THE CANADIAN MONTHLY, 1872-1882

by

Marilyn G. Flitton

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APPROVAL

Name: Marilyn G. Flitton
Degree: Master of Arts
Title of Thesis: The Canadian Monthly, 1872-1882

Examining Committee:

Chairman: Stephen A. Black

Bruce H. Nesbitt
Senior Supervisor

Gordon R. Elliott

Sandra A. Djwa

Victor G. Hopwood
Associate Professor
University of British Columbia
Vancouver, B.C.

Date Approved: March 19, 1973
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Marilyn G. Flitton

(name)
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ABSTRACT

THE CANADIAN MONTHLY, 1872-1882

Much valuable source material directly related to the development of Canadian literature can be found in the Canadian periodicals of the nineteenth century, one of the most important of which is the *Canadian Monthly and National Review*. This study of the *Canadian Monthly*, which includes an analytical index of its contents, investigates the management of the publication over its ten year period and examines the material in its pages. It supplements the history of periodical publishing in Canada and demonstrates the difficulties of economic survival for a Canadian literary enterprise in the nineteenth century marketplace.

Three prevailing conditions in Toronto in the early 1870's enabled Graeme Mercer Adam, the first publisher, sometime editor and major promoter of the *Canadian Monthly*, to realize the concept of an independent national journal: a strong sense of nationalism in the new Dominion, an expanding and more literate population, and the availability of literary and financial assistance from a new resident, Goldwin Smith. In the early years Goldwin Smith fulfilled the role of editor in everything but name. After his break with the magazine, it continued in a precarious economic condition under several editors and publishers until 1878. In July of that year, it amalgamated with *Belford's Monthly Magazine* to become Rose-Belford's *Canadian Monthly and National Review*. Four years later it expired abruptly,
the publisher claiming that, as a business venture, the magazine could no longer be sustained.

During its existence, the Canadian Monthly provided a vital medium, otherwise unattainable, for Canadian literary talent, and most of the published authors of the late nineteenth century in English-speaking Canada contributed to its pages. It also provided a non-partisan forum for serious, intelligent discussion and debate on current controversial issues, both political and cultural. Strongly nationalist in its main interests and in its encouragement of native talent, the Canadian Monthly presented to its readers the awareness of the possibilities of an indigenous literature. For today's readers, it is a document of a society that shares much in common with our own. Its existence is testimony to the spirit and idealism of a small group of literary nationalists.
I wish to thank the members of my Committee and Mr. Peter Greig, Chairman of the Index Committee of the Bibliographical Society of Canada. Mr. Greig, in reply to my inquiries, has written me long, detailed letters about the art of indexing and has given me thoughtful assistance and cheerful encouragement in the preparation of the index for the Canadian Monthly.
TABLE OF CONTENTS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Section</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>APPROVAL</td>
<td>ii</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ABSTRACT</td>
<td>iii</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS</td>
<td>v</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>INTRODUCTION</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I. PERIODICAL PUBLISHING IN CANADA BEFORE 1871</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>II. THE CANADIAN MONTHLY AND GOLDWIN SMITH, 1872-1874</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>III. PUBLISHING PROBLEMS, 1875-1878</td>
<td>33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IV. ROSE-BELFORD's CANADIAN MONTHLY, 1878-1882</td>
<td>46</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V. CONCLUSION</td>
<td>56</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>INDEX TO THE CANADIAN MONTHLY</td>
<td>60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>APPENDIX A: CHRONOLOGICAL LIST OF CANADIAN PERIODICALS</td>
<td>210</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PUBLISHED BEFORE 1880</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BIBLIOGRAPHY</td>
<td>215</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
INTRODUCTION

In the early 1870's a small group of literary nationalists in Canada founded, supported and managed to sustain for a ten year period an independent national magazine of literary importance to a developing Canadian culture. Dependent on a small Canadian market and obliged to compete with imported periodicals covering the full range of literary tastes, the existence of the Canadian Monthly was constantly precarious. Without the infusion of financial support, its demise was inevitable. Only through the energy and perseverance of a few who envisaged the possibilities of a national literature could a Canadian literary enterprise such as the Canadian Monthly survive, even for a brief period, in the nineteenth-century marketplace.

This two-part study of the Canadian Monthly outlines and discusses the publishing circumstances of the magazine and supplies an analytical index to its contents, without attempting a critical commentary on the literary values of its contributions. Documentation of the events in this period of literary publishing history in Canada has often been obscure and not always accurate, partly because of prevailing policies of editorial anonymity. The account of the publishing history of the magazine traces its progress under various editors and publishers. It supplies new material from some of Goldwin Smith's unpublished correspondence and upsets some of the assumptions about the early editorial management of the magazine. The Canadian Monthly is a valuable source of original work for many published authors of the late nineteenth century. The subject-author index
to the Canadian Monthly covers the extent and nature of their contributions, identifies some of the anonymous material, attributes certain pseudonyms to possible authors, and reveals the range of subject-matter.

The contributors to the Canadian Monthly over the ten years of publication included many of the foremost Canadian figures of the day, literary and political. The magazine afforded them a market for material which often lead to later publication in book form. Among these contributions originally published in Canadian Monthly are John G. Bourinot's The Intellectual Development of the Canadian People, Samuel Thompson's Reminiscences of a Canadian Pioneer for the Last Fifty Years, Samuel J. Watson's The Powers of Canadian Parliaments, Agnes Maule Machar's Lost and Won, and Mrs. Leprohon's Clive Weston's Wedding Anniversary. Some of the articles forming the basis of later books include David B. Read's history of the Bar of Ontario, George M. Grant's biography of Joseph Howe, Canniff Haight's reminiscences of early Ontario and George Bryce's historical account of Manitoba. Among the poems which found first publication in the Canadian Monthly were those by Charles Mair, Charles G. D. Roberts, Alexander McLachlan, Kate Seymour MacLean, George Murray, Susie F. Harrison and William Kirby.

G. Mercer Adam, the early promoter and first publisher of the Canadian Monthly, outlined the policies for an independent national magazine in his trade magazine, the Canada Bookseller, in 1870. Despite the unsuccessful record in Canada for journals of any literary significance, Adam considered the time was right for a new attempt. There was a strong sense of nationalism in the new Dominion and an expanding and more literate population. By the following year there was also the availability of literary and financial assistance from a new resident, Goldwin Smith.
Goldwin Smith's early participation in the affairs of the Canadian Monthly was not only vital to its founding but also to its existence in the first three years of its publication. Although the assumption has prevailed that G. Mercer Adam was the first editor, it becomes clear that Smith filled the post in everything but name. He was also responsible for most of the writing of many individual issues until his break with the publishers, Adam and Stevenson, in December 1874. The firm continued to publish the Canadian Monthly in spite of severe financial difficulties and attempted to increase its circulation with promotional schemes and greater contributions of original material.

