On December 11, 1837, William Lyon Mackenzie, fleeing from his political enemies in Upper Canada, crossed the Niagara River to take refuge in the United States. Years later, he was enabled to return by the passage of the Amnesty Act of 1849. What activities had filled Mackenzie’s years in exile, what light do they throw upon him as a reformer, and how did they affect his post-rebellion career in Canada? To answer these questions, a full-scale study of the American years would be needed. This article makes a beginning but is limited to one topic: Mackenzie’s Gazette, published first from New York City, later from Rochester. The Gazette makes clearer Mackenzie’s position as a Canadian reformer who wanted more than political changes. For him, the immediate practical methods of advancing the cause of social democracy were to restrict severely the note-issuing powers of the chartered banks and to prevent them using public funds for private profit. In the United States this was again the theme of his writings and the supposed inconsistency, unreasonableness, and apparent dishonesty his critics saw in his support of Van Buren yield when tested against what was for Mackenzie the fundamental question: Van Buren’s stand on the Independent Treasury.

Why did not Mackenzie choose to publish his Gazette in Buffalo, from which point it surely would have been easier to get copies into Canada than from New York? He did propose it to the Buffalo Committee of Thirteen on the very day the withdrawal from Navy Island was decided upon.1 Apparently this suggestion was not sympathetically received. Buffalo already had several struggling newspapers, some of which had given generous support to the Patriot cause, and Mackenzie had lost some of his prestige in that city. When the British forces had started cannonading in earnest, Mackenzie had left Navy Island to take Mrs. Mackenzie to the house

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1Mackenzie’s Gazette: An Aspect of W.L. Mackenzie’s American Years’ was first printed in the Canadian Historical Review volume 46, no. 4 (December 1965) pp.323-345 and is reprinted here with the kind permission of Lillian F. Gates and the University of Toronto Press.
of a friend in Buffalo. En route, on January 4, he had been arrested and charged with violating the Neutrality Act of 1818, but when three Buffalo men provided his bail of $5,000 he was released. This event can only have been a terrible shock to Mackenzie who, after the Caroline affair, had been confidently expecting continued American aid and sympathy. Van Rensselaer states that, when arrested, Mackenzie became "extremely abusive towards everything American ... and ... disgusted all his benefactors in that quarter by the violence of his language." This wild outburst, described as a "vulgar two hour tirade ... against this country and its officers," seems to have permanently damaged Mackenzie's prospects in Buffalo, for subsequently he complained of the very limited support which his newspaper received in that city. After convincing himself that at the moment nothing could be done in a military way on the frontier, Mackenzie decided to establish himself in New York and publish a weekly newspaper from that city. For an exiled Canadian without funds this was a bold decision.

On April 17, 1838, the prospectus of Mackenzie's Gazette was published as an extra of L'Estafitte, a French-language paper which must have been sympathetic to the Patriot cause since its circulation in Canada had been forbidden. Mackenzie had previously begun to solicit his friends to obtain subscriptions for him, cash in advance if possible, and his prospectus claimed that a thousand subscribers had already been obtained. When the first number of the Gazette appeared on May 12, the circulation was stated to be 4,000. Peter Baxter, Mackenzie's brother-in-law, was named the proprietor of the paper because Mackenzie had to obtain credit for type, paper, and presses, and he realized that his creditors would not have much security if he should have to pay costs and other legal expenses as a result of the indictment against him. The avowed object of the Gazette was to print a synopsis of British, Irish, and European news, to give correct information about conditions in the British colonies, to defend the cause of the rebellion, and to discuss the local politics of the United States only incidentally. This was the policy advocated by Mackenzie's friends and the editors of other papers, and it was regarded as a promise by some of his first subscribers. Unfortunately, Mackenzie did not keep to it.

In his "Narrative of the Rebellion," published first in the Watertown Jeffersonian of January 17, 1838, Mackenzie had referred to the Executive whom the leading reformers had chosen and he had stated that it was the Executive who was responsible for changing the date of the uprising from December 7 to December 4. In the first issue of his Gazette, Mackenzie prefaced the republication of his "Narrative" with additional material and explained that the Executive was Dr. John Rolph. This honour Rolph indignantly disclaimed. Mackenzie's Rochester friends regretted that any criticism of Rolph had been made and Henry O'Reilly, editor of the Rochester
Daily Advertiser, further reproached Mackenzie for republishing an article from the United States Magazine and Democratic Review, entitled “History of the Recent Insurrection in the Canadas,” which, referring to the change of plans from the seventh to the fourth said, “The movement [of organizing for revolt] however went on with the expected success until it was precipitated either by the treachery or the criminal indiscretion of one of their leaders....” By republishing this statement without comment, it appeared to O’Reilly that Mackenzie had sanctioned a charge far stronger that he himself had originally made.

This reproach drew from Mackenzie two long letters in self-defence. Rolph, he argued, “ought to have come out himself with a candid avowal of the reasons which induced him to take the course he did, more especially when he saw that I was continually traduced for precipitating a movement which has not been successful, and knew that he and Morrison, who stood pledged to be with us at commencement, bro’t on the crisis & left us to our fate.” Mackenzie pointed out to O’Reilly something he had evidently overlooked, that in the same issue of the Gazette in which the critical article had been republished, Mackenzie had taken care to say that “if Dr. Rolph’s act was indiscreet, as it certainly was, it was done with the purest and most honorable motives, and might have given us the means of success if Dr. Rolph had followed it up as he ought to have done. When I say this I say enough.” “I have neither questioned [Dr. Rolph’s] patriotism or integrity publicly or privately,” went on Mackenzie “but I have stated facts and have added that the Dr.’s courage did not sustain him when the trial came. Further I have not gone.”

Mackenzie certainly believed O’Reilly to be his friend, yet Rolph was able to persuade O’Reilly to send a protest to the Democratic Review accompanied by an article very critical of Mackenzie which Rolph had written. The Review rejected the article “because its readers would need an acquaintance with localities which the general reader does not have.” Also, although Mackenzie had shown “incapacity” in conducting the rebellion, his conduct was, in the editors’ opinion, “hardly worthy of that unqualified censure and imputation of bad motives interspersed throughout your article.” Rolph sent O’Reilly a brief note thanking him for his efforts with the Democratic Review." [The appendix to the second volume of Dent’s Story of the Upper Canada Rebellion can now be identified as the rough draft of Rolph’s rejected article.]

