would take out a writ of ejectment and then the title of the house could be tried at the same

time, which they have at length consented to do, and both suits are to come on at the next assises. The Episcopalians are doing nothing in these parts but taking the rubbish from our church. Bishop Runnels [Reynolds] is more immersed in worldly business than ever. Poor Biam [Byam] lives about a mile from us and he is I am told as poor as poverty itself. He is the circuit preacher here, and he is as little respected here as where he came from.

My Dr. Brother I am glad to hear that you are all well and doing well. When I reflect upon the afflicting senes that I witnessed while at your house last summer, I think I feel more than when I was there. Often do I think can it be that Betsey is gone. Oh if it were not for an assurance that she has gone to inherit a house not made with hands eternal in the heavens, my heart would almost break. After all her toiling and working she has gone to rest and we are left perhaps to pass through many afflictions. These things are unknown to us. O James you must be father and mother both. Don't neglect the education of the girls. Oh how often have I been embarresed for the want of a better education since I was married and in rasing my own family. I am glad to hear that Hannah is with you yet. I hope she will stay as long as she can. Mr. Ryerson expects to go with Mr. Lord to the General Conference which sits the first of May next in Cincinnatti in Egerton's place. He will be gone about six weeks. I have had some thought of coming up to the fifty and stop till he comes back if I wont be to much trouble to my friends with my family. He will come up that way. He will have to leave here the middle of April. You see I have written a long letter to make up loss time. Please remember us to all our friends and Mother in particular and write soon and I will not be so negligent hereafter.

I remain your affectionate Sister,
MARY RYERSON.

When Ryerson took up his residence in Kingston a second mission to England was not in contemplation. But scarcely had he settled down to the quiet life of a pastor in a congregation now established in peace and in pews when he was instructed by the President of Conference to come to the rescue of the Academy; and this involved an appeal to the British Government for a Charter and for financial aid. Of the conversations which preceded this decision on the part of Lord, we are not made aware either through the official records or in this correspondence. That the legality or propriety of

the procedure was questioned is shown by the fact that the Conference of 1836 thought it necessary by resolution to confirm Lord's action. Presumably he had called together the emergency committee appointed to deal with the financial affairs of the college; but the Conference was jealous of its authority.

The affairs of the College were indeed desperate. Twice the expected date of opening was postponed. The building was practically complete, yet only half of the funds necessary to open it were in hand. Lord had sanctioned expenses on grounds and fences, which were regarded as extravagant, saying that John Bull would never fail them. Meanwhile he and other trustees had obligated themselves to the banks, which were insisting on more than faith in John Bull. Matters came to a crisis in the autumn, and Ryerson was ordered to leave his work in Kingston. Taking his wife with him and placing his daughter in the care of grandparents at Long Point and at Hamilton, he left for New York in November, little thinking that his mission would involve an absence of nineteen months, and these amongst the most critical in the history of Canada. He bore with him several letters of introduction, and notably one from Sir John Colborne, commending the Academy to the consideration of the Government.^[52] The voyage was long and rough, occupying twenty-nine days, during the whole of which time the Ryersons suffered more or less from seasickness. "We were little more than shadows of our former selves on our arrival", Ryerson says.^[53] Immediately after the New Year he presented his credentials and began his long siege of the Colonial Office.

[1] For many years one only of these subscription books was in the possession of the College, but in 1931 several others were found at the former home of Dr. John Beatty of Cobourg, having come to him through his father, the Rev. John Beatty, treasurer of the College. Through the kindness of Dr. E. Stanley Ryerson, of the Faculty of Medicine, University of Toronto, the grandson of Egerton Ryerson and of Dr. John Beatty, these were restored to the College. The entries opposite certain names are eloquent: "Patrick Crawford, £5—refuses to pay; Willard Bartlett, £5—insolvent; John C. Grant, £10—bad." Opposite most of the names the sums paid are marked down with the date of payment, but against the names of two such notable Reformers as Thomas Parke of Westminster and Peter Matthews of Pickering no word stands to indicate payment or refusal, merely their commitments, £5 and £4 respectively. Scores of subscriptions of less than a pound are recorded, and only two of one hundred pounds, those of James R. Armstrong and Ephraim Perry. Several subscribers gave hundred-acre farms.

[2] *Green*, p. 183.

[3] *Case*, Vol. III, p. 444.

[4] *C.G.*, June 25, 1834.

[5] *Webster*, p. 319.

[6] *Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society*, Vol. I, p. 249.

[7] The Quakers, a numerous and highly respectable sect in Upper Canada, had purely a lay ministry. Similarly, the Mennonites, Dunkers and Latter Day Saints.

[8] A hasty and miserable scrawl indeed! But it places the historian of Methodism under a considerable obligation. It is well that John Ryerson let himself go as he does in this and so many of his letters. Whatever his mood, he usually said something.

[9] Here we have the other side of the case. Stinson lays the blame less on the “continuing” British congregation at Kingston than on the contumacy of certain unnamed radicals in the Bay of Quinte district. It is interesting that Hetherington’s attitude is not mentioned.

[10] The Rev. William Lord had been named President of the Canadian Conference. He had spent his life in England. Carroll says of him (*Vol. III*, p. 475),

“He had been 23 or 24 years in the ministry, and along with some classical attainments, was a sound practical theologian, and a good preacher. His manners were plain and homelike, admirably adapted to win the confidence of Canadians, bating at times a little English brusqueness.”

[11] A second letter of the Banting series.

[12] In speaking to her brother Mary Ryerson called her husband “*Mr. Ryerson*”. John Ryerson inspired, possibly required, a proper respect.

[13] Henry Wilkinson was received on trial at the Conference of 1831. He became a man of mark among the Methodists. He entered the ministry as a married man, having already made a success of business. Carroll thus describes his preaching (*Case, Vol. III, p. 312*):

“[He] combined with these powers of argument and cogency in controversy, great unction as a preacher and power and success as a revivalist. He was untiring in study and research; and showed great originality and tact in making use of the materials prepared by others. He carefully wrote his sermons, and used notes liberally in the pulpit, and yet infused the most tremendous energy into the whole. He could be melting and tender, but he rather excelled in the terrific. He used to commence calmly, proceed slowly, and kept the command of himself till he had acquired the perfect mastery of his theme and his audience, when in putting the strong points of his argument, he would come down like the lightning’s flash, the falling avalanche, or the tornado’s sweep.”

[14] Joseph Gatchel was born in the United States, served as an itinerant in Canada for some years before the war of 1812 and located about that time. He returned to the work and was the one member of Conference who refused to vote for union, withdrawing from the room. He appeared later to acquiesce and accepted a superannuation allowance from the Conference. In view of his action in accepting an allowance and then going over to the Episcopalians, it was resolved at the Conference of 1835 that “Joseph Gatchel who has withdrawn under very dishonourable circumstances, is, therefore dropped without further notice.”

[15] The same thing was said of Case. It was true of neither, though the fact that it was reported may be regarded as indicating how disturbed was the Methodist mind. Metcalf in time located on a poor farm on the Ottawa, but remained with the Conference.

[16] Swayze is a Niagara Peninsula name. In the more settled parts of the province, women were beginning already to teach. Mary Swayze had been educated at Cazenovia.

[17] William Ryerson was again one of the Presiding Elders (or Chairmen, as following the British custom they came to be called). He superintended the Niagara District, with headquarters at St. Catharines. Poverty still troubled him, and such problems as getting out his winter's wood. With his experience as a young man in Oxford, it would be time rather than capacity or desire which would prevent him from cutting it himself.

[18] The brothers frequently helped one another financially. Egerton was particularly generous and never laid up a store against old age.

[19] William had not yet recovered from his experience in Kingston.

[20] This, together with the reference in the previous letter by John, makes it clear that the choice of editor was not always spontaneous. Ephraim Evans was Egerton's choice as successor. The President, William Lord, also favoured Evans, as we know from a letter of May 6th. Carroll depicts Ephraim Evans as tall, well-made and graceful, and when young, decidedly handsome.

[21] The vote at the Conference of 1834 would indicate that the preachers generally did not share William's opinion of Richardson's editing of the paper. But in the meantime, he had been edging towards the Episcopalians.

[22] Edwy was the Superintendent of the St. Catharines circuit, and at Quarterly Meeting could explain the mistake to the brethren whose minds had been disturbed.

[23] *Journal of the House of Assembly*, p. 238.

[24] *Ibid.*, p. 257.

[25] *Ibid.*, p. 287.

[26] *Green*, p. 196.

[27] This connection with the Academy was revived after his exile, through the affiliation of the Rolph School of Medicine with Victoria College. At this time Dr. Rolph stood high in the regard of Methodists. For example, in 1833, though not a Methodist, he had been asked to preside at the Missionary Meeting held during Conference. For some reason, probably connected with the Mayoralty episode (see p. [235](#)), he had refused to stand for Parliament in 1834, though assured of election for Middlesex County.

[28] Findlay and Holdsworth (*Vol. I*, p. 431) state that at this Conference “the politics of the *Guardian* came in for severe criticism at the hands of Richardson and Metcalf, the recognized ‘Liberal’ leaders, and Ryerson yielded the editorship to Ephraim Evans, who was regarded as a ‘safe’ man”. The Minutes of Conference reveal nothing as to this criticism, nor have we been able to find other documentary authority. Evidence has already been presented that Ryerson’s withdrawal from the editorship was not as a result of anything said or done by the Conference of 1835.

[29] Henry Cassidy was a lawyer who had studied with M. S. Bidwell. He was a Churchman and a Conservative. In 1839 he was Mayor of Kingston. His wife was related to Ryerson.

[30] Ephraim Evans, indeed, had made a very good beginning, and with becoming modesty:

“On assuming the important duties devolving upon us as Editor of the most widely circulating journal published in the Province, and which has interested the public mind perhaps to a greater extent than any other of its periodicals, we cannot but feel strongly the responsibility under which we are laid, and our inadequacy to the performance of the task imposed upon us so contrary to our private inclination and expressed desire.” (*C.G.*, July 1, 1835)

He then outlines his policy as editor of a literary and religious, but not a political, paper. “With all political parties”, he avers, “we are determined, ‘if it be possible, as far as lieth in us, to live peaceably’, but to sacrifice our rights or the rights of our people to none.”

[31] The Minutes of Conference were printed and sold to members throughout the Province.

[32] The last copy of the *Advocate* (see p. 198) appeared on November 4, 1834. After that date it was merged with *The Correspondent*, which since 1832 had been edited by a former Catholic priest, the Rev. William John O’Grady. A native of Cork, he had gone to Brazil with a body of British emigrants and from there had come to Toronto in 1828. His success in the Catholic Mission in Toronto was immediate. By 1830 Bishop Macdonnell had made him a Vicar General. Then trouble of some sort arose, and he was excommunicated. After appealing in vain to both the Lieutenant Governor and Rome, he founded *The Correspondent*. He was ready with his pen, and even more reckless than Mackenzie, and in the merger the *Advocate* lost nothing in spice.

[33] The reference is to an editorial note appearing in the *Guardian* of July 1st.

“Since writing the above, the *Toronto Recorder* has fallen into our hands. We regret exceedingly that the Editor in defending the late Editor of The *Guardian* from the abuse of the *Correspondent & Advocate*, has made such disgraceful allusion to the Rev. Mr. Richardson; between whom and the writer of the abusive article above referred to, we cannot think there exists any fellow feeling.”

Richardson had been accused by the *Recorder* of canvassing for office both as Secretary and Editor. He was much annoyed because Evans had not come to his defence, as he had to Ryerson's, and because he had refused to print in the *Guardian* a letter of Richardson's in which he denied these charges and accused Evans of unfairness. Evans had been willing to print it with the omission of the accusation against himself, but Richardson would not make the changes and actually went before the public in the columns of the *Correspondent and Advocate*.

[34] Mackenzie was getting into some difficulty over the *Seventh Grievance Report*. He had been chairman of the Committee (and Dr. Morrison one of the other three members) which had compiled this famous and elaborately documented report of 556 pages. The report was brought down at the end of the session, and two thousand copies were ordered to be printed by an empty House after a very brief debate. It is a mine of information, but poorly organized and not always accurate. The Methodists had just cause to complain about certain statements made of them.

[35] The first step in the long delayed union of the rival congregations.

[36] Now Amherst Island. Is the name Indian, or Latin (worth so much)?

- [37] The new chapel was dedicated on the site of the first Methodist chapel erected in Upper Canada. John Ryerson tells us that he had seen the subscription list, circulated in the early nineties, for the old house. We have in this collection the Rev. Rowley Heyland's letter of invitation to Egerton.
- [38] Owing to politics and Irvingism, the city circuit had a difficult year and barely held its own. The Mormons also took heavy toll, but mainly outside the city on the Yonge Street circuit, which declined from 951 in 1833 to 578 in 1836.
- [39] Matthew Lang was a native of Lancashire. He had been brought from the Lower Province, where he spent most of his ministry of twenty-seven years. He was a man of ordinary talents but unblemished character, and quite above intrigue.
- [40] A rather striking picture of old Toronto. A summer evening. Windows and doors in Ephraim Evans' house open. A prayer meeting in progress. The orator of Canadian Methodism prays. A crowd gather on the street. Junkin pauses for a little while, then goes on to his work.
- [41] Mackenzie had exclaimed against the prevailing drunkenness in one of the last issues of the *Advocate*. In its issue of July 1st the *Guardian* deplored the trips of a pleasure boat on the Sabbath to the Island where the tavern was kept open and drunkenness and rowdyism prevailed.
- [42] Carroll says that Patrick had a beautiful and well trained voice. After forty years he recalls with rapture his starting up "Rock of Ages" and the favourite New Year's hymn of dedication. Here Junkin regards his refraining from singing as worthy of comment. These were sad days for the Methodists of Toronto.

[43] John C. Davidson, junior preacher in the city, had been born and educated in Ireland. Like so many of the itinerants he had taught school and his first preaching was done in his school house. After attaining some distinction in the Conference as city preacher and Chairman of a district, he went over to the Church of England in 1854. Carroll describes him as “urbane and courteous”, but as having “that sort of parsonic, perfunctory manner and taste”, which gave him “a predilection for liturgical, not to say ritualistic, services”. (*Case, Vol. V*, p. 179)

[44] Bidwell had given the Conference a legal opinion on the effect of Union upon church property and could not very well act for the Episcopalians. The Wesleyans would have been better served by him than by Hagerman, whom they probably chose because they thought he would have more influence with the Bench. The fact that he was retained is an evidence of the change in the attitude of the Conference to the government.

[45] Lake Ontario moves rather slowly from Toronto to Kingston. Junkin wonders whether ideas were flowing more rapidly between James Richardson in Toronto and R. Richardson in Kingston, who was interesting himself in the Waterloo Chapel case.

[46] It would have been better for himself and all concerned had Richardson withstood the appeal of the President at the Conference in June and located, as he had planned to do. To air his grievance against Evans in the *Correspondent and Advocate* did him less than credit.

[47] *C.G.*, Sept. 2, 1835.

[48] *C.G.*, Aug. 12, 1835.

[49] The *Guardian* of October 7th carries the death notice, “At Kingston, on the 22nd ult., John William, only son of Rev. Egerton Ryerson, aged 6 years, 1 month and 18 days.” The death rate among children, and particularly in the towns, a century ago was appalling. Only a few months before this, Bidwell had lost his only son, a promising boy who bore his father’s name; and Case in this same month had buried his only child, who died from “a bowel complaint under which she suffered for three weeks”.

[50] Egerton Ryerson finally achieved what William had despaired of. (See p. [207](#).)

[51] As the Methodists became more “respectable”, they took to pews. No doubt in Kingston room was left for sinners. In a recent article in the *New Outlook*, the recollections of an old lady who worshipped in the Adelaide St. Church in Toronto are quoted to the effect that Ryerson’s wife used to lock the pew of her distinguished husband to keep the curious from intruding.

[52] Sir John’s letter of introduction contains a curious phrase —“The President and ministers of the Wesleyan Methodist Conference, *deputed by the Wesleyan Committee in London to superintend their affairs in Canada*, find it necessary to solicit subscriptions.” To whichever party the “their” refers, the phrase indicates an attitude to Canada and the Methodists incurably colonial.

[53] Ryerson continued to be a bad sailor, and his many trips across the Atlantic were always a trial to him.

CHAPTER VIII

AT THE FOOT OF THE THRONE

January 1836 to July 1836

The history of Ryerson's protracted negotiations with the Colonial Office during 1836 and 1837 can be fairly accurately reconstructed from the many letters and despatches of this collection^[1] and from his official report published in the *Guardian* of February 1, 1837. During the first few weeks he accomplished little. Three letters were required to extract an interview from Lord Glenelg. The last of these letters was written on January 24th; it complained that his time was being lost to the interests of those on whose behalf he had been sent to England. Two days later he was received, and found Glenelg "courteous and communicative".^[2] Then he turned to the Under-Secretary, the Right Honourable Sir George Grey, asking him for an interview on the educational improvement of Canada. Grey was a man of simple piety, business-like in his habits and charitable in his judgments. He was not a great debater, nor personally ambitious, but later as Home Secretary for many years he commanded and retained the respect and confidence of the nation.^[3] It is possible that Ryerson had met him in 1833, and this may account for his turning to an Under-Secretary. In any case, Grey was the sort of man to whom an appeal could be made on a matter involving religion and education. He replied to Ryerson in five days, granting an interview and apologizing for his delay in answering.

Possibly at the suggestion of Grey, Ryerson next wrote to the Right Honourable Edward Ellice. Ellice had subscribed fifty pounds to the Academy in 1833, when Minister of War in the Cabinet. Since 1834 he had not held office, but now and for many years he moved powerfully behind the scenes, being much consulted by successive governments by reason of his wealth and political sagacity. His grandfather had established a business in New York, and his father, who had taken the loyalist side in the War of Independence, had moved to Montreal, and in time had become managing director of the Hudson's Bay Company. Edward was educated at Winchester and Aberdeen. He entered business and after serving an apprenticeship in his father's London house went to Canada in 1803 and engaged in the fur trade. In 1820 he was instrumental in uniting the North West Company, to which he had been attached, with the Hudson's Bay Company, to the advantage of

the company, the country and himself. In giving evidence before the Select Committee of the House of Commons in May, 1828, he declared himself a proprietor of land in both Upper and Lower Canada. It was to Ellice's great influence with the administration and to Grey's interest in religion, that Ryerson owed the success of his mission, next to his own indomitable will. It is improbable that he could have accomplished anything through Glenelg, whose weak administration of the affairs of the Canadas was already disturbing the House and was soon to bring himself and the Government much trouble. From the time of Ellice's intervention, however, Glenelg treated Ryerson with much consideration.^[4]

But discouragement and tedious delay still awaited the Conference and their representative. On February 29th Ryerson received from Grey a letter which informed him of a change in policy which rendered it impossible for the Government to give financial aid to the Academy. The local Legislature in future was to have full control over the Casual and Territorial revenues. The practice of giving free grants of land was to be discontinued, on the ground that experience had shown that land could not be advantageously employed by a numerous body. The best that the Home Government could promise, and this Glenelg did in his next letter, was to ask the Lieutenant Governor to recommend to the Legislature the making of a grant to the Academy; which meant that the Council and the Assembly, continually at variance on matters of religion and education, were to be asked to forget their differences and agree on this awkward business of helping the Methodist preachers. This was bad news for anxious debtors. And the next three weeks were to bring little cheer. A letter to Glenelg on March 3rd brought the reply, through James Stephen, that the terms of the Charter had been referred to the Law Officers of the Crown, and this involved delay at least. At this stage, and in such straits, Ryerson turned once more to Ellice. At his suggestion he again saw Glenelg. A decision not to press for financial aid was withdrawn and a new stage in negotiations was reached, with Ryerson seeking to convince the Colonial Office that the Methodists were showing themselves, as evidenced by the *Guardian*, a people worthy of support.

The Law Officers found two defects in the draft submitted, one merely technical, and the other technical also, but involving an important theory. Undismayed, Ryerson undertook on April 16th to meet these objections. Without the aid of the Statutes of Upper Canada or the advice of anyone versed in Colonial law, in a closely-reasoned letter he made his point as against the opinions of the legal advisors of the Government. Two weeks later the Attorney General was informed that the Government was anxious

to meet the wishes of the applicants, and was requested to grant Ryerson an interview. This was done. At the suggestion of the Law Officers a “legal gentleman” was secured to give the Charter its final form; previously Ryerson had not used a professional draftsman. By June 4th two matters still remained unsettled. The word “church” had been changed to “connexion”, and Ryerson wished to have “church” restored, that being the term used in Canada. In this he succeeded. The other question had to do with the annual amount the trustees would be allowed to hold, but this he did not regard as material. It was July 12th, however, before Stephen could write that all was satisfactorily arranged.

Meanwhile, as we learn from his diary, Ryerson was begging, with but slight success, in London—£5 from Lord Ashburton, £5 from Thomas Baring, 10 guineas from Thomas Wilson & Co., £10 from A. Gillespie, but nothing from Sir Robert Peel, nor Lord Kenyon, nor the Bishop of London, “a handsome and very courteous man”.^[5] In all he had secured subscriptions to the amount of some £200, a result which he regarded as disappointing. He had found time also on several occasions to discuss the political situation in Upper Canada with the Colonial Secretary, to begin a series of letters for *The Times* on affairs in the Canadas, and to keep Canadian readers informed as to his views on the questions agitating the Province through several letters in the *Guardian*. These activities—broadly political in character, and not unrelated to his success with the Charter—will be described in Chapter IX. This chapter is confined to the correspondence concerning the Charter.

January 10, 1836, EGERTON RYERSON, 20 Guilford Street, Russell Square, to THE RT. HONORABLE LORD GLENELG, His Majesty's Principal Secy. of State for the Colonial Department.

MY LORD,

I had the honor, on Saturday the 2nd instant, to present to Mr. Stephen, to be laid before your Lordship, a letter from Sir John Colborne, on the subject of which I am earnestly desirous to obtain an interview with your Lordship.

As I have been deputed to this country on behalf of a numerous and meritorious denomination of Christians in Upper Canada, and for the accomplishment of an object towards which the inhabitants of that province have voluntarily contributed to an amount beyond all precedent^[6] in so young a colony; and as it will be impracticable for me to accomplish any other part of my mission until I shall have had an opportunity of laying the matter

before your Lordship and learned the result of your Lordship's deliberations on it; I, therefore, on behalf of the Conference of the Wesleyan Methodist Church in Canada, most respectfully and earnestly solicit your Lordship to honor me with an audience at your Lordship's earliest convenience.

I have the honor to be,
My Lord,
Your Lordship's most obdt. humble servant
EGERTON RYERSON

January 24, 1836, EGERTON RYERSON, 20 Guilford Street, Russell Square, to THE RT. HON. LORD GLENELG.

MY LORD

I beg to express to Your Lordship my sincere thanks for your very kind note of the 15th instant; but not having heard from Your Lordship since, and apprehending that numerous engagements of important business (which I know must pressingly occupy your Lordship's time & attention) have precluded from your recollection my application to Your Lordship for an audience at as early an hour as convenient, I hope your Lordship will pardon the liberty I take in again drawing your attention to it. I can assure your Lordship I shall trespass upon your valuable time but a few minutes. I trust your Lordship will appreciate my anxious importunity, when I inform your Lordship that as I cannot properly apply for individual aid towards bringing the Upper Canada Academy into efficient operation until after I shall have ascertained what aid will be afforded by His Majesty's Government, my time is, under present circumstances, totally lost to the interests of the community on whose behalf I have been sent to this country.

I have the honor to be, My Lord,
Your Lordship's obedient humble servant
EGERTON RYERSON

February 1, 1836, W. LORD, Montreal, to REV. E. RYERSON, 77 Hatton Garden, London, England.

MY DEAR BROTHER,

Knowing that a few lines from this side the Atlantic will always be acceptable, I venture to trouble you once again. Since my last nothing new has transpired, but there has been a continuation of former troubles. All the Bills have arrived, & through the kindness of Mr. Counter & some other friends I have been able to meet them. But the accomodation is only temporary. In two months the difficulties will be repeated, unless you have obtained relief. I hope by next Packet to hear of your prospects. I was thankful to learn from the Papers of your very quick passage.

[7] You will, long before you receive this, no doubt, have written to authorise me to draw upon you or upon some one into whose hands you have paid the money. You had better pay it to Mr. Alder, Mr. Mason or some one in preference to the Bank & then there will not be any percentage. As I have obtained only *temporary* assistance, if I do not hear from you soon, I must draw upon you. But I will defer it as long as I can. I am most anxious to know what your success & prospects are. Let nothing discourage you, but go fully to your object. It is now sink or swim. For the last time we are buffeting with the waves. But He who reached his hand to Peter will not let us sink. I hope you have received all your letters & the Book. In former communications I have given you every information respecting them. As I shall have left Montreal before I can have a reply from you, please to write to Mr. Stinson, as I shall authorize him to transact all money affairs respecting the Acad. Promptness & dispatch are very necessary.

Let me know respecting Tutors, or you had better communicate with your Brother John, or Mr. Stinson. If a Principal can be obtained, I trust a second & third master can be easily found in these provinces. Mr. Case goes to Cincinnatti, if you do not return. Should you be able to return I shall be glad to be joined by you. [8] In that case, you must write to Mr. C. in time to keep him at home. I expect to be at N. York April 3rd; afterward I mean to proceed to Cincinnati. If I do not hear from you before, *be sure* to write to me at Cincinnatti. Let your letters be long & full of Methodistical information. I am daily expecting the paper you promised respecting the Book Question. [9] I should like well to understand it. If any thing strikes you, write. Have you the prospect of remaining a year in England? How does Mrs. R. like

[it]? Do you preach with freedom? I think you will find yourself more at home than when in England last.^[10]

We have a good work going forward at Montreal. Several have lately found peace. Our congregations are very large & deeply affected. Bro. Green was here last week & preached.^[11] An U.C. Presiding Elder preaching with acceptance in Montreal! Who would have thought of such a thing when Bros. E. Ryerson & Stinson were denied the Pulpit. . . .

Sir John Colborne arrives here tonight. He is to be escorted into the City with great respect. As it will be dark, torches, etc. will be sent out. He was conducted out of Toronto by vast numbers of persons in carriages, etc. In short, the greatest respect was shewn to him. May his successor be as deserving of respect.^[12] I know not the present state of things of this Province. I have lately been so much engaged that I have seldom seen a newspaper, & as our people are happily preserved from politics^[13] I scarcely ever hear them mentioned. I hope that good will result from apparent evil. It is a time for prayer & much devotedness to God. The Church has now a very important part to act. My time is gone. *Write—write—often.* Mrs. L. unites with me in love to Mrs. R, self & my brethren & friends.

I remain,

Yours etc.

W. LORD

February 6, 1836, EGERTON RYERSON, 20 Guilford Street, Russell Square, to THE RT. HON. EDWARD ELLICE.

(Copy)

SIR,

In the interviews with which I was honored by you, when I was in this country in the summer of 1833, I mentioned to you the contemplated establishment, by voluntary subscription, of a Seminary of Learning under the direction of the Conference of the Methodist Church in Upper Canada, and adapted to the general circumstances of the Province; and that when we should have completed the buildings, we would make application for a Royal Charter and assistance from His Majesty's Government to promote

the efficient and extended operations of the Institution.^[14] You expressed a strong desire for the success of this undertaking, and with a generosity and kindness which both surprised and affected me, presented me with fifty pounds to promote it, and assured me of your readiness to support by your influence any reasonable application that might be made in behalf of so noble an object. In an interview with Lord Ripon, (who had a few weeks previous retired from the Colonial Office) with which I was honored during the same week in which I received so unexpected and valuable a token of condescension and liberality from you, His Lordship expressed the same sentiments and feelings with yourself and kindly suggested to me the proper mode of making application in order to ensure success. The buildings of this educational establishment are now completed, and are sufficiently spacious to accommodate 170 pupils, with lodgings, etc.—60 more than attend the Upper Canada College. A principal^[15] has been engaged; and the Institution will be opened on the first of next June, if our expectations of encouragement in this country are not disappointed. I have been sent by the authorities of the Methodist Church in Canada to promote an application which was made to His Majesty's Government by the last annual Conference of its Ministers for a Charter and assistance in the manner recommended by Earl Ripon. I have reason to believe that no nobleman in England can do so much to forward the objects of my mission as yourself—no one has given so strong an expression of a desire to do so—nor do I suppose any one in this country is so well acquainted with the wants & circumstances of Upper Canada. You are aware of the great labors, usefulness & justly acquired influence of the Methodist denomination in Upper Canada—that its Ministers have never received nor asked for any grants from Government for their support, notwithstanding their many privations and extensive travels and arduous toils in that new country; and that our present application is in behalf of an object purely educational, upon broad & liberal principles—an object to which the inhabitants of that infant province have voluntarily contributed four thousand pounds,^[16] and which has been strongly recommended by His Excellency Sir John Colborne.

Under these circumstances, and emboldened by your former condescending kindness and direction for me to address you at any time I might deem it expedient, I take the liberty to solicit an

interview with you on the objects of my mission to this country at your earliest convenience.

I have the honor to be,
Sir,
Your obedient and much obliged servant
EGERTON RYERSON

For want of such an Institution upwards of sixty of the youth of that Province are attending Seminaries of learning, under a similar management in the United States, where nearly two hundred of the Canadian youth have been taught the elementary branches of professional education during the last 5[?] years.

February 12, 1836, EGERTON RYERSON, 20 Guilford Street, Russell Square, to SIR GEORGE GREY

(Copy)

SIR,

I herewith enclose the statement, addressed to Lord Glenelg, which you recommended me to draw up, respecting the literary Institution in U. Canada concerning which you kindly honored me with an interview a few days since. I earnestly beg an examination of it by yourself, as well as by Lord Glenelg.

As you seemed to inquire with deep interest in regard to the effects of Christianity upon the habits and condition of the Indian Tribes in U. C,^[17] I take the liberty to enclose for your perusal the last Missionary Report that was printed previous to my leaving that Province. As I have referred to it in my communication to Lord Glenelg, I will thank you to put it into his Lordship's hands, when you shall have perused it. It is the only copy I could obtain to bring with me to this country; I shall therefore be under the necessity of requesting the use of it again, after my business with the Colonial department is decided upon; a decision which I await with great anxiety, as it embraces the object of my mission to this country. If any further information be required, I shall be happy at any time to receive your commands.

I have the honor to be
Sir,
Your obedient humble servant
EGERTON RYERSON

P.S. By the accompanying Missionary Report & Minutes of last Conference it will appear obvious that the aid granted by his Majesty's Government to the Wesleyan Missionary Committee, has been wholly applied to the Instruction of the *Indian Tribes*, and no part of it towards the support of the Methodist Ministry in U. Canada. The American Secretary at War, in his last official report, speaking of the various measures which Government had adopted for the benefit of the Indians in the United States, says that "Churches are built" and "Missionary Institutions among them are aided from the treasury of the United States". The United States Government have not referred this matter to the disposal of any local state legislature;^[18] and it is earnestly to be hoped that his Majesty's Government will not be behind that of the United States Republic in its continued liberality towards ameliorating the condition of the aboriginal and much injured inhabitants and possessors of the finest portion of the British colonial dominions.

February 12, 1836, EGERTON RYERSON, 20 Guilford Street, Russell Square, to LORD GLENELG.

(Copy)

MY LORD

I have the honor to enclose herewith a written statement explanatory^[19] of the objects, character, etc. of the literary Institution respecting which I was the other day honored with an interview by your Lordship; and also the nature and grounds of our application to His Majesty's Government, and the reasons which I submit to your Lordship's judgment respecting the inexpediency (in the present state of the Church establishment question in U. Canada, and also from other considerations which I have mentioned) of referring the question of a grant and endowment to the Colonial Assembly.

Not on my own account, nor on account of any merit in the accompanying imperfect statement, but for the sake of the important object and interest to which it with all possible brevity refers, I entreat your Lordship's examination of it, as I am sure your Lordship's kindness and desire to promote education amongst all classes of His Majesty's subjects in the Colonies, as well as at home, will incline your Lordship to come to the most

favorable conclusion. The sum of money applied for^[20] is a mere fraction to his Majesty's Government, but is very important to the object for which it is asked. I shall await with earnest anxiety your Lordship's decision.

In order to give as little trouble as possible to your Lordship's department, I have prepared and herewith transmit a draft of the Charter^[21] prayed for, prepared in accordance with the Constitution adopted & published when the establishment of the Institution was determined upon, and when subscriptions for the erection of the requisite buildings were solicited and procured.

I have the honor to be
My Lord,
Your Lordship's obedient humble servant
EGERTON RYERSON

February 16, 1836, JOHN RYERSON, Hallowell, to REV. EGERTON RYERSON, 77 Hatton Garden, London, England.

MY DEAR BROTHER

I should have written to you before, only I was ankeious for two or three things to be settled first, about which I wished to speak to you. Your friends in Kingston (& all the Methodists there seem to be such) spoke much about you & your successful labours, in the Love feast we held the sabbath after you left. Br. Counter, Jenkins & others said after your departure, that they were unwilling to have a married man or any body, but one who might easily be removed, for they were *resolved* to have you for their Preacher next year, that they had a claim to you & they were *determoned* to mentain it. So it is understood as a settled point that you are to come to Kingston on your return. Your place is now supplied by a young man from Muntreal by the name of Johnson; ^[22] he was formerly a resident in Kingston & was awakened under the Preaching of Brother Davidson. He is singularly pious & very popular & useful. I have only seen him once; I was much pleased with him; he is a warm advocate for the temperence cause. My Qt. Meeting will be there next sabbath, when I exspect to form a more particular acquaintance with him. Some three or four weeks after you left here I wrote to Mr. Lord aviseing him of my having been appointed by you to attend the A. G. Conference etc. On the

receipt of which he wrote to me saying “that ‘by and with’ his & Mr. Stinson’s advise & your own *warm* approvel, Mr. Case had been appointed before he, Mr. Lord, left Kingston & he had written to Mr. Case accordingly & that Mr. Case’s apt. could not now be reversed, etc., etc.” In reply to *this* letter I said to Mr. Lord if Mr. Case had been appointed I had nothing more to say, but would cheerfully acquies in the arrangement & the more so as I was not at all ankeious about going myself & I thought in several respects Mr. Case was the most suitable person. I thought it the most advisable to make this matter as easy as possible, *especially* as I was personally concerned & to press the thing would place you in no very enviable light, as Mr. Lord asserted that you *had* appointed Mr. Case & this was dun before he, Mr. Lord, left Kingston. I am also quite satisfied not to go & the more so as I believe that the whole difficulty has arisen out of Mr. Lord’s hostility to me, on the account of my haveing ventured to differ from him in my opinion on some subjects. I saw Elder Case a few days ago; he says that Wm. & some of the preachers at the west are making quite a noise about *you* or Mr. *Lord* attempting to appoint your successor & saying that neither of you nor boath of you had or have any authority to do any such thing, etc. They have had a meeting at which there were 12 or 14 Preachers present; they passed some Resolutions, the substance of which was, to request Mr. Lord to call a special session of conference for the purpose of electing a Deligate to serve in your place. Whether or not Mr. Lord will comply with this request, I cannot say; I very much hope he will not. The expense, loss of time, etc. at this important season of the year for our work render, in my opinion, such a measure most inexpedient & absurd. I am told the whole difficulty originated with William & that he is not a *little* ankeious to go *himself*, etc. I am more & more satisfied that Wm. is unfit for any important charge; the best place for him is to be a *stationed* Preacher: he is utterly destitute of that *prudence* which a chairman of a District ought to possess.^[23]

The members of the Academy building committee are to meet Mr. Lord next Tuesday at Brockville. The collections in this country go on very slow. I hope & pray that good luck will attend your efforts on the other side of the Atlantick; everything depends on the issue of your mission. May the Lord give you favour in the eyes of the people & good success in your vastly important work.

For 10 or 12 days past I have been attending Missionary meetings. . . . Mr. Lang & Stinson say that this District is in far the best state, in every way, of any district in the Province. This affords me some satisfaction, as my last year is drawing too a close & when it terminates I intend, please God, to give up my chairman business, at any rate for the present. Have you written anything to the Sl. General about the chapel case; please dont forget nor neglect to do so. The altercations & quarls which have taken place in the house this session, between Perry & McKenzie, especially about the Greavence Report, etc.,^[24] have raised you much in the estimation of the People. The correctness of your views & statements are now universally acknowledged & your defamers distested by all candid men. Political things in this country are working very favourably at the present time; the Radical party are going down hedlong; & may a gracious Providence speed them on their journey. The Guardian is doing purty well, full better then I exspected. I am informed that the Radicle preachers intend making another effort at our next conference to ellect Mr. Richardson again; I should think however that they would not succeed. I hear nothing more of Mr. Richardson's & Evans' difficulty. My health has been very poor this winter & so has our dr. little Egerton's; he is now however a little better. I intend in the spring to take him to Boston, Long Island, etc., as it is believed that the sea air will be of great service to him & myself also. Powley^[25] & one or two others of the E—— party have applied & got certificates from the Quarter Sessions of the Midland District. Please write as often as you can & say when you exspect to return. I see it announced in the paper that the Packet you went in got safe over after a passage of 18 days. Mary joins me in kindest regards to Mrs. Ryerson. Wishing you success in your *important* work and a safe return to Canada, I remain, my very Dear Brother,

Yours most affectionately,
J. RYERSON

February 23, 1836, EGERTON RYERSON, 20 Guilford St., Russell Square,
to THE RT. HON. LORD GLENELG, *Colonial Department*

(Draft)

MY LORD

The necessity of making immediate engagements in respect to Tutors, etc., in order to open on the first of next June the Literary Institution, the circumstances of which I have already laid before your lordship, together with the pecuniary embarrassments I am likely, in connexion with the Trustees, to be involved, compel me to inquire respecting the decision to which your Lordship has come on this subject. In my communication to your lordship of the 13th ult. I stated that the Trustees of this Institution had, after contributing individually to the utmost of their ability, borrowed two thousand pounds (£2,000) of the Provincial Banks, upon their own personal responsibility, confidently hoping to obtain a grant from the government to enable them to repay it as the instalments became due—namely at the rate of $33\frac{1}{3}$ per cent every ninety days. Since I addressed my last communication to your lordship, I have received a letter from the Chairman of the Board of Trustees, in which he says, “By the packet of the 24th inst., or of the 1st of February, I shall draw upon you for £200 or £300. The money cannot be obtained in these provinces. The business now rests with you. You perceive that until we obtain relief from you we shall be in great trouble and difficulty. I shall wait most anxiously for your reply”.

Under these circumstances, your lordship will readily conceive the painful anxiety I feel to learn the decision of your Lordship in respect to our application for a charter & grant. From accidental occurrences,^[26] I was not able to bring the case under your lordship’s consideration at so early a period after my arrival in this country as I had expected; and this protracted delay occasions great inconvenience and embarrassment to the Trustees, & Managers of the Institution in U. Canada, who are waiting to learn the possibility of and what arrangements will be necessary for opening it at the time advertised—the first of next June. I had hoped to have avoided the mortification of stating the particulars of our embarrassments, but I am persuaded that your Lordship only requires to know the circumstances of the case, in connexion with the grounds of our application, which I have heretofore stated, to do every thing consistent with your lordship’s sense of duty & philanthropy in order to promote so useful and important an object in this emergency.

If any further inquiries be deemed necessary, I shall be happy to answer them. I beg to solicit an answer at your lordship's earliest convenience.

I have the honor to be
My Lord

With great respect,

Your Lordship's obedient
humble servant

EGERTON RYERSON

March 3, 1836, EGERTON RYERSON, 20 Guilford St., Russell Square, to
THE RT. HONBLE SIR GEORGE GREY, *Colonial Department.*

SIR,

I have the honor to acknowledge your letter of the 29th ultimo conveying the decision of the Right Hon. Lord Glenelg respecting the application for a Grant and endowment in aid of the literary Institution which I have had the honor to bring under his Lordship's consideration.

I beg to express to his lordship, and yourself, my sincere thanks for the grave and anxious consideration which has been bestowed upon this subject. I now crave the indulgence of a few explanatory observations, and beg to draw his lordship's attention to that part of the memorial of the Methodist Conference which has not yet been disposed of. It required no assurance to satisfy me, and those by whom I had been deputed to this country, that whatever might be his Lordship's decision in this case, it would not arise from any indifference on the part of His Majesty's Government to the interests of education, either at home or in the Colonies; and whilst I find myself, as well as the Trustees of this Institution, placed in a situation too painful to think of, far be it from me to complain of this decision, or attempt to persuade His Majesty's Government to depart—in a particular case however pressing—from great principles and plans of Colonial Government which its experience and matured deliberations have deemed expedient to adopt. I beg, however, to remark, that the determination of His Majesty's Government in respect to the Casual and Territorial Revenues of Upper Canada was not known when I left that Province; nor was I aware of the change in the Land granting department, mentioned in your letter, at least so far

as to prevent the endowment by the Crown of any public Institution deserving its patronage and encouragement.

When the buildings of this Institution were sufficiently advanced to justify, in the opinion of its promoters, an application for a Charter, etc., it became a question of deliberation as to whom and how application should be made. Sir John Colborne was consulted on the subject, I think, in February or March, 1835. The conclusion was, that as the Casual and Territorial revenues were at the disposal of His Majesty's Government—as King's College University had been chartered by the King—as special encouragement had been held out to laudable efforts to promote education in Upper Canada by a most gracious despatch from His Majesty—and as the consideration of the question would not be affected here by the collisions of local party feeling, it was most advisable to address His Majesty on the subject. Accordingly the conference of the Wesleyan Methodist Church, at its annual meeting in the following June, adopted a Memorial to the King, praying for a charter, grant and endowment. Obtaining no intelligence of the reception of this Memorial, and the Trustees being likely to become embarrassed, I was requested, and consented at great personal inconvenience, to proceed to this country with a [view] of drawing the attention of His Majesty's Secretary of State for the Colonies to this application, and to endeavour, by the aid of a government appropriation and individual liberality to remove the impediments to the immediate and efficient operations of the Institution. Such are the circumstances under which we have been induced to lay this matter at the foot of the Throne.

Permit me also to observe, that it is far from my belief, much more from my intention to intimate, that a recommendation from His Majesty's Government to the Provincial Legislature on this, or any subject, would be nugatory. On the contrary, I believe such a recommendation would have great weight and exert a very salutary influence in several respects. But what I desired and intended to impress upon his Lordship's mind, was, that a reference of the application to the provincial legislature—even if successful—would not relieve the Trustees from their *present* embarrassments, as such an application cannot possibly be made before the next session of the provincial parliament; 2. That I doubted our obtaining assistance from the local legislature while

the Clergy Reserve question remained unsettled. My apprehension arose not merely from the reasons I stated, but from the fact that appropriations out of the Clergy Reserves had been resolved by the House of Assembly for *School* purposes, and had failed in the legislative Council. Nor did I wish to be understood to intimate that this course of proceeding originated from the ephemeral passions of the moment, but from an opinion long entertained by a large majority of the House of Assembly, and, I may add of the people of Upper Canada, that scarcely [an] interest^[27] is of too pressing a nature not to be made subservient to the recognition of the long asserted wishes of the people in favor of the appropriation of the Clergy reserves and the proceeds of the sale of them to the purposes of education. And my remarks on this point were intended to refer principally to the sum required to relieve the Trustees and bring the Institution into immediate operation, and not to aid which might be extended to it in future years.

I should consider it a dereliction of duty to those on whose behalf I act, were I not to state frankly the disappointment which must be felt at the decision come to by His Majesty's Government respecting landed endowments for literary institutions—a decision which entirely extinguishes the hope of ever obtaining any permanent aid of this kind; and especially as this decision affects, excusively in Upper Canada, the Institution established by the Methodist Conference, inasmuch as King's College University has been already endowed with 325,000 [acres] of land, and £1000 sterling per annum for sixteen years, although the buildings are not yet erected, and Upper Canada College has been endowed with 66,000 acres of land, and an annual grant of upwards of £2,000, though the number of students taught in it has only averaged from 100 to 130. Though the experience of *other* Colonies may lead to an unfavorable conclusion in respect to such endowments, yet I think, it will be found, on examination of the several reports of sales and leases of land in *Upper Canada*, that the lands placed at the disposal of the College Corporation have been managed as advantageously, in proportion to the quantity possessed, as the lands managed by the Crown Commissioners, or by the Agents of the Canada Company. Another circumstance which must add to the poignancy of the disappointed expectations of the numerous friends of this Institution, is that the Ministers of the Wesleyan Methodist Conference in Canada have never asked

nor received, nor do they ask, from His Majesty's Government one farthing for their individual support, though they have not, to say the least, been behind the very Chief of their brethren in privations, labours and usefulness in that Colony. And whatever changes may have taken place in Upper Canada during the last four years in other respects, I can assure His Lordship that no change has taken place in the views expressed by the House of Assembly respecting the Casual and Territorial revenues for these last ten years.

I repeat that I have not made these remarks with any view or expectation of inducing His Lordship to adopt a different conclusion in respect to either a grant or an endowment for this Institution, but to correct misconceptions of my statements in several particulars and to explain several circumstances referred to in your letter, that no unfavorable impressions might be made from want of perspicuity, or explicitness or fulness in any former observations. I trust his Lordship will quite approve of the liberty I have taken, and believe that I have said nothing which has not been dictated by conviction and a sense of duty.

I have now but two resources left. The one is to try and collect, by application to individuals, the sum necessary to relieve the Trustees. The other is, to try and loan, on security on the premises on which the buildings of the Institution have been erected, a sufficient sum of money to enable the Trustees to open the Institution at the time appointed. In proceeding to accomplish both these objects, his Lordship will at once perceive the importance of my being made acquainted with the decision of His Majesty's Government respecting that part of the application which relates to the Charter. For I can of course, solicit individual liberality, and negotiate a loan with much greater probability of success if I can say the Institution is chartered by royal authority than otherwise. As his lordship expressed no objection whatever to the granting of a Charter, but, if I recollect rightly, spoke rather favorably of it, I have assumed that in this respect the application of the Methodist Conference will be approved of; but I have no authority to state anything on this point until I shall have been officially informed of his lordship's decision. The application I have had the honor to advocate is now reduced to two points: 1. A charter; 2. The recommendation of His Majesty's Govt. to the Provincial Legislature, that at a future Session it may make an appropriation

in furtherance of the important objects of this Institution. I beg the favor to be informed of the result of his Lordship's deliberations on these two points, as soon as may be convenient. I earnestly hope and pray that they may be favorably entertained.

I have the honor to be

Sir

Your very obedient humble Servant

EGERTON RYERSON

March 18, 1836, JAS. STEPHEN, *Downing Street*, to REVD. EGERTON RYERSON

SIR,

I am directed by Lord Glenelg to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 3rd instant, soliciting his Lordship's decision in respect to the issue of a Charter to the Upper Canada Academy established by the Wesleyan Methodist Society in that Province.— In reply I am to inform you that his Lordship has referred to the Law Officers of the Crown the question whether any legal objection exists to the issue of such a Charter, and until his Lordship shall receive an answer to that reference, it will not be possible for him to adopt any decision on the subject.

In regard to the second point alluded to in your letter Lord Glenelg directs me to state, that he will not fail to direct the Lt. Governor of Upper Canada to recommend to the favourable attention of the Legislature of that Province the claims of the Upper Canada Academy to their protection and support.

I have the honor to be

Sir

Your most obedt. Servant

JAS. STEPHEN

March [20th] 1836,^[28] EGERTON RYERSON to RIGHT HON. EDWARD ELLICE

(Draft)

SIR,

Though it is now nearly midnight, and I have but just returned from the services of a public meeting in which I have had to take a

part, I cannot retire to rest without giving some feeble expression to the grateful emotions of my heart for your unsolicited, and therefore the more valued, kindness. I had understood that the Canadas were so entirely out of your department that it would be of no use to see you on the subject of my mission to this country, but I feel that for any success which may attend the application I have had the honor to lay before His Majesty's Government, I shall be indebted to your kind interposition more than to that of any other individual. I had indeed relinquished all intention of repeating or pressing my application for pecuniary aid to the Institution on behalf of which the Wesleyan Conference in Canada had applied, because I thought, from the answer of Lord Glenelg through Sir George Grey, that granting the aid asked for would infringe upon a course of policy which His Majesty's Government had, upon mature deliberation, deemed necessary to adopt in administering the government of Upper Canada. And I thought we had better suffer, than desire the government in the least degree to embarrass itself. This is the *first favour* we have *ever* asked of the Government. It has always been my aim to throw as few difficulties in the way of administering the government as possible. For several years past I have avoided agitating questions in the province which I thought the Government ought to settle, and the settlement of which I endeavoured to promote by private letters to gentlemen connected with the Executive and by strong representations to Sir John Colborne in personal interviews.^[29] I do not ask for a farthing for myself or the Wesleyan Methodist ministers in Canada, notwithstanding the strong and well-supported claims we have to a portion of the Clergy Reserves. But if aid can be afforded to this Institution without interfering with the general plans of the government, I feel satisfied that to no other object can a portion of the proceeds of the sales of Crown lands be more advantageously and usefully applied.

I really think that our application is moderate indeed, considering the grants which have been made even for the personal support of ministers of the Churches of England and Scotland—besides other advantages—and considering that even from confession of those not very friendly to us, the Methodists are by far the most numerous, and have, from the earliest period of the province, been the most active and useful denomination of Christians.

I know not that I can urge any additional arguments upon the attention of Lord Glenelg. If you will employ it, I place ten times the reliance upon your personal mediation and influence with his lordship than anything I can say in the most laboured communications.

I know that references of a personal nature are in general unbecoming and disgusting. But it may further satisfy you that your good-will and kind assistance will not be misplaced, or do other than extend British influence, when I state that my father was an officer in the British Army during the American Revolution and is still on half-pay; that he has held office under the government for more than half a century, and has been successively for many years high sheriff, chairman of the Quarter Sessions, and Col. of the 1st regiment of Militia, in the London District; that on account of his great zeal in defence of the country the United States government offered a large reward for his apprehension during the last war; that all his sons held offices under the government up to the time of our entering into the Christian Ministry, in which three brothers besides myself are now employed among the Wesleyan Methodists in Upper Canada. But at the same time I should in candour say, that, as far as proper to our profession, we have been as anxious to promote a liberal constitutional government in time of peace, as we have been zealous to defend it in time of war.

I have been betrayed into this egotistic statement by the remark made by Lord Glenelg today in reference to extending British influence in Upper Canada.

I beg pardon for this hasty scrawl and for so long an intrusion upon your valuable time.

I am, Sir,

With sentiments of grateful esteem,

Your very obliged servant

EGERTON RYERSON

March 21, 1836, EGERTON RYERSON, 20 Guilford St., Russell Square, to
JAS. STEPHEN, ESQ.

SIR,

I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 18th instant, conveying Lord Glenelg's answer to my letter of the 3rd instant. I cannot deny myself the satisfaction, on my own account, and on behalf of those by whom I have been sent to this country, to express my grateful acknowledgments to his Lordship for this liberal and valuable expression of approval and recommendation on the part of His Majesty's Government of an Institution and efforts to promote it which I am satisfied will not be found, to say the least, inferior to any yet contemplated in promoting the educational and moral interests of Upper Canada and of the aboriginal tribes^[30] of that province. I trust a more fitting opportunity will hereafter present itself for me to express something of what I feel on this subject. I have been assured by the Law Officers of the Crown that no delay should attend the consideration of the Charter by them. I hope therefore soon to be favoured with his Lordship's decision on this point also; so that I may be enabled to proceed to negotiate, if possible, a loan in order to aid in relieving the Trustees from embarrassments which are every day pressing more heavily upon them.

I have the honor to be

Sir

Your most obedient humble Servant

EGERTON RYERSON

March 29, 1836, EGERTON RYERSON, 20 Guilford St., Russell Square, to
LORD GLENELG.

(Draft)

MY LORD,

I beg your Lordship will not judge me of impatience on account of my troubling you again at so early an hour. When I was last honored with an interview by your Lordship, I expressed my earnest desire to obtain at as early moment as possible the commendatory note which your Lordship was kindly pleased to signify a willingness to favour me with, as I deemed it unadvisable to make any further applications to individuals until I should be able to avail myself of the advantage of so important and I believe in most cases so essential a recommendation to the success of my applications. Again, as the Trustees of the Institution (respecting which I have already given your Lordship so much trouble) must,

at the latest, make provision to meet the demands of the banks against them before the 15th of May, I was most anxious to obtain your Lordship's decision on the other parts of my application in time to advise them of it by the Liverpool and New York packet of the 1st of April that they may know precisely what to depend upon. I take it for granted that your Lordship has been apprised of the withdrawal of my previous acquiescence according to your Lordship's kind suggestion.

The object of this note is to beg of your Lordship to be informed on these points, if possible, this evening, or tomorrow morning, as tomorrow evening's mail is the last by which I can write to Canada by the Liverpool packet of the 1st instant.

I take the liberty to enclose you a printed paper, containing the views and feelings of other gentlemen in Canada besides Sir John Colborne.

I likewise avail myself of this opportunity to direct your Lordship's attention to some parts of the accompanying numbers of the U. C. "*Christian Guardian*" newspaper, published under the auspices of the *Conference of the Wesleyan Methodist Church in Canada*. In the *Guardian* of the 10th of February your Lordship will find the Editor's observations on your Lordship's instructions to the Lt. Governor of that Province, and in the number for the 24th of February your Lordship will find the Editor's congratulatory remarks on the recent elevation of the Hon. Messrs. Dunn, Baldwin and Rolph to the office of Executive Councillors, the latter of whom your Lordship will recollect I earnestly recommended to that office in the first interview with which I was honoured by your Lordship after my arrival in this country. The brief articles referred to will at once show your Lordship the *political feelings and position of the most numerous religious denomination in Upper Canada*.

I also enclose a supplement to the same paper, in which I have marked passages in some of the speeches, that will clearly establish the correctness of my remarks to your Lordship on the "*Grievance Committee Report*". For a full explanation of that part of the *Report* which referred to the Methodist Conference, I would refer your Lordship to the speeches of Messrs. Perry & Roblin, especially the latter, as it is both brief and explicit. Mr. Perry's

strong feelings against me personally will be quite intelligible to your Lordship when I state that previously to my resigning the Editorship of the *Guardian*, I severely animadverted upon his conduct in *moving* for the printing of a document which contained so many palpable and gross misrepresentations of a denomination which embraced the great body of his constituency.

I have the honor to be,

My Lord,

Your Lordship's most obedient
obliged servant

EGERTON RYERSON

April 13, 1836, JAS. STEPHEN, Downing Street, to REV. E. RYERSON.

SIR,

With reference to Sir G. Grey's letter of the 18th ultimo, I am directed by Lord Glenelg to inform you that his Lordship has received from the Law Officers of the Crown their opinion in point of Law on the Draft of a Charter for incorporating the Upper Canada Academy transmitted in your letter of the 12th of February last.

The Law Officers observe that, altho' they see no objection to the granting a Charter for incorporating an Academy in Upper Canada for the education of youth in Christian principles, they consider that there is considerable objection to granting such a Charter in the form suggested by you.—According to the Draft which you have submitted, the Academy would be entirely under the control and management of the Wesleyan Conference, a body which is not recognized as having any separate existence, and which may possibly cease to exist. The proposed Charter does not name the persons who are to be incorporated, but leaves to the Wesleyan Conference the power of naming from time to time the individuals of whom the Corporate body is to consist. It is observed that this might lead to much inconvenience, both from the difficulty of knowing with certainty who are the persons from time to time constituting the Wesleyan conference, & from the possibility that that body might omit to make the appointments necessary for keeping up the Corporation.

The Law Officers are, therefore, of opinion that if His Majesty should be pleased to grant a Charter of Incorporation to the proposed Academy, it must be done by incorporating certain individuals to be named in the Charter, and by providing for the keeping up of the Institution by means of some known & recognized body or functionary to whom the Power may be given of supplying vacancies as may be thought fit.

I have the honor to be

Sir

Your most obed. Servant

JAS. STEPHEN

As Ryerson points out in his report to the Conference, this opinion, if acted upon, would have changed the entire character and management of the Academy. The Law Officers who gave the opinion were Sir John Campbell, then Attorney General, and later Chief Justice of England and Lord High Chancellor, and Sir R. M. Rolfe, then Solicitor General, and later Baron of the Exchequer and Lord Chancellor. The long letter which embodies Ryerson's argument against the most highly placed lawyers of Great Britain is now presented. In some ways it is the most remarkable of Ryerson's letters. The circumstances of its writing have been noted in the introduction to the chapter. Lest it excite incredulity that a layman unfortified by some of the books and documents bearing on the case should enter the lists against such legal talent and prevail, the argument is reproduced in full. It merely proves that necessity knows neither law nor lawyers.

April 15, 1836, EGERTON RYERSON, 20 Guilford St., Russell Square, to JAMES STEPHEN, Esquire, Under Secretary of State for the Colonial Department.

SIR,

I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 13th instant, conveying the opinion of the Crown Officers on the Draft of Charter for incorporating the Upper Canada Academy.

In reply I beg to submit the following observations for Lord Glenelg's consideration.

The principal objections made by the Crown Officers appear to me to be two: 1. That the persons proposed to be incorporated are not named; 2. That the Institution will be placed under the control of an unknown body.

The first of these objections can be easily removed. In the first draft of Charter, a blank was left for the names of the persons whom the Conference had chosen as Trustees. But on examining the Royal Charter for the incorporation of King's College, Toronto, Upper Canada, in 1828, I perceived that the names of the first College Council were not inserted, only a provision made for their appointment from a certain description of persons therein described. I therefore thought the insertion of the names of the primary Trustees of this Institution unnecessary. I will, however, furnish their names for insertion in the charter applied for, should the other and chief objection be removed or waived.

In respect to the objection made by the Crown Officers relative to the control of the Institution by the Wesleyan Conference in Canada, I must say, at the outset that: whatever modifications may be introduced into the phraseology of the proposed charter, it is not in my power nor in the power of the Wesleyan Conference itself, *now* to place the Institution under any other control. All the donations and subscriptions for the establishment of the Institution in Canada were given or promised on the conditions stated at the beginning of each subscription book; one of which conditions is, that the Institution shall be under the control of Trustees appointed from time to time by the Conference. I herewith annex a copy of the *heading* of each subscription list by which His Lordship will perceive that the transfer of the control of the Institution, as suggested by the Crown Officers, cannot be made without forfeiting the uncollected portion of the subscriptions in Canada, and breaking faith with those who have nobly contributed to its establishment. This is an alternative which I am sure His Lordship would neither desire nor countenance. Nor could the Crown Officers have been at all aware of it when they made the suggestion.

I am likewise quite sure that his Lordship will concur in the opinion that there would be no sufficient guarantee for the Christian character of the Institution, were it placed under the absolute control of private individuals, irrespective of other considerations than the general provisions of the proposed charter. I doubt not but I shall also have his Lordship's concurrence in the observation, that the Wesleyan Conference in Canada, as the pastoral head of a large Christian community, could not consistently identify itself with, or employ its concentrated

influence and exertions in support of an Institution for Education, to be placed under the control of irresponsible persons, and independent on [of] its oversight. It will, I am satisfied, appear obvious to His Lordship, that an Institution, the *primary* object of which, as heretofore fully stated, is the education of youth, poor young men of religious character and promising talent, and native Indian youth, connected with Methodist congregations, ought to be placed substantially under the superintendence of the pastoral head of the Church, on whose exertions it is dependent for its existence and operations. Even in the case of “King’s College” Toronto, U.C. designed for a *Provincial* University, the Royal Charter requires that the Lord Bishop of Quebec shall be visitor, and the Archdeacon of York, ex-officio President, and that certain religious qualifications shall be required of all persons who may hold any office in the establishment. But in the Institution on behalf of which application is now made, no sectarian restriction is imposed in the selection of Professor Teachers, or in the attendance of students. I beg also that it may be borne in mind, that this Institution is not for the education of young men for the Methodist Ministry, but is purely literary in its character and objects; nor are the sons of Methodist Ministers to enjoy the slightest advantage in the Institution over any other youth of the Province.

I now address myself to the different points of the leading objection made by the Crown Officers. The first is, that the Wesleyan Conference in Canada as a Body, is not recognized as having any separate existence. If this were so, I humbly submit that I know not why it should be considered an insuperable or serious objection to the Charter, religiously situated as Upper Canada is, and when the Conference of the Methodist Church in Upper Canada, as a body, is better known—if possible—than any functionary or other body in that Province and I think worthy of as much respect and confidence.

I readily admit that the term *conference* does not occur in any British or Provincial Statute; nor am I aware that the term *convocation* occurs in any Statute in reference to the Clergy of the Church of England in Canada, yet they and their convocational Acts are known and recognized. The same is true in respect to the Ministers of the Methodist Church in U. Canada. By a Statute of that Province, passed in the ninth year of George the Fourth,

entitled “An Act for Relief of the Religious Societies therein named”, provision is made for the holding of Church and Parsonage Property by Trustees of the Methodist Church, and their successors appointed in such manner as may be specified in the deed, which deed, in every case, confers to such Trustees and their Successors, a trust of Church, Chapel or Parsonage (as the case may be) according to the *Rules and Discipline* which now are or hereafter may be, adopted by the *Conference* of said Church, for the occupation of any Wesleyan Methodist Minister or Preacher, or Ministers or Preachers, he or they being a Member or Members of the said Wesleyan Methodist Church, and duly authorised as such by the said Conference etc. In all cases, it is provided, in the appointment of Trustees and the filling up of vacancies, that the nomination is with the superintending Minister, appointed by the Conference; and the legal proof of such appointment of Trustees is an entry of their names into a Book of Record kept for that purpose, subscribed by the Minister and other persons present at the time of such appointment.

Another, as it appears to me, more direct and ample proof of this point, is furnished in the Statute of Upper Canada, passed in the second year of his present Majesty, commonly called “The Marriage Act” by the provisions of which “any *clergyman* or *Minister*, professing to be a Member of the *Church of Scotland, Methodists*” etc. who “shall have been *regularly ordained* according to the *rites* and *form* of the *Church* of which he professes to be a Clergyman or Minister” is authorised to solemnize the ceremony of marriage, after having produced proof to the Quarter Sessions of the District in which he resides of his *regular ordination* according to such *rites* and *form*. Here as it appears to me, is a recognition not merely of the ritual of the Church of Scotland in Canada, but equally of that of the Methodist Church; for the *rites* of the Church cannot be judged of except by a reference to its *ritual*, which ritual of the Methodist Church in Canada not only prescribes the form of the ordination of Ministers, but also how they shall be elected to holy orders by the Conference, who shall compose the conference, what are its powers, and what is the official record and due proof of its acts. Now as in the Statute 31st George the Third Cap. 31st where reference is made to Clergymen of the Church of England who shall have been regularly ordained according to the rites and

ceremonies of the said Church, there is a recognition not only of the Clergy of the Church of England in Canada, but also of the *ritual* or *Prayer Book* of that Church; so, I conceive, that in the Marriage Act referred to, there is an equally direct and explicit recognition both of the Ministers and the *ritual* or *Discipline* of the Methodist Church in Canada.

I beg also to refer to an important circumstance connected with that "Marriage Act", which, I think, will free it from any objections which may be thought to exist against it on this point, as a mere act of the local legislature. That Act, after it had passed the two branches of the U. C. Legislature was considered to be one of those acts which were required by the Stat. 31st Geo. the Third cap. 31st to be reserved for the consideration of His Majesty and be laid on the tables of the two Houses of the Imperial Parliament. When it was laid on the table of the House of Commons, in 1829, Sir George Murray, who was then Secretary of State for the Colonies, said there were certain objections to it, but after the lapse of nearly two years, when the Earl Grey Ministry came into power, the Royal Sanction to that Act was communicated to the Lt. Governor of Upper Canada by the Earl of Ripon. It is therefore, the Act of His Majesty, and tacitly of the Imperial Parliament, as well as of the provincial legislature. Were it necessary to say anything more on this point, I might add the fact that in the Statute 31st George the Third C. 31 commonly called the Constitutional Act of Upper Canada, "Ministers" of other "forms of faith and worship" are recognized and are excluded from sitting in the House of Assembly as well as Clergymen ordained according to the rites of the Church of England and of the Church of Rome.

I hope the foregoing observations may remove from His Lordship's mind the objection against a charter being granted for an Institution, under the control of the Methodist Conference in Canada, on the ground of that body not being known or recognized. I must at the same time crave on this point His Lordship's kindest consideration and indulgence, as it is a question of Law, and therefore quite aside from my professional pursuits, as I have access to no person versed in Anglo-Colonial law questions of this kind, and as I have not even the Statutes of Upper Canada by me, and therefore write principally from recollection, I humbly hope and pray that a mere legal technicality, and my own

deficiency, may not be considered sufficient to defeat an object so important and confessedly laudable, and render worse than nugatory all the expense and efforts which have been employed to promote it. For I can assure His Lordship that I would not have been sent or appeared here as an applicant on this subject, had not despatches from His Majesty held out encouragement to proved and acknowledged laudable efforts to promote education in Upper Canada, and had not this mode of application been suggested by a former noble Secretary of State for the Colonial Department, and had it not been recommended in preference to any other mode of application by His Majesty's Representative in Upper Canada. And however unofficial the remark may be—which I trust His Lordship's kindness will pardon—I cannot refrain from observing, that the anxiety and feelings of my own mind cannot be easily described or conceived on account of the unanticipated and unavoidable delays which have attended the consideration of this whole affair, and the reflection that the accumulated pecuniary liabilities must now come upon the noble minded individuals who had generously assumed the responsibility of a large debt, before I can communicate to them either relief or encouraging intelligence.

In respect to the objection that the Wesleyan Methodist Conference in Canada may cease to exist, I must frankly express my belief, that there is a much stronger possibility of the parties ceasing to exist to whom has been consigned by Royal Charter the control and the filling up of vacancies in the Council of the contemplated "King's College University", in Toronto, U. Canada.

In order, however, to obviate every difficulty, as far as possible, I beg to propose the following modifications in the form of the Charter prayed for.

1. That the names of the persons to be incorporated shall be inserted in the Charter.

2. That the following words in the second paragraph of the proposed charter, namely "The Conference or ecclesiastical Assembly of the Wesleyan Methodist Church at its annual meetings" shall be amended thus: "the Ministers of the said Wesleyan Methodist Church at their regular meetings, held annually according to the rites and ceremonies of said Church". For surely referring to the regular ordination of Ministers according to the rites and ceremonies of said Church, is a

recognition fully equal to referring to regular meetings of Ministers, held annually according to the rites and ceremonies of said Church. And the former recognition has already been made by a joint Act of the Imperial Parliament and Provincial Legislature.

3. That wherever the term *Conference* occurs, it shall be erased and superseded by the word *Ministers*.

4. That in the event, the Ministers of the Wesleyan Methodist Church in Canada should not meet annually according to the rites and ceremonies of said Church; or should fail to make the necessary appointments for keeping up the Corporation according to the Provisions of the Charter; or should cease to exist, then, in such case, the Institution shall henceforth become the property of the Crown, or be placed at the disposal of the Provincial Legislature.

By these modifications the objections of the Crown Officers will, I think, be substantially obviated; there will be no further recognition of the Methodist Ministers in U. Canada as a body, than has been already made both by His Majesty's Government and the local Legislature; the objects of the desired Charter will be also accomplished, which are—not the conferring of literary degrees, but the obvious and necessary purposes of convenience and security, in holding and managing property in a corporate capacity, and in perpetual succession, according to the Prospectus or Constitution of the Institution which was issued when the first subscriptions were solicited and given, or promised, and which is herewith annexed.

I therefore again submit most respectfully and earnestly, the whole question to his Lordship's early and most favourable consideration.

I have the honor to be,

Sir

Your most obedient humble Servant

EGERTON RYERSON

April 22, 1836, SIR GEORGE GREY, *Downing Street*, to REV. E. RYERSON

SIR,

I am directed by Lord Glenelg to inform you that he has had under his consideration your letter of the 22nd ulto. on the subject of the application of the Wesleyan Methodist Conference for pecuniary assistance towards the Academy about to be opened at Cobourg in Upper Canada. His Lordship directs me to express his regret that he does not feel at liberty to depart from the decision on this subject which has been already conveyed to you in my letter of the 29th February last.

With reference to the representations which have been received from the Wesleyan Society respecting the withdrawal of the allowance made to them in 1832 from the Casual and Territorial Revenue of Upper Canada, I am to inform you that Lord Glenelg has been in communication with the Earl of Ripon. ^[31] I am now directed to enclose for your information a Copy of the answer which has been received from Lord Ripon on the subject, together with the copy of a Despatch which Lord Glenelg has addressed to the Lieutenant Governor of Upper Canada,

I am

Sir

Your most obedient

humble Servant

GEO. GREY

May 31, 1836, W. LORD, Toronto, to REV. E. RYERSON, 77 Hatton Garden, London, England.

MY DEAR BROTHER,

I am thankful to inform you that I returned to this City a few days ago in good health after a long & in several respects a perilous journey. . . .

And now for money. We are in greater difficulties than ever. We are all distressed. Drafts are becoming due & the banks have ceased to discount in consequence of the stagnation of trade through "*stopping the supplies*". The stagnation is complete, the consternation is indescribable. We have agreed upon the following mode of relief. Mr. Armstrong will draw upon you for about £500 in July, *unless* he hears from you, in the meantime, that he can draw through the medium of the Commercial Bank. Mr. A. wishes me to say that you must give authority to some person to accept

the Bill in case of your absence. It will be drawn upon you at 77 Hatton Garden. Do not forget this. In my former letters I have informed you that I have not drawn upon you, nor shall I. It has given me great surprise & sorrow to ascertain that upwards of £5000 are wanted to relieve us from our difficulties.^[32] What an unfathomable depth this building has been. *You must stay in England until the money is got.* In Canada it cannot be obtained; and upon the maturest consideration I am fully satisfied that the Institution will not bear any debt. I will help you all I can. In your last (March 22nd, and if you have addressed me at Cincinnati, I fear I shall not receive it), you say that Mr. Richey must go to Cobourg,^[33] but no official communication has been sent to either of us, though we might have heard from the Committee months ago—no preacher has arrived to take his place. The Institution is going to be opened & there is not a Principal, for Mr. Richey will not, nor ought he to, leave Montreal without *official* direction. This will have a most withering effect. I cannot account for our communications on such important subjects remaining unnoticed. I am going to Hallowell Camp Meeting, then to Conference. Hope to be in England latter end of July. Have not decided what way I take, N. York or the River. A word on politics. The House was dissolved on Monday last. There will be a deadly fight. There is however a great re-action, & it is hoped that many conservative members will be returned in the places of revolutionists. Sir Francis is continually receiving loyal addresses. His replies are very good. He is just the man for the times. He has ready talent and tact, prudence, firmness & temper, & a fine manly British heart. The Radicals knash their teeth, but they cannot bite. Sir Francis has made some developments of their pecuniary corruption which are astounding. The high party are looking to the Methodists to save the country. Your letter has been circulated extensively & it is enlightening & encouraging many.^[34] Sir John Colbourne's promotion has diffused among *all* good subjects unbounded joy. In Lower Canada the English party are bent upon a change & Government must hear their cry, or will soon be too late. The[y] need not hesitate respecting the adoption of the strongest measures. The French will not disturb them. The feudal system must be broken up & the French language must cease.^[35] My love to Mrs. Ryerson & all friends. Will you send the other

half sheet to the President. Mr. & Mrs. Armstrong, bros., sister & many friends send their love. They are all well.

I remain,

Affecty. yours,

W. LORD

June 16, 1836, GEO. GREY, *Downing Street*, to REVD. E. RYERSON

SIR,

I am directed by Lord Glenelg to acknowledge the receipt of your Letters of the 4th & 8th Inst., on the subject of the Draft of a Charter which has been prepared with the concurrence of the Law Officers of the Crown for incorporating the Upper Canada Academy, established by the Wesleyan Society near Cobourg in Upper Canada. In reply I am to convey to you the following answer.

Lord Glenelg has no hesitation in complying with your desire to substitute the term "Wesleyan Methodist Church" for that of "Wesleyan Methodist Connexion", as the designation of the Body under whose control the Academy is to be placed. In regard to the amount of property which the Trustees should be empowered to hold, his Lordship considers that its annual value should be limited to £2,000. If you are authorized to concur in this limitation his Lordship will be prepared to recommend to His Majesty to grant to the Trustees of the Upper Canada Academy a Charter of Incorporation in the form prepared by the Law Officers with the modifications now suggested.

Lord Glenelg has not failed to devote his attentive consideration to the arguments adduced by you in support of the claims of this Establishment to pecuniary assistance from the Revenue in the Province at the disposal of the Crown. His Lordship is confident that you will not attribute to him an indifference to the interests of Religion, or suppose him to be unmindful of the meritorious exertions in this behalf of the Wesleyan Body, when he states that it is not in his power at the present moment to depart from the decision which he has lately communicated to you on this matter. Although the present Session of the Upper Canada Legislature has closed without any arrangement in regard to the Casual and Territorial Revenue, his

Lordship does not consider that the question is thus finally settled. Until the House of Assembly shall have had an opportunity of deliberately considering the proposal on this subject of His Majesty's Govt., Lord Glenelg would not feel justified in applying any portion of the Casual and Territorial Revenue of the Province towards an object which, however important & commendable, that Revenue has not hitherto been pledged to assist. His Lordship desires me to express the regret with which he has felt himself compelled to refuse assistance towards an Establishment in whose success he cannot but feel a lively interest. He trusts that the application for assistance which you are authorized to make to Charitable Bodies and to Individuals in this Country, will not be without effect, and he feels assured that when the Public mind in Upper Canada shall have recovered from that agitation which now unhappily disturbs it, the exertions of the Wesleyan Body and the claims of the Upper Canada Academy will be cheerfully acknowledged by the House of Assembly, to whose favorable notice he will direct the Lt. Governor to recommend them.

I have the honor to be,
Sir,
Your most obedt. Servant,
GEO. GREY.

July 12, 1836, JAS. STEPHEN, Downing Street, to REV. E. RYERSON

SIR,

With reference to Sir G. Grey's letter of the 16th Ulto., I am directed by Lord Glenelg to inform you that the Draft of an additional instruction to the Governor of Canada, directing him to pass under the Public Seal of the Province of Upper Canada, a Charter for the incorporation of the Upper Canada Academy, having on the 6th Inst. been submitted to His Majesty in Council, His Majesty was graciously pleased to approve of that Draft; and to command that the necessary instrument for giving effect to it, should be forthwith prepared and submitted for His signature.

In communicating to you this intelligence, Lord Glenelg desires me to express the gratification which he has felt in bringing under His Majesty's notice the claims of an Institution so commendable as the Upper Canada Academy. He would indeed, have desired to afford to it some pecuniary assistance from the

Crown Revenues of the Province, but circumstances connected with the present political aspect of the Canadas have rendered such a measure impossible. His Lordship trusts however that your applications to Charitable Societies and to Individuals in this Country may not be without success, and he will have much pleasure in directing the Lieutenant Governor of Upper Canada, hereafter to bring the claims of the Upper Canada Academy under the notice of the Provincial Legislature.

I have the honor to be

Sir

Your most obedient humble Servant

JAS. STEPHEN

One by one apparently insurmountable difficulties in connection with the Charter had been overcome by skill and importunity. The letter of July 12th, announced the scaling of the last rampart. Of course, there still remained the matter of finances. Here, there were four parties to be satisfied—the Colonial Office, the Legislative Assembly, the Legislative Council, and finally and unfortunately the new Governor.

While these negotiations were in process at Downing Street, the little village of Cobourg was preparing for the opening of the Academy, the cause of all the trouble. On June 18th the doors were opened to students. The weather was propitious. The sun shone with unusual splendour. Evans could scarcely forbear considering it “a delightful omen of the light and effulgence of that day of sanctified science, which is yet to bless this infant country”^[36]. After a service in the Methodist Chapel, where Stinson preached on the text, “That the soul be without knowledge, it is not good”, a procession was formed and made its way up to the Academy. Mr. Edward Crane, the architect of what was perhaps the finest building in Upper Canada, led the procession, then the Building Committee, then the steward; then the ministers present; then the Principal, flanked by Case and Whitehead; then the students, the choir and the spectators. The architect handed the keys to Anson Green, the chairman of the district (it was in the interregnum of presidents of Conference), who gave an address on the history of the enterprise. He then formally invested the Principal, the Rev. Matthew Richey, with the charge of the institution. Richey was at his best in an oration, and of his address on this occasion Evans ventures to say “for correctness of sentiment, chasteness of style, elegance of diction, and gracefulness of delivery, [it] has . . . never been excelled, perhaps not equalled, in the Province”. Mark Burnham’s choir from Port Hope added to

the interest of the service by appropriate pieces of vocal and instrumental music.

- [1] Several of these, having been preserved by Hodgins in his *Documentary History of Education*, are not here reproduced.
- [2] *S.M.L.*, p. 159.
- [3] His grandson, Grey of Falloden, inherited many of his qualities.
- [4] Robert Baldwin experienced such difficulty in securing an interview with Glenelg a few months later that he contented himself with presenting his valuable suggestions on responsible government by letter.
- [5] *S.M.L.*, p. 160.
- [6] The Committee of the House of Assembly, on the grant to U. C. Academy could report on February 21, 1838, that “the exertions of the Methodist Church in the accomplishment, so far, of this object are unparalleled”.
- [7] The papers in error had reported a quick voyage of 18 days.
- [8] The General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church in the United States was to meet at Cincinnati in May. Ryerson had been appointed co-delegate with Lord.
- [9] The delicate question between the Canada and American Conferences had to do with the share of the profits of the Book Concern (see p. [80](#)), which the former claimed but which the latter declared had been forfeited by union with the British Conference.
- [10] *i.e. in preaching*. In general Ryerson would appear to have quite enjoyed his visit in 1833.

[11] Towards the end of January, Anson Green and his wife had journeyed to Montreal by cutter. Three days they travelled through such snow as they had never seen. For some distance they rode “on the top of a fence where the stakes now and again exhibited their ends on either side”. Green preached in Great St. James Street Chapel, and rather disturbed the President by his method. “Mr. Lord,” he tells us, “was opposed to inviting people forward for prayers. He had not been accustomed to such proceedings; but when I left the pulpit, and took my stand down among the people, several persons came to me unasked, and begged me to pray for them, which I did, and God was with us in his converting power” (*Green*, p. 199). On their return by way of the Lake of the Two Mountains, they stayed for a few days with Franklin Metcalf and his wife, now located on a farm at Point Fortune.

[12] On the whole Sir John Colborne had been a good governor. He was a man of easy temper and proper dignity, and had managed pretty well to avoid trouble in the Province during his long tenure of seven years, while at the same time causing some uneasiness in the Colonial Office because he kept it ill-informed as to the actual situation in Upper Canada. Disturbed by the revelations of *The Seventh Grievance Report*, the Secretary had decided to move him to Lower Canada; but the evils Mackenzie elaborated were largely inherited by Sir John, and difficult, if not impossible, of correction under the constitution.

[13] As from an English pharisee to a Canadian publican.

[14] This is the only intimation that the Conference had any such thing in mind as early as 1833.

[15] Matthew Richey, the Principal Elect, was born in the north of Ireland in 1803, where he received a classical education. He migrated as a lad to the Maritime Provinces and there he progressed through the various stages of ordination in the Methodist Church. In 1835 he moved to Montreal. We are not informed as to the circumstances under which he was preferred for the principalship of the Academy. Carroll thus depicts him: "For the power and pleasantness of his voice; ease and gracefulness of elocution; ready command of the most exuberant and elevated language, amounting almost to inflation of style; together with rich variety of theological lore, he scarcely ever had a superior, if an equal, in British North America. He was gentleman-like in his manners, Christian in his spirit and demeanour, and soundly Wesleyan in his teachings." As to appearance, he was "very tall and slender, but straight and graceful, as were all his movements. His hair was very light colored and very curly, surmounting what an American writer pronounced 'a comely old country face'." (*Case, Vol. IV*, p. 108).

[16] If this figure is accurate, something like £1,000 had been received since June 1835.

[17] It is probable that Ryerson's personal knowledge of Indian missions had not a little to do with commending the claims of the Academy to Grey.

[18] This also has been the policy in Canada since Confederation. Indian affairs are a federal concern, and the government has a co-operative arrangement with the churches in connection with Industrial Schools on the Indian Reserves. Evidently Ryerson was afraid that the Provincial authorities would shirk their responsibilities in the matter.

[19] The statement is a beautifully executed manuscript of nineteen pages.

- [20] The sum of £4000 was asked for, “to relieve the trustees, to aid in part towards furnishing the establishment, and in purchasing a Library”.
- [21] See *D.H. Vol. II*, p. 263, for the draft of the charter in its original form.
- [22] Carroll knows very little about him. He did not remain long a preacher.
- [23] Egerton had asked John to substitute (see p. 271); the President had asked Case and claimed to have Egerton’s “warm approval” for this. John is too prudent to dispute the matter—especially as it would raise the question of the propriety of Egerton’s having tried to pass on the honour to a brother. William, however, being zealous for democratic methods (it is not necessary to suppose that he had a personal motive) is quite upset by the whole affair.
- [24] Peter Perry, the unofficial leader of the Reform forces in the Assembly (Bidwell was Speaker, and Mackenzie ranged at large) had sought to explain in the House why he could not vote for the adoption of the *Grievance Report*, although in the dying hours of the previous session he had moved the printing of 2,000 copies of it. He was compelled to admit that at the time he had not even read the text. His attempt to explain the inconsistency had brought him into bitter conflict with Mackenzie. The report, however, was adopted on February 6th by a vote of 24 to 15.
- [25] Powley had been one of the two Episcopal delegates who sought in vain for recognition for their schismatic body at Cincinnati. Here he is applying for a certificate to perform the marriage ceremony.
- [26] We know of no occurrences which may be termed “accidental”, other than those resulting from the rather notorious procrastination and indecision of Glenelg.