Within two years, G. Mercer Adam retired from the firm to join forces with other Canadians in New York City in the business of reprinting English copyright books. The ambiguity of existing copyright laws allowed for certain reprinting practices which had repercussions on Canadian and American publishers. Incidents arising from these circumstances involving the Canadian Monthly and its publishers include the first printings of works by Wilkie Collins, W. D. Howels and Mark Twain.

The merger of Hunter, Rose, the original printers of the magazine, and Belford Brothers brought about the amalgamation of the Canadian Monthly with Belford's Monthly and the continuance of the publication as Rose-Belford's Canadian Monthly and National Review, in July 1878. Within months, the Belford brothers departed for the more lucrative American field of publishing and George M. Rose continued as publisher. Under George Stewart and finally G. Mercer Adam, the magazine continued to grow. The number of its contributors increased as did the amount and diversity of original material. Abruptly in 1882, the publication ceased. The
publisher claimed that, as a business venture, he could no longer sustain the Canadian Monthly.

The Canadian Monthly was a cultural luxury that Canada could not afford. It expired because of the demand for cheap, entertaining reading material and because lower printing costs and reprinting methods made cheap, entertaining reading available. The rising tide of cheaply produced foreign periodicals continued to swamp the market and eventually drowned any appeal the magazine had to a Canadian national sentiment.
In September 1870, Graeme Mercer Adam, who later became the first publisher of the *Canadian Monthly*, remarked on "the constant failure of Canadian literary enterprizes, where these attempts have been purely literary," and the lack of support and appreciation for the "many efforts nobly made to establish a national serial literature."  

The history of Canadian periodical literature in English to that date had indeed been marked with short-lived ventures and few successes. Since 1789, more than fifty periodicals of some literary pretensions were published for an average life of two years in Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, Quebec and Ontario. An exception, the Literary Garland, survived for almost thirteen years. Such titles as *Literary Miscellany*, *Canadian Magazine* and *Literary Repository*, and *Canadian Review and Literary and Historical Journal*, indicate the miscellaneous mixture of the contents of many of the publications. As magazines catering to the literate public, most of them expressed and defined the main trends of current opinion in articles, essays and editorials, and developed contemporary literary tastes and talents in critical essays, fiction, poems and book reviews. At the same time, they furnished a valuable interim market for literary work and were important fields for new aspirants to literature. By 1870, only three major periodicals were still in publication: the *New Dominion Monthly* of Montreal, *Stewart's*...
Quarterly of St. John, New Brunswick, and the Canadian Journal of Industry, Science and Art of Toronto. One reason advanced by G. Mercer Adam for the weak showing made by Canadian magazines was the lack of interest by the reading public in any Canadian publications.

The prevalent habit among the people of speaking contemptuously of our native literature is a bad and senseless one, and equally reprehensible is the thoughtless indifference of even reading people to anything that presents itself from the native press, no matter the subject.

Such an attitude, he claimed, retards "the development of a literature, which, since we have aspired to a national consolidated power, we should seek to make national." Pursuing the theme later that year Adam pointed to "lack of capital - lack of material - lack of vigor in tone and style ... and finally, an active, constant, and ever-increasing competition from foreign periodicals. These causes have combined to render Canadian literary enterprizes fruitless, almost hopeless undertakings."4

New circumstances in the new Dominion in 1870, however, convinced Adam that the time was right for the establishment of an independent national literary periodical in Toronto and he pursued the theme persistently in the pages of the Canada Bookseller. Adam had come to Canada from Edinburgh in 1858 as a young man of nineteen with some experience in the publishing business and had married a daughter of John Gibson, the editor of the Literary Garland. In Toronto, he had acquired the bookselling and stationery business of Dr. J. C. Geikie and with James Rollo as partner had published, between May 1863 and April 1864, the British American Magazine. In 1866, John H. Stevenson succeeded Rollo and the firm of Adam, Stevenson and Company was established. The firm began publishing in March 1870 a quarterly trade magazine, the Canada Bookseller, for which Adam, Pearson Gundy
claims, was responsible for most of the writing.\textsuperscript{5} In the first issue of the \textit{Canada Bookseller}, Adam noted that the new Dominion had only two literary magazines and neither were published in Ontario. "With the extensive field the Province affords for the support of a live monthly," he observed, "it is not creditable to it that the Provinces to the East should thus have the start of us."\textsuperscript{6}

The first Canadian periodical had been published over eighty years earlier in Halifax: \textit{The Nova Scotia Magazine: a comprehensive review of literature, politics and news}, (1789-1792). Largely dependent on reprinted material, it appeared regularly from July 1789 to March 1792.\textsuperscript{7} Other early magazine ventures in the Maritimes included the \textit{Acadian Magazine} (1826-1827) and the \textit{Halifax Monthly} (1830-1833) of Halifax, and the \textit{Amaranth} (1841-1843) and the \textit{Guardian} (1860) of St. John. In 1867, in St. John, George Stewart founded \textit{Stewart's Quarterly}, a publication providing a small market for a number of Canadian writers, drawn, Stewart later recalled, "from Newfoundland to British Columbia."\textsuperscript{8} These contributors included the poets, Charles Sangster, John Reade and Evan McColl, and the historians, Moses Harvey and Daniel W. Prowse of St. John's, John G. Bourinot of Halifax and Ottawa, James Le Moine of Quebec and D'Arcy McGee of Montreal.\textsuperscript{9}

The first English language magazine in Lower Canada was the bilingual \textit{Quebec Magazine}. Subtitled a "useful and entertaining repository of science, morals, history, politics, etc. particularly adapted for the use of British America," it was printed in Quebec from August 1792 to January 1794. In the 1820's, six journals were published, none of them surviving the decade: the \textit{Enquirer} (1821-1822); the \textit{Scribbler} (1821-1827); the \textit{Literary Miscellany} (1822-1823); the \textit{Canadian Magazine} and \textit{Literary
Repository (1823-1825); the Canadian Review and Literary and Historical Journal, later called the Canadian Review and Magazine (July 1824-March 1825); and the Canadian Miscellany (April-September 1828). With the exception of the Enquirer of Quebec, these were all Montreal publications.

The most successful literary periodical up to the 30's was the Literary Garland, published in Montreal by John Lovell and edited by his brother-in-law, John Gibson. Gibson felt that the Garland's initial success reflected a growing prosperity in English-speaking Canada. "We have no hesitation in contending that with the true prosperity of every country, its literature is indissolubly associated." The country's growth in wealth and population did not ensure continuing support for the magazine, however, and in December 1851, a year after Gibson's death, it discontinued publication. The competition of foreign magazines from both England and the United States was proving formidable, according to an editorial for December 1850 which asked for the patronage "a Canadian periodical has the right to expect from a Canadian public." Later, Susanna Moodie wrote that the Literary Garland had "been done to death by Harper's Magazine and the International."

These American monthlies, got up in the first style, handsomely illustrated, and composed of the best articles selected from European and American magazines, are sold at such a low rate, that one or the other is to be found in almost every decent house in the province. It was utterly impossible for a colonial magazine to compete with them. . . .