John Louis O’Sullivan who, with S.D. Langtree, had established the United States Magazine and Democratic Review towards the close of 1837, was an ardent Jeffersonian who was confident that the boundaries of the United States would one day embrace the entire North American continent and Cuba, and to him Julius H. Pratt has attributed the phrase
"manifest destiny." But in 1837 O'Sullivan was not as ardent an expansionist as he later became and despite his sympathy for the Canadians, he thought the proper policy for the United States was neutrality and peace with Great Britain. The great question of the day for O'Sullivan was the banks. Like Mackenzie, he was a hard money man, ever ready to denounce the paper money and credit system as a stupendous modern fraud upon the industry of the mass of society. For him the arch villain in the banking world was the Bank of England whose policies in 1835 had, he believed, stimulated inflation in the United States and whose demands in 1836, in conjunction with the Pet Bank scheme, had precipitated the panic of the following year. "Twenty-four private merchants in London exercise the actual power of raising and depreciating, according to their will and pleasure, the marketable values of all property throughout the commercial world," wrote O'Sullivan. "The present generation will not pass away," he predicted, "without witnessing the grand consummation - the overthrow, or rather the radical reform, of the Bank of England, and its whole paper money system." Here was grist for Mackenzie's mill! Here were two themes he could treat as one: the abolition of the paper money system and the abolition of British power and influence in the new world.

For a brief time Mackenzie's Gazette continued to be what it had promised to be: a paper primarily concerned with defending the Patriot cause and providing news from Canada, other British colonies, and the United Kingdom. By harping on such topics as the grievances of the Canadians, the similarities with the causes of the American Revolution, the burning of the Caroline, the arming of negroes in Upper Canada, the treatment of Americans in that province, the question of double allegiance, the Maine boundary, and the right to navigate the St. Lawrence the Gazette did its best to provoke war with Great Britain and thus afford the Patriots an opportunity to call forth what they believed to be their latent widespread support in Upper Canada. "One short war well managed," wrote its editor, "might give this continent perpetual peace. Until Canada is freed the revolution in America will not be completed."

Throughout July Mackenzie continued to give the major part of his space to Canadian topics. In the issue of July 7, he discussed at length the land policies of Upper Canada, not, unfortunately, in his own words, but by reprinting a long extract from an article in the British and Colonial Review, entitled "British Colonization." The author regarded the land system of the United States, with its cash sale and uniform price policy, as the model to be followed for efficiency and impartiality, denounced the sale to the Canada Land Company, and criticized Wakefield's proposal for keeping control of the public lands of the colonies in the hands of imperial land and immigration commissioners. The proper policy was to entrust the
public lands to the colonial legislatures; to interfere for the benefit of the mother country was in effect to tax the colony. "Leave the colony to manage its own affairs," he wrote, "and it will take from us all [the emigrants] that it is desirable for itself to receive; to force upon it that of which we might be glad to get rid is simply tyranny." Opinions such as these Mackenzie was happy to reprint, stamped with his approval.

In the next two issues of the *Gazette* (July 14 and 21), Mackenzie printed the rebels’ draft constitution for Upper Canada. "It contained," he observed, "my long cherished opinions, especially the fifth section." This section, printed in italics, provided for equality before the law and was so worded as to subject corporations to the same legal liabilities as individual partnerships. Other sections emphasized by the use of italics forbade the incorporation of trading companies or banks, defined legal tender as gold or silver, provided for the setting aside of land for common schools out of the to-be-expropriated Clergy and Crown Reserves and unsold Canada Company land, precluded the imposition of religious tests, and declared that the St. Lawrence River ought to be a free and common highway to all nations.

But if Mackenzie's *Gazette* was still discussing Canadian questions during July, the thoughts of its editor were turning to other topics. Discouraged, perhaps, over the prospects of a successful rebellion in Upper Canada, Mackenzie made up his mind to become a citizen of the United States -- eventually he did -- and to abandon his neutral attitude in American politics. The attempt of the Patriots in February to establish a foothold on Fighting Island, in which Mackenzie's own son James participated, had failed, the attempt at Pelee Island in March had failed, and the Short Hills affair in June had likewise failed. The St. Clair raids had accomplished nothing of importance and the widespread uprising long planned for July 4 and dependent for success upon arms to be obtained by robbing the Detroit arsenal had been foiled by the vigilance of the American authorities. It seemed to be, as James Mackenzie put it, "all over in Canada."

Personal considerations, too, added their depressing weight to the burden of these failures. Before Mackenzie's *Gazette* was two months old, its editor was in straitened circumstances and deeply discouraged by the failure of his paper to receive adequate support. The circulation of 4,000 of which his first issue had boasted had not been a paid circulation. Some subscribers had paid for only four months, some had not paid anything, and some, it soon became obvious, would never pay anything. No wonder the once ebullient Mackenzie, who had often delighted his friends by singing with impish glee, "I care for nobody, no, not I," now seemed to one of them a "blunted & broken down" man, despairing of the cause he once had led.
Mackenzie's decision to become an American citizen did not mean that his interest in Canadian affairs was ebbing. He was still determined to give the Patriot cause all the help he could through his *Gazette*, but at the same time he wanted to discuss the political and economic problems of the country to which he was shortly to belong. After all, could a newspaper devoted chiefly to Canadian and British news, yet forbidden to circulate in Canada, flourish on the support of the impoverished Canadians in exile and their American sympathizers? Was not its base too narrow? If his paper were to survive and do any good for Canada, was it not necessary to broaden its appeal? Was it really possible to discuss Canada's political and economic future without discussing American politics and economic policies too, and had he not left himself a loophole in his prospectus? Considerations such as these may well have influenced Mackenzie. It was risky decision to make, however, and he knew it.

The great questions of the day in American politics were what should be the relation of the banks to the national government and to the treasury and what restrictions should be placed on their power to issue paper money. These had been the most important questions for Mackenzie in Canada, and they were still the fundamental questions for him. He could not keep silent on them. Moreover there was no need to; the *Democratic Review*, hostile to the Bank of the United States and to the Bank of England which, the *Review* was convinced, controlled it, had already shown him how to relate these issues to the cause of Canada.