- [27] “Scarcely interest” is the reading of the copy (Q series, 307) in the Public Archives of Canada. The rough draft of the letter with the Ryerson papers reads: “That every interest should be made subservient”.
- [28] The draft of this letter is not dated. Across the corner appears in Ryerson’s hand, “early in 1836”. Hodgins thinks (*D.H. Vol. II*, p. 252) it was written immediately after the receipt of the letter from Sir George Grey on February 29th. A reference at the end of the letter, and Ryerson’s report on his mission (p. 274) place the letter on the 19th or 20th of March, the date of the second interview with Glenelg.
- [29] Cf. the “political spyglass” suggestion of James Evans (p. 220).
- [30] The Indians made a good talking point with the British public. In the course of a century, probably less than a score of students of Indian origin have entered Upper Canada Academy or Victoria College. This estimate, since its writing, has been confirmed in conversation with Robert Steinhauer, who graduated in 1887 and regards himself as the most recent Indian alumnus.
- [31] The grant to the London Missionary Society had been made for two years and then discontinued. Ryerson had urged its renewal, as well as the granting of aid to the Academy.
- [32] This is a larger sum than is elsewhere mentioned. Lord is panicky.
- [33] Matthew Richey had been recommended to Ryerson as Principal, but Lord had expected to receive official advice from the London Missionary Committee of his transfer from the Montreal circuit to Cobourg.

[34] This must refer to his letter of March 30th, appearing in the *Guardian* of May 25th and reproduced on p. 315. William Smith in *Political Leaders in Upper Canada* (p. 207) summarizes this letter but gives its date as March 15th.

[35] Durham was not original in favouring a policy of forced assimilation. Ryerson appears never to have held such an opinion; on the contrary, at the age of forty he spent three hard months in learning the French language.

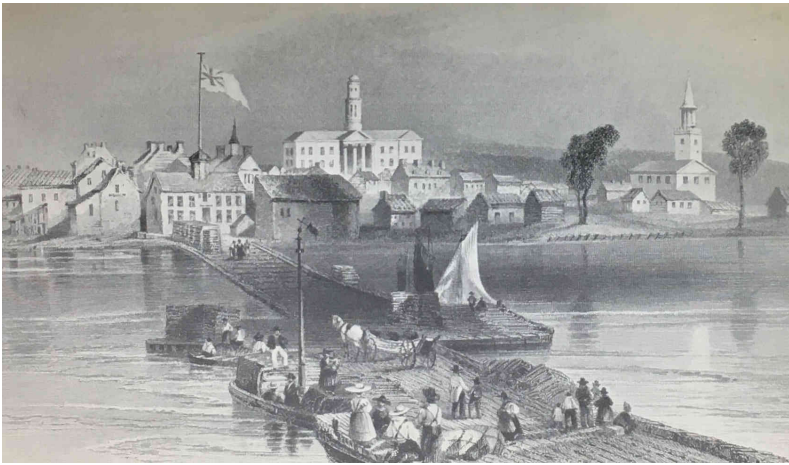
[36] *C.G.*, June 29, 1836.

CHAPTER IX

DEEP IN POLITICS

January 1836 to July 1836

For some years political feeling in Canada had been growing in intensity and bitterness. Though Glenelg desired tranquillity above all else, in his change of governors of 1836 he only added to the acerbity. He had been astonished by the disclosures of the *Seventh Grievance Report*, and regarded Colborne as derelict in duty in not having kept him better informed. He doubtless wished the new Governor to be a man who would write despatches. For this, or some other better reason, the choice fell upon Francis Bond Head, who had seen some little military service, and been involved in a mining enterprise in South America, but was chiefly known as a Poor Law Commissioner and as possessing a ready and lively pen. Of political experience he was innocent, or of political philosophy—at least such philosophy as Glenelg and his colleagues favoured. But he could and did write. It is interesting, but not necessary, to speculate upon the possibility that his choice was the result of a mistake in identity—that Edmund Head was chosen and Francis Head called. At first it looked like a good appointment. On that Ryerson and Hume agreed. The latter wrote to Mackenzie that good things might be expected, and that he was anxious that “all the reformers should receive Sir Francis in the best possible manner”.^[1] Mackenzie never did things by halves. Hence the new governor as he entered Toronto through much snow on January 23rd found the walls placarded in large letters, “*Sir Francis Head, a tried reformer*”. He was greatly surprised, for as he confesses, “I was no more connected with human politics than the horses that were drawing me—as I had never joined any political party, had never attended a political discussion, and had never even voted at an election.”^[2] However, he accepted the situation with the “most perfect indifference” and met in private conference the leading men of the city of all shades of political opinion.



COBOURG IN 1841.

The members of the Executive Council were now only three—a bare quorum; and it was necessary to make new appointments. The unanimous opinion pointed to Robert Baldwin as worthy of a seat. Since his defeat in 1830 after one short session in the Legislative Assembly, Baldwin had retired from politics and devoted himself to law and attendant business interests. His high character and pronounced views on Responsible Government were recognized in Upper Canada, and he had been recommended by Colborne to the Colonial Office for a seat in the Legislative Council. Head invited him to the executive, but Baldwin demurred. On February 19th, after many conferences with Baldwin and Rolph and John Henry Dunn, Head persuaded these three to accept office. Baldwin later confessed that the new councillors gave their consent “as a mere experiment”.^[3] Ryerson had recommended Rolph (see p. [324](#)) for a seat on the Executive Council. We have no reason to suppose that he would have been unfavorable to Baldwin or Dunn. In the case of Baldwin, we have no record of any contact since they had worked together as “Friends of Religious Liberty” in 1831. James Henry Dunn, in addition to his official duties as Receiver General, in a quiet way took an active part in the affairs of York and Toronto. He was a Churchman of liberal tendencies; and his interest in temperance and in the Bible Society, of which he was president, would bring him into frequent touch with Ryerson.^[4] But the new Executive soon discovered that they were far from being a Cabinet. They found that they were merely consulted on “land matters”; on questions of policy, the Governor did not ask their advice. Within a fortnight of their appointment, they wrote a closely-reasoned letter to the Governor, claiming under the

Constitution the right to be taken into his confidence in important matters of state, to which he replied that his responsibility to His Majesty could not be shared and if they did not agree they might resign. This they did, and thus Upper Canada was told that the old Compact bottles would never hold new wine.

To the more radical members of the Assembly, the incident was regarded as clear proof that a thorough overhauling of the Constitution was necessary. On the other hand, the Governor was resolved never “to surrender to a democratic principle of government . . . so long as the British flag waved in America”.^[5] The long despatch, almost a volume, which Glenelg had placed in the hands of Sir Francis, urging him to pursue a conciliatory course, had been fruitless. Within two months of his arrival in the colony, the fair hopes for the correction of abuses by the new Governor were shattered. The Governor accused the Assembly of wishing to possess themselves of the government “for the sake of lucre and emolument”, and the Assembly accused the Governor of acts “arbitrary and vindictive” and statements “palpably opposed to candour and truth”. With such mutual criminations a dissolution was inevitable, and the Assembly played into Sir Francis’ hands by stopping supplies. The Assembly had not intended to cut off all supplies, but only those required for the civil list and the administration of justice. Head beat them at their own game. He refused his assent to all money bills. The result was that expenditure on roads and public works was immediately stopped. The *Guardian* of May 11th has an editorial on “Fruits of Agitation”, beginning, “We understand that *nearly a thousand* mechanics and labourers, from different parts of the district, have embarked at this city for the United States since the close of the session of Parliament, in consequence of the anticipated cessation of all internal improvement during the ensuing season, as the baneful result of stopping the supplies.” It quotes the *Cobourg Star* to the effect that the previous Sunday forty more workers from the rear parts of the Newcastle district had left the Cobourg wharf to seek work on the other side. And generally throughout the province the blame for unemployment was laid to the Assembly.

The Methodist Conference was never so political as during these months. Week after week without let or hindrance Evans urged his readers to support the Governor and the Constitution. Indeed the Governor’s party was known as the Constitutional party. Leading tories in Toronto organized a British Constitutional Society. Not to be vanquished by a label, their more moderate opponents founded the *Constitutional* Reform Society, with Dr. W. W. Baldwin as president. Mackenzie even was at pains to name his new paper *The Constitution*. But the Governor had called the contest on his own

ground; he was able to reduce it to a simple question of loyalty. In this enterprise, as our correspondence and the *Guardian* amply attest, the Methodists gave him every support. Lord and Evans and John Ryerson at home were as yet undisturbed by his jaunty ways and extravagant words; and Egerton Ryerson abroad, never having seen the man, believed him a bulwark against revolution—not its fomenter.

March 30, 1836, EGERTON RYERSON, London, to THE EDITOR OF THE Christian Guardian.^[6]

MY DEAR SIR—

I have hitherto abstained from making any remarks on the affairs of the Canadas, or the measures of His Majesty's Government for their adjustment—because I was not prepared to express any opinion. But as I know a deep interest is felt in these matters by my fellow-countrymen in Canada, I will devote the present letter to them.

The Royal Despatches to His Excellency Sir Francis Head and His Majesty's Commissioners in Lower Canada have returned, and have given universal satisfaction to the real friends of Canada in this country, although some such as Roebuck & Co. who are well paid for it,^[7] bluster a little. Previous to the arrival of these Instructions great dissatisfaction was felt by gentlemen in London connected with Canada, in regard to the management and course of affairs in the Lower Province. Now confidence is restored, in consequence of which the credit of Canada is rapidly on the rise again. You can scarcely imagine the effect the internal agitation in Canada has upon its commercial credit, and the value of landed property or security amongst capitalists and merchants in this country. It limits our commercial credit both as to amount and duration—this compels our merchants to sell their goods higher, and give shorter credit, and thus the interests of our farmers and all other classes of purchasers are injuriously affected. The idea also of going to a country which is represented as the hotbed of contention, is repulsive to the feelings of persons of property who think of emigrating—they therefore direct their attention to the United States, where the form and prerogatives of different branches of the Government are duly acknowledged, whatever rival faction there may be. It is thus that the ambitious and reckless agitators in our Province rob it of more credit and

accession of capital than is expended annually for the support of the whole Executive Government. That portion of the inhabitants of Canada who support agitators have only their own folly and party spirit to blame for the depression and injury done to their own and their country's interests. It was an admirable remark of His Excellency Sir Francis Head in an excellent message to the House of Assembly, "that he had better attract into Upper Canada the superabundant capital and population of the Mother Country, *by encouraging internal peace and tranquility*, than to be observed occupying himself only in re-considering the occurrences of the *past*". . . .

In respect to *Upper Canada*, nearly as much is known in the Colonial Office of our affairs and our public men as we know ourselves. The adoption of the *Grievance Committee Report*, in the very teeth of the instructions and decisions of His Majesty's Government—which condemned the most material parts of the Report—is perfectly understood here; and the Government likewise know that the House of Assembly was elected not to change the Constitution of the Province (as that *Report* contends for, and as the Despatches of His Majesty's Government in commenting on it show), but to pass laws for the welfare of the Province according to the Constitution; and before the King's Government will believe that the people of Upper Canada have departed from their loyalty to that Constitution, and those relations to the Government of the Mother Country to which they have so long and so often professed attachment, a direct appeal, I believe, will be made to them by dissolving the present Assembly,^[8] and giving the inhabitants of Upper Canada an opportunity of electing an Assembly truly representing their feelings and wishes as to the maintenance or annihilation of the Constitution of the Province and the established and heretofore acknowledged prerogatives of the British Crown. I think I can guess what the answer of the people of Upper Canada would be, should His Majesty's Government put the question to them. I may hereafter advert to the principal points which I believe are here considered of the most vital importance.

It affords me much pleasure to bear a still stronger testimony, than was contained in a former letter, to the qualifications and character of His Excellency Sir Francis Head. I have not heard one word from any quarter to his disparagement; while I have heard

high testimonies borne to his character and talent by distinguished public men of opposite parties. An influential gentleman connected with Canadian affairs, told me the other day, that he knew His Excellency Sir Francis Head (I think) intimately—that he was a most able and active business man—was ready and talented with his pen—and “Sir, (said he) he will be in every part of your Province in six months’ time, if it be possible—he will leave nothing undone that he can do for the welfare of the Province.” I rejoice to learn that His Excellency in his Government satisfies all parties but the party that wishes to subvert the existing Constitution of the Province—that “happy Constitution of the country which (as His Excellency expressed it in his message to the Assembly of the 15th of February) it was the avowed and undisguised object of His Majesty’s Government to maintain *inviolate*”.

[Here follows an elaboration of the Compact theory of government, and ridicule for those who “flippantly” dub the constitution an “experiment”.]

I observe also that it has been said, that the Constitution of Upper Canada is a mere Act of Parliament, and may therefore be changed or repealed the same as any other Act. But this is as fallacious as to say that the law by which every freeholder in Upper Canada holds and disposes of his land is a mere Act of Parliament, and therefore may be forthwith repealed or altered to suit the purposes of certain scheming men. There are several *essential* points of difference between the Act of our Constitution and other Acts, either of the Imperial or Provincial Legislature.—I will advert to but one; namely, the Constitutional Act contains the articles of agreement or of the civil compact between the inhabitants of Upper Canada and the Crown of Great Britain and Ireland. Proclamation was made offering this Act containing these articles of civil compact to the population of Upper Canada and those who desired to settle there in 1791, in place of the former Government by a Council. It was hailed as a boon by the first representatives of the people of Upper Canada. In the articles of the civil compact in this Act the rights and immunities and prerogatives of the Crown are defined on the one side, and the rights and the immunities and priveleges of the people of Upper Canada, on the other side. Under these articles of civil compact large numbers of persons have emigrated to and settled in Upper

Canada, both from Europe and the United States, and many have been born and grown up in the country; and nearly all have sworn unreserved and hearty allegiance to the British Crown under these articles of Government; yet certain persons improperly assuming the name of Reformers, rise up and say, that even those vital parts of the Constitutional Act or Articles of the civil compact which actually determine the respective prerogatives and rights of King and People, may and ought to be changed at the bidding of the majority of the Assembly, as readily as a Township Officers' Bill!

I beg pardon for this long intrusion upon the local affairs of Upper Canada. It is because my heart is alive to the interests of my native country; and, having frequent intercourse with persons here who read the Canadian papers, I learn, and feel most deeply, the injury done to the credit and value of U. Canada, by keeping the vital principles of the Government floating upon the unsettled waters of agitation. It leads the most intelligent men in England, as well as many who would otherwise become resident in our country, to view U. Canada on a par with the South American semi-civilized Republics, where the form of government is unsettled or ever changing, and where property itself is unsafe. It is difficult in some instances to make them see and feel the difference.

I hope my friends and fellow subjects in Upper Canada will receive the foregoing observations on matters of great importance in the same spirit of candour and love of country, in which I trust they have been written. I can say what cannot be truly said by many of the "Grievance Committee" party in respect of themselves, that I have *never* received one farthing of public money from any quarter, and my humble support to my King and country is unbought, unsolicited, and spontaneous.

I purpose next week to send you a letter of religious and general intelligence. All branches of trade and business, except the agricultural, are said never to have been in so high a state of prosperity as at the present time.

Yours, very truly,
EGERTON RYERSON

The above letter shows that Ryerson had not been uninfluenced by opinion in the circles in which he had been moving in England. In his

conversations with the Secretary and Under Secretaries of the Colonial Office and in his begging from bankers and business men, he had come to realize how necessary it was to the credit and prosperity of Canada that the fear of a second American revolution should be removed. Having so decided, in this letter to the reading public of Upper Canada and in his political activities during the next few months he threw himself definitely on the conservative and loyalist side. In a previous chapter we have described him as a liberal conservative, but in this letter there appears little of liberal thought. In outlining the compact theory of government and arguing for it with all his eristic skill he does not allow himself to reflect that the British constitution itself was in constant process of change and that constitutions are durable only as they accommodate themselves, however tardily it may be, to changing conditions.

There can be no doubt that he was deeply concerned by the length to which some of his former associations had been prepared to go. The fact, for instance, that Dr. Morrison, who had been a member of his congregation in York, was prepared as a member of the Committee to subscribe to the matter and findings of the *Grievance Report* must have greatly disturbed him. Further it was quite apparent that members of the Legislature, if unchecked by Governor and Councils, were not averse from turning their politics to their own profit. It may, perhaps, be inferred that this latter fact had not a little to do with his present attitude to the Reform party and, in particular, with the writing and publishing of our next letter. The Peter Perry letter was written on the day following the Compact Theory letter. After appearing in the *Guardian* on June 1st, it was reprinted, whether by Ryerson's wish or not, as an election fly-sheet under the caption, "Peter Perry Picked to Pieces by Egerton Ryerson". Now since 1824 Perry and Bidwell had represented Lennox and Addington, and after the retirement of Rolph from the Assembly and the elevation of Bidwell to the Speakership, Perry was regarded as the leader of the Reform party. It was as such that Robert Baldwin addressed to him the great letter of March 16th, which explained the reasons for the resignation of the Executive Council and set forth his theory of responsible government. Dent has this to say of Perry:

Although thirty-four years have elapsed since his death, Mr. Perry is still well remembered by the older generation of our politicians. During the twelve years succeeding his entry into public life he was one of the most conspicuous Reformers in the Province. Though not possessed of a liberal education, and though his demeanour and address were marred by a sort of impetuous

coarseness, he was master of a rude, vigorous eloquence which under certain conditions was far more effective than the most polished oratory would have been. He was certainly the ablest stump orator of his time in this country, and there was no man in the Reform ranks who could so effectively conduct a difficult election campaign. No man was more dreaded by his opponents, more especially by those who had to encounter him while a contest was pending. It may here be added that he continued to take an active part in politics down to a short time before his death in 1851.^[9]

In the debate on the *Grievance Report* in 1836, Perry had thought it well to oppose Mackenzie and Morrison and the majority. In a long speech, he admitted that while in 1835 he had moved that the *Report* be printed, he had “never set his foot in the Committee Room nor had he read a word of it”;^[10] he had believed it contained valuable material, but he was now aware that it contained a good many misstatements, some of which he proceeded to set forth. Coming to the grants to religious bodies, as the *Guardian* reports, he “indulged in a long strain of invective against Mr. Ryerson for what he alleged to be a departure from former principles”, which the *Guardian* forbears to publish “as that gentleman is not in the country to defend himself”. George Rykert, member for the second riding of Lincoln, took occasion, however, to say a word on Ryerson’s behalf, defending the use in the *Guardian* of the word “smuggled” in reference to the manner of securing the printing of the *Report*.

The hon. member for Lennox and Addington, had taken this occasion to indulge in the most bitter invective against the Rev. Mr. Ryerson. But for his (Mr. R.’s) part, he did not think that they were called upon to discuss the character of Mr. Ryerson; and he thought it discreditable to the character of that house for members to take advantage of their parliamentary privilege to abuse individuals who could not be heard in their defence. Mr. Ryerson was, he believed a highly esteemed member of the society to which he belonged, and if he had done any thing for which he deserved to be denounced as a traitor, hypocrite, and other names which had been so freely applied to him by the hon. member for Lennox and Addington, he would leave him to the judgment of the society and his God,—having no doubt but justice would be done him. The hon. member seemed to have taken great offence at some

remarks in the *Guardian* newspaper, as to the manner in which the report was got through the house;—but he (Mr. R.) did not think there was any thing very far wrong in the *Guardian's* statement on that subject. He was sure it must be in the recollection of every hon. member who was present on the occasion, that it was brought in after midnight and laid on the table, and immediately ordered to be printed without being read, and on the following day when members were desirous of ascertaining its contents it could not be found. After a good deal of enquiring it was discovered that the hon. member for the second riding of York had, without the knowledge or consent of the house, taken the liberty to carry it down into the city for the purpose as he admitted, of getting parts of it copied to send to his friend Mr. Papineau, and it was not seen again in the house until the hon. member for Simcoe moved a resolution to rescind the order for printing it—then, and not before, it was when asked for laid on the table. If such kind of manoeuvring was not a species of smuggling he must confess he did not understand the term.^[11]

March. 31, 1836, EGERTON RYERSON, 77 Hatton Garden, London, to THE EDITOR OF THE Christian Guardian.

MY DEAR SIR—

I have this day received the *Guardian* of the 10th, 17th and 24th of February, together with a Supplement of the 20th, containing the parliamentary debate on the famous "*Grievance Committee Report*", which I was informed sometime since by Lord Glenelg, had been adopted by a majority of the Assembly. I have enclosed these papers to Lord Glenelg, directing his Lordship's attention to the Editor's remarks on the Royal Instructions to His Excellency Sir Francis Head, etc., and marking passages in some of the speeches which illustrated and confirmed what I had previously stated to His Lordship, that the principles and statements put forth in that document had never been discussed, nor even read, in the House of Assembly, whatever might be the sentiments of the honourable members respecting them. As I have been honoured with a conspicuous place in the debates of the Assembly on that Report, I solicit a little space in your columns, and beg the attention of my old friends (for friends I know I have in Canada) to a few remarks on the scurrilous

attacks made by Mr. Perry, in this and in a former debate. And first, I would ask, if Mr. Perry's constituents elected him as their Representative to traduce the characters of individuals? And did he express what he believed to be the sentiments, feelings and wishes of the majority of those who sent him to the House of Assembly when he was abusing me? Would it not have shown more of the man of honour and honesty for him to have answered me through the press, the medium through which I spoke, when I was in the Province, and when I even opened the columns of the *Guardian* to any one who thought himself misrepresented, than for him to wait several months until I was absent from the country, and then availing himself of his *Parliamentary* privileges, do what an honorable and ingenuous mind could never stoop to do—attack an individual in such a way that he could not answer for himself? I again put it to Mr. Perry, as well as to his constituents, whether in all this he was truly and faithfully representing the wishes of that part of the people to whom he owes his seat in the Assembly?^[12]

[Here follows a discussion of Perry's blunder in moving for the printing of 2,000 copies of a report he had never read, and the effect of this act in misleading the Colonial Office.]

The only other calumny of Mr. Perry's that I will notice, is, that I have turned my back upon the rights of the people, etc. Of this, I might, I think, safely leave my friends and the Canadian public—and Mr. P's constituents—to judge. But on this point also I will leave Mr. P. without excuse or refuge, by a simple statement of facts. In the first place, the leading schemes of the "Grievance Committee party", such as elective Legislative Council, elective Magistrates, etc.—are of only two years', and others of still more recent, growth—therefore, I could never have been identified with them. Formerly this party denied any intention to change the *Constitution* of the country, but declared their only object to be the reform of *abuses*. If they have chosen to renounce their formerly in-a-thousand-instances-avowed attachment to the Constitution of the Province, and advocate changes in that very Constitution which four years ago they prayed might be transmitted "unimpaired to their posterity", and yet designate these changes in principles and objects by the old term *reform*, I must, with every unperverted Canadian British subject, refuse all fellowship with such proceedings, from a full conviction that my oath of

allegiance binds me to support the British Crown according to the written and acknowledged Constitution of the Province as it existed when that oath was taken. Oaths are serious things; and a man must have made considerable progress in the road of depravity before he can tamper or jest with them. . . . The principal and only subject of importance discussed in the Province with which I consider myself to have been identified, and from which Mr. Perry has charged me with departing, is that of an Ecclesiastical Establishment in the Colony. On this point, what I have published up to the close of my editorial career might be sufficient refutation of the charge . . .

Another illustration of Mr. Perry's calumny, that I have turned my back upon the interests of the people, is that, amongst several suggestions which I took the liberty to offer to Lord Glenelg, the Colonial Secretary, for the welfare of Upper Canada, in my first interview with His Lordship after my arrival in London, I strongly recommended the appointment of a certain gentleman of known popularity to the Executive Council.^[13] I mentioned this in a private letter to a friend in Canada, before the late appointments took place; but I should never have thought of adverting to it publicly, had not the persevering efforts of my enemies to create prejudice against me prompted me to do so. I pretend not to say that any of my suggestions have had, or will have, any influence with His Majesty's Government; but it will be satisfactory to my friends in Canada, and, if possible, shame my calumniators, to know what I have endeavoured to do.

Mr. Perry seems to consider himself as a sort of King in Lennox and Addington, and appears to regard it as a degree of infringement upon his Sovereign prerogatives that I should be appointed by the Conference even so near the borders of his empire as Kingston,^[14] and he cannot but view it as a conspiracy to dethrone him from his legislative dignity!—Really, how much more he thinks of himself than others, and how much he is to be pitied under his alarming apprehensions! But I doubt whether the Conference thought of such a man as Peter Perry being in existence when they determined to station Egerton Ryerson in Kingston. To the best of my recollection I never thought of him during the whole of my journey from Toronto to that place; and those of Mr. P's. constituents with whom I had the great pleasure,

and I may add profit, of intercourse during two short visits amongst them, at their particular request, can bear record whether the object and tendency of my ministry was to dethrone Peter Perry, or to break down the power and influence of a much more formidable and important personage—the power of him that ruleth in the hearts of the children of disobedience.

I think it is not difficult to conjecture the cause of Mr. Perry's ire. I can easily imagine Mr. Perry, the night before he delivered his speech on the "*Grievance Committee Report*", revolving the following soliloquy in his mind:—"I am in a sad dilemma. Last winter I voted not merely to print a thousand, but moved an amendment to print and circulate *two thousand* copies of this *Report*, which I thought would so tell upon the country, that the Methodist Conference would be forsaken—the Episcopal party be triumphant—and my utmost wishes be accomplished; but the tables have been completely turned by that Ryerson, who, having truth and justice on his side, has so defended the Conference, and exposed the misrepresentations contained in the *Report*, and so held up to condemnation those who voted for printing it, that the most illiterate of my constituents can no longer be deceived, and I am pestered by them from Dan to Beersheba about that *Grievance Committee Report*, and my having voted to print and circulate it. What must I do? To defend that *Report* and keep my seat in the House of Assembly is impossible; for the friends of the Methodist Church in Lennox and Addington are entirely too strong for me. I am not inclined to give up my seat, for I find that whilst I am strenuously defending the rights of the people, I can also procure and locate U. E. rights for myself, especially as I have such free access to the Surveyor General's Office, having brought in and carried thro' the House of Assembly a bill to increase the salaries of Clerks in that office. I must therefore tack about; and must now say that I moved to print two thousand copies of a book, at more than two thousand dollars expense to the country, for the information of the people, when I did not know whether that book contained sense or nonsense, truth or falsehood, loyalty or treason. Yes! I must even deny that I am responsible for any thing contained in a book that I voted to publish. I must go further—I must in fact defend the Methodist Conference itself against the calumnies contained in that book, or I must lose the support of some of my most influential constituents. I must actually attest to

the truth of every material statement made by Ryerson on this subject, and I must, and that is worst of all, employ the materials that he has furnished, in undoing what I have heretofore done. But as Ryerson has brought me into this predicament, I am resolved to revenge myself upon him; and as he has actually compelled me to speak the truth on this business in reference to the Methodist Conference—notwithstanding all my public and private insinuations to the contrary for the last two years—I am determined to denounce him as though he had said nothing about it worthy of credit.”

And now, Mr. Editor, I have but a word or two more to say to Mr. Perry; perhaps he will think I have said too many already. But I must further say to him that I have been very good natured while writing the whole of this letter. I have sometimes written seriously—at other times pleasantly. But I can assure Mr. Perry I shall never trouble him with another letter of this kind, if he will henceforth *willingly* and heartily do that justice to the Methodist Conference and Church which he was *compelled* to do in his speech on the *Grievance Committee Report*; nor do I wish his constituents to remember any of his transgressions either against me or my friends.—There was a time when Mr. Perry defended the Methodists nobly and effectually. I have not forgotten it—though he may please to designate me a “traitor”. If he will take his stand where he did once as a *Constitutional* Reformer—if he will defend the Methodists against the calumnies and destructive designs of the party now labouring to injure them, and the principal emissary of which he despises in his heart—I will venture to say, that whether I am in Kingston or in England, the Methodists in Lennox and Addington will not be Mr. Perry’s enemies, and may even yet allow him to be the Representative of their rights, liberties and characters. But if he should continue the course that he has pursued during the last two years—and that which the majority of the present Assembly pursued in adopting that calumnious Report, and in advocating changes in the Colonial Constitution destructive of its peace and connexion with the Parent State—can he expect that the Methodists are such traitors to the peace, character and interests of their own Church and of their country as to support or countenance him? . . .

Yours, very faithfully,

EGERTON RYERSON

May 1, 1836, S. S. JUNKIN, *Toronto*, to REV. E. RYERSON, 77 *Hatton Garden, London*.

MY VERY DEAR SIR,

Mr. I. L. Perrin leaves this place for Liverpool in the morning, and I gladly embrace the opportunity of sending you a chapter of news by him. . . .

Our Parliament was pro[ro]gued on the 20th ult. after such a session as was never before seen in Upper Canada. You will form some tolerable idea of the state of affairs when I tell you, they *stopt the supplies*, and the Governor *stopt* (or “reserved”) all the *money bills*, and *refused the contingencies*. The House of Assembly had, however, drawn £2,000 early in the session; about £1,500 of which was paid to O’Grady for printing the *Grievance Report*,^[15] etc., and to Brewer for binding; leaving £500 which was divided among the Clerks at the close of the session. The contingent account of the past session of our reforming, economical Assembly, is said to amount to about £8,000! If you have recd. the *Guardian*, you will have become acquainted with the immediate cause of the rupture between the House and the new Governor. I say *immediate*, for you are aware that it was intended to kick up such a rumpus if their revolutionary demands of “responsible government”, etc. were not complied with, and a threat to that effect held out at the close of last session. Shortly after the new Governor arrived, he added Robt. Baldwin, Dr. Rolph and Mr. Dunn to the Ex. Council. Here Dr. Rolph (for it is charged by the public to him)^[16] brought forward the question of *responsible government*, and most unaccountably duped the old councillors, as well as the new ones, to sign a document on the subject, which they presented to the Governor. But, as Peter Perry would say, “They got the wrong pig by the ear.” He replied to their document, and at once dismissed them all from the Council; or gave them a hint to resign too intelligible to be mistaken. He appointed R. B. Sullivan, Wm. Allan, Capt. Baldwin & Mr. Elmsley in their room. The Assembly espoused the cause of the Council, glad of such a glorious opportunity to bring forward their designs. The Governor is a masterly hand at the pen; and gave the Assy. such a castigation in his prorogation speech as never Assembly got before on this side the Atlantic, or on the other side since the days of Cromwell. Of course the Governor must be

recalled or Parliament dissolved, for he & they cannot meet again. A dissolution is expected, and the utmost efforts are being put forth by the two parties. It is not easy to foretell the result, but I am inclined to think from what I hear from all parts that the majority of the country will go with Sir Francis. It will be a death struggle; and one in which British supremacy in the North American colonies is deeply involved. The documents which passed between the Governor and the late Council were referred to a committee of the House of Assembly, Perry chairman, and one of the most abusive and insulting documents that ever emanated from a Legislative body, was brought forth at the close of the session in the shape of a report, on which was founded an address to the King & House of Commons, all of which were adopted by the House. I herewith send you some papers and a pamphlet which will give you more information than I can write. The papers were sent before, but I send them again for fear they miscarried.

I have occupied so much room already that I must be brief as possible on another subject of their doings. At the commencement of the session the House adopted the *Grievance Report*. I hope you recd. the papers containing the debate and Mr. Evans's capital remarks on the subject. They then appointed a committee to enquire whether the charges against the Methodists in that *Report* were true! Tommy Parke, chairman,^[17] and Dr. Morrison, Grand Inquisitor, nine members in all, who all voted for the *Grievance Report* except Roblin; and of course instead of being disinterested judges were on their own trial before the public. What barefaced iniquitous humbug! you will indignantly exclaim; and so it was. Mr. Evans was most shamefully insulted and abused by them when giving evidence; but they met their match, and he recorded some things on their *Journals* which they did not relish very much. Elder Case acted like a man,—like a Methodist,—like a member of the Conference. But Richardson—what shall I say of him? The sensation awakened in my breast by the mention of the name is painful, and I have to pause; but were I to describe his conduct as it appeared to me, I would draw a picture black as night, had I patience to finish it. Suffice it to say, that he was their man; the opinions they wanted they readily obtained from him. And those opinions were not limited to money matters; but extended to the *Guardian*, the Missions, and in fact to every thing connected with the Conference. Conversations in Conference were

related, etc., etc., etc. of the same kind. Elder Case was much pained, as was Armstrong, Taylor, and indeed every *Methodist* in the room. Sometimes in answering questions he would tell the truth, but not the *whole truth*; and Mr. Evans had to pump it reluctantly out of him, by putting questions through Mr. Roblin—no pleasant task, but absolutely necessary for the character of the Church. Roblin acted nobly. Vaux acted in his true character of a snake in the grass, and put in evidence some letter from the London Miss’y Committee, written about the time of the Union, in which the politics of the *Guardian* are mentioned with disapprobation, which came into his possession while Secretary of the Miss’y. Society, and which he had improperly retained after he was no longer Secretary. The Committee have made a report in which a desperate effort is made to destroy the character of the Conference,^[18] but I have no doubt it will recoil upon their own heads; for it, coupled with the conduct of the committee, will arouse the Methodists against the party at the expected ensuing election. Perhaps it is Providential to save the Province.

Mr. & Mrs. Lawrence^[19] are well, and send their respects to you and Mrs. Ryerson. Please remember me kindly to Mrs. Ryerson.

I wish to trouble you to do a favour for me, viz. to procure and bring me a good watch. I have seen some advertised on the cover of the *Eclectic Review* which I think would answer me. They are to be had at T. Cox Savory’s, 47 Cornhill, London. I wish to get one of the following description, as per advertisement, viz. patent lever, silver, with double bottom cases—price £6, 6. 0.—with latest improvements, etc. By attending to this little matter for me, you will much oblige me.

I am, dear Sir, with every sentiment of respect & esteem,

Yours most truly,

S. S. JUNKIN

P.S. When do you expect to return? Write us often. How do you succeed in your mission? Who will be our next President?

S.S.J.

May 4, 1836, JOHN RYERSON, *Hallowell*, to REV. EGERTON RYERSON, *London, England, 20 Guilford St., Russell Square.*

MY VERY DEAR BROTHER

I received your kind letter of the 27th of February only last Monday, consequently it was more then two months on the way: from your letter I learn that you had not received my letter which I sent some time the first of January. I hope you have got it in this time. I would have written to you sooner then I did, but after your departure every thing for several weeks seemed to be so perfectly stationary that I could not think what to say that would be new to you, & another thing I am not a sinner above all that dwell in London in this respect. Did not my Dear Brother promis to write immediately on ariveing in England, but behold ye, the First Epistle of Egerton to John is dated the 27th of February, 1836; so I think we will balance acts. & let the time past suffice & do better hereafter.

In my former letter I mentioned to you the state of the Kingston Society. I was there last week & herd many particular inquiries about you: when you would return, etc., etc. They still expect you to be their preacher next year, & they say that if the President should take up his residence there, they do not wish him to have charge of them.^[20] This was said to me by Mr. Counter, etc. They have had a four days Meeting lately; about 20 professed religion. The young man Johnson is clever & very popular. Mr Stinson, I think, dose the very best he can. Mr. Stinson intends moveing to Toronto after Conference, although he says that he will remain in Kingston & supply the station until you arive, which we expect will be the first of September at the lateist. Religion is prospering well on this district. There are revivels on all the Cts. save one; some of these revivels are powerful, especially on the Peterborough & Hallowell circuits & also in Bellville station, although the work there is princplely in the country on the opposite side of the Bay from Bellville. Mr. Stinson says that our district is desidedly in the best state of any in the Conference. Br. McMullin^[21] was at Hamilton the last of winter & saw William there. He says that W— told him that he “had conceived the following plan: that is to ellect Richardson Editor of the G— next year & that this would conciliate the feelings of all parties etc., etc., & that he was proposeing his plan to his preachers”. William said to McMullin at the same time that he did not think that Richardson would accept of it, etc., but it would then show our good will. I told McMullin that I was utterly

astonished to hear such fulsome & unjudicious trash coming from a quarter from whence I might expect wiser & better things. I pointed out to McMullin the *weakness*, the impollicy, the absurdity & *wickedness* of such a measure; since, I have communicated my views to the preachers, all of whom agree with me intirely. You may be surprised in hearing of such a thing, but you will not be more surprised then I was & should Wm. & some of his preachers join with the Radical members of Conference it will give them a majority. I think however that when I see Bevitt, McNabb, Sheperd & Musgrove, I can prevent them voteing for Richardson.

[22] You perhaps will inquire, “What can be Wm.’s motives in mooting such a thing”. Permit me to say what I think his motives actually are. I think it was or is for the purpose of inflicting punishment on us—you and I—for his not being appointed your successor instead of me as deligate to the American G—Conference. No sooner was it known at Hamilton that I was appointed your successor then the Niagara District was all in commosion; it was said that you had no power to nominate a successor; that the A—G—Con. would not receive a deligate in this way, etc. etc. & behold ye a special District Meeting is called at which Resolutions are passed requesting Mr. Lord to call a special conference to “*elect a deligate*”. After this farse was over and Mr. Lord had declined calling “an especial conference”, the next thing I heard was the skeam of electing Richardson. All this while, Wm. never wrote a word to me, nor has he until this day. I am glad of one thing; that I had declined going to the G—C— & had resigned in favour of E. Case (makeing a virtue of necessity) before I heard a word of their proceedings at Hamilton. Stinson told me *it was all Wm.’s work*, but I did not say to him what I now say to you, you may be sure. I assure you I very much fear that our Dear Br. in some of his splenetick movements will dash his foot against a stone. Pardon me for troubling you about a thing, which to my own mind & doutless to yours, is & will be unpleasent. [23]

Before this letter reaches you, you will have heard of the rupture between his Exelency, Sir F. B. Head & the House of Assembly. The Governor who is a man of *extrodinary* talents is acquireing immense popularity in the country & the House of Assembly are a hissing & a by word. We are all very ankeious that His Exelency should dissolve the House & it is strongly expected. Should he do so & there be a new election, there will

be a horrible thing among the Radicals—not one of them would be returned from the bounds of this district; every nigger of them would be kicked over the wall without doubt. Mr. Samson, late member from Bellville, died lately, & there has been a new election, which terminated last Saturday. The candidates were Mr. McNabb, a conservative, & Reynolds, a son of the celebrated Bishop. This riding you will recollect is the stronghold of Episcopal Radicalism. The Episcopate, so called, & the Roman Catholicks joined together & as many more children of deivel as they could press into their service. Br. Wilkinson writes to me that the Radicals made the most extrodinary efforts ever known, “electioneering, siding, quarling, lying” & every thing else that could be thought of, to get Reynolds elected; they even got votes all the way from Hamilton Gore District. Perry & Roblin were the whole week makeing the most extrodinary efforts ever known on such an occation; but it all would not do. McNabb was elected with little exertion & there were conservative votes on the ground who did not vote, as it was not necessary. Every Wesleyan Methodist in Bellville was on the right side & so they were from the country with 8 or 10 exceptions. The Radicals felt thus deeply interrested & were induced to make such extrodinary exertions as they were painfully ankeious to convince His Exelency that the country was with *them* & would support *them* & therefore it would be impollitic in him either to oppose them, or dissolve *them*.^[24]

I hope the Lord will give you good success in collecting for our Seminary; everything depends on the success of your exertions. Four thousand pounds is the least that will answer. There are 18 hundred or 2000 pounds due Mr. Lord, £800 due Peter Jones, & to the builders for fencing, outhouses, furniture, etc. etc. there is a debt of about 1200 pounds more. O!! How awfully we have got involved in this most painful & protracted business. O! if you can help us out of this mire the Lord reward you. I am greatly puseld to know what to do. I had concluded to go to the States, perhaps I better take your advice.^[25] I hope the Lord may direct me. My health is bad. I took a violent cold 2 weeks after you left from which I have not yet recovered; I begin to fear I never shall. My lungs, I am afraid, are radically affected. But still I hope after the warm wether comes I will get better. The winter was very long & the spring is very late. We had sleighing

for more then four months; the steem boats have just commenced runing.

You will please excuse this scroll. We had compeny this evening & I did not commence writing until late; it is now nearly one o'clock. I think it strange that you say not one word about our brother George.^[26] Please remember me kindly to him. I have very strong hopes of meeting him in Heaven. Please when you write next, tell me about him & what the Irvinites are doing. Almost to the close of another Conference year. O! how swifly time is passing. May God prepare us for its termination. I never thought so much about dieing as I have lately & I never had such a fear of death; it makes me tremble sometimes all over when I think of it. Sometimes I feal the consolation of divine love, but at other times I am led to exclaim "Who can resolve the doubt that loves my ankeious brest". Mary joins me in love to Mrs. R. & self. Plese remember me very respectfully to Mr. Alder. I am, my dear Brother, as ever

very affectionately yours

J. RYERSON

June 3, 1836, EGERTON RYERSON, 20 Guilford St., Russell Square, London, to SIR GEORGE GREY.

(Draft)

SIR,

At this eventful crisis of Canadian affairs, and, whilst an application from the Wesleyan Conference there for the Royal patronage & favour is under consideration, Lord Glenelg will doubtless be desirous of knowing what course of conduct is pursued by that body in respect to the question at issue between the King's Representative and his assailants; or, in other words, between monarchy and republicanism—for the latter is what the opponents of His Excellency Sir F. Head and His Majesty's Government demand under the name of the "transcript of the British Constitution".^[27]

I therefore enclose the last three received numbers of a religious newspaper, published under the direction of the Wesleyan Conference in that Province. The "*Guardian*"—though

so decidedly religious in its character—is the most extensively circulated paper in either of the Canadas, paying nearly one-half more to the post office than any other publication, a circumstance that speaks strongly in favour of the religious taste and feeling of the country.^[28]

[References to articles in the *Guardian* on the crisis.]

I am happy to be able to add that His Exy. Sir F. Head's replies generally to the addresses which have been presented to him have been so happily conceived and expressed as to produce on the whole an impression upon the public mind decidedly in his favour; and I learn from private sources that a very considerable reaction of feeling has already taken place in the public mind in that province. The question which has raised such a storm must have come to an issue before long, and probably the manner in which it has been brought before the public will ultimately prove most favourable to the interests of his Majesty's Government and to the peace and welfare of that province. I have now no doubt that with the influence of His Majesty's Government on his side His Excellency will be able in case of a dissolution of the present Assembly and a new election, to obtain a signal and complete triumph over the advocates of new principles of government.

His Lordship will probably recollect that in the first interview with which I was honoured by him in February last, I expressed my conviction, that notwithstanding the appointment of a new Governor, a dissolution of the present Assembly would have to take place before the views of his Majesty's Government could be carried fully into effect. The leading topics of the *Grievance Committee Report* (especially an elective Legislative Council & a provincial *Cabinet*^[29]) had not agitated in Upper Canada when the present Assembly was elected. The test by which a majority of the members was returned, was their disapproval of the proceedings of the late Assembly in expelling Mr. Mackenzie several times for the same offence. A strong feeling was excited in U. Canada by that proceeding, as it was considered an infringement upon the elective franchise. That is the reason why there is a greater amount of ignorance, vulgar prejudice & *Mackenzie* spirit in the present House than has ever been collected in any one House of Assembly in Upper Canada, or than, I believe, will ever be elected again.

The proroguing speech of His Excellency will, I doubt not, make a very strong & most favourable impression on the public mind in Upper Canada.^[30] As the affairs of that province will now be taken into consideration by his Majesty's Government, there are three subjects on which I would respectfully request an interview with Lord Glenelg, yourself and Mr. Stephen. 1. The Clergy Reserve question—a plan to meet the circumstances of the Province & not deprive the Clergy of the Church of England of an adequate support. 2. The Legislative Council—how it may be rendered more influential & popular, without rendering it elective, or infringing (but rather strengthening) the prerogatives of the Crown. 3. The Executive—how its just authority, influence & popularity may be promoted and established, so as to prevent the occurrence of that embarrassment in which it is now involved, not from improper acts, but from an actual deficiency of the requisite operative means to secure the Royal prerogative from insult and invasion.

I am aware that each of these subjects is surrounded with difficulty, and that no plan proposed will be entirely free from objections; but, with his Lordship's permission, I would, at any convenient hour, state, in few words, those views which my acquaintance with the province has impressed on my own mind & which I have not seen suggested in any official document or public journal, but which have been favourably thought of by two or three respectable gentlemen connected with Canada to whom I have stated them.

I have the honor, etc.

June 4, 1836, SIR JAMES STEPHEN, Downing Street, to REV. E. RYERSON

SIR,

I am directed by Lord Glenelg to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the [3rd] instant on the subject of the present state of affairs in Upper Canada, and enclosing for his Lordship's perusal some copies of the "*Guardian*" newspaper. Lord Glenelg desires me to express his acknowledgments for your communications, and with reference to your request for an interview to inform you, that he will be happy to receive you at this office on Monday next at 2 o'clock, should that suit your convenience.

I have the honor to be

Sir

Your most Obedt. Servant

JAS. STEPHEN

The ice had been well broken. Ryerson's request was written to Grey on Friday the 3rd, replied to by Stephen on Saturday the 4th, and the appointment made with Glenelg for Monday the 6th to discuss not the Charter of the Academy but the three great questions which were agitating Upper Canada. On receipt of this, Ryerson might well have recalled with a smile those anxious weeks in January while the door of the Colonial Office was still barred.

June 14, 1836, WILLIAM RYERSON, Steamboat Kingston, Bay of Quinty, to REV. EGERTON RYERSON, 77 Hatton Garden, London.

DR. BR.

I have just time to say that our Conference has just closed; we have had a very harmonious, pleasant & in several respects important session. Our business has been conducted with a harmony & unanimity which has not been felt or known in Canada for years past. An address to the Lieut. Governor, a very *loyal* although moderate one, was carried unanimously, all the young prs. on trial, who were present, being also allowed to vote on that occasion; this was equally gratifying & surprising to all the friends of *British Supremacy*. Mr. Croscomb from Montreal, who was present, was so surprised & gratified and I may say delighted on the occasion that he could hardly contain himself. I did not know for a short time, but he would be constrained from the violence of his feeling to jump up & shout; he informed the congregation in Kingston last Sabbath that it was the *very best* Conference he had ever attended either in Europe or America.

The conference have also adopted a very good address to the King which I hope will be acceptable & useful. We are on the eve of a new election; the excitement through the country at large, & especially the parts where I am best acquainted, exceeds anything I have ever known. I feel very fearful as to the results. There would be very little cause for doubt or fear as to the results, was it not for one of the last acts of Sir John Colborne's administration in establish[ing] & endowing near sixty, I believe 57, rectories.

Knowing as I certainly did that the public mind was strongly opposed to any measure of that sort or any step towards a legal establishment, yet I could not believe the feeling was so strong as it actually is, and if the election should turn out most disastrous to the best interest of the country, it can only, or *chiefly* be attributed to that *unjust & most impolitic* act. We are anxious & willing to do all that we consistently can,^[31] but everywhere the *rectory question* meets us, and I am compelled to believe that while a vast majority are *devotedly loyal*, yet many of our gracious sovereign's *best & most affectionate* subjects would *almost* prefer revolution to the establishment of a dominant church, thus sought to be imposed upon us. I was at Long Pt. a few days since. The friends were all well. Your little daughter was quite well last week.

I hope you will return to Canada as soon as you possibly can. I think your presence here is very desirable on your own account as well as on account of the cause of God. While you are absent your enemies are not idle nor unsuccessful in their efforts to injure you.

My own mind is in a very unsettled state, so much so that sometimes I hardly know what to do; however I feel determined to *endeavour* to follow the openings of Providence and to save my own soul. I think I have suffered more from depression of spirit the last year than at any former period of my life, so much so at times as to be almost disqualified for duty. Many circumstances have occurred during the last year to wound my feelings but few if any of them have I felt more sensibly & deeply than the almost contemptuous neglect of those I thought my friends in the conference.^[32] I frequently perceive, or think I do, that I am considered as rather an incumbrance standing in the way of others more favoured & perhaps deserving than myself, and therefore shall gladly, as soon as providence shall graciously open any way for me, retire & make room for them. But I have said too much about myself; I shall trouble you with no more.

The family & friends are all well or at least were so when I left home.

Remember me kindly to Mr. Alder, Marsden, Grindrod & particularly to Mrs. R.

I should feel thankful for an interest in your prayers, for you will believe me when I assure you I feel that I need them. God

bless you & keep you & crown your labours with success. There is so much noise & motion in the boat that I have written this so badly I fear you will hardly be able to read it & perhaps it would be just as well.^[33]

Yours truly,
W. RYERSON

After the success of his campaign for the Charter was assured, and before his begging tour in the provinces, Ryerson undertook to write a series of letters on the Affairs of the Canadas for the London *Times*. These later were bound into a pamphlet, which with preface and notes runs to 75 pages, printed in 1837 by J. King, College Hill, London with a dedication to the members of the British Parliament. The quotation on the title page, from a speech of Head's, scarcely represents the character of the argument—"Correct every real grievance, but maintain the happy Constitution inviolate". Very little is said about grievances, and much as to the perils to the British connection and the welfare of the Canadas if the Legislative Councils are to be made elective and the Executive Councils to be made responsible to sovereign legislatures. In this connection he asks, if some legislative councillors have proved unworthy, whether "many sharpeners and bankrupts" have not been elected to the assemblies.

The first six letters are addressed to Messrs. Hume & Roebuck as the men "who had kindled and blown to a flame" the movement for Canadian independence. These are dated from June 1st to July 12th. The seventh and eighth, dated August 24, 1836, and January 27, 1837, are addressed to the Secretary of State for the Colonies. Three of the letters, the fourth and fifth and the eighth, deal exclusively with affairs in Lower Canada, and the sixth is also largely concerned with that province. Ryerson seeks to refute the contention of Papineau and Roebuck that the British have "pillaged" the Canadians. He points out that the French people have been singularly lacking in business enterprise and have made very little advance in education. "It is notorious in Canada," he says, "that several of the French members of the Assembly can neither read nor write. Out of two French grand juries in the district of Montreal, empanelled a short time since, there was but one man who could write his name." The general argument is that neither Upper Canada nor Lower Canada is in a position safely to cut the leading strings. The seventh letter is a defence of the Lieutenant Governor against the attacks of Hume and Dr. Charles Duncombe, who had come over to England immediately after his own election and the defeat of his party to

complain of the conduct of the election and the government of Sir Francis Bond Head.

The third of the series is dated June 15th, and is reproduced as best illustrating the general character of Ryerson's argument.

“A CANADIAN” to JOSEPH HUME and JOHN ARTHUR ROEBUCK, *Esquires*, Members of Parliament.

SIRS,—

The object of the present letter is to give an epitomized statement of the progress, spirit, and character of the Canadian agitations and parties that you represent, and of which I have shown you are the primary movers.

I have said that the first step taken by the Lower Canada House of Assembly to abolish the constitution of that province was in 1833. That Assembly proposed to call a provincial convention of delegates to consider the propriety of either abolishing the Legislative Council, or of rendering it elective. This proceeding was adopted the very session after that in which the same House of Assembly had unanimously prayed that “the constitution, as established by law, might be transmitted unimpaired to posterity.” Their correspondence in the interval of these two sessions with Mr. Hume and Mr. Roebuck, and the return of Mr. Viger from London, had poured this flood of new light upon their minds. By a Royal despatch, dated January, 1834, this conventional project was disallowed. In Upper Canada materials did not exist for so speedy and successful an adoption of your opinions and advice; and for more than a year after Mr. Hume had recommended the establishment of an independent republic in British North America, like that of the United States, his recommendation was not responded to by a single newspaper in Upper Canada, except Mr. Mackenzie's, and in that very cautiously. Not even your pupil, Mr. Mackenzie, had the hardihood to whisper the Elective Legislative Council project within the walls of the Assembly; he therefore adopted another method to carry your scheme into effect. He proceeded, in the first place, to get a little society formed for the discussion of political questions, and the diffusion of political information. After a few months' weekly lecturing to companies of persons thus assembled, a sufficient number of kindred spirits were prepared for further

proceedings, and the members of this society, at a meeting held in its room on the 9th of December, 1834, formed themselves into a society, with branches in the Canadas and elsewhere, to be known by the title of “The Canadian Alliance”, for the attainment of the following among other objects:—

1. A responsible representative system of government, and the abolition of the Legislative Council, the members for which are nominated for life by the colonial governors.

2. A written constitution for Upper Canada, embodying and declaring the original principles of the government.

3. The abolition of the law of primogeniture.

4. The control of the whole public revenue by the representatives of the people.

5. To oppose all undue interference by the Colonial-office, Treasury, or Horse Guards, in the domestic affairs of the colonists.

6. The diffusion of sound political information by tracts and pamphlets.

7. The extinction of all monopolizing Land Companies.

8. The vote by ballot in the election of representatives, aldermen, justices of the peace, etc.

9. To enter into close alliance with any similar association that may be formed in Lower Canada or the other colonies, having for its object “the greatest happiness of the greatest number”.

Mr. W. L. Mackenzie, M.P., Corresponding Secretary for the Society and all its branches.

Mr. Joseph Hume, M.P., and Mr. John Arthur Roebuck, M.P., agents in London.

Mr. E. B. O’Callaghan, M.P., (editor of the *Montreal Vindicator* newspaper), agent in Montreal.

Mr. Etienne Parent, House of Assembly, Lower Canada, agent in Quebec. Also Agents in Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, and Newfoundland.

[Here follows a criticism of the views of Roebuck and Pineau on the elective principle for the Legislative Council.]

This society has continued to hold its meetings nearly every week since its formation; has done all in its power to extend and multiply its branches; has succeeded in forming several in different parts of the province; has, by resolutions, appeals, etc., attacked every measure of Government which it could in any way convert into a topic of excitement, and has assailed every member of the Assembly, and almost every other public man who was known to be favorable to the established institutions of the country; has, last of all, sent to the officers of its branches and into various parts of the province printed petitions to the Assembly against granting any supplies to Government, and in favor of sending the newly-appointed governor, Sir F. Head, back from whence he came. This the majority of the Assembly have resolved to do—refusing the supplies, demanding the recall of Sir F. Head, and a new governor and government, responsible to the local Assembly, and a variety of other things, “too numerous to mention”.

There is one more event in the progress of incipient revolution in Upper Canada which it is necessary to notice for the information of many members of the British Parliament, to whom was presented, a few months since, an octavo volume of Canadian grievances in the form of a report of a committee of the House of Assembly. I wish to state how that volume was got up and transmitted to England. In the legislative session of 1834 Mr. Mackenzie moved for the appointment of a committee, consisting of three or four besides himself, to take into consideration certain parts of Lord Ripon’s dispatch to Sir John Colborne, dated November 8, 1832;^[34] and, as chairman of the committee, he availed himself of the pretext and opportunity thus afforded him to assail the principles of the constitution, and every branch of the Government. But little was heard of the proceedings of this committee during the session. The report, which fills nearly 600 pages, was not presented to the house until after 1 o’clock in the morning of the day before the Governor had given notice of his

intention to prorogue the Legislature. More than half of the members had retired for the night, though there was not an absentee among the "Canadian Alliance" members. On account of the advanced hour of the night, the late period of the session, the length of the report, (and the supply bill not having yet been passed) it was proposed to dispense with reading the report and to print it for the information of members and the public during the recess. This proposition, after some complaint from one or two members against such a mode of proceeding, was agreed to. One of the leading Conservative members hearing next day that a voluminous report of this committee had been, at a very late hour, presented to the House and ordered to be printed, searched for it, in order to learn its contents; but the report was not to be found, either in the clerk's office or in any of the committee-rooms. Just before the prorogation he complained of this to the House, and Mr. Mackenzie, on being questioned, replied, that he had not desired to conceal the report from any member of the House until the close of the session, but he had taken it to his own house to get some parts of it copied and sent to Mr. Papineau, of Lower Canada, and to Mr. Hume, in London. Loud complaints were of course made against such unparliamentary and unheard of conduct; but the object of the "Canadian Alliance" party was accomplished. The session closed; and this report was printed, and sent home to His Majesty's Government, and to many members of the Imperial Parliament, as the deliberate sentiments of the people of Upper Canada, speaking through their representatives; and was made the basis of a very elaborate despatch from Lord Glenelg to his Excellency Sir F. Head, dated December 15, 1835. Yet this report was never even read in the Assembly, nor was a resolution for an Elective Legislative Council ever moved, or the question ever discussed, in the Upper Canada House of Assembly, until since the beginning of the present year.

Such, Sirs, is the manner (as I can easily prove by abundant references to legislative debates) in which your schemes have been promoted in Upper Canada. What would be thought of a report of a select committee of the House of Commons being thus made and sent forth to the world, embracing the constitution of the House of Lords, the administration of justice, the prerogatives of the Crown, the whole questions of crown and public revenue, of church and state, of taxation, etc? Since the assumption of the government of

Upper Canada by Sir F. Head, a majority of the Assembly have undertaken to give him, as a new man, some lessons on responsible government; differences have taken place; the most outrageous proceedings have been adopted, and the most extravagant demands have been made, and the supplies have been withheld by a majority of the Assembly. But their proceedings in any of these questions prove nothing as to the sentiments and feelings of the people of Upper Canada, any more than the report of one of their committees on geology proves what are the geological opinions of the Canadians. The people of Upper Canada were never appealed to on any of these constitutional questions. The “Canadian Alliance Society” itself had no existence until since the election of the present House of Assembly. The test by which a majority of the present Assembly was elected was their disapproval of the proceedings of the late Assembly, in expelling a member several times for the same offence;^[35] and I confidently declare, Sirs, that the imputation of your schemes to the people of Upper Canada is a libel upon them. The residence of my life has been among the people of whom I thus speak. I am one of them by birth, education, feeling, and interest. I admit you have republican partisans there; you have, indeed, a “Canadian alliance” there; but it is not the organ of Upper Canadian principles and feeling, and the *animus* of its talent, and its weekly lecturer,^[36] is nothing but a deposed Catholic priest. The people of Upper Canada are not republicans, nor do they desire a “government purely democratic”. They desire nothing but a monarchical colonial government well administered; and the truth of this assertion they will assuredly prove by an almost unanimous elective voice whenever any British Government puts the question to them.

The Conference of 1836 met on June 8th, less than a fortnight before the Provincial Elections, and adjourned on June 13th. It was the shortest ever held. “This was a harmonious Conference,” Carroll comments, “compared with the preceding one; but then it partook somewhat of the stillness of death.”^[37] So tense was the political situation that there was some discussion as to whether the customary address to a new Lieutenant Governor should be prepared by Conference. The final decision was that the omission of the address would appear invidious, and a moderately-worded document with due professions of loyal attachment was unanimously adopted. Head’s reply

was brevity itself. “As the elections have commenced, I must decline giving any other reply to the Address I have just received from you, than merely to acknowledge its receipt.” Green pronounces this “an insulting reply, such as no statesman would think of sending”,^[38] but Evans considers that the time at which the address was presented furnished a sufficient apology for its brevity. Rolph has biting words for the representatives of Conference who called on the Governor. Having heard Sir Francis announce the reason for his brief answer, he tells us “The Rev’d gentlemen thanked him, in the presence of their Maker, for his gracious reply, and humbly bowing, retired to praise him in the columns of the *Guardian* for what they knew to be hypocrisy. Such is the offspring of the adulterous connection between Church and State.”^[39]

The ministers in conference assembled could have nothing to say directly as to the imminent elections. At two points, however, they spoke by inference. After Evans had been re-elected editor, by a majority of twelve, his course in the previous year became the object of “some conversation”. Whereupon it was resolved,

That this Conference, considering that the Editor of the *Christian Guardian* being accountable only to the body by which he is appointed for his official conduct, the District Meetings have no authority to enter upon a consideration of the course which as Editor he may have pursued, with a view either to censure or to applaud him, and that this not having been understood by some of the brethren in some of the Districts, it is ordered that any minutes recorded on the Journals of any of the District Meetings on that subject be erased.

But in the complimentary resolution to Sir Francis, although the phrasing was so careful that no minister could object, the Conference went further than was prudent and invited trouble from forthright laymen. They spoke of the “undissembled admiration of the excellent Constitution by which the rights and privileges of the inhabitants of this province are so happily secured, and under which it has advanced to its present state of civil and religious prosperity”. They protested their loyalty in the following terms:

Deeply impressed with a due sense of the advantages derived from the connexion existing between this province and the Mother Country, it will be alike our duty and delight to inculcate, by precept and example, on the numerous people under our pastoral

care and instruction, those scriptural principles of piety and loyalty which are essential to their peace and prosperity, and to the perpetuation of that connexion.

It is true that in the next paragraph they suggested that something was wanting to complete religious prosperity, when they asked for a “speedy and satisfactory disposition” of the Clergy Reserves; but the whole tone of the message was such as to suggest that the preachers could be counted on to use their influence for the Governor and his party. The endowment of the rectories was deeply resented by the preachers. William Ryerson indicates (p. 338) that it was an important element in the campaign. Green is emphatic in his condemnation of both the measure and the method:

This outrage was kept a secret until Sir John was gone, but when this disgraceful act became known it created disgust and uneasiness in every part of the province.^[40]

Two months before Conference, when the matter first became known, Evans in an editorial had said he was confident that the act would meet with the strongest disapprobation of nineteen-twentieths of the inhabitants of the Province, and that the course of the government if persevered in would mean a dominant priesthood of one church entirely independent of the people for their support. But a month later he was busy advising Mackenzie “for the sake of his public credit, if he has any yet remaining, to make no further attempts to ingratiate himself with the Methodists”,^[41] and in another month he was urging voters to declare for the “continuation of that unrivalled national blessing, the British constitution”.^[42] The Conference, however, did make a pronouncement on the rectories. Their protest was included in the address to the King, which Ryerson and Lord were instructed by resolution to present to Glenelg. But we learn of this protest not from the organ of the Conference, where one would expect to find it, but from a publication by a Presbyterian two years later.^[43] The Memorial reads:

It is, therefore, with extreme regret we have learned that during the past year fifty-seven Rectories have been established, and endowed out of the lands set apart for the support of a Protestant clergy, notwithstanding the wishes of its inhabitants, so often constitutionally expressed by petition, and through their representatives in the House of Assembly. We should not discharge the duty we owe to Your Majesty in the present posture

of the affairs of this Province, did we not most humbly and respectfully convey to Your Majesty our full conviction, that nothing could tend more directly to weaken the attachment of the people of this country to the parent state than the continuance of this system of exclusive patronage of any one church; nor could any measure more happily conduce to allay existing agitation and dissention, and to produce a more affectionate and enthusiastic devotion to Your Majesty's Government, than an assurance that this system will no longer be pursued.

It would not be surprising if, in spite of much careful shepherding by Lord and Evans and John Ryerson, not a few of the Wesleyan Methodists voted Reform as usual. When the polls were closed, the verdict for the Constitutional party was not "almost unanimous", as Ryerson had predicted it would be, but it was impressive enough. In many constituencies the majorities were small. Mackenzie himself was defeated, and by an opponent of no great prominence or ability, although the other three ridings of York returned Reformers.^[44] In the Bay of Quinte district, John Ryerson could boast that not a "ninny of them" was elected. After twelve years of uninterrupted popularity, Bidwell and Perry fell in Lennox and Addington. The vote was fairly close. Besides the general swing to "the right" in this election, in Lennox and Addington the victorious candidates had the advantage of being local men, while Bidwell had moved to Toronto, and Perry to Whitby.^[45] Canadian constituencies seldom take kindly to absentee members. The fact that Bidwell, whom Ryerson was never disposed to criticize, received fewer votes than Perry may be regarded as evidence that Hodgins overestimates the influence of the "Picked to Pieces" pamphlet when he says it resulted in Perry's defeat.

In Prince Edward County the victory for the Constitutional party was particularly decisive. Armstrong (Ryerson's father-in-law) and Bockus received 454 and 427 votes respectively, as against 225 for Roblin (who had presented the claims of the Academy in the Legislature) and 160 for Wilson. Toronto contributed to the strength of the Tories by returning a rising young lawyer of marked ability, W. H. Draper, who defeated Small, a man of moderate views, by a majority of 85. The lower St. Lawrence and the counties west from the Niagara showed considerable Reform strength. Grenville and Dundas returned all four members of that general description. Not so Brockville, where poor John Carroll^[46] was stationed, and Leeds and Grenville. The former returned Henry Sherwood, "a loquacious sprig of the law" (p. 424), while the latter, a double constituency, returned Jonas Jones

and Ogle R. Gowan (the founder of the Orange Order in Canada, who so much preferred the hurly-burly of open voting that he declared the ballot a mean and cowardly device). John Rolph, inscrutable as ever, had chosen this inopportune time to return to public life, and was readily elected by his old friends in Norfolk, only to find himself one of a minority of eighteen in a house of sixty-one.

The Methodists in general and Egerton Ryerson in particular have been represented as mainly responsible for the crushing defeat of the Reformers. Hincks states that they held the balance of power in many constituencies and believes that he is “correct in asserting that Sir Francis carried the elections in 1836 against the Reformers mainly through the influence of the Rev. Egerton Ryerson”.^[47] Dent quotes and accepts this view, emphasizing the influence of the series of letters in the London *Times*, which, he says, “were circulated in pamphlet form as a campaign document”.^[48] Professor Kennedy also states that “the controlling force in the elections was the Methodists under the direction of Egerton Ryerson”.^[49] It is probably the case that a great majority of the Wesleyan Methodists voted with the Constitutional party, while the Episcopal Methodists largely supported the Reformers. Ryerson’s direction, however, could hardly have been effective in view of the fact that it frequently took six weeks for a message to pass from London to Toronto and the same time for a reply. And the Conference in 1836 no longer needed guidance. The fact was that Mackenzie had quite alienated the sympathies of most Methodists who remained with the Wesleyans by his bitter attacks on the *Guardian* and by the inaccurate and unfair criticism of the Conference in the *Grievance Report*. However friendly they might feel to the more moderate members of the party, like Bidwell and Rolph, they had long since parted company with the more radical element.

While the Methodists played their part in giving the Government a majority, Sir Francis handled his cards cleverly. He was able to turn to good effect the stoppage of supplies, with consequent unemployment and shortage of money. Further, his appeal to the flag^[50] attracted not only the old loyalist stock but also a very large body of voters of similar views, since British immigration had doubled the population between 1825 and 1835.

The election was unusually strenuous. The charge was made by Mackenzie, and promptly carried to the British Parliament by Duncombe, that wholesale violence and manufacturing of voters had been employed by the government forces. There is evidence that intimidation was employed, but with open voting that was nothing unusual. A delightful picture of the

week's voting in Durham has been preserved in the letters of John Langton—the little *Calypso* on Rice Lake, gay with bunting, carrying voters to and fro, her crew all dressed alike with striped guernseys and white trousers and low straw hats with blue ribbands and a British ensign as a scarf; the large marquee on the island and plenty of cold prog and venison and fish, and the bonfires to celebrate victory. And this as to the myrmidons from Peterborough:

There was astonishingly little fighting considering the number of wild Irishmen we brought down, but they were altogether too strong for the Yankees, who after giving their votes generally mounted their horses and made off; so for want of better game our Patlanders occasionally got up a snug fight amongst themselves, but though there were three or four *kilt* I did not hear of any very serious damage.^[51]

We have another account of these elections, not so jaunty and jocund as that of Langton. Herrington gives a description which he had received from Peter Bristol of Napanee, who remembered the Lennox and Addington contest:

John Solomon Cartwright and George H. Detlor, the Tory candidates, were running against Peter Perry and Marshall Spring Bidwell. They ran in pairs; Perry and Bidwell were called the rebels by the other side. There was only one polling-place in the county and that was at Bath. It was a little booth on the edge of the village. I was quite a young man at the time and didn't know much about the issues; but I could understand that the people were greatly excited. The taverns of Bath were crowded with men wrangling about the votes. Whiskey was flowing freely, and there were plenty of drunken men and brawls in the streets.^[52]

Mackenzie had a good deal to say about the unfairness and the violence in his own riding, but there can be little question that he was well and soundly beaten.^[53] In his great speech of January 30, 1837 in the Assembly—one of the most eloquent addresses ever delivered in a Canadian parliament—John Rolph analysed the reasons for the defeat of the Reformers in the elections. The argument though powerful is partial, and in the habit of a lawyer. It is a curious fact, in the light of the opinions here quoted, that he fails to mention the defection of the Methodists as a factor, and nowhere refers to Ryerson by name or definitely by implication. At the conclusion of his speech he takes occasion to review the obligation under which Joseph Hume had placed the

people of Canada. The point and emphasis of these paragraphs were probably intended for Ryerson and his friends; otherwise it is difficult to account for their somewhat forced inclusion in what is evidently a carefully elaborated speech. The reasons given for the results are three: the secret influence and open violence of the Orange lodges; the “parade of patents equally intimidating as a parade of soldiers” at the polls; and the “vicious and disreputable” appeals of Sir Francis to the electors.

The charges of corruption and intimidation and fraudulent issuance of patents on the eve of the election were examined by a committee of the Assembly during the next session. The investigation on the whole did not substantiate the charges. The Reform members who appeared before the committee expressed themselves as satisfied with the conduct of the elections in their own ridings, and any complaints they had were based on hearsay. The statistics on the patents failed to sustain the claims of Mackenzie and Duncombe.^[54] Rolph claimed, however, that Mackenzie was not afforded a fair opportunity to present his evidence.

It would appear then that the election of 1836 was not won by Ryerson, or by the Methodists, or by exceptionally reprehensible election tactics; it was just another example of the way in which the minds of voters in English-speaking Canada respond to well-directed appeals to loyalty and anti-American prejudice. In this particular instance, the Reformers, or at least one section of them, had swung far to the left and had shocked the large body of voters who identified religion and loyalty to the Crown.

[1] Sir Francis B. Head: *A Narrative*, p. 37.

[2] *A Narrative*, p. 32.

[3] *Canadian Archives Pamphlet No. 1171—Robert Baldwin to Peter Perry*.

[4] It was he who loaned £1,200 to the Academy in its extremity, on the personal note of John Ryerson.

[5] *A Narrative*, p. 66.

- [6] This letter appears in the *Guardian* of May 25th. It will be noted that it antedates the last letter in the previous chapter by several weeks. The nature of the contents of these letters suggested in the case of these two chapters a departure from the strictly chronological order elsewhere observed.
- [7] John Arthur Roebuck had been voted £1100 by the Legislative Assembly of Lower Canada for advocating in the House of Commons the redress of their grievances.
- [8] On April 20th, Sir Francis in a long speech dismissed the Assembly, as Ryerson on March 30th had predicted he would do.
- [9] Dent: *The Upper Canada Rebellion, Vol. I*, p. 108.
- [10] *C.G.*, Feb. 20, 1836.
- [11] *C.G.*, Feb. 20, 1836.
- [12] Ryerson correctly saw that the theory of Responsibility was not so simple as some of its advocates supposed, but had several aspects—responsibility to one’s constituents, or to one’s conscience, as well as to one’s party and colleagues.
- [13] This affords evidence that even in his first interview with Glenelg, Ryerson did not confine his observations to the needs of the Academy. Rolph was the gentleman recommended.
- [14] Perry had laid himself open to this quip by stating it as his opinion that Ryerson “had been sent to Kingston to dislodge the Honourable Speaker and himself from that House by destroying the confidence placed in them by the constituency of Lennox and Addington”.

- [15] We may assume that Mackenzie would be interested in securing this “plum” for the editor of the *Correspondent and Advocate*. He himself had received £225 for reporting, and was voted £250 for services as a commissioner on the books of the Welland Canal Company.
- [16] It was Rolph, not Baldwin, who was generally regarded as being the prime mover in Responsible Government, according to Junkin.
- [17] Member for Middlesex, formerly (if not now) a Methodist; hence the familiarity.
- [18] In the *Guardian* of April 27th is printed a petition from Ephraim Evans addressed to the House of Assembly, and read on April 18th, protesting against the unfair treatment he and the *Guardian* had received at the hands of the Committee, and asking to be heard at the Bar of the House.
- [19] Probably the people with whom Junkin stayed. He remained a bachelor, reaching old age in St. Catharines.
- [20] Even in Kingston Canadian sentiment was growing.
- [21] Rev. Daniel McMullen was junior preacher on the Bay of Quinte circuit.
- [22] Further evidence that Conference honours were a good deal discussed amongst the ministers. The influence of the chairmen of the districts as they passed from circuit to circuit would be distinctly felt.

[23]

Again (see p. [190](#)) John would seem to be less than just to William. Richardson was too prominent and useful a member of Conference to be allowed to separate himself without every effort having been made to retain him. This, quite apart from any political sympathies William and Richardson may have had in common. None of the other four chairmen shared John's strong conservative bias; and it is not quite a coincidence that in the July elections none of the districts returned a solid "constitutional" contingent, as did that of John Ryerson; from east of Kingston to Toronto not a single Reformer was elected in June.

[24]

John's enthusiasm carries him away. The account which appears in the *Guardian* of May 4th tells a very different story:

This evening at about twenty minutes before eight the poll was closed in this County, thus:

McNab	392
Reynolds	381

Majority	11

and James McNab, Esq., the Constitutional Candidate, was declared duly elected, after as warm a contest of a week's duration as ever occurred in the Province! The issue, we learn, was long doubtful, Mr. Reynolds taking the lead every day until Saturday. The state of the poll at the close of each day was as follows:

<i>Monday</i>		<i>Tuesday</i>		<i>Wednesday</i>	
Reynolds	88	Reynolds	109	Reynolds	147
McNab	79	McNab	103	McNab	136
	---		---		---
	9		6		11
 <i>Thursday</i>		 <i>Friday</i>		 <i>Saturday</i>	
Reynolds	226	Reynolds	274	McNab	392
McNab	181	McNab	258	Reynolds	381
	---		---		---
	45		16		11

Open voting over a whole week in a close contest offered plenty of opportunities for jobbery. If the Reformers brought voters all the way from Hamilton, Gore District, it may well have been that the "Constitutional" party scurried about after the poll closed on Thursday.

- [25] Why? To escape the bailiff and Academy debts? Or just the age-long appeal of the sunny south to the northerner weary of struggling against nature and circumstance?
- [26] This is the only reference to George Ryerson in this year. Evidently he was still in England.
- [27] A sweeping assertion. Did it include Rolph and Bidwell and Perry and the Baldwins, as well as Mackenzie? In February, Ryerson had recommended to Glenelg the appointment of Rolph to the Executive Council.
- [28] See p. 129. In 1834 the returns obviously are more accurate than they had been in 1831. The *Guardian* paid £142.11.0. and its nearest competitors were the *Patriot*, £59.10.10, the *Western Mercury* £46.13.8, and the *Brockville Recorder*, £38.16.0. In view of these figures, Ryerson's statement was conservative.
- [29] The term was only now coming into use in Canada, with the demand that the Executive Council should be responsible to the Assembly.
- [30] Sir Francis himself was well pleased with the impression he made, and did not blush to tell Glenelg about it (*A Narrative*, p. 90): “. . . *never before* had such a demonstration of public feeling been evinced. I am perfectly confident that the whole country is disposed to rise up to support me, and I can assure your Lordship that I foresee no difficulty whatever in crushing the republican party, and in establishing loyalty, except a general fear which prevails throughout the country that the *Home Government will be afraid to support me.*”
- [31] From this it would appear that William was not the unregenerate radical John regarded him as being, but wished the Government forces success at the polls.

- [32] William's name appears on only one of the numerous committees of Conference, and it may well be that others shared John's mistrust of his political leanings.
- [33] The letter is not at all badly written; it is just that the world is all awry to William.
- [34] The Earl of Ripon, at that time Lord Goderich, among other suggested reforms had recommended the exclusion of ministers of religion from the Legislative Council, the independence of the judiciary from government interference, and the equitable disposal of the Clergy Reserves by the Canadian authorities.
- [35] The *Guardian* under Ryerson's editorship had disapproved of the expulsions of Mackenzie, but this would appear to be the only place where Ryerson expresses the view that these successive expulsions determined the result of the general elections of 1834.
- [36] O'Grady was an active propagandist for the Alliance.
- [37] *Case, Vol. IV*, p. 116.
- [38] *Green*, p. 205.
- [39] Pamphlet. *Address of John Rolph in the Legislative Assembly, January 30th, 1837* (p. 33).
- [40] *Green*, p. 203.
- [41] *C.G.*, May 4, 1836.
- [42] *C.G.*, June 8, 1836.
- [43] *Reply of William Morris, Member of the Legislative Council, to Six Letters addressed to him by John Strachan, D.D.*, p. 27.

- [44] Mackenzie had a minority of 100 (489—389), Gibson a majority of 67, Morrison a majority of 101, and McIntosh a majority of 135. Had the terms “left” and “right” been used in those days, and had the Reform candidates of York been arranged according to their radical tendencies, they would have stood exactly in this order.
- [45] Perry had interests north of Whitby which later made him the promoter of a railway to Georgian Bay and preserved his name in Port Perry, the actual terminus.
- [46] His flock took exception to the complimentary resolution to Head and refused to contribute to his support “except the simple penny a week and shilling a quarter” (*Case, Vol. IV*, p. 124), with the result that in order to live he was compelled to sell “whatever he had disposable”. The *Recorder* had recommended the “stopping of supplies” as the only way of bringing the Methodist preachers to time.
- [47] Sir Francis Hincks: *Reminiscences*, p. 18. At this time Francis Hincks, a young Irishman, was coming into prominence in York, and was secretary of the Reform Constitutional Society.
- [48] Dent: *The Upper Canada Rebellion, Vol. I*, p. 334. The first of these could not have reached Canada till a month after the election. The pamphlet was not published till 1837. Dent is confusing the *Times* letters with the Peter Perry letter.
- [49] W. P. M. Kennedy: *The Constitution of Canada*, p. 152.

[50] Sir Francis Head boasted in *A Narrative* (p. 110) that he hoisted the British flag “for the first time in the history of the Province on the roof of the Government House”. To him it was a simple issue; on the one hand was monarchy and the happy constitution, on the other republicanism depending on foreign support. “In the name of every regiment of militia in Upper Canada, I publicly promulgate,” he exclaimed, “*let them come if they dare*” (p. 111).

[51] *Early Days in Upper Canada, Letters of John Langton*, p. 170.

[52] Herrington: *History of the County of Lennox and Addington*, p. 188.

[53] It is not necessary to suppose that there were more Methodists in the riding lost by Mackenzie than in the riding won by McIntosh.

[54] In commenting on this feature of the election in his seventh letter to the *Times*, Ryerson called attention to the fact that it was quite the common thing for holders to delay taking out their patents until some particular occasion, such as an election, made it necessary for them to do so. He himself on arriving of age had received and located his United Empire Loyalist grant of 200 acres of land. It was several years later, however, before he took up the patent. Had he wished to vote in an election in this riding, he observed, he might have taken up the patent within a week of the election.

CHAPTER X

THE ARM OF FLESH

August 1836 to December 1837

The next eighteen months were in the main a period of disillusionment for Ryerson “at home” and for his brethren in Canada. The ear of the Colonial Secretary had been gained, and Sir Francis had prevailed over the detractors of Methodism. But dependence on secretaries and governors failed to bring results—at least immediate and tangible results. The Royal Charter was but paper after all, and not paper of the kind needed to satisfy Matthew Richey’s lordly notions.^[1] Private purse strings in England were loosened, but not very far. And the Governor, swollen with victory, soon appeared not a little ridiculous and quite wanting in the tact and patience and perception necessary to effect anything with the antiquated machinery of the Constitutional Act. But this as yet the Ryersons did not quite understand; and so during these months their lives were filled with more or less aimless strivings, as Upper Canada verged to rebellion.

It is impossible to follow in full detail the movements of Egerton Ryerson during the last ten months of his stay in England. His letters are comparatively few—and not all of those which reached the hand of Hodgins are now available. The extracts from the diary preserved in the *Story of My Life* are very slight. But in a general way we can trace his activities, with occasional illuminating details. His main work was to beg—to “beg, beg, beg it all”, as Lord entreated him. When Head failed with the Canadian Parliament, Ryerson once again laid siege to the British Government. This wretched duty of begging was relieved by visits to Missionary Meetings, the British Conference, the Irish Conference, and the House of Commons. His diary tells us that on June 8th he was communing in private with his brethren assembled at Belleville in the first Conference he had missed since entering the ministry.

A considerable part of the day I spent in imploring the divine blessing upon the deliberations of my brethren. After reckoning the difference of time, I retired at the hour when I knew they would be engaged in the conference prayer-meeting in order to unite with them at the throne of the Heavenly grace.^[2]

Of the Irish Conference, he wrote,

The preachers are warm-hearted, pious men, some of them very clever; warm in their discussions, abounding in wit; talk much in doing their business; several are sometimes up at a time. They are certainly a body of excellent men. In their financial reports, it appears that many of them are really examples of self-denial, suffering, and devotion.^[3]

The British Conference was held at Birmingham, where he was kindly received not only by members of Conference but by his Quaker friends, the Sturges, and also by certain clergymen of the Church of England. In August he made an interesting excursion into Canadian politics. Charles Duncombe had turned over Mackenzie's election charges to Hume, who made a formidable assault on Head's administration in the House. Lord Sandon and W. E. Gladstone, the latter just beginning his career in Parliament, had given Ryerson a seat under the gallery to furnish material for refuting Hume's statements.

Mr. Gladstone's quick perception, with Lord Sandon's promptings, kept the House in a roar of laughter at Mr. Hume's expense for more than an hour; the wonder being how Mr. Gladstone was so thoroughly informed on Canadian affairs. No member of the House of Commons seemed to be more astonished and confounded than Mr. Hume himself.^[4]

In the autumn he was collecting in the north, and has this comment to make:

The Yorkshire people are very warm-hearted and social. Methodism there presents an aspect different in several respects from that which it presents in London, or in any other part of England I have visited; more warm, energetic, and unaffected—something like Hallowell Methodism in Upper Canada. Oh! I long to get home to my circuit work. Amidst all the kindness and interest that it is possible for piety, intelligence, Yorkshire generosity and wit to impart, I feel like an exiled captive here in England.^[5]

But as the months passed and subscriptions came in all too slowly—the situation of the trustees all the while becoming more desperate—hope of an

early return vanished, and for a time he feared that he would miss a second Conference. But in April his importunity prevailed with Glenelg; the Secretary was induced to come to the rescue of the creaking colonial machinery, and Ryerson took up his passage booked for May 1st, comfortable in the assurance that the Academy had been saved.

Further details of the events of these trying months appear in the letters.

August 17, 1836, EGERTON RYERSON, 20 Guilford St., Russell Square, London, to LORD GLENELG:

MY LORD,

During the late agitation of questions which seemed to involve the supremacy of British power in Upper Canada, the Wesleyan Ministers in that Province, in their annual meeting begun the 8th of June, felt themselves called upon to express to their gracious Sovereign their sentiments & feelings of attachment which are cherished & inculcated by the Wesleyan Methodist Church in Upper Canada towards the established Constitution of that Colony & His Majesty's person & government, respectfully stating at the same time the importance of some measures being adopted to settle the Clergy Reserve Question in order to allay effectually existing local agitations.