The Garland provided a valuable outlet for contemporary Canadian talent, although as Carl F. Klinck has pointed out, it was only rarely "devoted to distinctively native subject-matter." Later brief ventures in Montreal and Quebec included the Montreal Literary Magazine (1856), the British-Canadian Review (1862-1863), and
the Canadian Patriot (1864). In 1867, John Dougall founded and edited the New Dominion Monthly in Montreal, which claimed to be the "only literary monthly in the Dominion and more interesting as well as much cheaper than most imported magazines." To combat the competition from foreign sources, the best appeal to the public was to advertise as a Canadian product and undercut the market.

The earliest attempt in Upper Canada to establish an indigenous literary magazine was John Strachan's Christian Examiner (1819-1820) in Kingston. The 1830's saw the brief lives of the Canadian Garland (1832-1833) in Hamilton, and the Canadian Magazine (1833) and the Canadian Literary Magazine (1833) in York. The latter periodical, considered by Carl Klinck to be the most interesting of the 1830's, was published by George Gurnett who had earlier brought out the Gore Gazette (1827-1828). In 1846, Dr. E. J. Baker published his Canadian Monthly in Kingston, ostensibly to lessen "the importation of light literature from the United States," and in 1847 Mr. and Mrs. J.W.D. Moodie in Belleville attempted a journal of their own, the Victoria Magazine. Both journals survived for only one year. During the fifty's in Toronto the Anglo-American Magazine was published from 1852 to 1855 with Robert J. MacGeorge as editor, and the Canadian Journal: A Repertory of Industry, Science and Art (1852-1878) was established with Henry Youle Hind, the geologist, scientist and explorer, as editor. The latter, published by the Canadian Institute as an attempt to bridge the gap between science and industry by 1856, had become predominantly an academic journal with science its major preoccupation and the university men its largest contributors.
The last major literary periodical founded in Ontario before 1870 was G. Mercer Adam's own publishing venture, the British American Magazine: devoted to Literature, Science, and Art (1863-1864), edited in Toronto by Henry Youle Hind. Comprised almost entirely of original material, it could be considered a precursor of the Canadian Monthly and National Review. Most of the contributors, including Mrs. Leprohon, Charles Sangster, Charles Mair, Louisa Murray, W. G. Beers, John Reade and Daniel Wilson, became regular contributors to the Canadian Monthly. A major feature of each issue of the British American Magazine was the extensive section of reviews of leading British, American and Canadian quarterlies and monthlies, as well as conscientious reviewing of selected books. These reviews were often detailed and learned, exhibiting a wide range of scholarly interests on the part of the anonymous reviewers.

With the experiment of the British American Magazine behind him, Adam, in 1870, was envisaging a good weekly review devoted to Canadian interests, and based on the following principles:

First, carrying a free lance, and being the organ of no man and no party, it would command the support of politicians, because they would find there independent discussion from a purely Canadian point of view. At present our newspaper discussions are entirely regulated by the interests of individuals and parties, without regard to those of country and nationality. Secondly, it could be made a home paper, to some extent original, partially eclectic, and a welcome visitant to every educated domestic circle. Thirdly, it would have a department carefully prepared for literature and scientific essays, and would afford a field for native literateurs and scientific men to give to the world and their country the benefit of their researches. And lastly, it would give a tone to our political and other discussions of a much higher character than the ephemeral, personal, and superficial style adopted by the newspaper press, and we trust, be the advent of a new era in Canadian literature.
The rumour had been heard, he concluded, of the possibility of such an enterprise being attempted and he wished it "heart God speed."  

This attempt may have been the Canadian Literary Journal: devoted to select original literature, and the interest of Canadian literary societies, which came into being in July 1870, lasted for one year, then continued from July 1871 to January 1872 as the Canadian Magazine, with Robert Ridge-way as editor. Slight in content and literary quality, it was not the kind of enterprise Adam was anticipating. The prototypes for Adam's proposed journal were the new highly successful British periodicals like Macmillan's (1859), Cornhill (1860), the Contemporary Review (1866) and, in particular, the Fortnightly Review (1865). Founded with the editorial policies of George Henry Lewes, the Fortnightly was in turn modelled on the Revue des Deux Mondes (1829), of Paris.  

Like the French model, the Fortnightly included a variety of miscellaneous items - articles, fiction, reviews and poems - and abandoned the traditional anonymity of contributors. In both regards, it was unprecedented in British journalism. The Fortnightly's stated policy of editorial impartiality, which under John Morley, editor between 1866 and 1881, led to the journal being considered "the standard bearer in the battle of rationalism against orthodoxy" was consistent with Adam's concept of independent journalism.

The main alternate reading fare for Canadians in the 70's was imported literature, primarily from the United States, and the local newspapers. "What then do the three and a half millions who inhabit Canada read?" asked James Douglas. "Imported books and home-made newspapers." The total value of books imported into Canada in 1874, according to Douglas' figures, amounted to $958,773, twice the amount of the year 1868, while
the number of newspapers distributed by the Canadian Post Office had risen from 14,000,000 in 1867 to 25,480,000 by June 1873. Of the 457 newspapers and periodicals published in Canada in 1874, 46 were dailies and 325 were weeklies. Ontario alone supported 23 daily newspapers and 212 weekly publications. Susanna Moodie had commented in 1853 that "the standard literature of Canada must be looked for in her newspapers." Douglas concluded in 1875 that they were "the chief mental pabulum of our people." The character of newspaper journalism, G. Mercer Adam observed, lacked breadth and quality. He decried its tone, partisan political bias and dearth of literary merit:

In a literary aspect our papers are very indifferently made up; the selections being either frivolous or positively baneful in their character. The leading articles, also, too often run into questionable personalities, or are hammered out into an endless strain of party politics. Literary criticism or review writing we have none; and but rarely do we find our papers afford their readers the treat of a high class, patriotic and statesmanlike article on our national policy, our connections, and relations with the mother country or on matters social and industrial in our midst.

The chances for Adam's realizing his vision of an independent Canadian journal, like the Fortnightly, were greatly abetted by the spirit of nationalist fervour which caught the imagination of some of the Canadian population in the early post-Confederation years. These nationalist sentiments of the new Dominion were stimulated by the activities of the Canada First Association, a movement formed in Ottawa in the spring of 1868. During the next few years it managed to generate considerable enthusiasm for an increased Canadian autonomy and to promote a sense of nationhood, particularly following the publication of Canada First: or Our New Nationality, a pamphlet by W. A. Foster, one of the founders of the movement.
But two other factors of a more practical nature conspired to make the establishment of the journal feasible. The first was the burgeoning population, measured by the 1871 census as three and a half million, of which the people of Ontario represented nearly forty-five per cent. Described as "expansionist and aggressive," Ontario's make-up was "largely Protestant, convinced of the desirability of material progress, setting its sights often from persuasive American examples." Stimulated by the signs of publishing successes south of the border, there had been increased activity in the publishing trade in the province. Toronto, the capital, although still smaller than Montreal, had usurped its importance as the centre of English publishing in the new Dominion. The second and more important factor was Goldwin Smith's arrival and participation in the cultural and journalistic scene of Canada. Before financial backing could be secured for a literary periodical with limited circulation possibilities, the assurance of authoritative counsel was vital. Goldwin Smith's contribution, both editorially and financially, made the enterprise economically viable at the outset.