Jeffersonian republicans discussed the economic problems of their day in wide political terms: upon their right solution depended the preservation of a truly democratic society in America. The aristocratic features of the American constitution, they argued, had prevented the full realization of the ideals expressed in the Declaration of Independence and they were now being further threatened by the anti-democratic Whigs, eager to expand the powers of the national government and ready to support the monied interests at the expense of the farmer and mechanic. Mackenzie shared the fears of the Jeffersonians. To O'Reilly he wrote, "I am somewhat fearful of [fear for?] the strength of the republican party to whose general principles I do most heartily adhere. This great struggle on the public monies I see is exhausting their energies but it is, I must own, all important, perhaps more so than that of Canada." By the end of July, Mackenzie had made up his mind to come out openly in support of Van Buren. "The more I enquire into the conduct of the administration," he informed O'Reilly, "the more I see reason for the course taken by Mr. Van Buren.... I think more of the treasury bill and the separation of Bank and State and free trade as a means of freeing Canada and bringing this country to a republican state than of any other question."
Mackenzie’s decision to support Van Buren meant that he had to accept Van Buren’s policy of peace with Great Britain. Up to this point he had been doing his best through his Gazette to inflame American public opinion in the hope that the outbreak of war would give the Patriots their chance. Now it was necessary for him to do an about-face – and to account for it to his readers. He began by explaining to Bill Johnston in the Gazette of July 21, that Canada could be freed by peaceful means. Continued agitation would hinder immigration, hurt trade, diminish the revenue, and increase the expense of holding the Canadas; consequently oblige the British government to set those colonies free. This was not an unrealistic argument. It was exactly what worried Sir George Arthur.29 If the Americans helped by an economic boycott, added Mackenzie, no war would be necessary. Two weeks later, Mackenzie came out publicly for Van Buren and urged the Friends of Freedom in Upper Canada, as well as those in exile, to “do nothing that may in any way involve the American government or amount to a breach of that neutrality it is desirous to observe.” Van Buren, explained the Gazette, was striving to carry out the principles of Jacksonian democracy and to defend the labourer and farmer against the speculating, cheating monopolists who would reduce them to the level of the tenants and labourers of the old world. Therefore it was with the Jacksonians that the true friends of Canada should identify themselves. The Whigs might appear to favour the emancipation of Canada more actively than Van Buren, but it was only in order that their corporations and privileged monopolists might exploit the resources of the continent more effectively. Canada would gain little from exchanging the Colonial Office for Webster and the Whigs. “One swarm of locusts would leave us, it is true, but another more keen in the bite would alight in their place.”30

Mackenzie’s departure from neutrality in American politics cost him dear. In upstate New York, Whigs who had exerted themselves “to save his carcase from famine and his neck from the halter” denounced it as an act of treachery and ingratitude.31 Bill Johnston sent a bitter letter protesting against Mackenzie’s “taking up politics at the very moment when we wanted your services the most in the cause of Canada.”32 [The second Lower Canada Rebellion and the attack on Prescott were not two months away.] From agents for the Gazette in Jefferson, Monroe, St. Lawrence, and Fuller counties cancellations came in. By September some two hundred subscribers had been lost, and by the end of October the Gazette’s circulation had dropped below, 3,000.33

Mackenzie’s son, James, also disapproved of his father’s change of policy. James brushed aside the latter’s elaborate argument that the triumph of Van Buren was vital to the cause of true liberty on the entire continent, “My object is Canada, not the United States,” wrote James. “The cause of
Canada ... is now ... dragged down by the expression of your personal opinions to a question of party.” Either more realistic or more strongly Loco-Foco than his father, James regarded the choice between the Whigs and the Democrats as simply a choice of evils. Both had “an Augean stable of aristocratic tendencies which will require a new party to change.” It was futile and dangerous for Mackenzie to “embroil” himself in disputes over a paper currency and chartered monopolies, advised his son. They had become too deeply rooted, so much part of the business of the country. The trend of the times was against him even as it had been in Canada where, James reminded him, his friends had “looked aghast at the monstrous absurdity of your attacking the interested, whether friend or foe, and how jealous they were of your success.” Moreover, predicted his son, “The hatred which monied men feel for the cause of liberty – Canadian liberty – before a shadowy prejudice – now assumes a tangible shape – your opposition to their interests.”

Mackenzie vigorously defended his right to speak his mind on American politics even though he was not yet a citizen, argued that the cause of freedom was indivisible, and pointed out the consistency of his position. He had defended Van Buren in Canada and he defended him now.

Independence for our country in the true sense of the word is intimately connected with the success of those great measures which Andrew Jackson and Martin Van Buren have struggled ... to carry into effect ... we ought to feel that the struggle now going on in this republic between the sons of commerce, organized monopoly and foreign aristocracy on the one hand and the American government and the plain honest farmers ... on the other is the battle of freedom for the American continent as much for Canada as for the twenty states.... I have tried to be neutral ... but there is no defending Canadian interests by a half way course. I have therefore ... begun here as I left off at Toronto.... I will not prove traitor on this side of the St. Lawrence to the democratic principles we fondly cherished on the other side.

Canadian patriots, however, were less interested in these long-run calculations than in the immediate struggle with Great Britain. Mackenzie, like O’Sullivan of the Democratic Review, tried to convince them that British investors in American bank stock and western lands had laid the United States under tribute. “There are other ways besides fighting to reduce a government under foreign sway,” he observed, in words that for Canadians have a very modern sound. It was this foreign control of the American economy, and consequently of that country’s political and social character, that he believed Van Buren intended to break by his banking legislation. Therefore, by supporting Van Buren, Canadian Patriots
would be helping to weaken their own enemy, Great Britain.\textsuperscript{36}

Mackenzie was hard put to support Van Buren and his policy of neutrality and at the same time to give comfort to the gloomy Canadian exiles. He clung to the hope that a strengthened Van Buren administration would use economic sanctions against Great Britain and thus induce her to loose her hold on the Canadas. In the meantime he disapproved of further military operations on the frontier and unequivocally denied all communication with or knowledge of the secrets of any association planning to attack the British in Canada. “If there cannot be a formidable force raised,” he argued, “it would be cruelty to entice the farmers to join.” Mackenzie did his best to convince his American readers of the many advantages to them of ending British rule in North America, but he could plainly see that the United States would not involve itself in war over Canada before Canadians themselves had successfully demonstrated a determination to throw off British rule. How was this to be achieved? The only activity Mackenzie could suggest was organizing a secret conference of reformers in Canada to bring about the necessary unity of sentiment. In this realistic appraisal of American sentiment and in this cautious advice from their once impetuous leader there was little comfort for Patriots.