I have been deputed to present this address to your Lordship to be laid before His Majesty. I beg the honor to be informed when it will suit your Lordship's convenience to receive me for that purpose.

I have the honor to be

My Lord

etc.

The interview was granted two weeks later. Apparently Lord, now back in England and taking a charge at Bristol, did not accompany him, as the Conference had intended. Ryerson's diary of September 2nd reads,

Presented to Lord Glenelg the Address to the King, of the Canadian Conference. He read it carefully, and expressed himself pleased with it. He enquired as to the charges against Sir Francis Head, and the appointment of those persons only to office who are truly attached to the British Constitution. I answered his lordship on each of these points mentioned, and assured him of the loyal

British feelings of the inhabitants of Upper Canada. I pressed upon him the importance of an early settlement of the Clergy Reserve question. His lordship thanked me for the communications which I had from time to time made to him on Canadian affairs. He requested me to write to him on any matter, relative to the Canadas, I thought proper.^[6]

August 21, 1836, MRS. JANE MCLEOD, Melrose, to REV. E. RYERSON, 20 Guilford Street, Russell Square, London.

MY DEAR SIR,

You will not imagine that I have forgot you, when I tell you that I have been only waiting to receive information from Dr. Campbell respecting his plans, whom I have not yet seen and but just now understand his intention of sailing from Liverpool in the 1st of October Packet, which will be too late for me as the roads will be almost impassable from N. York to Kingston in November.^[7]

After remaining a day here I shall proceed to Ayr where I expect to meet Dr. C. when I shall decide whether to stay for him or go in the ship *Monarch*, which sails from Glasgow on the 27th inst, although I fear I can scarcely be ready by that time; but should I remain you shall hear from me and I truly hope we shall go together.^[8]

I have enjoyed my trip to the Highlands of Scotland exceedingly. You can have little idea of the variety we have had, of sunshine, rain & winds, sometimes travelling in a car, cart & even a wheelbarrow through Glens and over mountains stupendous, quite enough to inspire even “A Stump” as the Yankee says, with thoughts sublime.

Pray give Mr. McGregor my kind regards and say I received his kind letter with *Sir Robert Peel* on its back, for which I am very much obliged. If I have time, I shall write him.

Give my kindest love to Mrs. Ryerson. I hope she is quite well. Did McGregor tell her how he treated our mutual friend, Mrs. Alder? If not pray ask him; it was after I left.^[9] Remember me kindly to Miss Howell and if you hear I go in the *Monarch*, pray

write me a *very long* letter with all news to Canada. You must excuse this horrid scrawl as I am waited for.

Yours most truly,
JANE MCLEOD

P.S. I often think of the sights I saw in London. The New town of Edinburgh is the *finest* I ever saw. How sorry I shall be if I have to leave without jumping over to Ireland. Good bye; God bless you.

J. McL.

August 23, 1836, W. LORD, Nottingham, to REV. E. RYERSON, 20 Guilford Street, Russell Square, London.

MY DEAR BROTHER,

I have just missed meeting with Mr. Cornwall of Bandon this morning to whom I was intending to apply for a subscription for our Academy. He will be in Bristol in about 10 days. Will you write to me requesting me to ask his aid; this will be an introduction to him. He is a liberal man. I have mentioned the Academy to as many as I could, but as they are expecting a visit from you, they are not willing to give me any thing. There is a favourable feeling.

What is your success? I long to know. My mind is so weary, & will be until all demands are met. Use every effort, harden your face to a flint, & give eloquence to your tongue. This is your calling, excell in it. Be not discouraged with a dozen refusals in succession; the money must be had & it must be begged. Dr. Fisk will proceed from Bristol to Ireland, from Ireland to Scotland, through Yorkshire & Lancashire to Liverpool. Will it be desirable to precede him in any place. If so, I think Manchester, Leeds & Sheffield would be the most likely. Write to me, No. 12 St. James' Square, Bristol, by Friday week & let me know your movements. I should like to precede you by letter to many places. My dear Brother, work for your life & I pray God to give you success. Do not borrow, if possible. *Beg, beg, beg it all.* It may be done; there is the money & the disposition, but labour is required.

My children are all, thank God, tolerably well. I had them together for the first time yesterday.

Mrs. L. writes with me in kind regards to Mrs. R. & yourself. I have not heard from Canada since I saw you.

I remain,

Yours affecty.

W. LORD

September 10, 1836, ALEX. GILLESPIE, Jr.,^[10] *Gould Square, London*, to EGERTON RYERSON.

DEAR SIR,

Not having had the pleasure of seeing you lately, I presume you may have been out of town; if however you should have returned I should be glad to see you the first time that you are in the City. You will observe that Hume has given notice of a motion respecting Lower Canada for tomorrow night, but I understand that it will be postponed & indeed that he would be glad to get quit of the matter altogether.

I congratulate you on the full realization of your predictions as to the result of the Upper Canada elections. I have now all the returns except the county of Lanark & which shew 41 to 18.^[11] I hope that this victory will be used with good sense & moderation.

Yours very truly,

ALEX. GILLESPIE, Jr.

September 25, 1836, JOHN RYERSON, *Toronto*,^[12] to REV. EGERTON RYERSON.

MY DEAR BROTHER

Although I have written two letters since I received any from you, having a favourable opportunity to send to New York by Msst. Pool from London, who is now in this city, I drop you these few lines merely to say that there is nothing *new* in this *new* part of the world. The late elections agitated the societies very much in some places, but they are now very generally, I believe, settling down in "quietness & assurance", & I am led to hope that the worst of the storm is over. Prospects on this District are not very flattering. The society in the city has been & is still very low; hardly one of those persons who were members when I was here before are now to be found; I never new a society so

completely “scattered & peeled” as the York Society of 1832 has been. I feel very great pain of mind sometimes in looking over the miserable desolations. Caird^[13] & Co are now here. Patrick, Vaux & Webb have joined them. I think however that their race is purty nigh run, & that they will get very few more, if any. I am told that most of their performances are truly disgusting & that thinking people are turning from them with feelings of the warmest disapprobation: this is maddening the Irvinites & with no sparing hand they are dealing damnation round the land upon the heads of all who *dare* to call in question *their Apostolical authority*.

In most of the circuits out of the city Mr. Richardson had a good many friends & some very warm ones too. With these, of course, as yet I have but little influence, as they are taught to believe that it was the ambitious persecution of the Ryersons which drove him out of the church. It is thought, however, by the preachers generally that after a little these feelings will subside. We have lately had three Chapel trials, *viz.* Jersey settlement, Rock Chapel & Waterloo. I was at them all. The two former was tried before the Chief Justice at Hamilton in both of which cases we obtained a verdict. The Chief Justice charged the jury decidedly in our favour, showing most clearly at the same time that our relinquishing the *name* of Episcopacy did no more dispossess us of our property or destroy our title than the Upper Canada Bank would destroy their title to the property of the corporation were they to relinquish the *name* of “Upper Canada Bank” & assume that of the Commercial Bank of Toronto, or any other name. The Waterloo case was tried^[14] at Kingston before Judge McCouly. Judge McCouly overruled it as a question of *Law*, & it is to be tried at the next court of King’ Bench, which will be in November next. I have no doubt at all respecting the issue. The political state of the province is, I think, better than what it has been for many years. The present house of Parliament, is decidedly superior in respectability & talent to any we have ever had in this province & I doubt not will prove so in point [of] honour & usefulness. The Radicals met with a most tremendous overthrow & they came down so suddenly & so swiftly from their lofty elevation that they felt it & still feel it most sensibly. They were just about to cease the prey & behold it was instantly & forever hid, if not from their wicked eyes, yet from the reach of their vulture grasp. Not one Radical was returned from the bounds of the Bay of Quinty

District. The preachers & I laboured to the utmost extent of our ability to keep every scamp of them out & we succeeded. And had the preachers of done their duty in every place, not a *ninny* of them would have been returned to this parliment. But as it is there is just enough “escaped” to tell the fate of the rest & to moan over the dessolations of their miserably wicked & ruinous craft. Success to them; the more tears they shed, the better for their conciences & the country. I hope their quiet habitations will never mourn *their* absence, but that they will be made to stick to their holes, to which a gracious providence & an indignant people have driven them, as close as a *Brother*. The Governor is a talented man, but very little magisterial dignity about him. He is also a frolicking little cur as you ever saw & he takes good care to let every one know that *he* “esteams *every day alike*”, traveling on Sabbaths the *same* as other days. Indeed he seams to have no idea of religion atoll, but is purely a man of *plasure*. His popularity will be upon the wane soon, I assure you, if he does not mend in these respects. We are perfectly overwhelmed with Academy imbarresments. I hope you may succeed in releaveing us, but the progress seams to be very slow. The friends in Kingston are very ankeously looking for your return; indeed they are becoming quite discontented and out of pacience. I returned from the coart last week; to me they complained bitterly, the M. Society more then the other; they were ankeious to have me stay until you returned. This of course I could not do. The children are well. Mary joins me in love to Mrs. R. Please give my respects to Mr. Lord; tell him I will write to him soon. Remember me also to Mr. Alder & Mr. Marsden, if you should see them. Hugh Willson has returned to the society; he joined last week.^[15]

As ever your affectionate brother

J. RYERSON

P.S. You promised to send me the *Watchman* news paper as soon as you arived in London, but it has never come. You also said you would send me the Magazine. I have not received that either. I am ankeious to have them boath. I hope you will procure me some *choice* theological works, sermons, etc. I would be glad to get 20 or 25 pounds worth of books of this description of your selection.

J. R.

October 13, 1836, W. LORD, Bristol, to REV. E. RYERSON, 20 Guilford Street, Russell Square, London. (to be forwarded immediately)

Mrs. Ryerson will have the kindness to forward this to Mr. Ryerson without *the loss of a post*.

MY DEAR BROTHER,

On my return this morning from Gloucester I found a letter from Mr. Stinson informing me that he should draw upon you & myself for £600. He says "I shall draw upon you in two bills of £300.0.0 each. The first dated Sept. 15th payable to the order of Mrs. Margaret Talkin, at sixty days sight. The second dated Sept. 15th payable to the order of Mr. Wm. Wilson, sixty days after sight". I write this to inform you that it will be necessary to authorize some person to accept these Bills as it will never do for them to go back. But then how is the money to be got to meet them? Your success in begging I have not heard of, as I have not received a line from you since I came to Bristol, nor heard of you. They will not become due until the middle of Dec. By that time I hope the money will be either begged or borrowed. But it will be *ruin, utter ruin if they are returned*. And you know the money cannot be obtained in Canada at the present. This I expect will be the last demand made upon you, as I hope Mr. Beatty, the agent, will be able to meet the other demands. I cannot join in the responsibility of the Bills, as to do it after what has taken place, would completely ruin my character in the estimation of my Brethren. You must really let our people know that it is a desperate case. That help must be afforded or the cause will be ruined, & you personally injured.

I can assure you that Mr. Stinson's letter has revived all my old feelings. I fear I shall sink under it. I am not prepared to encounter difficulties as I was when I first engaged in this business. You must, however, be encouraged & be resolved to get the money. You are where it may be obtained. Mr. Stinson says the Assembly will help us, but of course that will not be yet. I write most confusedly. I cannot command my feelings; this business has come upon me so unexpectedly. I am distressed beyond measure; I cannot command my nerves. Something must be done, & that immediately. My Dear Br. exert yourself all you can & that *immediately*. We must look to God; it is his work & he will help. I

will do all I can to aid in this work. I hope Mrs. R. is better. Mrs. L. is still delicate & the mention of Bills I fear will sink her.^[16]
Write immediately.

I remain,

Yours etc.

W. LORD.

P.S. Excuse bad writing, etc.

December 13, 1836, EGERTON RYERSON, 20 Guilford Street, Russell Square, London, to LORD GLENELG.

(Draft)

MY LORD,

In accordance with the wish expressed by your Lordship early in September, I called at the Colonial Office on my return to Town the second week in November, but was informed that your Lordship was absent in Scotland. Having just returned to town again, and intending to remain a few weeks, I take the liberty to address a few lines to your Lordship lest I should intrude upon your Lordship's valuable time at an inconvenient moment.

In reply to the enquiries which your Lordship has been graciously pleased at different times to make respecting Canadian affairs, I have freely made statements & given opinions on a variety of topics & occurrences. It is gratifying to be able to refer to subsequent events in the Canadas as confirming, in every instance, the correctness of my statements & opinions. There are, however, two or three circumstances connected with the present administration and aspect of affairs in Upper Canada respecting which I would be happy to say a few words to your Lordship at your Lordship's earliest convenience. I would take the liberty to refer to the difficult question of *Lower* Canada government, but that I doubt not but the investigations of the Royal Commissioners will render superflous any thing that I might say on that subject. Permit me, my Lord, to add that as I have not appeared before your Lordship in any official capacity respecting public affairs, as my simple & sole object has been & is, to contribute to the utmost of my humble ability towards placing the government of the Canadas upon the surest, and at the same time popular, foundation; so whatever I may have communicated, or may communicate to

your Lordship on the public affairs of the Canadas, is intended for your Lordship individually & not to be placed in the archives of the Colonial Office. My reason for this caution is, that a party individual from Canada was permitted, a few years since, free access to all the papers of the Colonial Office, took extracts from them, and afterwards published them in U. Canada in a garbled form to the injury of the individuals who had confidentially written them.^[17] I desire to provide against any such possible contingency in future years; and the more so, as I see the great objects connected with U. Canada on which I had set my heart many years ago likely to be fully realized, [and] I wish in future life to retire altogether from the bustle of public & political discussions, pursuing the unostentatious & more appropriate duties of my sacred office.

In relation to the U. C. Academy, on obtaining the Charter, a gentleman in London^[18] engaged to advance the amount required to relieve the Trustees of that Institution from the embarrassments under which they laboured & to enable them to pursue the operations of the Institution without delay or interruption; and I have been desired to remain in England until I could collect what is necessary to refund the advances thus made, it being proposed to apply what may be obtained from the L.S.^[19] to the benevolent noble objects of the establishment. The enclosed printed paper contains the results of my efforts up to the present time.^[20] As I purpose to spend some time in London in promoting the same object, I feel most anxious to learn the result of your Lordship's kind consideration of it, not having been favoured with the great advantage of it during my recent visit to several provincial towns on account of your Lordship's having left town an earlier day than was anticipated when I was last honoured by an interview with your Lordship.

December 22, 1836, SIR GEORGE GREY, Downing Street, to REV. E. RYERSON, 20 Guilford Street, Russell Square, London.

SIR,

I am directed by Lord Glenelg to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 13th instant, relating to your communication to his Lordship on the subject of public affairs in the Canadian

Provinces, and, in reply, I am to state, that, in compliance with your wishes, those communications will be considered as confidential, altho' having been addressed to his Lordship as Secretary of State for the Colonies, they will remain together with many other similar documents among the Records of this office.^[21]

I have the honor to be

Sir

Your most obedient

humble Servant

GEO. GREY

January 2, 1837, JOHN RYERSON, Toronto, to REV. EGERTON RYERSON, 77 Hatton Garden, London.

MY DR BROTHER,

I wrote to you some time since by a Mrsts. Pool who took the letter to New York & was to mail it for England. From Mr. Armstrong's letter I see that you have received it. Since writing to you I have received a letter from you dated August. It seems from your letter to Mr. Armstrong that you are traveling purty extensively makeing collections for the Academy. Well, I can assure you that there are a great many, disinterested or otherwise, prayers & furvent supplications being offered up in this country for your success. The whole concern is in an extremely imbarressed state. If Mr. Lord had never meddled with it, in any way, it would have been at least one thousand pounds in our pockits; or his mismanagement has been that much *out* of our pockits, although what he did at the time, he doubtless did for the best. Mr. Lord was the means of inducing the building committee to make an unnecessarily expensive fence, outhouses, furniture, etc., etc., saying at the time that money should be forthcoming & that *John Bull* never stoped. We have applied to the Legislature for assistance, but I think with little prospects of success; & should we not get any thing there & you raise no more than 2,000 pounds, we *must* go down & the concern be sold. It will require four thousand pounds to get us out of debt & the debts are daily increasing; the income of the institution does not more than half pay the expences. Richey is no economist; he is *extravigent*. The number of schollers is increasing & the prospects of the Academy in this respect is flattering enough. You say nothing in your letter of your

success among the *nobility* & higher classes; it was from persons of this description that you expected principally to collect when you went home, & from the flattering incouragement which the Secretary of State for the Colonies gave you, you seemed to think you would be very successful in that quarter after obtaining the Royal Charter. If you should collect no more than 2000 pounds before you return home, don't fail to make some *arrangements* for borrowing two or three thousand more which we might draw from, in case of being driven to the necessity of doing so. Mr. Alder's conduct is quite in accordance with his promise to us about a 1000 pound from the Contingent Fund & afterwards denying it;^[22] & then his encouragements held out at Kingston for assistance from the Missionary Society; indeed it is like every thing of money nature connected with them, we have received nothing from them & have lost much by them. You told me when you returned from England before that the arrangement was, in relation to books, that we should have the privilage of paying for our books through the Missionary Society. By paying the money to Mr. Stinson here, Mr. Mason would credit us with the amount in London, & that that would save us from the great expence of purchasing bills of exchange, & the amount we would otherwise have to pay for bills we could give to the superannuated preachers if the Book room could spare it. Well so far from this being so, Lang^[23] has given Stinson 10 & 11 per cent for bills this year & he said he would let the book room have bills for not a cent less than the *highest* price he could get for them elsewhere. Now purchasing bills at this immense *premium*, connected with the high price of books & the trifling discount which is made on them, the expence of gitting them here, together with what I believe they call *veloream* duty which is paid at Montreal of 2 percent, make the circumstances of the Book concern perfectly horrible. Indeed so far from the book agents or the English preachers who have been, or are, in this country trying to assist us in any way, their principle object appears to be, to *flease* us & git all out of us they can; hence whenever there is a cent of money to be handled, they indeavour to have a English preacher, & they work into each other's hands. Be sure & bring *no* more English preachers with you, either young or old.

[Here follows an account of the shortcomings of various English preachers.]

The Legislature is now in session & I think it will work well & do much good. The Clergy lands will probably be divided between the Church, Catholics, Presbyterians & Methodists. We have said to them that we believe our conference will accept of them, provided they are left free to appropriate them as they see fit for building chapels, parsonages, & support of education, etc. I very much disapproved of Mr. Evan's remarks on the clergy reserve question at the commencement of Parliament. I conversed with the members & told them that they should not mind what the *Guardian* said about giving them [to] education and *nothing* else, & that I new the views of the Church much better than Evans did & that the Church would accept of a portion of them if it should be left free to do with them as she saw fit. I have conversed with Evans since on this subject & he now remains silent & he mearily wrote that article to please the *Radicals*. It did not contain his own sentiments.^[24]

Religious prospects on this district & through the Province generally, with the exception of this city, are very favourable. The whole Society in this city in both chapels does not number 200 members; whereas when I was here before, there were 260 in the little chapel. Religion is extremely low among those that do remain. I am fully resolved next year to have a Canadian preacher here & a Canadian preacher for book agent. Your letters to the Colonial Secretary are very popular in both provinces among the conservatives. Some of them say that the government should pay your expences to England, etc.

Mr. Stinson is singing the old song about you taking the *Guardian* again when you return, but I told him I thought it was all nonsense & that you would be a great fool if you did so. Upon the whole I like Stinson better than any English preacher I have yet seen. I have not yet seen the President. There are five Irvinites preachers here & four in Kingston. George is here. I have little communication with them. I have never heard any of them preach. I wish you would write some account of them for the *Guardian* & send it out.^[25] Patrick, Vaux, & about 10 more Methodists have joined them; a good many Church people have fallen in with them—Receiver General Dunn, Small, etc. etc.^[26] Excuse blunders. I have written this in great haist as Mr. Perrin by whom I send it will start in a few minits.

As ever yours etc., etc.

J. RYERSON

January 30, 1837, EGERTON RYERSON, *20 Guilford St., Russell Square*, to
LORD GLENELG.

(Draft)

MY LORD,

I beg your Lordship's acceptance of the enclosed observations on the affairs of the Canadas,^[27] which have been prepared in their present form at the particular request of gentlemen who are interested in the mutual prosperity of the Canadas and Great Britain, and which I trust will be found in perfect accordance with what I have at different times communicated to your Lordship, and, I hope, will aid in putting down that influence in the House of Commons and in removing those impressions from the minds of hon. members which have been so prejudicial to the interests of the Canadas and embarrassing to the most anxious wishes of His Majesty's Government.

I venture to hope the form in which two of these letters on the Canadas are addressed will not be disapproved of by your Lordship, as they bear ample internal evidence of having been dictated under the influence of the highest feelings of personal respect and a deep sense of the unprecedented difficulties which have latterly attended the administration of Canadian affairs.

I avail myself of this opportunity, my Lord, to explain an imperfectly expressed observation in my letter of the — instant.^[28] In requesting that my letters on Canadian affairs might not be considered official or registered amongst the official papers of the Colonial Office, I did not wish to be understood as desiring anything more than not permitting them to be placed in circumstances in which extracts might be taken from them. I was the *more* impressed with desire to guard against anything of that kind by your Lordship's own remarks on the publishing of isolated portions of one of your Lordship's despatches to the Governor of Lower Canada. On the contrary, I have no objection to the transmission to the Legislature of Upper Canada of every line I have confidentially addressed to your Lordship, if at any time it is

thought an advantage will be gained by it. But I desire it may go as *a whole*—especially as I wrote some of my letters in too great haste even to take *copies* of them. Whilst I desire to avoid in Canada, as much as possible, the discussion of the several questions referred to in my private communications to your Lordship, I am ready at any time to meet them there as well as here, and I desire no concealment in case what I have communicated should hereafter be requested by either branch of the U. Canada Legislature. I should be sorry to write anything privately that I would be unable or ashamed, like Messrs. Bidwell & Rolph, to meet in public.^[29]

In conclusion, I have to thank your Lordship for your repeated kindness and attentions. In a peculiar crisis of Canadian affairs, I am happy to have had it in my power to communicate information in this country which I believe is already proved to have been impartial & correct in every particular, and to have exerted, through private & public letters, to Upper Canada any little influence I may have acquired there in defence of the assailed constitution and endangered government. I have all the reward I desire in the satisfaction that, to the best of my humble ability and judgment, I have done my duty.

I am happy to perceive by Canadian papers received today, that Mr. Draper (member for the city of Toronto) has been called to the Executive Council—a most judicious appointment, as Mr. D. was selected by the present Chief Justice Robinson as his successor in business when he (Mr. R.) was raised to the bench, and as Mr. D. is a young man of unblemished reputation, of superior talents, combined with great prudence and energy, and esteemed and admired by all who know him.

February 25, 1837, SIR JOHN CONROY, Kensington Palace, to the REV. EGERTON RYERSON, 20 Guilford Street, Russell Square.

SIR,

I am commanded by the Duchess of Kent^[30] to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 22nd instant, and accompanying statement of “the Upper Canada Academy, for the education of Canadian Youth, and the most promising Youth of converted Indian Tribes,—to prepare them for Schoolmasters”.

Her Royal Highness is most happy in patronising, as you request, so useful and benevolent an Institution and calculated essentially to promote the best interests of the native population, the British Emigrants the Aboriginal Tribes of that valuable and important British Province. Her Royal Highness desires that her name be placed on the subscription list for ten pounds.

I have the honor to be, sir,

Your most obedient Servant,
JOHN CONROY

April 18, 1837, E. RYERSON, 20 Guilford Street, Russell Square, to LORD GLENELG.^[31]

MY LORD,

I humbly implore your Lordship's early and gracious attention to the following statement, occasioned by recent intelligence from Upper Canada and the entreaties of benevolent and suffering individuals.

Having just returned to town from the north in order to prepare to embark for Upper Canada by the Liverpool and New York packet of the 1st of May, I have received advices respecting the proceedings of the U. C. Legislature relative to the Upper Canada Academy. It appears that in accordance with your Lordship's gracious recommendation, on application of the Principal and Trustees of the Institution, a select Committee was appointed by the House of Assembly to investigate the subject. The committee reported in favour of a grant to the Institution; and the Assembly, by a majority of 31 to 10, passed a bill authorising a loan of £4,100 to the Trustees of the Institution for ten years. The Legislative Council, however, a day or two before the close of the session, sent the bill back to the Assembly, so amended as completely to defeat the object of it.^[32]

Thus the matter stands; and an object of so much expense and labour and interest,—an object recommended by your Lordship, and declared by a majority of *three-fourths* of the Assembly, to be of great importance to the Province,—is defeated by a majority of the Council, consisting of ten or twelve persons present, and a majority of whom, whenever the questions of religion and

education have come before them, have really shown a disposition to leave the inhabitants in total ignorance rather than that they should be instructed by any other than a high Church agency. I had hoped the successive liberal and parental despatches of His Majesty's Government on educational and religious questions, and past experience, would have prevented this repetition of ultraism on the part of a majority of the Legislative Council. I did not anticipate any opposition whatever from that quarter. But I confess myself most egregiously and painfully disappointed.

I herewith enclose two Canadian Newspapers, to which I humbly beg Your Lordship's attention. The one, dated Feby. 22nd, contains the report of the Select Committee of the Assembly on the subject of the Upper Canada Academy. The other dated 1st March, contains a report of the debate in the House of Assembly on the passing of the bill referred to. *Mr. Draper*, the Chairman of the Committee, is a Member for the City of Toronto—a strict Churchman—and Executive Councillor. *Mr. Ruttan* who brought the bill into the House is also a Churchman, and Sheriff of the Newcastle District; so also are the *Solicitor General* and *Mr. Prince*, members of the Church of England. *Mr. Cameron* is a member of the Church of Scotland, and *Mr. Manahan* is a Roman Catholic. To the testimony of these Gentlemen—to the vote of the House—and to the strong language of the report of the Select Committee, I beg to refer Your Lordship, in confirmation of all that I have stated to Your Lordship on this subject, and in support of our humble application for assistance.

[Here follows a recapitulation under four heads of the case for relief to the Academy, the fourth of which is the claim that it is “in no respect a rival but a coadjutor” of Upper Canada College, built at an expense to the state of £17,000, endowed with 25,000 acres of land, and costing the Crown nearly £2,000 a year.]

5. The annual meeting of the religious body of which I am a member takes place on the second Wednesday in June. From recent intelligence, and on several accounts, I find it necessary to be present at that meeting; I must, therefore, leave for Liverpool by the 28th inst. If your Lordship will reach out the hand of relief in this crisis and extremity of patriotic exertion, the announcement

of it on my arrival in Canada will be hailed by tens of thousands with feelings of inexpressible gratitude and delightful encouragement,—which will contribute alike to the extended and settled influence of His Majesty’s Government, and to the animated exertions of Christian philanthropy,—whilst the aid afforded will secure the final accomplishment (to use the language of the Select Committee of the Assembly) of “the greatest undertaking hitherto successfully prosecuted in Upper Canada upon the plan of voluntary contributions alone”.

I have the honour to be,
My Lord
Your Lordship’s most obd’t humble serv’t
EGERTON RYERSON

This letter was followed up by a personal interview on April 20th, the last of the series of conversations with the Colonial Secretary. Ryerson took with him copies of Canadian papers just received. He embraced the occasion to pay a tribute to the attitude of John Beverley Robinson. The Chief Justice had been one of the minority in the Council who had supported the bill for the relief of the Academy. Ryerson told Glenelg that “the opinion of the Chief Justice was of more importance on such a subject, and would have more influence in the country, than that of any majority which would be arrayed against him”. To this observation Glenelg expressed himself as much gratified that the Chief Justice dissented from the “very extraordinary proceedings of the majority of the Council”.^[33] The final success of the appeal for direct financial assistance—thrice definitely refused—was sealed by the interchange of letters following on April 25th and April 28th. But there was still to be delay and disappointment as it proved.

April 25, 1837, GEORGE GREY, Downing Street, to THE REV. E. RYERSON.

SIR,

I am directed by Lord Glenelg to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 18th instant, and, in reply, I am to inform you that, in order to prevent the embarrassment to the Upper Canada Academy, which you apprehend from the proviso introduced by the Legislative Council into the Bill granting a loan to that Institution,—instructions will immediately be sent to Sir F. B. Head, directing him to advance to the Trustees of the Upper Canada Academy, from the Casual and Territorial Revenue of the

Province, the sum intended to have been granted by the Bill in question.

I have the honour to be, Sir,
Your most obd't servant,
GEORGE GREY

April 28, 1837, E. RYERSON, 20 Guilford Street, Russell Square, to SIR GEORGE GREY.

SIR,

I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 25th instant, conveying Lord Glenelg's gracious answer to my renewed application in behalf of the Upper Canada Academy.

In behalf of the Trustees of that Institution, of the Wesleyan Conference, and of a large portion of the inhabitants of Upper Canada, of different classes, and in behalf of myself individually, I thank his Lordship with all my heart for this timely and liberal extension of Royal patronage and support to the Upper Canada Academy.

I leave this evening for Upper Canada, and doubt not but the present decision of his Lordship will contribute not a little to strengthen the conviction cherished by the enterprising inhabitants of that noble Province, in regard to the deep interest taken by His Majesty's Government in their social welfare and happiness.

I have the honour to be, Sir,
Your most obd't humble servant,
EGERTON RYERSON

May 18th, 1837, WILLIAM RYERSON, Hamilton, to REV. EGERTON RYERSON, 77 Hatton Garden, London, England.^[34]

DR. BR.

I recd. your favour by Mrs. R. yesterday and lose no time in complying with your request; . . .

You now say you are expecting to stay for some months longer. This I sincerely regret, as I fully believe that you have already remained too long: indeed, I am now decidedly of the same opinion which I have had from the beginning, that your

English mission from beginning to the end, will turn out a most unfortunate and unprofitable affair *to our cause in Canada*, whatever benefit or advantage individuals may derive from it. I wish, most heartily wish, it had never taken place, but regrets of this kind are as useless as they are unavailing and therefore will only say further, that it is my deliberate opinion, confirmed by painful experience, that the less we have to do with the English Conference and their Preachers, the better it will be both for our Conference and the Church at large; and I fully believe you will heartily agree with me on this subject, before you have been here three months, should you ever return again, unless you have altogether changed and become so entirely anti-Canadian as to forget all your former feelings and early and *best friends*, which some of your friends *much fear is actually the case*; however in this I can not agree with them; I cannot, I will not, believe that you are no longer *in sentiment and feeling* Canadian, although I must deeply regret some things you have said and done, especially your impolitic and *at least to us* unfortunate interference in the affair of the miserable grant of £900 to the W. Missions in Canada. The part you have taken in that affair I fully believe has done *us* more injury in various ways than you will be able to repair by years of the most persevering exertion; you may & doubtless do think otherwise at present, but were you here, and could you divest yourself of an infatuating English prejudice, could you feel as you once felt, you would agree with me in opinion, that it was one of the most unfortunate acts of your life. To this miserable £900 we are chiefly indebted for the loss of the Bill for the relief of the U. C. Academy, as we are positively informed by our best friends in the House of Assembly.^[35] It has also been the means of depriving many of the prs. of a considerable part of their small salary and in one or two instances of the whole of it. It has and still does more to weaken our hands and to embarrass our labours, and also to strengthen the hands and increase the number of our enemies than almost any or all the causes put together, but perhaps enough of this.

Our present prospects are certainly not of the most pleasing or encouraging character; they indeed are dark enough. To say the whole in one sentence, The Union works *badly, very badly, for us*, and I am sick, in my very soul sick of it. I wish, most heartily wish, it had never taken place. O how deeply I regret that I ever

had any hand in bring it about; the only consolation I can feel on this subject is that in the part that I unfortunately took in the affair I acted conscientiously. I thought I was doing right, was doing God service, but ah, I fear, I greatly fear, I was greatly mistaken. You doubtless have been informed from time to time of our various law suits about our Church property and of their most unfortunate termination, and of our present doubtful & trying situation, and I am sure it will afford you little satisfaction to learn that law suits are multiplying & our difficulties are increasing so that I sometimes tremble and am led to exclaim where and when will these things end.

As to our English friends, they of course can stand and look on without emotion or concern, while we are struggling for life, and are left to sink or swim as best we can, but shew little disposition to remove a burden with one of their fingers, although to us it might prove a mountain's weight and sink us beyond the hope of redemption; in fact, there is little sympathy felt or manifested. O May the ever merciful God direct, help & deliver us. There are one or two things however that appear to deeply interest the feelings and actions of our friends—to *provide for & take good care of their friends*—and by all means and in any & every way to gain and exercise the entire control & direction of all our affairs, and that not so much for *our good*, as for their own benefit and the advantage of the *English connexion*.^[36]

The state of religion throughout the Province is low. There is little doing, nor is there much prospect of much being done at the present. I think we shall have very little if any increase in numbers this year, possibly a decrease, although I hope it will not be the case. *Our thousands a year from Britain*, alas; all of them somehow are *lost on the passage* or run away as soon as they arrive, for we never see or hear of them. I do not believe, and I have pretty good opportunity for knowing, that for the last five years we have in any one year had 100, if we have had 50, increase from Europe. So much for the *boasted methodist emigration from Europe*.

You mention Mrs. Pool. I consider her one of the most interesting, intelligent, pious, estimable ladies that I ever had the pleasure and profit of conversation with. I derived much pleasure & profit from her most delightful conversation the few hours I was

in her company. I had the peculiar pleasure of receiving a delightful letter from her the same mail that brought your last favour (17 May), although it was dated at New York some time in November. Where it had been sleeping all the time I cannot pretend to say; it had been just 3 weeks and a half according to the postmark on the road between this & Toronto. Should you see her please present my most affectionate regards and say I should write & thank her for her valued favour immediately but hope to have an opportunity of sending one by private conveyance shortly. She would confer a great favour by writing again as often as convenient. I hope, should she favour us with another, she will send a more industrious one as it will take an age for it to get here. *Will* you call on Mrs. Pool and converse freely with her on the subject of the *working of the Union & the conduct & spirit of English preachers in Canada* the short time she was here; if you think proper, tell her it was my request that you should.^[37]

Our own affairs. I was at Long Pt. about four weeks since. Father & Mother pretty well, although our dear Mother fails very fast. I doubt her continuing long. The rest of the family & friends were all well. Mrs. Warren, *i.e.* Maria Williams, was here from Kettle Creek last week. She says Mr. Bostwick & family are all well & doing well. Edwy's family were all well last week. From John I have not heard for some time but apprehend they [seal] [are well]. Our family are as usual *much afflicted*. Mrs. R. has been very poorly for months, three months of which time she was confined almost entirely to her bed. She is now a little better but able to do very little, nor do I expect she will ever be much better, although her physician thinks, or rather says, she will improve when warm weather comes. My own health is poor. I have been quite feeble for some time. I am now considerable better than I have been. The rest of the family are well. Mr. & Mrs. Aikman are quite well, and your little daughter is the picture of health & activity. The hon. Mr. Morris^[38] has left Canada a few days since for England for the purpose of *advocating the claims of the Kirk of Scotland to the Clergy Reserves as one of the established churches in Canada*. I hope you will use every measure in your power to prevent his succeeding, and to save us from the curs of *another* or rather *double* establishment in this country. Mr. Draper, *our new Solicitor General*, has also just started for England to advocate the cause of the Church of England. I hope you will exert all the

influence & ability you possess to prevent their obtaining the object they have in view. If you could by any means contribute to the settlement of that most agitating & trying question by having them appropriated to education, or to education & genl., improvement, you would merit & I trust receive the lasting gratitude of your country & the world.

Your most affectionate Br.
W. RYERSON

May 19, 1837, W. M. HARVARD,^[39] *Montreal*, to REV. EGERTON RYERSON.

MY DEAR BROTHER R

Your stay in England has been of so uncertain a continuance as to prevent me from writing to you. I am glad however to find you are remaining and hope you will remain as long as you can serve our cause in England. The Scotch people are making a grand effort for the clergy reserves. We might find a slice of the loaf highly helpful for our Parsonage houses, Supernumerary Preachers, and students for the ministry at Cobourg;^[40] without a farthing coming into our Quarterly Meetings, and have as good a right as our brethren of the Presbytery. In this matter you can help us at the Colonial Office; and I should be unutterably vexed to be disinherited of our just ground of expectation. I am suddenly warned the Post forbids me to add. Have the goodness to give my love to my brother and family, and remember me to your kind hostess. I am

Your affectionate Brother
W. M. HARVARD

The Conference met on June 14th in the Newgate Street Chapel at Toronto. Under the presidency of Harvard the proceedings were deliberate, and the result was a session of eleven days. Ryerson's strength—he had returned on the 12th—was shown at the outset by his election to the secretaryship by “a large vote”, as Green puts it. He was also appointed by resolution to give an address on the Sunday evening of Conference on *The Rise, Progress, Present State, and Future Prospects of Methodism in Upper Canada*, publication of which was later requested.^[41] A resolution on his mission was passed as follows:

Resolved—That on the return to this country of our esteemed brother, the Rev. Egerton Ryerson, having with so much laborious zeal, and untiring perseverance and satisfactory success, accomplished the highly important objects of the Mission on which he had proceeded to England according to our appointment, we cannot but request him to accept of the very cordial and affectionate thanks of this Conference—and at the same time to record upon our Journals our unanimous conviction that he has thereby not only amply earned such a tribute of our brotherly gratitude, but has also justly entitled himself to the grateful regards of every genuine friend of Upper Canada.

John Ryerson was elected Book-Steward, and Evans re-elected to the *Guardian*. It was decided, however, that the name of the editor should not appear at the head of the paper, as heretofore, but in its stead the words “Published under the Direction of the Wesleyan Methodist Conference in Canada.” The three Ryersons were named on the Book and Printing Committee. At the service for the seven young men received into the ministry, William was chosen, with Anson Green, to address the candidates, and delivered one of his matchless speeches. At this time a custom was introduced from the British Conference—which continued while Methodism lasted—of asking each of the young men received into full connection to tell of his conversion and call to the ministry. It was an impressive occasion.

The Conference of 1837 faced its public responsibilities. It considered and passed and published an elaborate series of eleven resolutions dealing with government grants and clergy reserves. The tenth of these read as follows:

[*Resolved*]—That should any adjustment of the Clergy Reserve Question be proposed and determined on, which would not contravene the principles laid down in the foregoing resolutions, and by which individual and collective effort can be combined for the religious and educational improvement of the country, the members of this Conference avow their determination not to receive or apply any legislative aid for their own pecuniary support; or for any other purposes than the religious and educational improvement of the Province, in such a way as may be in accordance with the views of a majority of two-thirds of the several Quarterly Meetings throughout the Province; before which the Chairmen of the several Districts are directed to lay the

subject, as soon as the Clergy Reserves Question shall have been settled by the Legislature.^[42]

In this resolution one new and profoundly significant note was struck: the preachers were not to commit the Church without consulting the laity; two thirds of the Quarterly Meetings must agree. But on the other hand, they ceased to bear clear witness to the voluntary principle, or definitely to advocate the diversion of the Reserve funds to education. The grants to missions, the needs of the Academy, and the general attitude of the British preachers had combined to weaken the once sturdy independence of the Conference.

July 26, 1837, ANSON GREEN, Belleville, to THE REV. EGERTON RYERSON, Kingston.

(In care of J. COUNTER)^[43]

DEAR BROTHER,

Our Quarterly Meeting in this Town has passed off with great quietness and much harmony of sentiment and feeling. The business meeting was unusually well attended, and we had the Conference *resolutions on Clergy reserves and Government grants* read to the Meeting, and I am happy to inform you that they were hailed with most cordial and *unanimous* approbation.^[44] Every brother present was much pleased with them, and would, should be it thought necessary, join in a petition to Parliament, urging *our claims* for a share of the reserves agreeably to the provisions of the resolutions, and I just wish to suggest to you, whether it would not be well for us, should the reserves be divided, (which, by the by, I fear will never be the case) to make some arrangement to urge our lawful, or rather our equitable claims for our full share. This might be done either by petitions from our people or by getting certain members of the Parliament to represent us in the house, and boldly advocate our cause. I just throw out these hints for your consideration, and after I know more of the feelings of our brethren, in the *country circuits*, on this subject, I will communicate more fully with you on these matters.

We opened our school on the day appointed, but the number of students was small, and neither the Principal, nor the preceptress were present. I fear the *rise* of prices^[45] will militate against us. I left Cobourg last Saturday morning, up to which time, we had

received no account about the money for the Academy. I hope to hear good news on my return.

My expectation of better days on this District is very sanguine. The Preachers, as far as I can learn, are unusually well received on their circuits, and by the help of the *Great Shepherd of the Sheep*, I trust we shall be enabled to lead the people into “fresh pastures”, and by the side of *living waters*.

I wish you much joy in your station, and sincerely hope our friends in Kingston may see better days. Let us endeavour to call to mind *olden* days, and “forgetting the things that are behind, press forward to those that are before”. If we live *to* God and *in* God, he will work in us and *by* us to his own glory. I hope to hear from you soon, and that you & your flock are prospering in the Lord.

With love to Sister R. and self, to Br. and Sister Stinson, and our friends in [illegible],

I remain yours most affectionately
A. GREEN

August 11, 1837, JOHN RYERSON, Toronto, to THE REV. EGERTON RYERSON, Wesleyan Minister, Kingston.

(To the care of JOHN COUNTER, *Esq.*)

MY DEAR BROTHER,

I just have time to drop a line to you to say that we are much troubled & perplexed here about the Waterloo Chapel case. I saw the Attorney General today; he says that a letter from Mr. Kirkpatrick informs him that we have inserted in the writ of ejection the wrong name, it not being the name of the person who has possession of the house, so we shall be non-suited and the case will have to lay over to another Court. Next week Judge McCouly's judgment will be published when I hope you will carefully review the whole matter & lay the thing before the publick in such a way as to produce conviction. You see that all Evans can say amounts to nothing. It is not in him to write to any effect. Every body is inquiring whether you will not take up the subject. I have told them I thought you would. Perhaps you might

publish your remarks in the *Upper Canada Herald* & let the *Guardian* republish them.^[46]

I have received letters from Green, Beatty & others at Cobourg. Reichy flounces at some of our Rules for the Academy, especially that he is not to have the handling of the money, & that there is no servant allowed him extra.^[47] I very much wish Reichey was out of the institution; if he is not, I am quite satisfied that he will ruin the institution or else ruin us. We of course can never allow him to have any thing to do with the finances of the concern; & except he has so that he can squander away all the money he pleases without rendering any account of it, he will be continually creating anarchy & insubordination throughout all departments of the institution. Reichey is endeavouring to injure Green so as to crush him out of the way; this is but the counterpart of their policy relative to others. I think it is indispensable for us to maintain the Laws of the Academy passed by the Board & not allow of any infringement of them whatever & let those who will not comply with them go about their business. But nothing is more evident than that Reichey looks down upon the Board & Conference with contempt, & he is not backward to let them know it.

There is in the last *Guardian* a letter from Mr. Wilks;^[48] you will notice it & expose his sophistry & falsehood. The money market remains the same as when you left. What shall we do for the Academy money. Two days since I received a letter from old Mr. Corwin^[49] at Lundy's Lane. He informs me that the Episcopal party has commenced an action against them, in order to dispossess them of the Lundy's Lane Chapel. The trial will come on at the insuing Assizes at which Judge *McCouly* is to preside, so you see the devil helps his own & troubles us much.

Prospects in this city are much as when you left. William is doing purty well, I think his spirit improves. I hope he will soon come round to that state of mind & heart in which he will come to the people in the "fulness of the blessing of the Gospel of peace". I have returned from visiting Br. Gladwin;^[50] he is waisting away fast & has given up *all* hope of recovery, until he is removed to Abram's bosom. He has peace with God [seal] his comforts are *very* strong. This was the [seal] with him when I saw him, a great

overflowing of Divine love filling his soul. He said he had been exceedingly happy in God for the three days past. It is probable he will not survive one month at most. This he thinks himself. He also thinks, & I think so too, that he will very probably be called away much short of that time. He says he dreamt two nights ago of seeing his pious mother who died in peace when he was 16 years old, & that she called him to her & took him by the hand. & O! he said the soft glowing feeling of her hand & the Angelic kindness & heavenly sweetness of her countenance. & he said he thought in his dream that his dear mother prayed for him that he might be sustained in this his last conflict. He says that he thought she prayed for him as he actually did pray for his mother frequently during her last illness. He desires to be very affectionately remembered to you & let you know that he has the peace of God in his heart that surpasses all understanding. He expects to meet you no more on earth but hopes to meet you on that Eternal shore never to part again. It was a very affecting & instructive visit to me. I cannot, & therefore I will not attempt, to describe the feelings I then had & still have, how wonderfully mysterious the providences of God & yet how good the Lord is. Please write when you get time. When any thing occurs to write about you will hear from me again. Mary joins me in [love] to Mrs. Ryerson & self. As ever, my dear Egerton, your affectionate

BR. JOHN in haist.

September 4, 1837, H. WILKINSON,^[51] Brockville, to REV. E. RYERSON, Kingston.

(care of J. COUNTER, *Esq.*)

DEAR BROTHER

This District stands in need of a Preacher for the Pembroke Mission, which to this day I have not been able to get supplied. I understand you have a suitable person in Kingston who would be glad to embrace an opening to go & labour in the Saviour's vineyard. If so, will you please to take the necessary steps and let me know the result soon, as I go in two weeks to the Bytown quarter. The *Mission* lies about 100 miles from Bytown up the G. River, and will be difficult of access until the winter. However a suitable person could make his way up with some of the rude lumbermen who now & then go up in companies. The Br. would

need to be strong in mind & body. The people I understand know something of preaching, being emigrants from more favoured places, and the Br. would need to go on foot, or to paddle a canoe, or row a boat & thus find his way to the appt.

Please to communicate with me soon. Send by the boat if convenient, & direct to care of L. Houghton. We are in comfortable health, thank God.

Nothing new since you saw Br. Heally as it respects the party.

Respects to Sister R.

Adieu in love

H. WILKINSON

P.S. Would it not be advisable to obtain the presence of Dr. Bangs & perhaps others from the U.S. to give testimony on the trial soon to take place?

September 5, 1837, EZRA HEALY,^[52] *Brockville*, to REVD. EGERTON RYERSON, *Kingston, U.C.*

VERY DEAR BROTHER

You will think me very slow in filling my ingagment with you when we were parting in Potsdam. . . .

The conference closed with the best of feeling, and the power of God was present to heal; in the eavening meeting souls were converted. On Friday I returned to my charg, found that the Episcopal party had been very buisey while I was gone. They are very much offended with me because I would not let them into the Chapels. They say they thought me to be one of the mildest and best of men, but they think me the revurse of that now. I have my hands and heart full, and sumtimes feel like sinking; but not yet destroyed, sumtimes I rise above the whole. I feel confident that all will work for good to them that love God. That party never can do much unless I am mistaken, but disturb the peace of Zion. Yesterday I read youre communication on the opinion of the judges and am happy to find such a peace in the *Gardian*. What the judges will do with it or with you I do not know, but I hope you will give the second part in as clear an plain a maner. You are considered I bleive by som in this part of the contry as part man and part divle. This is one reason doubtless why I am so bad a

man in the minds of many, I have said so much in your favor. We have to meet the dreadfully false statements of that wicked pamphlet, and the votes of Conference [in] your case very often. They say [he] is the bad man, and the conference will cover the whole, but my dear Brother if you cleave to God and your duty, so far as I am able, I will be at your back as long as there is a hair on your head. Pray for me. Fairwell

E. HEALY

Write to me if you think proper.

September 7, 1837, W. H. DRAPER,^[53] Toronto, to REV. EGERTON RYERSON, Toronto.

SIR,

I have to acknowledge the receipt of your favour of the 3rd July last, (which I received yesterday), communicating to me the vote of the conference of the Wesleyan Methodist Church in Canada.

I feel deeply indebted to that body for the honour conferred upon me in deeming my humble exertions in the cause of Christian education worthy of their approbation and I trust that I shall never forfeit their good opinion.

I cannot at the same time pass by the opportunity of thanking you for the terms in which you have communicated that resolution to me, and of expressing my satisfaction that I have in any degree contributed to the success of your unwearied exertions in behalf of the Upper Canada Academy in England. I sincerely rejoice that you were enabled to obtain that aid for its completion which was so necessary and so well deserved.^[54]

I have the honor to be

Sir

Your most obedient

humble servant

WM. H. DRAPER

October 31, 1837, C. A. HAGERMAN,^[55] Toronto, to REV. EGERTON RYERSON.

DEAR SIR:

Your brother has just been with me enquiring whether it would not be desirable to obtain the affidavit of Bishop Hedding and some other prominent members of your Church declaring their opinions of the question involved in the controversy with the Epis. Meth. of this Province. I do not think it important to obtain *affidavits* upon the point, because if procured I apprehend they could not be received *judicially*, but it will be of importance to obtain from Bishop Hedding, and such other members of your Church as are looked up to, and whose opinions have weight with you, answers to the following questions:

1. Is the existence of the Episcopal order, or office, considered necessary by the Episcopal Methodists in connection with their *Faith* and *Doctrine*, or is it looked upon simply as a point connected with your church government, that might be abolished without any infringement of Faith or Doctrine?

2. Could the Conference under any circumstances abolish Episcopacy, or supercede Episcopacy by an annual Presidency?^[56]

Yours faithfully.

CH. A. HAGERMAN

November 25, 1837, EGERTON RYERSON, New York, to REV. R. ALDER
(*Private*)

REV. & DEAR SIR,

I am at this place on my return from a tour of about 1500 [miles] in the middle & Southern States, in order to obtain information & evidence relative to the organization of the Methodist Church in America & the character of its Episcopacy & the powers of the General Conference;—points which involve the issue of our Chapel property cases.^[57] I have also accompanied Mr. Stinson to render him what assistance I could in examining manual labour Schools, with a view to the establishment of one for the benefit of our Indian youth—an object of very great importance both to the religious & civil interests of our aboriginal fellow countrymen. Also to try & get from the N. Y. Missionary Board a sum of money expected from them before the Union.

From the mass of testimony & information I have been able to collect by seeing every preacher on this continent who was in the work in 1784, relative to the character of Methodist Episcopacy & the powers of the General Conference, I feel no doubt as to the result of the question, which is to be argued before our Judges next week or the week after, & will be decided at the *March* term. It is, however, paying a pretty good price for an annual presidency,^[58] which ought to be a most efficient one. It does possess all the attributes of piety & amiableness, but is the feeblest headship in our Church in executive, pulpit & platform talent that we have ever had since my recollection. Mr. H. is universally loved, but really your connexion would have a mere cypher representation in our Conference, was it not for Mr. Stinson, who holds the highest place in the confidence, esteem & affection of our preachers, & who would be elected President at our next Conference were he five years older than he is.^[59]

We have not yet received a farthing of the Government grant to our Academy. The Governor's reply still is, there is no money in the Treasury; but he has given us his written promise, & offered his word to any of the Banks, that it shall be paid out of the first money in the Treasury, which had not been previously appropriated. But, strange to say, there is not a Bank or Banker in U.C. who will take the Governor's promise for one hundred pounds.^[60] Mr. Receiver General Dunn kindly lent out of his own pocket to my brother John about £1200 for the Academy upon my brother's receipt, remarking at the same time that he did it upon his credit out of respect to the Methodists, but that he could place no dependence upon the word of Sir Francis in the matter. We are thus pressed to beg & borrow in relation to the Academy as much as ever, or even worse, for several of us are individually responsible for £2,200 besides Mr. Farmer's loan,^[61] which I have taken the precaution to secure, whatever may become of the other debts of the Institution.

At our Academy Board Meeting, held a fortnight since, the damages on Mr. Lord's protested bills came under consideration for the last time; and the Board determined that it could not pay them. Not being a member of the Board until since my return from England, I was not, when in England, acquainted with all the circumstances of the case. They are briefly as follows: Mr. Lord's

sincere desire & zeal to promote the interests of the Institution & connexion generally were admitted & appreciated by all the brethren; but it appears, (1) That a large portion of the debts was incurred in compliance with the advice of Mr. Lord, & in consequence of his influence as the Representative of the British Connexion. In one instance the sub-committee at Cobourg expended upwards of £500 in buildings, fencing, etc., about the premises, by the advice of Mr. Lord (assuring them that money should be forthcoming, & if necessary he would go to England & beg it, that John Bull never stopt when he commenced a thing, etc.) contrary to the recommendation of the Conference Committee, & against the advice & even remonstrance of the Chairman of the District (John Ryerson) who had been appointed by the Conference to see that the sub-committee should not exceed the appropriations of the Conference as they had done in former years. (2) The premises were mortgaged to Mr. Lord as security for the sum of £2,500, six or seven hundred of which were never advanced at all, and the payments of what he did advance or rather was advanced on his drafts were provided for (with the exception of two or three hundred pounds) by the brethren in this province without any security but Mr. Lord's word, for he had the security of the property in his own hands. (3) *After Mr. Lord received information from the Committee in London that his bills would not be honoured*, he did not divulge the fact, until he had the mortgage (which as yet had only been promised) on the premises executed & registered, & then, the very same week, called a meeting of the Board, stated his difficulties, got individuals to allow him to draw upon them to meet the bills on their return & sent me to England. Our brethren therefore had to encounter all the difficulties of the affair just as much as if no bills had ever been drawn by Mr. Lord. They would have met the difficulties of the case as they did; but they would not have given the property out of their own hands, had they known what Mr. Lord then knew, that he would not be able to fulfil the obligations for which the premises were mortgaged to him. With these circumstances I was unacquainted when in England, nor did Mr. Stinson suppose anything else than that Mr. Lord had cancelled the mortgage on my leaving for England, until our last Academy Board meeting. But Mr. Lord holds that mortgage still, with the exception of Mr. Farmer's claim of £800 sterling. (4) It appears, in the last place, that Mr. Lord assured our Conference at Belleville, June 1836, upon his honour

as a man & a Christian minister & upon the authority of the Committee in London, that the brethren here would never be called upon to pay a farthing of the damages which had been incurred in consequence of the dishonouring of his bills.

It is the strong opinion of those brethren on whom has devolved the principal management of the Academy affairs, that the Institution would be at least one thousand pounds better off than it is, had Mr. Lord never come to U. Canada as the representative of your Conference. Yet I believe no man could feel more earnestly desirous to promote the interests of the Canadian connexion in every respect than he did.

It is also the full conviction from leading brethren, (for reasons which I cannot here detail) that had I attended the American General Conference, instead of being in England, such an arrangement would have been made as to have secured to our Connexion what was due us from the New York Book Concern, which amounts to more than I obtained in England;^[62] besides the mortification & mental suffering I experienced in my most repulsive engagements, notwithstanding the sympathy & never-to-be-forgotten kindness of many of my fathers & brethren of the parent connexion.

Such is a brief statement of our affairs. Mr. Stinson & myself were requested to communicate officially the views of our Board on the subject of the damages on Mr. Lord's bills, which we will do at an early period. But as I have been accidentally delayed in this city today, while Mr. Stinson went on to Albany last night, I have thought it best to improve the time in writing you a particular account of the whole matter.

The concern of our preachers & friends on the Chapel question is deep & truly affecting. As I took so responsible a part in the *Union*, I cannot describe my feelings on this question. At the request of our brethren, I have undertaken to do what I could to secure our Church property from the grasp of an insignificant & worthless party. I have travelled nearly 500 miles during this week for that purpose. But it is cheering amidst all our difficulties, & the commotions of the political elements, that our preachers, I believe without exception, are of one heart—that our Societies are in peace^[63]—& that the work of our blessed Lord is reviving on

many of the circuits, altho' the cause in Kingston suffers, & my dear brethren complain, in consequence of my connexional engagements & absence from them.

Excuse haste. Please present my best respects to Mrs. & Miss Alder, to your honoured colleagues, to the brethren of the Committee, especially to my kind & excellent friend Mr. Farmer.

Yours very affectionately

EGERTON RYERSON

P.S. I suppose Mr. Stinson has apprised you that I paid him £45.10.0 sterling due the committee for Mrs. Ryerson's board (advanced by Mr. Hoole to Miss Howell) and the first six months' interest on Mr. Farmer's loan.

E. R.

December 6, 1837,^[64] JOSEPH STINSON, *Kingston*, to REV. E. RYERSON, *Guardian Office, City of Toronto*.

MY DEAR FRIEND:

I wrote you a few lines in great haste yesterday & now I have a little more time I take up my pen to write more at length.

I spent a whole day with Bishop Hedding at L....gburgh & had much conversation with him about our affairs generally. He told me distinctly that he could not say any thing stronger in our behalf than what he has said upon our Chapel case & upon the legality of our church in his letter and that he had no old book which would afford us any more information than what we already possessed in the life of Asbury & the old discipline—copies of which you have. He said that the American Church had never regarded Episcopacy as a Divine ordinance—nor as an essential doctrine of the Church—but as an expedient form of ecclesiastical government which could be modified by the General Conference or even dispensed with without violating the great principles of Methodism. The Bishop is of opinion, however, that if the higher courts decide against us, we shall have to return to Episcopacy & that that Bishop must be ordained by the Bishops of the American Church.

As soon as you come to any definite conclusion about Cobourg,^[65] I think Br. Richey should be made fully acquainted with it. Had you not better spend a day at Cobourg on your way

down and see for yourself how things are going on. I have had a gloomy letter from Elder Case upon the subject.

I am sorry to find that the money I got from Brs. J. Ryerson and Beatty on the Cobourg a/c cannot be passed away. Mr. Hales has had most of it in his hands since I sent it & cannot get rid of it. I shall therefore be obliged to return it.^[66]

Nothing new from Lower Canada. Mrs. R. & family are all well.

Believe me dear Br.

Yours truly

J. STINSON

[1] See p. [366](#).

[2] *S.M.L.*, p. 161.

[3] *Ibid.* p. 162.

[4] *S.M.L.*, p. 168.

[5] *Ibid.*, p. 163.

[6] *S.M.L.*, p. 162.

[7] Apparently Mrs. McLeod was of Kingston, and probably was one of Ryerson's congregation there.

[8] From this it would appear that Ryerson had some hope of returning in the early autumn.

[9] Evidently Mrs. McLeod had reason to suppose that Ryerson was not averse from small talk over tea-cups.

[10] Ryerson carried a letter of introduction from Gillespie, Moffat & Co., merchants of Montreal, to Messrs. Gillespie & Co., London.

- [11] Lanark returned two “Constitutional” members, and the standing of parties was 43 to 18, according to the *Guardian*. For the first time papers in Upper Canada recognized a definite party alignment.
- [12] At the Conference of 1836 John Ryerson became Chairman of the Toronto District, replacing Richardson who had withdrawn from the Conference and taken a station with the Oneida Conference at Auburn, N.Y. After a year, however, he returned to join the Episcopal Methodists.
- [13] The Irvingite preacher.
- [14] James Buchanan Macaulay, afterwards Sir James Macaulay, Chief Justice of Common Pleas. Before being elevated to the bench, he too had been a prominent member of the governing party. He had been on Palace Street, which ran along the water-front, at the time when certain young gentlemen of the town had amused themselves by taking liberties with Mackenzie’s press and type. Evidence was presented to show that he was an eye-witness of the event and had covered his face to conceal immoderate laughter. At all events, he had acted as attorney for the culprits.
- [15] Hugh Willson of Saltfleet was converted in 1800. It was from his home that Egerton Ryerson had sallied forth to preach his first sermon. Had he been straying with the Ryanites or the Universalists or the Episcopalians, or was he merely a “backslider”?
- [16] The weakness exhibited in this letter could have been excused, had his wife’s health not been dragged in. We have no evidence that up to this time its writer had helped Ryerson in the least; he had merely exhorted him to “beg, beg, beg it all”. Yet neither the British Conference nor himself could disclaim a large share of responsibility for the financial plight of the Academy.

- [17] This is probably a reference to Mackenzie. The Select Committee, appointed by the Legislative Assembly in 1836 to consider the charges made by Dr. C. Duncombe in connection with the conduct of the elections of that year, makes a similar statement in its voluminous report to the effect that Mackenzie had copied extracts from documents in the Colonial Office.
- [18] Thomas Farmer.
- [19] *I.e.* The London Missionary Society. If the grant to this society, discontinued in 1835 (see p. [306](#)), were revived, apparently it was proposed to allot it, not to Indian Missions as formerly, but to the Academy.
- [20] The list of donations is to be found in the Colonial Office papers. The miscellaneous subscriptions from Canada, as attached to this letter, are given as £4700. The donors (probably about 2,000) are nameless, with the exception of nine, selected as being distinguished either in themselves or for their generosity: J. R. Armstrong and Ebenezer Perry, £100 each; John Rolph, £20; Sir John Colborne, £10; Strachan, Robinson, Earl of Gosford, Sir Charles Grey and Sir Geo. Gibbs (these are all listed as from Canada), £5 each. Prominent among the English contributors are The Canada Company, £52.10; Ellice, £50, the four Sturges with £25 amongst them; the British Wesleyan Conference, £100 (but in books); Jabez Bunting, £1; R. Alder, £1; Lord Sandon, 3 guineas and William Lord, 5 guineas. The total British donations were £1,272,10.6.
- [21] It is to be noted that Glenelg does not immediately comply with the request for an interview. Did the request that the correspondence be regarded as private suggest to Glenelg that he himself should be cautious?
- [22] Apparently Alder had made promises of financial support for the Academy as well as for Indian missions.

- [23] During 1836-7, Matthew Lang was Book Steward, an office later held for several years by John Ryerson himself.
- [24] Evans' editorial in the *Guardian* merely expressed the accepted policy of the Conference. This policy was confirmed and amplified in a series of resolutions at the Conference of 1837. At best, the division of the Clergy Reserves amongst the various churches was a *pis aller*, and one that would appeal particularly to those under financial obligations for the Academy. John Ryerson had weakened, however, in respect of voluntaryism, and other members of Conference doubtless also were weakening, and apparently Evans among them.
- [25] A full and graphic account of an Irvingite meeting was written by Ryerson, but was never published.
- [26] The Catholic Apostolic Church (Irvingite) always ministered to a very "respectable" congregation. Small was a lawyer of some prominence, more ambitious than successful in public life. John Henry Dunn was a generous as well as a wealthy man, not infrequently the largest single contributor to good causes in Toronto. Both held pews at St. James, and Dunn had presented to the church its communion plate and its organ.
- [27] As printed in pamphlet form, (see p. [339](#).)
- [28] December 13th.

- [29] In 1836 they had written separate letters to Glenelg on the situation in U. Canada, particularly having reference to their resignation as Executive Councillors. Glenelg had refused to receive these direct communications, insisting that they should be sent through the Governor. Bidwell had courteously declined to follow this procedure. Rolph had acknowledged the letter and promised to reply when less pressed for time. The reply was never written. This is the first (and only) occasion in this correspondence when Ryerson speaks in other than respectful terms of either Bidwell or Rolph.
- [30] The daughter of the Duchess (who was crowned within four months) was to give her name to the college which developed from the Academy.
- [31] This letter was published in the *Guardian* of July 5th.
- [32] The amendment by the Legislative Council forbade the Receiver General to pay the money while “any charges attending the public service” remained unpaid. Evans in an editorial of March 1st says that these restrictions are tantamount to a refusal. “Thus,” he adds, “what was vainly attempted through slander and misrepresentation in one branch of the Legislature, has been more politely accomplished in the other! ‘Extremes sometimes meet!’ ”
- [33] *C.G.*, July 5, 1837.
- [34] This letter was returned from the Mission Rooms by some one coming out to Canada. Ryerson left England on the first of May and reached Canada on June 12th. Evidently his wife had come out a month earlier.
- [35] Surely William was in error in supposing that this had any effect on the vote in the Legislative Council which prevented the relief to the Academy. It may have been used as a pretext.

- [36] William's training in the College of Buck and Bright did not enable him to quote Pope to effect, as George had done: "Is he a Churchman, then he's fond of power".
- [37] As to the identity of this lady, who bore John's letter to Egerton and William's admiration, we cannot be sure. Was she the "fair orphan daughter of Sidney township" who in 1824 had married the Rev. Jacob Poole (*Case, II*, p. 467)? Or was she the "excellent wife" of the Rev. George Poole "who did him good and not evil so long as he lived" (*Case, III*, p. 207)? Or was she an English lady, who in some strange manner had so thoroughly caught the Canadian point of view?
- [38] The Hon. William Morris, champion of the Kirk. William Ryerson with some reason feels that the conjunction of the luminaries of the Churches of England and Scotland at the Colonial Office was a portent of evil.
- [39] The Rev. William Martin Harvard, who succeeded Lord as President of Conference, had seen service in India and Ceylon as well as on English circuits. His suggestion that Ryerson should apply for government grants for the three purposes mentioned indicates that he had not yet caught the point of view of the Conference.
- [40] So far as the Academy was concerned, it had been advertised as giving no special consideration to the families of preachers (see p. 302); subvention to young preachers was an entirely new idea.
- [41] *Wesleyan Methodism in Upper Canada*—published at the Conference Office, 1837. 28 pages.

[42] C.G., July 12, 1837. It may be noted that if the Conference spoke in uncertain terms, the Legislative Assembly now was not more definite on the issue. After a long debate, carried on with great intensity of feeling, the House had divided on a motion and an amendment as to whether “the proceeds should be appropriated for the promotion of the religious and moral instruction of the people throughout the province” or “for the purposes of general education, as one of the most legitimate ways of giving free scope to the progress of religious truth in the community” (C.G., Dec. 28, 1836). The latter, Rolph’s amendment, was defeated on December 15th by a vote of 22 to 34.

[43] A prominent Methodist of Kingston. In the *Guardian*, he appears as heading the list of Kingston contributors in 1837 to Upper Canada Academy with £12, an amount three times as great as that of any other single contributor in that town.

[44] The Quarterly Meetings in the several circuits provided the means by which the Conference, still consisting exclusively of ordained ministers, kept in touch with the membership of the Church. The custom was for the Chairman of the District to announce in *The Guardian* the time and place of these meetings. Anson Green, as Chairman of the Quinte District, laid the eleven resolutions on government grants and Clergy Reserves before the Belleville Quarterly Meeting, although as yet there was no concrete proposal and no need for a reference as required by the tenth resolution (see p. [380](#)). He found the laymen of the Belleville district no longer firm for voluntaryism; the plague was spreading.

[45] The year 1837 was one of financial crisis. The banks throughout the United States had refused to redeem their notes with gold. It became necessary for the banks of Upper Canada to consider whether they too should suspend their cash payments. So serious did the situation appear that a special session of the Provincial Legislature was called on June 19, 1837.

[46] The *Guardian* published in full in succeeding issues the several opinions of the three judges. They occupied some five imperial pages. Ryerson's review was carried through three issues and it took some five pages. He concluded his argument in the words of Rolph and Bidwell given as their legal opinion at the time of the Union: "the rights and interests of the Conference in any church property, whether they are legal or only equitable rights and interests, cannot be impaired or affected by such a change". Three months later both Bidwell and Rolph were in exile. The fact that Ryerson considered that their names would add weight to his argument clearly indicates that at this time neither he nor those to whom he appealed had any thought of their being in any sense implicated in the plans for rebellion.

[47] The duties of the several officers of the Academy had been published in full in the *Guardian* of July 12th. The treasurer, not the principal, was to receive and pay out all moneys and make a monthly accounting to the subcommittee. At this time Anson Green was treasurer.

[48] The Rev. Henry Wilkes, agent of the Congregational Colonial Mission of London, England. The following week Evans had an editorial in reply.

[49] Benjamin Corwin and his twin brother Joseph were amongst the earliest settlers and the most prominent Methodists of Lundy's Lane.

[50] Jonathan Gladwin, a native of Derbyshire, was one of the British preachers whom John Ryerson excepts from the general condemnation of page 368. After a lingering illness, on October 2nd “he died in the triumphs of faith, in the third year of his ministry” (*Case, IV*, p. 190).

[51] Henry Wilkinson, after only six years in the ministry, was now Chairman of the Augusta circuit. It was a hard district, even harder to travel in summer than in winter. Anson Green had once been its chairman; his back never recovered from a terrible ride across the swamps between the Ottawa and the St. Lawrence.

[52] Ezra Healy, one of the older preachers in active service, was now stationed at Brockville. This friendly letter—orthography and all—carries us back to a generation now gradually being replaced by a ministry more cultivated, but neither more devoted nor more effective in their day. In 1821, having already served as a local preacher for five years, he was welcomed amongst the itinerants as “thirty-one years of age, a wife and four children, not in debt, admitted”. Carroll thus depicts “the portly, presentable and prepossessing Ezra Healey” with an attention to detail exceptional even with him: “He stood six feet and one half inch in his stocking feet, of handsome masculine features, florid complexion, hair with a little tendency to curl, high full forehead, with a fine head well balanced in all respects. . . . He was the very personification of health itself. . . . He had a strong, clear, musical, reverberating voice, of such great compass that it could as easily command the ears of an assembly of five or six thousand as of half-a-dozen. The ‘Camp-ground’ was the appropriate theatre for this stentorian orator. . . . His preaching is hard to classify. Few would venture to call it great; yet all liked to hear him. He had enjoyed but six months’ schooling in his whole life. . . . His commanding ‘port and presence’, joined to his affability and kindness, made him a general favorite both in and out of the Methodist communion—furnishing, as they did, such fine substitutes for a polite education, as to make his company acceptable to the most polished.” (*Case, Vol. IV*, p. 425)

[53] Draper had just returned from England, and received a letter of thanks which Ryerson, as Conference Secretary, had written each member of the Assembly who had supported the Academy grant. Several other acknowledgements were received.

[54] Draper supposed that the £4,100 had been received.

- [55] The Attorney General had been retained by the Conference in the Waterloo Chapel case. Ryerson later found fault with his manner of pleading at Kingston before Justice Macaulay, considering that his sanguine attitude had lost them the case. (*Epochs of Canadian Methodism*, p. 278).
- [56] Opinions were secured by Ryerson from Bishop Hedding and the Rev. Dr. Luckey, Editor, to the effect that the American church never supposed Episcopacy necessary (*Epochs*, p. 280).
- [57] Ryerson was permitted no rest. He arrived in Canada after more than eighteen months absence only a few days before Conference, and after Conference he had barely settled down to his pastoral duties in Kingston when this new journey was laid upon him.
- [58] The Episcopalists were staking their case largely on the contention that Episcopacy, as opposed to an annual presidency, was an essential feature of the Methodist Church in Canada.
- [59] Stinson was thirty-six years of age—two years older than Ryerson. This favourable opinion is to be noted, in view of later differences.
- [60] This observation makes an interesting comment on the eloquent language of Sir Francis in his speech from the Throne on June 20th: “By plain integrity of conduct the British Empire has amassed its wealth, and I feel confident that the people of Upper Canada, with this example before their minds, will perceive that it is not only their duty but their interest to adhere to that simple principle in the Religion as well as in the Commercial policy of our Ancestors; which nobly commands us ‘to be true and just in all our dealings’.” (*C.G.*, June 21, 1837)

- [61] Thomas Farmer was lay treasurer of the London Missionary Society. For those who were personally liable, see p. [333](#).
- [62] His collections in England amounted to £1,272.10.6. The total expense (travelling, postage, legal advice, board, lodging, etc.) was £677.5.6½. This included £67.10 salary and also, it may perhaps be inferred, an allowance for his wife which would come under the heading of extra expenses and contingencies, £66.
- [63] Ten days before the Rebellion, and no mention of trouble brewing!
- [64] It is a curious fact that on the day when the *Guardian* could report to its anxious readers in Toronto that the Rebels had fallen back from the toll gate to Gallows Hill, in Kingston Stinson was thinking only of Chapel suits and the administration of the College and a matter having to do with the banks. He barely notes the trouble in Lower Canada.
- [65] The difficulty was probably mainly one of debts outstanding and a serious overdraft at the Commercial Bank. But there were also troubles of internal management, in one of which the Managing Committee thought it well to intervene. A resolution in the old Minute Book of the Committee probably represents the first blow at “academic freedom” in the province. “*Resolved*; That the Committee decidedly disapprove of the formation of any such [Debating] Society without a previous understanding of the parties with the Principal and his approval of the questions to be debated, and that it be considered a fundamental principle of such society that no political question be canvassed by it, in order to preserve inviolate the character of the Acad’y as a *literary* and *religious* Institution.”
- [66] See p. [382](#).

CHAPTER XI

THE SHADOW OF MONTGOMERY'S TAVERN

December 1837 to April 1838

As to the events of the weeks preceding the affair at Montgomery's Tavern, our information is tantalizingly meagre. It will have been noted that the letters of these months are few, and it is greatly to be regretted that some of those under Hodgins' hand when he compiled *The Story of My Life* are not now available.^[1] Consequently, in trying to recapture the incidents leading up to armed revolt and the relation of the Methodists generally and the Ryersons in particular to them, it has been necessary to depend largely on secondary sources.

In a letter of April 12, 1838, John Ryerson writes that Egerton and Stinson waited on Sir Francis about four weeks previous to the insurrection, gave him information which had come to them as to preparations being made in Lloydtown and elsewhere, and urged him to raise volunteers and put the city and other places in a state of defence; further, that along with Egerton he himself called on the Attorney General the following day and advised him in a similar manner, but that the advice had been disregarded. This latter interview is no doubt that described by Lindsey, who says that before the middle of November Egerton Ryerson and John Lever called on Hagerman one night at nine o'clock to inform him of what was going on in the townships north of Toronto.

They denounced to the Attorney General treasonable organizations, treasonable trainings, and treasonable designs upon Toronto. Mr. Hagerman was inclined to laugh in the faces of his informants.^[2]

Now John Lever was a Methodist preacher who at the time was stationed on the Newmarket circuit, and he would be likely to know of what was going on at Samuel Lount's blacksmith establishment and at Jesse Lloyd's farm—of any forging of pikes or moulding of bullets, or turkey shooting by way of practice in marksmanship. Probably Lever, though the informant of the Ryersons, was not present at the interview.

Further, Hodgins quotes from a letter written by Anson Green to Ryerson at Cobourg on November 16th, describing the situation as he saw it. Green expressed the opinion that the rebels would not stop short of civil war, and the belief that in Haldimand and Cramahe townships there were twenty rebels to one sincere loyalist. He regarded both sides as infatuated, and said that he could support neither.

I could not be a rebel; my conscience and religion forbid it; and, on the other hand, I could not fight for the Rectories and Church domination.^[3]

Green was a shrewd observer, and accurate in speech. Assuming the correctness of Hodgins' quotation, it is difficult to understand why no disturbance whatever developed in the Newcastle district, and how it was that 700 volunteers, many of them reformers, assembled at Cobourg and marched unmolested to Toronto to quell the revolt. To be sure the volunteers had been informed and believed that Rolph and Bidwell were with the Governor in its suppression.

By December 5th Ryerson had reached Cobourg on his way from Kingston to Toronto to report on his American mission, when the news of the uprising reached him. Here he wrote "to a friend in Kingston",^[4] so Hodgins records, as follows:

You will recollect my mentioning that I pressed upon Sir Francis the propriety and importance of making some prudent provision for the defence of the city, in case any party should be urged on in the madness of rebellion so far as to attack it. He is much blamed here on account of his overweening confidence, and foolish and culpable negligence in this respect. There was great excitement in this town and neighborhood last night. Today all is anxiety and hurry. The militia is called out to put down the rebellion of the very man whose seditious paper many of them have supported, and whom they have countenanced.

The precepts of the Bible and the example of the early Christians, leave me no occasion for second thoughts as to my duty, namely, to pray for and support the "powers that be", whether I admire them or not, and to implore the defeat of "fiery conspiracy and rebellion". And I doubt not that the sequel will in this, as in other cases, show that the path of duty is that of wisdom, if not of safety. I am aware that my head would be

regarded as something of a prize by the rebels; but I feel not in the least degree agitated. I trust implicitly in that God whom I have endeavoured—though imperfectly and unfaithfully—to serve; being assured nothing will harm us, but that all things, whether life or death, will work together for our good if we be followers of that which is good. Let us trust in the Lord, and do good, and He will never leave nor forsake us!

About 700 armed men have left this district today for Toronto, in order to put down the rebels. There is an unanimity and determination among the people to quash rebellion and support the law that I hardly expected.

William undertook to inform Egerton of events in Toronto. His two letters as quoted in part by Hodgins give a concise account of the main incidents of the uprising. The first, as of December 5th, is as follows:

Last night, about 12 or 1 o'clock, the bells rang with great violence; we all thought it was an alarm of fire, but being unable to see any light, we thought it was a false alarm, and we remained quiet until this morning, when, on visiting the market-place, I found a large number of persons serving out arms to others as fast as they possibly could. Among many others we saw the Lieutenant-Governor, in his everyday suit, with one double-barrelled gun in his hand, another leaning against his breast, and a brace of pistols in his leather belt. Also, Chief Justice Robinson, Judges Macaulay, Jones, and McLean, the Attorney-General, and Solicitor-General, with their muskets, cartridge boxes and bayonets, all standing in the ranks as private soldiers, under the command of Colonel Fitzgibbon. I assure you it is impossible for me to describe my feelings. I enquired of Judge McLean, who informed me that an express had arrived at the Government House late last night, giving intelligence that the Radicals had assembled in great force at Montgomery's, on Yonge Street, and were in full march for the city; that the Governor had sent out two persons, Mr. A. McDonell and Ald. J. Powell, to obtain information (both of whom had been made prisoners, but escaped).

Dr. Horne's house is now in flames. I feel very calm and composed in my own mind. Brother John thinks it will not be wise for you to come through all the way from Kingston. You would not be safe in visiting this wretched part of the country at the

present. You know the feelings that are entertained against you. Your life would doubtless be industriously sought. My dear brother, farewell. May God mercifully bless and keep you from all the difficulties and dangers we are in!^[5]

The second was written three days later:

About 10 o'clock today about 2,000 men,^[6] headed by the Lieut.-Governor, with Judge Jones, the Attorney-General and Capt. Halkett, as his aides-de-camp, and commanded by Cols. Fitzgibbon and Allan N. Macnab, Speaker of the House, left the city to attack the rebels at Montgomery's. After a little skirmishing in which we had three men wounded but none killed, the main body commenced a very spirited attack on their head-quarters at Montgomery's large house. After a few shots from two six-pounders, and a few volleys of musketry, the most of the party fled and made their escape. The rest of them were taken prisoners. There were also three or four killed and several wounded. After which His Excellency ordered the buildings to be burnt to the ground, and the whole force returned to the city. All the leaders succeeded in making their escape. A royal proclamation has just been issued offering £1,000 for the apprehension of Mackenzie, and £500 for that of Samuel Lount, David Gibson, Silas Fletcher, and Jesse Lloyd; so that now, through the mercy of God, we have peace, and feel safe again, for which we desire to feel sincerely thankful.^[7]

The events of these anxious days it is possible to follow by reason of the careful investigations of John Charles Dent brought together in excellent literary form in his *Story of the Upper Canadian Rebellion*. The motives of the main actors in the struggle are not so clear. Did Sir Francis definitely plan to lure the extreme reformers into violence and crime? Or was his inaction due simply to a certain paralysis which was the result of his realizing that he had lost the confidence of the people, that he was "at the bottom of the tree", as he himself put it? Were Mackenzie and those whom with frantic energy he had organized by a series of turbulent meetings through the central counties really planning a demonstration, correctly divining that nothing less than a display of force would bring the authorities in England and Canada to realize that the "glorious" constitution was in fact obsolete and beyond repair? Or were they merely a band of brigands,

plotting to murder the governor,^[8] to hang personal enemies (including Ryerson) to the nearest elms, and to abscond to their natural home in the States with the loot of the banks? The latter was the way in which Head saw them when he had time and nerve to take up his facile pen; the former was the broad interpretation Mackenzie in later years wished posterity to place on his acts, while it overlooked such facts as his leaving in a carpet-bag at Montgomery's papers which incriminated others while he himself escaped, and the absurdities of the *Caroline* and the *Caroline Almanacs*.^[9] To such questions as these, and to the part played by this and that person—and notably, John Rolph—satisfactory answers remain yet to be given. Such letters as are here presented, and other information recorded by Dent, would indicate that Sir Francis and his advisors were not free from guilt in the matter; they knew of the preparations and preferred to punish rather than prevent. Further, these letters indicate that while Mackenzie had a great body of sympathy with him in his protest against abuses, few were prepared to join in an attempt to overthrow the Government by force of arms. This fact, and not any prudence on the part of the Government or any bungling and confusion of orders on the part of the “rebels”, was primarily responsible for the successive retreats from the Toll-Gate to Gallows Hill and from Gallows Hill to Montgomery's and for the miserable fiasco there. Such doubts as still exist as to the nature of the Rebellion and the attitude of its participants are due mainly to two factors: the lively imagination and literary flair of the two principal actors, and the interest and fear which distorted or concealed the truth in the terrible months that followed.

For 1838 brought peace neither within nor upon the borders of Upper Canada. Throughout the year disturbance followed disturbance in bewildering succession. For Ryerson also the year was to prove one of the darkest and stormiest of all his life. He was strangely buffeted by fate—perhaps justly. The first act to be recorded in the year was his publishing on January 8th of a *Discourse on Civil Government—the late Conspiracy*, in which he rejoiced, almost exulted, in the overthrow of the wicked plot: “Blessed be the Lord, who hath not given us over for a prey unto their teeth. Our soul is escaped as a bird out of the snare of the fowler; the snare is broken and we are escaped.” This sermon he had preached on December 31st as a New Year's message to his congregation in Kingston from the text, “They shall wisely consider of his doing”. The text is from the Psalms, and the doctrine is of the Old Testament. Any note of sorrow and pity is wanting.

[10]

But by the irony of fate, within the year, once more editor of the *Guardian*, he himself is assailed as the arch-enemy of good government, the sower of sedition. In December, 1838, he stands with his back to the wall meeting blow with blow, reprov'd and suspected by the new governor, and called upon to defend his private as well as his public life. The change is so rapid, so complete, that it is comprehensible only when one realizes that to the exasperation of the ruling party at what was made to appear as the defection of an able supporter was added the hysteria of a rebellion followed by a series of armed plots on the frontiers. Never, not even from George Brown, did Ryerson encounter such a determined and concerted effort to destroy him. The *Patriot*, the *Chronicle*, the *Star*—even the *Church*—week after week poured out the vials of their wrath upon him. Mackenzie and O'Grady in their most vigorous moments had never surpassed these “loyalist” journals in violent denunciation. And Ryerson was constrained to reply more or less in kind, sometimes in editorials, sometimes in signed articles, occasionally through the friendly offices of the powerful editor of *The Upper Canada Herald*, or by means of contributed letters. We have no record that he preached from the Beatitudes during these terrible weeks. And as the year drew to its close he must often have reflected how much easier it was to publish letters in defence of the constitution and bask in the smiles of the Colonial Office than to expose the double-dealing of a Governor or to assail entrenched privilege in the rarer political atmosphere of Canada. And there may have been just an occasional twinge of remorse at the hardness of his New Year's sermon.