When the first issue of the *Canadian Monthly and National Review* emerged from the Toronto presses of Adam, Stevenson and Company late in December 1871, its preface (written by G. Mercer Adam as the publisher) began with reserved optimism:

> Where several attempts have failed, the success of a new attempt must always be doubtful. But it is hoped that the effort to give an organ, in the form of a periodical, to the intellectual life of Canada, is now made under better auspices than before. There has been of late a general awakening of national life, which has probably extended to the literary and scientific sphere: of the large number recently added to our population, the ordinary proportion may be supposed to be writers or readers; and special circumstances have favoured the present publishers in obtaining literary assistance in the conduct of their Magazine.
He continued with a statement of the principles and aims of the Canadian Monthly, which recalled his words of two years before. The magazine intended primarily "to deal with Canadian questions and to call forth Canadian talent" while seeking "in all quarters" the materials of an interesting and instructive magazine. Contributors would be allowed latitude in the expression of opinion but the magazine would not be open to "party politics or to party theology." Finally the intention of the publishers was to "preserve, in all its departments, a tone beneficial to the national character and worthy of the nation." Adam had launched his dream but not without the help of a non-Canadian newcomer.
NOTES

CHAPTER I

1 Canada Bookseller, I (September 1870), 5.
2 See Appendix A, p. 210, for Chronological List.
3 Canada Bookseller, I (June 1870), 5.
4 Ibid., I (September 1870), 6.


6 Canada Bookseller, I (March 1870), 12


8 George Stewart, "Literary Reminiscences," Canadian Magazine, XVII (June 1901), 163.

9 In the "Valedictory" of the final issue, the editor claimed that: "Well-known authors, high up in the literary firmament threw off well-digested and happily-conceived articles which at the time of their publication attracted much and well-deserved attention." Stewart's Quarterly, V (January 1872), 338.

10 John Gibson, Literary Garland, I (December 1838), 1.

11 Literary Garland, IX (December 1850), 586.


14 Prospectus for 1871, New Dominion Monthly, V (January 1871).


18 Carl F. Klinck, "Literary Activity in Canada East and West," pp. 153-4. In January 1878, the Canadian Journal was superseded by the Royal Canadian Institute Proceedings.

19 Canada Bookseller, I (September 1870), 6.


23 James Douglas, ibid., p. 479.


26 James Douglas, ibid., p. 479.

27 Canada Bookseller, II (April 1871), 6.

28 Henry J. Morgan (1842-1913), George T. Denison (1839-1925), Robert G. Halliburton (1831-1901) and Charles Mair (1838-1927) were the other four founders.


30 Peter B. Waite, Canada, 1874-1896, p. 9.

32 *CMNR*, I (January 1872), 1.

"We had the gratification of bidding Mr. Goldwin Smith, the very distinguished Professor of English History in Cornell University, welcome to our literary capital," wrote G. Mercer Adam in the Canada Bookseller of January, 1871. The occasion was the first of a series of lectures on history to the "Ladies' Classes" organized by Dr. Daniel Wilson of the University of Toronto. "We trust," Adam concluded, "Mr. Smith will find the literary circles of our educational metropolis congenial to his tastes." Smith had come from England to Cornell University as a visiting Professor of English and Constitutional History in the fall of 1868 with a distinguished career in journalism behind him, having decided to retire from political life in Britain. During his term at Cornell, he paid extended visits to relatives in Toronto and his family ties influenced his decision in 1871 to make Toronto his home. The concept of a "pioneer" literary venture which hoped to preserve the integrity and idealism of a young nation and counteract the influence of the flooding of imported printed material appealed to Smith. By September 1871, he was writing to friends in Oxford from Ithaca, New York, of his involvement and interest in the establishment of the Canadian Monthly.

They are going to try to give the intellectual life of Canada an organ in the shape of a national magazine, to be called the Canadian Monthly. I am to contribute to it and help the editor a little, but not, as has been reported, to be the editor myself. The first number will probably appear in November, when I shall...
go to Toronto to take part in launching it. I bespeak for the Magazine, in the interest of Canadian nationality as much as on literary grounds, the favour of Waring and my other literary friends.5

Scheduled for November 1871, the first issue of the magazine was delayed and finally appeared towards the end of December, dated January 1872. By this time, Goldwin Smith was in Toronto soliciting literary contributions and actively engaged in the management. In February, with the first two issues off the press, he was writing to Ithaca that he had been able "to do nothing for some days but look after the Canadian Monthly."6 By August, hampered by the restrictions of managing the magazine, which included a printers' strike in March, and unable to leave to attend to the details involved in the death of his stepmother in England, he had begun to realize the burden of the task he had taken on. "I am not sure that I should have had anything to do with the magazine," he wrote to Mrs. Corson in Ithaca, "if I had foreseen that it would interfere so much with the freedom of my movements. But now I am in for it; I must not let the undertaking 'fizzle' if I can help it, more especially as friends of mine have supported it in the faith of my superintendence."7 That summer, Adam travelled to England with John Lovell, the Montreal publisher, to lobby for an amendment to the Imperial Copyright Act of 1847 while Smith, operating with an assistant whose services he described as "precarious," coped with such emergencies as the paper running out in the middle of a printing.8

The assumption that G. Mercer Adam was the first editor of the Canadian Monthly cannot be substantiated in the light of Goldwin Smith's correspondence during those first years of the magazine's publication,
or in contemporary references to Adam's role in connection with the magazine. As publisher and main promoter of the Canadian Monthly, Adam was undoubtedly much involved in the formulating of its policies and its format and in some of the writing. At the same time, he was publishing and writing his trade magazine the Canada Bookseller and attending to the affairs of his firm, Adam, Stevenson, which were in a state of flux. The possibility of his filling the post of editor in those days as well is not only remote but never stated, either in the magazine or elsewhere. In his correspondence, Goldwin Smith always referred to Adam as the "publisher" of the Canadian Monthly.

Meanwhile Smith could be considered editor in everything but name. In January 1873, he mentioned the prospect of obtaining "trustworthy help" in the management of the magazine. By March, he was able to declare that "we now have an editor with whom we get along pretty well." At the same time he referred to his recent illness which had rendered him unequal to work: "as the forthcoming number of the Canadian Monthly will probably show." By that time, he was responsible for most of the material in the magazine.