During the fall of 1838, when the Hunters of Michigan, Ohio, and New York were preparing to attack Prescott and Windsor, and when Robert Nelson was preparing the Lower Canada Patriots for a second revolt, Mackenzie again disassociated himself from all designs on the peace of Canada.\textsuperscript{37} Since his trial for breach of the Neutrality Act of 1818 was then scheduled to take place in October, this was the prudent course. Meanwhile, his \textit{Gazette} was filled with discussions of the Loco-Foco programme, the need for simplifying the laws, and the danger of a monied aristocracy triumphing in America and preventing it from becoming a “true” republic. “Most of the political economists,” observed Mackenzie, “have ingeniously organized mankind into machines for the production of the greatest quantity of riches and seem little concerned with the distribution of it.”\textsuperscript{38} In Canada Mackenzie had fought for the establishment of social democracy; in the United States he continued to fight for this same ideal. In issue after issue of the \textit{Colonial Advocate} he had attacked the Family Compact and the Bank of Upper Canada. Translated into American terms, these same villains became the Whigs and the “monied interest.” Just as in Upper Canada he had attacked those churchmen who supported the provincial administration and benefited from the Clergy Reserves, so in the United States he criticized those clergy who preached submission to the established order of things. Mackenzie preached the social gospel and again he borrowed the language of Orestes Brownson to do it.\textsuperscript{39}

In the \textit{Boston Quarterly Review}, Brownson had quoted at length from
the writings of the Abbé de Lamennais and had applied the Frenchman’s ideas to American society. Mackenzie reprinted the article in the *Gazette* of October 6, stating that it well expressed his own ideas. The Abbé believed that the people of Europe were struggling not “merely to modify some of the forms of power, to reform a few abuses and introduce into the laws a few amendments which everybody adjudged to be necessary ... but to completely reconstruct the social order on the basis of equality.” Because the Christian gospel taught the equality of all men before God, it also taught the equality of all men with one another. Lamennais called upon the clergy to preach the democratic principle of Christianity and to league themselves with the people rather than with the aristocratic governments of Europe. Brownson accused the clergy of the new world of being no better democrats than those of the old. The purpose of Christ’s mission, he reminded them, had been to found a new order of society in which there would be peace between men and nations and every man would sit under his own vine and fig tree with none to molest him and none to make him afraid. Something more was required of Christians, observed Brownson, than concern for saving their own souls. “Who studies not to create a paradise here ... may perhaps doubt whether he shall find the gates of paradise open to him hereafter.” His own vine and fig tree with none to molest him and none to make him afraid! Here is a description, in scriptural words, of Mackenzie’s ideal society and one he had used more than once in the columns of the *Colonial Advocate*. Beneath all the inconsistencies—and shortcomings—of Mackenzie’s conduct, this was his ideal, the “true” republic he struggled to create on both sides of the border.

Throughout the national campaign of 1838, the *Gazette* continued to support Van Buren and the Democrats, but, as might be expected, the paper did not become an uncritical party organ. Mackenzie approved of the administration’s proposal for an Independent Treasury—even one empowered to issue treasury notes—on the ground that it would be no more dangerous for the government to issue paper money through the treasury and to control its volume than for a bank controlled by foreign stockholders to do so, but he criticized that clause of the bill which permitted the treasury to pay out for a time the notes of specie-paying banks. The Pet Bank system had failed and Mackenzie did not want a vestige of it to remain. To his disgruntled Patriot critics Mackenzie admitted that the conduct of the Van Buren administration had not been as manly and straightforward as might have been expected from the successor of Andrew Jackson. Still, on the eve of the election, he urged that since Van Buren would be President for three more years in any event, the thing to do was to give him more support in Congress, in the hope he would become bolder towards Great Britain.
Discussion of the results of the election of 1838 in the *Gazette* was limited to a brief announcement of the failure of the Van Burenites to carry New York City. The exciting news from Canada left no room for more extended comment. On November 3, Robert Nelson had aroused Lower Canada to a second rebellion which was not terminated until November 10; on November 11 the Patriots attacked Prescott and on December 4 Windsor. Van Buren, the Loco-Focos, and the Independent Treasury were now relegated to second place and space given first to hopeful accounts of these struggles at their commencement, later to grim accounts of their failure in both provinces, to lists of those imprisoned, killed, or wounded, and to bitter denunciations of Sir John Colborne.

Both before and after these tragic events Mackenzie denied that he had had any share in organizing the invasions or that he had had knowledge of the secrets of any association planning them. His denial can be accepted as accurate provided the word secrets is interpreted strictly, but Mackenzie could not have denied that he knew the invasions were imminent or that, after others had planned them, his *Gazette* had, at the last minute, encouraged them. This change in his policy took place after his trial had once again been postponed, this time to June, 1839, and after he had convinced himself that the government of the United States had no serious intention of trying him at all, or at least of convicting him.43

After the failure of the Patriot movements, Mackenzie had to reconsider his position. The election was over, he had backed the wrong horse, the Whigs had carried New York state, Van Buren had openly denounced Patriot activity both by proclamation on November 21 and in a message to Congress on December 4, and Mackenzie had become his bitter opponent. American sympathy for Canadian rebels was declining — "not $250 had been collected in the wide extent of New York and Philadelphia" for the relief of the refugees44 — and American interest in frontier adventures had been sharply checked by the execution of Americans taken at Prescott and by the refusal of their government to intercede publicly for them. Moreover, the failure of Canadians to support Von Schoultz at Prescott had led Americans to question whether the Canadians really wanted independence and to charge them with being too cowardly to fight for it.

Why had the widespread organization which the Hunters were thought to have created throughout Canada failed to bring forth results? Was enthusiasm for the revolution withering away in Canada and could it be kept alive by a weekly newspaper which was issued from New York City, found it difficult to get authentic news from the frontier, and was forbidden to circulate in Canada? Mackenzie decided to visit the frontier to find out for himself what had happened and he was absent from New York from December 27 to January 8 for this purpose. He reported to his readers that
the spirit of independence was just as strong in Canada as ever and that, far from being cowardly, the people were ready to rise whenever there was a reasonable chance of success, but that without arms they could neither rise against a government backed by regular troops nor give effective aid to movements initiated from the United States. Mackenzie now reverted to the advice he had given earlier: no further attacks on Canada should be made, at least for the time being. Neither the Prescott nor the Windsor expedition had had a chance against the fully prepared and forewarned Sir George Arthur, although Mackenzie, if he was realist enough to see this fact, naturally did not put it in these terms to his readers. He covered up the failures as best he could but acknowledged that he "had grown weary of prophesying good and chronicling bad news from Canada."45

What Mackenzie had also come to realize, thanks to letters from such men as S.C. Frey, Donald McLeod, and E.A. Theller,46 was that the Prescott and Windsor expeditions had been promoted by Americans motivated not so much by a desire to establish a "true" republic in Upper Canada as by a spirit of speculation.47 The historian of St. Lawrence and Franklin counties, New York, Franklin Hough, who wrote from his contemporary knowledge of men and events shared this judgement:48

... however much justice there may have been in the demands of the reformers, it will be the duty of the future historian to record the fact, that the pretext was seized by sundry American citizens, as a favorable opportunity to push forward their private schemes of personal aggrandizement and pecuniary speculation, and the planning of enterprizes which they had neither the honor nor the courage to sustain when their support involved personal danger.