But it took the storm some months to gather, and it was not until the autumn that it burst over him in full force. The first half of the year was occupied mainly with preaching and pastoral duties in his Kingston charge, interrupted only by one considerable absence of six weeks in Toronto. It must not be supposed, however, that this was a period of spiritual calm in his life. The year had scarcely commenced when a dark suspicion crossed his mind. Could it be that the government was prepared to take advantage of the situation created by the Rebellion not only to crush the Reform party but also to revive the claim for church establishment and aggrandizement? Was a definite plan afoot to use the disturbed feelings of the people for party and mercenary ends? The introduction by Cartwright^[11] into the Legislature on December 29th of a Bill “to reinvest the Clergy Reserves in the Crown for the maintenance of public worship and support of religion” was ominous enough. Did this mean that the Government was prepared to depend on the views of British Commoners and Lords and Bishops rather than on those of the Canadian people? Such a proposal would have been laughed to scorn in

previous Assemblies, and even the House elected on the loyalty cry in 1836 had not previously ventured in all its deliberations on the subject to look with favour on such a solution. But now it was seriously proposed, and was likely to be pushed through by weight of government influence.^[12] In such circumstances, Stinson wrote to Ryerson on January 13th asking him to come to Toronto and help. At first he could not reconcile himself to leaving his congregation again, but presently yielded, perhaps under pressure from John. By January 23rd he was in Toronto. An open letter of that date appeared in the *Guardian* of the 24th. It was addressed to Hon. Allan Napier MacNab, Speaker of the Assembly, and appealed to him to use his influence—now enhanced by his achievements at Navy Island—to effect a settlement of the Clergy Reserves question. Two days later he was to learn that the second part of the grant to the Academy was being held back on what seemed a mere pretext, with serious embarrassment to the institution and those obligated for it. The attempt, in the end successful, to secure the money brought him into a nasty collision with Head and necessitated negotiations which occupied most of February.

January 13, 1838, EGERTON RYERSON, Kingston, to REV. JOSEPH STINSON, Toronto.

MY VERY DEAR FRIEND,

I have just received your very kind valued favour, for which I thank you with all my heart. For me to leave Kingston under present circumstances & go to Toronto would ruin my ministerial influence & usefulness here, & blast all our present hopes of prosperity. You know that by my continued & repeated absence, I have already lost fifty percent in the confiding hopes of the people & consequently in my power of doing them good. You know likewise that the *financial* interests of the Society have so lamentably declined, that we are already upwards of £50 in arrears. I cannot therefore leave unless I am positively required to do so by the Book Committee.

You will perceive by the latter part of the third clause from the last of Cartwright's Bill, that it proposes to place the appropriation of the Clergy Lands not under the control of the Crown but "*under the authority of the Parliament of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland*", thereby transferring legislation on this subject from our own to the Imperial Parliament, a base deception, a base betrayal of Canadian rights, a base sacrifice of Canadian to

party interests, a base & cowardly assassination of a vital principle of constitutional & free government, a base political & religious fraud which ought to awaken the deep concern & indignation & exertion of every honest man in the country.

I cannot but feel deeply grieved at not only the tameness, but *profound silence* of the *Guardian* on the subject & especially since the measure has been announced in Parliament. Silence on such a measure & at such a time & after the course we have pursued, is *acquiescence in it to all intents & purposes*, & may be fairly & legitimately construed so by both friends & enemies. Oh! is [it] so, [it] cannot be so, that the Editor of the *Guardian* has got so completely into the leadings strings of *that Churchism* which is as poisonous in its feelings towards us & in its plans respecting us, as the *Simoon blast*, that he will see measures going forward which he must know are calculated, nay intended, to trample us in the dust, & not even say one word, but praise as often as possible, the very men who he sees from day to day thus plotting our overthrow! A late number of *The Church* newspaper happened to fall into my hands yesterday, in which the authority of Dr. A. Clarke is adduced to prove that *imposition of hands* is *essential* to ordination in the ministry, in contradiction to what has appeared in the *Guardian* on the subject, yet our Editor allows the full impression of such an authority to remain upon the Judges' minds without even saying that the said Dr. A. C. regarded himself & acted as a minister, for nearly half a century, *without* the imposition of hands, & proved the legitimacy of his own ordination, & resisted the introduction of the ceremony of the imposition of hands a few years ago, & carried his resistance against Dr. Bunting^[13] & others by a vote of more than three fourths of the British Conference. I also observed in Dr. Strachan's letters to Mr. Morris an attack upon the Colonial Secretary, such an one as would enable us to turn into our scale on the Clergy Reserve Question & against Dr. S's exclusive system the entire influence of Her Majesty's Government, which would have great weight both in & out of the House of Assembly. Yet our Editor, in his obeisance to the Dr.,^[14] will leave him the advantage of the entire field! Now I have heard Dr. Bunting, Mr. Beecham & other members of the Committee at home say concerning *Lord Glenelg* that he is one of the best & ablest men of the present day, & that the Colonial Office is a redeeming feature of the present Ministry.

At all events, after what we have obtained through his Lordship's instrumentality, I think that silence on our part is disgraceful—apart from considerations of local interests. I beg that you will let my brother John read this letter, & afterwards, unless you & he have important reasons to the contrary, I desire it may be read to the Book Committee,^[15] as my sentiments as an individual member & may lead to a conversation which may produce a change in a course, which if it be thus continued in, will induce me to bring the whole matter before the Committee at its last General Meeting with a view of its being recommended to the consideration of Conference. I am as little disposed to find fault, and know how to make allowances as well as any body, but having as an individual & in connexion with my brethren toiled in these matters the greater part of my public life, I can not, I will not in silence, see our best interests sacrificed to the smiles of those who have done all in their power to destroy us root & branch. I feel wounded & pained to my very soul.

Yours most affectionately,
E. RYERSON

January 25, 1838,^[16] EGERTON RYERSON, *Toronto*, to JOHN JOSEPH, *Esq.*

SIR,—

According to your suggestion, yesterday morning, the Rev. Mr. Green^[17] and myself called upon the Attorney General, and were alarmed and grieved to learn that the ground of objection and delay in respect to the payment of the remaining moiety^[18] of £2,050 on the grant of His late Majesty to the Upper Canada Academy, has been entirely changed, and is now such as has never before been hinted at to us, though I delivered to his Excellency the instructions of Her Majesty's Secretary of State on the subject in June last. I beg to recapitulate the facts of this painful affair for his Excellency's consideration.

In the winter of 1836 a Committee of the House of Assembly recommended a grant in aid of the Upper Canada Academy—debates took place in the House principally in reference to a grant, though the bill which was passed by the House was only for a loan. The Legislative Council amended the bill so that it was never taken up again by the House of Assembly—consequently there

was no bill agreed to by both Houses on the subject. On the arrival of the intelligence of these proceedings in England, I laid them before Her Majesty's Secretary of State for the Colonies. A copy of my communication on the subject was enclosed by Lord Glenelg to his Excellency. Upon the strength of my representation and the Committee's Report, and the debates of the Assembly, His Lordship instructed his Excellency to advance the sum of four thousand one hundred pounds out of the Crown Revenue to the Trustees of the Upper Canada Academy. Whether Lord Glenelg intended it as a *loan* or a free *grant* is a matter between the Trustees of that institution and Her Majesty's Secretary of State for the Colonies. In Sir George Grey's answer to myself, which I showed to his Excellency, and in Lord Glenelg's instructions to his Excellency, with the perusal of a part of which, relating to the payment of the grant, his Excellency favored me, it is simply stated that his Excellency is instructed to advance the amount of the grant, without the least mention from beginning to end that he is to exact security of the Trustees for the repayment of it at the end of four years or ten years.

[Here follows a review of the manner in which Head had repeatedly excused his withholding of the second half of the £4,100, pleading lack of funds. When assured that funds were available in the treasury, he had then pleaded the necessity of consulting his Council.]

Now, I must most respectfully submit, and solemnly protest, against any one or more Executive Councillors interposing between Her Majesty's Government and the accomplishment of this benevolent object. The grant has been made out of funds at the disposal of the Crown, independent of the Executive Council. The instructions of Her Majesty's Secretary of State for the Colonies were not given to the Council. It is, I submit, with Her Majesty's Government, and with Her Majesty's Government alone, to demand at any time or not the repayment of a part or the whole of the grant to the U. Canada Academy—although I am prepared to state, in any form, that I inquired particularly of Lord Glenelg and Mr. Stephen, three days before the official answer of Sir George Grey was dated, whether this gracious compliance with my application was to be a *loan* or a *grant*, and was informed in reply that it was a *grant*;^[19] that though the House of Assembly

had passed a bill for a loan only, the case was so clear and strong that they thought the Trustees of the U. C. Academy really ought to have a grant. The rough draft of Lord Glenelg's official answer, by Sir George Grey, was shown to me before its final adoption, in which it was stated that his Lordship would direct the Lieut. Governor to advance, if necessary, the amount intended to have been loaned by the Assembly's bill. At my request, the words "*if necessary*" were struck out, and the answer was made positive. I mention these circumstances to show, as far as my information and testimony may have weight, what must have been the intentions of the Home Government. If I had thought a more full, satisfactory, and simple answer could have been given by Lord Glenelg, I have not the slightest doubt but I could have had it.

The entire silence of the Home Government on the subject of security for the repayment of the grant—the actual warrant of his Excellency for £2,050, without the intimation of such security—and the facts of the whole case, in support of every one of which ample evidence can be adduced, show, I submit, beyond a doubt, what were the intentions of Her Majesty's government and what has been his Excellency's own understanding of them from the beginning.

I do therefore protest against the interference of Executive Councillors in the matter. I do not wish, on the one hand, to see the U. Canada Academy crippled, if not ruined, by such a proceeding,—nor, on the other hand, to be involved in collision with members of the local Executive before Her Majesty's Government; I therefore entreat once more that his Excellency will again take the whole case into consideration, and issue the requisite warrant for the payment of the remainder of the grant.

I have, etc.

EGERTON RYERSON

Joseph's reply was of the following day. He stated that Head's intention was to lay the correspondence between Glenelg and himself on the Academy before the Assembly. He had supposed from Ryerson's manner of speaking of the aid that it was a *grant*, not a *loan*.

January 27, 1838, EGERTON RYERSON, Toronto, to J. JOSEPH.

Sir,—

I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 26th inst. conveying His Excellency's answer to my application respecting the issuing of his warrant for the remainder of the grant to the Upper Canada Academy, and I beg to say in reply, that I delivered to His Excellency Lord Glenelg's instructions on the subject within an hour after my arrival from England, that His Excellency *read them* and *then* desired a day to consider them.

I waited upon His Excellency the following day, when he expressed his ardent wish to give immediate effect to Lord Glenelg's instructions, but stated the reasons of his inability to do so, want of funds.

Then, and not till then, did any conversation, to the best of my recollection, take place on the subject of the grant; but that conversation had reference to the proceedings of the Local Legislature, His Excellency endeavouring to convince me that I had an erroneous view of the intentions of the Legislative Council in relation to the Upper Canada Academy Bill. On my incidentally referring to Sir George Grey's answer to my application,^[20] His Excellency expressed a desire to see it; a day or two afterwards I showed it to His Excellency, upon which he remarked that it left him no discretion but to advance the amount as soon as he had it at command, which it was his wish to do. Then reading a part of Lord Glenelg's instructions, His Excellency observed that they did leave him "a loop hole" (to use his Excellency's own phrase) if he chose to avail himself of it; but that it was quite clear from Sir George Grey's letter that he had no discretion in the business. His Excellency has at various times repeated this statement in almost every form of speech to the Rev. Messrs. Stinson and Evans, as well as to myself. At the same interview at which I showed his Excellency Sir George Grey's letter, His Excellency assured me that though he thought Lord Glenelg had not treated the Legislative Council well in the business, yet he would not delay the fulfilment of His Lordship's instructions on that account, but would give effect to them as early as possible. I must therefore disclaim all responsibility in either leading or "misleading" His Excellency in his understanding of Lord Glenelg's instructions. I submit that His Excellency's reading and re-reading of Lord Glenelg's instructions, and 24 hours consideration of them, with his acknowledged acuteness of understanding, and his subsequent

perusal of Sir George Grey's letter, was ample to an unbiassed interpretation of his Lordship's benevolent intentions. How any casual observations of mine with a view to "mislead" His Excellency—a thought which never entered my breast—could have led him into so egregious an error, in connexion with such documents and facts, is, I confess, beyond my comprehension, even upon the assumption that I had made observations of that character.

I think it just also to observe, that when I published in the *Guardian* of the 5th of July—four weeks after the delivery of Lord Glenelg's instructions to His Excellency—the communications between Her Majesty's Government and myself on the subject, I made not one word of comment upon them. I made some observations^[21] on the proceedings of the Legislative Council, but simply observed in reference to the documents,—“I transmit for insertion in the *Guardian* the conclusion of my correspondence with His Majesty's Government on the subject of the Upper Canada Academy.” The impression therefore of the public in relation to this affair was derived from reading the official documents themselves.

I have indeed always spoken of the aid given by Her Majesty's Government as a *grant*, because I so understood it in my interview with Lord Glenelg and Mr. Stephen, as stated in my letter of the 25th inst., because Sir George Grey's letter made no allusion whatever to that aid being suspended upon the compliance of the Trustees with certain conditions, and because that letter itself was worded in accordance with my own wishes—I not suspecting for one moment that legal skill was hereafter to be employed in the matter to the disadvantage of the Institution, and to the disparagement of that liberality which best comports with the dignity of the British Crown: and I must respectfully repeat, that it is a circumstance, I believe, without precedent in the Annals of British Colonial History, for a Governor to derive his views of the intentions of the Secretary of State for the Colonies from a private individual, instead of the Royal written instructions before him—views, too, essentially at variance with his instructions—and especially when, in the very nature of things, he must have read those instructions before he had any conversation with that individual, and without the perusal of which instructions he could not possibly have known the special object for which that

individual had waited upon him—had waited upon him also within an hour after his arrival in the country, and had arrived two days before the mail, so that information of his object could have been derived from no other source than the very Despatches which he then delivered, and which were read and considered twenty-four hours before any expression of opinion respecting them.

I must therefore decline the honour and responsibility of directing His Excellency's understanding of Lord Glenelg's instructions from the 9th of June last, until the day before yesterday morning, when, by the note addressed from the Government House to the Attorney General, it appears that "one or two Councillors" thought that Lord Glenelg's instructions might be interpreted as a loan, as well as a grant; although it is known that the people of Upper Canada have been appealed to, and Councillors have been dismissed by His Excellency, because they insisted upon giving their advice in other than land matters. . . .^[22]

And the present course adopted by His Excellency will appear more extraordinary, when it is recollected that his capital error in the interpretation of Lord Glenelg's instructions was not discovered, nor the advice of Executive Councillors called for, until after I had succeeded in removing every variety of previous objection which had been urged against issuing the requisite warrant upon the Receiver General, and even after His Excellency had, some weeks since, assured two respectable gentlemen, besides myself, that he had, even at that time, given the Receiver General every necessary authority to pay the amount without *any further* instructions or warrant.

Having thus vindicated myself from the unexpected and very extraordinary imputations involved in your letter, I have only further to observe, that I shall as in duty bound, appeal to Lord Glenelg himself for the interpretation of his benevolent intentions; although, in the mean time, at the close of the present term, the operations of the U. C. Academy must be suspended, until his Lordship's pleasure shall have been obtained.

I have, etc.

EGERTON RYERSON

A true copy,

(*Signed*) J. JOSEPH

The reply to the above letter is dated January 30th. In it Head through his secretary acknowledged the accuracy of Ryerson's statement of what had taken place and professed his desire to assist the Academy and support the Methodists. Ryerson now turned his attention to the Assembly, addressing to that body a petition which occupies a full page of the *Guardian*. Attached to the petition, and occupying more than a page of small type, in the same issue are eighteen letters bearing on the question of the Academy grant and covering the period from April 18, 1837, to January 30, 1838. In submitting the matter to the Legislature, Head had forwarded some of the correspondence; Ryerson prints these letters together with others which Head had not seen fit to transmit. Boldly and openly he throws down the gage to Sir Francis, one of whose letters to Glenelg, dated July 20, 1837, had characterized Ryerson's "declarations" against the Legislative Council, and particularly Strachan, as "unmerited and incorrect".

I understand [the letter continues] that the Archdeacon of York (alluded to so severely by Mr. Ryerson as having been hostile to the bill) was not even present when the amendment was framed, discussed and passed. I am informed that he took no part in the bill, except voting for it, as he did for an Act of Incorporation of a Roman Catholic College^[23] passed in the same session; that the amendment was framed by the Speaker of the Council, who is a private contributor to the building of the Academy, and who, I understand, strongly advocated in the Council the expediency of giving to the Institution the public support that had been prayed for.

To these charges Ryerson replies in the petition, and with his usual thoroughness. He quotes his authorities and maintains his belief in his correctness. His general attitude to the Legislative Council, he contends, has not been hostile. He refers to his support of that body in his letters to *The Times* as against those who wished to have it elective; but he is, and has been, disposed to criticize the attitude of a majority of the Council on the subjects of religion and education. Hence his statement in the letter of April 18th to Lord Glenelg:

Thus, my Lord, the matter stands: and your Lordship's recommendation and the recommendation of *three fourths* of the representatives of the people, and an object of so much expense and labour and importance are set aside and defeated by a majority of the Council consisting of 10 or 12 persons present, and a

majority of whom, whenever the questions of Religion and Education have come before them, have really shewn a disposition to leave the inhabitants in total ignorance rather than that they should be instructed by any other than a high church agency. As a specimen of the bigotted exclusiveness of this party in the Council, I may observe that the leader of it has written strongly against Clergymen or members of the Church of England having any connexion with the British and Foreign Bible Society.^[24]

He had not supposed that Glenelg would attach this reference to Strachan; indeed, so far as he could recall, Strachan had never been mentioned in any of the conversations he had had with Glenelg. The fact was notorious that the Church of England authorities of Upper Canada had been much too exclusive to suit the British and Foreign Bible Society. Ryerson's information, however, is that Strachan was present when the amendment was passed, and that Elmsley, not Robinson, proposed and supported it. He definitely charges Head with failure to carry out the instructions of Glenelg and with breaking promises repeatedly made. He asks whether "the undertaking of the Government ought not to be as inviolable as that of individuals, and whether the honour, and character, and credit of the Government are not involved in the maintenance of its own solemn engagements". He therefore prays the Assembly to sanction the payment of the balance, £2,050, in order to implement Lord Glenelg's "gracious intentions".

When the petition was presented on Saturday, the 3rd of February, on motion of Henry Ruttan, by a vote of 27-4, it was ordered that two hundred copies of the petition and correspondence should be printed. Further, a Select Committee was appointed to consider the whole matter, and Ruttan was named its chairman. In the meantime, Ryerson busied himself with seeing that all the facts of the case were laid before the Houses and the public. His method was indirect as well as direct. The sending to Strachan of his sermon on the Rebellion, would stand in the former category.

February 7, 1838, ARCHDEACON STRACHAN TO THE REV. E. RYERSON, care of JAS. ARMSTRONG, Esq., M.P., Toronto.

The Archdeacon presents his compliments to the Revd. E. Ryerson and begs to acknowledge with satisfaction his courtesy in sending him a copy of his excellent Sermon, which the Archdeacon has read with much pleasure & profit. Such doctrine

if generally diffused among our people cannot fail of producing the most beneficial effects both spiritual & temporal.^[25]

Wednesday
7 Feby.
1838

February 9, 1838, EGERTON RYERSON, Toronto, to J. JOSEPH, Civil Secretary.

(Copy)

SIR,

I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of yesterday, and beg to say, for the information of His Excellency, in reply, that my letter to you of the 30th of June, your answer of the 3rd of July, a letter from the Rev. Mr. Stinson dated the early part of January, together with the Reports or statements which may have been made [by] the Receiver General for His Excellency's information since August (except one note of late date) are not in the correspondence which His Excellency has transmitted to the House of Assembly.^[26] There may be other documents which do not occur to me, or which have not come within my knowledge.

I beg also to apprise you, that the copy of my letter to Lord Glenelg dated April 18, 1837, as sent by the Clerk of the Assembly to the Printer, varies materially from the copy of the original in my possession.^[27]

I have the honor to be,
etc., etc.

Ryerson also wrote to certain members of the Councils, wishing to inform them of the incompleteness of Head's return. These letters were received with quite different degrees of cordiality.

WM. H. DRAPER TO REV. EGERTON RYERSON.

MY DEAR SIR,

I thank you for your note of yesterday and for the friendly sentiments it expresses. I see you fully understand the position I am placed in.

I have never had an opportunity of perusing any of the letters you allude to, nor in fact did I know of their existence excepting thro' yourself, the whole affair, so far as the Government here is concerned having taken place when I was not present.

I shall take care the omission of the papers you refer to is made known to Mr. Joseph.

Yours truly,
WM. H. DRAPER

February 15, 1838, EGERTON RYERSON, *Toronto*, to HON. CHIEF JUSTICE ROBINSON.

(Draft)

SIR,

As His Excellency Sir Francis Head has, I understand, sent down to the Hon. the Legislative Council several documents intended to excite unfriendly feelings in the minds of the members of that House against me, I take the liberty to enclose a copy of yesterday's *Guardian* which contains a full account of the whole affair alluded to.^[28] In the Correspondence as published in the *Guardian*, you will find several letters which His Excellency has not as yet thought proper to transmit to the Legislature, although the House of Assembly addressed him for them several days since, & although I enclosed two or three of them to the Government House & have a letter from Mr. Joseph dated last week, saying they should be immediately sent.

I also beg your acceptance of a Pamphlet which I was induced under peculiar circumstances to publish while in England—in the 42nd, 43rd, 44th & 45th pages of which I have briefly discussed the questions which relate to the Constitution and general character of the Legislative Council.

Should you desire it, I can furnish you for a few days with a copy of my entire correspondence with the Colonial Office during my late mission to England.

I desire that you may be acquainted with the whole matter before the Legislative Council becomes committed to an affair arising out of two or three sentences (hastily written) in my last letter to Lord Glenelg & the formal notice of which by the

Legislative Council can be of no advantage & the further discussion of it is, I think, unadvised.

I cannot but think that there are reasons for my expecting other treatment from His Excy. than that which I have received; & if pressed further into the discussion, I am prepared to show, in *addition to the unhappy Academy affair*, that His Excellency has actually wronged us out of nearly two thousand pounds, and mutilated a despatch of Lord Glenelg's in order to do it—an original copy of which despatch I have, as furnished me by his Lordship's direction in April 1836.^[29]

My hope is, that if the Legislative Council take up the subject of the U. C. Academy, and if the majority who voted for the amendments in the Bill of last Session were not unfriendly to the Institution, they will state their real intentions, & recommend such relief & such annual assistance for the U. C. Academy as is obviously necessary to secure the efficient operation of such an Institution, especially in its infancy & in a new country. If it be a fact, that a majority of the Legislative Council are not unfriendly to the U. C. Academy, but on the contrary are disposed to aid it, no one will rejoice more than myself to recall in the most public & strongest manner the intimations I have made to the reverse. And it would afford myself & my friends peculiar satisfaction to have the opportunity to extend *directly & publicly* to the Legislative Council that cordial support that we have done to the Institutions of the Province generally. I submit this course would be much better than to be diverting & agitating the public mind with the discussion of the bygone transactions of former years. Should it be convenient & agreeable to you, I would be happy of the honor of a short interview with you on these matters.

I have the honor, etc.

February 16, 1838, J. B. ROBINSON to REV. EGERTON RYERSON

SIR,

It would not be in my power to see you until after this week, unless at an unseasonably early hour. On Monday next, or any day after, I shall be happy to see you at 10 o'clock or about that hour.

The question whether the sum of £4100 shall be advanced from the Crown Revenue as a grant or a loan, is one with which

the Legislative Council has nothing to do.

Whether it is intended by the Leg. Council, to take any, & what notice of the correspondence you refer to is wholly unknown to me, and if it does become a matter of discussion, I have but one rule of proceeding in such occasions, which is to do what appears to me to be right upon the facts & statements before me at the time. Whatever suspicions & imputations may follow I can bear as I would any other [——] incident that one is exposed to in matters public or private.

I am, Dear Sir

Yours very faithfully.

J. B. ROBINSON

This is the only letter from John Beverley Robinson in the collection. It is the answer of a judge who will not be approached on a case rather than of a Legislative Councillor with responsibilities to the public. However, this letter, cold as it is, stands in pleasant contrast to that received from the Chairman of the Council Committee, the Hon. James Gordon, in answer to a similar appeal. That gentleman concludes his letter with the remark: "Whatever it may be thought proper to do in the matter to which you allude, you may be assured will be done without regard to the surmise and threats which I regret to see contained in your letter." To which Ryerson replied on February 17th that he was far from intending anything of the sort, adding, "I cannot be so insensible to the rights of individual judgment of legislative bodies, as to insinuate the one or utter the other."

In order to secure Ryerson's presence in Toronto, the Rev. W. M. Harvard, President of Conference, had gone to Kingston to take over his work, and was entertained at Ryerson's home. Already he had written two letters to Ryerson in Toronto. The third is reproduced as having more substance than the others.

February 17, 1838, REV. W. M. HARVARD, Kingston, to THE REV. EGERTON RYERSON, Guardian Office, Toronto.

(Have the goodness to deliver immediately)

MY DEAR BROTHER RYERSON

It grieves me to see ourselves involved in a public quarrel with the Governor who I fear is but a small friend to Methodism, notwithstanding his professed sentiments, and who also I fear is

too much of a courtier to be a man of his word. No doubt you have communicated with Lord Glenelg on the subject of this new and strange construction which has been put upon his intentions; and who will without doubt abide by his original design; the more especially as they are not at the Colonial Office overpleased with the high and I had almost said intolerant policy of some characters in this colony. I have written to Mr. Alder, apprising him of the state of things, hoping he will “forgive and forget” wherein we have offended,^[30] and use his influence in our favour, should we require it.

Now it strikes me you should communicate with him on the subject; as he certainly had an impression that next to your own indefatigable perseverance, the Grant was in some degree promoted by the fact of the Union between the British and the Canadian Conferences, and that in your application you had the British Connexion at your back. If therefore you wish his personal movement, he should have the earliest information; and you would perhaps think it well to secure your communication from interception or delay, to send it down to Sister Ryerson who would be able to get it taken across the lines and posted in the States.

At the same time I hope you have some *promise* from *influential members* that a measure in favour of an annual Grant *shall be* at once originated in the House of Assembly. Unless we *do business there*, all will evaporate in the smoke of vexation and annoyance.

I have begun to have some suspicions, but I was not fully aware of it till reading the fact in the *Guardian* last night, that the Governor had never thanked you for your defence of his measures in England. Surely this is unaccountable—I almost thought you would be getting a *Grant of Land* on account of a service so well appreciated by the Government at home.^[31] Do you think your suggesting an addition of “Representative Peers” to the Legislative Council has proved to be a fly in the pot of ointment?

In writing to Mr. Alder I will thank you to give such a view of a certain other matter as will suffice to satisfy our mercantile—our invaluable mercantile *Directors*, who feel their own responsibilities before the world, and who have a just demand on our respectful sympathies and our due consideration. But many of them are so

personally and intimately known to yourself, as to render any further remark from me unnecessary.^[32]

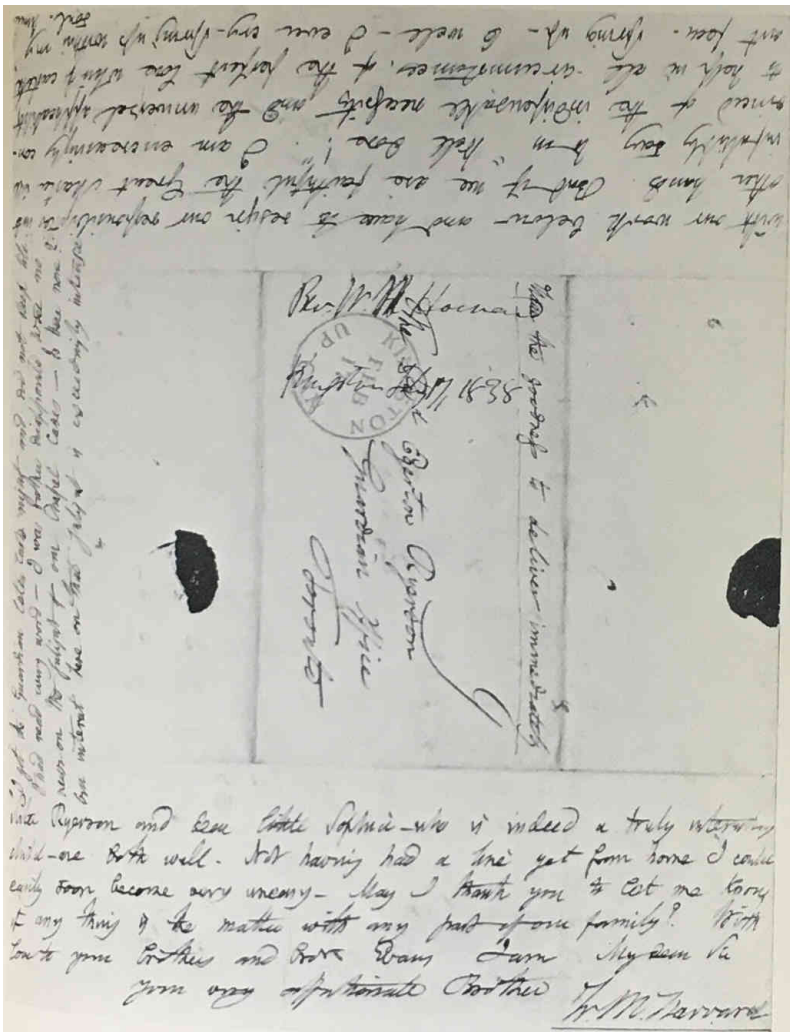
Do not be unmindful of your health in this time of unusual occupation and excitement. . . .

Your very affectionate Brother
W. M. HARVARD

P.S. I got the *Guardian* late last night and did not sleep till I had read every word.^[33] I was rather disappointed to see no news on the subject of our Chapel cases. Is there none? Our interest here on that subject is exceedingly intense.

P.S. Sister Ryerson wishes me to add that she hopes you will return home as soon as you can.

The Committee of the Assembly reported on February 21st. On the whole the report was favourable. It reviewed the action of the Colonial Secretary and the Lieutenant Governor and noted the solicitude of the former for the Academy. The debts of the Academy were set forth in detail: £610 to four different banks, £500 for which Evans and John Ryerson were personally holden, £850 for which Egerton Ryerson was personally holden, and sundry small sums to the amount of £582.2.4 owing to individuals. The exertions of the Methodist Church in this venture on which upwards of £9000 had been spent were described as unparalleled. The Committee would not express an opinion as to whether the Colonial Secretary intended the £4100 to be a grant or a loan, but knew of no precedent for a loan from the Crown Revenue. Consequently it asked the House to request the Governor to issue a warrant for the balance. It forbore also to inquire into the merits of Ryerson's petition, regarding it as coming from an individual and not from the Conference or from the Trustees of the Academy. It expressed regret that he should have thought it necessary to make observations such as the petition contained.



Outer sheet of Rev. W. M. Harvard's letter of February 17th, 1838, to Egerton Ryerson, half size, showing method of folding, sealing, stamping, and indicating payment of postage. Ryerson, as was his custom, wrote the name of the sender across the folded letter.

Having accomplished this much in Toronto, Ryerson returns to Kingston and his family about the first of March. He determines to lay the whole case before the Colonial Office. On the 8th and 9th of the month he addresses two long letters to Glenelg and Stephen. The letter to Glenelg breaks little new ground. He asks that His Lordship, in addition to confirming the view that the £4100 was to be a grant, shall consider the propriety of authorizing an annual appropriation. He specifies the grants to Upper Canada College,

the land grant now being set at 66,000 acres. An annual grant of £500 to the Academy would enable it to secure “philosophical” apparatus and to provide lectures in Science. After reviewing informally the friendly attitude of the Assembly to the Institution, he notes the tendency to set up a narrow local “executive influence” in opposition to Her Majesty’s government. This influence has striven to defeat the benevolent intention of His Lordship in reference to the Academy. He sees no prospect of succeeding in the Council; its policy is to support the Episcopal Church alone. The Trustees of the Academy have desired that he should go to London again, but he has considered that the documents in the case, if called to His Lordship’s attention, would speak for themselves. As for himself, he confidently appeals to His Lordship as to whether in all his communications with the Colonial Office error or partiality has appeared in his statements or exclusiveness or selfishness in his purposes.^[34] Before concluding his long letter, Ryerson thinks it well to explain the Committee’s rather critical references to his petition. This explanation shall be given in the words of the draft, since they afford at once a good illustration of the technique of the official party and of Ryerson’s method of meeting it:

It may be proper for me to make a remark in relation to the allusion made to me in the concluding paragraph of the Report of the Committee on the Academy (page 75). The report was agreed to in the first instance without that paragraph; I having consented, in deference to the feelings of the Committee, to forego the investigation of the personal affair between His Excy. & myself, if they thought proper to consider the case of the Academy without any reference to it, leaving every man to judge from the correspondence itself. Two weeks passed with that understanding; the report was drawn up accordingly, but the day before the intended presentation of the report, and within a week of the expected close of the Session, the Atty. & Sol. Generals informed the Chairman of the Committee that if he recommended the interests of the Academy according to the prayer of the Petition without some exoneration of his Excellency from the odium in which the Petition & correspondence involved him, they, as officers of the Government, must oppose it. They then drew up a paragraph such as they would require in order to induce them to support the other part of the report. The Committee kindly invited me in to examine it. On perceiving that it reflected upon my “discretion”, my “feelings”, & *indirectly* upon my statements, I objected to the introduction of any thing of the kind unless they

investigated the facts of the Petition, & would let the *evidence* go along with the opinions they might think proper to express, that it was contrary to all law & justice to pronounce judgment in any case, or in respect to any individual, without investigation, & for that investigation I was fully prepared, & had only desisted from pressing it in deference to the feelings of the gentlemen of the Committee. One of the Crown Officers remarked that to the investigation we will go, but it will not be got through with this session. I replied that money itself, as serious a matter as it would be for us to be kept out of it, was trifling in comparison of moral influence & reputation. The Chairman of the Committee proposed a compromise. I then erased about one half of the paragraph, & modified the rest as it appears in the report, & said I would not object to that, as it assigned my petitioning as a private individual as the reason for not proceeding with the investigation & did not justify the Governor, & left the reader to judge as he pleased of the *merits* of the petition. After a lengthened discussion, I repeated that I could not consent to the insertion of another word without insisting upon the right & justice of an investigation of the whole affair. The Committee separated. Next morning the Crown officers consented to the paragraph, as I had modified it. As I do not know but an attempt may be made to construe this part of the report into a justification of the course pursued by His Excy. & to my disparagement, I have thought it proper to state the particulars respecting its introduction & adoption. The Crown Officers had a duty to discharge & which seemed to have been pressed upon them. I blame them not for doing what they did, as the advocates of His Excy.

In final conclusion he refers to his two “plain discourses” which he encloses, as giving a fair index of the principles of the Wesleyan Methodists in Upper Canada, namely, his Conference and his New Year’s sermons. He then reiterates the two requests and asks to be favoured with a reply before Conference.

The letter to Stephen is dated the day following that to Glenelg. It is briefer and more intimate, and it introduces the Bidwell incident. This courageous demand for justice to that distinguished exile marks something of an epoch in the life of Ryerson, and indicates his emancipation from a certain narrowness and harshness of spirit exhibited as early as the letters to the *Times* and permeating his New Year’s Sermon. But a fuller treatment of

this incident will appear in the next chapter. This must close with the informative letter to Stephen and a chatty note from Anson Green dealing with Academy affairs and Conference gossip.

March 9, 1838, EGERTON RYERSON, *Kingston, U.C.* to SIR JAMES STEPHEN, *Colonial Office.*

(*Copy*)

MY DEAR SIR,

I take the liberty to enclose you a pamphlet containing documents printed by order of the House of Assembly relative to the Upper Canada Academy; also an *unofficial* Appendix containing the proceedings of the Legislative Council & the House of Assembly respecting those documents, & other observations which will serve to set in a clear light the very extraordinary course which Sir F. B. Head has thought proper to pursue towards that Institution [and] the Methodist Body. The *pretext* employed by His Excy. since the 23rd of January to retard & defeat the gracious intentions of Her Majesty's Government is, that the aid granted by Lord Glenelg was intended to be a *loan* & not a *grant*. He entirely failed in the object which he most evidently had in view in bringing the matter before the local Legislature. Nevertheless the point has been, according to our request, reserved for decision of Lord Glenelg himself; and I have addressed his Lordship on the subject & enclosed to him a copy of the printed papers herewith enclosed to yourself. In page — of these papers, I have referred to what I understood from you on the subject. I have also mentioned the same circumstance in my letter to his Lordship; & lest the circumstance should escape your recollection, I will mention a remark that you made which will bring the whole of what passed to your remembrance. On my manifesting some solicitude as to whether the aid was to be a grant or a loan, you pleasantly remarked, that for two pence, or three farthings, (I cannot remember which) you would be my security on that point.

On account of your kindness to me personally, & your known wish & endeavour to promote the religious & civil interests of this Province upon just & enlightened principles, I am induced to apprise you, that there is a plan laid & the utmost determination on the part of Mr. Atty. General Hagerman & other members of the

provincial Executive (& I believe Sir F. B. Head) to get you removed from the Colonial Office. An attack is made upon you with that view in the reports of both branches of the Legislature on the state of the Canadas—especially in the report of the House of Assembly, drawn up by Mr. Hagerman. The report of the Legislative Council is the production of Chief Justice Robinson—a Lyndhurst in acuteness & elegance, a Sir Robert Peel in *political* tactics, but a virtuous & amiable man in private life. The enlightened & liberal principles of colonial government which have been promulgated by the Colonial Office of late years stand opposed to the high & exclusive policy which the members of our Executive would, if they could, pursue in the administration of the provincial government; and they seem to regard you as the author of those liberal despatches & the ruler of the Colonial Office. I happened to be under the gallery of the House when the report of the Assembly was under discussion. Mr. Speaker MacNabb (a good soldier, a blunt, straitforward man, but not a man of a vigorous mind or of general intelligence) wished the extenuating clauses of the sentence in the first part of the second paragraph on page 61 of the report might be expunged. Mr. Sherwood, the Chairman of the Committee,^[35] (a busy, loquacious sprig of the law, between 25 & 30 years of age) pronounced your language “treasonable” & “traitorous”. Mr. Cartwright (whom I think you must have offended, when he was in England several years ago) gave notice of an Address to Her Majesty praying for your removal from the Colonial Office. The Attorney General came to me, & asked me what I thought my friend Stephen would think of all this? I told [him] I thought it was a very ill advised proceeding. He said he did not intend to take any part in it; but the members were determined to have Stephen out of the Colonial Office. I told him they might as well pull the moon from her orbit (& gave my reasons) & that the proceeding was in fact a greater insult to Lord Glenelg than it was to Mr. Stephen. Having then a report put into my hands by one of the members, I pointed out to several members the objectionable parts of it & how ungenerous & suicidal the attack on you was, & changed the votes of two members in a few minutes. Had I been previously aware of the nature of the report, I have not a doubt but I could have prevented its adoption in its present form. Several members who voted for it, have since exceedingly regretted their vote. It was however only

adopted by a majority of *seven*.^[36] I have expressed my sentiments on some of these proceedings in my letter to Lord Glenelg of yesterday's date.

The conduct of Sir F. B. Head towards Bidwell has been very heartless & cruel. You know my views & opposition to the proceedings of the Party with which Bidwell was connected. But I do not like to see a man sacrificed without law, because he is opposed to me. The rebels had a flag, with the inscription "Bidwell & the glorious minority—a good beginning, 1837". It will be seen that the motto was inappropriate for Bidwell was not a member of the House at all & the rebels professed to be the majority. The fact is, this flag & the inscription had been used at Mackenzie's election for the County of York, in 1831,^[37] when Bidwell & the minority of the House opposed Mackenzie's successive expulsions for the same crime. I saw it at the time; & it is mentioned in the newspapers of that date, containing an account of those proceedings. The figures had been altered to 1837, from 1831, & the flag was used among the rebels without Bidwell's knowledge. After the dispersion of the rebels, Sir F. Head sent for Bidwell, showed him this flag, told [him] he could [not] be security for his person & property in the present state of excited feeling against him, that he must of course expect to undergo a legal trial; Bidwell (I am told) affirmed his entire ignorance of the whole matter & his entire retirement from politics since the last elections. The Governor told him that entertaining a high respect for him personally, he would give him a pass-port, or letter of protection, to the American side, (&) should he choose to apply for it, & then dictated to him the terms of the application, acknowledging the personal kindness of the Governor, etc. Bidwell, being a man of high feeling, & constitutionally nervous, & knowing that every man on the bench & at the bar, employed in the administration of the law, had been his political opponent on the floor of the House of Assembly, hastily acceded to the Governor's terms; but on further reflection, immediately after he had landed on the American side, he wrote back to the Governor complaining in the strongest & most affecting terms of the injustice done him. Every rebel committed for trial has been examined as to Bidwell's encouraging them, or advising them in the matter; all have said they never had any conversation with him, & knew nothing of his views in regard to their present

proceedings, except two or three, who said they went to Bidwell to ask his advice in regard to Mackenzie's proceedings, & he told them, that he had nothing whatever to do with politics any more, & therefore could give no opinion on the subject—that they went to *Rolph*, who told them that Mackenzie's proceedings were such as the times required, & that he ought to be supported.^[38] The Sol. General told me some weeks since, that he did not believe Bidwell had any thing to do with the rebellion. The fact appears to be, that Bidwell, on being defeated at the last general election, as well as his party, resolved to put into execution what he had expressed a desire to do two years before, to retire from political strife; but he did not publicly denounce the *subsequent* proceedings of the party with which he had been connected; and Sir F. Head & others have availed themselves of a favourable opportunity to get rid of so powerful & dangerous an opponent, as they still viewed Bidwell. I have not had any intercourse with Bidwell since my return from England, or indeed for years; but I believe such are the facts of the case as it relates to him, and such are the circumstances under which the correspondence relative to his leaving the country took place—correspondence which I suppose has been transmitted to Lord Glenelg. Of this I am perfectly assured, that had Bidwell been appointed to the Bench, Mackenzie never could have made an insurrection.^[39] I was on my way from this town to Toronto when the insurrection broke out. I was in Cobourg, Newcastle District, when the volunteers rallied from all parts & the report was there that Rolph & Bidwell were under arms in defence of the city *against* Mackenzie. You may judge of the effect of this report throughout the province—it doubled the number of volunteers in defence of the government; you may then judge of my surprise on going to Toronto the day after the dispersion of the rebels to learn that Rolph had fled, & Bidwell was preparing to leave within a certain number of hours under a letter of privilege from the Governor. The lawyers are of course glad that Bidwell is gone, as his absence increased their practice; & I think his absence is better than his presence, at the present time, at least for himself. But I like to see justice done even to my worst enemy; & I confess I entertain a little concern on this point, when I see his Excellency's course towards my Methodist friends & myself within a month after he had got rid of the *radical & rebel*—[incomplete].

March 10, 1838, REV. A. GREEN, *Wilton*, to THE REV. EGERTON RYERSON, *Kingston*.

VERY DEAR BROTHER RYERSON,

I had designed to see you tomorrow evening in Kingston, but as the snow is melting away so very fast, I find myself under the necessity of returning home with all possible speed, and even then, I do not expect to get farther than Belleville with my *sleigh*. I was anxious to see you on many accounts. Pray how do you feel after your tug with Sir Francis? You need not feel very sore, having obtained so tryumphant a victory. I doubt not but Sir F. would willingly pay double the amount claimed by us, if the thing never had happened. It is too late, however, to recall it now, but I hope he will learn wisdom from the past, and not be so selfish and headstrong in future. No one appears pleased with him but those whose praise is a reproach.

I fear we shall meet with some trouble in Cobourg in settling up our old accounts. I have received a letter from John Ryerson say[ing] that we may draw on him for £200 only whereas we expected about 400, and now, the grant having been received, they all think they must have their pay immediately. The note we drew for £50 in the Cobourg Branch is now due, and we owe them about £250 besides. Do you not think it would be wisdom in us to keep hold of the sum due in England until we could obtain help from Parliament, or sell some of our land to meet it?^[40] Please consider of this and write me soon. Our District Meeting is appointed in Switzer's Chapel for the 7th June and your last Quarterly Meeting for the Sabbath after, at which all the chairmen must be present, so that you can have your choice.

There is a wonderful change in Mr. Richey. He is as tame as a lamb, and is really bringing up his end manfully. Had he done so from the commencement he would have saved us at least £1000. Was it not very strange that Mr. Harvard never sent him the communication agreed upon by us in Toronto? Nor even attended the committee appointed by his own special request. Should we not require an *explanation* of him, at least? Should Mr. R. continue to perform his part with promptitude, I am very anxious to know what you think about the propriety of continuing him for another year.^[41] I told him the substance of the letter to be sent him from

Mr. Harvard, since which he has done much better—indeed I think he now does the very best he can. He sees we can do without him, and I think he fears the consequences of a dismissal under such circumstances. The school was never doing so well as it is now, but I almost fear to say so, for fear it will not continue. It will take a long time to repair the mischief already done. Could you make it convenient to attend our public examination the 18th of April?^[42] If so, please bring Mrs. Ryerson with you and stop *with us*. The good work still goes on in Cobourg.^[43] I pray the Lord to grant you something like it in Kingston. With kind regards to Sister Ryerson and yourself, I remain, your fellow labourer and brother in Christ

A. GREEN

-
- [1] What happened these and other missing letters, I have not been able to determine, beyond the following facts: (1) several were bound in James Ferrier's Book of Conference Presidents in Victoria University Library; (2) thirty-eight others were sent to James Ferrier, as we learn from a list preserved with these papers; (3) twelve found their way into the Dominion Archives, coming from St. Catharines, so Dr. Doughty stated.
- [2] Lindsey: *The Life and Times of Wm. Lyon Mackenzie, Vol. II*, p. 59.
- [3] *S.M.L.*, p. 176.
- [4] *S.M.L.*, p. 176. Why the withholding of the name here? And why the loss of this and the two following letters from the correspondence? Did Dent, who was assiduous in gathering letters of the period, get them from Hodgins?
- [5] *S.M.L.*, p. 177.

[6] The number of the insurgents probably did not exceed 500. Ill-armed and ill-fed, they had fallen back successively from the Toll-gate to Gallows Hill and from Gallows Hill to Montgomery's. The Toll-gate was situated at the intersection of Davenport Road and Yonge Street, near the south east corner of which Dr. Horne's house stood. Gallows Hill was the steep rise half a mile north, so named because a log across the deep cut made by Yonge Street had once proved convenient for a suicide. Montgomery's Tavern stood on still higher ground, two miles north of Gallows Hill; it had long been a meeting place for Reformers, but Montgomery had recently rented the place.

[7] *S.M.L.*, p. 177.

[8] "*Meo in lectulo*", as Cicero had said in a similar case.

[9] Mackenzie took the name of the little craft used by the "Patriots" at their headquarters at Navy Island, just above the falls of Niagara, for the occasional booklets published in exile and assailing the Government of Canada and all and sundry who did it homage.

[10] Stinson was present in the congregation. The next day he wrote to Ryerson thus: "My dear Brother: Agreeing with many others in the opinion that the publication of your excellent sermon delivered on Sabbath evening last on the interesting subject of our late providential deliverance will be of great service to the public at this crisis, you will greatly oblige us if you will prepare it for the press forthwith." Anson Green's name is also signed to the letter. The sermon was printed at the *Guardian* Office, and runs to 20 pages.

[11] Peter Perry must have remarked that chickens were coming home to roost; in picking him to pieces in 1836, Ryerson had played some part in electing Cartwright at the head of the polls.

- [12] Cartwright's motion, finally appearing in the name of Sherwood, actually was carried by a majority of four votes on February 19th. Two amendments had been proposed and defeated: Rykert's for sale and complete control by the Legislature, by a majority of 12; that of Merritt providing for the sale of 250,000 acres for immediate application to grammar schools and the return of the rest to the Crown, by a majority of one.
- [13] This is the first intimation that Ryerson was prepared to criticize certain tendencies of Bunting to defer to the Church of England.
- [14] Evidently Ryerson feared that Evans had succumbed to the potent influence of Strachan and the life of the metropolis.
- [15] The Book and Printing Committee was the standing committee of Conference which exercised authority over the *Guardian*. Evans was a member of this Committee, with ten others, including the three Ryersons and Stinson.
- [16] The three letters of January 25, 26, and 27 appear in the *Guardian* of February 14, 1838.
- [17] Green was treasurer of the Academy.
- [18] The other "moiety" had been paid by the Receiver General on the order of Head on November 11, 1837.

[19] Both in Glenelg's despatch to Head on April 28, 1837, and the letter of Grey to Ryerson of April 25th the term "advance" is used, and not either "grant" or "loan". Glenelg's despatch is in the following terms:

"But in order to obviate all risk or embarrassment to that institution, I have to desire that unless some objection which I do not anticipate, should suggest itself to you, you will advance the amount of the loan intended to have been granted by the bill in question to the Trustees of the Upper Canada Academy, out of any unappropriated portion of the Casual and Territorial Revenue of the Province, and on the first meeting of the Legislature you will report the circumstance to them".

[20] April 25, 1837. (See page [374](#).)

[21] These observations appear in the form of a letter to the editor, dated July 3rd, 1837. Ryerson calls attention to the support given the bill in the Legislative Council by the Chief Justice and the fact that he has been assured "on good authority" that the majority of the members of the Council were not opposed to the Bill. While he has advocated the claims of the Council as an important element in the constitution, he believes that like the House of Lords, to which it is analagous, it should not pass judgment on money bills.

[22] This thrust must have provoked a smile even in Baldwin's solemn study and relieved for the moment Rolph's gloom in Rochester.

[23] Regiopolis College at Kingston.

[24] This last sentence apparently was added after the draft preserved with these papers.

[25] Oddly enough, the receipt of this letter escaped Ryerson's memory. Across the folder appears the name "Archdeacon Bethune" written in his hand of later years. Bethune succeeded Strachan as archdeacon in 1846.

[26] These letters were quite material to the case. That of June 30, 1837, contains the statement by Ryerson that the Bank Directors were willing to loan funds to the Academy if they had the assurance that Head was prepared to carry out the wishes of Glenelg "as soon as practicable". That of July 3rd gives the required assurance. Stinson's letter of January 11th, 1838, informs Head that the Receiver General had at that time sufficient funds for the purpose.

[27] Apparently Ryerson himself is mistaken here. The *Guardian* version agrees with the version printed in the proceedings of the Assembly (these documents appear on pages 47-78 of an Appendix). They differ from the draft only in the one sentence (see p. [412](#)), which refers to Strachan without naming him. Evidently in the final form of the letter Ryerson had added it to the draft, and forgotten that he had done so.

[28] The *Guardian* of February 14th does not publish quite all the correspondence. Three further letters bearing on the question were printed in the *Guardian* of February 21st, having been sent down in the meantime by Head. They are of the dates February 29, 1836 (GREY to RYERSON), March 2, 1836 (GLENELG to HEAD), and July 26, 1836 (GLENELG to HEAD). The last is the letter which directs Head to incorporate the Academy and to lay the matter of pecuniary assistance before the next session of the Legislature. Two sessions had intervened—one of them, to be sure, an emergency session—before Head actually made the reference. Probably Ryerson did not know the exact content of the despatches of March 3rd and July 26th until their publication at this time.

- [29] Probably a reference to the grant for missions withheld in 1835 and 1836 for some unexplained reason. A sentence in Harvard's letter of February 7th may afford a clue: "Should you have to animadvert on the Governor's sending garbled extracts, you can remind him that has occurred before and that Brother Stinson can refresh his memory with particulars if he desires."
- [30] This remark, nowhere explained, may be borne in mind against the open rupture of 1840.
- [31] Is this merely playful? Or had Harvard in mind the grants of land to certain other clergymen, and particularly that to the Archdeacon of York, who received a grant of 2,000 acres and made application that he be allowed to choose its location. (MAITLAND to GODERICH, *State Papers—Upper Canada, 1827*, p. 290)
- [32] Here again we have cause to complain of Harvard's want of directness.
- [33] If he perused the *Guardian* of the 14th, all by candle-light—and much of it in very small type—he would have read about 25,000 words; and his hostess may well have enquired the next morning at breakfast as to the condition of his eyes.
- [34] William Smith makes the general observation on his methods that "when dealing with public affairs, it was natural for Ryerson to divest himself of the special interest he represented and to assume the rôle of a statesman" (p. 208). Rather curiously, Smith overlooks this correspondence respecting the Academy, and as a result falls into the error of supposing that in the withholding of the grant to the Academy the Lieutenant Governor sought to punish Ryerson for his Bidwell letters. These letters were published in May, 1838, several months after Head had made up his mind to play with the "advance".

[35] Henry Sherwood was the son of Levius P. Sherwood, a Judge of the King's Bench. He had been one of the young men involved in the raid on the *Colonial Advocate* office. He had studied law in the office of John Beverley Robinson. In 1836 he had been returned member for Brockville. During the revolt he was aide-de-camp to Head.

[36] The report of the Committee is printed in an Appendix to the *Journal of the House of Assembly, 1837-38*, (p. 257-271). The document is such as one would expect from the personnel of the committee, which included most of the extreme members of the party. In dealing with Stephen, the Committee went back to evidence he had given before the Select Committee on the Canadas in 1828, and roundly condemned the liberal sentiments he had then expressed. They raised the question as to whether his influence as Under Secretary in the Colonial Office could be continued "without danger to our future prosperity" (p. 270).

[37] The rebels also had a banner, "Victoria the first, and Reform", changed from the 1831 slogan of "King William and Reform". Referring to this fact in his defence of Bidwell in the Upper Canada Herald of May 8th, Ryerson dryly asks why Sir Francis had not indicted Her Majesty for allowing her name to be used for this purpose.

[38] It is on just such evidence as this that the verdict of history has involved Rolph in the insurrection. On the other hand, we learn, from a letter written to the *Patriot* by Hagerman on May 18th, of a conversation which Hagerman had with Bidwell on the Wednesday or Thursday of the week of the rebellion. Hagerman had inquired of Bidwell why his next-door neighbour Rolph had gone to the London district, and Bidwell had replied that he had not gone to London but to the United States and had given as his reasons, “firstly, he feared he might be apprehended and committed on suspicion of correspondence with traitors and secondly, he was afraid that Mackenzie and other traitors might attempt to send messages and address letters to him and thus apparently implicate him in their schemes with which he was resolved to have nothing to do”.

[39] This striking opinion, which Ryerson nowhere repeats or explains, is probably based on the view that Mackenzie would have regarded the appointment of a reformer to a position of high responsibility and emolument under the Crown as evidence that the situation was not quite hopeless.

[40] This probably refers to several donations to the Academy of land in lieu of cash subscriptions.

[41] The college principal, like the editor, was strictly under orders to an all-powerful Conference, and for a year at a time.

[42] An interesting account of these exercises appears in the *Guardian* of May 2nd. The various classes performed to the entire satisfaction of Evans, in Mathematics under Mr. O'Loane and in Classics under Mr. Hudspeth (a Presbyterian, by the way). Oratory and Astronomy, in which the young ladies showed particular proficiency, also had their place in the programme. Perhaps the most striking features, however, were a discourse and a poem by two Indian students, Steinhauer and Wilson, the latter of whom had been brought by Ryerson from the Credit to serve his apprenticeship as a printer in the *Guardian* office.

[43] A revival at Cobourg under the preaching of Carroll and Douse resulted in the Cobourg circuit reporting an increase for the year of 226 members. Green tells us (p. 218) that "all the boarders of the Academy but six found peace in believing".

CHAPTER XII

VAE VICTIS

March 1838 to May 1838

Sir Francis Head's brief and calamitous governorship had been almost at an end when discontent flamed into rebellion. Already his unwillingness to follow the instructions of Glenelg had resulted in the tendering and acceptance of his resignation, but the letter which recalled him had not yet reached Canada. The immediate point at issue had been Head's refusal to act on Glenelg's advice to restore George Ridout to his judgeship and other offices from which he had been dismissed, and to appoint Bidwell to the next vacancy on the Bench. In supporting his resignation, Head reiterated his accusation that Ridout had associated with Reformers and spoke of Bidwell's father as having found it necessary to "abscond from justice", and of Bidwell himself as now no doubt happy to become a judge under the monarchy "seeing that I have prevented him from becoming President of the republican state of Upper Canada".^[1] On October 26th Glenelg had acknowledged the receipt of this letter, and stated that he felt it his duty to consult his colleagues before dealing with a matter so serious. It was November 24th before the letter informing Head that his resignation had been accepted was despatched, so that the news of the rebellion and the release passed in mid-ocean.

By the end of March, when Sir George Arthur assumed office, the oppressive and vindictive measures of Head and his advisors already had produced a strong reaction towards liberal principles. Bidwell had been bullied into exile. Three members of the Assembly were fugitives with rewards for their arrest, three others imprisoned waiting their turn in the crowded and tardy courts. The jails were filled to overflowing, and other arrests were delayed merely on that account. The names of those apprehended, with their occupations, have been recorded by Lindsey to the number of 885.^[2] Some would be the troublesome, or even dangerous, characters who attach themselves to any such movement; others were sober and industrious citizens who wished their country well. Among these must have been men whose chief crime was to have made some political remark which, when carried to the local officials by an informer, brought them under suspicion. The commission of enquiry, under the presidency of Robert

Baldwin Sullivan, continued to gather information, true and false. The test of crime was no longer the overt act or even the spoken word; guilty silence was deemed enough to bring the citizen under the heavy hand of the law. The old statute of misprision was evoked, under which it was judged an offence to have withheld from the authorities information as to treason.

No avowed and unrepentant Reformer was quite safe, however remote his farm or obscure his station. Not even the Sabbath was observed in Head's determination to stamp out sedition. Jonathan Sissons, an active young man from Yorkshire, had settled in 1833 on his bush farm on the front of the township of Vespra. With his wife and two children he was walking north on the Penetang Road to church at Dalston, a distance of two and a half miles, when he was overtaken by two "red coats". They ordered him to set down the little girl whom he was carrying and come with them. He inquired the reason. They said he was a rebel. This he denied, saying that he was a peaceable citizen on his way to divine service with his family. They said their information was that he was favourable to Mackenzie. He admitted that he thought Mackenzie was right about a good many things, but he had no intention of taking up arms and leaving his helpless wife and family in the bush to the mercy of the wolves. After some discussion he was able to persuade the militia men to compromise. They returned to the shack and took his precious flint-lock shot gun with them. This he later recovered from headquarters at Holland Landing. But many in like case were not so fortunate in their captors or the appealing circumstances at the time of arrest. James Wickens, a Tory and an Anglican, one of the two members for Simcoe County, who lived a half mile south of Jonathan Sissons, was thought to have had some part in the projected arrest. Thus was neighbour set against neighbour.^[3]

From the letters here presented, it does not appear that in the early part of the year our correspondents were greatly perturbed by incidents on the border, although the Navy Island and Bois Blanc incidents had caused some concern as to impending invasion; it was rather fear that the lives of good men would be sacrificed because of political opinions, and the prospects of the province blighted by general emigration. But Sir Francis looked about him on the work of his hands and found it good. In his last despatch of March 23rd he appears to himself as hero and martyr. Unabashed on March 23rd he passes out of the life of Toronto. A bitter smile must have crossed the faces of the political prisoners as they gazed through the bars at the *Transit* steaming across the Bay with his late Excellency as a passenger, and remembered the welcome of two years since and the banner, "Sir Francis Head—a tried Reformer". He did not go home *via* Quebec and Halifax (on a

man-of-war) as he had intended. He learned, as he says, from Colborne of a conspiracy to murder him on his way to Halifax.^[4] Crossing the treacherous spring ice at Kingston, attended by the faithful Jonas Jones, after some adventures with inquisitive and hostile Americans (described by himself with a pen worthy of Dickens—or Mark Twain), he reached New York and the Liverpool packet.

But to John Ryerson, he was neither a hero nor a martyr, just a “frolicsome little cur” who had chosen a garden in Canada for his depredations. In the two following letters, through his “stie” and conservative bias he notes and catches the trend of the times.

March 17, 1838, JOHN RYERSON, Toronto, to THE REV. EGERTON RYERSON, Kingston.

MY DEAR BROTHER

Your kind letter of 13th just come to hand this minit. I would have writen to you two or three days since but was waiting to get a letter from you first. Your letter affords me great satisfaction accompanied with sorrow. I am pleased to see the *just* view you take of the state of the province, & am afflicted to think of the *state* the province is in. Never did high Churchism take such rapid strides towards undisputed *domination* in this country as it is now taking, & never were the prospects of the friends of Civil & Religious liberty so gloomy & desperate as they now are; & Harvard & Evans love to have it so. Mr. H. is a *weak* high-church *despot* & Evans is his *intire tool* & that of his Br. in law, Baldwin^[5] & a few such fellows as Baldwin who *court & tickle* him. On the subject of the Governor’s dispach relative to the Indians & the whole Indian affare, the clergy land question & the house riseing without doing anything about settling it, etc., etc., the *Guardian* remains basely & survily *silent*, while it is filling up its colloms with war stories true, false, & with every species of ribaldry against the American Government^[6] etc., for the purpose of pleasing some 2 or 3 dosen high church Aristochrats who have lately become subscribers to the *Guardian*, while our faithful people are dayly becoming more & more alienated from us, & more & more pained & distressed with the *war* like high church character of our *official organ* & of the anti-christian influence which its present *cours* has on the community. Br. McNab^[7] was here this week & he says that Spoun [Spohn], Jackson, etc. will

throw it up. Kirk, McDonald, etc. have done so; however our people may be led they will never be the willing tool of high church despotism & we will sacrifice the confidence of our real friends & the favour of *God* for the purpose of winning the smiles of a worthless crew who will smash us to pieces so soon as they get us in their hands. "My soul come not thou into their secrets, unto their assembly, my honour be not thou unrighted—cursed be their anger, for it *was fierce*; & their wrath, for it *was cruel*." You say that you have not time to write on these subjects, etc. I will say if you had it would not perhaps amount to much after all; it is likely that Evans would either reject the articles altogether, or if he through fear inserted them, prefix to them some sneering ribaldry like that with which he prefaced the article of "G.C.T." from Kingston.^[8] Indeed it would require the undeviating course & the whole weight of the *Guardian* to accomplish any thing at this time, so completely is all moral power in the country enervated & liberty prostrated. It is a great blessing that Mckenzey & Radicalism are down, but we are in immediate danger of being brought under the dominion of a military & high church *oligarchy*, which would be equally bad if not infinitely worse. Under the blessing of Providence I see one remedy & only one, & that is for you to take the Editorship of the *Guardian* again. Several Preachers have spoken to me on this subject lately. Br. Belton said to me when I was at the fifty the other day that he saw & could think of nothing else that would save us & the country from intire ruin & urged the necessity of the conference electing you, whether you would consent to serve or not. I have never felt *atoll* friendly to your going home again or leaving the province *atoll*. The truth is, it is absolutely necessary for the sake of the church & country that you reside in Toronto & have the direction of our affairs here. I wish all our proceedings to be calm & moderate, but that we be firm & that the great principles of Religious *freedom* & *equality* should be uncompromisingly maintained. I think that Mr. Evans has not read the letter to the trustees as yet. I will see him about it. I have herd nothing relating to the affare since I wrote you. The new Governor is expected every hour; he arrived at New York several days ago. You heard of the infatuated man Sutherland^[9] having attempted to commit suicide by opening a vein in each foot & one in each arm. He would have died but in the fainting fit he struggled which waiked the constable & was saved. He is

extremely weak but is recovering; his time is fixed for Monday next. An Irvinite Preacher went to see him the other day—from the discription that Col. Brown gave of him, it was either Patrick or Vaux; Col. Brown said the Pr. was a “tall pale face fellow with black whiskers”. This Irvinite Pr. came into the room where Sutherland was lying & commenced, “O!!! Sutherland, Sutherland, *Sutherland*, you are possessed of the *Devil*. You are possessed of the *Devil*. You are possessed of the DEVIL. How can you escape, escape, *escape*.”^[10] Col. Brown says that he could stand it no longer, but stepping up to the fellow he took him by the sholders & *chucked* him out of the room. A man who was on the stares at the door says that the old Col. was so *mad* that when he got the fellow to the top of the short stares at the door, he took his sword with the sheath on & gave the fellow such a *poke* in the back as sent him all the way down the stares. Now if the House of Assembly would give her Majesty 100£ to buy Col. Brown a sword for that *christian* act, it would be something like the thing.

[11] I was told last night that Spencer who was token with Sutherland is about making many disclosures, by which a number of persons in this city who are not now thought of will be implicated. I recollect of nothing more to say at present. I will write again next week. Mary unights with me in very kind remembrances to Mrs. Ryerson & self. As ever you most affectionate Brother,

JOHN

March 25, 1838, JOHN RYERSON, *Toronto*, to the REV. EGERTON RYERSON, *Kingston*.

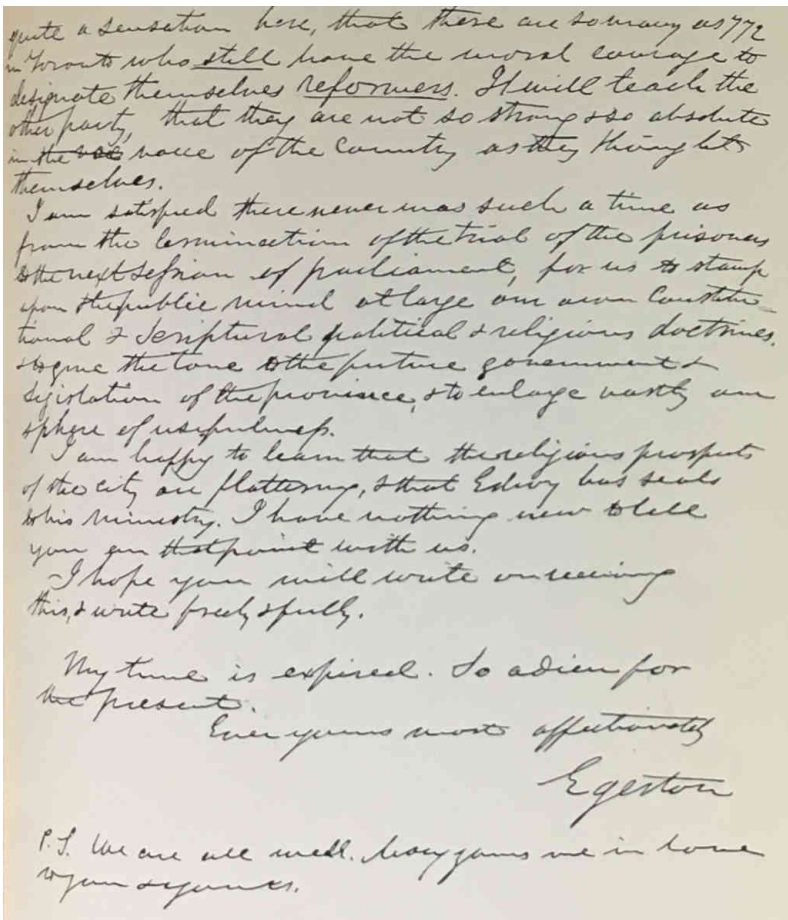
(Steamer *Transit*, Cap. SUTHERLAND)

MY DEAR BROTHER

I know of nothing which has occurred since I wrote last worth mentioning, & would not trouble you with this line but to fulfill the promise I then made. & another thing, I am afflicted with a horrible *stie*, the pain of which prevents me reading or doing any thing else, but writing a little. I had a *stie* two weeks since which got well a few days ago & is now succeeded by the most demoniacal wretch that I ever had about my face since I was born. . . .

Sutherland's trial has been going on since Monday. I believe the examination & his defence closed today at four o'clock. When the court will give their verdict is not known; it is generally thought that he will not be *executed*. I am told Sir George Arther's son arrived in town last evening and it is said that Sir George is in Kingston & that the *Transit* starts today to bring him up.

I am very well pleased with the tone of this week's *Guardian*. [12] Evans' notes on Sir F. despatch are very well for him, although they are too *flat* to carry much *point* or *edge* with them; indeed he has not the ability to write on any such subject with effect, if he were to try.



quite a sensation here, that there are so many as 772
in Toronto who still have the moral courage to
designate themselves Reformers. I will teach the
other party, that they are not so strong & so absolute
in the voice of the country as they thought
themselves.

I am satisfied there never was such a time, as
from the termination of the trial of the prisoners
& the next session of parliament, for us to stamp
upon the public mind at large our own Christian
moral & Scriptural political & religious doctrines,
& to give the tone to the future government &
deposition of the province, & to enlarge vastly our
sphere of usefulness.

I am happy to learn that the religious prospects
of this city are flattering, & that Esley has been
to his Ministry. I have nothing new to tell
you on that point worth us.

I hope you will write concerning
this, & write freely & fully.

My time is expired. So adieu for
the present.

Ever yours most affectionately
Egerton

P.S. We are all well. Many thanks for your
kind regards.

The conclusion of a letter of April 4th, 1838, from Egerton Ryerson to his brother John.

The Reformers here are much pleased with the appointment of *Lord Durham* as Governor Chief. Day before yesterday I was in at Dr. Morrison's & met there Dr. O'Grady & Lawyer King with whom I had considerable conversation relative to our affares. He (Dr. O'Grady) thinks that there never was a time when prospects were so favourable to the having all our religious & political institutions settled on an enlightened, liberal, just & consequently *permunent basis*, as now, if enlightened men were only unighted & knew each others minds. Mr. Merrit, I am most creditably informed, says he saw Doctor Rolph on the other side after he left this & conversed with him fully relative to our affares & he (Mr. Merrit) says that he as firmly believes in Dr. Rolph's *innocence* relative to the Revolution affare, as he believes in his *own* innocence & that Dr. R. would have returned & taken his *seat* in the Legislature had it not of been for what Mr. M. calls the *base* proclamation of Sir F. against him; & Mr. M & many other sound conservative men believe that Sir. F. offered the reward for Dr. Rolph's apprehension for no other purpose than to scandilize him & keep him away out of the province.^[13] Dr. Morrison was takin daingerously *ill*, & has been let out on bail; he is now convalescing. It is thought *that* the Grand Jury will *not* be able to find a bill against him; the evidence that has appeared against him is so contradictory & absurd that it distroys itself.

Yours most affectionate Brother

JOHN

P.S. Sir George has *just* arrived with the steamer *Transit* from Niagara. Sir Frances leaves this evening with the *Transit* for Kingston. Cap. Sutherland of the *Travillar* takes him down as Cap. Richardson does not understand navigating the lake below Cobourg. I send this letter by Cap. Sutherland, as you will get it sooner & save postage. Sir Frances returns home by the way of Quebec; he seems rather scrupulous about trusting himself in the imbrace of the *linch law men*.

Yours,

J.R.

About the same time Ryerson wrote two letters to Toronto. The first, addressed to his young friend Junkin, asked for certain papers necessary to a complete review of Head's administration, and incidentally expressed his

opinion of the need of the times. The second, addressed to John, discussed more fully his views on the best course to be followed in the difficulties which confronted the province and themselves.

March 30, 1838, EGERTON RYERSON, Kingston, to MR. SAML. JUNKIN, Guardian Office, Toronto.

MY DEAR BROTHER,

[After requesting certain papers and documents he continues.]

I have some thought of employing an hour or two now & then, when I am indisposed to any other employment between this & June, to *review* his administration, in order either to publish hereafter, or to keep by me for possible future use, a record of these events & opinions connected with them. I will thank you for any thoughts or hints which may occur to you on the subject, as you have so perfect a knowledge of these things, & have been an eye witness of them. The report of the Legislative Council is upon the whole an excellent & able production, & all things considered rather moderate; the report of the Assembly is undignified & contemptible in style & sentiment & fact, exhibits a false view of the past, & if carried out in letter & spirit, would establish in time to come a Turkish despotism. I think that the present is a favourable era of provincial affairs to correct political errors, & to inculcate upon the public mind truly constitutional & enlightened & liberal views of civil government. I am much pleased with the moderate, manly & independent tone of the *Guardian* of the 21st instant. It has given much satisfaction to the readers of it here, altho' Mrs. Hales says "*they* only take the *Christian Guardian* for the *Servants* to read!" However we are not all so enlightened as that, & are edified & pleased in reading what may also interest our servants.

Please inform my brother John that I have purchased (& paid) a draft of £20 sterling of Mr. Stinson & sent it to London to pay the interest on the Academy loan from Sept. to March. Let him place it to my credit in my book a/c with the *Guardian* Office. . . .

As ever, most affectionately
& faithfully yours

E. RYERSON

April 4, 1838, EGERTON RYERSON, Kingston, to REV. JOHN RYERSON,
Newgate Street, Toronto.

(Private)

MY VERY DEAR BROTHER,

I thank you most sincerely for your very kind letters, the last of which I received today. I learn more respecting the state of things in Toronto by even a short letter from you than from all other sources. I beg that you will continue to favor me with a weekly retrospect of events & your own thoughts on all matters religious & political.

I have not yet written to England on the subject you mention; but I will write forthwith.

I have written at considerable length to Lord Glenelg respecting the Academy & other local matters.^[14]

The question which you mentioned in your two last letters relating to myself & my appointment *next* year is a delicate as well as a difficult matter for me to speak on. I know the *complaints* you mentioned in your first letter are almost if not quite universal, among both preachers & people. I see no prospect of improvement—I see no possibility of getting on without improvement. But in regard to myself, I have many conflicting feelings & interests. My feelings & my private interests are in favour of my remaining where I am, if I remain in the province. I have been very melancholy & my mind has been much agitated on the subject. For the present I am somewhat relieved by the conclusion to which I have come, in accordance with Dr. Clarke's advice to a young preacher, not to choose my own appointment, but, after making known any circumstances I may feel it necessary to explain, to leave myself in the hands of God, & my brethren, as I have done during the former years of my ministry. I was more happy & enjoyed more confidence in my labours than I have since I began to tamper about my own appointment. If the Lord therefore will give me grace, I am resolved to go back to the old truly Methodist ground, although a thousand things in the prospect agitate my unbelieving heart.^[15] In the event of the alternative you mention, I have important arrangements to

propose, which will require dispassionate & full consideration. Thus I leave the matter for the present.

I thank you for the Chief Justice Robinson's Address. It is good, but does not equal my expectations.^[16]

My own views are in favour of lenity to these prisoners.^[17] Punishments for *political* offences can never be beneficial, when they are inflicted in opposition to public sentiment & sympathy. In such a case it will defeat the object it is intended to accomplish. It matters not whether that sentiment & sympathy are right or wrong in the abstract, the effect of doing violence to it will be the same. But I would not pander to that feeling, how carefully soever one may be disposed to observe its operations. The fact however is, Sir Francis deserves *impeachment*, just as much as Saml. Lount deserves *execution*. Morally speaking, I cannot but regard him as the more guilty culprit of the two.

I do not think Sir George will be *ultra*. I admire as a whole his reply to the address of the "Constitutional Reformers". There is good in it. They will see the folly of continuing the former party designations & pretended grounds of complaint. The silly fellows if they wish to gain credit as a party, or maintain a more liberal policy than the present Executive party are like to do, they ought to assume the name of *Constitutionalists* & call the others *Tories*. I think however their address will do good, from the large number of names attached to it. I was surprised, & it has created quite a sensation here, that there are so many as 772 in Toronto who *still* have the moral courage to designate themselves *reformers*. It will teach the other party, that they are not so strong & so absolute in the voice of the country as they thought themselves.

I am satisfied there never was such a time as from the termination of the trial of the prisoners to the next session of parliament, for us to stamp upon the public mind at large our own Constitutional & Scriptural political & religious doctrines & to give the tone to the future government & legislation of the province & to enlarge vastly our sphere of usefulness.

I am happy to learn that the religious prospects of the city are flattering & that Edwy has seals to his ministry. I have nothing new to tell you on that point with us.^[18]

I hope you will write on receiving this & write freely & fully.

My time is expired. So adieu for the present.

Ever yours most affectionately

EGERTON

P.S. We are all well. Mary joins me in love to you & yours.

On his arrival at Toronto on March 23rd Sir George Arthur was made the recipient of several complimentary addresses, and notably one by 772 citizens who described themselves as Constitutional Reformers. The Reformers do themselves credit by their document. It is courteous, yet courageous. They pay their respect to Sir George, declare their loyalty to the Crown, and proclaim their readiness to support the government in any measures to promote the pacification of the country. They are not inclined to reiterate complaints; the history of the Province is before the Governor to read. They do ask mercy, however, for the unfortunate prisoners. The Governor's reply is crisp—and ominous. He “cannot but regret that under these circumstances any portion of the inhabitants of this city should have felt it necessary at this moment to present themselves under the character of Reformers”.^[19] Justice, he observes, must be regarded as well as mercy. Very different was the reply dated April 2nd to an address from the “Common Council” of the city. Here Sir George is in an expansive mood and quotes from Portia's noble speech in praise of the quality of mercy.^[20]

Ryerson also sent his compliments from Kingston on April 4th. He did not forbear, however, as had the Reformers, to “oppress his [your] Excellency with formal complaints”. He made sure that the Governor had the necessary history to read, and enclosed several documents and pamphlets expressing the views generally held by the Methodist body. He observed that the “Report of the House of Assembly does not admit that any acts of the Canadian Executives were ever in the least degree objectionable, & attributes revolutionary motives to *all* those who had ever complained of the local Executives, & attacks the whole policy of the Imperial Government towards *this province* as well as towards Lower Canada”. To this letter, Sir George replied on April 18th, expressing his thanks for the congratulations on his arrival and for the publications. He remarked of the letters in *The Times* that he had read them “with the same respect for the writer, with the same thankfulness for the information they contained, and with the same conviction of the evident effect they were calculated to produce in the Public mind, or rather, I should say, upon every unprejudiced mind, which were so generally entertained in England”.

Lest the Government should be misled by what Head might say on his arrival in London, on April 9th Ryerson wrote a second long letter to Glenelg. This he divides into four sections dealing with (1) the Clergy Reserves question, (2) the Missionary Grant, (3) Head's despatch on the Indians, and (4) the *Report of the Select Committee of the House of Assembly* on the state of the Province. He is inclined to believe that the question of the Reserves can be settled only if Her Majesty's Government will make their pleasure known as to the general provisions of such a bill. "I do not, at present," he concludes, "see any other way of setting this important and long agitated question at rest." Under the second heading, he shows that just as Head had trifled with the Academy grant, so for nineteen months he had failed to carry out instructions which he had received from Glenelg in a despatch of April 15, 1836, to make a grant to the Wesleyan Missionary Society. Finally after much delay, and many excuses to Stinson, Sir Francis had professed to have received additional instructions in the matter; but in the warrant issued for £600, the despatch of April 15th, 1836, and not a later communication, was referred to as the authority for the warrant. Ryerson confesses that some doubts have been created in his mind as to whether Sir Francis had ever corresponded with His Lordship in the matter, as he professed to have done.

In the third part of the communication, the late Governor's methods also appear in a very unfavourable light. After a hasty tour of inspection of Indian settlements, Head had recorded his observations in a despatch of November 25, 1836. With considerable fluency he expressed quite definite opinions on the impossibility of effecting much that was worth while in civilizing the Indians. The reference to missionaries was wanting in respect, particularly one phrase about the blanched faces of the babies. In good time, Ryerson points out, the whole Indian question would be reviewed, and definite facts and figures would be prepared by both Case and James Evans to prove the shallowness and falsity of Head's observations. In the meantime, on the authority of Stinson, who was present on the occasion, he criticizes Head's attempt to deprive the Saugeen Indians of their property and induce them to migrate to Manitoulin Island. In refuting Head's statements, amid valuable statistical information Ryerson makes an interesting personal reference:

I was the first stationed missionary at the river Credit, and was permitted to be the first instrument of introducing Christianity among the Lake Simcoe tribe of Indians. I have ate and slept in their wigwams—I have toiled day after day, and month after

month, in instructing them in religion, horticulture, agriculture, domestic economy, etc.—have attentively and with anxious solicitude watched the progress of christianity and civilization among them from the beginning.

In the fourth section of the letter, two features of the *Report of the Select Committee* are criticized; on the one hand, the claim that the British Government had encouraged disaffection in Upper Canada, and on the other hand, the claim that Sir Francis' administration had been deservedly popular. In disputing the latter claim Ryerson points out that some three weeks before the outbreak of the Rebellion he had heard Head say, "I know that I am at the bottom of the tree and not at the top." Yet in his despatch of December 19th, he had declared, "As a solitary individual I called upon the inhabitants to defend me, and . . . the people of Upper Canada came to me when I called them." In commenting on this "foolish vanity of Sir Francis in pretending that the suppression of the rebellion was the result of his own personal popularity", Ryerson describes the assembling of volunteers at Cobourg; it was the news that Bidwell and Rolph were assisting the Government that had been effective in enlisting general support. The question at issue was the maintenance of British connection; the popularity of the Governor was not involved. This letter (of some 6,000 words) concludes thus solemnly:

My Lord, I am now done. I fear I have wearied your Lordship's patience, & laid myself open to the charge of officiousness. But I can assure your Lordship I should not have written a line, had I not been apprehensive, that your Lordship would not receive the requisite information on these important affairs from any other quarter, & had I not feared that Her Majesty's Government might be induced by erroneous information, to encourage or sanction a high handed or exclusive policy, of which a most painful apprehension is entertained by a large portion of the loyal population of the Province. I humbly pray that Almighty God will direct and prosper the deliberations & decisions of Her Majesty's Government, that all things may be so ordered & settled upon the best and surest foundations, that peace & happiness, truth & justice, religion & piety may be established among us for all generations.