The make-up of the Canadian Monthly, as established by Smith and Adam in the first issues, became the general pattern for its format over the succeeding years. Each issue consisted of articles or essays covering a broad spectrum of political, cultural, social, religious or literary interests; at least one serialized novel, some short fiction, several selections of poetry; and special columns or editorial departments, like "Current Literature," "Current Events" or "Book Reviews." Largely made up of original material usually signed by the contributors, a small
proportion of whom used pseudonyms, each issue also contained some reprinted or translated material. Books were reviewed editorially each month in the "Book Reviews" columns and sometimes formed the basis of articles in the body of the magazine.

Editorial writing began to take over more of each issue towards the end of 1872. Not unexpectedly, the magazine had failed to show a profit in its first year of publication: its continuance was debated and the decision made to carry on with certain stringencies, such as fewer original articles. The February 1873 issue, for example, contained besides the editorial material only two articles, one by Goldwin Smith; three reprinted poems; a reprinted essay from a British publication and a translated tale from the Revue des Deux Mondes. In December 1872, Smith had introduced a monthly department of "Current Events," which became a standard editorial item of the magazine until 1878. In it, Smith, and later other writers, discussed and interpreted contemporary international affairs as well as Canadian. For the first two years until December 1874, and with the exception of the issues published from December 1873 to May 1874 when he was visiting England, he was responsible for the writing of "Current Events." This section of the magazine made up in quantity the deficiency of material from other sources for the next two years. Smith was also writing many of the book reviews and contributing to "Current Literature," a department which surveyed and critically reviewed the subject matter in the leading British periodicals. But at no time during this period was his name prominent in the magazine itself, for he carefully confined his signed contributions to no more than one each issue and usually under his pseudonym, "The Bystander."
His style and literary tastes can be found in such reviewing as that of Browning's *Fifine at the Fair*: "To the initiated we have no doubt it is the intensity of light: to the uninitiated it is almost total darkness." The metaphysical obscurity of the poets of the "Psychological school" and the lack of conscientious attention to fact on the part of historians, like James Froude, were typical targets of Smith's critical writing. His scholarly competence as a reviewer is typified in a review of Arthur Helps' *Thoughts Upon Government* which concludes with the remark that:

Mr. Helps is a fine scholar but he has fallen into a curious little error on p. 106, by ascribing as an original idea to Machiavelli a classification of the different kinds of practical intellects, which Machiavelli merely translated from some well-known Greek lines.

Positive identification of authorship in the book reviews of this period becomes difficult, however: the reviewers in general display an impressive knowledge of the intellectual milieu of the various works examined as well as workmanlike critical orientation of their subject matter.

The practice of obtaining translations of European short stories was Smith's solution to supplying fiction for the journal until native talent was accessible or acceptable. In the fall of 1871, he wrote to friends in Oxford and Ithaca soliciting their help in this respect. The publishing of translations of foreign tales obviated the complications of copyright and, though the translators were paid, probably proved less expensive. Smith was firm about the quality of the stories, however: "I wish to throw down the gauntlet to sensation novels and if possible to do something toward protecting our young Canada from that most poisonous narcotic and its influence, even if in so doing we damage the Magazine
commercially, as I suppose we shall." The appearance of one of the first of these translated tales came from Smith's Oxford friend, Professor Friedrich Max Muller, and is preceded, in part, by the following notice:

Rush through "In the sunshine" as you would through a sensation novel, in haste to arrive at the murder scene, and you will be utterly disappointed: read it with attention and forms of beauty will appear. It appeals, like other stories of the same class, not to the nerves, but to the taste and feelings. The reader will be the better, not the worse, for its perusal.

The didactic tone of this notice, with its trace of condescension, typified Smith's approach to the Monthly's readers. He wished to protect the young Canadian nation from pervasive corrupting trends in literature, while attempting to avoid offending Canadian moral tastes, which, at times, he considered "narrow and vastly unsound." At the same time, he viewed his activities on behalf of the magazine with considerable equanimity.

Do not be afraid of my incurring disappointment by trying to keep the Canadian Monthly alive. My life has not been one of such brilliant success that I should be sensitive on that score. If the enterprise escapes actual failure, I shall be as well pleased. . . . Nor am I likely, as a loafer, to be much better employed. The Magazine has a real value in the eyes of some of the best men here.

The first years of publication produced contributions from a widely diverse group of Canadians, many of them prominent in their fields. Academics included Dr. H. Alleyne Nicholson, Professor of Natural History and Botany at University College, Toronto; the Rev. George Bryce, historian and later founder of Manitoba College; and Dr. John W. Dawson, principal of McGill University. Among the journalists of the day, the following were representative contributors: A. H. Dymond, M.P., later editor of the Toronto Globe; John G. Bourinot, clerk of the House of Commons and former editor of the
Halifax Herald; M. J. Griffin of Halifax, later editor of the Toronto Mail; James Beaty, Jr., son of the founder of the Toronto Leader; Charles Lindsey, Registrar of Toronto, former editor of the Toronto Leader and son-in-law and biographer of William Lyon MacKenzie; John Lesperance of Montreal, editor of the Canadian Illustrated News and later editor of the Dominion Illustrated; W. D. LeSueur of Ottawa, contributor to the Montreal Gazette and Star; and Thomas White, Jr., editor of the Montreal Gazette. Writers and historians of established reputation included Samuel E. Dawson of Montreal; the Rev. W. W. Withrow, later editor of the Canadian Methodist Magazine; Samuel J. Watson and John Langton. Other writers dealing primarily with Canadian affairs were James Young, Liberal member of Parliament for Galt; James D. Edgar, Speaker of the House of Commons; and the elder statesman, Sir Francis Hincks. Established poets of the day, John Reade, Charles Sangster, George Murray and Alexander Maclachlan, were also among the early contributors. The Strickland sisters were represented by poems from Susanna Moodie, and poems and essays from both Catherine Parr Traill and her daughter, M. E. Muchall. The first serialized novels were from the pens of Louisa Murray, Mrs. J. V. Noel, Mrs. Leprohon and Agnes Maule Machar, ("Fidelis"), names already familiar to Canadian readers.