The Republican Bank of Upper Canada, through which the Americans planned to finance their ventures, had been organized on much the same plan as the Bank of Texas and its promoters and directors had intended to lose no time in disposing of the most valuable land of the new republic: the Canada Company's lands and the Clergy Reserves. Mackenzie, who abhorred speculators, concluded that the entire Patriot organization would have to be rebuilt and remodelled on entirely different lines49 if it were to accomplish the kind of revolution in Upper Canada for which he stood and that he could guide this work more effectively from Rochester than from New York. James Mackenzie, who all along had thought that the frontier was the best place for his father's paper, encouraged him to make this move. "It is alone your energy that gave breath to the Revolution," wrote James, "and that very circumstance has induced me to believe that you alone can keep it up."50
There can be little doubt that one of Mackenzie’s reasons for leaving New York was the precarious position of his Gazette. It needed at least 3,000 punctually paying subscribers to maintain it and it did not have them. Fully one thousand of its subscribers were in arrears and many of these were in New York City. No wonder that after his removal to Rochester Mackenzie cut his New York list sharply and refused to send any papers there that were not paid for.\textsuperscript{51}

Shortly after his arrival in Rochester, where he issued his first paper on February 23, Mackenzie began to organize his new society of Canadian Patriots. The relation of this organization to other Patriot groups is not clear. Early in January, 1839, some seventy-eight persons had met at Auburn, New York, under the guise of an agricultural society. This gathering, which was not called by Mackenzie, although he was present and, according to Lindsey, took an active part,\textsuperscript{52} was a convention of delegates, probably from Hunters’ Lodges, assembled to plan their next moves after the defeats at Prescott and Windsor. The failure of Canadians to support American invaders in the past had been attributed to their lack of arms; the plan now devised was to bring Canadians over to the States to equip themselves with a new revolving rifle that Dr. Duncombe was to have made.\textsuperscript{53} At this convention an executive committee of five was chosen, of which there is some reason to think Mackenzie was not a member.\textsuperscript{54} He was far from content with the manner in which American Hunters were dominating Canadian Patriot activities and exploiting sympathy for the Canadian cause. At this meeting an attempt may have been made to pacify him by agreeing that a separate association of Canadians should be organized under his leadership. Our only evidence, however, is Mackenzie’s vague statement that at the Auburn gathering the new association was “called into existence by resolution.”\textsuperscript{55}

The stated purposes of the Canadian Association were to obtain relief and employment for Canadian refugees and to work for Canadian independence, but to discountenance “hasty and ill planned expeditions,” whether organized on American soil or elsewhere, and all attempts to take revenge against the persons or property of political enemies.\textsuperscript{56} Nevertheless, all thought of a resort to force was not abandoned. Mackenzie had become convinced that a successful movement for Canadian independence would have to originate within Canada but could be supported from the American side. Or should the dispute over the boundary of Maine result in war, Patriot sympathizers on both sides of the line could seize the favourable opportunity to establish an independent Canada.

There is more evidence that the Canadian Association attracted those among the refugees who, while willing to accept American help to free Canada, did not want to see her swallowed up by the United States in the
Gates: 'Mackenzie’s Gazette'

process. By circularizing Hunters’ Lodges Mackenzie attempted to draw such persons out of these organizations into the new one and to discredit the Cleveland committee of Hunters by charges of peculation and mismanagement. However, the new association never acquired strength in men, money, or arms and it naturally aroused hostility. Mackenzie’s cautious policy of enquiry, organization, and watchful waiting hurt the organization with the bolder spirits who preferred to stay with the Hunters and before long James Mackenzie was enquiring of his father whether the new association had been abandoned.

By May, 1839, Mackenzie was admitting that there was nothing the Canadian Association could do at the moment. For a time the tense situation on the Maine-New Brunswick boundary and the passage of acts giving the President power to raise a force of 50,000 volunteers and appropriating funds to equip them justified Mackenzie’s hopes of war. But Caleb Cushing, an important member of the House Committee on Foreign Affairs, finally convinced him that Van Buren would take no decisive action and that the summer would pass in negotiations. Mackenzie then advised Canadians to recognize the hard realities of their situation. There would be no war. All the help they could expect from the United States was “an asylum for exiles.”

What were Canadians in exile to do? Mackenzie’s best advice to them was not to engage in useless border activities but to emigrate west. Nevertheless he urged the Canadian Association not to dissolve. There were a thousand ways, he told the members, in which they could assist the Patriot cause, but he specified only one: contributing to the cost of publishing the 5,000 copies of the documentary account of the rebellion which the Association had authorized, “for I confess that to that publication I attach a great deal of importance.” It is easy to be cynical about this advice and to regard it as a selfish request backed by vanity and the desire to publish a pièce justificative. But it must be remembered that Mackenzie was a printer with confidence in the power of the Press. He was always more interested in a wide circulation of his publications than in profit from them and he distributed them freely in large numbers. He had also seen the influence of the Seventh Report on Grievances and was noting the influence of the Durham Report. Would not a post-rebellion report that added to the old grievances an account of the peaceful steps taken to secure redress, related the events of the rebellion, described how the prisoners had been treated, brought to light the conduct of the government of Upper Canada, and related the fundamental political issues at stake to current political troubles in Great Britain and on the continent have its influence too? Unhappily for historians the “great report” of the Canadian Association, which the Gazette of June 8, 1839, referred to as about to be submitted, never appeared.
Mackenzie had hoped that the move to Rochester would put new life into his *Gazette* but it did not flourish any better than the new Canadian Association. “It is difficult to make people understand how they are to help the cause of Canada by taking ... the Gazette,” wrote S.C. Frey. It was more difficult still to get them to view the cause of Canada in the enlarged light that Mackenzie did, as part of the great struggle for human liberty throughout the world. From February 23, 1849, when the *Gazette* was first published from Rochester to June 19, when its editor went on trial, many columns were devoted to the Chartist agitation in England and to comments from liberal British newspapers. Few American papers paid much attention to the mass movements of the people for reform and Mackenzie expected that the *Gazette*’s attention to these topics would increase its appeal. From the expected triumph of the Chartists he believed Canada had much to hope for. “Regenerated England will never give a dollar to keep in subjection, at the point of the bayonet, a colony which wishes to be free,” declared the *Gazette,* anticipating the course of imperial history by almost a century.