April 12, 1838, JOHN RYERSON, Toronto, to THE REV. EGERTON RYERSON, Kingston.

MY DEAR BROTHER

Your kind letter of the 4th inst. was received on Monday last. I am much gratified to learn from it the state of your mind & your views respecting matters connected with the vital interests of this country, religiously & politically. In a letter which I sent you last Friday, I mentioned all I could recollect at the moment I wrote of the occurrences which had taken place during a few days previous; I now assume the *thread* of my *discourse*. Saturday heard nothing new; the court adjourned the day before—Friday—until Monday. Indeed although the court has been now sitting between four & five weeks, yet only four or five persons have yet been tried. Now is not this *shameful* that scores of persons should be kept shut up in that horrible prison in order to give the A. general & his compiers time & opportunity to rake & scrape every thing that possibly can be found against Morrison & others of his principal oppononts before they are brought to trial. I think it is the design of the prosecuting party to try the principal persons among the accused first. I was much pleased in reading an address delivered by the Rev. Mr. Rees, the present chaplain to congress, on the funeral occasion of the late Mr. Ally, who was killed in fighting a duel. The address is a most masterly production. Mr. Rees is a Methodist Preacher; indeed both the chaplains of the American senate & the House of representatives are this year M. Preachers. This is as it should be, & how *comely* & useful it would be for the *Guardian* to publish such Articles & thousands of others that appear in the *Advocate* & other religious papers, & how much might be said relative to the facts of both the chaplains of congress for the present year being M. ministers. *But O! No*, this will NEVER do, it is *American*. Sabbath—at 6 o'clock Mr. Harvard preached, & it was the most strange medley of the sublime & the *ridiculous*, the *sorrowful* & the *laughable*, of the *true* & the *false*, that I ever heard in my life. Many in the congregation went away & I should think all were disgusted, & it could not be other wise that much harm was done. Although his *text* was, “Do thyself no harm”, it would really seem that he would monopolize all that *kind* of work himself. Certainly, he did the *most at* it in Newgate last sabbath evening. Monday, I was down in town & met Lount's brother.^[21] The Brother told me that he had not been *allowed* to see his Brother since he was committed to prison, although he had made frequent applications & had used every means in his power

to obtain the privilege, but it had been uniformly denied him. Mr. Lount was on his way to try again for permission. Your benevolent heart, I am sure, will sink with horror at such barbarism in the 19th century. Dr. Morrison sent for me & I went over to his place. He wishes me to appear at court as a witness for him, I having seen him frequently during the Monday & Tuesday of the insurrection. He was very low spirited. The grand jury finds purty much all *guilty*, & the pettit has given a verdict against every one who has been tried yet (with one exception). He thinks there is slender ground to hope for himself. Tuesday, a man came to me with a petition which he wished me to sign for the mitigation of Lount's & Matthew's punishment. I signed it and so did Wm. who was here at the time; a little after two other persons came & wished me to go as one of the deputation to present the petitions to his exclency. I saw Mr. Richardson who had just been in to see Lount & Mathews. Mathews professed to have found peace. Lount is earnestly seeking. A good deal of fealing seems to be excited respecting the execution of these unfortunate men. The petition which came down from Newmarket was signed by *five thousand* persons; a number are now being circulated through the city. But Mr. Richardson thinks there is little doubt but what they will be executed, & I think so too. There seems to be a determination on the part of certain persons connected with the executive to carry things to extremes. On wensday a petition signed by 4,000 persons in behalf of L. & M. came from Dundas & was presented to his Exclency. At 11 oc. Mr. Harris, Presbyterian Minister, Mr. Richardson, Mr. Roaf, Mr. Beatty, Mr. Harvard, Wm., & Mr. Brouff (a m. of the Church of England) met at my place for the purpose of going as a deputation to convey the petition from the inhabitants of Toronto to the Governor. After a good deal of conversation, it was concluded that Mr. Brouff,^[22] who is m. of the Church of England from New market, & I should go & present the petition to his Exclency & that we should seek a private interview with him & express our views to him fully. Well, we went & instead of having a private interview with his Exclency we were called into the executive council chambers in the presence of the executive council. This was rather embarassing to me for two reasons 1. I wished to see His Exclency alone & 2ly I did not wish to say what I had intended to say in the *presence* of Sir *Francises old executive*. But after presenting the Petition, Mr. Brouff

introduced the conversation & referd his exclency to me & told him that I was extensively acquainted with country & had taken a lively interest in promoting its *peace*, etc. I then, among other things, said to his Exclency that I was very desirous that those unfortunate men should not be executed but that the punishment of death should be commuted for something less severe & awful, that I believed that the soul motive by which his Exclency was actuated was the promotion of the public weal & that the great end to be attained in this painful business was that which would most effectually secure *this* object (with of course fealling of sympathy for those men & their distressed families) & that I was satisfied that the mitigation of their punishments would much more effectually secure this object then the rigerous infliction of the severe sentence of the law, that I had travelled lately through the Niagara, Gore, Home, Newcastle, Prince Edward & parts of the Midland districts, had conversed with a great many persons, many of whom were persons of high respectability, & all of whom were persons strongly attached to the interests of his Majesties government, & with very few exceptions there was but one opinion among them, & that was, that *no blood* be shed, & that the severe penalty of the law should not be executed on those victims of deception & sin, etc. etc. I also read an extract of your last letter to his Exclency, relating to the inexpediency of inflicting severe punishments in “opposition to public sentiments & fealling for political offences”, etc. But all availed nothing. After having lisoned to me very attentively, his Exclency said that after the fullest consultation with his executive & the most serious & prayerful consideration of this painful matter, he had come to the conclusion that Lount & Matthews *must* be executed & that in *their* case there could be no mitigation of the *penalty* of the law. Sir George also stated at considerable lenth the reasons by which he had been lead to the conclusions to which he had come. I returned home much cast down & affected & am still of the opinion that the execution of these unfortunate men is exceedingly impolitic & will be attended with very injurious results. The particulars of what the Governor said in the course of his remarks, I have not time now, nor room, to communicate; probably I will mention something of this in my next. I would just say that I also mentioned to the Governor about you & Mr. Stinson having waited on Sir F— about four weeks previous to the insurrection having broken out, that you informed him of insurrectionary

movements about Loyd Town & other places, which you had learned from Mr. Benson (?) etc., that you strongly urged his Excellency Sir F. to raise volunteers & garroson the city, put it & other places in a state of defence, that you & I had waited on the Attorney General next day & that we had urged these things on him in a similar manner, but these statements & advise had been *disregarded* if not disbelieved, the consequences of which is known to your Excellency.

At eight oclock today, thursday, the 12th, Lount & Matthews were executed. The gallows was erected just between the goal & courthouse. Very few persons present, except the military & the ruff scruff of the city. The general feeling is in total opposition to the execution of these men. At their execution they manifested *very good* composure. Sheriff Jarvis burst into tears when he entered the room to prepare them for execution. They said to him very calmly, "*Mr. Jarvis, do your duty. We are prepared to meet death & our judge*". They then, both of them, *put their arms around his neck & kissed him*. They were then prepared for the execution, they walked to the gallows with intire composure & firmness of step. Mr. Richardson walked along side of Lount & Br. Beatty along side of Matthews. They ascended the scaffold & knelt down on the *drop*, the rope was fastened to their necks while they were on their knees. Mr. Richardson engaged in prayer & when he came to that part of the Lord's Prayer, "*Forgive us our trespasses as we forgive them that trespass against us*", the drop fell. My paper is full. I will write again next week. Ever yours,

J. RYERSON

Few events in Canadian history have created a more profound impression than the execution of Lount and Matthews. Under the law, they were guilty, as they themselves admitted; but to their contemporaries, and particularly to the following generation, their death appeared as a sort of vicarious sacrifice. Lount's popularity and influence among his own neighbours was very great, and Matthews was a man of standing in the township of Pickering. Dent thus describes Lount:

Samuel, prior to his removal to Canada, had learned the trade of a blacksmith, which he carried on for some years at Holland Landing. He had a farm in the same neighborhood which he cultivated with much pecuniary success. Being a man of great

industry and intelligence, he gradually amassed considerable property, and became what for those days might be regarded as wealthy. Better still, he acquired the respect and confidence of the people around him, for he was kind-hearted and generous, and spent much of his time in ministering to the necessities of those incoming settlers who were less advantageously situated than himself. To this day the neighborhood abounds with traditions of his noble unselfishness, and there are old men and women who, after the lapse of half a century, cannot speak of Samuel Lount without a dimness of vision and a huskiness of the voice. . . . He was an excellent speaker, and during election contests did much to awaken public opinion on the fruitful subject of Executive abuses.

[23]

He had sat in the Parliament of 1834, but was amongst the defeated Reformers in 1836. Unlike his brother, he made no profession of religion. It is significant that James Richardson—and not a Wesleyan—ministered to his spiritual comfort on the gallows; but our old friend John Beatty, himself at one time a substantial farmer, stood at the side of Matthews. Their bodies, denied their relatives, were interred in Potter's Field at the northwest corner of Bloor and Yonge Streets. Twenty years later they were removed to the Necropolis, where they lie in one grave. When Dent wrote, the grave was marked by a plain tablet with the inscription, "Samuel Lount, Peter Matthews". In 1893 the tablet was supplemented by a large square monument surmounted by a broken cylindrical pillar. The inscription tells something of their lives, and notes that Peter Matthews had served with Brock's regiment in 1812.

April 13, 1838, JOHN RYERSON, Toronto, to THE REV. EGERTON RYERSON, Kingston.

(Favoured by J. Counter, Esq.)

MY DEAR BROTHER

I wrote you by yesterday's mail & I have only time now to drop you a line by Mr. Counter by whom I send you the accompanying parcel. As you will see, I have succeeded in getting the Books for which you wrote, with the exception of the pamphlet containing Sir Frances replies to addresses before the late elections, etc. As soon as it can be obtained it will be forwarded to you. This afternoon Lount's friends applied to the Governor for the body, but the Governor declined granting it. I am told his

Exclency's reasons were the apprehensions he entertained relative to the effect it might produce in the country, were the body allowed to be taken out in the country & publickly interred. I suppose Mathews friends have applied also, but of course with the same result. Lount's daughter, a young woman, was present when her father was condemned; it had such an effect on her that she went home & *died* directly.^[24] O!! these are melancholy times. I recvd a kind letter yesterday from Mr. Stinson, for which I thank him. I will write to him next week. We send some Tune Books to Brother Young directed to your care. Will you please see them forwarded by the first conveyence. I recvd your kind letter by Br. Counter & will say what Wm. & I think of several matters mentioned in it, next week.

As ever your Most affectionate Brother
JOHN

April 26, 1838, JOHN RYERSON, Toronto, to THE REV. EGERTON RYERSON, Kingston.

MY DEAR BROTHER,

Doctor Morrison's trial came on yesterday at ten o'clock.^[25] The Doctor rejected *thirty* persons in panneling the jury. The jury who tried the case were G. B. Spencer, J. M. Murchison, Silas Busham, J. L. Perrin, Geo. Moore, Jas. Rogers, Wm. Ross, Thos. Bell, Thos. Melbourn, Thos. Clarkson, Peter McArthur, & D. M. Paterson, 12. The trial lasted from *ten* yesterday to *two* this morning—16 hours, when the jury retired to make up their verdict. The Lawyers were the Attorney General on the part of the Crown, Mr. Boswell from Coburgh, McDonald from St. Catharines, & Robert Baldwin on the defence. There were 18 or 20 witnesses altogether. The Attorney Gen. first speach was about two hours long; it displayed a good deal of talent & *more* party fealing; his second speach in replying to the defendant's lawyers was about an hour in lenth & exhibited more fealing than the first. McDonald introduced the case of the defence with a speach of two hours lenth in which there was much more of ability & resurch displayed then I had any idea he possessed or was capible of. He took occation to shew in the course of his speach that Sir Francis new of the rebellion long before it occurred & that he himself was the *cause* of it, as *he himself* had declared. McDonald read from Sir

F.'s speech at the opening of the parliament, etc. Mr. Boswell's speech was 3 hours in length, and although rather tedious, upon the whole was superior to any thing delivered in court during the day. He also referred to Sir Francis's proceedings & said that he differed a little with his learned friend with whom he acted in the case relative to Sir Francis having knowledge of the insurrection before it broke out: to be sure Sir Francis had said he knew a good deal, but the Governor was very fond of fine *style*; he liked round periods, or as Lord Melbourn had expressed it, "*epigramick*" flights, so well that he could hardly make his pen write the words of truth & soberness on such occasions. In order to shew that Sir F. had no knowledge or expectation of the disturbance before it commenced, Mr. Boswell read several extracts from Sir F. despatches to Lord Glenelg some time after & relative to his sending away the troops, in which Sir F. declared to the colonial secretary that the principal reason for sending away the troops was to shew his majesties government that the people of Upper Canada were firmly & universally attached to the British government. These extracts read by Mr. Boswell stood in direct juxtaposition to the extracts read by McDonald. O! how Sir Francis *stunk* in the estimation of every man, & the court house was crowded to excess. A gentleman whispered to me & said that any thing, it made no *matter what it was*, could be proved from Sir F. writings & sayings. In order to understand the course of reasoning pursued by the Lawyers, it is necessary to say that the *ground* of prosecution, on the fact of the Doctor's having been up Young Street, was virtuelly given up, as the evidences in favour of the prosecution contradicted each other & were compleatly disproved by witnesses in the defence. Consequently the prosecution was led to undertake to sustain the charge of *treason* against Morrison for having been present at a *treasonable* meeting held in Doel's^[26] brewery last *July* & for being a party to a declaration put forth by a Committee appointed by that meeting. It was also attempted to be proved that Mckenzey made use of treasonable language at the meeting & even then proposed to go & take the arms, etc. The Attorney General contended that it was not sufficient for the doctor to have repudiated in severe censures at the time Mckenzey's proposal, for in as much as he had reason to believe that Mckenzey intended treason, from this & other circumstances he was bound to have informed of him & he was *guilty* [of] treason for *not* doing it. To

this McDonald said in reply, “that if the suspecting of treasonable motives & doings in others, & *not* informing or using prompt measures to correct or prevent what might follow was treason, then Sir Francis was the greatest trator in the country, for he said he *knew* all, etc., etc. Mr. Boswell said that nothing treasonable could be in the ‘Declaration’, for long after its publication & of course after Sir Francis had seen it & taken the counsel of his legal adviser—the Attorney General—on the subject, he had sent a dispatch, to the Colonial Secretary declaring that there was *nothing* treasonable in the country, that every thing was as it should be & to demonstrate this he had sent away all the troops, etc., etc. Thus you see they made poor Head ‘*prove anything*’.”

This morning at ten o’clock the jury returned with a verdict of “*Not Guilty*”. The annunciation of it in the coart occasioned great cheering which could not be supressed for some time. G. Spenser was a great means of getting a verdict in his favour; several of the jury were warm tories, as you will see, & went into the jury room, I am told, intending to find a verdict of guilty against the doctor. But enough of this for the present. Doctor Theller’s^[27] lady arrived in town on Monday last. The citizens in Buffalow, in a few minutes, collected for her (to [pay] for her expenses here) between 60 & 100 dollars, & they keep her four children for her until she returns. Durand’s^[28] trial is fixed for fridday next. Mr. Harvard’s letter is like to do much harm; in all directions it is occasioning much uneasiness & in some places absolute revolt in threttoned. Br. Cheeney from Toronto Circuit was here this week & says that it will make another *schism* on their circuit. Harvard’s explanation in yesterday’s *Guardian* is an asbolute *illusion* & makes the matter much worse, especially for him as an *honest* man. It is truly laughable as well as disgusting to see how he & Evans soft soap & lick each other. They concoct & write their articles together & then praise & eulogize each other for their wonderful productions. O! if you were here it would *absolutely* make you sick. In fact there is no way of escape but for you to take the *Guardian*—the fealing of indignation & disaprobation is becoming exceedingly strong among the preachers & people & I intirely participate in these feelings, yet I wish & hope I do suppress any thing that is unchristian & rong.

As ever yours most affectionately, in haist

The effect on John Ryerson of the exemplary punishment which fell upon Lount and Matthews is evident from these letters. Naturally conservative and authoritarian as he was, the whole attitude of the government towards the rebels shocked and repelled him. His feelings were fully shared by Egerton and doubtless by the Methodists at large. With the President of Conference, it was different. Under the combined influence of Alder and Toronto officialdom, as it would appear, he issued a pastoral letter through the *Guardian* on April 18th. Now Alder, having received reports of the Rebellion, had thought it well to address a general letter to the Wesleyan Missionaries in Canada, urging them to inculcate lessons of loyalty upon their people and to exhort them to “meddle not with those that are given to change”.^[29] Harvard went further than Alder. He declared that there could be no neutrality, and that in such circumstances, even silence would be guilt. He enforced his view with the words of Christ: “He that is not with me is against me.” Turning to history he demonstrated the traditional loyalty of the British Wesleyans to the House of Brunswick. It had come to his ears from “some of our most intelligent and respectable friends”, as he put it, that Methodists in Upper Canada had not been in every case above reproach. He therefore called for a “salutary discipline” in the various congregations on this subject. He requested each circuit preacher “to go through the class papers of the several societies under his care, noticing every individual name, in order to be fully satisfied of the Christian loyalty of all who may be returned as members of our church to the ensuing Conference”. He concluded with an instruction that for the future should any person ill-affected towards the Crown apply for membership, he should be told “kindly but firmly that that is a commodity we do not deal in—that he has applied at the wrong door”.

This policy of purging the church, Evans supported in an editorial. It was imperative, he asserted, that prompt disciplinary measures should be taken. It was incumbent upon all to rally round the civil authority—no one should plead exemption. The church should not countenance any who refused to walk by scriptural rule.

Trouble was not long developing. The following week Harvard found it necessary to write a brief letter in reference to a criticism that his pronouncement had not been “sufficiently explicit”. His attempt to make it more explicit, however, was hardly a success. He admitted that he had no intention of depriving any person of his church standing “merely on account of party politics”. Just how the accusing finger was to be directed, he did not

divulge, whether by summary action on the part of the preacher based on his own observation and the tales of others, or by church trials on the circuits, or simply by waiting for a verdict in the courts of the land. But already he was floundering.

The conscience of the Methodist people of Upper Canada found clear expression, however, on the 9th of May, when the *Guardian* printed a powerful letter of some 5,000 words entitled "What is Christian Loyalty?" It was dated Kingston, April 28th, and signed by Egerton Ryerson. Ryerson writes with deep conviction. He is quite impersonal; his point is not made, as so often, at the expense of the feelings or pride of his adversary. So impressive is his argument that neither Harvard nor Evans, writing separately and at some length in the same issue, attempt to controvert it. They commend Ryerson's letter to the Methodist people, while implying, in Evans' case with less meekness, that Ryerson had not quite got the point of Harvard's letter.

Ryerson begins with a reference to Wesley's opinion and ends with a reference to the Methodist discipline; so that his argument for liberty of conscience is buttressed by authority.

The Rev. Mr. Harvard's important letter in the *Guardian* of the 18th inst. and his gratifying additional observations in the *Guardian* of the 25th inst., suggest the equally important question, "WHAT IS CHRISTIAN LOYALTY?" Mr. Wesley, in his sermon on a *Catholic Spirit*, gives the right hand of fellowship to those who differ from him in opinion on many points of religious doctrine and church government, nor can we with any reason or propriety, allow less latitude and liberty of sentiment on doctrines and measures of government. A man ought not therefore to be excluded from the communion of the body of Christ because he is not of our way of thinking in civil affairs.

* * * * *

But, it may be said, the organic changes in the constitution of the executive and legislative councils referred to, would weaken British power in the Province and lead to its ultimate extinction. I believe it, and have used no little pains to convince others of it. But how have I done so? And how would I do so again? Not by denying their right to their opinions, or to the free expression of them, or by threatening them with legal chastisement; but by showing them the errors and consequences of their opinions—I

would oppose them with the weapons of *truth*, not the sword of despotism or the brute force of mobocracy—I would arrest them by the authority of *reason*, and not by a magistrate’s warrant—I would appeal to their understandings and hearts, and not deny them the right of exercising the one or feeling the emotions of the other.

* * * * *

But it is said, there are cases in which individuals—I understand one or two members of the Wesleyan Methodist Church amongst them—have disobeyed the laws by refusing to take up arms during the late insurrection, may they not be justly considered disaffected and disloyal men and unworthy of a place at the Lord’s Supper? I answer, if that circumstance alone ought to exclude them from the Lord’s Supper, John Nelson, the apostolic fellow-labourer of J. Wesley, ought never to have been admitted to the Lord’s Table, for he refused to take arms, and suffered every sort of indignity and various punishments for his contumacy. His objection was, that he believed war of every kind was sinful in the sight of God. There may be individual members of various Churches, who, like John Nelson and thousands of others, conscientiously believe in the unlawfulness before God of taking up arms against a fellow-creature under any circumstances whatever. It may be a weakness—we may condemn and reprobate the sentiment—the individual adhering to it in the circumstances referred to, has undoubtedly subjected himself to the penalties of the civil law; but before the law of the Church is brought to bear against him, there ought to be satisfactory proof that *conscience* had nothing to do in the matter. . . .

The object of these reasonings is to show, and the conclusion I would draw from them, is, that none of the various opinions above referred to, and the respectful and constitutional expression of them, is any just cause of excluding from the Lord’s Table any human being, provided his *religious* character is unexceptionable. The only condition of membership in our Church is “a desire to flee from the wrath to come”, and none of the above mentioned opinions is inconsistent with the fruits by which that desire is supposed to be evidenced. The discipline of the Church, or the Scripture itself, does not authorise me to become the judge of another man’s *political* opinions—the Church is not a *political*

association—another man has as good a right, religiously and politically, to his opinions of public matters as I have to mine—and laymen frequently know much more, and are better judges than Ministers in civil and secular affairs.

To the best of my humble ability, I would fain be second to none in maintaining the institutions and laws of the land, in putting down “all false doctrine, heresy and schism, all sedition, privy conspiracy and rebellion”; but I believe one of the most effectual means of promoting all the dreadful evils of civil discord and commotion would be, to allow an impression to go forth that I was going to sit in judgment upon the political opinions of others, and to rate their political orthodoxy by my own. I know not the opinions of one out of five, no not of one out of eight, of the members of the Society under my pastoral care in this town, on the several political questions which have engaged public attention during the last few years; and I had much rather be ignorant of the various political opinions which may possibly exist in any religious community, than to sit myself down to the task of investigating them—a thing unknown in the history of Methodism, though several members of the Methodist Society in England, and even individual preachers did for a time drink in the Jacobin spirit of the French Revolution. Mr. Wesley says, the best means of overthrowing the whole system of popery is to preach up the simple doctrine of *Justification by faith*; and may it not be said with equal truth and propriety, that the most effectual means for Christian Ministers to suppress the spirit of “sedition, privy conspiracy, and rebellion” (wherever it may by possibility exist) is, while they duly “honour all men” in their constitutional rights and privileges, to preach up the simple doctrine of “Fear God, and honour the King”.

May 3, 1838, JOHN RYERSON, Toronto, to THE REV. EGERTON RYERSON, Kingston.

(Care of J. Counter, Esq.)

MY DEAR BROTHER

I can not express to you how much I am gratified & pleased with your stritures on Christian Loyalty. They will no doubt do immense good. We have had a regular campaign this afternoon & evening in reading & discussing your articles. We have just got

through & it is now near twelve o'clock at night. Your article on C. Loyalty occupied the whole time with the exception of an hour or two, Mr. Harvard & Mr. E. on one side, Wm. & I on the other. The particulars I can not now write you as it is so late at night & I have to leave in the morning with the steamer for Dumfries Ct. Suffice it to say that Wm. & I did consent to the alteration of 3 or 4 words, but so as not in the least to affect the sense & the article is to appear next week. Your observations on *The Church*^[30] is one of the most admirable documents I ever read; not a *word* of that is to be altered. Your communication on Indian affairs^[31] I can not speak so highly of, especially the *introductory* remarks addressed to the Editor. After taulking a little about it, it was proposed to leave this introductory letter with me, if I would take it upon me to soften down some of the observations relating to Sir Francis. I do not like to differ from you in even a little thing, but still, my dear Brother, I hope you will pardon me for leaving out some of the sever remarks relating to Sir Francis. I am affraid they will do harm with the present govern. for reasons which I will mention hereafter. Mr. Harvard says that he intended to say something more to the "*Church*" & his letter was only a preparatory work etc. but this is all *fudge*. He has written another letter to *The Church*, which he read to us & which is precisely of a peace with the former one. It is very likely that Messrs. Harvard & Evans will write to you explanation, remonstrances & reproofs, but I hope you will mentain the *true* ground you have taken in your letters to them. I have not the least doubt but the views you expressed in those letters to them are intirely correct. I am only astonished that you should have hit the nail on the head so exactly as you have done, especially in your letter to Mr. Harvard. I most sincerely thank you for your very great kindness in sending us the letters, etc. you have. Your directions respecting them shall be carefully attended to. I am very glad to learn that you have corresponded with Mr. Bidwell. I very much wish that he could return to the Province.

I have had no communications with Mr. Richardson since I came to Toronto, except in relation to Lount & Mathews & then only spoke a few words to him. Doctor Morrowson has gone to the States; he was threatened with another action, for *misprison* of treason, & the doctor said if they were to put him in *jail* again he could not *live* & as he saw they were bent on his destruction &

that they would accomplish it, he had better leave as Mr. Bidwell had done. He went away last Sabbath night. I felt much distressed when I came home & found him gone. Immediately on my return from Dumfries I will write you again. Wm. is to write you by this boat.

Mary joins me in love to you & yours,

As ever yours very affectionately

J. RYERSON

May 4th, 1838, WILLIAM RYERSON, Toronto, to REVD. EGERTON RYERSON, Kingston.

DR. BR.

We recd. your favour with the enclosed on Thursday. I need not say how cordially we agree with you on all the important subjects referred to. It appears from accounts from all parts, that Mr. Harvard's Presidential *Bull* meets with universal disapprobation or contempt, or both of them. Wherever information has reached us there is one universal expression of surprise & disgust from both preachers & people.

[A review of the discussion in committee on Egerton's three articles].

The publick mind appears to be more composed & quiet than it has been for some time past; the very painful excitement caused by the execution of Lount & Matthews has in some degree subsided, but dissatisfaction with the state of things & especially with the unaccountable proceedings of the court in protracting the trials from week to week, I fear, is increasing from day to day. Emigration to the States is the fever of the day, & is going on to an extent truly alarming & astonishing. A deputation has been sent from this city & I believe other parts, to Washington to negotiate with the American Government for a tract of land on which to form a settlement or colony. They have returned & say that they met with a most gracious reception & encouragement & success beyond their most sanguine expectation. An emigration society is forming, embracing J. Ketchum, P. Perry, and I am informed, also Dr. Baldwin & Robert Baldwin, Leslie, and many others. A prospectus was handed to me; it is to have a capital of, if I recollect right, £100,000, at the beginning shares £25; its object is

to commence a colony on the Mississippi R. in a territory called the Iowa teritory They are to have an agency in Toronto & other parts to dispose of property etc. & to transmit the proceeds to the owners, etc. I fear its influence will be very great. A very large class are becoming uneasy & some are talking & others are preparing to move, among whom are many of the best inhabitants of the country as to industry & enterprize.^[32] I am told Mr. Ketchum & several others of respectability are determined to go as soon as they consistently can,^[33] also that the Cummers, Davis, Johnson's etc. are all going & where the end will be I cannot tell unless something should turn up to stop it. Discontent has *greatly* increased lately by the treatment of Dr. Morrison, *his threatened second* prosecution of which I believe John has fully written to you. In *my opinion* the Attorney Genl. is next to Sir Francis one of the greatest curses with which poor Canada was ever afflicted.

I visit the goal daily, generally preaching twice each visit to the prisnors in the different rooms, where a few of the more respectable & wealthy are confined, & the cells where the much greater number are kept. Many of those in the latter are in a truly pitiful situation. There are two departments or rather cluster or halls of cells, in each of which from 45 to 50 are confined with very very little room or air or any other comfort. Sickly & dirty, some crazy (at least one of them), some gloomy & despairing. My dr. br. I can hardly write about them; you may then well think what my feelings are when among them & seeing & hearing their misery & groans, many of whom are not yet tryed nor can they tell when they will be. Some have been frightened by the execution of Lount etc. to confess & petition the Governour, whom I do not believe are any more guilty of *treason* than I believe you are, merely having attended some political meetings last summer & fall, etc. etc. The A. G. has informed them that this is all treason & that their only way of escape was to save him the *pain* (trouble) of prosecuting them by confessing, etc. etc.^[34] My Dr. Br. my own spirit is almost entirely broken down. I feel, I assure you, like leaving Canada too, & I am not alone in these feelings. Some of our friends whom you would not suspect often feel quite as much down in the throat as I do. If ever I felt the need of faith & patience & wisdom, it is at the present.

I have just returned from the prison. O dear, worse & worse. My dr. Br., as much as we may know, we know but little of the calamities & miseries with which our once comparatively happy land is now afflicted and yet the *most* guilty author of the most of these miseries (Sir Francis) is to escape without punishment, yes, with *honour & praise*; how mysterious the ways of providence!!! how dark, crooked & perverse the ways of man!! Our religious prospects are much as usual. The family are pretty well. . . .

Yours affectionately
W. RYERSON

P.S. The next day (yesterday) we had another meeting; present Messrs. H. E. J. & W. R., the others having left town, to examine your several communications. Mr. H. & E. manifested a goodeal of sensibility and I thought a little perturbation at first, but became more calm & moderate afterwards. Mr. H. *talked & explained—half threatened & coaxed—complained & flattered—argued & acknowledged & conceded*—in short *was not in the least alarmed & was greatly affraid*—all almost at the same time.

May 13th, 1838, Monday ev'g., S. S. JUNKIN, *Guardian Office*, to REV. E. RYERSON, *Kingston*.

DEAR SIR,

Along with this I send you 20 copies of last Wednesday's *Guardian* (the 9th) put up fit for addressing.^[35] They would have been sent by the *Great Britain* today, but she was off before I got your letter to Mr. Evans. I hastily read over your pamphlet respecting Sir F. B. Head and Mr. Bidwell. You make out a good case for him, though I doubt not the *Patriot* will reply to it tomorrow. Mr. Evans has not been at the office since your letter was received, so I don't know what he will say to your request; but *I* very much doubt the propriety of publishing either "the whole" or any part of it in the *Guardian*.^[36] You say it is the cause of truth and justice. So it is,—Mr. Bidwell is a deeply injured man. But it is also the cause of *party* and of a *party man*; and being such, ought not, in my humble opinion, to be advocated "under the direction of The Conference of the Wesleyan Methodist Church". To Mr. Bidwell, latterly, we owe no favours. Any friendship he showed in former days, he has fully atoned for to the god of Democracy during the last four years. And I can assure you, that

you are, in the full sense of the expression, returning good for evil in defending his character and vindicating his wrongs. Not so did he treat you at a time when his influence would have been of as much service to you as yours may be to him now. I am glad, however, that you have taken up his case, for as I have said, I believe him “cruelly wronged”, and Sir Francis to be one of the greatest rascals that ever set foot in Upper Canada. He is certainly a man the most utterly devoid of any honourable principle that I ever knew. He would sacrifice every thing—yes, the nation itself,—to his own vanity, his own *self*. Because Bidwell would not, against his principles, interfere with The Assembly to save *his* “character”, he will forfeit his promise, disobey the royal commands, and, to throw some shadow of suspicion over Bidwell, and thereby justify his own conduct, entice him under the mask of friendship to leave the Province during the rebellion; and to put it out of Sir George Arthur’s power to carry into effect the commands he had disobeyed, get a written promise that he would leave the province *forever!* But this is perfectly consistent with his whole administration. I fully believe Sir Francis made the rebellion, instead of putting it down as he boasts. No, the loyalty of the people did that. I have great hopes of Sir Geo. Arthur. There appears none of that mountebankism about him that was so disgracefully characteristic of every act, speech, and reply of Sir Francis; and the general principles avowed in answers to addresses are such as will give great satisfaction to the vast majority of the country, if faithfully carried out into practice. But he has almost insuperable obstacles to overcome in doing so. He will be jealously watched by the heads of the high church party; and he has committed a sad error in letting them foist Sir Francis’s “man Joseph” on him as Secretary, who will act as a spy for them on his every movement.^[37] You know he is son-in-law to the Attorney General. As for Bidwell, his present condition is morally speaking a just punishment for his past conduct, his double dealing and want of political sincerity.

[Here follows a recital of several acts of Bidwell which Junkin regards as open to censure.]

Yours affectionately,
S. S. JUNKIN

May 29th, 1838, EGERTON RYERSON, *Kingston*, to MR. S. S. JUNKIN,
Guardian Office, Toronto.

(Forwd. by MR. BYERS)

MY DEAR BROTHER,

I ought to have acknowledged your kind & valued favor before, but had not time, nor can I answer it now.

From an intimate religious friend of Mr. Bidwell, I learn that during the last few years he had declined much in his religious strictness & conscientiousness, & acted more after a worldly policy & therefore for want of the requisite moral courage & under the dictates of that worldly policy common to politicians, laid himself open to censure in the circumstances to which you refer. I am also sensible of his prejudices against me of late years, & of the great injury sustained. I had some difficulty to overcome my own feelings in the first instance. But as far as individual feelings & interests are concerned, "it is the glory of man to pass over a transgression".

He *was* a party man; & if he were so *now*, the murder of a *party*, as well as a no-party, man, is a crime not of party, but a matter of no party, all-party, & impartial legal investigation & retribution. Even if Bidwell were a drunken, infidel debauchee, [like] John Wilks, the case would not be altered. Bidwell has latterly done much to lessen our obligations of gratitude, but not to *cancel* them in my opinion after all, for he is the *author* as well as the long & at last successful advocate of the *Chapel property & Marriage Acts*. He is also the *author* of the Committee's report on the petitions of all denominations in 1828, & arranged the evidence accompanying. He is also the author of all the resolutions & addresses on the Clergy Reserve Question (except one or two drawn up by Morris in 1825) up to 1832.

How much has been added to our influence & power as a body I need not say; and when a man is down & cannot help himself, then is the time for us to show ourselves generous as well as just, as we have received help from Bidwell himself when we could not help ourselves, & were trampled upon by a despotic party.

If you had seen some letters from Bidwell that I have been permitted to read, I am sure the noble generosity of your heart

would be excited in all its sympathies. I don't think however that he will ever return to this province to reside. That appears to be altogether out of the question with him; but that does not alter the nature of the case.

I have replied to Mr. Hagerman with calmness, but with deep feeling. My reply occupies about *eight* columns in tomorrow's *Herald* & will probably be remembered by him as long as he remembers any thing.

I have not time to write any more, as Br. Byers has called for the letter.

Yours very affectionately,
E. R.

Something yet remains to be said as to the circumstances in which Ryerson was moved to take up the cause, and as to its issue. Henry Cassidy of Kingston, whose wife was related to Ryerson, had been a law student in Bidwell's office and was now his law agent. He had shown Ryerson the correspondence which had passed between Bidwell and Head and Hagerman. When the government organ, the *Patriot*, in an inspired editorial called on the Benchers of the Law Society to erase Bidwell's name from their rolls, it was more than Ryerson could endure. After a sleepless night he went to Cassidy and asked to be allowed to use these letters to prove Bidwell's innocence and prevent the adding of infamy to injury. The request was granted, and over the signature "A United Empire Loyalist" in a powerful letter published in the *Upper Canada Herald* on May 8th, Ryerson exposed the whole sorry business: the duress under which the letter to Head had been written; the omission from this letter, as published by Head in the *Patriot*, of the sentence in which Bidwell had declared his innocence; the fuss made about the opening of a "packet" of letters, when these were only two and innocently personal; the absurd interpretation placed on the flag captured at Montgomery's; Head's charge in a letter to Bidwell of March 23rd that his whole policy of advocating elective institutions was "subversive of monarchical government". Ryerson admits that Bidwell made a mistake in signing the letter at Head's dictation, but Bidwell had "never professed or been known as a man of military courage, but on the contrary, even in ordinary affairs, as retiring, timid and even nervous". After giving the facts of the case and quoting in full the correspondence, Ryerson concludes:

If such a regime is permitted in Upper Canada [banishing men who believe in elective institutions], what better are we off than the inhabitants of Russia or even Turkey? . . . The very moment a people allow pains and penalties, either by moral or legal compulsion, on the part of rulers, to be attached to opinions, as in the case of Mr. Bidwell, that very moment they sign the death-warrant of their own liberties, and become slaves. It is a libel and a prostitution of the word to call them *Britons*.

Appended are several pathetic letters written by Bidwell to a friend (presumably Cassidy). They reveal him as lonely and dejected, and anxious about his family, but commending “both them and himself to that God who led forth Abraham and Jacob and was their Protector and Saviour”.

Hagerman did not remain silent to this challenge of his policies and those of his patron. He replied in a letter to the *Patriot* of May 18th, expressing surprise at the attitude of “A United Empire Loyalist” and contending that if Bidwell had not been guilty he would not have left the province. He concluded an eloquent apology for Head with the dictum—almost a threat as coming from an Attorney General—“The public mind requires tranquillity and repose, and whoever attempts to prevent its perfect establishment is an enemy to his country.” He then wrote Ryerson a letter accusing him of concealing his name for fear of legal consequences. Ryerson replied with what he describes as “the most argumentative paper that I ever penned”. He defied the threat of prosecution and signed his name. These letters, however, have been lost.

But Bidwell, as Ryerson predicted, unlike Rolph and Mackenzie and Morrison and Gibson had left Canada forever. He set up practice in Albany and soon had achieved prominence at the American bar. Several attempts were made to get him to return to Canada, the last by no less a person than Sir John A. Macdonald. A few weeks before his death in 1872, he visited Toronto, and on Sunday occupied a seat in Ryerson’s pew at the Metropolitan Church.

Meanwhile the leading Methodist preachers, with their annual parliament less than a month off, are disturbed as to how their own peculiar problems are to be met. Stinson, still friendly, views the situation with some anxiety; Green, with a judicial mind but a warm and friendly heart as well; while Brother John with both clearness and warmth—born again in liberal principles—incontinently reveals his inmost thoughts.

May 17, 1838, J. STINSON, *Simcoe*,^[38] to REVD. EGERTON RYERSON,
Kingston.

MY DEAR FRIEND

I did not receive yours of the 8th until the 15th on my arrival at Hamilton. As far as I can ascertain, your appointment to the *Guardian* Office next year will give general satisfaction. I have had a long and friendly conversation with Br. Evans upon the subject and I am sure you will be rejoiced to learn that he will leave the office without any painful feelings towards you and will gladly take a station or circuit as may be deemed best by the Conference. He appears to be in a good and humble spirit. Our conversation about the *Guardian* was introduced by himself and I was glad to have an opportunity of speaking to him fully upon the subject.

The President's letter & your reply are producing quite a sensation—most people give Mr. H. credit for purity of intention but regret that the subject of politics has been adverted to by him in such a form. Your remarks on the letter have hushed the fears of many who were greatly disturbed, but some think your expression of abstract rights is carried a little too far, and may at a future day be appealed to in support of measures which you would utterly condemn. Some of your *old Tory friends* think that there is *design* in all you write on these questions and do not hesitate to designate you by the amiable title of “a sneaking Jesuit”, etc. etc. You can bear all this and much more in your *design* to shew them that their proceedings are closely watched and to prevent them obtaining those objects which would be alike unjust to us as a church and injurious to themselves. It is well in all the “burnings which your fingers” have had that you have not yet lost your *nails*, for I expect you will need them before long, as I am sure the high church party have the *will* if they can muster the courage to make a renewed and desperate attack upon you. Fear not, while you advocate the truth, you can defy their rage. I look forward to the Conference with considerable fear. I think we shall have some unpleasant discussion & upon several points. May the Lord interpose for us and direct us in the right way. The public mind seems to me to be in a state of painful suspense as to the future. The people hate and dread rebellion. They are not satisfied with the present leading political party, and they see no man likely to rise up with sufficient

talent and influence to collect around him a respectable party to act as a balance between oppression and destruction. Some talk of a new election. Some talk of leaving the country. All seem to think that something must be done. None know what to do. How ought we in this awful crisis, for an awful crisis it is, to pray for the divine interposition in behalf of our distracted Province. I saw your venerable father last night. He very much wishes you to write to him. All well here. I have had tolerably good meetings thus far, but this is not a good time of the year for missionary meetings. Do not forget our missionary *subscriptions* at Kingston. We ought at least to come up to last year. With kind regards to yourself and Mrs. R, believe me, my dear friend,

Ever yours

J. STINSON

P.S. I have not seen Mr. Harvard and I suppose shall not see him till Conference.

May 21, 1838, ANSON GREEN, *Picton*,^[39] to THE REVD. EGERTON RYERSON, *Kingston*

(Politeness of MR. CHOTT)

VERY DEAR BROTHER,—

Last evening I received your kind regards through the kindness of Br. Armstrong, for which I beg to tender you my very sincere thanks. I was sorry, though not surprised, to hear that you were very much cast down and afflicted in mind. I could easily anticipate your feelings, and am quite prepared to sympathize with you, for I am not at all a stranger to the emotions, which I can easily suppose, must throb and beat in your own bosom. Mr. Armstrong said you wished me to write you *all that was in my heart*. This I could not do in one day nor in two. But I beg to assure you that your recent efforts for the peace and prosperity of the Church have very much endeared you to my heart, and cannot but prove an additional tie to unite our souls in bonds more indissoluble. I am fully prepared to believe the assertion which you made while in England, “that you love Jerusalem above your chief joy”. This you have fully proved by your untiring efforts in behalf of the Academy, the chapels, and on the Church question; but in nothing more allow me to say, than in the *firm, manly* and

christian spirit, in which you have come out *publicly* in defence of the Church and of sound principles, when her peace was disturbed and her sons and daughters much afflicted by the late Methodist *Bull* fulminated in the Presidential Chamber, and endorsed in the Editorial chair. I had resolved, when Mr. H. wrote me his instructions to carry out his principles on this district, to return him a letter containing a full expose of my own views on the subject, respectfully declining to carry out his measures as contained in the letter, endeavouring at the same time to make the thing as easy as possible with our preachers and members. But when I saw the storm gathering in every quarter, and heard the sighs, and saw the *tears* of so many pious Brethren, my heart sickened within me, and I could but exclaim in the dispendency of my soul,—When will our *brethren cease to destroy* us, and when will the Church again have rest from internal commotion and strife. And just at this crisis, (a memorable crisis to thousands of our Canadian friends) your excellent letter came out in the *Guardian*. It was a balm to the afflicted heart. It was a precious cordial poured forth. It was sent from house to house, from cottage to cottage and met with *universal* applause from all. The lowering skie began to clear up and we are now enabled once more to hope for a clear sun. I am not fond of flattery, but should this brief statement of fact conduce in any measure to make you more comfortable in your feelings, I shall feel great pleasure in having discharged a duty to a brother who alone had courage enough to speak the truth in opposition to men in high authority. Your letter was in every respect just what it should have been, and thousands do most sincerely thank you for it.

But the Boat is ready to start, and I must close. I have many things to say to you but must take another opportunity. Next Sabbath, I am to be in Adolphustown. I shall expect to see you at the district meeting, and if in addition to the many favours which you have bestowed upon me, you would be so kind as to examine the young men on Logical and Moral Philosophy,^[40] I will feel much obliged to you.

My kindest regards to Sister Ryerson and the little babe.^[41] The friends here are all well.

In much esteem and love,
I am dear brother

Yours very truly,
ANSON GREEN

May 22, 1838, JOHN RYERSON, *Toronto*, to THE REV. EGERTON RYERSON,
Wesleyan Minister, Kingston.

MY DEAR BROTHER,

Haveing an oportunity by to days steamer to drop you a line though I have not much to say, I sincearly thank you for the pamflet containing Mr. Bidwell's case, as also the *Herald* of 16th ult. containing correspondence relative theretoo, all of which I have read with deep interest, but not without apprehensions that the discussion of this subject, at this time, by you, would be attended with injurious results to us & I am more impressed with this *apprehension* from the long controvercy which seems likely to follow. We have been so greatly afflicted with party pollaticks that I dred the thought of being again involved in an affare before the publick, which will be construed & understood as *such*. I know it is said with *truth*, that it is a matter of shear justice & christian benevolence to defend & vindicate the maltreated & cruelly abused & persecuted, such as I *firmly* believe Bidwell to be, yet it will be made a party political question of & a great deal of party political fealing will be excited by the discussion of it, & you will be cursed & execrated by all the Tories in the Province. To be sure all this goes to show the detestible & wicked character of that *unprincipled*, melicious, cruel & unjust party; indeed they never appeared so odious, so hateful, so black to me before; but after all will it be well for *us* to stem the vipersy nests at the present time. I can hardly say what I think; I am greatly perplexed & troubled & know not what to think or do. Last evening I read Hagerman's letter relative to Bidwell, from which it appears clear enough what course these base men in power intend to persue. They are affraid & allarmed at the thought of Bidwell's comeing back, & they are *determoned* to keep him away whatever sacrifice of character, principle or whatsoever things are *just* or true, it may cost. If this is not "baneful domination" there never was such a thing. I have not spoken to Evans relative to publishing your article on Bidwell case, but Wm. has; he intimated to Wm. that he would not do it although he said he had not fully made up his mind. Of course he *had not* until he shall receive Mr. Harvard's *directions*; then he will "*make up his mind*" to keep it out, if I am not mistaken. Since

it has been published, I think it ought to appear in the *Guardian*, but unless Evans speaks to me, I shall say nothing to him about it. We can now bare the “baneful domination” until after conference. You must write nothing confidential to Junkin; he altogether goes with Evans & Evans with Harvard, all of whom are compleat antipodes to yourself & to whatsoever things are like the enlightened, just & liberal course we have been wont to persue.^[42] Indeed I consider Mr. Harvard a very daingerous man. With all his apparint mildness, etc., he is exceedingly vindictive & he spares *no* pains to coax, flatter & persuad persons to his opinions. You would be surprised to see how he has been runing about the city, fawning, bowing, smiling, eulogizing, flattering, etc., etc., etc., to make proselites to himself & Mr. Evans. The curent of fealing in favour of your taking the *Guardian* is every day riseing higher & higher. I was on the Toronto circuit last sabbath. Br. Hyland said that if Evans were continued Editor, more then half of the subscribers on his circuit would throw up the paper at once. See with what *marked respect* the Editor treats your communications. He puts them on the *first* page where the celebrated M.N. & H.B. & B.S. etc. have figured during the past year, about the existence of a *God, Missions, perfections*, etc.; & where such wonderful *extracts* have from time to time appeared during the past year as would make your eyes tingle again to look at; & lest the quiet repose of your article should be disturbed by any one seeing it & reading it (for not one to fifty ever read any thing on the first page) under the Editorial head nothing about “*Exelent*”, “*oportune*”, “*valuable documents*”, “*ably writen document*”, “*interresting letter*”, “*pleaseing correspondence*”, etc., etc. Oh! No, all this pleaseing vocabulary must be kept for Mr. *Harvard*, Mr. *Richey* & the *Dear Church*. When I can sneak round under the shirt tail of these great things, with what delightful fecility my pen will record their wonder working epithets.

Fifty-three of the prisoners have been released & sent home. I am told another batch of about the same number will be pardoned in a few days & sent home. I am also told that *all* who have been tried & found guilty of high treason *will* be transported for fourteen years or life. Four persons in the London District have been condemned, two of whom are John & E. Moore. I was exceedingly struck when I read it. Many persons are leaveing & preparing to leave the Province from these parts, many more than

I had any idea of when I wrote you last. I was last week round through the townships of Markem, Vaughn, Chaugecushee, & Toronto, attending Missionary Meetings & Qt. Meeting, & I find some of the best farmers in those parts have sold, & others are trying to sell, & leaveing & have left for the States. The most of the farmers who have sold have made great sacrificses of property. These are about leaveing this city—Ketchum, Doel, Brewen, Perry, —, etc., etc., besides many who have already gone. This pains me much; besides looseing so much *welth*, so many useful & respectable citizens, it will be the means of smashing to peaces every thing like reform or liberal interests in church or state. And Evans insted of using the salve & healing the wound & quieting the fearful apprehensions of these disturbed & disquieted persons, he costickly snears at them as he has done in the last *Guardian*^[43] & virtuely tells them to go, for there will be no rest for the soul of their foot here, & then taulks about persons coming here from the Unighted States, all of which is a pure fabrication of his own or some one else's makeing. From all I am able to learn, there never was a time when there was a prospect of so *few* persons coming to this country from the Unighted States, by fifty percent. Wm. has just called & says that John Cummer, Robert Irvin have gone to the States to look them out places to move to; that Peter Perry, Park, & several others are preparing & will move in a few days. If you should answer Mr. Hagerman, you will not fail to say, that if it were *mispreson* of *treason* for Mr. Bidwell to say to persons who might have consulted him about Mckenzey's political meetings held six or eight months ago, that he had no advise to give, that he had withdrawn from politicks, etc., what was he, Hagerman, guilty of when he was informed of those meetings & *trainings* etc., etc., & complaints entered to him relative to them, & he laughed at them & said those fellows mearly did it to make a shew, etc., etc.

Your very affectionate Brother

JOHN

Three days after John's outburst, a letter was written to Ryerson by Harvard from Hamilton, announcing his withdrawal from the province at the instance of Alder. He must go to Quebec to represent Methodism, since the Lord High Commissioner is going to reside there. He has met with only two cases of disloyalty to the Crown in his western tour: the one, a respected brother of some influence; the other, an old woman on the Stamford circuit.

He has taken no action, in the latter case because he has “ever deprecated the displeasure of the old ladies”. He thanks Ryerson for the “friendly finish” to the discussion on Christian Loyalty. He suspects him of being the author of the Bidwell letter which he has seen in the *Kingston Herald*, and expresses brotherly fear as to his being led into political discussion. While admitting grounds of complaint, he is concerned as to the effect of Ryerson’s article on “The Church”. He wishes to maintain friendly relations with the Church of England, and the “war-whoop of hostility would enable designing individuals to prejudice the unwary against our ministrations”. In conclusion, he asks to be billeted with his old friend Lusher at Conference. With this we shall leave him. Upper Canada—and the Methodist Conference—in this year of grace is a place for sturdier souls.

- [1] *A Narrative*, p. 300. That is, by the elections of 1836.
- [2] Lindsey: *Life and Times of Wm. Lyon Mackenzie, Vol. II*, pp. 373-400.
- [3] However in the next generation the wound was healed. In a hall in Hamilton hangs the sword worn by Wickens during the Rebellion, now the property of the daughter of James Wickens’ only son and the youngest of the eleven children of Jonathan Sissons.
- [4] *The Emigrant*, p. 269.
- [5] This is probably the Henry Baldwin who advertises in the *Guardian* as a barrister and solicitor. We have no information as to Evans’ connection by marriage.
- [6] The news items in the *Guardian*, to be sure, are rather terrible at this time. A great deal of space is devoted to the despatches of Col. MacNab as to the Navy Island and the Bois Blanc episodes and correspondence with the American authorities over the burning of the *Caroline*.

[7] Alexander McNab had been received on trial in 1832. He was of Scotch origin and had been “tenderly brought up by a widowed mother and doating sisters” (*Case, III*, 331) and educated at the Cazenovia Seminary. At this time he was on the Yonge Street Circuit. He was to become Assistant Superintendent of Education and Principal of Victoria College. He reached old age in the Church of England as rector and canon at Darlington and Bowmanville. “He was a typical English Church Parson, the *Person* of the parish, of handsome build, of fine carriage, dignified, scholarly, friendly with all, whose presence in a locality is a benediction” (Squair: *The Townships of Clarke and Darlington*, p. 310).

[8] The article which called forth the sarcastic introduction from Evans is entitled, “The Evils of Despotism Government.”

[9] Thos. J. Sutherland had been captured on the Detroit River after a brief and stirring career as Brigadier General of the Patriot Army. After languishing in the gaol at Toronto for some time following his attempted suicide he was taken to Quebec, where he was liberated some months later. He then returned to the States and “sank back into the obscurity from which he ought never to have emerged” (*Dent, Vol. II*, p. 231).

[10] In the Irvingite ritual it was customary to repeat the same word or phrase three times.

[11] A delightful quip on the controversy which had arisen in Toronto over presenting swords to Col. MacNab and Capt. Drew. The former had been responsible for the plan of cutting loose the *Caroline* from her berth at Fort Schossler and the latter for the execution of that plan. This act, alike hazardous to the lives of those involved and to international amity, had so far appealed to the Assembly that a grant was passed of 100 guineas to provide a sword for MacNab and another of 75 guineas to provide a less elaborate sword for Drew. So far so good. But when the Bill came before the Legislative Council, it met with a surprising reception. A majority of the councillors, evidently from fear of international complications, refused to distinguish between the valour of the wreckers of the *Caroline* and the valour of scores of others who had served in the rebellion and the subsequent border raids. Strachan, however, insisted on the swords, with the result that his colleagues severely chastised him in a formal resolution.

[12] And well he might be. It is a well written editorial, moderate but strong; and its necessity is regretted, in view of Head's impending departure. John's barbed pen serves well enough for correspondence; it would soon have accumulated a pile of trouble in the hand of an editor. The despatch in question was from the *London Watchman* and referred to Head's maladministration of Indian affairs. The editorial yields the information that "several influential conservative members" of the Assembly were planning to censure certain features of Head's policy had the rebellion not intervened. It argues that the congratulatory address of the Assembly and the petitions on his behalf were unfortunate in that they were likely to mislead his successor as to the real sentiments of the people of Upper Canada.

- [13] This opinion of Dr. Rolph's case, as coming from William Hamilton Merritt, is significant. It is quite possible that John Rolph, a proudly silent man when it came to personal matters, has suffered much from history. Was he the victim of a curious combination of circumstances—the determination of Head and his satellites to crush the Reform party, and the eagerness of Mackenzie to involve others in blame for a ruinous enterprise?
- [14] The letter is dated April 9th.
- [15] A grand sight it was in the earlier days—horses saddled and tied to the fence as their owners entered the last session of the Conference to learn their destination for another year.
- [16] His address to the Grand Jury at the opening of the special court to try the cases of High Treason occupied almost a page of small type in the *Guardian* of March 14th.
- [17] These views are elaborated in a *Guardian* editorial of August 1st. While recognizing that under the criminal law the executions were justified, he informs us that for some years past he has not been disposed to contend that capital punishment in any circumstances is consistent with the Christian Scriptures.
- [18] Edwy was stationed on the Nelson Circuit covering parts of Halton and Peel counties. The conversions on his charge, in comparison with those at Kingston, would suggest a less distracted, if less powerful, ministry.
- [19] *The Patriot*, March 30, 1838.
- [20] Dent is in error (*Vol. II*, p. 245) in thinking that the latter reply preceded the former.

- [21] George Lount, a contributor to the Academy, and a Methodist, to judge by the name of a son, Charles Wesley. A second son, William became an eminent criminal lawyer, and represented North Simcoe in the local House, and later Centre Toronto in the Federal House.
- [22] Charles Crosbie Brough (B.A. Trin. Coll. Dublin), came to Canada in 1832 and took up land on Lake Simcoe in the township of Oro.
- [23] *Dent Vol. I*, p. 278.
- [24] Mrs. Lount with the remaining members of the family moved to the western States.
- [25] Dr. Morrison had been arrested, so Dent tells us, on Wednesday, December 6th, as he was on his rounds visiting his patients. His health was so seriously affected by confinement that after several weeks in gaol he was released on bail. At his trial on April 25th, the Chief Justice was unwilling to preside and Judge Jonas Jones took his place, and was compelled to hear many things about his patron and friend, Sir Francis. The trial is not reported in the *Guardian*, though a page and a half had been given to that of John Montgomery. Many Methodist readers, doubtless, would miss an account of the narrow escape of one who had for so long been active in their body. The *Patriot*, however, contains a full account. John Ryerson does not appear to have given evidence.

[26] John Doel's brewery on Bay Street had long been a rendezvous of Reformers. Two important meetings at which Mackenzie discussed his revolutionary plans were held in 1837 at Doel's; one in July and one in October. Scadding says its beer (at least) was "of good repute in the town and neighborhood". Though arrested on December 19th, Doel was discharged by the Commission of Inquiry after examination. He was a native of Somerset, and even in the early days of York had been a popular figure as distributor of the mail. He was a member of the first Methodist class in York. His son, also John Doel, became a Methodist preacher whose diminutive figure survived to this century.

[27] Edward Alexander Theller was an Irish Canadian who had once practised medicine in Quebec, but had emigrated to the States. In the Patriot army he was known as Brigadier General, operating near Amherstburg in command of the schooner *Anne*. He and his crew were captured after considerable fighting. He was brought to Toronto for trial, condemned, and transferred to the Citadel at Quebec, whence he escaped. He left an account of his exploits, in a work of two volumes, "Canada in 1837-8". Of this work, Dent (*Vol. II*, p. 230) says: "It should be read with a constant eye to the salt cellar, as this writer's mendacity here finds constant exercise."

[28] Charles Durand was a lawyer practising in Hamilton, and a prominent Reformer. He was tried on Monday, May 7th, and convicted of High Treason. He was among those whose death sentence was commuted to banishment. After the amnesty he returned to Toronto where he practised for many years. His trial also is reported at length in the *Patriot*.

[29] *C.G.*, March 28, 1838.

[30] The letter on *The Church and the Methodists*, occupies a full page of the *Guardian* of May 16th.

- [31] The letter on Indian affairs appears in the issue of May 9th and includes an interesting letter to Ryerson, dated Tottenham, April 4, 1837, from Dr. Thomas Hodgkin in quaint Quaker language on a policy for Indian work in Upper Canada. Thomas Hodgkin was one of the vice-presidents of the Aborigines Society, and a member of the Council of London University.
- [32] Francis Hincks was interested in this venture and as secretary of the association went to Washington to negotiate. He was received courteously by President VanBuren, but was not successful in obtaining a large block of land to be held exclusively by the company, that being contrary to the land regulations. The appointment of Durham, with Buller as secretary, revived hope in the breasts of Reformers and caused the scheme to be abandoned.
- [33] About this time, William Ketchum, a son of Jesse, after obtaining bail, absconded and joined his uncle Zebulon in Buffalo. Jesse Ketchum visited him, and may have contemplated moving, but church, business, and social interests kept him in Toronto till 1845. From that time he lived in Buffalo, where he died in 1867 at the age of eighty-five.
- [34] In estimating the degree of responsibility of men like Rolph for armed revolt, it is important to notice this opinion. The thumb screw and the rack will produce almost any evidence. In a reign of terror, it is difficult to get at the truth,—a fact realized as early as Thucydides; the mystery of the Hermae was never solved.

[35] It was a great issue—a book in itself. Ryerson’s letter on the Aborigines with attached documents from Hodgkin & Glenelg occupies practically all the first page; James Evans’ fourth article on the Indian question, a convincing and illuminating discussion of the whole Indian problem and a distinct reproof to Sir Francis, finishes the first page and takes up half the second; Ryerson on *Christian Loyalty* and Harvard’s “amen” complete the second and go well into the third page; Evans’ observations on this take up two columns, and Richey’s account of the Annual Examinations at the Academy another two; observations of the Archbishop of Canterbury on the Canadian petition under discussion in the Lords, another column; and sundry editorial notes complete the third page. Approximately 25,000 words thus far. Advertisements take less than half a page, the largest being six inches: the rest of the fourth page contains a poem and brief literary and scientific extracts on Genealogy; Geology; Origin of Bogs; Charcoal, Diamond and Loaf Sugar; Steam Engine; A New Stove; Incombustible Wash and Stucco White-Wash; Our Indian Empire; The Earth’s Diurnal Motion; Oils and Lotions; Books; and Flesh of Young Calves.

[36] And it was never published in the *Guardian*, so that the *Upper Canada Herald* had the distinction of printing the letter itself, and later a pamphlet of sixteen pages containing the letter and correspondence.

[37] Joseph, however, was almost immediately succeeded as private secretary by John Macaulay.

[38] Simcoe already was becoming the principal place in Norfolk County, outdistancing its rival, Vittoria.

[39] Hallowell had now become Picton.

[40] In the days before theological colleges, the preliminary examination of candidates in the several districts was arranged for thus informally. Indeed Conference examinations fell into complete disuse only at the turn of the century.

[41] A second daughter, Sophia, born in England.

[42] But compare p. 333, and the elections of 1836.

[43] A brief editorial appears in the *Guardian* of May 16th on the “Emigration Society” and the Iowa scheme. The only sentence which could be interpreted as a sneer is, “Yet, as ‘a contented mind is a continual feast’, we trust they will *feel* themselves happy under the government which they consider the best in the world”.

CHAPTER XIII

DURHAM AND ARTHUR

June 1838 to June 1839

The Conference of 1838 met in Ryerson's church at Kingston; and justly, as it proved. There in the midst of a community whose warring Methodist factions he had united he was about to receive signal evidence of the confidence and affection of his brethren. Two high offices of the Church were conferred upon him. At the outset he was re-elected Secretary, and a week later, having set forth his views and purposes at length, he was chosen Editor once more. The vote was decisive—41 to 16. We do not know his opponent; presumably it was Evans, who would secure support from the ultra-conservative members and possibly from some others to whom Ryerson in the course of his active career might have given personal offence. While we have not the actual text of his "lengthened address of some hours" at nomination, we know its purport from the editorial in the *Guardian* of July 11th. There was no mistake on this occasion as to his intent or that of his fellow ministers. Once more the Conference was to swing into action to protect the two principles of individual liberty and religious equality. When the characters of the ministers were being reviewed, as was the custom, Ryerson had been called to account for his defence of Bidwell. He had replied, no doubt with considerable vigour. His defence was accepted and his character passed. By that act, the Conference set its seal of approval on his intervention in the cause of political liberty; the persecution of Reformers must not be tolerated. Then, when the whole sorry business of the Academy grant, and the failure of Head to implement his promise of 1836 to deal effectively with the Clergy Reserves question had been fully discussed, the deliberate decision of the Conference was—and thus it voted in restoring Ryerson to the editorship—that the *Guardian* must again resume its place as an organ of liberal opinion.

The other proceedings of the Conference are in keeping with this policy. Harvard withdraws to a pastorate in Montreal—not Quebec and Durham's antechamber, as he had hoped—and Stinson takes his place as President. John Ryerson remains Book Steward and Chairman of the Toronto district, so that Canadian history is the poorer for the year by the loss of his intimate and explosive letters to Egerton. William Ryerson remains as Superintendent of the Toronto circuit. Evans becomes Chairman of the London district. The

old Niagara district disappears, being divided between London and Toronto. A new district is created on the Ottawa, and Richard Jones is moved from Hamilton to Bytown to be its Chairman.

The *Guardian* soon responds to the hand of its new master. For, while the editor's name does not appear at the top of the page and the journal still is announced as "Published under the direction of the Conference of the Wesleyan Methodist Church in Canada", there is no question that Ryerson is its editor. Occasionally his name appears, affixed to a particularly forceful editorial for which he assumes a peculiar responsibility. As in earlier years, he includes generous excerpts from British and foreign prints, and on the fourth page introduces the innovation of collecting editorials from leading Canadian papers. It is a great journal—a joy to the reader of today, and doubtless not less so to most of its contemporary readers. At all events, it was sure to gain new subscribers; it might have been said of Ryerson and the reading public of Upper Canada as it was said of Alcibiades and the Athenians, "They love, they hate, but cannot do without him."

From the first Ryerson proceeds with decision and some confidence. While reaching out the hand of cordial Christian friendship to all other religious communities, he adheres to his principles of 1826 as to ecclesiastical affairs in the Province. He still claims the best policy is to appropriate the Clergy Reserves to general education. If there are difficulties in the way of this—though with Lord Durham present, nothing is politically impossible—then he suggests the plan of division according to the amounts raised by voluntary effort of the several denominations. If this course is followed, the Methodists have determined to allot their portion to education and to the building of churches and parsonages. Nothing will go to the ministers. He himself has never received one farthing from the government, and, "by the grace of God," he declares, "I will not rob myself, or allow myself to be robbed, of this ground of glorying".^[1] As to civil affairs, he is asked whether he intends to be neutral. He answers emphatically, "No". As a man, as a British subject and a professing Christian, how could he be neutral at such a time? But he repudiates party spirit, party interests, party pretensions. "Party spirit has been the bane and curse of this country for many years past. It has neither eyes, nor ears, nor principles, nor reason." He notes how in 1833 party spirit combined in a single week eleven presses for his overthrow; and how recently, from his defence of a wronged British subject, party spirit had described him as deeply dyed in the late infamous conspiracy, although he and his brother had been on the proscribed list and appointed for death by the rebels. He is determined, therefore, to adjure partizanship, to give general support to the government so long as he sees

the ample ground of confidence he now does. He is deeply sensible of his fallibility, of the fact that he is liable to imprudencies. Hence he craves the indulgence of his readers, as well as their confidence and support, as one “depending primarily, ultimately and entirely, upon the favour of Him without whose blessing nothing is wise, or good, or strong”.

But the hope of a new era in Upper Canada under Durham and Arthur was not to be realized. Scarcely had the High Commissioner set up his elaborate establishment at Quebec, when he was doubly beset. At home in the Lords his old associate, Lord Brougham, noted that he had included among his numerous secretaries two men, Turton and Wakefield, whose private life had not been above reproach. In the face of Brougham’s attack, the Prime Minister, Lord Melbourne—who should have been the last to cast a stone—weakly yielded, and issued instructions which a man of Durham’s spirit could hardly accept, especially as they violated the general undertaking at the time he received his commission. Then in Canada the official party in both provinces, and particularly in Lower Canada, began to display some mistrust of one who had earned the sobriquet, “Radical Jack”. Even daily state dinners and frequent ceremonies, carried off with a dignity and propriety never before seen in the Canadas, did not allay their fears.^[2] And when on June 28th a general amnesty was proclaimed in Lower Canada, a few leaders only being excepted, the ultra-conservative press of Upper Canada was openly critical. Was not this a condemnation of Sir George Arthur for his refusal to pardon Lount and Matthews? What reward were the good and the loyal to enjoy if the bad and disloyal were to save their necks? Whereupon Ryerson, in his editorial of July 18th, has a word to say to this “small class of editors who have a small class of followers with very small notions of government, and apparently with still smaller feelings of an enlightened and well-principled patriotism”. He asks whether they will be satisfied with nothing less than the blood of their conquered enemies.

Indeed both in Canada and at home Durham was a terror to tories. There, they could not forget that he had been the driving force behind the Reform Bill, and was now a prospective prime minister, could he but succeed in Canada. Here, they saw the privileges so long and exclusively enjoyed likely to be struck from their hands. In Lower Canada the “Chateau Clique” had received short shrift; and the Family Compact in Upper Canada knew in their hearts that they would not find Durham so pliable as all other governors, with time and patience, had proven to be. Any such anticipation, however, was not allowed to interfere with the welcome Toronto gave him. After five days at Niagara, one of which was assigned to a visit to Buffalo where he scandalously drank the President’s health, he arrived in Toronto by

steamer at 4 o'clock on July 18th. In his despatch to Glenelg, written the next day, he says,

I was received by the Lieutenant Governor, Sir George Arthur, the Mayor and Corporation, all the authorities of the town, and a very large concourse of the inhabitants of the district. My reception was warm and enthusiastic, as at any other part of the provinces. On the following day I received the principal and most influential persons of the province, and was presented with addresses of which I enclose Your Lordship a copy, together with my answers.^[3]

Then follow in the despatch the addresses from the Clergy of the “Established Church”, signed by Strachan; from the citizens of Toronto, presented by the Mayor; and from the Ministers of the Wesleyan Methodist Church, signed by Harvard and Ryerson. The *Guardian* has quite a full account of the whole affair, including Durham’s written answer to the citizens’ greetings read in “an unaffected and very audible manner”,^[4] and also some excellent extemporaneous remarks. Neither in the despatch nor in the *Guardian* is there any reference to the visit of the Catholic deputation, an account of which Professor New gives, quoting from the *Mirror*, the organ of that body since 1837. According to the *Mirror*, the Catholics complained of the late Orange procession in Toronto, and Durham promised to put down the system of Orangeism in the province. As to which, Professor New remarks,

Lord Durham may not have expressed himself as strongly as the *Mirror* stated, but it seems probable that something of the sort was said.

At all events, whether now or later, Lord Durham became convinced that the Orange Order was a disturbing force in the life of Upper Canada, and was being used particularly to defeat the free expression of opinion at the polls. In his *Report*, he devotes a long paragraph to its methods, and thus sums up its character: “It is an Irish Tory institution, having not so much a religious as a political bearing.”^[5]

Next day, in spite of distressing illness—already the malady which was to cause his death in two years had found seat—he held a levee at noon and conversed with many of the citizens, including the Baldwins, father and son. Then after just one day in Toronto he left for Kingston, where he spent a few

hours, and for a visit of two days to Edward Ellice, *Jr.* on his estate at Beauharnois. It is difficult to account for the brevity of his stay in the capital of Upper Canada. Was it due to the state of his health, or the fact that he was leaving details of his inquiry to commissions, or did he fear that even his staunch principles might suffer in this Lotus land? John Beverley Robinson attended him on the voyage as far as Kingston, but this did not prevent the inclusion of the observation in the *Report* that “there are general complaints of the union of political and judicial functions in the Chief Justice”.^[6]

We have no evidence, except from the general tone of the section of the *Report* dealing with Upper Canada, with hardly a sentence of which he would have disagreed, that Ryerson personally or through the *Guardian* was in touch with Durham himself. From Appendix B of the *Report*, however, we learn that his evidence, along with that on other church leaders,^[7] was taken on the question of the Clergy Reserves.

How long have you resided in this province?—I am a native of this province, and have resided here the greatest part of my life.

You are a minister of one of the most numerous and influential denomination of Christians in the province?—Probably the most numerous.

You must have had many opportunities of knowing the general feeling, both religious and political, of this province, and the circumstances that have affected its prosperity and tranquillity?—From my long residence and extensive acquaintance with the inhabitants I have had such opportunities.

What in your opinion has been the effect of clergy reserves, considered only as a means of withholding a large portion of the country from the acquisition of settlers, and thus keeping it waste?—I think they have tended very materially to impede the settlement and improvement of the province in these respects; by being interspersed among those parts which were open for settlement, they exposed the settler to great inconvenience in making roads, and they reduced the value of the neighbouring farms by their remaining in a wild state; it is true, I understand, they might be obtained on lease, but in general settlers would not occupy clergy reserves on such terms, when they could obtain land in fee simple.

Do you imagine the appropriation of clergy reserves, to the support of the clergy of one denomination exclusively, has produced any effects injurious to the peace and tranquillity of the province?—I think the peace of the province has been and is most seriously affected, and that it must continue to be so as long as this cause is allowed to remain. The vast majority of the inhabitants are opposed to this appropriation of the clergy reserves, and their numbers and the strength of the feeling on this subject are constantly increasing. There has perhaps been no period at which the dissatisfaction arising from this cause was greater than at present.

In what manner should you be disposed to recommend that these reserves should be appropriated in future, with a view to prevent the continuance of such a state of feeling as you have described?—I should recommend that they should be appropriated entirely to educational purposes, and this I believe to be the general opinion of the province; I do not see any prospect of a peaceful adjustment of the question in any other manner; there would probably be found insurmountable difficulties in the way of division amongst different sects, and the feelings of a large portion of the community would be altogether opposed to such an application of the funds which the reserves might produce.

All those questioned, except Strachan, definitely admitted the folly of attempting to confine the benefits of the Clergy Reserves to the Church of England. The Bishop of Regiopolis, however, thought that the Reserves might best revert to the Crown, while the others, except Strachan, admitted that their use for education was either the best or at least the most popular solution. Durham reported that the Clergy Reserves were “the most mischievous practical cause of dissension”, and that a prompt and satisfactory decision was essential to the pacification of Canada. He feared that any attempt to give the English Church a dominant place would mean the loss of the colony. His solution was to give the people of Upper Canada a constitution effective in expressing the popular will, and then to leave the matter of settlement in the hands of the Legislature.

If Durham’s administration in Canada was to prove disappointing in its brevity and insecurity, Arthur’s tenure of office in the Upper Province could hardly be said to have given general satisfaction. Certainly to Ryerson and the Methodists it greatly belied expectations. He required and received a good deal of sympathy in his endeavours to “mop up” the mess left by his

predecessor. Disappointed as many were at his accepting the measures of his advisers as to punishment of the rebels, measures quite at variance with the judgment of the Colonial Office as tardily borne to Canada by Durham, grieved as they were at his deafness to the petition and to the pitiful appeal of Mrs. Lount on her knees, they still recognized that under the law the leaders at Montgomery's Tavern had earned the death penalty. With Durham's arrival, as one under authority Arthur loyally, if somewhat reluctantly, acquiesced in the mild and conciliatory policy towards political offenders enjoined upon him. But presently when left to his own resources, he had neither the capacity nor the desire to stand against the opinion of the Councils and the Legislature, however imperfectly it then represented the views and the needs of the province. Thus Ryerson as Editor and Conference Secretary continually found himself at variance with officialdom.

Early in the conference year, indeed only a day or so before Durham's visit to Toronto, Ryerson received a note from Arthur's secretary which made rather unpleasant reading. Evidently Glenelg had not appreciated his recital of Head's administrative follies,^[8] and had written Arthur criticising the fact that Ryerson had not shown him the letter. While admitting that he had violated convention, Ryerson is inclined in all the circumstances to justify his action.

August 3, 1838, EGERTON RYERSON, Toronto, to the HONORABLE JOHN MACAULAY, Secretary to the Lieut. Governor.

SIR,

Unavoidable engagements and peculiar domestic circumstances have prevented me from fulfilling the intention expressed in my note of the 16th ultimo, in reference to the circumstance alluded to in a late Despatch of Lord Glenelg's as conveyed to me, by His Excellency's direction, in your letter of the 14th ultimo.

While Lord Glenelg expresses his readiness to receive any information or suggestions I may think it of importance to communicate to him on the affairs of this Province, his Lordship intimates that I ought in all cases to transmit a copy of my communications to His Excellency the Lieutenant Governor. I beg to assure His Excellency that in every instance for ten years past, I have not only adopted this course, but applied to have all such communications forwarded through the Lt. Governor for the time being, up to the communications referred to by Lord Glenelg,

previous to which difficulties had occurred between Sir F. B. Head and myself, as agent for the Board of the Upper Canada Academy, that appeared to forbid me from communicating with the Colonial Office through him.

The communication, however, to which Lord Glenelg seems to refer principally, was indeed written a few days after His Excellency, Sir George Arthur, assumed the Government of this Province; but as it referred entirely to what had transpired previously to his arrival, I confess the idea of furnishing His Excellency with a copy of it never occurred to me. In that communication I had three objects in view. 1. To prepare Lord Glenelg for any representations Sir F. Head might make to or against Her Majesty's Government in England respecting the state of affairs in Canada. 2. To inform Lord Glenelg of the result of several important matters which had been the subject of communication between the Colonial Office and myself while I was in England from December, 1835, to May, 1837. 3. To place such documentary facts before His Lordship as would serve to impress his mind with the propriety and importance of adhering to those liberal and wise instructions under which Sir F. B. Head assumed the government of this province; and by pledging himself to which he obtained the support of a majority of the inhabitants and by departing from which an insurrection ensued. I herewith enclose, for His Excellency's satisfaction, a copy of the communication referred to.

The communication itself contains internal evidence, not only that I had no private object in view, but that previous occurrences justified the liberty I took; and that I had communicated nothing from which I should shrink to meet in public. Indeed, in a note addressed to Lord Glenelg, in April, 1836, in reference to all my communications on Canadian affairs, I expressly stated to His Lordship that although they were written as private, that he was at perfect liberty to transmit them to the Governor of Upper Canada, and to be laid before the Canadian Legislature, if desired, or if he should judge it expedient, for I had never said or written anything in private which I was not prepared to meet in public. However, that His Excellency may be fully satisfied that I was taking no improper liberty in writing to Lord Glenelg as I have done, I make the following extract from my private notes of one of my interviews with His Lordship.

“Friday, September 2nd, 1836. . . . His Lordship thanked me for the communications I had from time to time made to him on Canada affairs, desired to see me on my return from the North, and requested me to write to him on any matters relative to the Canadas I might think proper.”

In my last interview with Mr. Stephen, the day before I left London, who saw me on Lord Glenelg’s behalf, and at his Lordship’s request (His Lordship being ill) I adverted to the circumstance of my making any communications on Canadian affairs after my return to Canada, as I had done in England. Mr. Stephen said there would be no impropriety in it. He dared to say Lord Glenelg would be glad to hear from me, and added that I must address Lord Glenelg himself, not him (Mr. Stephen). But for ten months I neither wrote a line, nor even addressed a newspaper to His Lordship, nor did I publish or write a line for the papers in this province on Canadian affairs: & I never intended to, until after the insurrection, when I saw the U. C. Academy & the province at large likely to be ruined by the unaccountable & high handed proceedings of Sir F. B. Head and Mr. Hagerman.

I have no intention to make any further communications to the Colonial Office. Should I ever do so, I assure His Excellency they shall be made through him.

I have the honor to be,
Sir,
Your most obedient
humble servant

Public agitation on the subject of the Clergy Reserves had been laid aside during the months following the rebellion. In the summer it was revived with the announcement that the Law Officers of the Crown had ruled that the provision for the fifty-seven rectories was valid, and further that the rectors possessed in law the spiritual and other privileges of rectors in England. Men asked: Were parishes to replace townships? Would tithes now be imposed? The following letter to Ryerson and the *Guardian*, from a preacher who knew how the frontiers of ignorance and irreligion had been pushed back, reveals a general attitude to this new claim on behalf of rectors and rectories.^[9]

September 17, 1838, RICHARD JONES,^[10] *Bytown*, to THE EDITOR OF THE *Christian Guardian*.

DEAR SIR,

When I hear of the exclusive, unjust, and illegal claims which the high church party are setting up to one seventh of this noble Province, declared to be one of the brightest gems in England's Crown, I am more than half inclined to ask, what benefit have the inhabitants of Upper Canada derived from their ministerial labours, especially that portion of them (*viz.* the emigrant and destitute settlers) respecting whose spiritual welfare they have recently expressed themselves with so much concern?^[11] Have these Ministers of the would-be Established Church of Upper Canada ever attempted to penetrate the wilderness to seek these wandering sheep till after others have succeeded in the arduous work of clearing and cultivating the moral waste, and, through the blessing of Almighty God upon their humble efforts, have caused "the solitary places to be glad, and the wilderness to blossom as the rose?" I must say, that I know of no instance in which a Minister of the self styled *Clergy of Upper Canada* has been the first to raise the standard of the Redeemer in the wilderness among the destitute settlers. No, Sir; their uniform practice has been to remain at home, caring not for the souls of the people, till by persevering industry and economy the settlers have brought themselves into circumstances of comparative wealth and comfort. Then those who would not face the storm, or force their way through swamps and marshes, or lodge in the rude-constructed hut, for the sake of carrying to the truly destitute the soul-cheering sound of the unsearchable riches of Christ, have the assurance, and may I say, impudence, to come among them as the only properly qualified and duly authorized men to feed them with the bread of life. And for this astonishing labour of love they must have one seventh of the whole Province; and if this modest claim should be admitted, we may expect after a few years to hear them confidentially ask for one tenth of the produce of all the rest. But perhaps some who are in favour of their extravagant claims may ask how I come to know that Ministers of the *Establishment* have been so neglectful of those destitute portions of the Province? In answer to this I can say, that as it respects all the new settlements east of Kingston, I know the statement I have made to be substantially correct, beyond the fear of successful contradiction. I have seen the rise and witnessed the progressive improvement of the Perth, Lanark, Fitzroy, and Richmond settlements, and am now

employed a part of my time in Clarendon and Pembroke. All of which I know have been cultivated and improved, so that their moral aspect has been very materially changed, by the labours of the Methodist Ministers, and others, before the voice of a Clergyman of the would-be-dominant Church was heard inviting the wanderer to enter the *established* fold.^[12] However, it is quite cheering for us to know that, proscribed as we always have been, and excluded from any pecuniary assistance from the Executive in this Province, and that, too, in opposition to the express wishes of Her Majesty's Ministers, with the exception of a few hundred pounds annually to assist our Missionary operations, and one solitary grant to the Upper Canada Academy, while others have been for many years receiving thousands to build churches and support ministers,—we have nevertheless succeeded, through the blessing of Almighty God, to spread ourselves through the length and breadth of the land; and our success (as far as I am able to judge) has been the greatest during the last few years in those sections of the country that have been recently reported to the British public and Parliament to be in a state of the most appalling and heart-rending destitution. Ten years ago I was appointed to travel in this part of the country as a Missionary. Other brethren had been here some years before, but still the population was scattered, the roads were almost impassable, and the fare we met with was far from being at all times agreeable. I had to eat and sleep, to study and preach, in the same apartment. On foot, with my saddlebags slung on my back, I had to make my way through a dense forest, abounding with swamps and marshes, to meet the congregations assembled to worship the God of their fathers. Our meetings were sometimes in private houses, at others times in barns or beneath the foliage of the forest trees. After an absence of nine years, I have, in the order of Divine Providence, returned again, and I must say that I am sincerely thankful to the Almighty for the honor wherewith He has honored my brethren in the ministry. Assisted from above, they have succeeded in bringing the desert to be a fruitful field. Ten years since there were in all this extensive region of country only three regular travelling Preachers and one Missionary, and some four or five hundred members. Now we have a separate District, composed of one station and seven circuits and missions, on which there are ten Preachers and one thousand six hundred and sixteen church

members,—the most of whom are witnesses that the Gospel has come to them, not in word only, but in power, in the Holy Ghost, and in much assurance. Our march, thank God, is still onward. It would have done you good to have been at some of our late quarterly meetings, especially at our Richmond meeting a week ago last Saturday and Sunday. I am sure gratitude would have overflowed your heart to see the crowds of those people who have been so shamefully libelled before the British people urging their way to the sanctuary of the Most High, erected by their voluntary contributions, to feast upon the blessings of His grace. During this meeting some twenty-five or thirty precious souls presented themselves as seekers of redemption, eight or ten of whom were enabled so to believe as to know that God was reconciled to them through the Son of his love. To Him be all the praise!