To a considerable extent the views expressed by the contributors to the Canadian Monthly were representative of the principles and policies of the Canada First Association. There is no doubt that the magazine's aims of high ideals of patriotism based on no-party principles were in accord with those of the movement. However, of the five original founders of Canada First, only G. T. Denison and Charles Mair contributed to the magazine under their own names. The cloak of anonymity that shrouded
the activities of Canada First also enveloped the editorial policies at the Monthly.\textsuperscript{29} Impersonality of editorship, which on several occasions was hotly defended in its pages, was quite in line with the sentiments of those involved with Canada First.\textsuperscript{30} Goldwin Smith had early been sympathetic to the movement, but it had begun to disintegrate in 1875 several years before his articles advocating Canada's union with the United States appeared in the \textit{Fortnightly Review} and later in the \textit{Monthly}.\textsuperscript{31}

Early in November 1873, Smith sailed for Britain and did not return until May, 1874. During that period he did not contribute to the \textit{Canadian Monthly}. His letters to Charles Lindsey indicated that Lindsey was responsible for most of the material in "Current Events" for those six months. During Smith's stay in England, the financial difficulties that had beset the \textit{Monthly} from the beginning were compounded.\textsuperscript{32} In November, 1874, the firm of Adam, Stevenson went into bankruptcy because of, according to Smith, "disasters in their general business and to the ruin of the capitalist who supported the firm by some unfortunate speculation."\textsuperscript{33} After considerable deliberation, the decision to continue the \textit{Canadian Monthly} was again made, ostensibly for the sake of its advertising contracts. Goldwin Smith's active participation in it, however, was at stake. In December 1874, he wrote Charles Lindsey that he had declined "positively though in friendly terms" to contribute any longer because the offer Adam had presented to him had supplied no information as to "parties, capital brought in, or terms to be offered."\textsuperscript{34}

The hesitancy evident on the part of Adam and Stevenson in their offer to Smith reflected the problem with which they were faced. Smith's connection with the \textit{Canadian Monthly} was common knowledge and the journal,
quite apart from its other features, was possibly considered to be a platform for his increasingly controversial views. George Brown of the Toronto Globe had been leading the opposition to Smith in a series of personal attacks on him for opinions cloaked in the anonymity of unsigned articles in the magazine. The Canadian Monthly had on several occasions defended Smith "in the interest of Canadian journalism," and deplored the violation of "impersonality of editorship." Besides, it was claimed that the attacks sometimes missed their mark when the opinions were attributed to the wrong source. "It is amusing to see the paragraphs complacently criticised as betraying the ignorance of a 'stranger,' when, in fact, they are from the pen of a Canadian long and intimately conversant with the political and commercial affairs of the country." In an account of a farewell dinner held for Smith on the eve of his departure for England in the fall of 1873, the Canadian Monthly paid tribute to his services "rendered to the cause of national literature at the sacrifice of personal ease and personal advantage, for a worthy purpose." Obviously the Canadian Monthly was greatly indebted to Smith but the reduced number of subscribers in the summer of 1874 indicated that something was amiss. The image of the Canadian Monthly as an independent organ of the intellectual life of Canada and a strong force in the development of its literature was at stake and was possibly threatened by the hostility towards Smith aroused by the editorials in the Globe. Animosity toward Smith could also mean the loss of vital financial backing from some quarters.

Whatever the circumstances of his retirement from the Canadian Monthly were, relations between Smith and Adam were not as friendly as Smith had suggested that winter of 1874. In a letter to Charles Lindsey,
he expressed the hope that Adam, Stevenson "will not be encouraged by any of our friends to persevere." If they did, he predicted the magazine would be a "starveling affair" and in order to ensure that his name was no longer connected with the enterprise he asked Fiske at Cornell University to insert a notice to that effect in the Cornell Era. In "Current Events" of January 1875, Canadian Monthly announced their loss of a "valued contributor":

Great as this loss may be, we shall endeavour to repair it, in some degree, by firmly maintaining the old literary standard, and by enlisting new talent in the service of the Magazine. We have every hope that by exertions it is proposed to make, the Monthly will be found not less acceptable to our readers than heretofore.

On the whole it was a relief for Smith to make the break with Canadian Monthly because a new journal, the Nation, was absorbing much of his interest. The first number of the Nation had appeared in April 1874, while Smith was in England. In March, he had written from Oxford to Lindsey saying that W. H. Howland had informed him of his name being included as a shareholder in a new weekly paper, and, although he assumed this was the undertaking they had discussed earlier, he had understood they would not commence with the plan until his return to Canada. In April, he read the prospectus of the Nation in the Canadian Monthly and found it did not cover the same ground as planned in their original proposal. Moreover, he did not approve of the name. Upon his return to Canada, however, he became a regular contributor to its pages until it ceased publication in September, 1876.

Smith did make a few subsequent contributions to the Canadian Monthly, including four "Papers by a Bystander" in 1879. These papers
were forerunners of his new periodical, The Bystander, which first appeared in January 1880. Primarily devoted to political comment, it also discussed current literature in terms of the major issues of the day. Written entirely by Goldwin Smith, The Bystander appeared intermittently until October 1882, and achieved an outstanding reputation and following both in Canada and abroad. Elisabeth Wallace, in her biography of Smith, claims that it attained a larger circulation than any previous Canadian periodical. But, financially, it could not be sustained indefinitely. As Smith wrote at the time: "It is sold at the lowest possible price that it may get into the hands of the people, and I am well content if I do not lose much beyond my labour." 43

The Canadian Monthly was the first publication in Canada Smith assisted with both his writing talent and his financial backing, but not the last. Besides the Nation, the others included the Toronto Telegram, the Winnipeg Tribune, the Weekly Sun and the journal, The Week. "His arrival in Toronto," Elisabeth Wallace points out, "inaugurated a new era in Canadian journalism . . . [which] owed him a debt it could never wholly discharge." 44 Not only was Goldwin Smith's experience as a professional journalist important in the establishment of the Canadian Monthly, but his lively intelligence, gift of expression and breadth of interests helped to create, in the Canadian Monthly, a challenging new level of journalism in colonial Canada.
CHAPTER II

1Canada Bookseller, I (January 1871), 8.

2Goldwin Smith later reported his version of a similar occasion in Montreal: "I have come here to take part in a movement for the intellectual regeneration of that unsatisfactory creature woman by giving lectures on English history before the Ladies' Education Class. The class consists of 200 ladies and does very well. I am lecturing at the same time to the 'University,' one of some eight or ten 'one horse' institutions as the Yankees call them, among which the resources of superior education in this country as in the United States are miserably frittered away." Cornell University, John M. Olin Library, Collection of Regional History and University Archives, Goldwin Smith Papers, letter to Mrs. George Waring, October 25, 1872. Hereafter cited as GSP.

3Canada Bookseller, I (January 1871), 8.

4Elisabeth Wallace. Goldwin Smith: Victorian Liberal (Toronto: University Press, 1957), p. 50. Smith did not find all of his relatives so congenial. "I have just returned from a visit to some bush-whacking relatives on the secluded shores of Lake Simcoe in Canada. The Canadians of those districts are, as compared with their Yankee neighbours, unprogressive; but they are physically a fine race, and kindly and courteous. They are intensely loyal and exaggerate all English habits and prejudices. Politically, when I am among them, I am in Gath of the Philistines." GSP, letter to George Waring, June 28, 1869.

5GSP, letter to Mrs. Waring, October 9, 1871.

6GSP, letter to Mrs. Hiram Corson, February 4, 1872.

7GSP, letter to Mrs. Corson, August 2, 1872.