Mackenzie did not neglect American politics in his *Gazette* despite the advice he received from one of his well-wishers to be a looker-on in Venice. On Washington’s birthday a young lawyer active in Democratic politics in Buffalo made an address from which Mackenzie quoted extensively. “What have we gained,” enquired James R. Doolittle, “by shaking off the oppression of the privileged classes of Great Britain if we are to grant the same power in ten fold magnitude to a thousand incorporated tyrants which never die.... It is the doctrine that government has privileges to grant which endanger the right of property as well as all other natural rights.” Here was the great enemy – chartered privilege. Mackenzie had fought it in Canada, was then fighting it in the United States, and was prepared to fight it in the future in Canada. “It is after Canada becomes politically independent that the fearful struggle will commence between the antagonistic principles of monied aristocracy and bible democracy,” he predicted, coining a phrase that well characterized his ideal society.

It was all no use. From neither Canadian exiles, American Hunters, friendly Whigs, ardent Loco-Focos, Chartist sympathizers, or Irish Americans, whose St. Patrick day celebrations were given great play, did enough paid subscriptions come in. The *Gazette* was going rapidly down hill and its editor’s resources were withering away. The precarious nature of the *Gazette*’s support may be judged from the fact that more than a fourth of the subscriptions were for only a three-month period and when Mackenzie put his newspaper on a cash basis its circulation dropped to 1,300.

On June 1, Mackenzie made an effort to expand his subscription list by a candid statement of his editorial policies. He would follow no party line
further than he thought that party supported political reform and the doctrines of the American Declaration of Independence. His advice to the refugees had been and would continue to be to wait until the Canadian people themselves would act. On this basis he pled earnestly, almost desperately, for support. Before the end of June he had been convicted of violating the Neutrality Act of 1818, sentenced to eighteen months imprisonment, and was editing his paper from Rochester's jail. In some respects Mackenzie's imprisonment, which lasted from June 21, 1839, to May 10, 1840, was a godsend to him. It brought new subscriptions to the *Gazette* and gifts from old friends, Canadian exiles, liberal editors, and sympathizing Irishmen. The *Gazette* continued to appear, although not altogether regularly. Without his press Mackenzie felt himself to be nothing. He had to publish his paper, at no matter what cost to himself or his family. Several of his friends urged him on, arguing that the real object of the prosecution had been to silence him to please Great Britain.

With its editor in jail, able to see people only at the whim of his jailer, and able to gather news only by letter, what was there of interest in the *Gazette* during this period? For three months the paper was devoted chiefly to a detailed account of Mackenzie's trial, the efforts of his friends to secure his release, and the miseries of his situation. But the paper could not be kept alive on sympathy and an endless recital of Mackenzie's grievances and before long its editor turned to questions of more general interest. For the people of upstate New York these were the pending state elections of 1839, for Americans in general they were the Independent Treasury and the election of 1840, for Canadians, Lord Durham's Report and the Act of Union. Mackenzie's discussion of these last two topics cannot be included within the limits of this article.

What stand would Mackenzie take in American politics, or would he take a stand at all? In 1838 he had supported the Van Buren administration and Governor Marcy, but both before and after the elections he had criticized Van Buren for "truckling" to Great Britain and strengthening the neutrality laws of the United States. The result was, as one of Mackenzie's friends put it, "no one could be sure where to find you in politics."67 For a time Mackenzie was not sure himself. In the eighteen-'thirties the politics of New York State, which were so closely allied to national politics, were far from being a simple juxtaposition of Jacksonian Democrats and Hamiltonian Whigs. They were further complicated by President Martin Van Buren's former position as the most influential member of the Albany regency, a group of political leaders who could not be regarded as speaking for the common man, or as eager to restrain banks of issue.

The question now was, had Van Buren been washed of his past sins in the waters of the Potomac? Mackenzie came to realize that American
politics were not as simple as they had once appeared to him and he began
to modify the bitter criticism of the President in which he had indulged
after Prescott. By May, 1839, he was no longer sure that he knew the key to
American politics. By August he would “fain hope” that in the end Van
Buren’s policy would prove to have been less subservient to Great Britain
than it appeared and he had begun to praise Van Buren’s state papers for
setting forth principles of political economy that were “pure and faultless
generally speaking.” By September, although he still had lingering doubts
about the regency clique that supported Van Buren, he had convinced him-
self that the President would sincerely attempt to procure the divorce of
the banks from the government and to restrict the issues of paper money
and he was ready to support him.

To his well-wishers who had counselled him to keep silent, Mackenzie
explained that he could not without stultifying himself. His course in the
United States would be what it had been in Canada. There his aim had
always been “the establishment of republican institutions of the purest
kind. Except for two months in which I had sent Robert Randall to London
... to prevent the disfranchisement of the American settlers,” wrote Mac-
kenzie, “I never even assumed the garb of loyalty as a feeling.... even that
momentary disguise I disliked.” He had upheld the principles of Jack-
sonian democracy in Canada, in the United States during the election of
1838, and he would still uphold them, no matter the cost to himself or the
Gazette. “What would Canada gain,” demanded Mackenzie, “if she
exchanged the English yoke for a band of smooth tongued quacks and
supple sharpers with their schemes and nostrums? If they stand their
ground here would any form of government prevent their migration
beyond the St. Lawrence?”

In specific terms all this meant that Mackenzie stood for uniform bank-
ruptcy laws, free trade, an independent treasury, a sound currency with
restrictions on the issuing of small notes, and opposed federally financed
internal improvements and the creation of corporations and monopolies,
including a national bank. It seemed to Mackenzie that Van Buren was the
only person the equal rights party could trust to put this programme
across. “On Mr. Van Buren’s honesty and faithfulness then, it appears to
me that much depends for the happiness of the continent.”