Our brethren are unitedly praying, labouring, and looking for a general outpouring of the Holy Spirit. May it come as floods upon the dry ground!

I am yours, etc.,

RICHD. JONES

Under pressure of just such views as this, the Guardian announced on October 24th that a petition prepared by the Book Committee was to be circulated throughout Upper Canada. It was addressed to the House of Assembly and prayed against the establishment or endowment of one or more dominant churches, for the repeal of the Rectory corporations, and for the appropriation of the Clergy Reserves to the purposes of education upon just and Christian principles for the equal benefit of all classes of the community. But hardly had the ministers arranged for its circulation when serious difficulties presented themselves. Two circumstances developed, not quite unrelated, to interfere with its success. It was announced that the Home Government had refused to sanction Durham's Proclamation and Ordinance. The announcement, which reached Canada first through the New York papers, replaced hope by disappointment or even despair. To Durham, it was clear evidence that if anything was to be saved from his mission he must leave his subordinates at work and himself return to face the issue in parliament. On November 1st he sailed from Quebec, stricken in health and in pride. About the same time, along the American frontier the so-called Hunters' Lodges increased their activity. In their methods they resembled the Fenians of a later date. Combining under arms a few political idealists with the riff-raff to whom the promise of a free grant of 200 acres of land in

Upper Canada made an appeal, they launched a series of attacks on the Canadian border. Everywhere men were called to the colours from peaceful occupations to resist them. In such circumstances, Sir George Arthur issued a proclamation calling upon the people of Upper Canada to “avoid all irritating discussion”; and the circulation of the petition was interpreted as something akin to disloyalty.

The fate of Andrew Cunningham of West Gwillimbury was a case in point. He was one who had heard the appeal to those “with a head to think, a foot to walk, and a hand to write”, and was speeding the petition on its way. His services at the time of the Rebellion had gained him the rank of Captain in the Second Simcoe Regiment, also that of Commissioner of the Court of Requests. But on November 14th, the local Episcopal clergyman came to a son-in-law, James Watson, and said that Cunningham was as bad a man as Mackenzie, that he was agitating the country, that four informations had been laid against him and that he should be lodged in gaol. At the same time Cunningham lost his rank of captain, and his son that of Lieutenant. Supported by 238 of his neighbours, “all old countrymen”, who knew him to be “a sober, honest, industrious man of sterling loyalty”, he petitioned Sir George Arthur for protection and redress.^[13] A series of reports from various sections of the country reveal similar impediments to the success of the venture in other districts. It was soon apparent that the petition of the Book Committee was born out of due season.^[14]

The departure of Durham gave new life to the official party in both the Canadas; on Ryerson it brought one of the bitterest attacks of his whole career. The old methods, familiar in the years before 1833, again were employed—personal detraction on the one hand, and on the other the resumption of a policy of divide and conquer. The *Patriot*, under Thomas Dalton, was used as the main organ of attack. Two items will serve to illustrate its methods. An old pamphlet prepared by Henry Ruttan in 1832 was revived. The writer had sought to prove the utter degeneracy of the editor of the *Guardian* by recalling that at his home four years previously he had known him of a Sunday to read with evident pleasure the *Colonial Advocate* and to insist on discussing its contents. This, and a reference to his attempt to harangue a political meeting,^[15] form the only concrete evidence produced by Ruttan to illustrate the “jaundiced and vitiated heart” of Ryerson. And the *Patriot* printed the stuff. Further it gave currency to the report of a corporal who had deserted at Kingston and alleged that Ryerson had driven him to it: “Well, I deserted . . . Ryerson never rested till he worked me up to the deed. I was like a child in his hands—he led me as he

pleased.” The *Guardian* copied the full text in both cases, exhibiting the complete falsity of the latter allegation and the improbability of the former considering the itineracy of that year, which every four weeks brought him fatigued after three sermons and three classes of a Sunday to the home of Ruttan, then apparently a Methodist. But the climax was reached when one of the new rectors in the Prince Edward District, who had lately subscribed for the *Patriot*, offered to bet his head that the editor of the *Guardian* would be “in jail within two months for *radicalism*”; or was it reached when the wife of another rector carried the *Patriot* around into the homes of Methodists to read it aloud and enquire whether Ryerson was the type of religious leader to whom they were prepared to give honour? And the British party in Conference were watching the policy of the *Guardian* and its editor with some mistrust. Two letters, quite different in tone from that of Richard Jones, sound a note of warning.

November 2, 1838, J. STINSON, *Simcoe*, to REV. E. RYERSON, *City of Toronto*.^[16]

MY DEAR FRIEND,

I sincerely sympathise with you in your present perplexing & trying circumstances. I have just read with feelings of disgust & indignation the vile insinuation that you advised a certain corporal to desert, etc. etc., and I strongly suspect that *the corporal* referred to has no existence except in the brain of some cowardly enemy who is ashamed to place his name to his slanderous productions. Such assassins are beneath your contempt & I am sorry you condescend to notice them at all, as no one, whose opinion is worth consideration, will believe their barefaced falsehoods.^[17] I heard today that some of the dominant Church champions are appealing to me to array myself against you. They may save themselves the trouble of making such appeals. Whenever I have differed in opinion with you, I have told you so, and shall do so again, but shall never, unless you become a revolutionist, either directly or indirectly sanction any factious opposition to you or any other member of the Conference. In the mean time I must say that you are, in my opinion, in great danger of exciting a feeling against the Government so hostile that its entire subversion will be attempted & much bloodshed will be the inevitable consequence. I think as Wesleyan Methodists we ought openly & fearlessly to advocate the righteous claims of our own church, but we ought to do it without detracting from the merits or opposing the interests

of other churches, particularly that church which is so closely connected with our Government as is the Church of England,^[18] opposed as a dominant church, but not as an establishment. I know that the exclusive spirit; the arrogant pretensions, the Priestly insolence, the anti-christian spirit of certain members of that church richly deserve chastisement, but I think my dear Brother you may defend yourself & all the interests of our cause without making use of certain sweeping expressions, which evince I must say (as) quite as much personal enmity to the church & many persons connected with it as zeal (for the zeal) for the public weal. I know that your public services have been undervalued. Your faults have been shamefully exaggerated. Your motives have been misrepresented. Your influence, connected as you are with a large & influential body of christians, is feared, and that your enemies are as bitter as Satan can well make them; but if you are conscious that in the sight of God you are aiming at the right object, why not leave your cause in His hands who hath said “avenge not yourselves, recompense is mine, I will repay”. Why so frequently appeal to the people? Why say will the people *allow* me to be thus treated? Why say I will not be *answerable* for such & such consequences? To me this looks a little too much like an appeal to the sword & I know it is so understood by nine-tenths of your readers. I do not make these remarks in the spirit of dictation. I write as a private friend, & I know that my feelings on this subject are in perfect accordance with the feelings of many of your best friends & many of the best friends of our cause. You may not see it, but there is a recklessness in your mode of writing sometimes which is really alarming & for which many of the members of the Conference of our Society do not like to be responsible; many of them have spoken to me upon this subject who do not like to speak to you but who feel deeply. In every thing which is really necessary & right I will go all proper lengths to defend & support you, but in any thing which is revolutionary in its tendency, I would go as far to oppose you, even were you my own father, whatever the consequence might be to me personally. I know well that the *acts* of the High Church party are far more likely to excite rebellion than your writings, but with any thing which would lead to such a result, let us a[s] Christian ministers have no connexion, whatever others may do. Should there be a second conflict it will be a most sanguinary one, if we may judge by the spirit displayed

by all parties, and depend upon it, the parties are far more equally divided than we imagine. There is a strong, a very strong, feeling against a dominant church, but a majority of the Province would rather have that and connection with Great Britain than republicanism^[19]—I would!—would not you? If you would not, I would say to my soul, come not into his secret. I would still esteem you as Friend, but I would shun you as a Politician.

Our meetings have been as well attended and as good as we could expect, but there is a sad feeling of gloom & despondency in the minds of the people.

There are no signs of invasion in this neighborhood. I think our Petition will be generally approved & signed, but there is no enthusiasm in the cause. There never was a time when we so much needed the guidance of Heavenly wisdom & the protection of Heavenly Power. Let us labour & pray for the peace of Jerusalem, let us not depend on the arm of Flesh, let us live to the glory of God & then whatever way these questions terminate all will be well. With kind regards to yourself & family, believe me, very dear friend,

Yours truly,
J. STINSON

January 2, 1839, M. RICHEY, U. C. Academy, to THE REVEREND EGERTON RYERSON, *Toronto*.

(*By politeness of Mr. J. BEATTY*)

REVEREND AND DEAR BRO.

I have just received a letter from Mr. Lunn of Montreal stating that Mr. Ferrier with his concurrence had procured or was procuring, the revocation of the signatures of subscribers to the "*Guardian*", on the alleged ground of some *disloyal* sentiments to which they are of opinion you have given expression in the No. of the 12th of Dec.

I have written Mr. Lunn earnestly expostulating with him upon the precipitancy of such a measure. I have expressed my deep regret that, in case they conceived objections so grave to lie against any remarks you may have made, they had not, before taking such a position, written to Mr. Stinson, quoted the

objectionable sentiments, exhibited the grounds of their disapproval of them, and taken another method to rectify the wrong if any exist. You have perhaps heard from them ere this. I have not failed to apprise them of the bitter hostility of the *K. Chronicle*, the *Patriot*, the *Star* and the *Church*, to Methodism, and to say that did they read those papers they would be less surprised at the pungency with which you occasionally (I might say constantly) express yourself in the questions now at issue between the arrayed parties of the Province. What effect my letter may have, if it produced any, I cannot anticipate.

Let me in candor suggest my serious doubts to you of the propriety of expressing yourself with so much warmth and *apparent* exasperation. To intimate that the faithful discharge of your duty may expose you to *gaols or gibbets* is not very complimentary to the freedom of the government under whose protection you are placed. I am afraid that by such allusions you may injure instead of promoting the object at which you aim. Placed as you are in the burning centre of excitement, and marking the high hopes as well as high handed measures of your opponents, you have great need of patience and forbearance. I trust you will not commit yourself to any course or give utterance to any sentiments that may not challenge the keenest scrutiny.

While I speak thus to *yourself*, I have offered the best defence to your procedure in my power, to Messrs. Ferrier and Lunn. You will therefore appreciate the motive and pardon the freedom of my suggestions.

By Thursday's Post I will send another Sermon. I have received a specimen of Mr. Black's life from the Press of Cunnabel, Halifax. Mr. Churchill, the Superintendent of the station, himself an author of some note, corrects the proofs—"pretty correctly". I send you the 12 pages received. Show it to Master *Wilson* and tell him not to allow the *Haligonian* work to excel *his*.^[20]

Let me hear from you, if not before, when Mr. Stinson comes hither on his missionary tour.

Yours truly,
M. RICHEY

P.S. You have placed poor Carrol in perplexing circumstances by *publishing* his remark (meant for your *private* information) concerning the Sheriff. Dont serve *me* in the same way.^[21]

M. R.

We do not know how Ryerson replied to these two letters from British brethren. His general response to those who would have stayed his pen by personal abuse or threats is preserved in the *Guardian* of December 12, 1838. Their attacks he met breast forward:

I am at length exhorted to silence, but not my opponents. . . . But at a moment like the present, when the province is turned into a camp—when freedom of opinion may be said to *exist*, but scarcely to circulate or live—when unprecedented power and patronage is wielded by the Executive, and the Habeas Corpus Act itself suspended—, for one party of the province to have free range for denunciation, intimidation, etc., against Methodists and others . . . does excite, I confess, my anxious concern, as the object of it in regard both to myself and a large portion of the country cannot be mistaken.

And to the Prince Edward rector two weeks later he thus paid his respects:

We dare say if our commitment to jail is to be determined by the fraternity of our newly-inducted Rectors, we should be incarcerated in a dungeon before new-years. But we may comfort such friends with the assurance, that the prospect of neither jails nor gibbets will prevent us from endeavouring to free the country from the “baneful domination” of their unjust system as long as we have our liberty. Should we be arrested, we would not be the first man in Upper Canada who has been imprisoned and expatriated for his *opinions*. As to our “radicalism”, we suppose it must mean, in the vocabulary of Rectors, opposition to their pretensions, for of no other “radicalism” are we conscious.

To a group of Montreal Methodists who had felt called upon (in spite of Brother Richey’s expostulations) to take strong exception to his conduct as editor, he replied in like vein.

January 7, 1839, EGERTON RYERSON, to "WILLIAM LUNN, J. FERRIER, JOHN MILLER, E. MOORE, HUGH MATHEWSON, JOHN GRIFFITH, MATHEWSON & RATTRAY, R. CAMPBELL, JOHN MATHEWSON, JOHN MINSALL, FRANCIS BETHELL & SAMUEL WHITE", *Esquires*.

GENTLEMEN:

Your letter of the 24th ult., being rather unusual both in matter & form, seems to demand more than a silent acknowledgment. I shall have pleasure in complying with your request; but I should despise myself, were I capable of making any reply to the allegation contained in your letter.

Not a few of you impugned both my motives & principles in former years; I have lived to furnish a practical commentary on your candour & justice, by being the first to excite in the Colonial Office in England a determination to protect British interests in Lower Canada against French ambition & prejudice. I may yet have an opportunity of furnishing a second similar commentary upon your second similar imputation.

It is true I am not of the high church school of politics, nor of the *Montreal Herald* school of Bloodshed and French extermination; but I nevertheless think there still remains another basis of Scripture, Justice & Humanity on which may rest the principles of loyalty that will sacrifice life itself in maintenance of British supremacy, in perfect harmony with a vigorous support of the constitutional rights of the subject,—unmoved at one time by the fierce denunciations of revolutionists, and unshaken at another time by the imputations of ultra sycophantic partizanship.

Twice have the leading members of the Methodist Society in Montreal had the opportunity of insulting, &, if their influence could have done it, of injuring me, and twice have they improved it—in May, 1834, when I was in Montreal, & in December, 1838, a juncture when a stain might be inflicted upon the reputation of any vulnerable Minister of the Church that would tarnish his very grave. It is a pleasing as well as singular circumstance, & one that will be engraved upon the tablet of my heart, while memory holds her seat, that when in 1834 I was insulted in Montreal, I was invited to preach in Quebec; & now that I am honoured from *Montreal* a second time in a similar way, I have this day received from *Quebec* a second token of "respect for my character & love

to Methodism”, of ten new subscribers to the *Guardian*, with a promise “ere long of from ten to twenty more”.

I have the honor to be,
Gentlemen
Your very obedient
humble Servant

P.S. I suppose there will be no objection to the insertion of your letter in the *Guardian*, that the public may have the full advantage of it. I purpose to insert it shortly, unless otherwise instructed.^[22]

These shafts aimed at Ryerson and the *Guardian* were but part of a deliberate plan once more to divide the Methodists. The *Patriot* of November 30th, had published “with unalloyed satisfaction” a curious document signed by forty members of the Methodist body. It was addressed to Sir George Arthur, and exhibited the deep-seated loyalty of its signatories. But that is not the point. It expressed “sincere sorrow and regret that a course should be pursued by any member of our Society, in this highly favoured colony, calculated to have a different appearance or effect”.^[23] To this loyal profession Sir George replies with appreciation. The *Patriot* on its part is happy in announcing that the publication of this letter proves that it is not hostile to Methodism but only to “that particular species of it which having its root in Bishopricks, Book Stores, Printing Establishments, and Religious Tract Societies in the United States, inundated our British Provinces with Yankee Brawlers, Yankee notions and Yankee democracy”. The letter appeared in print in the *Patriot* the very day after its presentation to Sir George. In the next *Guardian*, ten of the signatories recanted, expressing surprise at the interpretation placed on their former act, and they joined with the officials of the church, including Stinson, in a counter profession of loyalty, but without aspersions. This also was addressed to Arthur, and to this also he courteously replied. By January 9th, however, the signers of the first address requested the *Guardian* to announce that their only objection to Ryerson’s attitude on the Clergy Reserves was as to the time and manner of his discussing the question. They aver that none of them had anything to do with handing the document to the *Patriot*, but that they intended that it should appear in the *Guardian*. The obvious inference is that some one close to the Lieutenant Governor was working in collusion with the *Patriot*.

But in the bitterness of religious strife the amenities were not quite forgotten. On Sunday morning, January 6th,^[24] at about 8.30, a dense column of smoke was observed issuing from one of the chimneys of St. James Church. When the fire had done its work, only the walls (of stone brought from Kingston) were left standing. The cost of the building was about £10,000, and of the organ, the gift of John Henry Dunn, about £1500. The building was insured in a London office for £5,000. "The assemblage was immense, and the regret universal", the *Guardian* states in describing the fire. Ryerson at once wrote to Strachan, who replied on the same day.

January 6, 1839, JOHN STRACHAN, to REVD. EGERTON RYERSON.

REVD. SIR

I thank you most sincerely for the kind sympathy you express in the sad calamity that has befallen us & for your generous offer of accommodation.

Before your note reached me I had made arrangements with the Mayor for the Town Hall which we can occupy at our accustomed hours of worship, without disturbing any other congregation. I & my people are not the less grateful for your kind offer which we shall keep in brotherly remembrance.

I remain

Revd. Sir

Your much obliged Servant

JOHN STRACHAN

February 2, 1839, EGERTON RYERSON, to THE HON. JOHN MACAULAY

SIR,

I have the honor to enclose herewith addresses to be laid before His Excellency the Lt. Governor from the following portions of the Methodist Church: namely, Augusta District, Bytown, Bellville, Cobourg, New Market, Ancaster, Brantford, St. Thomas, and Howard Circuits.

It will probably not escape His Excellency's notice, that a large number of the Methodist circuits in this Province have not thought it expedient to trouble His Excellency with a formal expression of their loyalty (though they have not failed to manifest it practically in every emergency & in an obedient response to every call of

duty)^[25] believing, as I have been given to understand by private letters, that Methodism in this province requires no other vindication of its loyalty than a reference to its entire history. I believe the addresses which I have the honor to enclose express the nearly unanimous sentiments & feelings of the Wesleyan Methodist Church in this Province & of a large portion of the population indirectly connected with it, both on the subject of Christian loyalty & the question of the Clergy Reserves.

I also feel myself fully authorised, by various communications, as well as from my official situation, to assure His Excellency that the members of the Wesleyan Methodist Church will not be contented with a subordinate civil standing to any other church, any more than the members of the Church of Scotland. They do not, & never have asked for any *peculiar* advantages; but they feel that upon the principle of justice, by labours, by usefulness, by character, by numbers, & by the principles laid down in Royal Despatches, they are entitled in the eyes of the law & in the administration of an impartial government, to equal consideration & equal advantages with any other Church. And I am confident that I but state a simple fact, & speak the sentiments of the members of the Methodist Church throughout the length & breadth of the Province, when I express our belief, that the Methodist Church, in its doctrines & ministry & institutions, furnishes as formidable a barrier against the irreligion & infidelity of the times as any other section of Protestantism. Nor is it possible for us, notwithstanding our unfeigned respect for His Excellency, to feel ourselves under any obligations to tender our support to another section of the Protestant Church, whose Clergy in this Province, collectively, officially & individually (with solitary exceptions) have resisted the attainment of every civil & religious privilege we now enjoy—have twice impeached our character & principles before the Imperial Government—who deny the legitimacy of our ministry—who, in their doctrines respecting church polity & several points of faith, do not represent the doctrines of the Church of England, or of the established Clergy in England as a body, but that section only of the established Clergy that [has] been associated with all those arbitrary measures of government against various classes of Protestant nonconformists which have darkened the page of British history, & also the dark-ages, notions of rites & ceremonies

which are causing at this hour no little disquietude & contention in the mother country—and the conductor of whose official organ in this Province has recently represented the Methodist Ministry as the guilty cause of those Divine chastisements under the infliction of which our land droops & mourns.^[26] I am sure my brethren as well as myself freely forgive the great wrongs thus perpetrated against us; but we feel ourselves equally bound, in duty to ourselves & to our country & to our common christianity, to employ all lawful means to prevent such exclusive, repulsive & proscriptive sentiments from acquiring any thing more than equal protection in the province.

I might appeal to circumstances, which I have reason to believe are within His Excellency's knowledge, to show, that from 1836 to the close of the last Session of our provincial Parliament, I spared no pains,—without the remotest view to personal or even Methodistic advantage—to second, to the utmost of my humble ability, any plan to which the province might, under all circumstances, be induced to concur, in order to settle this protracted controversy; & that it has not been until I have had successive indubitable proofs that there was no disposition or intention on the side of the Episcopal Clergy to yield a single iota (notwithstanding the fair speeches of some of their reputed representatives) any farther than they were compelled,—that the courtesy of myself & friends was mistaken for submission, and our language of conciliation for pusillanimity & weakness, & that the advantages of party which had been acquired for them by our aid were to be employed for our proscription & to the injury of the province—it was not until all these circumstances had transpired that we reluctantly determined to appeal against the exclusive & unjust pretensions of the Episcopal Clergy to that power without the aid of which not even a governor could repress them to their proper level—I mean the power of Public Opinion—a power recognized by our free Constitution, & which no party or administration can successfully resist many years, unless aided by the terror & despotism of the sword, which I am confident will never be knowingly allowed by Her Majesty's Government in this enlightened & loyal portion of the British dominions.

I also crave His Excellency's attention to the important fact, that we advocate no merely political party theories in this discussion. We have never mooted or given a place to questions of

vote by ballot, or annual parliaments, or universal suffrage, or elective institutions, or change in the fundamental principles of the established constitution, or infringement of any constitutional prerogative^[27]—nay, we have been second to none in the employment of every proper means when occasion required to maintain the integrity of the established constitution; but we ask for that which will place every loyal subject in this province upon an equal civil footing with his neighbour, and to promote this result we are ready to do all in our power to second the efforts of His Excellency or those of any other individual, irrespective of past occurrences, or person, or party.

I have the honor to be
Sir,

Your most obedient humble Servant

Replying on February 7th, on behalf of Sir George, Macaulay expressed appreciation of the loyal addresses, satisfaction with the attitude of the Wesleyan Methodists “as individuals”, and surprise only that the Governor’s intentions had been misunderstood, as evidently they had been, judging from Ryerson’s letter.

February 25, 1839, J. STINSON, Belleville, to REVD. EGERTON RYERSON, City of Toronto.

MY DEAR BROTHER

I received your note & the Government document on Friday evening. In the latter there is nothing worth notice; it is a mere copy of the answer of the Government to the address we sent to Her Majesty, which we had if I mistake not already received. In the meantime I thank you for sending it. I have read your address to Mr. Draper with considerable attention & while there is much in it which I admire, I must honestly tell you that there are some points in which I do not agree with you at all.^[28] I will point these out to you when we meet, & will only say *en passant* that it contains more against an *establishment* in this Colony than I like, & too much of *Mr. Roaf’s* school^[29] for my taste—more of this when we meet.

I am sorry I cannot be at the opening of the House—the Church men will make a strong effort in favour of “re-investment”

but the Scotch Kirk say they will oppose this plan with all their might. We shall see.

The snow is going fast & I fear I shall have to leave my cutter & ride home—a task for which I am not very well prepared after all the fatigue of my missionary tour. Never mind the dollar till I see you. Believe me dear Br.

Yours truly,
J. STINSON

Cobourg 27.

P.S. When I wrote on the other side of the sheet, I expected to see Mr. Lang at Bellville & that he or the person who brought him would take Mrs. Stinson back to Kingston where she will remain until after her confinement, but the snow is all gone & no one came from Kingston. Mrs. Stinson is now quite ill & I cannot leave her this week. I am greatly disappointed about this, as I was anxious to be in Toronto, but in such cases there is no remedy but submission. I thank you for seeing my little ones & for sending me word & you will greatly oblige me by looking into my house again & telling the girl to get what she wants & I shall be at home if possible next week. If she needs money, perhaps you can give her five or six dollars. I go back to Bellville tomorrow, to take Mrs. Stinson to Kingston.

We had an excellent meeting at Bellville & one equally good here last night. Will give you a short account of my tour on my return.

Yours truly,
J. STINSON

The Clergy Reserves question occupied much of the attention of the Provincial Parliament which met on the 27th of February. Several resolutions were framed and voted upon and tossed back and forward between the two Houses. Finally the words “to be appropriated by the Provincial Legislature for religion and education” were amended by the Council so as to read “to be appropriated by the Imperial Parliament for religion and education”. This simple device completely altered the bill to accord with the wishes of the Church and Government party. Submitted in this form to the Assembly, several members having already gone home and Edward Malloch of Carleton having changed his vote, it was carried on the

last night of the session by 22-21. Re-investment had won. The control of what remained of the Clergy lands of Upper Canada was turned over to the British Houses of Parliament in direct antithesis to the recommendations of Durham. Two motives probably operated in producing this self-denying ordinance on the part of the Assembly. Some members may have felt that the best way to restore peace and goodwill was to remove this troublesome question from the arena of provincial politics, a view which at one time had appealed even to Ryerson; but others saw that the only hope of holding what they had and securing a lion's share of the balance was to transfer the question from the hustings and polls of Upper Canada to the vicinity of the House of Lords. In either case, the act showed little political sagacity and less courage.

Disheartened as Ryerson must have been by this turn of events, he was not inactive. During the session he had kept the policy of the Conference steadily before the readers of the *Guardian*. The pamphlet containing the ten letters addressed to Draper was widely circulated. The petitions, owing to such pressure as we have noted in the Cunningham case, did not prove a practical method of voicing public opinion. But at the polls the electors of the Third Riding of York by electing (in Dr. Morrison's stead) J. E. Small, whose platform was the application of the Durham *Report*, gave a warning to the legislators of what they and their policies might expect if they should appeal to the people. In the number of April 6th, Ryerson takes time to digress on the issue raised by the dismissal of J. S. Howard, in December, 1837, after eighteen years as postmaster of Toronto. He had stayed in his office on the 5th and not taken his place in the market square with one or two rifles on his breast, and his loyalty was regarded as not above suspicion. He had suffered in silence for more than a year, and at last, having been unable to obtain redress, he published the correspondence in the case. It occupied two full pages, and Ryerson contributed an editorial in his behalf. One of the letters published was a testimonial from Colonel Fitzgibbon as to Howard's loyalty, efficiency and unblemished character. The trouble would appear to have been that he was a Methodist, who was suspected (though without any proof of partizanship) of reform tendencies.

Meanwhile, in February Glenelg had at length been induced to resign. The great Reformer, Lord John Russell, who had been critical of Glenelg's indecision, was to succeed to the Colonial office in August. In the interval, for six months the post went to the Marquis of Normanby. To him Ryerson, as representing the Methodist Conference, determines to appeal against the policy of the Government and the decision of a Parliament which did not represent the opinion of the people. We are not told that he sent his three

letters to Normanby through the Governor. Probably he did. But at the same time he published them and their devastating argument in the *Christian Guardian*.^[30] If his appeal was to Normanby, it was also to the Canadian people. We have no knowledge as to how this method of procedure was regarded by the Colonial Secretary.

He makes no apology for his intrusion. He has been induced to address his Lordship from “an imperative sense of duty to the principles of the British constitution”. He charges Sir George Arthur with stifling the expression of public opinion during four months, silencing the complaints of the people by distributing throughout the province militia units which are commanded in many cases by “violent penniless partizans”, and then securing a snap verdict in the Legislature for his “favourite scheme of reinvestment” when many of the members had returned home. He calls attention to Lord Durham’s remark that the present House of Assembly is self-elected, since it ought to have been dissolved on the death of the late King. The vote does not represent the views of the House, nor does the House by any means reflect the views of the inhabitants of Upper Canada. The Canadian public is more competent to decide on the question than the people of England. The circulation of newspapers in Upper Canada is “four times as large in proportion to the population as in England itself”; nor does he know a native of this province twenty years of age who cannot read. Such being the case, he asks whether free born Britons are to be “dwarfed down into political childhood the moment they cross the Atlantic and place their feet on Canadian ground”.

Further, he has no doubt that if the laity of the Church of England were polled on the subject they would agree with the views he has expressed. They realize that the “spirit and workings of the present system” is unfair. Already more than \$400,000 has been received by the Episcopal Clergy out of British funds, and more than \$220,000 out of provincial funds since 1827. He contrasts the attitude of the Government to Upper Canada Academy with the expenditure of more than \$200,000 on Upper Canada College and on the grounds of King’s College “to be built some time during the present century”.^[31] He asks whether vast resources are to be “absorbed in support of pretensions which have proved the bane of religion in the country”. He calls attention to the editorial comment of the press, not merely the opinions of the “radical reform press”, like the *Express*, the *Examiner*, the *Mirror* and the *Brockville Recorder*, but of such papers as the *British Colonist*, the *Upper Canada Herald* and the *Hamilton Journal*. The responsible press of the province is quite opposed to the governor’s policy. He asks his Lordship

to compare their editorials with the “crude and wretched effusions” of the Toronto *Patriot* and *Cobourg Star*, prints “sustained in a great degree by official advertisements and patronage”. He predicts that the inhabitants of the province will never again petition on the question of Church Establishment but “will express their sentiments at the hustings with a vengeance, to the confusion of the men who have deceived and misrepresented, and wronged them”.^[32]

In conclusion, he has this to say of himself:

My Lord, I have now done. I have taken the liberty to address your Lordship publicly that my statements might be publicly refuted if they are incorrect. It is of course my good or bad fortune to be assailed from week to week whether I write or not; but your Lordship well understands the difference between abuse and argument. I am no theorist; I advocate no change in the constitution of the Province; I have never written a paragraph the principles of which could not be carried out in accordance with the letter and spirit of the established Constitution; I desire nothing more than the free and impartial administration of that Constitution for the benefit of all classes of Her Majesty’s subjects; I only oppose or support men or measures for the attainment of that object.^[33] May your Lordship be the instrument of securing it to this Province! I have the honor to be, My Lord Marquis, your Lordship’s most obedient and most devoted servant,

EGERTON RYERSON

We have noted how the Toronto Wesleyans were by way of composing their own differences in January. The little game of the *Patriot* would have met with small success had the Toronto church been left to itself. But it was not to be allowed to handle its own situation. The *Patriot* returned to the game reinforced. A month before Conference it was able to print a letter from Hatton Garden addressed to Sir George. The letter was dated February 8, 1838, and signed by the four secretaries of the Wesleyan Missionary Society. They deprecated the sort of things the *Guardian* had been saying, promised that the whole subject would be brought before the ensuing Canadian and British conferences, and announced that Robert Alder was to undertake a special mission “of peace and friendship” to Upper Canada.

Ryerson reprints the letter in his issue of May 22nd with four observations:

1. Our first observation is, that its publication in the *Patriot* affords another illustration of the sort of confidential connexion which exists between the government house and the editor of that most vulgar and profligate journal.

2. Our second observation is, that we believe no minister or member of the Wesleyan Methodist Church in Canada has ever addressed private letters to her Majesty's government tending to subvert the influence of any members of the Wesleyan connexion in England in relation to matters affecting their interests. . . .

3. Our third observation is, that the affairs of the Wesleyan Methodist Church in Canada (Missionary appropriations excepted) are under the sole direction of the Canadian Conference. The circuits throughout the province not only support their own preachers, but contribute to the funds of the parent missionary society in aid of the missionary work.

4. Our fourth observation is, that the "sentiments" expressed at the present time and for months past in the *Guardian*, are those which have been avowed by the Methodist Conference in this province from the beginning. . . .

Thus it was that as the 24th of May approached—for a century the happiest of all our Canadian holidays, in the happiest of Canadian seasons—Ryerson found himself in some perplexity. He and Mrs. Ryerson had been invited by Sir George Arthur to meet with the first citizens of Toronto at Government House on that day. Finally he answered the invitation. To a man sociable and kindly in his private relations, and Arthur too was a courteous gentleman, the writing of this letter must have been an unpleasant task. But in a struggle so grim honesty came before the amenities.

May 23, 1839, EGERTON RYERSON, to THE AIDE-DE-CAMP IN WAITING, Government House.

SIR,

I have the honor to acknowledge His Excellency the Lt. Governor's card of the 4th instant, requesting the company of Mrs. Ryerson and myself at the Government House on Friday Evening the 24th instant, in honor of Her Majesty's Birthday. I believe I am second to none of Her Majesty's Canadian subjects in my reverence for Her Majesty's Royal person and government—in my earnest desire for the stability and prosperity of that government in

its true principles and spirit in every part of Her dominions—in the feelings of satisfaction with which I shall hail the return of Her Birthday, and in my humble and fervent supplications that Her Majesty may live to see many, many returns of that day, in the fullest enjoyment of health, wealth, peace and success, and in the requisite preparation for an elevation from the responsibilities and splendours of an earthly throne to the immortal and inconceivable glories of a heavenly Kingdom. But after the most mature deliberation up to the last moment in which it is proper to reply, I feel it my duty respectfully to decline the honor of His Excellency's request. I most firmly believe that the office of impartial sovereignty has been employed by His Excellency for partial purposes; that an undue and an unconstitutional exercise of the office of Royalty has been employed by His Excellency to influence the public mind and the decisions of our Constitutional tribunals on pending and debateable questions between equally loyal and deserving classes of Her Majesty's subjects in this province; that His Excellency has also employed the influence of the high office of the Queen's representative to procure, and afterwards expressed his cordial satisfaction at, the passing of a bill in a thin House on the very last night of the session, the provisions of which had been repeatedly negatived by a considerable majority of the People's representatives, and which deprive the faithful but embarrassed inhabitants of this province of the control of a revenue and lands sufficient in value to pay off their whole public debt—a proceeding at complete variance with the fair and constitutional administration of a free *monarchical* government and the Imperial usages of legislation since the accession of the present Royal Family to the throne of Great Britain; and finally that His Excellency has employed the influence of his high office to the disparagement of the interests of the large religious community whose views and rights and interests I have been elected to my present offices to advocate and promote.

I beg that my declining the honor proposed by His Excellency may not be construed into any disrespect to His Excellency personally or to the high office His Excellency occupies—for the inviolableness and dignity of which I feel the jealous veneration of a loyal subject, but I beg that it may be attributed solely to a fixed determination not to do any thing that may, in the slightest degree,

tend to weaken, but, on the contrary, to use every lawful means, on all occasions, to advance those civil and religious interests which I am most fully convinced are essential to the happy preservation of a prosperous British government in this country, and to the happiness and welfare of the great body of Her Majesty's Canadian subjects.

I have the honor to be, etc.

EGERTON RYERSON

[1] C.G. July 11, 1838

[2] The *Guardian* of July 25th copies from the *New York Commercial Advertiser* a description of the pomp and circumstance—with “kindly greetings and friendly conversation” of the Durham drawing room; the elaborate plate and attendance at the daily dinners for forty, commencing at six and continuing till nine, when the Earl would propose “The Queen”; the gorgeous costumes; the fixed order of procedure; the necessity of appearing in *white* stocks and cravats; the service of gold; the elaborate row of massive gold cups on each side of the table; the army of servants, each offering his own viand or potion; and after the dinner, the procession in pairs back to the drawing room, where are coffee and liqueurs and the harp and the piano and songs by the ladies.

[3] Chester New: *Lord Durham*, p. 402.

[4] C.G., July 25, 1838.

[5] *Report on the Affairs of British North America from the Earl of Durham*, p. 65.

[6] *Ibid.*, p. 66.

[7] Other clergymen giving evidence before the Commission included The Hon. and Venerable John Strachan, D.D., Archdeacon of York; Rev. John Roaf, Minister of the Congregational Church, Toronto; Rev. William Turnbull Leach, a Minister of the Church of Scotland, Toronto; Rev. Robert Hill Thornton, Minister of a Presbyterian Congregation in Whitby, in connexion with the United Secession Church; Rev. William Smart, Brockville, Minister of the United Synod of the Presbvtarian Church of Upper Canada; and the Right Rev. Alexander McDonell, Bishop of Regiopolis. (The names “Leach” and “Smart” appear as “Lynch” and “Stuart” in the official report.)

[8] See p. [442](#).

[9] A significant piece of evidence of the feeling of Upper Canada is to be found in an article in the *Montreal Gazette* of Sept. 25, 1838, copied in the *Guardian* of Oct. 3rd. The Grand Jury of the Bathurst District [Perth] consisting of 16 men, all but two of whom could sign the initials “J.P.”, and including the famous McNab of McNab, united in adopting an address to the Queen deprecating the endowment of the rectories and the granting of any special privileges to either the Church of England or the Church of Scotland in Upper Canada. Evidently the Grand Jury of Bathurst, with its responsibilities for law and order, felt the situation to be serious.

[10] This letter appeared in the *Guardian* of October 3rd. Richard Jones, whose father was a member of the colony of ex-service men settling at and about Perth, joined the Methodist Church at that place in 1823 under the ministry of Franklin Metcalf. He began to travel in 1825, but in view of his youth only as an exhorter. In 1827 he was admitted on trial. Ten years later he became Chairman of the Hamilton District, and now in 1838 he was Chairman of the new Ottawa District. He was twice President of Conference, in 1844 and 1865. He died in 1889. Carroll, who delineates him in his Eleventh Crayon (*Past and Present*, p. 260), is somewhat at a loss to account for the high position of a man with no pretensions to learning, or “popular” preaching, or indeed personal friendliness, being “rather stiff and sturdy”. He admits, however, that there is something about him that commands “*respect*”. And this opinion will be confirmed by reading the above letter or by noticing the firm mouth and straight eyes of his portrait in the Book of Presidents.

[11] This is a reference to the kind of thing the Rev. William Bettridge had been saying in the course of his mission in England, where he had sought to create political support for the Church of England and to raise funds by public and private subscription. He estimates that “100,000 members of the Church are totally destitute of the public ordinances of religion” (*The Church in Upper Canada*, p. 69), and observes “it were vain, it were unjust to expect that such a population should for many years to come support their own clergy”. Elsewhere (p. 74) he laments, “the Church in Upper Canada appears in a measure to be abandoned by all; there is none to plead for her”. His story of a “poor female” in the Devonshire Colony, so kind, so destitute, so deferential (p. 95) gained a subscription of £200 from a lady in Cheltenham.

[12] Compare the statement of Mrs. Amelia Harris as to religious facilities in Norfolk County in the early days of its settlement (p. 4).

- [13] *C.G.*, Dec. 5, 1838.
- [14] The *Examiner*, however, first issued in July, 1838, under the editorship of Francis Hincks, recommended the petition for general signature.
- [15] 1 See p. [66](#).
- [16] This letter is bound in the Book of Presidents.
- [17] But this was not Ryerson's creed. Any falsehood, however transparent, simply had to be exposed. And perhaps it was the safer policy, considering the people, the press and the courts. Rolph tried the other course—and has suffered from history.
- [18] Here was the rub. Ryerson and the Canadian preachers failed to see the reason why one church should be more closely related to the government than another.
- [19] Were there merely these alternatives? Head had made the issue thus simple in 1836; but could it be done again?
- [20] Evidently Ryerson's Indian ward (see p. [429](#)) was once more at work on the *Guardian* presses.

[21] Ryerson's "imprudency" in this case was to publish the following extract from a letter dated, "Cobourg, November 26, 1838", as coming from an "Irish Canadian".

"We are in trouble in these parts. We have been branded as rebels for circulating the Petitions, and one of our brethren has been threatened to be murdered; yea, it can be *proved* that the S—— of this District has ordered him to be *tarred* and *feathered*. And such an arrogant behaviour is presented by those who arrogate all loyalty to themselves, that the moderate, middle classes are becoming regardless how things go. Many think of disobeying the call of Government about turning out. They say they have no heart to fight for a Dominant Church, etc; and they have no confidence that things will ever be any better. I am sorry, for the Government's sake—I would be glad to see it beloved: and I tell our people, should their fears be well founded, their duty to support the constituted authorities is the same, and try to encourage them to hope that the approaching session of the Legislature will satisfactorily settle that long agitated question".

The S——, or Sheriff, in question was no less a person than Henry Ruttan, M.P.P.

[22] The letter was never published.

[23] Of the forty names, only two (without examination) carry any significance. The second to sign was Samuel Shaw, whose advertisement had appeared in the *Guardian* for some months, "Swords! Swords!! Swords!!!" The other is Richard Woodsworth, whose pacifist grandson, Mr. J. S. Woodsworth, M.P. now owns the sword earned by his grandfather in the Rebellion—and probably bought from Samuel Shaw.

[24] Bishop Bethune in his *Memoir of Bishop Strachan* (p. 170) gives the date of the fire as January 7th.

[25] In the engagement at Windmill Point, for example, as the *Guardian* of Dec. 19, 1838, points out, two of the three captains of militia involved were members of the Methodist Church, and the third the son of a Methodist. The lesser officers and the men in the ranks also were largely Methodists.

[26] In a pamphlet of 24 pages containing a sermon preached on December 14, 1838, a day set apart for fasting by the Lieutenant Governor, the Rev. A. N. Bethune, rector of Cobourg and editor of *The Church*, represented “itinerant disturbers” as largely responsible for the political unrest. Of Bethune’s method, Ryerson has this to say (*C.G.*, Jan. 30, 1839):

“ . . . he employs . . . a weapon less costly than argument, and more convenient than old English honesty . . . that weapon is cool polished, nameless INSINUATION—insinuation as pointed as it is cool, as deadly as it is smooth, as malignant as it is undefined.” To which, in the *Church* of February 2nd, the editor replies:

“Two-thirds at least of it [the *Guardian*] are filled each week with matter which, if it have any influence at all, cannot but awaken and keep in constant motion the worst passions of the depraved human heart.”

[27] Elsewhere Ryerson defines a Radical as one who advocates these specific changes.

[28] On September 5, 1838 the first of a series of ten letters on the Clergy Reserve Question, signed by Ryerson and addressed to the Hon. W. H. Draper, M.P.P., appeared in the *Guardian*. The last of the series appeared on March 6, 1839. These were brought together and published in a pamphlet of 156 pages. A rejoinder was issued in ten articles by an “Anglo-Canadian”, who described himself as a Methodist and the son of a Methodist minister, printed also in pamphlet form and extending to 79 pages. (See p. [511](#).)

[29] Since coming to Toronto in 1837 as pastor of the Congregational Church on George Street, the Rev. John Roaf had greatly interested himself in the Reserves question. In a letter dated December 25, 1838 he discussed with Ryerson, whom he describes as “the leader of the non-establishment parties”, a matter of law in connection with the anti-rectory proceedings. As may be seen from their evidence before the Buller Commission (p. 480), he and Ryerson saw eye to eye on the question.

[30] The letters are dated May 15, May 22, and May 29.

[31] The delay in commencing King’s College had become a matter of jesting. One of the first acts of Sydenham was to investigate its financial affairs. Then it was discovered that not only were salaries being paid out of proportion to the services required or rendered but loans were being made to members of the College Council from revenues accruing from the sale of college lands. The details of the whole business are set forth in the Appendix to the *Journal of the House of Assembly, 1839, Vol. II, Pt. L.*, pp. 415-28. As to the loans W. S. Wallace (*History of the University of Toronto*, p. 35) states that Strachan’s obligation (£5,250) was “promptly discharged on demand”, but not those of some others.

[32] They were denied the opportunity of expressing an opinion until 1841, when they spoke as Ryerson here predicts they would.

[33] To few men is it given so accurately to define their own position. If Ryerson was later called a political opportunist, could he not have replied: “Quite so, because I hold, and with the support of Aristotle, that no form of government is good except as in relation to the particular circumstance of the time and the character of those operating it”?

CHAPTER XIV

THE LAST YEAR AS EDITOR

June 1839 to June 1840

After four years the ministers once more met at Hamilton in their annual assembly. The sessions were continued, with Stinson presiding, throughout eleven days. When it was all over, the members must have felt that in miniature the whole struggle which was convulsing Upper Canada had been fought out: Colonial and Canadian ideas had met on the floor of the Conference, and the latter had prevailed. It was an earnest of what was presently to happen in the larger sphere. The cramping tegument of colonialism was to be sloughed off.

Alder was there to present the English point of view, and he brought with him Robert Lusher from Montreal, a veteran among the missionaries. But at the outset it was demonstrated that he could not dominate the Conference; Ryerson was elected Secretary by a vote of 41 to 14. The statistics were eloquent. Again the membership showed a decline, and now stood at 15,190, whereas in 1833 it had been 16,039. Thus six years of union, in spite of increase in population, had resulted in a decrease of five per cent., while the preceding four years of independence had brought an increase of sixty per cent.

On the second day of Conference the Toronto situation came up for consideration. Complaints had been lodged against William Ryerson by "several persons in the city of Toronto relative to the administration of discipline respecting several members in that circuit". The Committee appointed to consider the case reported that he had acted within the discipline, but asked the district meeting to adjust the case "in the most conciliatory manner". He was sent to a station on the Grand River to recover his health and to assist the minister at Brantford as much as he could.^[1] Matthew Richey was brought from Cobourg to Toronto in an effort to satisfy metropolitan tastes.

Several cases of discipline arose. One was that of Adam Townley, who as a champion of British loyalty had entered the lists against Egerton Ryerson over the name "An Anglo-Canadian."^[2] His character having been "arrested" by the District Meeting and brought up for consideration at

Conference, he essayed to defend himself in a style which brought upon him the lash of William Ryerson's tongue. William exclaimed against

the absurdity of such men as Wilson, who had jeopardized his life in support of British ascendancy in the Irish Rebellion of '98; and such men as Harmon and Ferguson, the first of whom had performed wonders of heroism in repelling American invasion on the Heights of Queenston, and the latter of whom had nearly poured out his heart's blood on the plains of Chippewa, together with himself and others who had exposed their lives on the battle-field, and had friends that were scarred all over in support of British institutions and authority—[being lectured on loyalty] by an upstart boy, who would be the very first to take fright and run at the very sight of a popgun in the hands of a grasshopper!

Carroll continues:

This stride from the sublime to the ridiculous produced a general burst of laughter, in which both the orator and culprit were forced to unite. It perhaps dissipated the acrimonious feeling engendered by the debate. After the threatening of severer penalties, the offending brother was let off with a not very severe admonition, and his character passed; and he was even appointed to the superintendency of the noble London Circuit, but he went not to his work. He immediately commenced a correspondence with the authorities of the Episcopalian Church in the Province, and was soon received and ordained by them. He is still living, and, as he delights to call himself, "a priest of the Anglican Catholic Church", with strongly pronounced ritualistic tendencies, going about in a gown not dissimilar to those of a mendicant friar of the Roman Catholic Church. A man of popular talents and many amiable traits of character was he; and he still smiles on a quondam colleague when he meets him.^[3]

John Flanagan also was condemned, but in his absence, for desisting "in a very abrupt and dishonourable manner". He had come in from the Ryanites and gone out to the Church of England. Another defection was to alter John Carroll's plans for the year. Owing to ill health he had been left without a station. Before the year was over he was again at Brockville, that cause having been deserted by Hannibal Mulkins who also transferred to a rectory of the Church of England. "Of that Church," Carroll remarks, "he has been a

useful minister ever since; but he has never, that I have learned, fallen into ritualistic folly. . . .”^[4]

Among other and more agreeable items considered was an affectionate letter from Franklin Metcalf surrendering his superannuation allowance. This sacrifice the Conference refused to accept, and for the year he, with the other supernumeraries, received £30.17.9 from the common purse, the widows Madden and Slater receiving half that amount. But if the Conference was generous, it was also provident. It was ordered “that as brother Youmans has lately married a comparatively young person, she be not allowed any claim upon the funds of the Conference after his decease”. Two resolutions were carried respecting prominent laymen outside the connexion. Dr. W. W. Baldwin was thanked for the gift of a plot of ground for the erection of a chapel on Phoebe Street; and the Hon. J. H. Dunn was thanked for the “important pecuniary accommodation” he had afforded the Academy; and, being a brother-in-law of Glenelg, he was requested to be bearer of the address of the Conference to Her Majesty.

But all these matters were on the fringe of the Conference proceedings. The central interest was the contest between Alder and Ryerson, between British and Canadian sentiment. The dispute occupied the attention of Conference for a full week. Alder was given parts of two sessions to present his case. It was then moved that the *Guardian* be “merged into a magazine”. After a day’s debate, the motion was lost. Ryerson was again elected editor, by a vote of 60 to 13. The discussion now was directed to the Clergy Reserves, and a representative committee was appointed to report. After a long debate a verbose resolution was passed, disclaiming intention to interfere with secular party politics, and proclaiming a resolve to greater diligence in spiritual education, and reiterating the purposes of the *Guardian*. The Reserves question was then referred to the Book Committee, to act as to them seemed best, with permission to send Ryerson to England if necessary.

Green has this to say of Alder’s mission: “If the Doctor had not been ploughing with another man’s heifer, he would not have asked us to retire from the field of battle when some of our opposers were ready to join our ranks and the victory was all but gained.”^[5] And this suspicion of Green was confirmed by Alder’s attitude after Conference. He “remained for some time in Canada, fraternizing with the Anglican opponents of Methodism in a way which revived the misgivings of his brethren”.^[6]

The year 1839-40 was to prove the last of Ryerson's editorship of the *Guardian*. He was finding the restraint imposed upon him increasingly irksome. However, his editorial duties were interrupted by two considerable periods of absence from Toronto. The Methodist people were celebrating the hundredth anniversary of the founding of the first society, and the Conference had decided to hold centenary meetings throughout the Province. For two months in the autumn John and Egerton together visited the circuits east of Toronto. The following May they were delegates to the General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church meeting at Baltimore, and at this time Egerton was absent from Toronto more than a month. Further his duties as General Secretary of the Missionary Society took him out of the city occasionally.^[7] The *Guardian*, while still vigorous, showed the effect of his absence, and also of a desire to avoid mere politics. Indeed he managed to keep political discussion pretty well out of the paper during the year, more so than out of his thoughts, as a solitary letter from Joseph Howe and certain conversations with the new Governor General indicate. Shortly after Conference two letters reached him from Montreal which show how difficult it would have been to satisfy the opposing demands of his constituency in this respect.

June 8, 1839, WILLIAM GREIG, *Montreal*, to REV. E. RYERSON, *Editor of the C. Guardian, Toronto, U.C.*

(favd. by MR. CHRISTIE, with 16/6)

DR SIR

As an ardent friend to Civil & Religious Liberty & an admirer of the course pursued by yourself as Editor of the *Christian Guardian*, and Mr. Conder, as Editor of the London *Patriot*, both which papers I have read from some time past, I take the liberty of expressing my regret to see you assailed on all sides & especially by those for whose good you have been exerting yourself. I observed in the *Montreal Herald* of this morning an article containing much personal abuse towards you, as also lies & exaggerations almost without number, but nothing really patriotic, noble or generous could be looked for or expected from such a foul source. As a native of Britain I am fondly attached to her civil institutions and will yeild in loyalty to no one, but I cannot shut my eyes to the fact that there is much need for reform in many departments of her government both at Home & in the Colonies. And as an out and out Dissenter (Baptist) I cannot but approve of

any lawful & fair measures which will tend to bring down Church Establishment to a level with other denominations & that level ought to be every one to provide for itself. I therefore say go on in your present course, keep up the fire brisk & hot on the enemy till they are routed & give up the day to right & might. As I see several are withdrawing their subscriptions to the *Guardian*, the friends of Civil & Religious Liberty of whatever denomination ought to come in [to] take their places & although not a Methodist please to put me down as a subscriber & forward the *Guardian* from the present time. Enclosed is 16/6 which I believe is the correct amount for one year.

I remain

Yours respectfully,

WILLIAM GREIG

Address to me

Bookseller

Montreal

Don't mention my name in your paper

July 1, 1839, M. RICHEY, Montreal, to THE REVEREND EGERTON RYERSON, Guardian Office, Toronto, U.C.

REV. AND DEAR BROTHER

I arrived here after a most pleasant journey on Friday afternoon. Our mutual friend Mr. Alder anxious to reach Halifax at as early a day as possible crossed in the *Hamilton* to Rochester. I entertain some expectation however of overtaking him at Boston, as I think he would be prevailed upon to spend the Sabbath in N. York.

Sir John Colborne on whom I waited on Saturday and by whom I was most graciously received is delighted with the continuance of the Union. So are all our Montreal friends after my explanations. They will immediately order the *Guardian*, and be among the best supporters of the magazine. Sir John paid a handsome tribute to your talents, as who with whom I conversed did not? however they might happen to view your course. They all say you *commenced* admirably, that the moment the paper passed into your hands it manifestly improved, and they all approve of your course for the last six months just about as well as you know I do.

Adhere most religiously, my dear Bro. to the *spirit* and *letter* of the regulations by which the Conference has expressed its will you should be guided. Your friend Howe^[8] begins I perceive to mingle with *Tories* as they are invidiously or *discriminatingly* designated. I don't wish you to be a Tory and I would insult you by expressing a desire that you were a high *conservative*, but—but—but—my dear Sir——.^[9]

I do not flatter you in saying that on no man in U. C. does the peace of our Church and of the Province so much depend as on yourself. May all your powers be employed for good. Guard against the fascination of political fame. It will do no more for you on a dying bed than it did for Cardinal Wolsey. Oh, that your fine mind were fully concentrated upon the *πολιτενρα* of Heaven!

Your promise that you would do any thing in your power to promote immediate pacification in the Society at Toronto has greatly relieved my anxiety.^[10] Our excellent friend Stinson does not take things as coolly as is desirable. My anticipations of comfort and usefulness in my own sphere are intirely connected with my confidence that you will hertily cooperate with me in my good work. I shall not fail according to my humble abilities to reciprocate the favor. I am grateful for the extremely favorable terms in which my humble name is introduced in all your public official documents. This evinces a generosity of disposition not to be soured by a little honest opposition. May we all do our duty faithfully and may the continuing year of Methodism be one of unexampled prosperity.

I think I shall be back in time to spend a few days at the Academy at the commencement of the next session, for the purpose of seeing the classes arranged and putting matters in a proper trim. Let me request you to write Mr. Jesse Hurlburt^[11] and say that I should be glad for him to pay as much attention to Hebrew during the vacation as possible. I should like that study to be sustained, and he has received instructions in it I am informed, and will I trust be able to form a class.

Respectfully & affectionately,
M. RICHEY

P.S. Please forward the *Guardian* to me at Windsor, N.S. I shall be anxious to receive all the news & though not so deeply

interested^[12] in the country as my Canadian brethren, put my name down for a Centenary subscription of £25. If I *can* do more, I will.

During the same month a news item reveals another interest of Ryerson. The *Guardian* reports in connection with a public meeting of the Tee-total Temperance Society in Toronto that the name of its editor was one of a considerable number to be added to the membership. After ten years of mere temperance Upper Canada was now turning to total abstinence. Temperance societies, however, still had the two classes of members. The very next issue of the *Guardian* contains an article signed “Tee-Totaller”, headed “Total Abstinence from Strong Drink is Highly Advantageous to Health”, and concluding on this note:

From all this the Tee-totaller is free; he keeps his health, and he keeps his cash, and bids defiance to all Distillers, Brewers, Grocers and Tavern-keepers. He dare not be so bold to the Doctors, lest he should want their services some time or other; but, with a polite bow, he says, “Gentlemen, I have great respect for you, but really am not in want, at present, of your assistance. My stomach is now and then somewhat out of order, but I have in my ground a capital tonic, which always restores me, and charges me nothing. I mean an excellent spring of water, the beverage given by my kind Creator!”

The Centenary meetings gave a great impetus to Methodism in Upper Canada. They aimed at giving new confidence and zeal to the ministers and members, and at securing funds for worn out preachers and the widows of men who had fallen in the work. Their success far exceeded expectations. Indeed the collections were so generous that only half was required for the superannuation fund, and the balance was used for the Book Concern, Missions, and a fund for furnishing parsonages.^[13] During the two months of their absence John and Egerton travelled over one thousand miles by land, preached twenty-six times between them, and addressed more than sixty meetings. The journey was accomplished “without injury, accident or insult of any kind, and without missing or neglecting one appointment”. Egerton’s observations, rich in detailed information as to people and incidents, are preserved in the *Guardian* in letters dated from September 2nd to October 24th. Excerpts from these letters are here presented.

My brother, the Rev. John Ryerson, and myself left Toronto on Friday the 23rd ult. My brother proceeded to Port Hope on

Saturday, and I stopped in Darlington, and preached two sermons at the opening of a New Chapel in Bowmanville. The chapel is very commodious and neatly pewed; and the congregations were large and attentive. . . . On *Wednesday Evening* we held a meeting in a small Chapel in Monaghan, where a Yorkshire farmer, (who commenced life at his marriage, as he himself informed us, with 3s. 6d., and who is now in middling circumstances,) with his family, subscribed *twenty-five pounds*. He was awakened and made a partaker of pardoning grace in this neighbourhood a few years ago. Other subscriptions were given; but I have forgotten the amount. On *Thursday Evening* we had a noble meeting at Peterborough. The Trustees of the Scotch Presbyterian Church very kindly offered us the use of their large and commodious church on the occasion. The place was crowded with a most respectable and intelligent assemblage, who seemed to take a lively interest in the statements and addresses delivered. The Rev. Mr. Gilmore, a Baptist Minister, (who has temporary charge of the congregation, in the absence in Scotland of the esteemed and excellent Pastor, the Rev. Mr. Rogers) made some interesting remarks on the occasion, and desired to have his name enrolled on the Centenary Book as a subscriber of £2 10s. Several members both of the Presbyterian and Episcopal Churches, have, in Peterborough and other places, given liberal subscriptions. . . .

On *Friday*, at 2 o'clock, P.M., we attended a meeting in Cavan. The Episcopal Clergyman in this township is a violent partizan; he has frequently assailed the *Guardian*, and the Editor of the *Guardian*, and the Methodists at large, from the pulpit; and is accustomed to designate the subscribers to the *Guardian* in that neighbourhood by odious names. A report had been widely spread that if I came to Cavan, I would not leave as I came; and several of our friends felt much anxiety on the subject.^[14] But all feelings and purposes of that kind, had they existed ever so widely, were extinguished in the hallowed atmosphere of our glorious meeting in that place, in the course of which many grateful tears were shed, and many heart-felt thanks were offered up to the God of Wesley for the benefits of Wesleyan Methodism to the world. . . .

Monday Evening, Cobourg, *Sept. 2*—The Centenary Meeting for this place was held this evening; and the thrilling interest of it was kept up without abatement upwards of four hours. Among the addresses delivered, was a short one by Mr. J. Hurlburt, A.B., the

Classical Teacher in the Upper Canada Academy. His remarks were brief, eloquent, and impressive, and concluded by a subscription of *Twenty five Pounds* to the Centenary Fund. It appeared from Mr. Hurlburt's remarks, that he has nine brothers and three sisters, all of whom, except the youngest, with their parents, have been partakers of the renewing grace of God under the Methodist Ministry, and are members of the Wesleyan Methodist Church; and three of the brothers are itinerant Wesleyan Ministers in this province. Blessed family! and thrice blessed parents! . . .

The school-house [in Haldimand township] was tastefully decorated with green boughs—emblems of the peace and love which reigned in the bosoms of many present, and with which it is the great object of Methodism to fill the world. We did not expect much in a pecuniary way in this place, as there are only nineteen or twenty actual members of our church residing in the neighbourhood; but in our thoughts we unadvisedly limited the Holy One of Israel. When the pecuniary part of the exercises commenced, one brother arose (a mechanic, a son of one of our old itinerant ministers) and said he owed his all, under God, to Methodism; he was able to make but a small return in comparison to what he felt himself indebted; but he would do what he could: he would be one of four to raise fifty pounds. Another brother, from the gallery behind the platform, promptly responded that he would *second* it; another rejoined from another part, that he would *third* it; and presently an old lady came forward, and whispered that she would be the fourth. But I believe the largest subscription in this neighbourhood was paid by a poor widow, a member of the Baptist Church, who supports herself and two children by her daily labour. She gave 1s. 3d. The subscriptions at this meeting, including what was handed to us next day, amounted to £105 or \$420. . . .

From what we had heard we feared that Sidney would prove a "hard case"; but, whether hard or soft, it turned out a *good* case; . . . The amount subscribed at this meeting, including the subscription of the preachers, was £90 or \$360. This is in a neighbourhood where the fidelity of our friends to Methodism has been severely tested, and their numbers considerably reduced, by secessions during the last three or four years. . . .

Sidney is thus doing nobly, though Methodism is opposed both by tory and radical rebels—for there are, I am told, in reality such characters in Sidney; by not one of whom, however, has a sixpence been subscribed to the centenary fund. The Rev. S. Warner, the active Superintendent of this circuit, is laboring most diligently and acceptably, preaching frequently *four* times, and travelling from ten to twenty miles, on Sabbath.

On *Sabbath*, the 8th instant, my brother John drove to Belleville and preached in the morning, and the Rev. Mr. Green and myself preached, the one after the other, to a large assemblage of people in the grove, where the centenary meeting had been held the day before. I should judge there were more than *fifty carriages* of people, besides numbers of persons on *horseback*—a larger number of horses, and of fine horses, than I ever witnessed before in proportion to the number of people. Indeed Sidney is one of the finest agricultural townships in Upper Canada; and the winter wheat has suffered comparatively little from rust. During the service, many hearts rejoiced while brother Green was explaining and enforcing the primitive Methodist scriptural doctrine of salvation by faith. In the afternoon we came nine miles through the rain to Belleville, where, without having time either to take refreshment or change my clothes, I tried to preach to a waiting and attentive congregation; after which I inwardly said with Whitefield, “Lord thou knowest I am not tired of thy work, but I am tired *in it*.” . . .

Seventh Town, P.E. District, Sept. 10.—This meeting was held in the neighbourhood of J.P. Roblin, *Esq.*, late representative for this district. We had to cross the Bay of Quinte to get here from Belleville. The wind blew almost a gale; so that no boat could cross until late in the afternoon; and then we could not convey our horses, etc. My brother remained in Belleville to see the carriages brought on next day to the Carrying Place; and brother Green and myself ventured across the Bay. We got well drenched by the waves, which every now and then came over the boat. Not being able to procure a conveyance, we made our way to the meeting *on foot*—a distance of *seven* miles—which we accomplished in an hour and a half. On commencing our pedestrian excursion, we congratulated ourselves, that as we were going back to first principles in our meetings, so we were now going back to the primitive times of Christianity and of Methodism in our mode of

travelling. However, before we had proceeded four miles, our congratulations began to be succeeded by limpings and weariness. Unfortunately for my brother Green, no sooner had he commenced this primitive mode of journeying, than a severe contest ensued between his great toe and a peg in the bottom of one of his new boots; and though he was ready to face any enemy of our Methodistic principles and progress of any human shape, yet he found himself rather unequal to this protracted contest with a shoe-peg, and repeatedly sought a cessation of hostilities by unsuccessful attempts to hire a horse or conveyance; whilst I, fearing my brother Green might be delayed or not be able to pursue his way on foot, and that our centenary friends might be disappointed, called to my assistance a third leg in the shape of a large stick that I picked up beside the road, and throwing my satchel of books on my back, and taking my top coat on my arm, plied myself with redoubled vigour, and reached the meeting, fatigued, hungry and thirsty, just as the chairman was opening the proceedings. My brother Green was also compelled to pursue his journey on foot, and arrived shortly after me, in great pain, and, as he informed the people, lame in both his feet.^[15] The house was literally crammed with persons, as was the passage and the place about the door, and we soon forgot our fatigue in the hallowed and joyous feeling that circulated throughout the assembly. All seemed to be affected and delighted with the proceedings, which were not concluded until nearly eleven o'clock. The thank-offerings of this meeting amounted to £86 10s. or \$346. Our excellent friend^[16] Mr. J. P. Roblin subscribed £15 for himself and family; and some others ten pounds each. An old magistrate—who has always been considered a rigid tory—rose near the close of the meeting, and said that he was not a Methodist, but he really wished he was a good one; he wished success to the cause, and would be glad to contribute did the present pressure of his circumstances permit; however, he would be glad to have his name put down for *two pounds*.

A fortnight before his return from the Centenary tour Ryerson received an important letter from Joseph Howe. That there had been previous communication between them may perhaps be inferred from the reference noted in Richey's letter of July 1st. That Ryerson answered this letter we

know; the words: "This I did in due time", are written in pencil opposite Howe's request for "a line" in reply.

October 8, 1839, JOSEPH HOWE, Halifax, Nova Scotia, to THE REVEREND EGERTON RYERSON, Toronto, Upper Canada.

MY DEAR SIR

May I beg your acceptance of a little work the object of which is to advance the good cause in which you have so heartily and with so much ability embarked. It is a great satisfaction to the friends of Responsible Government here, that the cause has been taken up in Canada by men about whose intentions and loyalty there can be no mistake. So long as we deprive the Compacts of their only ground of self defence which the folly of Rebels and Sympathizers raised for them, and act together without just cause for suspicion that we mean anything but what we say, there can be little doubt of ultimate success. Should your Elections return a majority favorable to Responsibility at the next Election, and all the Colonies unite in one demand, it will be yielded. Our Legislature, and any that can be chosen here, will uphold the principle—so will the majorities in Newfoundland and Prince Edward Island. Of New Brunswick I cannot speak with certainty yet, but hope they will soon understand the question thoroughly in that Province. It may be necessary for all the Provinces to send delegates at the same time to England to claim to be heard on the subject at the Bar of the Commons and Lords, and to diffuse through every fair channel correct views of the question. Think of this, and drop me a line at your leisure. Meanwhile I remain, with the highest respect,

Yours truly

JOSEPH HOWE

The *Guardian* of the 29th continues the narrative:

. . . Perth is a respectable, genteel-looking place, if I may thus express myself; built on the sides of the river Tay, on level ground, and in the midst of a prosperous district of country. The Bathurst District annual Fair was held on Tuesday the 1st instant, when there was a large and excellent collection of horned cattle, and some fine horses. This is the only annual fair in Upper Canada; it has been held annually for a number of years in the Bathurst

District, after the custom of the old country. Many oxen are purchased at this Fair by lumber merchants;^[17] and persons attend from sixty miles distance. The farmers appeared comfortable, sober, and well-behaved. The efforts of the Rev. T. C. Wilson and the Methodist Ministers, in the cause of Temperance, aided by some influential private individuals, have done much to promote sobriety and morality amongst the population of Perth and the surrounding townships. Presbyterian and Methodist interest prevail; the people are therefore distinguished for peace and good order. . . .

On *Tuesday* evening, the 1st instant, brothers Wilkinson, Jones, and myself, in connection with the Preachers on the Perth and Mississippi Circuits, held a meeting in what is called “Boyd’s Meeting House”, in the township of Lanark, about fourteen miles from Perth. The roads were bad enough and rough; but the people were highly intelligent and liberal. Few of our meetings have been more interesting. The settlement is comparatively new; the Chapel was built of hewed logs; the congregational singing was excellent; and the subscription amounted to \$288.^[18]

On *Wednesday* morning, the 3rd instant, we held a Centenary Meeting in Ramsay, at what is called “Mansel’s Meeting House”, about ten or twelve miles distant from the previous evening’s meeting. The soil is good; but the roads were bad. The Centenary subscription was \$272. Here we met with our excellent friend, the Rev. T. C. Wilson, Scotch Presbyterian Minister of Perth, who had so kindly offered his Church to hold the Centenary meeting in, and who had also subscribed \$10 to the Centenary Fund. At this meeting the Rev. Mr. Fairbairn, Scotch Presbyterian Minister of Ramsay, who has a commodious Church and a large congregation in this neighbourhood, also subscribed \$14 for himself and wife to the Centenary Fund. These two excellent Ministers are evangelical in their theological views, catholic in their spirit, abundant in their labours, and active promoters of the cause of Temperance—thereby presenting a gratifying contrast to the tipling advocacy of the Rev. Mr. Murray, of Oakville.^[19] . . .

Many members of the congregation in Bytown desiring a more social acquaintance with the members of the Deputation than could be obtained at a public meeting, a Tea-meeting was agreed

upon for that purpose, and tickets were prepared and sold; the proceeds of which were to be appropriated to the relief of the poor. On Saturday evening about 150 or 200 persons sat down to tea together, after which there were singing and prayer, and several colloquial addresses. The meeting was concluded at ten o'clock. I think I never witnessed in any meeting of the kind a higher degree of religious and social enjoyment. Every countenance seemed to beam with affection and delight. . . .

On *Tuesday* evening the Centenary Meeting was held in Bytown. The Chapel was crowded to excess; and the meeting was addressed by the Revs. R. Jones, H. Wilkinson, A. Hurlburt, G. F. Playter, John McIntyre, and myself; after which subscriptions to the Centenary Fund were handed up to the platform—slips of papers having been furnished to the occupants of the several pews for that purpose. Not a word was said to urge persons to subscribe after the speeches had been concluded. The first subscription announced was that of Mr. Burrows—\$200; the second Mr. Playter's, \$100. The slips of paper and names were handed up, until, at the conclusion, it was found that the noble sum of \$1088 had been subscribed; to which I understand additions have since been made. This will average about \$10 for each communicant. Thus does Bytown—a town only about a dozen years old—stand as the Methodist metropolis of Upper Canada in the most glorious work of the Centenary Thank-offering. . . .

The scenery in the vicinity of Bytown for miles around is varied and beautiful; its natural situation is such, that as a military post, it may be made nearly, if not quite as impregnable as Quebec; building materials, both of stone and wood, are inexhaustible, as are the hydraulic privileges for machinery of every description. In all the surrounding country, where the roads are bad, there is an abundance of stone; so that they can be macadamized at less expense than the roads in the neighbourhood of Toronto. In case of a Union of the Provinces, Bytown, it appears to me, can scarcely fail of being the seat of government. A few miles' canal connects it with the ocean; and it is more abundantly endowed with the natural elements of greatness than any other town that I know of in the Canadas.

About an hour after the close of the Centenary Meeting in Bytown, the steamboat from L'Orignal appeared in sight, with

seventeen barges in tow, and bringing brother Green and my brother John from their tour to the “far east”. After having mutually reported progress, and taken some supper at the house of our common friend, the Rev. Richard Jones, we found it to be nearly three o’clock in the morning, and time to be making preparations for moving again. Mr. Wilkinson’s horse having got injured so as to be unable to travel, it was agreed that he and my brother John should take the steamboat on the Rideau Canal,^[20] and brother Green and I should take passage in a birch canoe to Kemptville—a distance of forty-one miles; to which we hired a man to convey us by half-past six in the evening. By day-light we started in a birch vessel about fifteen feet in length, paddled by three men, two of whom were Frenchmen. At midship Brother Green and I were wedged together, side by side, like a pair of Siamese twins, only I had the misfortune of being the smaller of the two, and had therefore to submit quietly to such squeezing as his broad spread chose to inflict; and especially as a birch-canoe is not the most desirable arena for the settlement of either boundary questions or matters of personal and inalienable right. We carried our vessel around the locks, and therefore did not trouble the lock-masters to open the gates on our account. We breakfasted on the “Hogs-back” about ten miles from Bytown—having bought a quart of milk, and having some beef sandwiches with which Mrs. Jones had kindly furnished us at the commencement of our voyage. I don’t think it is common in any country to see even Methodist preachers breakfasting in such a place and after such a mode. A little before noon we passed the last lock at Long Island, where the men stopt a little to rest. . . .

As in Perth and Bytown, so in Prescott, the stationed Preacher, by his piety, unwearied labours and cordial union with the Conference, had fully prepared the way for a glorious meeting, which resulted in a thank-offering of \$892, although there are not fifty persons in class in that town. Mr. T. Fraser, (brother to the Fraser who was wounded at the Windmill battle with the brigands, and who laid three days in his blood on the battle field, and whose recovery is still doubtful,) subscribed \$120. . . .

This meeting [at Matilda] was presided over by the Rev. Joseph Sawyer, one of the first Methodist Preachers in Canada; who, in the incipient movements of High-Churchism in this province, was sentenced to banishment; but his treatment, and that

of others, first roused the public mind in Upper Canada in favour of civil and religious liberty.^[21] By christian, constitutional and persevering discussions and kindred efforts, the power to proscribe and banish Methodist preachers had been wrested from the hands of high churchmen, and by similar persevering exertions on the part of all friends of religion, of good government and of mankind, equal rights and advantages will, at no distant day, be obtained for all classes of the population. The inhabitants of Matilda were among the first to repel the Brigands at Prescott.

On our return next day (Wednesday) to Brockville, we stopped at a graveyard, a few miles this side of Prescott, to survey the graves of some of the honourable dead. The remains of Mrs. Hick,^[22] the devoted matron who urged Philip Embury (the first Methodist Preacher in America) to lift up his voice in the City of New York in 1766, are deposited in this place. . . .

This afternoon we dined with the only surviving children of the late memorable Mrs. Hick, above alluded to. The one of them is 68, and the other 70 years of age. They are venerable men for acuteness of intellect, for intelligence, for piety, as well as for age. O, my heart burned within me when I heard them converse about their sainted mother, and early Methodism in Canada; I could have sat for days as a child at their feet; I almost envied them the privilege of being thus related to the Founder of American Methodism. Their father was a pious man;—he was a devoted loyalist—fled to Canada on the breaking-out of the American Revolution—afterwards sent for his family. They are comfortable farmers, and presented a thank-offering of *fifty dollars* each to the Centenary Fund.

Apparently in the absence of John and Egerton Ryerson on their Centenary mission, the remaining members of the Book Committee had passed certain resolutions embarrassing to Ryerson. The nature of these resolutions we cannot say. They were not kept quite secret, however, and the *Guardian* in the issue of September 25th had a satirical editorial note on the interest which a good many people were displaying in the prospect of the *Guardian* office being closed. Ryerson resigned, refusing to be placed in an impossible position. This letter from Case follows.

October 31, 1839, W. CASE, Committee Room, to REVD. EGERTON RYERSON, Editor of the Guardian.

REVD & DEAR BROTHER

By request of the Book Committee, I beg leave to communicate the result of their deliberations on the subject of your profered resignation of the Editorship of the *Guardian*.

“Resolved That the Committee do not feel themselves at liberty to accept of the resignation of the Editor of the *Guardian*, and that he be affectionately requested to withdraw it, and to continue his services in accordance with the deliberately formed regulations of the Committee untill the ensuing Conference, the regulations to which he objects having been adopted not for the purpose of reflecting in any way upon the Editor, and that we assure him that we have the utmost confidence in his ability, his integrity and his anxious desire to promote the best interests of the Connexion”.

With feelings of respect and affection

I remain

dear Brother

Yours sincerely,

W. CASE

In the realm of politics, as well as in the troubled affairs of the Conference, events were moving towards a form of government which would more adequately express the views of the Canadian people. Arthur was finding it increasingly difficult to keep in hand even the party to which he had more or less attached himself. Robinson and Strachan were in England, and direction was wanting to Conservative policies. Then the more popular element of the party could not be kept in hand. On June 24th Arthur had issued a circular letter to Magistrates expressing his earnest wish, with a view to public tranquillity, that Orange processions should be discontinued. The result was a larger procession than ever in Toronto, and the resignation on July 11th of T. H. Phillips from his offices as Justice of the Peace and Captain of the 7th Company of the West York Militia.

Nor were the Reformers inactive. On July 27th a great Durham meeting was held at Hamilton. The Durham supporters of the Gore District had prepared and published a series of resolutions preparatory to the meeting. Sir Allan McNab on his part was ready with a sheaf of counter-resolutions and had summoned his cohorts to back them. The meeting was large, representative, and orderly, under the chairmanship of the Sheriff. We have two accounts of the proceedings in the *Guardian*, one “contributed” for the

issue of July 31st, and a second in the issue of August 21st written by Ryerson who had spent the day in Hamilton on his way with his family to visit his parents. One by one the resolutions of the Durham supporters were presented, discussed and adopted; and one by one the counter proposals of Sir Allan were presented and defeated, and by overwhelming majorities.

Other Durham meetings were projected. In view of the failure of Sir Allan at Hamilton, efforts were made by the Tory press to check the movement. Taking as their text the descent of certain American gangsters, then known as “pirates”, on the vicinity of Cobourg, the *Star* and the *Church*, both published at that place, sought to connect the “pirates” and the Durham meetings. The *Church* exclaimed,

Is it therefore too late to call upon our loyal fellow-countrymen to pause and meditate before they give further support to this new doctrine of Responsibility,—this Trojan horse, pregnant with the ruin of monarchical institutions, and destructive of our existence as a British Colony? *Is it too late to call upon the Durham Press to abstain*, for a season, from holding up to contempt and abhorrence those with whom they may differ on this vital question?

To which Ryerson replied in the *Guardian*:

We know nothing, and shall know nothing by experience, of the “Trojan horse” the Editor refers to; but the inhabitants of this Province have for some time now known, by far too much, of another animal called Bucephalus, on which, like a second furious Alexander, the Editor has been for riding rough shod, and rampantly through the Province. We would advise him to dismount and call his groom; for the Sons of Britain in our land *will not* be trampled into subjection.^[23]

Now it was desired to hold a Durham meeting in Toronto. Sheriff Jarvis was addressed by Dr. Baldwin in the matter. The Mayor and members of the Corporation were opposed; they feared, as they stated, a disturbance of the peace. The Sheriff refused the request of Dr. Baldwin and his friends. But the sturdy citizens of York county were not to be denied. A meeting was held at Davis’ Tavern on Yonge Street on October 15th. An account of the proceedings appear in the *Examiner* of the 16th. The Sheriff was on hand betimes with a large body of men all distinguished by blue badges, and

armed, according to the *Examiner*, with bludgeons, daggers and pistols. Dr. Baldwin was forcibly restrained by the Sheriff from mounting the platform to nominate a chairman; and, when the Durhamites withdrew to a wagon, an attack led by the Sheriff himself was made upon this rostrum. A good many heads were broken. That the *Examiner's* account is substantially accurate is attested by a letter signed by Elmer Steele, J.P., Capt., R.N., and William Gordon Gunn, M.D. They venture to protest, over their own names,

against the unconstitutional, oppressive, and tyrannical conduct of the Sheriff of the Home District, at the head of an organized factious band of men from the city, predetermined to put down the peaceable and orderly rural population of that District, (assembled to discuss calmly questions of vast importance to the welfare of this Colony,) and stifle the expression of public opinion, by a tumultuous and violent assault upon the persons of Her Majesty's liege subjects.^[24]

Dr. Baldwin and others formally laid the matter before Sir George in a memorial dated October 18th. Before replying Sir George interviewed Captain Steele and other gentlemen from Simcoe, and also read the evidence given at the coroner's inquest over the one victim whose injuries proved fatal. With the facts before him, Sir George merely stated that he deplored the whole incident, and he advised Dr. Baldwin to have recourse to the courts before seeking redress from the Government. Sheriff Jarvis pleaded, in extenuation, that he was acting as a private citizen. Presumably the sheriff thought all advocates of responsible government to be disturbers of a peace which it was his duty as a private citizen to maintain by bludgeons. Nothing further was done in the matter. And the gentle muse of history has remembered the Gore Durham meeting and cast a mantle of silence over the events on Yonge Street.

But Sir George Arthur and Sheriff Jarvis were soon to play a much less important part in the life of Upper Canada. The Canadas were about to know as governor a man who was in fact "a Tried Reformer", and a manager of men as well. The Upper Canada papers which announced the breaking of heads on Yonge Street also told of the arrival at Quebec of the Right Honourable Charles Poulett Thomson.^[25]

When he reached Toronto he showed clearly that, if a liberal, he was also a realist in politics. He announced through a Despatch from Lord John Russell, published in the *Canada Gazette* of December 5th that, apart from the bench, all offices in Upper Canada were to be considered as held at the

pleasure of the Governor. No placeman was now secure in his position. It was to chastened members—and particularly members of the Council—that Thomson appealed for the support of his measures. He decided to defer the elections; Sir George had given him an alarming view of the political tension in the province, and with a humbled bureaucracy Thomson felt some confidence that he could manage things with the old Houses. For the present, he opined, it was a benevolent despotism rather than a representative legislature and a responsible government that was needed in Upper Canada.

In Parliament no time was wasted. The two great measures on Union and the Clergy Reserves were drafted in Government House. Within a week, both the Assembly and the Council had agreed to Union, the former by a majority of 29-21, and the latter by a majority of 13-6. By January 20th the Clergy Reserve Bill, elaborately drafted in strict legal form, had passed both Houses. Solicitor General Draper piloted it through the Assembly by a majority of 28-20, and Robert Baldwin Sullivan through the Council by a majority of 13-5. This latter measure met with considerable opposition both from the Reformers and from the High Church party. In the Assembly, Merritt and Parke found themselves voting with Boulton and Gowan in opposition to it; Strachan and Elmsley (the only Catholic member present) voted against it in the Council. The *Church* and the *Cobourg Star* both described it as an “Act of Spoliation”, while some Reformers opposed it because it accepted the principle of state support for religion. It recognized as valid the obligations already assumed by the state to the Churches of England and Scotland, and to the latter attached the United Synod. For the future the funds accruing from the sale of the lands were to be distributed amongst these two bodies and such other religious societies, including the Catholics, as were recognized by law, for the support of religious instruction within the province. Those bodies who wished might apply the proceeds to the salaries of the clergy; others, like the Methodists, might apply their share to other purposes. But one other thing it accomplished, and accomplished finally; the Church of England could no longer claim superiority over the Presbyterians in the province. It was a clever act, too clever indeed to be final; but at the time it appeared that the astuteness of the Governor General had effected a permanent solution.

Ryerson accepted the compromise. The humbling of the so-called Established Church, the great needs of the Academy, and the fact that the Methodists would in any case devote their share to education, added to the weary desire for a settlement, probably accounts for his attitude. His carefully reasoned editorial in support of the measure in the *Guardian* of

January 15th has in the concluding sentence an unmistakable note of resignation:

It has been said that the Editor of the *Guardian* and his friends desired to keep the question open for agitation to promote sinister objects: our present endeavours furnish the appropriate reply.

His support, however, cost him once more the displeasure of “Radicals” in the Conference who were committed to a policy of using the Reserves for common schools and of certain Reform papers, and especially that of Hincks in the *Examiner*. However, before the session ended, Thomson was able to announce that Robert Baldwin had accepted the office of Solicitor General, thus placing the seal of that Reformer’s approval on his acts. Draper was moved up to the position of Attorney General, and Hagerman found a haven on the Bench. Ryerson welcomed the appointment of Baldwin in these words:

Mr. Baldwin is the first expounder^[26] and advocate of Canadian “responsible government” as it has been understood and advocated during the last three years; a man of unblemished character, upright principles, sound talents, and well-read in law.