8"Yesterday I went to the office and found that in the middle of printing the paper had given out, and that no more was expected for a week. The deficiency was supplied after a fashion: but this shows to what accidents pioneer magazines are liable." GSP, letter to Mrs. Corson, August 18, 1872.
One of the first references to G. Mercer Adam as the first editor of the Canadian Monthly is found in Elisabeth Wallace, Goldwin Smith: Victorian Liberal (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1957), p. 72. Wallace does not cite the correspondence between Goldwin Smith and Professor and Mrs. Hiram Corson of Ithaca, New York, which provides much of the information concerning Smith's involvement with the magazine.


In spite of early notices to the contrary, Adam and Stevenson announced their decision in 1871 to continue their retail business, having made new arrangements for its detailed management. Business would continue as usual but on the "cash principle." Canada Bookseller, II (April 1871), 44.

GSP, letter to Professor Fiske, January 15, 1873.

GSP, letter to Mrs. Corson, March 18, 1873.

GSP, letter to Mrs. Corson, November 1872.

W. J. Rattray is the only other contributor to "Current Events" who has been positively identified. George Stewart, "Literary Reminiscences," Canadian Magazine, XVII (June 1901), 165.

See Index. "I thought it better not to be prominent in the first number, but rather to put the Canadians forward, as it is a specially Canadian periodical. So you will see nothing with my name but a translation from Lucretius which has already appeared in the Cornell Era," GSP, letter to Mrs. Corson, December 7, 1871.

CMNR, II (September 1872), 286.

"Those who are not partizans of the Psychological school, who prefer something more 'simple and senuous,' who think that the domain of mental science and that of poetry should be kept distinct, who in reading poetry look for high enjoyment not for hard intellectual effort, who resent metaphysical obscurity as a defect from which all really deep thinkers, including the greatest poets, are free, will not unfrequently rebel against Mr. Forman's judgments." CMNR, I (March 1872), 278.

"To us the exposure of Mr. Froude's character is no new revelation, for we have long regarded him as one of the most unconscientious and untrustworthy writers who ever tampered with the calling of a historian." CMNR, I (May 1872), 477.

CMNR, I (June 1872), 563.

GSP, letter to Mrs. Corson, December 7, 1871.

CMNR, I (February 1872), 152.
23"Balzac's name might perhaps rather frighten our people. The Dumas no doubt would do excellently." GSP, letter to Mrs. Corson, February 4, 1872.

24GSP, letter to Mrs. Corson, November 22, 1872.

25GSP, letter to Mrs. Corson, January 1873.


27For two specific references to the Canada First Association, see W. D. LeSueur, "Old and New in Canada," CMNR, VII (January 1875), 1-9 and "Current Events," CMNR, V (January 1874), 68-9.

28W. A. Foster's "Down the St. Lawrence in a Raft" appeared anonymously, CMNR, VI (October 1874), 343-55. The anonymous article "Half-Breeds of Red River," is possibly by Mair, CMNR, II (October 1872), 303-9.


30"Current Events," CMNR, III (March 1873), 225; IV (October 1873), 321.


32"When I was away, as they could not get anyone to take my place, everything was at loose ends and there was a terrible falling off of subscribers." GSP, letter to Mrs. Corson, January 29, 1875.

33GSP, letter to Fiske, December 24, 1874.

34GSP, letter to Charles Lindsey, December 11, 1879.

35"We should be the last to claim the privilege of anonymous writing as a cover for anything to which a man of honour would blush to put his name. . . . No personalities can ever affect the position of any one connected with this journal, or turn the journal itself a hair's breadth out of the course which its managers think proper to take." CMNR, IV (October 1873), 321.

36"Not but that a stranger might have some advantages, if, besides being strange to the soil, he were in any reasonable measure strange to certain things which are beginning to grow in it." Ibid., IV, 321.
"If, at times, Mr. Smith's efforts drew upon him attacks from the party press which ought to have fallen upon other shoulders, and if, at others, a respect for impersonal journalism failed to secure him immunity from personal assaults, he was obliged to bear the fire from both armies, if not without complaining, at least without redress." *Ibid.*, IV (December 1873), 548.

"My retirement or rather some circumstances connected with it made my dealings with the firm a little cool for a time." GSP, letter to Mrs. Corson, January 29, 1875.

GSP, letter to Lindsey, December 11, 1874.

GSP, letter to Fiske, December 24, 1874.

*CMNR*, VII (January 1875), 82.

Later Smith declared that he was never a member of the Canada First Association, nor had anything to do with the starting of the Nation, "though afterwards, when that journal was in difficulty, I was persuaded for some time to help it with my pen." Goldwin Smith, *Reminiscences*, ed. Arnold Haultain (New York: Macmillan, 1910), p. 443.


III

PUBLISHING PROBLEMS, 1875-1878

The prospectus of the Canadian Monthly for 1875 reflected the crisis of November 1874. Reviewing their three years of operation, the publishers reminded their readers of the words in the first issue of the journal: "Where several attempts have failed, the success of a new attempt must always be doubtful." But, they continued, they still hoped to gain a larger audience "among the growing body of the educated and establish [their] claim to be a pioneer and leader in that new Canadian literature which is yet to be." The old difficulty still remained: the small Canadian publisher was competing with the ever-growing mass of foreign publications which covered the spectrum of literary tastes.

Of the obstacles in the way, the most serious has undoubtedly been the narrow sphere in which they were obliged to work. There is no constituency here so extended, as those appealed to by the publisher in England and the United States. Moreover, the field that exists must always, to a certain extent, be occupied by the imported serials. Hence, though sufficient support has been received to further the prosecution of the enterprize, the measure of success secured must remain relative — limited to the public whose ear can be reached by a Canadian Publisher.1

What had been considered a difficulty at the start, "the possible dearth of Canadian writers" and that of "securing native contributions," had not proved a problem and encouragement of native talent remained a prime objective.2 The Canadian quality of the magazine, which differentiated it
from its most formidable competitors, was thus emphasized. Later that year, James Douglas referred to the Monthly’s "grave vicissitudes" and concluded: "If it must share the fate of its predecessors, its stoppage will be only another proof of the lack of public national feeling among the English-speaking population of the Dominion and of any real desire to foster and encourage native literature."3 Efforts in 1875 to render the magazine "more popular and therefore more acceptable to the general reader" as suggested in the prospectus, included a supplement to each issue in the form of portions of the Annals of Canada by William White, and special club subscriptions including the bonus of three "handsome volumes bound in cloth for the years 1872-1874, express charges paid," with the payment of ten dollars for each new subscription.4

The regular subscription rate at this time was three dollars and fifty cents per year and thirty cents for the individual copy. At that price, Canadian Monthly was in the range of the popular "shilling monthlies" of Britain, like Cornhill and Macmillan's. The periodicals that catered to a more serious audience, like the Fortnightly, the Contemporary Review, and the Nineteenth Century, all had relatively small circulations and sold for half a crown.5 In 1872 circulation of the Fortnightly had risen to 2,500 from 1,400 in 1867.6 It is unlikely that the Canadian Monthly subscribers could have totalled more and it was evident that the returns to the publisher could not have exceeded the expense.