W.J. Duane, who had been Jackson’s Secretary of the Treasury, tried
vainly to make Mackenzie take a more realistic view of American politics.
Duane had grasped the change that had come over the democratic-
republican party in New York since 1825 at the hands of Van Buren and the
Regency. “Party or faction is everything,” wrote Duane. “The people at
elections move as armies do under command. The country is in the hands
of an oligarchy of leaders.” What the leaders were concerned with was not
carrying out the wishes of the people but perpetuating themselves in power. "You have not yet formed a true estimate of men and proceedings in this republic," he warned. "Neither Congress nor the Executive is likely to act under the influence of exalted and generous considerations."

To various suggestions that his imprisonment might be made to bear on party politics to his advantage and to Van Buren's disadvantage, Mackenzie returned a decided negative, and he persisted in his support of Van Buren even when it became apparent that his punishment was to be no brief and easy imprisonment, and that the efforts his friends were making for his release would not soon succeed. "We must not injure a good government because it won't do what we want in a minor matter," wrote Mackenzie. He assumed indeed a noble stance. His language, in his letter to O'Reilly, was not that of a prisoner under sentence but of one who fancied himself to be a person of great political influence free to negotiate with the administration. "If he [Van Buren] is not to do it [pardon Mackenzie] we should be told so at once so that we may manage not to hurt the elections in Michigan and in this State.... Hasten on those papers and tell them at Washington to decide at once if they can and if it is unfavorable, much as I would dislike it, I would cheerfully put up with it for the good of the country in its negotiations."

For some months Mackenzie maintained this lofty tone, insisting that he would sooner remain in jail than be the means of losing one vote for the Independent Treasury. In this mood of self-abnegation he went so far as to ask his friends to stop all agitation for his release lest they injure Van Buren. This was too much for some of his Patriot supporters. "You have in your last paper," wrote one of them. "turned traitor to the cause of the Patriots ... as the apologist and admirer of Martin Van Buren's tory speeches [at a time when he is about to say whether you are to be treated for the next sixteen months as a felon or as a freeman] I pity and despise you."

A fortnight later Mackenzie had changed his mind and was no longer content to "sit quiet" under his imprisonment. He was now suffering from marsh fever, had become worried about his health and that of his family who were ill provided for, was hard pressed financially, and was being hampered in the conduct of his paper by the hostility of his jailer. Then on October 12 a shot was fired through the window of his cell. It may have been a stray bullet but the prisoner did not think so. From then on until his release his complaints were unending. He grew increasingly hostile to Van Buren but made up his mind to make no fuss until after the state elections of 1839. "After that," he warned O'Reilly, "I'll grumble louder."

During the fall of 1839 the Gazette continued to give Van Buren's domestic policies vigorous support even though Van Buren was reported to
have said he would not pardon Mackenzie were he sure his refusal would cost him the entire election of New York. "What if he has ...," demanded the victim. "If Mr. Van Buren gain New York in the fall election I shall consider it a triumph for the Canadian cause.... If I had 100,000 votes the men who now hold the reins of state should have them. For where have we a better alternative?" After the 1839 elections for state senators in New York, which the Whigs won, criticism of Van Buren was resumed in the *Gazette*. Its editor's attitude towards him was still ambivalent. Mackenzie could not reconcile his approval of the President's stand on banking and currency questions with his distrust of Van Buren's regency supporters. The New York Safety Fund and the Pet Banks, said the *Gazette*, had been Van Buren's step ladder to the presidency and he was not likely to kick down the ladder that had raised him up. As for his political backers, "With such democrats as the Albany Regency we hold no communion. While they pretended to war on the great monster at Philadelphia, they nursed a brood of little ones."

By November, 1839, the *Gazette* was in a bad way. Its subscription list had dropped to about 1,000 and it was not paying its editor even the wages of a journeyman printer to keep his family upon. Mackenzie had got himself into a difficult position as an editor. He had given the Van Burenites his support and he and his paper had been ignored. And, no wonder. The *Gazette* had criticized the leaders of both political parties and had sneered at the very principle on which Van Buren insisted: party discipline -- "as if," it said, "confidence in office seekers and office holders was the test of democracy." It is not surprising that Van Buren showed no eagerness to release this carping critic of his political conduct. Mackenzie's friends tried to console him by assuring him that Van Buren would release him before long -- perhaps by summer, because to keep him in jail until the expiration of his sentence in December would hurt the President's chances for re-election. "No. Matt knows better than that," wrote one of them. If Matt did not, the Democratic Central Committee of Ohio enlightened him. Having failed in a personal appeal to the President, Mackenzie's next move was to put political pressure on him through numerously signed petitions to Congress. Before either House could take any action, Van Buren, motivated perhaps by what had become politically expedient, remitted the balance of Mackenzie's sentence and on May 10, 1840, he was freed.

After Mackenzie obtained his freedom, he announced in general terms his intention to continue working for the Canadian cause. The issue of June 1 indicated the startling manner in which he proposed to do so: it carried John Montgomery's "Letter to the Friends of Liberty on the Northern Frontier". This long production, full of historical allusions, and therefore
probably written by Mackenzie, was an open invitation to Canadians to commence guerilla warfare and incendiarism against the government of Upper Canada and all but an open invitation to Canadians in exile to resume border raids and to American sympathizers to join them. Thereafter the *Gazette* was suspended until September 17. When the *Gazette* resumed, it made no further mention of Montgomery’s letter, denounced the Hunters and all attempts at invasion, and came out once again unreservedly for Van Buren for re-election. Mackenzie’s change of policy was a bitter disappointment to some ardent patriots, who accused him of being bribed. Bill Johnston called him William Lying Mackenzie and Donald McLeod inquired whether Van Buren had shown him “the shining bottom of the Sub-Treasury well.” All these charges Mackenzie vigorously denied. It was always his boast that his was an independent newspaper.

Mackenzie had no difficulty in justifying his decision to support Van Buren for re-election despite the President’s treatment of him and hostility towards Patriots generally. He admitted he had been distrustful of Van Buren and had feared he would not “come fairly up to the mark” on banking and currency questions but, with “unspeakable pleasure” he had seen the Sub-Treasury bill pass. His doubts and hesitations were then resolved. He could give the administration unstinted support and as one who had long argued that public money should not be utilized by private banks, he felt it his duty to do so. Five more issues of the *Gazette* appeared at roughly fortnightly intervals, all vigorously supporting Van Buren, but in the issue of November 7 Mackenzie had the unhappy duty of announcing, “Messrs. Van Buren and Kendall are rejected....”