[27]

We are not made aware as to whether either Ryerson or Baldwin realized that there was more than a touch of irony in the apostle of responsible government associating himself with a managing Governor and a moribund parliament. At all events, Baldwin could state in his appeal to the “Free and Independent Electors of the City of Toronto”, dated February 25, 1840, “In accepting office I have made no sacrifice of principle, and I shall continue to retain it only when I can do so consistently with the principles which I have ever held.”^[28]

One effect of the passage of the Reserves bill—and this Ryerson does not appear to have anticipated—was that it unleashed the hounds of cupidity within the Methodist body. The message of the Governor on the Reserves bill was sent down to the House of Assembly on Monday, January 6th. During the previous week Thomson had held separate interviews with Stinson and Richey, and with Ryerson. Here was a ridiculous situation. All three were members of the Book Committee which had been entrusted with the conduct of Reserves negotiations by the Conference of 1839. Indeed the Conference had taken great care in this particular matter. It had provided that

five should constitute a quorum of the committee, and that due notice of all meetings should be given; and it had further provided that “the Reverend Egerton Ryerson be appointed as the Representative of this connexion to proceed to England, should the Book Committee deem it expedient, to advocate and maintain the interests of this connexion before Her Majesty’s Government and the Imperial Parliament in respect to the Clergy Reserves”. It was probably intended that Ryerson should act for the Conference in the matter of Reserves. But Stinson, as President of the Conference, acting under instructions from Alder and his associates, had been dealing all fall with Arthur. When Thomson arrived, Stinson, along with Richey, continued negotiations on behalf of the Wesleyans. How far they represented the views of their Canadian brethren is revealed in certain sentences in their letter to the Governor dated January 3, 1840:

The Church of England being in our estimation, *the Established Church* of all the British colonies, we entertain no objection to the distinct recognition of her as such. . . .

In any settlement of this important question that may be made, we regard it of vital importance to the permanent peace and prosperity of the Province, as a British colony, that the sum to be appropriated to us be given to the Wesleyan Methodists who are now, and who may be hereafter connected with the British Wesleyan Conference.^[29]

This letter they signed as President of Conference and Superintendent of Toronto District. The previous day Ryerson also had written a letter to the Governor. It is a letter of one business man who knows the facts to another business man who wishes to learn the facts. It is entirely free from any expression of opinion, and is signed “Egerton Ryerson”, with no reference to his official connection. It begins,

In accordance with your Excellency’s request, I recapitulate in writing the leading facts relative to the Government grant to the British Conference. I know not that I can do it more satisfactorily than by making the following references. . . .

The references include official correspondence of the Colonial Office, the Governor, and the Conference, also quotations from the Seventh Report of the Committee on Grievances, minutes of Conference, and the Discipline of the Wesleyan Methodist Church in Canada.

With these diverse communications before him, Thomson got to work. What further communication he had with Stinson does not appear. From Ryerson, however, he asked for a statement on the financial relations between the British and Canadian bodies. This was furnished in a letter dated January 17th, in part as follows:

Down to 1833, the Methodist Church in this Province had no more ecclesiastical connexion with the Wesleyan Conference in England, than exists between the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States and the Established Church of England. In 1833, an arrangement was agreed upon by the Wesleyan Conference in this Province and that in England, by which a co-operation was to take place in the labors of the two bodies in Upper Canada. . . . It will therefore be observed, that there are two departments of the work, in connexion with the Wesleyan cause in this Province; namely—what we call, the *regular* or *circuit* work, and the *mission* work. In carrying on the former, no claim can be made upon the funds of the British Conference; in carrying on the latter, the British Conference has agreed to assume the pecuniary responsibility, and is the sole judge of the extent of it and the amount of expenditure.

The former embraces 47 circuits, and the latter embraces 14 circuits—*five* among the New Settlements, and *nine* amongst the Aboriginal Indian Tribes. . . .

The annual appropriations for the Canadian missions are made in June of each year, and should a dissolution of the Union take place between the bodies, as intimated to your Excellency by Messrs. Stinson and Richey, the Conference in England would claim the missions in this Province—notwithstanding their original establishment by the Canadian Conference, and the annual collections made to support them. But I apprehend no disposition on the part of the British Conference to dissolve the Union, unless they can get Government aid independent of the Canadian Conference to prosecute their views.

I conceive therefore that any grants intended to benefit the Wesleyan Methodist Church in Canada, ought undoubtedly to be placed at the disposal of the Conference of that Church.^[30]

Ryerson had made his case. In February the Governor wrote to the Colonial Secretary explaining the situation, enclosing the above letter, and expressing the view that any grant in aid of the Methodist cause in Upper Canada should be made directly to the Canadian Conference.

Thomson spent less than three months in Toronto. On his arrival he had been told by Arthur that Ryerson was a dangerous man. Before he left for Montreal about the middle of February he had formed quite different conclusions. Indeed the matter of Ryerson's undertaking to edit a monthly magazine in the interests of the government was discussed between them, and either then or later the possibility of his undertaking the superintendency of public education. The few letters of these months that have been preserved are mostly correspondence with Government House, and indicate that Thomson had employed with Ryerson that faculty of getting men to work with him which made his brief tenure of office an epoch in the history of Canada.

April 4, 1840, EGERTON RYERSON, Toronto, to THE GOVERNOR GENERAL
(Rough draft)

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR EXCELLENCY,

About a fortnight after your Excellency left Toronto, I happened in the course of conversation one day with the Hon. R. B. Sullivan to mention the subject of establishing a monthly periodical—such as I had mentioned to you. Mr. Sullivan was very anxious that something of the kind should be undertaken; I stated to him that I understood your Excellency would highly approve of such a publication if it could be successfully established. Mr. S. pressed me to prepare a prospectus, & submit it for your Excellency's consideration. I drew up a prospectus, & got an estimate of the cost *covering all expenses*. Mr. Sullivan fully concurred in the prospectus, except the first paragraph. He was afraid it might be construed into an expression of opinion in favor of "responsible government", & proposed another paragraph in place of it. The one was as acceptable to me as the other. Under a feeling of apprehension & embarrassment at the responsibilities of such an undertaking, and the course of exertion which a successful accomplishment of it would require, I have been deterred until the present moment from forwarding the accompanying prospectus for your Excellency's perusal & signification of pleasure.

I can not but see that the public mind in this country is in a chaotic state; without any controlling current of feeling, or fixed principle of action in civil affairs; but susceptible by proper management and instruction of being cast into any mould of rational opinion & feeling—yet liable without judicious direction to fall into a state of “confusion worse confounded”. I know that now is the time—& perhaps the only time—to establish our institutions & relations upon the cheapest,^[31] the surest, & the only permanent foundation of any system or form of government—the sentiments & feelings of the population. But I *alone* have not the means or the power of contributing [much] towards accomplishing these objects. To the utmost of my humble abilities & acquirements I am willing to exert myself; and that without a shilling’s remuneration—although my present salary is less than £200 per annum. I believe the Government about to be established in these provinces may be made the most enduring & loftiest memorial of Your Excellency’s fame and the greatest earthly blessing to its inhabitants; & it will be to me a source of satisfaction to contribute towards the cementing & formation of materials for the erection of a monument at once so honorable to its Founder and so beneficial to Her Majesty’s Canadian subjects. The assistance I shall need, as far as the contemplated periodical is concerned, is this: 1. An indemnification against pecuniary losses for one year. I think *The Review* will “pay its way”; but it may not; and the anxieties & labours of authorship—especially of periodical authorship—are sufficiently painful & onerous without apprehensions of the possibility of pecuniary embarrassments. I would not hesitate to employ money as well as intellectual labor to accomplish such an undertaking, did I possess it. I doubt whether it will be required; but it may be. A faithful account of the receipts & expenditure will be kept. 2. The personal influence of your Excellency in Lower Canada to induce two or three of the cleverest men in Lower Canada to contribute to the columns of *The Review*; especially on questions & subjects which grow out of the state & structure of society & the institutions of that province. Mr. Sullivan thinks he will be able to contribute one if not two articles for each number. I am acquainted with several other gentlemen who are competent to contribute very ably on some subjects; but I do not wish to communicate with them until the publication shall have been determined upon. But though reliance

may be placed upon such aid, & although it is often very efficient, yet it is not always forthcoming, even when it is most needed; and I know from experience that furnishing the matter for any periodical, as well as giving it character, must chiefly devolve upon the conductor of it. He must give it soul, if it have any; he must combine, concentrate, & direct its power. And such a publication, got up under so high & favorable auspices, & properly conducted, & embodying the productions of the leading minds of both provinces, cannot fail to prove an engine of immense & even irresistible moral power in the country; & must materially contribute to its intellectual as well as political elevation.

As to my own views & feelings, I would greatly prefer retiring altogether from any connexion with the press in every shape & form & all discussion of civil affairs; & I can consistently & honorably do so in June. But if this course be not justifiable in the present circumstances of the province, if it be deemed expedient for me still to take a part in public matters, I am sensible I ought to do more than I do now, or can do through the organ of a religious body. The relation, character, & objects of the publication I now conduct impose a restriction upon the topics and illustrations which are requisite to an effective discussion of political questions. Under such circumstances I can neither do justice to myself nor to the subjects on which I occasionally remark, or might discuss.

Having brought this matter under your Excellency's consideration, and stated all the circumstances connected with it, I shall be perfectly satisfied with whatever decision your Excellency may come to. I have felt the more disposed to make this communication, because your Excellency's avowed system & policy of government is but carrying out & reducing to practice those views of civil polity in Canada which have guided my public life, as your Excellency will have observed from the articles & references which have appeared in the *Guardian*. I have been defeated & disappointed heretofore, because the local Executive itself has been for the most part rather the head of a party than the government of the country, and the opposition or "reform" party has often gone to equal extremes of selfishness & extravagance, so that I have occupied the unenviable & uncomfortable position of a sort of break-water—resisting & checking the conflicting waves of

mutual party violence, convinced that the exclusive & absolute ascendancy of either party would be destructive of the ends of just government & public happiness; a position which, previously to your Excellency's arrival in Canada, I had determined to abandon, as I found myself possessed of no adequate means of accomplishing any permanent good by occupying it.

I think the appearance in this Province of Lord John Russell's Despatch on "Responsible Government"^[32] is timely. The "reformers" are too fully committed to [the] government to fly off; and a large portion of the old "conservative" party are glad of an excuse to change their position. Neither party can triumph, as *both* must concede something. This mutual concession will prepare the way for mutual forbearance, & ultimately for co-operation & union. Having perceived that the Editor of the *Examiner* was seeking, under the pretence of supporting the Government, to get a House of Assembly returned consisting wholly of the old reformers who had identified themselves in 1834, 5, 6 with the Papineau party of Lower Canada, I thought it desirable to check such a design in the bud, by insisting upon the support of Mr. Draper upon the same grounds with Mr. Baldwin. The elucidation & discussion of this one case will affect the position of parties & the character of the elections throughout the province & make the elections turn not upon Lord Durham's "*Report*", or any of the old questions of difference, but upon Your Excellency's administration. This I have no doubt, with a little care, will, in most instances, be the case. Thus will the members returned from Upper Canada be isolated from the French anti-unionists of Lower Canada, and be more fully, both in obligation & feeling, identified with the Government. I have not therefore been surprised at the *Examiner's* indignation, as he is so ultra & thorough a partizan, & as he evidently has some discernment, though but little prudence.

[33]

I will be glad to be informed of your Excellency's pleasure, as early as convenient. Should I not be prevented by unforeseen circumstances I purpose to leave this for New York between the 20th & 25th inst; & should a monthly publication be determined upon, I will find it necessary to purchase several works that I do not now possess—and that I would not otherwise require—and make arrangements in New York for the regular & early

transmission of several British Periodicals. My object in going to the United States is to attend the General Conference of the Methodist Church in that country, which meets in Baltimore on the 1st of May. This body assembles once in four years; & as a matter of friendly Christian courtesy the British & Canadian conferences send representatives on those occasions & *vice versa*. The Rev. Robert Newton & another gentleman have been appointed by the British Conference in England; & the Rev. Mr. Stinson, one of my brothers & myself have been appointed by the Canadian Conference. The sittings of the American Genl. Conference continue about a month. I do not, however, intend to remain so long, if the new Constitution of Canada is like to arrive here before June.^[34]

If your Excellency desire it, I could come to Montreal on my way to New York & confer more fully than can be conveniently done in writing on the subjects of this letter, & make better preparations to promote your Excellency's views & wishes in the conduct of *The Monthly Review*, should it meet with your approval & patronage.

April 7, 1840, T. LE MARCHANT, Government House, Montreal, to REV. EGERTON RYERSON, Toronto.

(Private & confidential)

DEAR SIR

I beg to acknowledge the receipt of your letter dated 27 of March^[35] which I opened in the absence of Mr. Symonds who left Montreal on the 27th ultimo for the purpose of sailing by the *British Queen* for England.

The contents I mentioned to His Excellency who agrees that the line you have taken was most judicious. There is no doubt that Mr. Hincks is doing *very great* mischief both to Mr. Baldwin and the Government by the extremes to which he is pushing his cry for Responsible Government and his opposition to Mr. Draper.

I know that His Excellency *would wish* you to comment on Lord John's Despatch in the *sense* in which it is treated in the *Montreal Gazette* "of which I enclose a copy". There is no doubt also that it is absurd in Mr. Sherwood to pretend that he is

supporting the Government when he opposes their own Solicitor General, but not less so in the *Examiner* to support him, and oppose Mr. Draper, or to stand up for a kind of Responsible Government which both His Excellency and Lord John Russell have declared to be inadmissable.

I know that His Excellency would wish you to do every thing in your power to support *both* Mr. Draper and the Solicitor General. At any time, if I can be of any service, in promoting the success of the *cause*, I beg you will write to me, and should any article come out, which you consider would interest His Excellency, may I request you to send me a copy, under cover to Mr. Harrison, who will forward it by the *Estafetté*.

Some days ago I wrote you a letter which I did not send respecting some addresses, which I now enclose.

Your letter to Mr. Symonds I at last opened on my own responsibility, thinking it might be of some consequence.

Believe me, my dear Sir
Yours very truly
T. LE MARCHANT

Capt. & A.D.C.

April 20, 1840, T. LE MARCHANT, Govt. House, Montreal, to REV. EGERTON RYERSON, Toronto.

(Private)

DEAR SIR,

I am commanded by His Excellency the Governor General to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 4th April.

In reply I am to express to you His Excellency's approbation of the plans you have suggested and he desires me to say that he requests you will visit *Montreal* on your way to New York, as he is anxious to see you on the subject contained in your letter.

The Special Council meet this day for the first time.

Every thing here is very dull and nothing going on.

The first Steamer the *Lady Colborne* for Quebec started from hence on Saturday evening the 18th.

Believe me, my dear Sir to be
Yours very truly
T. LE MARCHANT

His Excellency has had a very severe fit of the gout and confined him to his bed for a couple days. However I am happy to say he is *much* better and I hope in a day or two will be all right again.

May 6, 1840, T. W. C. MURDOCK,^[36] to REV. EGERTON RYERSON, *New York*.

MY DEAR SIR

By direction of the Governor General I send you the enclosed Bill for £100 the receipt of which I would request you to acknowledge. You will have seen the English papers which hold out every prospect that both the Union & the Clergy Reserve Bills will be satisfactorily settled. I feel that I may congratulate you and every friend of Canada on such a result.

Believe me
Yours very sincerely
T. W. C. MURDOCK

(Cheque returned. I declined to receive any thing for what I had done, & might do to support the policy & recommendations of Her Majesty's Government in peculiar circumstances of the Province. E.R.)^[37]

Of Ryerson's visit to Baltimore and his part in the proceedings of the General Conference, we learn nothing either from the extant correspondence, or from the *Guardian*, but must be content with two letters written by him from Baltimore to persons unstated, quoted in part by Hodgins,^[38] and with an incidental reference in a letter to Nathan Bangs a year later.^[39] They inform us that Ryerson was deeply disappointed at the decision of the Rev. Robert Newton, the British delegate, not to visit Canada; that some one^[40] had told him that it was not worth while to go to Canada; that Ryerson himself had intended going to the United States for a few months in order to avail himself of some collegiate lectures and to pursue certain branches of science, but had changed his mind and was inclined to accept an invitation to one of the largest Methodist Chapels in

New York; that he preferred this to taking a district in Canada and “would not return to the *Guardian* again for any earthly consideration”. All this would appear to indicate that his heart was heavy within him. He did not fully know just what Stinson and Richey and their friends in Upper Canada had been doing and saying. He did know that another serious division was imminent in the Church. The State too was all awry. As he tells us in one of these mysterious letters, he had seen the new constitution which was about to be adopted by the British Parliament for the government of Canada, and did not approve of it.^[41] Yet he did not care to remain in Canada and be silent, thus incurring the hostility of both parties. John had agreed with him that it was “by all means best to withdraw from such scenes”.^[42]

The reference to taking a course of lectures in the United States gives a glimpse of a period in Ryerson’s life and in the history of Victoria College which neither Hodgins nor Burwash has sought fully to explore.^[43] However, his projected course of studies is definite evidence that Ryerson was considering the principalship of the Academy early in 1840. In 1839 Richey had removed to Toronto to the superintendency of the City circuit. He retained the dignity and rank of principal, but the duties of that office devolved upon Jesse Hurlburt. It must soon have been apparent that Hurlburt did not measure up to the stature of a principal; and in the course of the year, it would seem, the matter was broached to Ryerson, who determined to prepare himself for his new duties. While in Baltimore, however, the cloud which had seemed no larger than a man’s hand rapidly assumed menacing proportions. He was convinced that again he himself would become the central figure in angry dispute. An attractive opening offered in New York. With the thought of leaving Canada, plans for the Academy for the time being were laid aside. But at Conference they were revived. In reporting its proceedings, the *Guardian* of June 24, 1840, informs its readers that “The Rev. Egerton Ryerson is appointed Principal.” The Minutes fail to confirm the appointment, since in June, 1840, owing to the pending disruption, the list of stations is not included; and in any case, the appointment would be recommended by the Academy Board and made by the Annual Meeting of the Academy, for which each year the Conference adjourned during one or more of its sessions. At most, the Conference would merely confirm the appointment and note it in the list of stations. But apart from this announcement in the *Guardian*, the view that Ryerson directly succeeded Richey is supported by three distinct facts. A racy letter signed “Cosmopolite” in the *Guardian* of Oct. 21, 1840, describing the semi-annual examinations at Upper Canada Academy refers to Hurlburt as the Acting Principal. Then in a letter from Hurlburt to Ryerson, dated October 25, 1840,

occurs the following phrase, “As you refer to the existence of unpleasant feelings which you state you had been informed I had felt since the last Conference. . . .” And finally, a letter from two masters of the school of March 31, 1841^[44], speaks of Hurlburt as being placed at the head of the Academy *pro tempore*. Though Jesse Hurlburt used the name of Principal, it is pretty clear that the title was his only by courtesy. Negative confirmation of this conclusion is found in the fact that no report of any inaugural ceremony in connection with Hurlburt’s appointment appears in the *Guardian*; he simply carried on till another should assume the position.

After more than a month’s absence in the States, Ryerson returned home on June 4th to find the plans of the British party well advanced. He was to be accused to his brethren in Conference of having applied through Sydenham to the Colonial Office for the diversion of the missionary grant from the London Committee to the Canada Conference.^[45] This would bring him under double fire from the British members and such pure voluntaryists as still remained among the Canadian members. He met the attack by a counter offensive. Writing at once to Sydenham, he sought to have in hand before Conference adjourned documentary proof to show that Stinson and Richey had on their part tried to divert Clergy Reserves funds (such as might be available under the new act of 1840) to the British Conference. He failed to secure the documents themselves, but he received from the Governor a letter which served the purpose.^[46]

June 5, 1840, EGERTON RYERSON, to HIS EXCELLENCY THE GOVERNOR GENERAL

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR EXCELLENCY,

I arrived at home last night from a long tour; and since my arrival the accompanying resolutions were enclosed to me by the Rev. Mr. Stinson, agent of the Wesleyan Missionary Committee in London. I lose not a moment in enclosing a copy of them to your Excellency, as they refer to what has transpired between your Excellency and myself on the financial relations which exist between the Wesleyan Conference in England and the Conference of the Wesleyan Church in Canada.

The subjects of these resolutions will be fully investigated at our approaching annual Conference of Ministers, which commences its session on Wednesday next, in Belleville. As your Excellency is the only authority to which I can appeal on some of

the matters referred to, I hope the urgency and peculiarity of the case will excuse, in your Excellency's mind, the liberty I take in most respectfully soliciting from your Excellency answers to the following questions.

1. Did not Mr. Stinson and Mr. Richey desire your Excellency to secure a specific portion of the proceeds of the Clergy Reserves to the control of the Wesleyan Conference in England; and did they not assign as one reason for that arrangement the probability of the dissolution of the union between the England and Canadian Conferences?

2. Did not your Excellency determine to write to Lord John Russell on the subject of the grant to the Wesleyan Missionary Committee in consequence of examining the documents which related to it, and the articles of union between the British and Canadian Conferences, and without any application on my part?

3. Did I not draw up the letter explaining the financial relations between the British and Canadian Conferences, in compliance with your Excellency's expressed wish.

I will feel myself greatly obliged by Your Excellency's earliest reply, addressed to me at Belleville.

I have the honor to be, etc.

EGERTON RYERSON

June 6, 1840, EGERTON RYERSON, to HIS EXCELLENCY THE GOVERNOR-GENERAL

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR EXCELLENCY,

Since my letter of yesterday to your Excellency was mailed, I find that I am unable to procure from Mr. Stinson a copy of your Excellency's Despatch to Lord John Russell, on the subject of the Government Grant to the English Wesleyan Conference, referred to in the London Committee's resolutions, which I enclosed to your Excellency, although it appears that Lord John Russell furnished Mr. Alder with a copy of that despatch, and although I have obtained copies of the other parts of the correspondence mentioned in those resolutions.

Your Excellency having kindly read that despatch to me, previously to sending it to Lord John Russell, I know it to be of

the utmost importance to me in the approaching investigations.

May I therefore beg that your Excellency will have the kindness to enclose to me, by return of post, a copy of the despatch referred to, addressed to me at Belleville.

I have the honour to be,
EGERTON RYERSON

June 12, 1840, T. W. C. MURDOCH, Chief Secretary, Government House, Montreal, to REV. E. RYERSON.

SIR,

I am commanded by the Governor-General to acknowledge the receipt of your letters of the 5th and 6th inst.: the first enclosing a copy of certain Resolutions adopted by the Committee of the British Wesleyan Conference with reference to your conduct on the 29th April last; the second, requesting a copy of the despatch respecting the grant for the support of the Wesleyan Missions in Upper Canada, which his Excellency addressed to Lord John Russell in the month of February last. These letters having unfortunately arrived during his Excellency's temporary absence from Montreal, the answer to them has been unavoidably delayed.

His Excellency desires me to say, that as he cannot gather from the Resolutions of the British Conference, that his despatch to the Secretary of State had been communicated to them, as you suppose, and as he has reason to think from other circumstances that such a proceeding would not be adopted, it would be irregular in him to furnish you with a copy of that despatch, however much he may regret his being unable to do so; because, had he been able to send it you, it would not only have fully explained his views, and the grounds upon which he is of opinion that the grant should be distributed in a manner different from that which has of late been followed, but would have afforded the most conclusive evidence on some of the points noticed in your letter of the 5th inst. It would have shown, for instance, that his Excellency's communication with the Secretary of State originated in an examination of the whole of the circumstances of the Wesleyan body in Upper Canada, and of the documents relative to the union between the British and Canadian Conferences, which were submitted to him—and upon this point I am directed to add, in

reply to your question, that this examination did not proceed from any request of yours, and that the letter drawn up by you in explanation of the financial relations of the two bodies, was prepared at his Excellency's request. It would also further show, that it was from the Rev. Mr. Stinson that his Excellency first heard of the probable dissolution of the two Societies.

T. W. C. MURDOCH,
Chief Secretary.

Conference met at Belleville on June 10th, Stinson presiding. Immediately after prayers the issue was joined. The first order of business was the election of Secretary. An English brother (his name is not disclosed) rose to remark that he had certain communications from London which he wished to present. Ryerson pointed out that no communication could be read till the Conference was organized. The brother persisted, and stated that the documents referred to Ryerson, who then observed that the procedure was "at variance with law, Methodism, and justice".^[47] John spoke in agreement. The English brother could secure no support, and was compelled to retreat. The election proceeded. Ryerson received 43 votes, Evans 12, and there were six scattered votes. But this did not settle the matter. As the names of the ministers were called one by one for the review of their characters and Ryerson's name was reached, Richey specified the charge against Ryerson, as was his right under the Discipline. Various letters and documents were read.^[48] At the conclusion of a long speech, Richey moved a resolution calling for repudiation of Ryerson's action as irregular and unauthorized. Evans seconded the resolution. Before replying, Ryerson insisted on the production and reading of Stinson and Richey's letter of January 3rd.^[49] He had never seen it, but knew of its existence from the Governor. Its reading by the assistant secretary must have brought a gasp from Conference; here were two members of Conference actually favoring Church Establishment in Canada and urging that all moneys accruing to the Methodists from the sale of Clergy lands in Canada should be turned over to the British Conference. Before the vote was taken, Ryerson was asked whether in writing his letter of January 17th^[50] his motive and intention was to deprive the London Society of the grant of £700 they had been receiving. He refused to answer the question: the letter was before them; the document was the thing, not any motives. When the vote was taken, 8 voted for Richey's resolution and 59 against it.^[51] The names for and against are recorded in the minutes. Two members were excused from voting, having been prevented by illness from

hearing the argument, and one, Brother Steer, a young Englishman, on the ground of conscientious scruples as he could not make up his mind.

That afternoon, Case, who had supported Ryerson in the morning, moved a resolution regretting that the Editor of the *Guardian* had not duly regarded the instructions of Conference as to the non-political character of the journal. This was negatived by a vote of 19 to 46. A series of six resolutions dealing with the respective rights of the Canada and British Conferences under union were then moved, discussed, and carried by large majorities. The fourth resolution giving approval to Ryerson's communication with the Governor on financial matters was carried by a vote of 49 to 10. It was then decided to elect two delegates to the British Conference to present the views of the Canada Conference. Egerton Ryerson received 51 votes, William Ryerson 42, and there were several scattered votes. But before Conference concluded, Case moved and Ryerson seconded that Stinson accompany the delegates to England. In this instance Ryerson's generosity got the better of his judgment. Possibly he was not yet aware of the distance to which Stinson had gone in his communications with Alder; or, being aware, in the friendly atmosphere of the Canada Conference he felt that he could afford to soothe wounded feelings and conciliate a vanquished party. In any case, the decision cost him and his brother dearly across the water. The minutes of Conference conclude without any reference to stations,^[52] and are not signed by the President and Secretary—an eloquent commentary on the confusion that had descended upon the affairs of the Methodists of Upper Canada. There were two cheering notes, however, in conference. Again the membership had shown an increase; and three Ryanite (Canadian Wesleyan) preachers, one of them Moses Blackstock, appeared before Conference, asked for ordination, and were accepted. If the English party were to go, others might come.

On the eve of his sailing for England, Ryerson brought out his last issue of the *Guardian* on June 24, 1840. Briefly, and in some humility, he bids his readers farewell:

The present number of the *Christian Guardian* closes the connexion of the undersigned with the provincial press. To his friends, and to that portion of the Canadian public who have long confided in him, and sustained him in seasons of difficulty and danger, he begs to offer his most grateful acknowledgments; those who have opposed him publicly and honourably, he sincerely respects; those who have assailed him personally, he heartily forgives; and of those whose feelings he may have wounded in the

heat of discussion, or whom he may have treated with unbecoming severity, he most humbly asks pardon. He retires unconscious of any other than a feeling of good-will towards his contemporaries. To review the scenes which have transpired during his protracted connexion with the public press, and to trace the part which he has been called upon to act in them, is foreign to his present purpose. Whilst he is deeply sensible of his imperfections, and infirmities, and failings in his public career, he derives satisfaction from the consciousness, that he has earnestly aimed at promoting the best interests of his adopted Church and native country. The editorial advocacy of the interests of both he now resigns to other hands—devoutly praying that they may exceed his in acceptableness and efficiency,—that “all things may be settled upon the best and surest foundations, that peace and happiness, truth and justice, religion and piety, may be established among us for all generations”.

For eight of the eleven years of its existence, he had been editor. It would be difficult to exaggerate his influence on the life and affairs of his native province through its columns during these years. That it was much the most widely circulated of the prints of Upper Canada, the statistics,^[53] inexact as they are, amply attest. Its influence on public policies has been sufficiently noted by the historians of the period. Sydenham went so far in a private despatch to Lord John Russell of March 13th in this year as to describe it as “the only decent paper in both Canadas”. Its effect on the general cultural and religious development of the province can in some degree be realized only as its solid pages from week to week are perused. But scarcely ever could its editor have felt himself free. He stood between two forces. His own interest and the demands of the reading public drew him towards a strong and definite discussion of certain public issues, while the Conference minutes ruled politics out of the paper. The situation is frankly discussed with Sydenham in the letter of April 4th of this year. But if he fancied that working with governors or governments, as he was to do for thirty odd years, would impose less irksome or compromising conditions upon him than working with the friends and brethren of Conference, he was to be sadly disillusioned. At all events by the spring of 1840 he had decided that no consideration could induce him longer to attempt to live within the restrictions of a church paper. His leaving the *Guardian* was an event of some consequence in Canadian history.

[1] The Toronto congregation through two stewards expressed deep appreciation of his ministry and concern for his declining health, and presented him with a purse of \$220. The year was described as one of “painful personal, domestic & ministerial afflictions”—his son, William, aged eleven years, had died on July 11, 1838. (*C.G.*, July 3, 1839)

[2] See p. [502](#).

[3] *Case, Vol. IV*, pp. 242-3.

[4] *Ibid.* p. 259.

[5] *Green*, p. 228.

[6] *Findlay & Holdsworth, Vol. I*, 437.

[7] During these intervals the paper was edited by Jonathan Scott. He was one of the six young men who had been sent out by the British Conference after the union. He had been stationed at Lake Simcoe and Coldwater, and had opened up a Methodist cause in Barrie. Unlike some of the British contingent, he soon became acclimatized. As to his call to the *Guardian*, he has this to say:

“ . . . in 1839 my appointment was Goderich; but when I reached Toronto with an old horse and buggy, Dr. Stinson and Dr. Ryerson, like policemen, arrested me, and by some art, made me into an Editor for five months, and two months, in early spring, in 1840: for those were the centenary times.” (*Case, IV*, p. 280)

[8] This is the first intimation that Ryerson had been in communication with Joseph Howe.

[9] Hodgins loses the point of the sentence by ending at “conservative” (*S.M.L.*, p. 244).

[10] Richey addresses Ryerson as his prospective pastor. Evidently Brother Shaw's loyal swords had sundered the congregation, and William had quite failed to effect a suture.

[11] Jesse Hurlburt's name now first appears. He was one of a large family of brothers, five of whom became members of Conference. He had been educated at Middletown, and now became Classical Master, succeeding R. Hudspeth, an M.A. of Aberdeen. In addition, during this year he was acting principal, Richey visiting the Academy only occasionally. As to Hebrew, in the account of the annual examination (*C.G.*, May 15, 1839) the following sentence appears:

“The exhibition of several drawings very creditably executed by some of the young ladies, and of an original Hebrew MS. purchased of a learned Jew by the Principal, and formerly used in a Synagogue, also gratified those present.”

[12] Perhaps written with a not very pleasant memory of something said in Conference.

[13] As with the gifts to Upper Canada Academy, the *Guardian* was used as a means of acknowledging subscriptions; from these lists we learn that John Ryerson, his wife Mary Lewis and family contributed £75; Egerton Ryerson, £15, his wife £15, Miss Hannah and Miss Sophia £5 each, and £10 was given in memory of John William Ryerson.

[14] The Cavan “Blazers” were long notorious. (See W. L. Smith: *Pioneers of Old Ontario*, pp. 320-325). It will be recalled that Ryerson had been burned in effigy at Peterboro in 1833. Probably the “Blazers” were involved.

- [15] Green's comment on this incident is brief. (See p. [228](#)) "Bro. Egerton proved the best pedestrian. My feet got sore, and I went limping like another Mephibosheth, while he was far ahead of me." He fails to accuse the wooden peg.
- [16] The elections of 1836 had left no permanent sore.
- [17] In 1839 Buck and Bright (see p. [8](#)) were still a comfort by day in their strength and by night (in tallow) after death. Presently they disappeared from Ontario, doubly assailed by coal oil and clearings.
- [18] One wonders whether Mr. Bettridge's ideas of Canada (see p. [485](#)) would have changed had he been present at this meeting.
- [19] The Rev. John Murray, Presbyterian minister, in a pamphlet could quote the prophet Jeremiah, as hailing the cheerfulness of the flowing bowl as "a special manifestation of the great goodness of God". The *Guardian* of November 20th prints an interesting account of a great temperance meeting at Oakville at which he and some of his "anti" friends were present. For two years he held the office of Superintendent of Education in Upper Canada. On Ryerson's appointment in 1844, he was transferred to a chair in Mathematics in the University.
- [20] A regular steamship service was kept up on the canal till 1936, when it was discontinued.

- [21] Joseph Sawyer was born in New York State in 1771 and began to preach in Upper Canada in 1800. He is described by Carroll (*Vol. I*, p. 122) as “apostolic in his appearance and spirit, and very urbane in his manners”. He located in 1810. Carroll says nothing of his banishment from Canada, but does recount, on Sawyer’s authority, his being driven from the presence of an Anglican minister in Montreal upon whom he had made a friendly call with the words, “You, indeed! I would rather encourage the Roman Catholics than such as you dissenters. NO! Get out of my sight!”
- [22] The spelling “Hick” is repeated in the next paragraph. Carroll and other authorities have Heck. A fine monument now marks the resting place of Barbara Heck, and a placque in Annesley Hall (the first of the women’s residences at Victoria College) keeps her memory before the undergraduates.
- [23] *C.G.*, Aug. 7, 1839.
- [24] *C.G.* Oct. 23, 1839 (clipped from the *British Colonist*).
- [25] In view of his success in securing the passage of the Act of Union, Thomson was later elevated to the peerage, with the title of Baron Sydenham of Sydenham in Kent and Toronto in Canada.
- [26] See, however, p. 328.
- [27] *C.G.* Feb. 19, 1840.
- [28] *C.G.* Feb. 26, 1840.
- [29] P. 49. Pamphlet, *The Wesleyan Conferences of England and Canada, Their Union and Separation*; W. & E. Ryerson, 114 pages.
- [30] W. & E. Ryerson: *Union and Separation*, p. 5.

- [31] Sydenham was a business man, interested in economics and economy. The “Compact” had been a tolerably expensive institution, and members of the Legislature were not above jobbery at times.
- [32] In the House of Commons on June 3, 1839, Lord John Russell had argued that the Governor could not be responsible solely to the Assembly by reason of his duty to the Crown through the Secretary of State for the Colonies. In his despatch of October 14, 1839, he had noted the impossibility of carrying on government in a colony on the analogy with government in Great Britain.
- [33] An interesting estimate of Francis Hincks in 1840.
- [34] Already Ryerson’s “times” were being determined by public considerations. Was it before or after this letter that the superintendency of education in Upper Canada was discussed with Sydenham?
- [35] We have not a copy of the letter of March 27th.
- [36] T. W. C. Murdock was Sydenham’s Civil Secretary. He was “a gentleman of exceptional ability, who rapidly acquired a very intimate knowledge of Canadian history and of the actual conditions of the country. His rare capacity for affairs, his sound judgment, indefatigable industry, and admirable tact enabled him to render invaluable assistance to Lord Sydenham.” (Short: *Lord Sydenham*, p. 152). His wife, “a lady of highly cultivated mind”, as Ryerson tells us, presided at the table of the Governor—who was a bachelor—when ladies were invited to Government House.
- [37] Smith: *Political Leaders of Upper Canada*, p. 218, describes this as “an incident illustrating Ryerson’s determination to hold himself free from patronage of any sort”.
- [38] *S.M.L.*, pp. 269-270.

- [39] See p. [575](#).
- [40] Either Stinson or Richey. The former had attended as a delegate, the latter as a visitor.
- [41] Apparently he never recorded his objections to the Act of Union. It would have been interesting to observe how closely his practical mind anticipated the weaknesses of that instrument, which in time became all too evident, and subject to which he had to do what he could for education in Upper Canada for twenty-three years.
- [42] *S.M.L.*, p. 270.
- [43] The first minutes of the Board appear not to have been preserved. In 1935, however, the minutes of the Managing Committee of the Board from the beginning were found among the private papers of the late Chancellor Nelles. These papers were placed at the disposal of the College by his daughter, Mrs. J. R. L. Starr.
- [44] See p. [571](#).
- [45] Through the rather stupid action of R. Vernon Smith, Under Secretary, Ryerson's letter of January 17th (see p. [555](#)) was forwarded to Alder and characterized as the "proposal" of Mr. Ryerson for the "exclusive management of the yearly grant". Alder was incensed, and doubtless at once communicated with Stinson.
- [46] A fuller explanation of these matters will be given with the account of his mission to England in July and August.
- [47] *S.M.L.*, p. 270.

[48] These are found in the pamphlets published at the time of separation:

(a) *Wesleyan Conferences of England and Canada—their Union and Separation,*

(b) *Documents relative to the recent determination of the British Wesleyan Conference to dissolve its official Union with the Provincial Conference of Upper Canada,*

(c) *Wesleyan Conferences of England and Canada.*

[49] See p. [535](#).

[50] See page [536](#).

[51] Two or three members later stated they would have changed their votes had Ryerson explained his motive, as he subsequently did.

[52] The list, however, is published in the *Guardian* of June 24th. The resignations four months later were to render it obsolete. It is a tribute to the fairness of the Canadians that, considering the attitude of these brethren at this Conference, Evans was retained as Chairman of the London district, and Matthew Lang assigned to the Bay of Quinte district. Anson Green came to Toronto to be chairman of that district. Egerton Ryerson was superintendent of the Toronto circuit. Richey's name disappeared. John Beatty was set down as Domestic Governor of Upper Canada Academy.

[53] See p. [335](#).

CHAPTER XV

THE SEAL OF SYDENHAM

July 1840 to September 1841

The Act of Union had not quite assured popular government to the united provinces. In fact its passage had been attended by the warning from the Colonial Secretary that the Governor in a colony had responsibilities also to the home government. But the Durham *Report* by exposing the prevailing abuses, the Act of Union by creating a new framework of government, and Sydenham's sagacity by arousing a general interest in reform had combined to create a situation in which the Parliament of Canada was to speak the thoughts of Canadians as never before. The years 1840 and 1841 brought new hope and resolution to the people of Upper Canada, many of whom had seen in emigration the only escape from despair.^[1]

The new spirit of the province was reflected in Methodist policies. It is not without significance that the year of the constitutional change, which Robert Baldwin hailed as the advent of Responsible Government, should have brought about the severance of relations with the British Conference which had meant stagnation and embarrassment; or that the first petition of the Methodists to the newly elected Canadian parliament should have been granted freely and promptly. In the dissolving of union and the erection of Upper Canada Academy into a College with power to confer degrees, the Methodist people were merely reflecting the new confidence in things Canadian. And when a head was thought of for Victoria College, the Board no longer turned to England, as had the Conference in 1832, but found in Egerton Ryerson the first of a series of able Canadians who were to preside over the destinies of a university which has since remained distinctly Canadian in character.

But before Ryerson could think of retiring to college halls, the awkward situation created by the definite attacks at Conference upon himself and upon autonomy, by Alder in 1839 and Richey in 1840, had to be straightened out. This involved, as has been noted, a third voyage to England with William as co-delegate. The fact that the forthright William was preferred to John, whose diplomacy had brought about the union, indicates the spirit in which the Wesleyans of Canada approached the problem. That they expected an amicable arrangement of difficulties is doubtful, although in their address

to the British Conference they expressed deep regret at the diversity of opinion which had arisen and their “desire to strengthen and perpetuate” the union; and Ryerson in a letter to Lord John Russell speaks of the suggestion that union was likely to be dissolved as “a measure the most remote from the thoughts of the members of the Canadian Conference”.^[2]

On their way to New York the brothers delivered the message of the Conference to Sydenham at Montreal, and received from him a cordial and complimentary reply. Indeed it went beyond mere courtesy. In part it read: “I have had occasion more than once to testify to the value of the services rendered by the Body to which you belong, and to express the respect and esteem with which I regard your laborious exertions for the good of the people. These feelings remain unaltered, and I am therefore the more gratified by the kind expressions of confidence in my administration and of regard for myself, which you have now renewed.” In private conversation Sydenham told of a letter which Alder had written to Lord John Russell in strong condemnation of Ryerson, and suggested that he could procure a copy of the letter from Russell when he got to England.

They took packet on July 1st. Stinson and Richey, however, sailed by the *Great Western* and reached London eight days before them. A cool reception awaited the brothers at Hatton Gardens. Before Conference, which was to assemble at Newcastle-on-Tyne on August 1st, they had an interview with the new Colonial Secretary, Lord John Russell. They received little satisfaction. Lord John to be sure was prompt and considerate. He granted them an interview the second day after their arrival in London, and heard them “at great length” on the unfairness or even danger of the amendments to Sydenham’s Reserves Bill. But he was inflexible. He gave them to understand that the amended bill might not be perfect, but it was the best he could do with the Bishops. That afternoon they went to see Charles Buller. Buller, however, was out of town. Nor was Ryerson able to secure from Lord John Russell, in time for the Conference, Alder’s letter which he needed to establish his case.

July 23, 1840, EGERTON RYERSON, 27 Great Ormond Street, to LORD JOHN RUSSELL

MY LORD,

The Rev. William Ryerson and the undersigned arrived this morning in London as the Representatives of the Wesleyan Methodist Conference in Upper Canada to the Wesleyan Conference in England; also as the Representatives of the

Wesleyan Methodist Church in Upper Canada to communicate with Her Majesty's Government on all matters affecting the civil rights and interests of that body.

On the eve of my leaving Canada I had the honor to be one of a deputation to present a respectful and dutiful address from the Canadian Conference to His Excellency the Governor General of Canada; on which occasion I was informed by His Excellency, in a private interview, that he had, a day or two previous, received from Your Lordship a copy of a letter addressed by the Rev. Robert Alder (one of the Secretaries of the Wesleyan Missionary Society in London) to Mr. Under Secretary Vernon Smith, relating to certain matters pending between the Conference of the Wesleyan Methodist Church in U. Canada and the Wesleyan Conference in England, and also referring to a letter addressed by me to His Excellency the Governor General, dated Toronto, Jany. 17, 1840. The late hour in the night at which I was honoured with an interview by the Governor General put out of His Excellency's power to favor me with a perusal of Mr. Alder's letter; but His Excellency informed me that he would write to your Lordship on the subject by the *Great Western*, and that on application to your Lordship I would be furnished with a copy of Mr. Alder's letter referred to, that I might have an opportunity, on behalf of the Canadian Conference and on my own behalf, to reply to the statements and representations which I was given to understand that letter contained.

I beg therefore to be favoured with a copy of Mr. Alder's letter at your Lordship's earliest convenience.

Entertaining apprehensions (from the imperfect reports of the Parliamentary proceedings on the subject, which I saw last evening) that the Canada Clergy Reserve Bill, now before Parliament, may occasion deep dissatisfaction in Upper Canada, and tend to defeat the noble objects of the Union Bill and the Governor General's administration, I respectfully request of your Lordship the favor of a copy of that Bill, that we may correctly and fully ascertain the nature of its provisions.

I have the honor to be,

My Lord

Your Lordship's most obedient humble Servant

EGERTON RYERSON

On their way to Conference, they learned of the death of Durham. Ryerson comments in his diary,

Heard of the death of poor Lord Durham. The attacks upon him in the House of Lords as Governor-General of Canada, the abandonment of him by the Government, the mortification experienced by him in consequence of the Royal disapprobation at his sudden return from Canada before his resignation had been accepted, are said to have hastened, if not caused his death. His heart seems to have been set upon making Canada a happy and great country, and I think he intended to rest his fame upon that achievement. He was defeated, disappointed, died! How bright the prospect two years ago—how sudden the change, how sad the termination! Oh, the vanity of earthly power, wealth and glory!^[3]

Once at Newcastle, Ryerson could not fail to note the contrast with his previous experiences at British Conferences. Formerly he had received every mark of respect from that body. Now he and William were not billeted but sent to a boarding house, were not invited to the platform as was customary with delegates, and were refused the right to present their case to Conference until the last day of the sessions, when three-fourths of its members had left for their charges. No action of any sort on their mission was taken till the Conference had been in session for a week. Then the matter was referred to the committee of Conference which had been acting in the matter and had been responsible for the condemnatory communication sent out to Canada. Ryerson objected that this reference to a committee was contrary to proper procedure, and on three grounds: (1) because the address and resolutions from the Canada Conference had not been read by Conference, the body to whom they were addressed, and could not be referred to a committee; (2) the delegates stood as appellants from the act of a committee, and it was contrary to all judicial procedure to refer their case to the very committee which had condemned them; (3) they were representatives of one Conference to another Conference, and not to a committee of that Conference. Dr. Bunting opposed this view; he was unmoved by a letter written by Ryerson on August 7th, urging that time and labour would be saved by a direct reference to Conference.

There was, however, “a strong and general feeling among the Preachers to have the case investigated in Conference”.^[4] The president, Dr. Newton, then engaged that a full opportunity would be given of stating the case in conference, whereupon the matter was referred to the original committee,

other names being added. Before the Committee Stinson and Richey supported the position taken by Alder, and the report of the committee was in accordance with their views. It was presented to Conference on the last day of its sessions. The Canadian delegates were asked to reply without having seen the report. When they objected to this, they were given a few minutes to retire and read it. They addressed the Conference as best they could. The section of the report to which they most objected was the statement that the English Conference could not be identified “with any body, however respected, over whose public proceedings it is denied the right and power of exerting any official influence, so as to secure a reasonable and necessary co-ordinate but efficient direction”. After their addresses they were requested to retire. Here Dr. Beaumont rose to move a resolution dissolving the union observing “there is just as much reason in the Canada Conference sending Presidents to us as for us to send Presidents to them; and they are just as competent to manage their own affairs, as we are to manage our affairs”. Dr. Bunting agreed and spoke of the union as in his opinion a well-intended but an ill-advised measure. That settled the matter. The union which seven years before had been adopted at Manchester by a unanimous vote of more than three hundred preachers was rescinded at Newcastle by a majority vote of the seventy-two preachers who had remained to the end of the Conference.

On their return to London, the brothers booked passage for September 1st. A few days later, they received a communication from Dr. Hannah, the secretary of the Conference, asking them to meet at a date in September the sub-committee to which the Conference had referred the details of dissolution with power. They pointed out that they could not postpone their time of sailing. Then, declaring that the act of the British Conference was an act of secession with all the effects as to finances and property which such an act entailed, they sailed as arranged and returned to convene a special conference in Canada.

Ryerson returned to Toronto on September 22nd. Having arranged for the special meeting of Conference on October 22nd, he settled down to his duties as minister of the Newgate Street Chapel and his studies in preparation for College lectures. The secession had decimated the Toronto congregation.

When I ascended the pulpit for the first time, the pews in the body of the church, which had been occupied by those who had seceded, were empty, and there were but scattered hearers, here and there, in the other pews and in the gallery. By faith and prayer

I had prepared myself for the crucial test, and conducted the services without apparent depression or embarrassment.

Hard work as well as faith and prayer were required to fill the pews once more. The following letter prompted by this situation was written to Sydenham on the Monday following his second Sunday in the pulpit at Newgate Street.

October 5, 1840, EGERTON RYERSON, *Toronto*, to HIS EXCELLENCY THE GOVERNOR GENERAL.

(Private)

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR EXCELLENCY,

My own feelings on Your Excellency's elevation to the Peerage have already been publicly expressed in the Pamphlet lately published in London;^[5] and I hope the expression in this form of the grateful satisfaction with which I read in the *London Gazette* the announcement of that mark of Royal approbation & favor, & the presentation of my most cordial congratulations will not be deemed by Your Excellency an unbecoming freedom.

The publication of a Monthly Periodical—such as I suggested to Your Excellency last spring—appears to me now, as it did then, to be of great importance in order to mould the thinking of public men & the views of the country in harmony with the principles of the new constitution & the policy of Your Excellency's administration, & to secure a *rational* and *permanent* appreciation of its objects & merits; and it would have afforded me sincere satisfaction to have given a proper tone & character to a publication of that kind. But what I have written publicly in reference to the principles and measures of Your Excellency's Government has already been productive of serious consequences both to myself & the Body with which I am connected; and in the discharge of my ecclesiastical duties, I have to devote several hours of four days in each week to visiting the sick, poor & other members of my pastoral charge, & am preparing a series of discourses on the Patriarchal History & the Evidences of Christianity arising from the discoveries of Modern Science and the Testimony of recent Travellers, besides the correspondence, cares & engagements which devolve upon me in the offices I sustain in relation to the Wesleyan Methodist Church in this

country. Under such circumstances, the assumption *by me* of the management of such a Periodical is impracticable. I could not do justice to it, nor to my other appropriate duties. I might in the course of my miscellaneous reading, select passages from established authors, which would be suitable for a *Miscellany* at the end of each No. to illustrate & confirm the principles discussed in the preceding pages of it. I might now & then contribute a general article on the Intellectual & Moral Elements of which Canadian Society is composed; or on the Evils of Party Spirit; or, on the Necessity of General Unity in order to General Prosperity, etc., etc; but even in these respects I fear I could not render much efficient aid, from the exhaustion of my physical strength in other labours, & for want of the requisite time for study in order to write *instructively & effectively* on general subjects.

I have stated all these circumstances to Mr. Sullivan; and, at his request, I have furnished him with a copy of the “Prospectus” (with the necessary verbal alterations) and the estimated cost of publication. I have also spoken to the Editor of the *Colonist*,^[6] who would readily become the *Publisher* of such a Periodical in case of its establishment. Mr. Sullivan expressed his intention to write to Your Excellency on the subject. The desideratum is a competent Editor. Mr. Waudby,^[7] who is about retiring from the Editorship of the *Upper Canada Herald*, possesses a better knowledge of the Constitution & History of England & more general knowledge than any public writer in this province I know of. He has sometimes employed harsh language and sometimes expressed rather ultra sentiments; but I think with a little counsel, he might become an useful auxiliary to the Government in the management of a Monthly Review. He is an Englishman of sterling integrity. Amidst a dearth of persons qualified for such a work, I venture to *name* Mr. Waudby. I would at all times be ready to communicate to him or to any other person in that situation, any suggestions which might occur to me relative to the topics & management of A Monthly Review. I think Mr. Waudby could be secured for less than £200 a year; for much less if he were appointed to some subordinate situation under government. I have never exchanged a word with him on the subject, but I would have no objection to be the medium of communication with him. His retirement from the *U.C. Herald* arises from his own generous suggestion to the publisher & proprietor (who is in straitened circumstances) that he

had better curtail the expense of an Editor, & manage himself. Mr. Waudby has, I believe, a small private income.

In retiring from taking any public part in the civil affairs of this country, I beg to express my grateful sense of the frankness and kindness & condescension which I have experienced from Your Excellency. Your Excellency is the first Governor of Canada who has taken the pains to investigate the character & affairs of the Wesleyan Methodist Church for himself, & not judge & act from hear say—the first Governor to ascertain my sentiments & feelings & wishes from my own lips & not from the representations of others. As a Body, considering our labours & numbers, we have certainly been treated unjustly & hardly by the local Government. Every effort was used here to deprive us of the benefit of the Royal liberality & Lord Glenelg's recommendations in regard to the U.C. Academy. I think Lord John Russell himself was prepossessed against me by the representations of Mr. Alder, and probably of Sir Geo. Arthur & others. But by the condescension of Your Excellency, I have been prompted & emboldened to express myself to Your Excellency on all questions of civil government & the affairs of this country more fully than I have to any other man living. My private opinions & public writings have been simultaneously before Your Excellency, together with all the circumstances under which I have expressed the one and published the other. I feel confident, therefore, that however I may be misrepresented by some or misunderstood by others, I shall have justice in the estimate & opinions of Your Excellency—that I have been any thing but theoretical or obstinate—that I have shrunk from no responsibility in the time of need & difficulty—& that my opinions, whether superficial or well considered, are such as any common sense practical man, whose connexions & associations & feelings are involved in the happiness & well-being of the middle classes of Society, might be expected to entertain.

It is not my intention or wish to obtrude my opinions upon the attention of Your Excellency, except in so far as may be necessary to acquaint Your Excellency with the interests & wishes of the Body whom I have been appointed to represent. In regard to the many other important questions embraced in the great objects of Your Excellency's Government, I shall abstain from any officious

interference; although all that may be in my mind or bear on any subject shall be at the service of Your Excellency when desired.

I cannot conceal, that I look with strong solicitude to the decision of Your Excellency on the subject of my official letter,^[8] as on it must depend, in a very great degree, the future views & feelings of a large portion of the community in regard to the actual policy of Your Excellency's administration, as well as their opinions of the propriety & prudence of my course in consenting to & advocating concession to the extent I have, upon the simple ground of implicit confidence in the declarations of Your Excellency. From what I have witnessed & experienced, I have no doubt that every possible effort will be made to prejudice me in Your Excellency's mind, & induce Your Excellency to treat the Methodist Body in this Province as preceding Governors have done. But I implore Your Excellency to try another course of proceeding, whether as an experiment or as an act of justice; and if the Methodist Body should prove itself unworthy of the consideration of the Government, then will the Government be justified in withdrawing its countenance & support, and upon the authorities of the Wesleyan Body will rest the responsibility & disgrace and consequences of such a result. But up to the present time, I am persuaded Your Excellency has found no portion of the People of this Province more reasonable in their requests & more easily conciliated to your views & wishes than the Representatives & Members & Friends of the Wesleyan Methodist Church in Canada; and this I doubt not, Your Excellency will find them cultivating & exhibiting the same spirit during the entire period (and may it be a long one!) of Your administration of the Government of Canada.

I have the honor to be, etc.

P.S. Oct. 8th

The above was written some days since; but I could not until now command time to transcribe it for transmission to Your Excellency.

In regard to Lord John Russell's Clergy Reserve Bill, I conceive it to be most unjust in its provisions, as I stated to His Lordship while it was under consideration of Parliament; and should the partial & exclusive provisions of that Bill pervade the

views & administration of government in Canada, in regard to a general system of education, etc., I should utterly despair of ever witnessing social happiness, general educational culture or unity in this country. But I have no doubt the extensive powers with which the Bill invests Your Excellency will be exerted to counteract the inequality of its other provisions, & that Your Excellency's whole system of public policy will be based upon the principles of equal justice to all classes of Her Majesty's Canadian subjects. Under these circumstances I have suggested to the conductor of the *Guardian* not to make any remarks on the Bill which may tend to create dissatisfaction; nor do I intend, for the same reasons, to publish the letter which my brother & I addressed to Lord John Russell on the subject. His Lordship said, indeed, that the Bill was not what he wished; nor could he say it was just; but he had clearly ascertained that a more liberal one could not be got through the House of Lords, & he thought that Bill was better than having *none*. I have not been able to get the first long letter to Lord John Russell copied, as the person to whom I sometimes entrust such work is absent. I herewith enclose a copy of my short concluding letter to His Lordship on the subject of the Bill.^[9]

E. R.

(The following sentence appears in the margin of the copy of this letter.)

During the interview with which I was honoured by Your Excellency in June, when on my way to England, I understood that the grant to the Wesleyan Committee in London had been suspended until the result of the proceedings pending between the Wesleyan Conferences in England & Upper Canada; but about that very time Sir George Arthur gave Mr. Stinson a draft on the Receiver General for £350, which was paid.^[10]

The Conference assembled on October 22nd at Toronto. Thomas Whitehead at the age of 87 took the chair. As the Conference proceeded, Case was elected President. He asked for time to consider and consult his friends, but finally accepted the honour. Ryerson was elected secretary, but in the circumstances he was unwilling to act, and the office went to John C. Davidson. The Conference had before it the different accounts of the whole matter as respectively published by the Ryersons, and Stinson and Richey, in London. A series of eleven resolutions was prepared by a committee of six

in answer to the question, “What is the judgment of the Conference relative to the proceedings of the Wesleyan Conference in England on the subject of the Union?” When these had been proposed and accepted, one by one, and the rights of the Canadian ministers to manage their own affairs asserted and established, Case rose and asked permission to withdraw from the Conference. Then it was decided that all who felt thus disposed should at once state their position. Fifteen members rose in turn and announced their decision to leave the Conference.^[11] It was a solemn occasion, one never to be forgotten by any of those who witnessed it. The final parting was “very tender and sorrowful”.^[12] Case’s feelings, when he asked for his transfer, were more than he could express. He did not retire for want of affection to his brethren. He had to choose between the Methodist church in the States and the London Missionary Committee. His heart was in Canada, where he had laboured thirty years. God had blessed the labours of the English missionaries with the Indians. The Hudson Bay Indians were said to be 10,000. His work lay with the aborigines. If one may seek to read behind his broken sentences, it seems clear that he did not believe the Canada Conference would resume the Indian work, and he wished to live out what remained to him of active service in that work.

During the winter and spring the Canada Conference undertook a special missionary appeal, rendered necessary by the withdrawal of the London Committee from the field and its refusal to pay even the back salaries of those missionaries who had cast in their lot with the Canada Conference. Once more, as in the Centenary year, the leading preachers went on tour. John Ryerson, now Book Steward, threw himself into this work with his usual zeal. In the *Guardian* of March 24th and of March 31st, of April 7th and 14th, and of May 12th he has given us in delightful form an account of his experiences on various circuits. They reveal something of the new life that had come to the Canadian Church with the return of independence. Egerton Ryerson, William Ryerson, Anson Green, Richard Jones, J. C. Davidson, Thomas Bevitt and Peter Jones also were pressed into service in the missionary cause. The former’s experiences are recounted in letters appearing in the *Guardian* of January 6th, of January 20th and of February 3rd. At the several missionary meetings prominent citizens of various denominations acted as chairmen: in Toronto, Hon. R. B. Sullivan; in Kingston, John A. Macdonald, whose opening speech was “chaste, elegant, impressive and appropriate”;^[13] in London, Thomas Parke, M.P.P; in Consecon, J. P. Roblin; in Cobourg, Ebenezer Perry, Esq.; Colborne, John McCarty, Esq.; Newburgh, Dr. Aylsworth; Belleville, E. Murney, M.P.P; Brockville, Adiel Sherwood, Esq.; Brantford, Lewis Burwell, Esq.; Saltfleet,

Hugh Willson, Esq.; Hamilton, Dr. Kellog; St. Catharines, W. H. Merritt, M.P.P; St. Thomas, Col. Bostwick; Woodhouse, Col. Joseph Ryerson (on his 79th birthday).

During the month of March, after almost five years, the people of Upper Canada were given an opportunity to express their opinions at the polls. Apparently Ryerson took no active part in the elections. The *Guardian* with Jonathan Scott as editor had not a word to say in support of policies or candidates. During the campaign it carried by way of advertisement appeals to electors from a good many candidates, and it announced the results without any attempt to classify the new members. The vote was decidedly favourable to reform policies and to the Governor General. In the Upper Province very few members were elected who might be regarded as friendly to the old Compact party. Hincks placed the number at seven, Sydenham himself at two or three. In the end, both Baldwin and Draper sought and secured election outside Toronto, which returned John H. Dunn and Isaac Buchanan, a leading merchant and Presbyterian. Hincks was elected in Oxford, Dr. Gilchrist in the North Riding of Northumberland, Caleb Hopkins in East Halton, and Captain Steele in Simcoe. Sydenham in his double capacity of Governor and Prime Minister could depend upon the new Assembly and the reorganized Council to support his policies.

That the Methodist vote was cultivated is shown by the following letter:

March 8, 1841, JOHN A. W. POWELL, *Perth*, to REVD. EGERTON RYERSON, *Toronto*.

DEAR SIR

Having mislaid a letter of thanks which you did me the favor to send on the occasion of my vote in favor of the Grant to the Coburg Academy, may I beg of you to furnish me with another to the same effect as notwithstanding my vote being recorded in the *Journals of the House of Assembly* my opponents are sedulously circulating a report to the contrary.

My reasons for thus troubling you are that unconscious of having mislaid your communication, I pledged myself to produce it.

Trusting that you will favor me with a reply with the least possible delay

I remain

Dear Sir

Yours truly

JOHN A. W. POWELL

March 17, 1841, EGERTON RYERSON, *Toronto*, to HIS EXCELLENCY, THE GOVERNOR GENERAL

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR EXCELLENCY,

As the Union of the Provinces has been consummated, I beg most respectfully to solicit Your Excellency's attention to the subject of my communication of the 6th of October, which Mr. Chief Secretary Murdoch kindly acknowledged, by Your Excellency's command, in a reply addressed to me on the 23rd of the same month.

Though Your Excellency did not feel able to grant the prayer of my letter for assistance in the embarrassing and novel circumstances in which the Wesleyan Methodist Church in Upper Canada was unexpectedly placed; yet I am happy to be able to state that our appeals to the Christian liberality of the public have been successful beyond our most sanguine expectation, so that efficient means has thus been obtained for the support of all the Institutions of our Church during the present Conference year, ending in June next, with the exception of a debt of about £800 or £1000 against the Trustees of the Upper Canada Academy.

I have laid the purport of Your Excellency's Reply to my letter before the principal members of the Body in whose behalf I have been appointed to communicate with Your Excellency, and it becomes my duty again most earnestly to entreat Your Excellency's kind attention to the just and reasonable interests of the Wesleyan Methodist Church in Canada in connexion with the grant which has heretofore been paid to the agent of the Wesleyan Committee in London. Contrary to what I had heretofore understood to be the intentions of Your Excellency, I have been credibly informed that a half year's instalment of that grant has been paid by order of the Lt. Governor to the agents of the London Committee since the dissolution of the Union between the Canada & English Conferences—as late as January—even since the Clergy Reserve Bill came into operation. I must appeal to the gracious consideration of Your Excellency against such injustice to the Methodist Church in Canada.

I refer to my letter of the 6th of October to revive in Your Excellency's recollection all the facts connected with this affair, the circumstances under which the grant was originally made to the London Committee, the circumstances under which the Union between the Canada & English Conferences was dissolved, & the support which the official organs of the Wesleyan Body in Canada have rendered Your Excellency in a period of peculiar difficulty & responsibility.

I would submit the following points to Your Excellency as being established by the documents & papers referred to in my letter.

1. That upon the testimony of the Earl of Ripon and Lord Seaton—in letters written by them several years since—the grant was made to the London Committee in view of the Union of the Wesleyan Body in Canada with that Committee, & was given with a view of aiding the Wesleyan Methodists in Canada, as it was paid out of a Canadian Revenue.

2. That the London Committee has dissolved the Union with the Canadian Body in consequence of the support which was given by the latter to Your Excellency's administration; though stated *abstractly* to be on account of interfering with politics.

I beg further to submit to Your Excellency that the Clergy Reserve Act does not allow the payment of any sum to any other than Religious Denominations *in Canada*—except a certain defined portion to the Propagation Society. The British Wesleyan Conference is not a denomination *in Canada*, but in Great Britain, only having agents or Missionaries in Canada.

Permit me also to submit to Your Excellency's attention another important and anomalous fact: With the exception of the Wesleyan Methodist Church, each of the principal Religious Denominations in Canada receives large annual grants from the Public Revenue. Not only is not a single farthing granted to assist the Wesleyan Methodist Church, even in its noble Academy, but several hundred pounds a year, from a Canadian Revenue, are given to a Committee in London to aid it in a hostile crusade against the Methodist Church in Canada. Surely this is very far from being "equal justice to all classes of Her Majesty's Canadian subjects".^[14]

When I consented, as Editor of the organ of the Wesleyan Body in this country, to assist Your Excellency in accomplishing the important objects of Your Excellency's mission to Upper Canada, I apprised Your Excellency of opposition which would probably be created against me from Mr. Alder & his friends on one side, and from a certain portion of the Reform press of Canada on the other; in reply to which Your Excellency was pleased to assure me of all the protection which it was in the power of Your Government to bestow. After the Committee in London commenced hostile proceedings against the Canada Conference and myself, Your Excellency was pleased in June last, in a most gracious reply to the Address of that Body, to shield them from the shafts of Mr. Alder's insinuations & to assure them of the fullest protection of their interests in the future deliberations & decisions of Your Government.

I appeal to Your Excellency that the Conference I have the honor to represent has asked for nothing which is not dictated by reason, justice & humanity.

As to myself, I have desired no other reward for doing what, under all the circumstances, I deemed a public duty, than the satisfaction of having done it. But at the present time my reward is to be injured in property, and to be assailed with unwonted bitterness. All the property I have, or expect to have, is in this city, as are also the property and business of my family connexions, & the Printing & Book Establishment of the Wesleyan Methodist Church; the value of which is, of course, considerably affected by the removal of the seat of government^[15]—an event which is also turned to my disadvantage by partizans of the London Committee who, with a view of alienating persons from me who have heretofore been my friends, & of exciting hostility against me, frequently urge “the loss of the seat of government as the first fruits of Egerton Ryerson's supporting the Governor General”. And in addition to all this, Government is actually paying money to persons, who opposed it when it most needed support, & who are employing that very money to injure the Canada Conference & myself. It is true we have as many Ministers employed, and as many members in our Church, & as large contributions & a much larger portion of the Public with us, than we had before the London Committee commenced this unnatural crusade against us; but these circumstances alter not the melancholy fact & the effects

of it, that not only is the Wesleyan Methodist Church not treated as are other Protestant Churches, or even the Roman Catholic Church, in this Province, but Public Money to the amount of several hundred pounds a year is being paid by Government in aid of a warfare against the peace & interests of that Church.

Believing that in the extraordinary pressure of public business, this matter has been excluded from Your Excellency's attention, & that Your Excellency will feel that neither the Wesleyan Body in this Province nor myself deserve such injury at the hands of Your Government, I am impelled by a sense of public duty & self-preservation to implore Your Excellency's early consideration of the subject, confident that it will no sooner engage Your Excellency's attention than justice will be done to a Christian denomination than whom none in this Province is more deserving, or has more unanimously & cordially aided in promoting the patriotic & beneficent objects of Your Excellency's administration.

I have the honor to be, etc.

EGERTON RYERSON

In 1838 two men of considerable ability had joined the teaching staff of the Academy: William Kingston, an Irishman trained in Girard College, Philadelphia, as English Master, who commenced a connection with the college which was to continue for thirty-two years; and Daniel C. Van Norman, a graduate of Wesleyan, as Mathematical Master, who was to be a pioneer in science teaching in the province. Hurlburt, as Acting Principal, taught Classics and also some Hebrew. It is clear from the minutes of the Managing Committee that dissatisfaction with his administration became more acute after his marriage in the fall of 1840 to Miss Boulter, the Preceptress of the Academy. The two masters now consult Ryerson, as principal elect, on the situation.

March 31, 1841, D. C. VAN NORMAN & W. KINGSTON, U.C. Academy, to REV. EGERTON RYERSON, Toronto.

REV. AND DEAR SIR,

Impelled by a sense of duty, we beg respectfully to unbosom ourselves to you on a subject which we deem of vital importance to this Institution, and one upon which our minds have long been painfully exercised. Before proceeding, however, to the subject of

the communication, we would premise, that we are not influenced by any personal feelings or considerations in the abstract, nor would we interpose the slightest obstacle to Mr. Hurlburt's prosperity and success, did not public interests, which we think should be considered of paramount importance, urge us to such a course.

You will probably be surprised that a communication like the present should emanate from us, considering the prominent part we have acted in order to secure to him the Principalship of the U. C. Academy. The following is a candid statement of the facts of the case, after a perusal of which, it is believed, you will fully justify us in the course which we thought it our duty to pursue in relation to this affair.

On entering the Academy, we found it, in its internal operations, in a most deplorable condition, & labored for a whole year to introduce some regular & efficient system; but our efforts proving abortive, we were led to see the necessity of having some other person at its head. From our acquaintance with Mr. H. while acquiring his education, we believed him to be a faithful, laborious student, possessed of very great ambition, and therefore, a person who would use the most strenuous efforts to promote the prosperity of any cause or project with which his own interests should be identified; and who, moreover, from his acquaintance with similar Institutions, the mode of instruction, government, etc. would be much better qualified for Principal than the individual then holding that office. We therefore used our influence with the Committee, with whom he had previously been in communication on the same subject, and with him, to accept of their proposals; and last winter the results in a great measure answered our expectations. A longer and more intimate acquaintance, however, & the results of this winter's operations especially, have fully convinced us, that under the present administration, the U. C. Ac. has seen its most prosperous days, symptoms of decline being already too obvious to be misunderstood. Mr. H. is destitute of certain qualifications highly essential for the proper & successful discharge of the functions of his office. As a writer, you, as well as others, must be fully convinced that he is utterly incompetent to fill the situation which he occupies. To be more specific: we speak not from conjecture, when we state, that without the head & hand of another, he cannot prepare an article fit for a public Journal. A

deficiency this, in an individual sustaining the relation which he does, for which no other acquirement can atone, as it is frequently necessary that he prepare written lectures on various subjects, for the benefit of the students as well as articles for the press, also that he be able readily to detect & rectify errors in diction and composition. Again, it is highly important that the Head of a literary Institution be able, verbally, to communicate his ideas, at least intelligibly, especially if he professes to be a public speaker. Now, so far is Mr. H. from sustaining an acceptable character in this respect, that we feel ourselves frequently embarrassed and pained, by the manner in which our communications are made through him, as our organ, to the students. You may be surprised at these statements, considering the very favorable impression, in reference to his talents as a speaker, made by his Centenary Speech. But you are aware Sir, that no correct estimate can be formed from any single effort of this kind. *That speech* had been heard before, & has been repeated many a time since that occasion; indeed some part of it enters into the composition of almost every pulpit discourse. We again assert, that these statements are not made from any personal feelings or considerations, but simply to show that he does not possess those qualifications necessary to sustain the character of a literary Institution. Nor is this opinion confined to us; we have satisfactory evidence, that in the estimation of the Citizens of Cobourg, Mr. H. as a Preacher, ranks quite below mediocrity.

Again, it is essential for the prosperity of such an Institution, that the person upon whom its general supervision devolves, should, as a man, sustain a respectable standing among the Citizens of the place where it is located. Now, we can positively assert, and we do so with pain and regret, that Mr. H. in consequence of an affectation of dignity and superiority, etc., etc. renders himself contemptible & ridiculous, in the eyes of the inhabitants; and frequently have we, in respectable circles, been obliged, either to extenuate his conduct, or silently listen, with mortified feelings, to reflections upon him, as an individual, & consequently derogatory to the Institution. And from the disrespect with which he is frequently treated by the students, as well as from the statements of a person who has every facility for becoming acquainted with their views & feelings, we believe the estimation in which he is held by them, is far from being favorable

to the interests of the Academy. We have been obliged during this session, to exercise severe & in some cases extreme discipline, in reference to students who under proper executive authority, would have yielded due obedience to the laws of the Institution.

Finally, from statements repeatedly made by Mr. H., the Committee and Students were led to expect frequent lectures on various subjects; but with the exception of three delivered more than a year ago, these expectations, so far as he is concerned, have been disappointed. Notwithstanding he has had more time at his command than any other teacher, he has utterly refused to deliver a public lecture during the present Session, thus throwing a disproportionate amount of labor & responsibility upon others, whose duties were before sufficiently arduous.

* * * * *

Now, Rev. Sir, to you and you alone, do we look, under these peculiar circumstances. It remains for you to decide whether the Academy shall rank amongst the first literary Institutions of the country & become an important agent in forming its future character, and controlling its destiny, or drag out a merely nominal existence. With one to whom Canada is already so greatly indebted and who has for years made himself the servant of the public, duty alone—where can I be the most useful? will turn the scale in matters of this nature. The present generation will soon have passed away, and whether you can so effectually & extensively promote the interests of the rising & future generations, in any other field of labor, as at the head of this Institution, appears, at least to us, not at all problematical. Notwithstanding we used our influence to have another placed at its head *pro tempore*, still we always supposed that upon you, as soon as circumstances of the Church & country should become favorable, would devolve the superintendence of the U. C. A. . . .

We wish it to be distinctly understood, that nothing of a personal nature, has transpired between Mr. H. & ourselves, that would lead us to pursue this course. If any thing in this communication should appear dictatorial or otherwise exceptionable, we hope it will be imputed to the peculiar circumstances under which we have written. An immediate reply is respectfully solicited, as being of great importance to us. We pledge ourselves, Rev. Sir, that any confidence you may be

pleased to impose in us shall not be betrayed. If you think proper, this communication, which is *confidential in the highest degree, may be presented in that character*, to the Rev. J. Ryerson.^[16]

We are, Rev. & dear Sir,

Yours very respectfully & affecny.

D. C. VAN NORMAN

W. KINGSTON

During the year Ryerson maintained some correspondence with prominent American Methodists with whom he had become familiar during his several visits to the United States and his month at Baltimore and New York in the previous year. An intimate letter from Rev. Dr. D. M. Reese, a member of the New York Conference, and the subsequent frank discussion with Dr. Bangs of the peculiar situation in which he found himself in relation to public affairs have been preserved with this correspondence. The latter reveals an attitude of mind on the part of Ryerson in the weeks before parliament assembled consorting rather oddly with views expressed in letters to Sydenham himself and in the eulogy of that statesman after his death.

May 10, 1841, EGERTON RYERSON, Toronto, U.C., to REV. DR. BANGS, Wesleyan University, Middletown, Conn., U.S.A.

REV. & VERY DEAR SIR,

I have long since desired to intrude a few lines upon your notice, as an expression of high & grateful personal regard, although I have little that is interesting to communicate to you which you do not see in the *Guardian*. I congratulate you most heartily on your appointment to the Presidency of the University, & hope you will find its duties less onerous & more agreeable than those which you have so long & arduously discharged. I hope & pray also, that you may be able to continue without abatement to favor & edify the religious public with the rich results of your varied reading & matured thinking. On this ground I desire to express my personal obligations; & not least for your "*Letters to Young Ministers of the Gospel*",^[17] which were the first I recollect of reading on the subjects of which they treat. Many of your remarks & suggestions have been of great service to me.

In Canada we are doing as well as we can.^[18] I was much disappointed in not seeing you on our return from England last September, both for free conversation & counsel, as well as because I had been informed that some unfavorable representations had been made to you in connexion with my name. I left a Pamphlet for you; & I hope you have read the principal documents which appeared in the *Guardian*. The agents of the London Comtee. have not injured our Societies generally although the scenes of schism which have been & are exhibited in many places are sickening & disgraceful. I am not aware that Elder Case has taken any active part in these transactions; he has continued an *acting* & useful member of the Academy Board, notwithstanding his strange secession from our Conference.

Some conversation has lately taken place between my brother John & Mr. Stinson & myself.^[19] I think it *possible* that a friendly arrangement may be made between the London Committee & our Conference. I have observed by the discussion, especially by a pamphlet lately published by the Committee in London, & also in conversation with Mr. Stinson, that the whole affair is made to appear as much as possible a matter of difference between the Committee & me personally, & epithets have been multiplied against me in proportion to the want of facts. I have always resolved not to allow myself to be the ground of difference between two Bodies. If I can make this circumstance instrumental in effecting an amicable adjustment of differences, such as would be agreeable & advantageous to my brethren, I have thought it would be best to do so, & retire personally from the Conference, either employing my pen for the religious & general interests of my native land, or seeking a more peaceful field of labor in your part of the world where I almost wish I had gone last year, although I know not that I could have done otherwise than I did in accordance with what is due to personal honor & character.

The new constitution of Canada embraces all and worse than all I mentioned to you last year. It provides to abstract from the people of Canada, without their consent, \$334,000 *annually* to support the Executive independently of the People; & then provides that no *money* bill of any description shall be introduced into the Legislature without the recommendation of the Governor. It also provides that the Governor may or may not consult his

Executive Council, as he pleases; also that the Senate or second branch of the Legislature is selected by the Crown. So that you perceive that the inhabitants of Canada have no more control over the Executive Govt. than the inhabitants of Russia or Prussia.^[20] In addition to this, the Imperial Parlt. has disposed of the Clergy Reserves in a manner the most unfair, unjust & corrupt, although the old Constitution of Canada provided for the disposal of them by the Provincial Legislature. Wide spread secret dissatisfaction exists in the country; a majority of the new Assembly (which has not yet met) are friends of the People, but many are afraid to move or to say what they think. Canada is indeed a plantation; & its inhabitants are [a] province of slaves & not a country of freemen; & my own apprehension is, that, notwithstanding all exertions to the contrary, under the present system of things the morals & intelligence of the people will be on a level with their liberties. Whether my continued silence in such circumstances is a virtue or a crime; or whether I should retire from the country, or remain & make one Christian, Open & decisive effort to secure for my fellow countrymen a free Constitution & equal rights amongst their Churches, is a perplexing question to me, as well as to my father-in-law & brothers. It is believed by some intelligent men who have talked on the subject, that if I would come out as the advocate of the country, there would be no doubt of success, from my knowledge of the subject, from a general, & as I think overweening, confidence in my concentration, perseverance & energy & from the feelings of the country. It is also thought that if there should be a failure of success, I could *then* honorably retire to the U. S. I am no theorist; but I hate despotism as I do Satan, & I love liberty as I do life; & my thoughts and feelings flow so strongly in favor of the religious & civil freedom of my native country, that with all my engagements & duties, I cannot resist them, at least half of the time. The Govt. is jealous^[21] of me because I returned its money & declined conducting, or writing for, its Periodical. I wd. be most grateful to you for your opinion on this general matter irrespective of details, with which of course you cannot be acquainted. Our Conference sits early in June; I shd. be glad to hear from you before then. My wife & her friends join me in kind regards to you & yours.

Yours most kindly & affectionately

E. RYERSON

Early in the history of the Academy, probably from the very first, it had been hoped that more advanced work would be undertaken in due course. Definite steps to this end were taken at the Conference of 1841. At the session of June 18th it was resolved, “That the Board of the Upper Canada Academy be authorized to memorialize the Legislature of the Province to obtain a charter for incorporating that institution as a College, and if possible to obtain an endowment”.

In 1841 King’s College still existed only on paper and in account books. Within the last two years, however, the Presbyterians had become active. During 1839 meetings were called in various parts of the province and subscriptions solicited for a college to be set up at Kingston. At the meeting held at Toronto under the chairmanship of the Hon. W. Morris, Ryerson’s name appears amongst those on the platform.^[22] On May 26, 1841, the *Guardian* announced that Dr. Thomas Liddell of Lady Glenorchy’s Chapel of Edinburgh had been appointed its Principal, although a Royal Charter was finally issued only on the 16th of October of that year. As early as 1837 the Catholics had secured incorporation for an institution at Kingston known as Regiopolis College.

The smooth progress of the Victoria College Bill through Parliament illustrates the change which had come into the conduct of Canadian affairs with a “managing Governor”. The petition was prepared during the first week in July.^[23] On July 12th it was presented in the Assembly and referred to a committee consisting of George M. Boswell, the member for the South Riding of Northumberland; John P. Roblin, the member for Prince Edward; John Tucker Williams, the member for Durham;—these three interested for other reasons, but certainly from their proximity to Cobourg—Charles Dewey Day, the Solicitor General, who at this time was advancing the School Act of 1841; and Robert Baldwin. Boswell was Chairman. He reported for the Committee and presented the Bill for its first reading on July 16th. By July 23rd it had received its third reading. Three days later Boswell “and another” carried the bill to the Legislative Council desiring the concurrence of that body. It was on the same day referred to a committee consisting of the Honourable Messieurs Hamilton, Fraser and Bruneau. On July 30th the committee reported the Bill without amendment. It was read a second time on August 4th, and read a third time and passed as the first order of business on August 5th.^[24] On August 27th Sydenham gave it the Royal assent.

There is no evidence of any opposition having developed to the Bill. The published proceedings of the House do not include a summary of debates,

and Scott as editor is not curious to preserve the record of such matters. Green, however, stated at the formal opening of the College, that the Charter was obtained by the unanimous vote of the two Houses. Apparently Ryerson had a considerable part in its passage. Burwash says he prepared the petition.^[25] At all events he went to Kingston and saw the Governor, “spending an evening and part of a day in free conversation” with him.^[26] Sydenham was favourable to the petition and to financial assistance; but opposition having developed to a regular endowment, the amount asked for was reduced to £500 and the request made for the year only. When the bill for financial assistance was presented to the House, the Governor recommended its acceptance on the ground that the grant appeared necessary to give effect to the Bill of incorporation. It was passed, and received the royal assent on September 18th.

At the annual Conference, Ryerson had been continued for another year as Superintendent of the City circuit. Since the autumn of 1840 he had also been General Secretary of the Missionary Society. Nothing is recorded in the minutes as to his relations to the Academy. It may perhaps be inferred that his assuming the duties of Principal was contingent upon the change of status to a College. This assured, he received the following official letter from the Board.

September 3, 1841, W. S. CONGER,^[27] Cobourg, to REV. EGERTON RYERSON, Toronto.

MY DEAR SIR,

I have the satisfaction to inform you that at our Committee Meeting on Wednesday last,^[28] (all the members being present), you were by their *unanimous* voice recommended to the “Board” to fill the Principal’s chair in “Victoria College”—and I must beg of you not to throw any obstacle in the way of your appointment to that important trust. I need not say to you that our hope of success depends entirely upon raising the character of the College above that of the Upper Canada Academy. To do this we must place at its head a person holding a commanding influence over that portion of society from whom we expect to receive support, and allow me to say, that the committee believe they are only doing you justice when they say, they know of no person so likely to accomplish that end, or satisfy public expectation, as yourself.

I have written to several members of the Board informing them of what we have done, and requesting them to attend a Board Meeting to be held here at the close of the session; at this meeting the committee will lay before the Board a statement of their affairs, and arrangements will of course be made for the ensuing year.

I was in Kingston last week and was sorry to find on my arrival there, that you had only left it a few hours before.

Trusting to see you here very soon,

I remain, Dr. Sir,

Yours very truly,

W. S. CONGER

September 8, 1841, EGERTON RYERSON, *Toronto*, to THE HON. S. B. HARRISON, M.P.,^[29] *Kingston*.

MY DEAR SIR,

I regret to learn from Mr. Boswell that he has been compelled to leave Kingston to attend to his professional duties as Queen's Counsel on one of the circuits. Mr. B. states that he had spoken to you on the subject of the grant to the Victoria College, & expresses his assurance you would take care that it shd. not be forgotten.

Unwilling as I am to add anything to the burden of your numerous duties & engagements, I feel that I should be negligent in courtesy to yourself & in duty to the Board who have requested me to advocate their Memorial, did I not address you a few lines on the subject; and especially as I fear the accident which has befallen His Excellency may preclude any further attention to it on His part.^[30]

As the most prominent & leading member of the Government,^[31] & approving, as you are known to do, of the general principles on which the Trustees of Victoria College have prayed for aid, I take the liberty most earnestly to solicit your kind & efficient interposition at this juncture. The Memorial of the Trustees states the principal grounds of the application. Permit me also to submit,

1. That when an essentially orthodox Church in the Province possesses sufficient influence & means, & has put forth the requisite exertions, *to bring such an Institution into operation*, the Government cannot more effectually promote its own moral influence, or advance academical education in the country, than by liberally supporting it. It cannot be drawn into an inconvenient precedent, as none but a numerous & enterprising Body would or could found such an establishment. I know of no other denomination in the Province that can do it, except the Church of Scotland.

2. That the only Churches in Canada (Churches of England & Rome) which have colleges in connexion with them, or under their direction, have the principal of them munificently endowed. Surely a grant to *one* College in connexion with the Wesleyan Methodist Church ought not to be delayed.

3. That the College Charter must be inoperative without a grant. No such Institution can support itself.^[32] The Trustees & friends of the U. C. Academy have contributed about £300 per annum over & above the amount of receipts, although the number of Students during the five years of its operations has been considerably larger than that of the U. C. College during the first five years of its operations. Although the opening of our Institution as a College will doubtless, in the course of a year or so, result in a large increase of Students, yet it involves a considerable additional present outlay. The present departments of Tuition will of course be retained, as preparatory departments for the College, & additional Professors must be employed. Even the present course of instruction is of as high an order in the Classics, & more comprehensive in other branches,^[33] than that which obtains in the Upper Canada College.

The Methodist population of this Province have certainly not cost the Government much either for its religious or educational instruction—a fact which may account for as well as justify much of the dissatisfaction which has heretofore existed, & which ought to induce, in my humble opinion, enlarged liberality on the part of the Government & Legislature in behalf of Victoria College. We ask for not one tenth part of the amount that is annually paid to the Church of England, and not one half of the amount which is

annually paid to either the Church of Scotland or the Church of Rome in *Upper* Canada.

You are of course aware that nothing can be done in this matter without the recommendation of Government. The Trustees have prayed for £1000 per annum—less than half the annual amount of endowment to U. C. College. But as objections seemed to exist against making a permanent grant, previously to the completion of the contemplated Government system of Collegiate, as well as Common School Education, an individual grant only is now sought for & expected. His Excellency being of opinion, that He could not, under all the circumstances, at the present time, recommend the full sum of £1,000 to be granted to the Institution at Cobourg, asked me, in the last interview with which He honoured me, how much I thought the Trustees could get on with successfully; my answer was, I thought they could not carry out their plans with success with less than £500. Upon further consideration & conversation, I hope you will at least support that amount. By the accounts of the Treasurer of the Institution, it appears that there are demands against the Trustees to the amount of some £500 more than the amount of *available* debts due them. We are willing by private effort to wipe off the debt; but it is hard for individuals among us to be paying large sums from year to year, when our Institutions would be efficiently supported, without any such individual sacrifices & burdens, if the Methodist Church were treated with half the liberality which has been bestowed upon the other three leading Churches of the Province. Several hundred pounds is very little for the Province, but is a great deal to be made up by individuals, who, in addition, have to support their Ministers & all the institutions of their Church without any public aid.

Begging pardon for this long intrusion, & freedom, & hoping that the subject of this hasty letter will receive your most favorable consideration & cordial support, I have the honor to be,

with the highest respect,

Your most obedient humble Servant

EGERTON RYERSON

September 16, 1841, JOHN P. ROBLIN, Kingston, to REV. E. RYERSON, Toronto.

DEAR SIR,

A Bill has passed the House of Assembly granting five hundred pounds to Victoria College. I think it will pass the other Branch though it has not as yet.

An address to her Majesty was passed by our House today praying that the seat of Government may be at Toronto and Quebec alternately.

The Governor General is in a very bad state and is considered by many to be in danger in consequence of frequent spasms from the gout. The bone will not knit and fears are entertained of gangrene setting in.

The Parliament will be prorogued tomorrow without fail.

I remain

Yours truly

JOHN P. ROBLIN

The signing of the grant to Victoria College was one of Sydenham's last acts. Having suffered intensely for two weeks, he died on September 19th. He had asked that he be buried in Canada, and his remains lie in St. George's Chapel at Kingston.

September 27, 1841, EGERTON RYERSON to THE EDITOR OF THE Christian Guardian.^[34]

MY DEAR SIR,

I left Toronto on Monday, the 20th instant, on board the *Niagara* Steamer. A little west of Cobourg we met the *St. George* Steamer from Kingston, whose flag, half-mast high, told us that "a prince and a great man had fallen".

* * * * *

It is not easy to determine which is most worthy of admiration, the comprehensiveness and grandeur of Lord Sydenham's plans, the skill with which he overcame the obstacles that opposed their accomplishment, or the quenchless ardour and ceaseless industry with which he pursued them. To lay the foundations of public liberty, and at the same time to strengthen the prerogative; to promote vast public improvements and not increase the public burdens; to provide a comprehensive system of education upon

Christian principles without interference with religious scruples; to promote the influence and security of the Government by teaching the people to govern themselves; to destroy party faction by promoting the general good; to invest a bankrupt country with both credit and resources, are conceptions and achievements which render Lord Sydenham the first benefactor of Canada, and place him in the first rank of Statesmen. His Lordship found a country divided, he left it united; he found it prostrate and paralytic, he left it erect and vigorous; he found it mantled with despair, he left it blooming with hope. Lord Sydenham has done more in two years to strengthen and consolidate British power in Canada by his matchless industry and truly liberal conservative policy than had been done during the ten previous years by the increase of a standing army, and the erection of military fortifications. His Lordship has solved the difficult problem, that a people may be colonists and yet be free; and, in the solution of that problem, he has gained a triumph less imposing, but not less sublime and scarcely less important, than the victory of Waterloo; he has saved millions to England, and secured the affections of Canada.

In the way of accomplishing these splendid results, the most formidable obstacles opposed themselves. At the foundation of these lay the hitherto defective theory and worse than defective system of Colonial Government; a system destitute of the safety-valve of responsibility, of the attributes of freedom, and of the essential materials of executive power; a system which was despotic from its weakness, and arbitrary from its pretences to representation; a system inefficient in the hands of good men, and withering in the hands of mistaken or bad men. There were the wrongs, and abuses, and public bankruptcy which had grown out of this system; there were the party interests, and the party combinations and hostilities, which this system had fostered; there were the prejudices of one portion of the population, and the fears and suspicions of another; there were the prescriptive assumptions of long possessed power, and the clamorous demands of long exclusion from power; and, worst of all, the conflicting claims of ecclesiastical pretensions; there was the absence of public confidence, and the absence of any one man or body of men able to command that confidence. To lay the foundation of a government adapted to the social state and character of a

population thus depressed, divided, and sub-divided; to provide for the efficient administration of all its departments; to create mutual confidence and induce united action among leading men of all parties without sacrifice of principle on the part of any, was a task difficult and hazardous to the last degree, and for even attempting which Lord Sydenham has been frequently ridiculed by persons of reputed knowledge and experience.

* * * * *

To genius Lord Sydenham possessed no pretensions; but what has been said of Charlemagne was true of his Lordship. He possessed “a great understanding, a great heart, and a great soul”. His mind was eminently practical, and habitually active; he was a shrewd observer of men and things; his knowledge was various and extensive, and always ready for practical application, and he descended to the minutest details of public business with astonishing quickness and accuracy. The interests of the country which he governed engrossed all his care, and seemed to form the element of his daily being. His plans were bold, comprehensive, and energetic; and, having been deliberately adopted, he would not suffer prejudice or clamour to turn him aside from the pursuit of them. He valued prerogative only as the means of protecting and promoting public liberty and happiness. His despatches to the Secretary of State for the Colonies explaining the principles and objects of his measures breathe the most ardent and generous feeling in behalf of the civil and religious freedom and growing happiness and prosperity of the people of Canada. The publication of them will furnish the best eulogium upon his motives and character, while the operation of his magnificent plans will form a lasting monument of his wisdom and patriotism.

* * * * *

At the commencement of His Lordship’s Mission in Upper Canada, when his plans were little known, his difficulties formidable, and his Government weak, I had the pleasing satisfaction of giving him my humble and dutiful support in the promotion of his non-party and provincial objects; and now that he is beyond the reach of human praise or censure—where all earthly ranks and distinctions are lost in the sublimities of eternity—I have the melancholy satisfaction of bearing my humble testimony to his candour, sincerity, faithfulness, kindness, and liberality. A

few days before the occurrence of the accident which terminated his life, I had the honour of spending an evening and part of a day in free conversation with His Lordship, and on that, as well as on former similar occasions, he observed the most marked reverence for the Truths of Christianity—a most earnest desire to base the civil institutions of the country upon Christian principles, with a scrupulous regard to the rights of conscience—a total absence of all animosity against any persons or parties who had opposed him—and an intense anxiety to silence dissension and discord, and render Canada contented, happy, and prosperous. I am told that, the day before his lamented death, he expressed his regret that he had not given more of his time to religion. His mind was perfectly composed; he was in the full possession of his rational powers until he “ceased at once to work and live”. He transacted official business in the acutest agonies of suffering, even “when the hand of death was upon him”; the last hours of his life were spent in earnest supplication to that Redeemer in humble reliance upon whose atonement he yielded up the Ghost. Those who were most intimately acquainted and connected with Lord Sydenham are most warmly attached to him and most deeply deplore their loss; and few in Canada will not say, in the death of this lamented Nobleman and distinguished Governor—I have lost a Friend.

Yours very truly,
E. RYERSON

Sydenham’s work was done. However his methods may be judged, and however convinced historians may be that had he lived to meet parliament difficulties harmful or perhaps fatal to his fame might have arisen, he had measurably advanced the cause to which Ryerson had devoted so much of his young manhood. Delays and disappointments might and did supervene; but civil and religious liberty had been assured to Upper Canada. Ryerson could now turn to his second great work. Not that it was different or unrelated. It was as definitely the outgrowth of his earlier labours as it was the seal of their permanent effectiveness. As Principal of Victoria College, and presently as Superintendent of Education for Upper Canada, he was to establish for generations to come a general and well ordered system of instruction from primary school to university on the broad basis of a common Christian faith. This was the task before him.

- [1] Sydenham's summary of the conditions as he found them in Upper Canada was recorded in a private letter. Scrope: *Life of Lord Sydenham*, p. 147; Shortt: *Lord Sydenham (Makers of Canada, Vol. VI)*, p. 200.
- [2] W. and E. Ryerson: *Union and Separation*, p. 25.
- [3] *S.M.L.*, p. 272.
- [4] W. and E. Ryerson: *Union and Separation*, p. 12.
- [5] In a footnote on page 102 of the pamphlet on *Union and Separation*, Ryerson had told of his promise to give the Governor his support "to promote the great objects of his government". He continues, "I do not regret the confidence I have reposed in his Excellency. That confidence, in both his uprightness and ability, has been strengthened and confirmed by all that I have witnessed or known of his plans and administration. I believe his Excellency has fairly earned the distinctions which have been conferred upon him. I am thankful that my brethren in Canada have, with great unanimity, sustained me in the humble support I have endeavoured to render to his Excellency's administration."
- [6] Hugh Scobie, now a candidate in Simcoe.
- [7] John Waudby had assumed the editorship of the *Upper Canada Herald* for Mrs. Thomson after the death of her husband.
- [8] The official letter, dated October 6th, informs Sydenham of the secession of the British Conference and asks that such grants to education as would come to the Methodists under the Clergy Reserves Act should be made as generous as possible.

- [9] On October 23rd, the Governor's secretary sent a formal reply stating that no decision would be made on the Reserves until the Union of the Provinces should come into operation.
- [10] Arthur at this time was making no important decisions, but in the case of this £700 grant he appears to have thought it safe to emulate Solomon's attitude to the disputing mothers.
- [11] The greater number of the preachers of British origin remained with the Canada Conference. Ephraim Evans was the only prominent member, besides Case, to withdraw. Stinson and Richey were not involved. They had retained membership in the British Conference and sat in the Canada Conference, the former as delegate and President and the latter by special vote.
- [12] *Case, IV*, p. 313.
- [13] *C.G.*, Feb. 17, 1841.
- [14] A quotation from Sydenham's "Proclamation" issued on his arrival at Quebec.

[15] “When we arrived in Kingston,” John Ryerson wrote on his missionary tour, “we were at a loss to account for the many smiling faces we saw—everybody seemed to be so well pleased—pleased with themselves, with everybody else, and every thing; why, so good-natured were all the people, that *every thing* seemed to look smiling and gay; we might almost have fancied that we had arrived at the temple of unmixed pleasure and gladness of heart; and we were led to ask, ‘What can the matter be?—what all this leaping for joy about?’—and the whole mystery was solved when we were informed that the Kingstonians were to be the Metropolitans of United Canada, that Kingston was fixed upon as the seat of Government, that the glad tidings had just been received. May our excellent friends in Kingston realize all the advantages from these political arrangements which they now fondly anticipate; and may our beloved Toronto never be a farthing the worse for them, but contrary wise, much the better!”

Corresponding gloom must have clouded many faces in Toronto, among them that of James R. Armstrong, Ryerson’s father-in-law, who doubtless regretted his moving back to Toronto from Kingston.

[16] Fifty years later Hodgins still thought it necessary to regard the information as confidential. He prints a part of the letter in *Documentary History (Vol. IV, p. 114)*, which Burwash reproduces in his *History of Victoria College (p. 73)*. It is interesting to compare the excerpt with the whole letter.

[17] Published in 1834.

[18] The circuits were to report in June a net increase of 663 members for the year, in spite of a loss of 1,250 by the separation.

[19] We have no further information as to this conversation. Probably John was resuming the rôle which he had played with unhappy results in 1832.

- [20] When Parliament assembled at Kingston on June 15th, Robert Baldwin felt it necessary to resign from the Executive Council because the Governor had included amongst the number of his advisers several members whose opinions differed from his own and those of the majority of the House.
- [21] *I.e.* suspicious—a use of the word persisting to the 19th century.
- [22] *C.G.* Dec. 11, 1839.
- [23] The petition appears in *Documentary History (Vol. IV, pp. 8-9)*. It was signed by William Ryerson, President of Conference, and Anson Green, Secretary, as well as by John Ryerson, Egerton Ryerson, Richard Jones and others.
- [24] The various steps may be traced in the *Journal of the House of Assembly 1841*, pp. 165, 194, 226, and *Journal of the Legislative Council*, pp. 64, 65, 67.
- [25] *History of Victoria College*, p. 71.
- [26] *C.G.*, Sept. 29, 1841. This interview, we may perhaps infer, dissolved Ryerson's doubts and gloomy anticipations.
- [27] A Cobourg business man, secretary of the Board.

[28] The Managing Committee met on September 1st, and the following item appears in the minutes: “The Committee having been informed that the Bill, incorporating ‘Upper Canada Academy’ under the Name and Style of ‘Victoria College’ has passed the Legislature, deem it of the greatest importance to place at the head of that Institution an individual whose qualifications, influence, and moral worth, will secure for it that Character and Standing in Society generally, which it is so very desirable it should attain, do therefore earnestly recommend the ‘Board’ to place in the Principal’s Chair the Rev. Egerton Ryerson who in the opinion of this Committee is eminently qualified to fill the situation not only with credit to himself and the Institution over which he would preside, but to the satisfaction of the Country.”

[29] The Honourable Samuel Bealey Harrison was an Englishman by birth who had been in Canada some years. He was elected member for Kingston in 1841, and chosen by Sydenham as his Provincial Secretary in Upper Canada. He was acceptable to, though not closely identified with, the Reform party. He resigned from the government in 1843 over the Metcalfe controversy. He was elected for Kent in the next parliament, but was shortly afterwards elevated to the Bench.

[30] On September 4th Sydenham had fallen from his horse and broken his leg. Owing to chronic gout the bone did not knit. On the 7th Ryerson wrote Murdock a note conveying his “humble and affectionate condolences”.

[31] Writing to Lord John Russell on June 27, 1841, Sydenham described him as “the best man I have”.

[32] Ryerson does not consider it possible to sustain Victoria College by private benefactions. At least one Ontario University, McMaster, has managed to survive without public aid other than a fine site and certain other privileges from the city of Hamilton. Victoria University today receives no public assistance, except the arrangement under federation by which instruction for her students in certain subjects, mainly the sciences, is given by the publicly-supported University of Toronto.

[33] From the first the Academy had emphasized the study of English and now was pioneering in the sciences.

[34] *C.G.* Sept 29th, 1841.

INDEX

Adams, Alvah, [209](#) and *n.*

Adams, Ezra, [8](#).

Addison, Robert, [4](#).

Aikman, John, [6](#), [378](#).

Alder, Robert, and Strachan, [49](#); description of, [153](#); reception in York in 1832, [154](#); and Colborne, [156](#); and Ryerson, [167](#); question of presidency, [168](#); allowed to preach in Strachan's school, [169](#); [170](#), [181](#) and *n.*; chairman by courtesy, [238](#); [244](#), [389](#), [418](#), [419](#), [507](#), [510](#); contest with Ryerson, [513](#); [515](#), [534](#); incensed, [546n.](#); [547](#), [551](#), [554](#), [558](#), [569](#).

Alliance Society (Canadian Alliance), [249](#).

American Conference (General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church), jurisdiction extends into Canada, [45](#); agreement with British Conference in 1820, [46](#); Canadian separation mooted, [54](#); and amicably effected, [77-80](#); Canadian delegates to in 1836, [271](#), [287](#) and *n.*; opinions on Episcopacy, [388](#) and *n.*; at Baltimore, [543](#).

Anderson, Captain, [111](#).

Armstrong, James Rogers, [99](#) and *n.*, [107](#), [111](#), [181](#), [209n.](#), [307](#), [349](#), [365n.](#), [468](#), [469](#), [570n.](#)

Arthur, Sir George, assumes office, [430](#); [436](#), [437](#); complimentary addresses to, [441](#); addressed by Ryerson, [442](#); refuses appeal for Lount, [447](#); [463](#), [476](#), [477](#); administration of characterized [481-2](#); [489](#), [497](#); collusion with *Patriot*, [498](#); [501](#), [507](#), [508](#); in difficulties, [529](#); wishes Orange processions discontinued, [529](#); calls Ryerson dangerous man, [537](#); [564n.](#)

Asbury, Francis (Bishop), [79](#).

Attwood, Thomas, [190](#), [196](#).

Aylsworth, Dr., [566](#).

Baldwin, Henry, [433](#) and *n.*

Baldwin, John Spread, [96](#).

Baldwin, Robert, "the emigrant", [2](#).

Baldwin, Robert, (grandson of above), defeated in York, [66](#), [119](#); presides at meeting of friends of liberty, [129](#); Glenelg's door closed to, [275 n.](#); on Executive Council, [298](#); resigns, [313](#); letter to Perry on Responsible Government, [320](#); [328](#) and *n.*; defends Dr. Morrison, [451](#); [460](#), [479](#); Solicitor General, [533](#); [541](#), [566](#), [578](#).

Baldwin, Dr. William Warren, chairman of committee of friends of liberty, [129](#); [315](#), [460](#), [479](#), [512](#); forcibly restrained at Durham meeting, [530](#).

Bangs, Nathan, [5](#), [45](#), [77](#), [79](#), [543](#), [574](#).

Barker, Dr., [207](#) and *n.*, [208](#).

Barry, John, [188](#), [189](#), [212](#).

Beatty, John, described, [61](#); [91](#), [110](#), [111](#), [236](#), [239](#), [363](#), [383](#), [394](#), [446](#); attends Matthews on scaffold, [448](#); Domestic Governor of Academy, [551 n.](#)

Bell, William, [127](#).

Belton, Samuel, [75 n.](#), [434](#).

Bethune, A. N. (Bishop), [131](#), [132](#), [134](#); views on endowment of King's College, [142](#); [414 n.](#), [498 n.](#); editor of *Church*, [500 n.](#)

Bettridge, William, [485 n.](#)

Bevitt, Thomas, [565](#).

Bidwell, Barnabas, [182](#) and *n.*

Bidwell, Marshall Spring, [20](#), [63](#); Chairman Select Committee of 1828, [73 n.](#); [126](#), [157](#); flag at election, [158](#); legal opinion on church property, [188](#); opinion of Impressions, [209](#); excluded from condemnation of Reformers, [211](#); [213](#); never identified with Mackenzie, [235](#); again Speaker, [249](#); [251](#); and chapel suits, [263](#) and *n.*; death of only son, [268 n.](#); [287](#); defeated in 1836, [349](#); [352](#); criticized by Ryerson, [370](#) and *n.*; induced to leave Canada, [425-7](#); lawyers pleased, [427](#); [430](#), [459](#); criticized by Junkin, [462-3](#); defended by Ryerson, [464-5](#); visits Toronto in 1872, [467](#); John Ryerson's views on, [470-1](#).

Biggar, Charles, [99 n.](#), [248](#).

Biggar, Hamilton, [73](#), [75 n.](#)

Biggar, Dr. Hamilton Fisk, [73](#), [75 n.](#)

Black, John, [64](#).

Blackstock, Moses, [54](#), [551](#).

Boswell, George M., [451-2](#), [580](#), [581](#).

Boulton, Henry J., [47](#), [173](#) and *n.*; controls *Courier*, [181n.](#); [182](#), [185](#) and *n.*, [532](#).

British Constitutional Society, [315](#).

British Wesleyans, see Wesleyan.

Brough, Charles Crosbie, [446-7](#).

Brown, Col., [436](#).

Brown, George, [401](#).

Bunting, Jabez, [141](#), [404](#) and *n.*, [405](#), [557](#), [558](#).

Burnham, Mark, [311](#).

Campbell, Sir John, [299](#).

Camp Meeting, at Cummer's Mill, [10](#); at Mt. Pleasant, [11](#); general description of, [39](#); necessity explained, [39](#); as seen by Morgell, [40](#); Presbyterian attitude to, [40](#); first in Canada, [45](#); Strachan's view of, [109](#); at London, [111](#)—[112](#); propriety considered, [156](#).

Carlyle, Thomas, [166](#).

Carroll, John, two principal works of, [55n.](#); knew his York, [48](#), [169](#); teaches at Scarboro, [68n.](#); supplies stopped at Brockville, [349](#); gets Ryerson into trouble, [494](#); portraits of Egerton Ryerson, [10-11](#), Richardson, [22](#), William Ryerson, [37-8](#), John Ryerson, [42](#), Henry Pope, [48](#), Henry Ryan, [50](#), Alder, [153](#), Alvah Adams, [209n.](#), Richey, [282n.](#), Ezra Healy, [386n.](#)

Cartwright, J. S., [352](#), [402](#), [403n.](#), [424](#).

Case, William, [16](#), [51](#), [52](#); President of Conference, [54](#); at work in Kingston, [55-6](#); incidents in his itinerary, [57](#); leaves W. M. Church, [58](#); [61](#), [73](#), [90](#), [92](#); United States tour, [102-105](#); his "fair one", [105](#) and *n.*; [110](#), [111](#), [113](#); opposed to union, [155](#); [167](#); and Ryerson, [169](#); views of union, [170](#); general missionary to Indians, [187-188](#); [237](#), [247n.](#), [268n.](#), [279](#), [286](#), [311](#), [329](#), [443](#); [528](#), [550](#); elected President, [564](#); withdrawal from Conference, [564-5](#).

Cassidy, Henry, [257](#) and *n.*, [263](#), [465-6](#).

Catholic Apostolic Church (see also Irving), [36](#).

Cawthra, Joseph, [130](#).

Cazenovia Seminary, [70](#) and *n.*, [99n.](#), [247n.](#), [283](#).

Cholera, in London, [164](#); in Canada, [164n](#).

Christian Guardian (see *Guardian*).

Clarke, Dr. Adam, [163](#), [229](#), [404](#), [439](#).

Clench, J. B., [106](#), [160](#).

Clergy Reserves, Strachan's request for exclusive enjoyment of, [23](#); opposed by George Ryerson, [32](#), [34](#); Egerton "engrossed" in controversy, [65-6](#); Strachan's claims investigated, [73](#) and *n.*; his defence characterized, [76](#); his Ecclesiastical Chart, [81](#); defence before Legislative Council, [83-4](#); Ryerson's reply, [85-9](#); petition of 1831, [129-131](#); Goderich's proposal, [142](#); petition of 1833, [172](#); summary of Ryerson's argument, [184](#); proposal for entire abolition of, [215](#); diversion for general education discussed, [253](#), [291](#); Conference policy on, [368](#) and *n.*; Morris and Draper go to England, [378](#) and *n.*; Conference resolution on, [350](#); motions in Legislature, [381n.; Cartwright's reinvestment bill, \[402\]\(#\); various motions on, \[403\]\(#\) and *n.*; Ryerson's view of only way of settling, \[442\]\(#\); further views of Ryerson, \[476\]\(#\); Durham's report on, \[481\]\(#\); \[484\]\(#\), \[485n.; poor success of new petition, \\[488-9\\]\\(#\\); Ryerson's ten letters to Draper, \\[502\\]\\(#\\); reinvestment carried, \\[503\\]\\(#\\); Sydenham's bill, \\[532-3\\]\\(#\\); Ryerson discusses with Russell, \\[555-6\\]\\(#\\); criticizes Russell's Bill, \\[563\\]\\(#\\).\]\(#\)](#)

Colborne, Sir John, [91](#), [106](#); amazing reply to Conference memorial, [144-7](#); Ryerson's rejoinder to, [148-151](#); Lord Goderich's reproof of, [151](#); reconciled to Academy, [151](#); and Alder, [156](#); and Goderich, [173](#); a moderate Tory, [195](#); subscribes to Academy, [237](#); commends Ryerson and Academy, [272](#) and *n.*; leaves Toronto, [280](#); estimate of his work, [280n.; \[308\]\(#\), \[312\]\(#\), \[432\]\(#\), \[515\]\(#\).](#)

Colonial Advocate (see *Mackenzie, W. L.*).

Conference, The Methodist (Canadian) (see also American Conference, Wesleyan; London Missionary, and Episcopal), training of preachers, [27](#); summary of history and organization of, [45-60](#); at first district of Genesee Conference, [45](#); agreement of 1820 with London Missionary Society, [46-9](#); Ryanite schism, [50-54](#); separation from American Conference, [54](#), [78-80](#), [90](#); a training school in statesmanship, [58](#), [60](#); democratic method of, [59](#); district and quarterly meetings, [59](#); Conference membership in 1828, [73](#), [91](#); bishop never appointed, [78n.; democratic concessions, \[90\]\(#\); Female Missionary Society, \[99n.; deeds of property, \\[100\\]\\(#\\), \\[101\\]\\(#\\) and *n.*; memorial to Colborne, \\[143-4\\]\\(#\\); his amazing reply, \\[145-7\\]\\(#\\); union with English Conference, \\[152-6\\]\\(#\\), \\[168-172\\]\\(#\\), \\[187-191\\]\\(#\\); "sold" by Ryersons, \\[168\\]\\(#\\); Quarterly Meetings not\]\(#\)](#)

consulted, [170](#); minute books of, [172n.](#); rapid increase during independence, [188](#); “governed” from England, [223](#); politically in No Man’s Land, [228-9](#); bribed according to Mackenzie, [234](#); Episcopalians secede, [236](#); union regarded as an authoritarian movement, [236](#); chastens and commends Ryerson, [238-9](#); Episcopalians claim property of, [240](#); local preachers in, [241](#) and *n.*; departs from voluntaryism, [252](#); memorial on charter, [255-6](#); Ryerson replies to charge of bribery of, [265](#); takes to pews, [270](#); desires no state support for preachers, [292](#); not known by Law Officers, [299-303](#); supports Head, [315](#); Radicals listed, [331](#); district meetings kept in place, [346](#); resolution on Reserves, [380](#); new importance of Quarterly Meetings, [381](#), [382n.](#); age of presidents, [389n.](#); Book Committee of, [405](#) and *n.*; and mercantile directors, [419](#); [440n.](#); Bidwell’s assistance to, [464](#); examination of candidates, [470](#) and *n.*; only two cases of disloyalty, [473](#); pioneering on the Upper Ottawa, [485-7](#); not content with subordinate civil standing, [499-500](#); sloughs off colonialism, [510](#); membership in 1839, [510](#); allowance to supernumeraries and widows, [512](#); centenary meetings, [518-528](#); generous collections, [518](#); supported by other denominations, [519](#); tea-meeting at Bytown, [525](#); relations with British Wesleyans reviewed, [536](#); and Responsible Government, [553](#); union with British Conference dissolved, [564](#); missionary meetings, [565-6](#); increase in spite of schism, [575](#).

Conger, W. S., [580](#) and *n.*

Constitutional Reform Society, [315](#), [440-1](#).

Constitutional Society, [249](#).

Counter, John, [279](#), [285](#), [331](#), [381](#) and *n.*, [458](#).

Croscomb, William, [212](#), [338](#).

Culp, David, [93](#).

Cummer, John, [10](#), [190](#), [460](#).

Cunningham, Andrew, [489](#).

Dalton, Thomas, [208](#) and *n.*, [490](#).

Davidson, Alexander, [218](#) and *n.*

Davidson, John C., [260](#), [262](#) and *n.*, [584](#), [565](#).

Davis, Thomas, [16](#).

Day, Charles Dewey, [578](#).

Detlor, George H., [352](#).

Doel, John, [452](#) and *n.*

Draper, William H., [349](#), [371](#), [372](#), [387](#) and *n.*, [398](#), [415](#), [426](#), [502](#), [532](#); Attorney General, [533](#); [541](#), [542](#), [566](#).

Drew, Captain, and *Caroline*, [435n.](#)

Duncombe, Dr. Charles, [340](#), [355](#), [364n.](#)

Dunn, John Henry, [298](#); his qualifications for Council, [313](#); loan to John Ryerson for Academy, [313n.](#); [369](#), [390](#), [498](#), [512](#); brother-in-law of Glenelg, [513](#); member for Toronto, [566](#).

Durand, Charles, [453](#) and *n.*

Durham, Lord, [141](#), [308n.](#), [437](#); his administration, [476-482](#), [488](#); pomp and circumstance of, [477](#); not supported by Melbourne, [477](#); attitude of official parties in Canada to, [477-8](#); reception in Toronto to, [478-9](#); attitude to Orange Order, [479](#); on Clergy Reserves, [480-1](#); leaves Canada, [488](#); Durham meetings, [529-531](#); death, [556](#).

Education in Upper Canada (see under Simcoe tradition, King's College, Upper Canada College, Upper Canada Academy), literacy in U.C., [505](#).

Elections in Upper Canada, of 1830, [118](#) and *n.*, [119](#); of Mackenzie, [157](#), [159](#); not announced by parties, [229](#); by-election at Bath, [332](#), [333](#) and *n.*; reason for results in 1834, [345](#) and *n.*; of 1836, [348-353](#); described by Langton, [351](#); part played by Methodists in 1836, [348](#), [350](#), [353](#); definite parties, [359n.](#); by-election in York, [504](#); of 1841, [566](#).

Ellice, Edward, [172](#); conversation with Ryerson, [174](#); his career and influence, [275](#); [281](#); grateful letter of Ryerson to, [294-6](#).

Elmsley, John, [413](#), [532](#).

Emigration Society in Toronto, [460](#), [468](#), [472](#) and *n.*, [473](#).

Emory, John (Bishop), [79](#).

Episcopals (Methodist Episcopal Church in Canada), immediate cause of secession, [236](#); first conferences of, [240](#); membership of, [241](#); issue on local preachers, [241](#); progress about Hollowell, [246](#); "taking rubbish", [271](#); perform marriages, [288](#); chapel suits, [360-1](#), [383](#), [384](#), [387](#), [388](#).

Episcopacy, [236](#), [393](#).

Evans, Ephraim, [91](#), [219n.](#); considered for editorship, [250](#); editor, [256](#); a "safe man", [257](#) and *n.*; policy as editor, [257n.](#); quarrel with Richardson, [262](#), [264](#); and O'Grady, [266-7](#); [269](#), [287](#), [315](#); abused by Committee of

Assembly, [329](#) and *n.*; re-elected editor, [346](#); attacks Mackenzie, [347-8](#); suppresses memorial on rectories, [348](#); on Clergy Reserves, [368](#) and *n.*; [380](#); criticized by Ryerson, [404](#); [405n.](#), [409](#); criticized by John Ryerson, [434-5](#); a good editorial, [436](#) and *n.*; [438](#); supports Harvard, [454](#); [458](#), [467](#), [471](#), [549](#); withdraws from Conference, [564n.](#)

Evans, James, [75n.](#), [215](#) and *n.*, [216](#); letter to Ryerson, [219](#) and *n.*; [443](#).

Fair, first in Upper Canada, [522](#).

Family Compact, Strachan centre of coterie, [17](#), [18](#); George Ryerson's strictures on, [35-6](#); Boulton a leading member of, [47](#); technique of illustrated, [421-2](#); fears Durham, [478](#); Robinson criticized, [479](#); humbled by Sydenham, [532](#).

Farmer, Benjamin, [65](#).

Farmer, Thomas, [390](#) and *n.*, [391](#), [392](#), [393](#).

Fenton, John, [96](#) and *n.*

Ferguson, George, [47](#), [511](#).

Financial Crisis in 1837, [382](#) and *n.*

Fisk, Wilbur, [103](#) and *n.*, [109](#), [110n.](#), [175](#).

Fitzgibbon, Col., [398](#), [504](#).

Flanagan, John, [512](#).

Fletcher, Silas, [399](#).

Gatchell, Joseph, [187](#), [246](#) and *n.*

George, Enoch (Bishop), [78](#).

Gibson, David, [399](#), [466](#).

Gilchrist, Dr. John, [210n.](#), [239](#), [566](#).

Gillespie, Alex., [359](#).

Givins, J., [160](#).

Gladstone, W. E., [355](#).

Gladwin, Jonathan, [384n.](#), [385](#).

Glenelg, Lord, and Ryerson, [274](#); denies Baldwin interview, [275](#); [277](#), [278](#); Ryerson sends statement of Academy, [284](#) and *n.*; [288](#), [297](#), [356](#), [357](#),

[364](#), [369](#), [372](#), [374](#); and grant to Academy, [405](#), [406](#), [407](#), [420](#), [482](#), [483](#), [484](#); succeeded by Normanby, [504](#); [513](#).

Goderich, Lord (Earl of Ripon), [81](#); despatch of Nov. [6](#), 1833, to Colborne, [173](#); [181](#), [195](#); recommends Charter and Grant for Academy, [282](#); [306](#); sound recommendations, [343n](#).

Gordon, James, [417](#).

Gourlay, Robert, [36](#).

Gowan, Ogle R., [350](#), [532](#).

Green, Anson, [16n.](#), reads Ryerson's Review, [28](#); describes John Ryerson, [42](#); [52](#); circumvents Ryan, [53](#); [53n.](#), [64](#); marriage, [71n.](#); on steamboat, [75n.](#); [120](#), [155](#); has cholera, [164n.](#); describes Marsden, [187](#); [238](#); supports grant for Academy, [254-5](#); at Montreal, [280](#) and *n.*; opens Academy, [311](#); on rectories, [347](#); [380](#), [381](#); not a voluntaryist, [382](#); [383](#), [384](#); predicts civil war, [396](#); [401n.](#), [405](#), [428](#); on Academy finances, [428](#); intimate letter to Ryerson, [468-70](#); opinion of Alder's mission, [513](#); outwalked, [521-2](#); in canoe, [526](#); [551n.](#), [565](#), [578n.](#), [579](#).

Greig, William, [514](#).

Grey, Sir George, characterized, [274](#) and *n.*; Ryerson's appeal to, [274](#); [275](#), [289](#), [306](#), [308](#), [334](#), [365](#), [374](#).

Grievance Committee's Report, [259](#) and *n.*; adopted, [287n.](#); [312](#), [325](#), [328](#), [329](#), [336](#); history of in Assembly, [343-4](#).

Griffin, Ebenezer, [94](#).

Griffin, Smith, [9](#), [94](#).

Griffin, W. S., [94](#).

Griffin, William, [215](#) and *n.*, [216](#).

Grindrod, Edward, [237](#), [238](#), [241](#).

Guardian (Christian), [92n.](#); founding of, [113-20](#); circulation as from postal returns, [128-9](#); meekness in 1832, [154](#); Richardson, editor, [155](#); Ryerson resumes editorship, [192](#); deserts "Press, types and all," [198](#); attitude to temperance affects popularity, [210n.](#); many drop paper, [216](#); new subscribers, [216](#), [217](#) and *n.*, [291](#); minute of Conference on, [239](#); Evans as editor, [256](#), [257n.](#); circulation of, [335](#) and *n.*; editor's name dropped, [380](#); 25,000 words, [419n.](#); "basely and survily" silent, [433](#); a great issue in 1838, [462n.](#); responds to hand of Ryerson, [475](#); a Baptist supports, [515](#); Ryerson's

last editorial, [551-2](#); Sydenham's tribute to, [552](#); silent during 1841 elections, [566](#).

Gunn, Dr. William Gordon, [531](#).

Gurnett, George, editor *Courier*, [181n](#).

Hagerman, Christopher A., [173](#) and *n.*, [174](#), [182](#), [185](#) and *n.*, [388](#) and *n.*, [395](#), [396](#), [398](#), [426](#) and *n.*, [452](#); and Joseph, [463](#), [464](#); threat to Ryerson, [466](#); [471](#), [533](#).

Hall, Francis, [103](#).

Hamilton, Dr., [14](#).

Harmon, Thomas, [511](#).

Harris, Mrs. Amelia, account of Long Point settlement, [4](#); [486n](#).

Harris, Rev., [446](#).

Harrison, Samuel Bealey, [581](#) and *n.*

Harvard, William Martin, [379](#) and *n.*, [418](#), [428](#), [433](#), [445](#), [446](#); his "presidential bull", [453](#), [454](#), [455](#); [462](#), [467](#), [468](#), [471](#); finds two cases of disloyalty, [473](#); leaves province, [473](#); [475](#), [478](#).

Head, Francis Bond, [308](#); early career, [312](#); reason for choice, [312](#); "a tried Reformer", [312](#); at odds with Assembly, [314](#); supported by Conference, [315-316](#); dissolves Assembly, [317](#) and *n.*; castigates Assembly, [328](#); favourable impression made by, [336](#) and *n.*; recall demanded by Assembly, [343](#); "insulting" reply to Conference, [346](#); handles cards cleverly, [351](#), [354](#); "a frolicking little cur", [361](#); bankers' opinion of, [390](#) and *n.*; warned of rebellion, [395](#); thrice armed, [398](#); reason for inaction, [399](#); withholds grant, [406](#); "misled" by Ryerson, [409](#); criticizes Ryerson, [412](#); makes incomplete return to Assembly, [414](#); double-dealing exposed, [423-7](#); heartless conduct towards Bidwell, [425-7](#); refusal to appoint Ridout and Bidwell, [430](#); exit on *Transit*, [432](#); opposition of conservatives, [436n.](#); scandalizes Rolph, [437](#); greater culprit than Lount, [440](#); Ryerson questions veracity of, [443](#); on Indians, [443](#); at bottom of tree, [444](#); informed of insurrectionary movement, [448](#); exposed at Morrison trial, [451-2](#).

Healy, Ezra, [386](#) and *n.*

Heck (Hick), Barbara, [45](#), [527](#) and *n.*

Hedding, Elijah (Bishop), [15](#), [16](#), [78](#), [388](#) and *n.*

Hetherington, John P., [169](#), [188](#), [189](#), [206](#), [212](#).

Heyland, Rowley, [260n.](#), [471](#).

Hincks, Francis, [350](#) and *n.*, [460n.](#), [489n.](#); Ryerson's estimate of, [540](#); [541](#), [566](#).

Hopkins, Caleb, [71n.](#), [566](#).

Horne, Dr., [398](#) and *n.*

Horton, R. W., [81](#), [82](#).

Howard, James Scott, [96](#) and *n.*, [183](#); dismissal as postmaster, [504](#).

Howe, Joseph, [514](#), [516](#) and *n.*; writes Ryerson, [523](#).

Hubbard, Miss Hetty, [102](#), [105n.](#)

Hume, Joseph, [34](#), [72](#), [142](#), [173](#); intercourse with Ryerson, [174-5](#); [182](#) and *n.*; and Mackenzie, [193](#); characterized by Ryerson, [196](#), [202](#); baneful domination letter, [225](#); reprobed by Conference, [239](#); [312](#), [340](#), [341](#), [342](#), [344](#); confounded, [356](#).

Hunter's Lodges, [488](#).

Hurlburt, Jesse, [517](#) and *n.*, [519](#); merely acting principal, [544-5](#); criticized by staff, [571-4](#).

Huskisson, William, [34](#), [35](#).

Indian Missions, on Grand River, [31](#); on Credit River, [61-3](#); race unadaptable to "civilization", [63](#); school at Grape Island, [75](#); tour on behalf of in U.S., [102](#); Colborne in charge of department, [106](#); negotiations as to teacher, [108](#); at Penetanguishene, [110](#); much information in *Guardian* as to, [117](#); prejudice against, [123](#); plans of London Society, [139](#); hampered by immoral officials, [149](#) and *n.*; Colborne consults Ryerson as to, [160](#) and *n.*; Case's mission, [188](#); government grant defended, [214](#) and *n.*; Evans at Rice Lake, [219n.](#); Grey's interest in, [283](#); United States attitude to, [284](#) and *n.*; manual training schools, [389](#); Head's report on, [443](#); report criticized, [443-4](#); Case's work under London Committee, [565](#).

Irving, Edward (and Irvingism; also Catholic Apostolic Church), [36](#), [166](#), [204n.](#); Irvingism in Toronto, [260n.](#), [262](#); John Ryerson describes Society, [360](#); preachers in Canada, [369](#); "respectable" membership, [369n.](#); preacher ejected from gaol, [435](#).

Jackson, James, [95](#), [99](#), [104](#), [110](#) and *n.*, [112](#).

Jarvis, William Botsford (Sheriff), at execution, [448](#); at Durham Meeting, [530-1](#).

Jenkins, William, and Strachan, [85](#); [130](#); horse “murdered”, [232](#).

Jones, Augustus, [11](#).

Jones, John, [67](#) and *n*.

Jones, Jonas, [350](#), [398](#), [432](#), [450n](#).

Jones, Peter, [11](#), [16](#), [31](#); early life, [67n.](#); [102n.](#); his translations, [105-6](#); interview with Colborne, [107](#); with Bishop Stewart and Dr. Mountain, [108](#); questioned by Dr. Strachan, [109](#); [110](#), [117](#); voyage to England, [133](#); translation revised, [135](#); reception at Hatton Gardens, [137](#); [152](#); returns to Canada, [162](#); received by King, [165](#); [565](#).

Jones, Richard, [485](#) and *n.*, [525](#), [526](#), [565](#), [578n](#).

Joseph, John, [405](#), [408](#), [463](#).

Junkin, S. S., a reliable reporter, [257](#); [261](#); striking picture of old Toronto, [262](#) and *n.*, [263](#), [268](#), [269](#); describes patronage of Reformers, [327](#); [438](#); criticizes Bidwell, [462-3](#); [464](#), [471](#).

Kent, Duchess of, [371](#).

Kerr, W. J., [173n](#).

Ketchum, Jesse, [66](#), [116](#), [129](#), [130](#), [159](#), [231](#), [460](#) and *n*.

Ketchum, William, [460n](#).

King’s College, Charter of, [81](#); proposal of Lord Goderich as to, [141-2](#); [253](#); grants to, [292](#); sectarian character of, [301](#); misuse of funds of, [506n.](#); [578](#).

Kingston, William, [571](#).

Lang, Matthew, [261](#) and *n.*, [367](#) and *n.*, [551n](#).

Law, John, [6](#).

Leach, Wm. Turnbull, [480n](#).

Leeming, Ralph, [67n](#).

Le Marchant, T., [541](#), [542](#).

Lever, John, [395-6](#).

Lewis, James, [159](#), [223](#) and *n.*, [246](#), [270](#).

Liddell, Thomas, [578](#).

Liverpool, Lord, [81](#).

Lloyd, Jesse, [399](#).

London Missionary Committee (Society), enters Lower Canada, [46](#); enters Upper Canada, [47](#); agreement of 1820 with, [49](#); plans to invade York, [96](#); remains in Kingston, [139](#); political reasons, [152](#); cordial to Ryerson in London, [177](#); Barry stirs up trouble in York, [188](#), [190](#); in Kingston, [212](#), [242](#), [244](#); and grant, [214](#); conciliated by Ryerson, [269](#); Colborne and, [272n.](#); grant from British Government, [306](#) and *n.*; Vaux introduces letter from, [329](#); grant to, [365](#) and *n.*; [416n.](#), [536](#), [546n.](#); Alder's mission, [507](#); refuses to pay salaries, [565](#); history of grant to, [568](#); effect of campaign, [575](#).

London *Times*, [35](#); on Hume and Ryerson, [235](#); Ryerson's letters in, [339-345](#).

Lord, William, [250](#) and *n.*, [254](#), [255](#), [271](#), [272](#), [279](#), [286](#); becomes panicky, [307](#); [358](#); pathetic letter to Ryerson, [362-3](#); [363n.](#); and mortgage on Academy, [390-1](#).

Lount, George, [446](#) and *n.*

Lount, Samuel, [24](#), [399](#), [440](#), [446](#) and *n.*; executed, [448](#); described by Dent, [449](#), [450](#).

Lount, Mrs. Samuel, [450n.](#)

Lower Canada, forced assimilation of, [308](#) and *n.*; Ryerson's letters in *Times* on, [340](#); illiteracy in, [340](#); [478](#); Montreal *Herald* school, [496](#).

Lunn, William, [255](#), [493](#), [495](#).

Lusher, Robert, [510](#).

Lyons, James, [66](#), [77](#), [99n.](#), [190](#).

Macaulay, James Buchanan, [361](#) and *n.*, [383](#), [398](#), [463n.](#), [482](#).

Macaulay, John, [498](#), [501](#).

Macaulay, Thomas Babington, [196](#).

McCarty, James (or Charles Justin), [74n.](#)

McCarty, John, [73](#), [74](#) and *n.*, [86](#), [239](#), [566](#).

McDonald, Archibald, [398](#).

Macdonald, John A., [466](#), [565](#).

McDonald, ——— (of St. Catharines), his able defence of Morrison [451-2](#).

Macdonell, Alexander (Bishop), [258n.](#), [480n.](#)

MacIntosh, James, [166](#).

Mackenzie, William Lyon, characterized, [17](#); reports Ryerson's sermon, [18](#); publishes Ryerson's "Review", [24](#); [66](#); on Committee of Friends of Religious Liberty, [130](#); burned in effigy, [155](#); expulsion, [156](#); election at Red Lion Inn, [157-9](#); resumes seat, [159](#); and Ryerson in London, [172-5](#); attacked in Hamilton, [173](#) and *n.*; lays grievances before Goderich, [173](#), [181](#); contrasted with Ryerson, [192-3](#); and Hume, [193](#); calls Ryerson a deserter, [198](#); *Colonial Advocate* becomes *Advocate*, [198n.](#); advanced money by George Ryerson, [204](#) and *n.*; good qualities, [204-5](#); defects, [205](#); swan song of, [208](#); publishes Hume's letter, [225](#); clash with Ryerson explained, [227-235](#); previous relations, [231-2](#); buries his son, Joseph Hume, [234](#); first mayor, [235](#); [239](#); comment on Ryerson's reappointment, [239](#); defeated for alderman, [249](#); Seventh Grievance Report, [259](#) and *n.*; exclaims against drunkenness, [262n.](#); quarrel with Perry, [287](#) and *n.*; publishes *Constitution*, [315](#); benefits from patronage, [327](#) and *n.*; Secretary Canadian Alliance, [342](#); curious treatment of Grievance Report, [344](#); defeated in 1836, [349](#) and *n.*, [352](#); wreck of press, [361n.](#), [364n.](#); and rebellion, [395-400](#); at Navy Island, [400n.](#); and Bidwell, [427n.](#); [431](#), [452](#) and *n.*, [466](#).

McLean, Archibald, Speaker, [126](#); [398](#).

McLeod, Mrs. Jane, [357](#), [358n.](#)

McMullen, Daniel, [64](#), [331](#) and *n.*

MacNab, Allan N., [398](#), [403](#), [424](#), [433n.](#), [435n.](#), [529](#).

McNab, Alexander, [248](#), [434](#) and *n.*

Madden, Thomas, [9](#), [16](#), [51](#), [52](#), [93](#), [121](#).

Malloch, Edward, [503](#).

Marriage Bill, [116](#).

Marsden, Anne, [186](#).

Marsden, George, [171](#), [177](#), [187](#), [189](#), [206](#), [207](#), [212](#) and *n.*

Matthews, Peter, subscriber to Academy, [237n.](#); [446](#); executed, [448](#); [449](#), [450](#).

Merritt, William Hamilton, [88n.](#), [403n.](#), [437](#) and *n.*, [532](#), [566](#).

Metcalf, Franklin, [28](#), [93](#), [95](#), [115](#), [120](#); opposed to union, [155](#); [209n.](#), [219n.](#), [257n.](#), [247](#) and *n.*, [512](#).

Mitchell, James, [3](#).

Montgomery, John, [158](#), [398](#) and *n.*, [450n.](#)

Mormons, [260n.](#)

Morris, William, [348n.](#), [378](#), [578](#).

Morrison, Dr. T. D., [35](#), [66](#); dismissal from office, [116](#); [181n.](#), [183](#), [190](#), [221](#) and *n.*; on Grievance Committee, [259](#); [320](#), [329](#); his trial, [437](#), [450-3](#); [445](#), [446](#); leaves for U.S., [459](#); [460](#), [466](#), [504](#).

Mountain, Bishop, [23](#), [108n.](#)

Mulkins, Hannibal, [512](#).

Murdock, T. W. C., [543](#) and *n.*, [548](#).

Murney, E., [566](#).

Murray, John, [524](#) and *n.*

Nelson, John, [456](#), [457](#).

Newton, Robert, [180](#), [541](#), [543](#), [557](#).

Normanby, Marquis of, [504](#).

O'Grady, William John, [258](#) and *n.*; account of Don bridge, [266](#); and Evans, [266](#); [345](#) and *n.*, [437](#).

Orange Order, founded by Gowan, [350](#); at elections, [353](#); Durham defines, [479](#); Cavan Blazers, [519](#) and *n.*; Arthur requests no processions of, [529](#).

Papineau, L. J., [322](#), [340](#), [344](#).

Parke, Thomas, subscriber to Academy, [237n.](#), [329](#) and *n.*, [532](#), [565](#).

Patrick, Wm. P., [181](#) and *n.*, [262](#) and *n.*, [369](#), [435](#).

Percival, Spencer, [204n.](#)

Perry, Ebenezer, [74](#), [190](#); subscribes £[100](#) to Academy, [365n.](#); [566](#).

Perry, Peter, [159](#); difference with Mackenzie, [287](#) and *n.*, [298](#); leader of Reform party, [320](#); described by Dent, [320-1](#); attacks Ryerson, [321](#); “picked to pieces”, [322-7](#); “king” in Lennox and Addington, [324](#); favourable to Episcopalists, [325](#); locates U.E. rights, [326](#); defeated, [349](#) and *n.*, [352](#), [402n.](#); [460](#).

Phillips, Captain T. H., [529](#).

Playter, George F., [52](#), [54](#), [525](#).

Poole, Mrs., [377](#), [378](#) and *n.*

Pope, Henry, [46](#), [47](#), [48](#).

Powell, John A. W., [398](#), [566](#).

Prindle, Andrew, [91](#), [104](#) and *n.*

Quakers, [241](#) and *n.*, [355](#).

Queens College, [122](#), [578](#).

Radcliffe, James, editor *Cobourg Reformer*, [190](#); [208](#), [211](#), [213](#), [218](#).

Radicals, term applied to Methodists, [189](#); in England, [196-7](#); English, migrate to become editors, [197](#); Ryerson has leaned toward, [211](#); their three papers, [213n.](#); in Conference, [331](#); “Radical Jack” and state dinners, [477](#); defined by Ryerson, [501](#) and *n.*

Ranters, [217](#).

Rebellion (The Upper Canada), “revolutionary symptoms” in 1834, [233](#); warning given Head and Hagerman, [395-7](#); Reformers aid in suppressing, [396](#), [427](#), [444](#); Green’s attitude to, [396](#); Ryerson’s, [397](#); William’s account of, [397-9](#); motives of main actors in, [399](#), [400](#); uncertainty as to facts explained, [400](#); sermon on the late Conspiracy, [400](#); rumour as to Rolph and Bidwell, [427](#), [444](#); prosecutions following, [430-476](#); execution of Lount and Matthews, [448](#).

Rectories (the fifty-seven), Colborne endows, [338](#); condemned, [347](#); silence of Evans, [348](#); and tithes, [484-5](#); grand jury deprecates, [485n.](#)

Reese, D. M., [574](#).

Reece, Richard, [91](#), [103](#) and *n.*

Reed, Fitch, [19](#), [50](#), [63](#), [175](#) and *n.*

Regiopolis College, [412](#), [578](#).

Responsible Government, precis of constitution, [60](#); and an irresponsible press, [267-8](#); Executive Council not a Cabinet, [314](#); Baldwin’s letter on, [320](#); as seen by Ryerson, [323n.](#); Rolph and, [328](#); [336](#) and *n.*, [342](#); Howe’s letter on, [523](#); Sydenham chastens Compact, [532](#); Baldwin and, [533](#); Russell’s despatch on, [440](#) and *n.*; extreme views of Hincks on, [541-2](#); parallel movement in Methodist Conference, [553](#).

Reyerzoon, Martin and Adrian, [2](#).

Reynolds, John (Bishop), [240](#), [271](#).

Richardson, James (Bishop), [16](#), [17](#); early career, [22](#); Carroll's portrait of, [22](#); [64](#), [90](#), [93](#), [109](#), [113](#), [120](#), [123](#), [176](#), [185n.](#); his editorship, [192](#); [221n.](#); on Toronto riots, [231](#); secretary, [237](#); declines editorship, [238](#); [248](#), [250](#) and *n.*, [254](#), [257n.](#), [258](#) and *n.*; quarrel with Evans, [262](#), [264](#) and *n.*, [269](#); [287](#); conduct "black as night," [329](#); suggested for *Guardian* by William, [332](#) and *n.*; many warm friends, [360](#) and *n.*; [446](#); attends Lount on scaffold, [448](#); [459](#).

Richardson, Mrs. James, [17](#), [183](#).

Richey, Matthew, early career and eloquence, [282n.](#); under London Missionary Committee, [307](#) and *n.*; "lordly notions" of, [354](#); "flounces" at rules, [383](#) and *n.*; further difficulty, [393n.](#); "tame as a lamb", [428](#); [472](#); doubts propriety of Ryerson's attitude, [493-4](#); [511](#); pastoral advice to Ryerson, [516](#) and *n.*; [534](#), [535](#); [544](#), [545](#), [546](#), [547](#); attacks Ryerson in Conference, [549-50](#), [554](#), [555](#), [557](#), [564n.](#)

Ridout, George, [430](#).

Roaf, John, [446](#), [480n.](#), [502](#) and *n.*

Roblin, John P., [252](#), [298](#), [329](#), [349](#), [521](#), [522](#) and *n.*, [566](#), [578](#), [583](#).

Robinson, John Beverley, [66](#), [115](#), [237](#), [371](#); Ryerson's tribute to, [374](#); [398](#); Ryerson's letter to and reply, [415-7](#); described by Ryerson, [424](#); [440](#) and *n.*; [450n.](#), [479](#); in England, [529](#).

Roebuck, John Arthur, [173](#), [316](#) and *n.*, [340](#), [341](#), [342](#).

Rolfe, Sir R. M., [299](#).

Rolph, Frances (Petty), [33](#), [162](#).

Rolph, Dr. John, [20](#), [32n.](#), [35](#); speech on temperance, [117](#); [119](#); legal opinion on Church property, [188](#); [211](#), [213](#); waives claim to mayoralty, [235](#); [251](#); "visitor" of Academy, [255](#); school of medicine, [255](#); on Executive Council, [298](#); [313](#), [324](#); first brings forward Responsible government, [328](#) and *n.*; criticizes representatives of Conference, [346](#); returns to public life, [350](#); great speech in Assembly, [352](#); [353](#); [370](#) and *n.*; accounts for defeat of Reformers, [353](#); [370](#) and *n.*; amendment on Reserves, [381n.](#); his part in Rebellion, [400](#), [411n.](#); [426](#) and *n.*, [437](#) and *n.*, [461n.](#); [466](#).

Rolph, Dr. Thomas, [30](#).

Rose, Samuel, [149n.](#)

Russell, Lord John, [196](#), [504](#), [532](#), [540](#), [541](#), [547](#), [548](#), [552](#), [554](#); sees Ryerson, [555](#); his Reserves Bill criticized, [564](#).

Ruttan, Henry (Sheriff), [66](#), [372](#), [413](#), [490](#), [494](#).

Ryan, Henry (and the Ryanites), [45](#), [47](#); Carroll's portrait of, [50](#); also Fitch Reid's, [50](#); schism, [51-54](#); [55](#), [69](#), [90](#), [93](#); convention of at Copetown, [94](#); Convention at Hallowell, [95](#); his pamphlet, [98](#); [99](#), [100](#), [101](#), [103](#); and Ryersons, [199](#); preachers absorbed by Wesleyans, [512](#), [551](#).

Ryerse, Colonel Samuel, [1](#), [3](#), [4](#).

Ryerson, Edwy, [44](#), [69](#), [71](#), [215](#) and *n.*, [216](#), [217](#), [234](#), [251](#) and *n.*

Ryerson, Egerton, farm work, [2](#), [3](#); loyalist and conservative bent, [3](#); dominant motive religious, [3](#); conversion, [6](#); usher, [6](#); further studies, [6](#); diary, [7](#) and *n.*; serious illness, [8](#); an itinerant, [9](#); solid reading, [9](#); first sermon, [9](#); Carroll's portrait of, [10](#); tempted to enter Church of England, [11-13](#); confused with George, [15](#); sent to York, [16](#); as a preacher, [18](#); New Year's sermon, [18-20](#); 1825 itinerary, [22](#); "Review" of Strachan's sermon, [23-29](#); in orchard with father, [30](#); not the "Pope" of Methodism, [43](#); leans on John, [43](#); first President General Conference, [46](#); opposes Ryan, [52](#), [54](#); Indian work at Credit, [61-63](#); belief in manual training, [62](#); controversy distasteful, [64](#); Cobourg Circuit, [64-67](#); ordained, [64](#); encouraged by Case in controversy, [65](#); addresses political meeting, [66](#); interest in Sunday Schools, [68](#); John's criticism of, [69](#); and Hannah Aikman, [70](#); marriage, [71](#); evidence before Select Committee, [82n.](#); second reply to Strachan, [85-89](#); views on Establishment, [87-88](#); member of publicity committee, [90](#); at Ancaster, [90](#); convention at Copetown, [94](#); night ride, [94](#); convention at Hallowell, [95](#); injured in accident, [102](#) and *n.*; editor of *Christian Guardian*, [113-4](#); and temperance, [117](#); salary of, [123](#); compares England and Canada, [127](#); part in petitions, [129](#); worried by Colborne's reply, [147](#); his rejoinder, [148-151](#); difficult decision as to union, [155](#); burned in effigy, [155](#); gives up editorship, [155](#); dark days, [156](#); consulted as to Indians, [160](#); bereaved, [161](#) and *n.*; his opinion of Irving, [166](#); effect of loss of George on, [167](#); less than just to Case, [169](#); becomes doubtful of union, [170](#); mission to England, [170](#); and Mackenzie in London, [172-5](#); and Clergy Reserves petition, [172](#); sees Ellice, [174](#); lays Reserves petition before Stanley, [174](#); three meetings with Hume, [174-5](#); Wesleyan service, [177-6](#); preaches at City Road, [179](#); sends letter by Mackenzie, [181](#); characterizes Hume, [182](#) and *n.*; Clergy Reserves argument, [184](#); persuades Mrs. Marsden, [186](#); English Impressions, [192-8](#); contrasted with Mackenzie, [192-3](#); "deserter", [198](#); rejoinder of, [199-205](#); objects of Impressions, [199-200](#); relations with Mackenzie, [200](#); respect for Goderich, [201](#); criticizes Hume, [202-3](#); states Mackenzie's good qualities, [204](#), and his weaknesses, [205](#); second marriage, [209n.](#); expenses of English trip, [210](#); "sanctimonious savage", [213n.](#); assailed by five preachers, [214](#);

Edwy less hostile, [217](#); his political spyglass, [220](#); reply to David Wright et al., [220-2](#); generosity in money matters, [222](#) and *n.*; “frenzy” against him subsides, [224](#); letter from mother, [224](#); Hume’s utter contempt for, [226-7](#); interpretation of serious Ryerson-Mackenzie clash, [227-235](#); outvoted for editor, [238](#); admits errors, [240](#); urged by John to continue, [248](#); invites trouble with Mackenzie, [248](#); retires from *Guardian*, [256](#); charge at Kingston, [257](#); pleased with Evans’ editorship, [257](#); success at Kingston, [259](#); his “pared” letter, [265](#); describes two classes of reformers, [266](#); and irresponsible press, [267](#); death of son, [268](#) and *n.*; comment on Evans-Richardson dispute, [269](#); unites two societies at Kingston, [269](#); sent to England for Academy, [272](#); a bad sailor, [273](#); success due to Grey and Ellice, [275](#); begging in London, [277](#); appeals to Glenelg, [277](#), [278](#); turns to Ellice, [281](#); presses suit, [283-293](#); Ellice mainly responsible for success, [294](#); refers to record of his family, [295-6](#); urges Glenelg, [297](#); remarkable argument against Law Officers, [300-306](#); Glenelg accepts his view, [308](#); views on French question, [308n.](#); finally overcomes difficulties, [310](#); recommends Rolph for Council, [313](#); notes economic effects of agitation, [316](#), [319](#); views on Canadian Constitution, [318](#); changed political views, [319-20](#); attacked by Perry, [321](#); defended by Rykert, [321](#); Peter Perry letter, [322-327](#); on Responsible Government, [323n.](#); describes Methodist policy to Glenelg, [334-5](#); Republicanism, [335](#) and *n.*; granted interview with Glenelg on political questions, [336-7](#); letters in London *Times*, [339-345](#); sees incipient revolution, [343](#); his influence in 1836 elections, [352](#); his comment on patents, [353n.](#); disillusionment, [354](#); begging, [354](#); communes with brethren, [355](#); describes Irish conference, [355](#); helps Gladstone, [355](#); compares Yorkshire and Hallowell Methodists, [356](#); importunity prevails, [356](#); presents Conference address to Glenelg, [356-7](#); small talk, [358n.](#); congratulated on election predictions, [359](#); dependence of Wm. Lord on, [363](#); asks that communications be private, [364](#) and [366n.](#), [370](#); criticizes Bidwell and Rolph, [370](#) and *n.*; Legislative Council and Education, [372](#); interview with Glenelg, [373](#); tribute to J. B. Robinson, [374](#); leaves for U.C., [375](#); strength at Conference, [379](#); congratulatory resolution, [380](#); investigations in U.S., [389](#); collections in England, [392](#) and *n.*; opinion of Episcopalians, [392](#); warns Head of insurrection, [395](#); at Cobourg, [397](#); life threatened, [398](#); a dark and stormy year, [400-402](#); New Year’s discourse, [400-401](#); appeals to McNab on Clergy Reserves, [403](#); criticizes *Guardian*, [404](#); negotiations with Head on grant to Academy, [405-420](#); views on Legislative Council, [409n.](#) and [412](#); Head’s attitude without precedent, [410](#); publishes petition and 18 letters, [411](#); and Strachan, [412](#), [413](#); mistaken, [414n.](#); letter to Robinson and reply, [415-7](#); and Gordon, [418](#); letter to Glenelg on Academy, [420-1](#); technique of official party illustrated, [421-2](#);

intimate letter to Stephen, [423-7](#); influences vote in Legislature, [425](#); and Bidwell, [425-7](#); required in Toronto, [434](#); will not tamper with appointment, [439](#); views on punishment for political offences, [440](#) and *n.*; on Indians, [443-4](#); on Christian loyalty, [455-8](#); on liberty, [456](#); on pacifism, [456](#); defends Bidwell, [464-6](#); replies to Hagerman, [465](#); threatened by Hagerman, [466](#); “a sneaking Jesuit”, [467](#); praised by Green, [469](#); examines young men on philosophy, [470](#) and *n.*; both editor and secretary, [474](#); and Clergy Reserves, [476](#); assails party spirit, [476](#); and Durham’s Report, [479](#); evidence before Durham Commission, [480-1](#); at variance with officialdom, [482](#); unpleasant note from Arthur, [482](#); reply, [482-4](#); attacked by Ruttan and Dalton, [490](#); his creed, [491n.](#); imprudent, [494](#); refuses to be silent, [495](#); not of Montreal *Herald* School, [496](#); letter from Strachan, [498](#); ten letters to Draper, [502](#); letters to Normanby, [504-7](#); charges against Arthur, [505](#); views of Press in 1839, [506](#); objects to British interference, [507-8](#); refuses invitation to Government House, [508-9](#); contest with Alder, [513](#); editor again, [513](#); other duties, [514](#); joins Tee-total Society, [517](#); on centenary tour, [518-528](#); outwalks Green, [521-2](#); resignation from *Guardian* not accepted, [528](#); and Sydenham’s compromise on Reserves, [533](#); on Baldwin, [533-4](#); interview with Sydenham, [534](#); business-like letter to Sydenham, [535-6](#); working with Sydenham, [537](#); Monthly discussed, [537-9](#); states reason for failure up to date, [539](#); supports both Draper and Baldwin, [540](#); estimate of Hincks, [540](#) and *n.*; refuses £100 from Sydenham, [543](#) and *n.*; invited to chapel in New York, [544](#); contemplates leaving Canada, [544](#); on Act of Union [544](#) and *n.*; between two fires at Conference, [546](#); correspondence with Sydenham as to English Conference, [546-9](#); again editor, [549](#); Richey’s attack on, [549-50](#); delegate to English conference, [550](#); Superintendent Toronto Circuit, [551n.](#); farewell editorial, [551](#); in England, [555-8](#); and Russell, [555-6](#); comment on Durham’s death, [556](#); cold treatment at Newcastle, [557-8](#); slim congregation in Toronto, [559](#); confidence in Sydenham, [559](#) and *n.*; declines secretaryship, [564](#); missionary appeal of, [565](#); petitions for grant, [567-8](#); loss through removal of government to Kingston, [569](#) and *n.*, [570](#); begged to assume principalship, [574](#); significant letter to Bangs, [575-7](#); finds government “jealous” of, [577](#); part in Victoria College Bill, [578n.](#), [579](#); Principal, [580](#); eulogy of Sydenham, [584-7](#); his second great work, [587](#).

Ryerson, George, [5](#); confused with Egerton, [15](#); joins Methodists, [15](#); sketch of life, [30-7](#); early career, [30](#); mission to England, [31](#); first reformer effective in England, [36](#); second mission, [36](#); thrice married, [37](#), [63](#), [71](#), [72](#), [88n.](#); on trial, [90](#); [105](#) and *n.*, [113](#), [114](#), [115](#), [117](#), [123](#); death of first wife, [125](#); [126](#); voyage on *Birmingham*, [132](#); describes election in Liverpool, [135](#); views on British Conference, [137-8](#); on Reform Bill, [138](#); on an English

President, [139](#); interviews Goderich, [141](#); [152](#), [161](#), [162](#); opinion of English Wesleyans, [163-4](#); accepts teachings of Irving, [165-7](#); loss to reform cause, [166](#); foresight of, [170](#); criticized by Mackenzie, [198](#); defended by Egerton, [203](#); advances money to Mackenzie, [204](#) and *n.*; attacked in Almanac, [204n.](#); [234](#), [334](#) and *n.*; in Toronto, [369](#).

Ryerson, Dr. George Sterling, [1](#), [37](#).

Ryerson, Hannah (Aikman), [69](#), [71](#), [161n.](#)

Ryerson, John, [5](#), sketch of, [41-4](#); drops two Christian names, [41n.](#); a burst of fervour, [42](#); power in Conference, [43](#); trip to Hudson Bay, [44](#); criticism of chapters in “Epochs”, [44](#); [52](#), [53n.](#); examines candidates, [64](#); [69](#), [77](#), [90](#), [92](#), [94](#); long ride, [97](#); [111](#), [120](#); inspiration on Bay St., [154](#); characterized, [167](#); [175](#), [188](#); warns Egerton against politics, [190](#); names “furious levellers”, [190](#); attitude to Impressions, [210-11](#); supports government, [211](#); his heart sickens, [212](#) and *n.*; defends grant to missions, [214](#); opposes remodelling of church, [222](#); a courageous Tory, [235](#); describes Episcopalians, [236](#); criticizes Stinson, [242-3](#); trusts not to arm of flesh, [243](#); [246n.](#); sends his best sermon, [247](#); [255](#); and General Conference, [271](#), [286](#); [315](#); [330](#); criticizes William’s conduct, [331](#); opinion of Head, [332](#); ill health, [334](#); thinks of going to U.S., [334](#); shepherds Methodists in 1836 elections, [348](#); describes “miserable desolations” in Toronto, [360](#); comment on elections, [361](#); characterizes Head, [361-2](#); strictures on Wm. Lord, [366](#); fears for Academy, [366](#); condemns English Preachers, [367-8](#); book steward, [380](#); criticizes Evans, [383](#); [390](#), [394](#), [403](#), [428](#); describes Harvard, [433](#); fears rise of military and high church oligarchy, [434](#); best source of news, [439](#); effect of executions on, [453-4](#); [458](#), [467](#); apprehensive, [470](#); mistrusts Junkin, [471](#); Harvard a “very dangerous man”, [471-2](#); suggests answer to Hagerman, [473](#); on centenary tour, [518-528](#); advises Egerton to withdraw from Canada, [544](#); supports Egerton, [549](#); [554](#), [574](#), [578n.](#)

Ryerson, Mary (Armstrong), [183n.](#), [209n.](#), [261](#), [270n.](#), [375](#) and *n.*

Ryerson, Mary (Lewis), [44](#), [159](#), [246](#), [270](#).

Ryerson, Mehetabel (Stickney), [1](#), [2](#), letter to Egerton, [224](#); [378](#).

Ryerson, Col. Joseph, [1](#), compared to Baldwin, “the emigrant”, [2](#); [30](#), [69](#); criticized by Mackenzie, [198](#); [295-6](#); presides at Methodist Missionary Meeting, [566](#).

Ryerson, Samuel, [44](#).

Ryerson, Sarah (Rolph), [30](#), [33](#), [125](#).

Ryerson, Sophia, [470](#) and *n.*

Ryerson, William, [5](#), at college of Buck and Bright, [8](#); [32](#); sketch of life, [37-41](#); Carroll's portrait of, [37](#); popular in Conference, [38](#); address at Cummer's camp meeting, [40](#); last years, [41](#); [52](#), [61](#), [62](#), [64](#), [68](#), [71](#), [75](#), [90](#), [99](#), [113](#), [120](#); awkward situation in Kingston, [206](#); criticizes Impressions, [207](#); [222](#); advises against ordaining local preachers, [241](#); again Presiding Elder, [249](#); cautions Egerton against English brethren, [250](#); return of fever, [251](#); at prayer-meeting, [262](#); John's strictures on, [331](#); describes conference of 1836, [337-8](#); gives prospects in elections, [338](#); much depressed, [339](#); on rectories, [347](#); regrets Egerton's English mission, [375](#); criticizes English preachers, [376](#); and grant to missions, [376](#); and union, [376-7](#); sermon to candidates for ministry, [380](#); [446](#), [458](#), [459](#); description of gaol, [460-1](#); spirit broken, [461](#); complaints against, [510](#), [511n.](#); on loyalty of preachers, [511](#); chosen delegate to British Conference, [550](#); significance of choice, [554](#); [555](#), [565](#), [578n.](#)

Rykert, George, [321](#), [403n.](#)

Sanderson, John, [54](#).

Sandon, Lord, [355](#).

Sawyer, Joseph, [527](#) and *n.*

Scobie, Hugh, [560n.](#)

Scott, Jonathan, [514n.](#), [566](#).

Select Committee of Assembly of 1828, report of, [73](#) and *n.*

Shaver, Peter (Dundas County), [216](#), [252](#).

Shavers, The, of Ancaster, [97](#) and *n.*

Shaw, Samuel, [497n.](#)

Sherwood, Adiel, [566](#).

Sherwood, Henry, [350](#), [403n.](#), [424](#) and *n.*, [542](#).

Sherwood, Levius P., [424n.](#)

Simcoe, John Graves (the Simcoe tradition), [33](#); [80](#), [81](#).

Sissons, Jonathan, [431](#), [432](#) and *n.*

Slater, William, [91](#), [92](#), [94](#).

Small, J. E., [66](#), [504](#).

Smart, Wm., [480n](#).

Smith, R. Vernon, [546n.](#), [555](#).

Smith, Isaac, [95](#).

Smith, William, [91](#), [99](#) and *n.*, [120](#), [129](#), [130](#).

Spenser, Geo. B., [122](#).

Stanley, E. G. (later Lord Derby), [34](#), [174](#), [181](#) and *n.*; thinks Methodist preachers Yankees, [184](#); his surprise, [185](#), [196](#); [225](#), [226](#).

Steamboats, on Great Lakes, [75](#) and *n.*; on Rideau Canal, [526](#) and *n.*

Stephen, James, [293](#), [296](#), [298](#); final letter on Academy, [310](#); [420](#), [423](#); attack on, [424](#), [425](#) and *n.*

Stewart, C. J. (Bishop of Quebec), [12](#), [108](#), [132](#).

Steele, Capt. Elmer, [530](#), [531](#), [566](#).

Stinson, Joseph, [58](#), Superintendent of Missions, [171](#), [211](#), [212](#) and *n.*, [213](#); criticized by John Ryerson, [242-3](#); [244](#), [250](#), [311](#), [331](#), [332](#), [363](#), [367](#), [368-9](#); examines Indian schools, [389](#); prospective president, [389](#); [391](#), [392](#), [393](#), [395](#), [401n.](#), [403](#), [409](#), [416n.](#), [448](#), [467](#); President, [475](#); reasons with Ryerson, [491-2](#); defers to Church of England, [491](#) and *n.*; [497](#), [502](#), [510](#), [534](#); speaks of Established Church in Canada, [535](#); [541](#), [546](#), [547](#), [549](#), [550](#), [551](#); reaches London before Ryerson, [555](#); at British Conference, [557-8](#); [564n.](#), [576](#).

Strachan, John, Bishop, a convert from Presbyterianism, [14](#); describes Ryersons as virulent, [14](#); characterized, [17](#); provocative sermon, [23](#); University Charter, [34](#); at Cornwall, [46](#); and Alder, [49](#); supports Ryan, [54](#); letter and chart, [73](#) and *n.*; defence before Legislative Council, [76](#) and *n.*; and Simcoe tradition, [80](#), [81](#); letter to Horton, [81](#), [82](#); speech in Legislative Council, [83-85](#); Wm. Jenkins' retort to, [85](#); Ryerson's second reply to, [85-89](#); [122](#), [128](#), [142](#); referred to by Ryerson, [150](#); opens school to Alder, [169](#); subscribes to Academy, [237](#); Goderich would exclude from Council, [343](#); [404](#), [405](#), [412](#), [413](#); and Ryerson's sermon, [413](#); grant of land to, [419n.](#); the vote for swords, [436n.](#); before Durham commission, [480n.](#), [481](#); letter to Ryerson, [498](#); in England, [529](#); opposes Sydenham's Reserves Bill, [532](#).

Sydenham, Lord (Charles Poulett Thomson), [506](#), [531](#) and *n.*; chastens Compact, [532](#); attitude to British and Canadian Conferences, [536](#); sends Ryerson £[100](#), [543](#); tribute to *Guardian*, [552](#); cordial reply to Conference, [554](#); Ryerson expresses confidence in, [559](#) and *n.*, [560-2](#); and Victoria

College, [579](#); serious accident to, [581](#) *n.*; death, [584](#); Ryerson's eulogy, [584-7](#).

Strong, Ozem, [66](#).

Sullivan, R. B., [249](#), [266](#), [328](#), [431](#), [532](#); and Monthly, [537](#); [560](#), [565](#).

Sunday School in York, [68](#).

Sutherland, Thos. J., [435](#) and *n.*, [436](#).

Swayze, Mary, [247](#) and *n.*

Temperance Movement, its beginnings, [117](#); officers, York Society, in 1833, [181](#)*n.*; criticized by Prescott editor, [209](#) and *n.*; drunkenness in Toronto, [262](#); at Island on Sunday, [262](#)*n.*; Tee-total Society, [517](#); promotes sobriety at Perth, [524](#); "tippling advocacy" of Rev. Mr. Murray, [524](#) and *n.*

Theller, Dr. Edward Alexander, [453](#) and *n.*

Thomson, Charles Poulett, see Sydenham.

Thomson, H. C., [85](#), [91](#), [95](#), [109](#), [124](#).

Thornton, Robert Hill, [480](#)*n.*

Townley, Adam, [511](#), [502](#)*n.*

Townley, James, [139](#), [152](#).

Turton, Thomas, [477](#).

Upper Canada Academy (Victoria College), founding of, [120-122](#); Ryerson's collecting for in 1833, [172](#) and *n.*; Ellice subscribes to, [174](#); "built by money of Reformers", [213](#), [236](#); subscription books, [236](#)*n.*; later subscriptions, [237](#); reformers and, [239](#); grant asked for, [252](#); text of petition, [253-4](#); governing bodies of, [253-4](#); finances of, [254](#); Conference memorial re charter, [255-6](#); London subscriptions, [277](#); exertions on behalf of, [278](#)*n.*; Principal sought in England, [279](#); accommodation, [282](#); contributions to, [282](#) and *n.*; Goderich and, [282](#); grant of £4,000 asked, [285](#); collections slow in Canada, [287](#); embarrassed, [288-293](#); Indians at, [296](#) and *n.*; no special advantages to preachers, [302](#); final difficulty overcome, [310](#); opening of Academy, [311](#); debts in detail, [333-4](#); finances, [365](#); sundry subscribers to, [365](#)*n.*, [371](#) and *n.*; may be sold, [366](#); Assembly votes loan to, [372](#); Council vetoes, [372](#); Glenelg's instructions, [374](#); effect of grant to Missions on, [376](#) and *n.*; subvention to young preachers proposed, [379](#) and *n.*; small attendance in 1837, [382](#); duties of officers, [383](#)*n.*; finances, [390](#), [391](#), [393](#)*n.*, [420](#), [428](#); academic freedom, [393](#)*n.*; Richey "tame as a lamb", [428](#);

prosperity, [429](#) and *n.*; religious life of, [429](#)*n.*; Hurlburt's relation to, [544-6](#); Canadian principal sought, [554](#); staff of in 1841, [571](#); conditions in described, [571-4](#); Victoria College Bill, [578-9](#); grant of £500 to, [579](#); Ryerson Principal of, [580](#); and State support, [582](#) and *n.*; curriculum of, [582](#) and *n.*

Upper Canada College, Colborne's interest in, [147](#); endowment of, [373](#); [420](#), [506](#), [582](#).

Van Norman, Daniel C., [571](#).

Vaux, Thomas, [68](#) and *n.*, [329](#), [369](#), [435](#).

Victoria College, see Upper Canada Academy.

Wakefield, Gibbon, [477](#).

Warner, S., [520](#).

Watson, Richard, [163](#).

Waudby, John, [560](#) and *n.*, [561](#).

Webster, Thomas, [54](#).

Welsh, Jane, [166](#).

Wesley, John, his politics, [140](#); [163](#), [455](#).

Wesleyan Methodists in England (also their Conference), George Ryerson's opinion of, [137-8](#); conservative bias, but "no politics" in, [140-1](#); [163-4](#); authority of preachers over laity, [170](#); cordial to Ryerson in 1833, [171](#); lively services described, [177-9](#); lend themselves to policy, "divide et impera", [191](#); characterized, [193](#); William mistrusts leaders of, [250](#); John critical of, [367-8](#); resistance to Dr. Bunting, [404](#); catholic spirit of Wesley, [455](#); Jacobin spirit of some members, [457](#); and Establishment in colonies, [535](#); relation to Canadian Conference reviewed, [536](#); treatment of Ryerson brothers in 1840, [557-8](#); secede from union, [558](#).

Whitehead, Thomas, [6](#), [52](#); opposes union, [155](#); an "up and down" man, [187](#); [311](#); President, [564](#).

Wickens, James, [432](#) and *n.*

Wilkinson, Henry, [215](#) and *n.*, [216](#), [246](#) and *n.*, [385](#) and *n.*, [525](#), [526](#).

Willson, Hugh, [9](#), [94](#), [223](#) and *n.*, [362](#), [566](#).

Willson, John, [54](#), [94](#), [223](#) and *n.*

Woodsworth, Richard, [497](#)*n.*

Wright, David, [214](#), [215n.](#), [216](#), [217](#); Ryerson's reply to, [220](#) and *n.*
Youmans, David, [6](#), [512](#).

TRANSCRIBER NOTES

This eBook is an historical representation of early 19th century letters. Spelling varies widely in these writings and has been left as is to maintain historical accuracy.

When nested quoting was encountered, nested double quotes were changed to single quotes.

Some photographs have been enhanced to be more legible.

Page numbers have been removed due to a non-page layout.

A Table of Contents for the chapters has been added for reader convenience.

A cover was created for this ebook which is placed in the public domain.

Index page references refer to the book's original page order. Actual placement of the reference may be offset depending on the page and/or font size of your eBook reader.

[The end of *Egerton Ryerson: His Life and Letters* by C. B. Sissons]