The *Gazette* was now fast expiring. In September its circulation had been no more than 1,360 and its editor, despite the large bribe he was supposed to have received, was in debt for the press work which was then being done on the larger press of the *Rochester Daily Advertiser*. From week to week the *Gazette* struggled to survive. By October Mackenzie was reduced to “intreating” people to support the *Gazette* which was again being produced on his own small press. The November 17 issue announced what was apparently his last desperate attempt to keep going – a plan to publish a one-cent daily, the *Rochester Sun*, in connection with his weekly *Gazette*. It never appeared. December 23, 1840, saw the last issue of *Mackenzie’s Gazette*. A “Letter to the People of Upper Canada,” the major item in the final issue, documents Mackenzie’s despair at this time. Three years’ residence in the United States, he confessed, had lessened his regret at the failure of the rebellion. He now foresaw as a result of the election, the triumph of an aristocracy of monied monopolists in the republic he had once admired. Mackenzie’s faith in political democracy and in the ballot
“to which I was so much attached in Canada” had been shaken and his hope of seeing social democracy in the new world was fading. Worse still, he had come to doubt his own fitness for the rôle of a public journalist and in this black moment acknowledged it.

NOTES

1 Rochester Public Library, O'Reilly Papers, Mackenzie to Dr. E. Johnson, dated from contents, Dec. 13, 1837.
3 *Buffalo Commercial Advertiser* quoted in *Albany Argus*, Jan. 12, 1838; *Niles' Register*, Jan. 13, 1838.
8 *Caroline Almanack*, March 27, 1838. I have been unable to find any copies of *L'Estafitte*.
10 Mackenzie's Gazette, July 13, 1839.
12 Lindsey Papers, James Reid to Mackenzie, June 8, 1838.
13 O'Reilly Papers, Mackenzie to O'Reilly, July 5, 22, 1838. Mackenzie quotes O'Reilly's letter to him.
15 O'Reilly Papers, Langtree and O'Sullivan to O'Reilly, Sept. 8, 1838, and Rolph to O'Reilly, n.d.
18 Ibid., “The Banks and the Currency Question,” ii (April, 1838), 3-17.
19 Ibid., “Cotton and its Connection with the Currency Question,” i (Jan., 1838), 380-402.
20 Mackenzie's Gazette, June 2, 1838.
21 *British and Colonial Review*, vi (1838), 472-505.
22 The declaration of intention was filed in the Marine Court of New York on Sept. 5, 1838, and on April 11, 1843, in the Court of Common Pleas of New York, Mackenzie became an American citizen.
23 O'Reilly Papers, Mackenzie to O'Reilly, July 5, 1838.
24 Lindsey Papers, James Mackenzie to Peter Baxter, June 6, 1838.
25 Ibid., James Reid to Mackenzie, July 6, 1838.
27 O’Reilly Papers, Mackenzie to O’Reilly, July 5, 1838.
28 Ibid., Mackenzie to O’Reilly, July 28, 1838.
30 Mackenzie’s Gazette, Aug. 4, 1838.
31 Lindsey Papers, Thomas Hyatt to Mackenzie, July 2, 1839; William Hunt to Mackenzie, Aug. 23, 1838.
32 Johnston’s letter is printed in Mackenzie’s Gazette, Sept. 15, 1838.
33 Mackenzie’s Gazette, Aug. 28, Sept. 8, Oct. 27, 1838.
34 Lindsey Papers, James Mackenzie to W.L. Mackenzie, Aug. 6, 1838. At this time James was trying to support himself as a journeyman printer at Herkimer.
35 Constitution, May 10, 1837; Mackenzie’s Gazette, Aug. 18, 1838.
37 Ibid., Sept. 22, 1838.
38 Mackenzie’s criticisms of American society and his fears for its future are very similar to those expressed by another contemporary observer, Francis J. Greene, author of Aristocracy in America (London, 1839); Mackenzie’s Gazette, Sept. 15, 1838. My italics.
40 Mic. 4:4.
41 Mackenzie’s Gazette, Oct. 6, 1838.
42 Ibid., Oct. 27, 1838.
43 Ibid., Sept. 1, 22, Oct. 27, Nov. 3, 10, 1838.
44 Ibid., Dec. 22, 1838.
47 Arthur and Fox had the same estimate of the motives of the Hunters. (Sanderson, ed., Arthur Papers, I, 174-9, 397, 410-11, 420.)
49 Lindsey, Mackenzie, II, 232.
50 Lindsey Papers, James Mackenzie to Mackenzie, Jan. 13, 1839.
51 Mackenzie’s Gazette, Feb. 23, 1839.
52 Lindsey, Mackenzie, II, 240.
53 Burton Historical Society, Detroit. Whelan Papers, Henry Miner to Mackenzie, n.d. This was probably the “rifle to fire eight shots with one charge” referred to in Fred Landon, Western Ontario and the American Frontier (Toronto, 1941), p. 190.
54 Lindsey Papers, Batavia Committee to Mackenzie, May 7, 1839.
55 Mackenzie’s Gazette, May 4, 1839.
56 Lindsey, Mackenzie, II 239-40.
57 Lindsey Papers, James Hunter to Mackenzie, March 29, 1839, Peter Baxter to Mackenzie, March 5, 1839.
59 Ibid., Caleb Cushing to Mackenzie, March 31, 1839.
60 Mackenzie’s Gazette, May 25, 1839.
61 Ibid., May 11, 25, 1839.
63 Feb. 23, 1839.
64 Lindsey Papers, David Bruce to Mackenzie, April 7, 1839.
65 Mackenzie's Gazette, March 16, 1839.
66 Ibid., April 6, May 11, 1839.
67 Ibid., June 22, 1839.
68 Ibid., May 25, April 6, Aug. 17, 24, Sept. 14, 1839.
69 O'Reilly Papers, Mackenzie to O'Reilly, July 26, 1839. This was far from accurate, as the early issues of the Colonial Advocate show.
70 Mackenzie's Gazette, Aug. 17, 1839.
71 O'Reilly Papers, Mackenzie to O'Reilly, July 26, 1839.
72 Lindsey Papers, W. Duane to Mackenzie, July 16, 1839.
74 O'Reilly Papers, Mackenzie to O'Reilly, Sept. 11, 1839.
75 Mackenzie's Gazette, Sept. 14, 28, 1839.
77 O'Reilly Papers, Mackenzie to O'Reilly, Oct. 20, 1839.
78 Mackenzie's Gazette, Nov. 2, 1839.
79 Ibid., Jan. 11, Feb. 29, 1840.
80 Ibid., Aug. 23, 1839.
83 Mackenzie's Gazette, Sept. 17, 1840. The bill had been signed on July 4.