Adam and Stevenson continued as publishers of the Canadian Monthly in 1875 and 1876. They renewed their efforts to build a larger circulation and find more financial backing in spite of the depressed business conditions of the mid '70's. Isaac Buchanan of Hamilton was one of the businessmen
approached. In a letter replying to overtures made to him by the firm, he declared that he was unable to assist with the necessary financing but urged holding off as long as possible from parting with the magazine. He also advised pursuing a policy of "alienating no one while attracting as many supporters as possible on the basis of its character and its new style of effort," adding that a purely literary journal of original material was "scarcely sufficient in Canada even in good times."  

The "new style of effort" was manifest within the magazine by an increased number of individual contributors each issue, and more original light fiction, often in the popular form of personal narratives or signed with such alliterative pseudonyms as "Lizzie Lyle." That year marked the emergence of a series of debates on the religious aspects of the conflicting claims of science and nature. One of the issues, sparked by reprinted essays of John Tyndall and James Martineau, was the philosophy of materialism; another was the fundamentalism of the American revivalists, Moodey and Sankey. George J. Romanes, a British writer and former Canadian, entered the discussion on the efficacy of prayer with W. D. LeSueur, Samuel E. Dawson and the redoubtable Miss Machar. Other new contributors included Grant Allen, writing from his post at Queen's College, Jamaica; George M. Grant, principal of Queen's University; Henry Scadding, the Toronto historian; and John Hunter-Duvar, poet and editor.

When G. Mercer Adam was still with the Monthly, it published two contributions of Charles Mair. One was a two-part article, "The New Canada," expressing the nationalist sentiments of Canada First at a time when the movement was fast losing strength, and the other a poem "Kanata." Mair was living in Portage la Prairie at that time and doing very little writing.
The article was a revision of an earlier address, but the poem was the original version of one later published in the *Dominion Illustrated* of December 29, 1888. The poem reflects the poet's bitter resentment of the corrupting influence on Canada's freedom by the European settler. The first is a gentler poem than the second; the final stanza speaks of hope and a second birth. Norman Shrive, in his book on Mair, discusses the second version only. He comments on Mair's telling John Garvin that "Kanata" was written "when our foreign immigrants were swarming into the country - the poem's final stanzas referring to them have proved prophetic." Shrive continues: "His memory was at fault, of course, because the poem was written when few settlers of any race were coming to Canada." Mair also failed to remember that he had published the original poem earlier, in 1876.

The department of "Current Literature" continued to review the contents of the leading British journals, commenting on the current topics and leading arguments, their quality of expression, and the validity of the debates. Such reviewing provided the reader with capsulized commentaries on most of the issues of the day - philosophical, economic, literary and social. G. Mercer Adam possibly had the major hand in the writing of this section of the magazine for it had been a feature of Adam's first publication, the *British-American*, and was discontinued when Adam, Stevenson ceased to be the publisher.

In the fall of 1876, Adam left Toronto and the *Canadian Monthly* and joined John Wurtele Lovell in a publishing partnership in New York City. He had been forced, for a while at least, to abandon the task of directly developing the "new Canadian literature which was yet to be."
The notice of his departure and new venture declared, ironically, that in reprinting English authors the partners "will by their labours help materially in stimulating the growth and progress of a healthy literature in this country as well as in the United States." Lovell was the son of the Montreal publisher of the Literary Garland and the manager of the firm's branch at Rouse's Point, New York. He had set up this establishment on the Canadian border in 1872 to reprint British copyright works and sell them in Canada with the payment of 12% duty or send advance copies to London for "first publication" and have the benefits of Imperial copyright. With Lovell, Sr. in co-partnership, Lovell and Adam formed the new firm of Lovell, Adam & Co. based in New York City in 1876 for the purpose of reprinting cheap editions of British copyright books. Later in the year Francis L. Wesson was taken into the firm but in 1877 the partnership dissolved.

The copyright issue was a major one for Canadian publishers. Not allowed to reprint British copyright books unless negotiations were made with the author, Canadian publishers found that the market became fully supplied by American publishers who were under no restriction. The Canadian Copyright Act of 1872 had been disallowed and although the later Act of 1875 extended certain privileges to any person then domiciled in Canada, the Canadian publishers were still at a disadvantage in reprinting any books, American or British, protected by Imperial copyright. Canadian Monthly had always been careful to acknowledge reprinted works. The publication of the serialized fiction of such authors as Wilkie Collins, F. W. Robinson and William Black were accompanied by notices indicating compliance with copyright requirements. On one occasion, Canadian Monthly felt called.
upon to protest "in the name of journalistic decency - to say nothing of common honesty," the lifting from their pages of the whole of a novelette, copyrighted at Ottawa and for which the Canadian Monthly had paid the author. 18

We have observed, with mingled feelings of pain and pleasure, that some members of the Press of the Dominion appear to look upon the contents of the Canadian Monthly much in the same light as Lord Dundreary's valet regarded his master's wardrobe, and, acting upon principles similar to those which actuated that eccentric individual, transfer, without scruple, from our columns to their own, whatever strikes their fancy. 19

They concluded firmly that "should this caution not prove efficacious to put stop to the practice complained of, we shall be reluctantly compelled to resort to a legal enforcement of our rights." 20

For the following year of 1877, the Canadian Monthly appeared under new publishers, Hart & Rawlinson. Primarily booksellers and stationers, they later began to publish American reprints. The new publishers effected little change in the make-up of the Monthly, and the editor remained unidentified. The only innovation was the introduction of a new department, "Round the Table," which encouraged the exchange of reader's views. Guest writers contributed opinions and discursive musings on very general topics, light and serious, but were seldom identified by name.

In January, 1878, the management of the Canadian Monthly underwent another change, with the original printers of the magazine, Hunter, Rose & Co., undertaking publication. The founders of this firm, Robert Hunter and George Maclean Rose, having bought out the printing establishment of Samuel Thompson in Quebec, later secured a government printing contract in Ottawa. In 1871, they consolidated their business in Toronto and began
publishing Canadian reprints of English copyright books, for which, Rattray claimed, "the firm honestly compensated the authors whose work they reproduced, although this of course placed them at a disadvantage as compared with the piratical publishers of the U.S." Hunter, Rose had printed the Canadian Monthly for other publishers since its inception in 1872. Since December 1876, they had also printed for Belford Brothers Belford's Magazine: A Magazine of Literature and Art. The magazine was made up of reprinted American and British stories and serials, often lifted from Belford's current reprinted books, along with articles, poems, and stories by Canadian writers. Many of these contributors, including Susanna Moodie, Charles Sangster, John Reade, John Hunter-Duvar, John G. Bourinot and M. J. Griffin, also wrote for the Canadian Monthly.

Belford Brothers was set up in 1876 in Toronto by Alexander Belford, his brothers, Charles and J. Robert Belford, and James Clarke. Charles Belford was assistant editor of the Toronto Leader and later editor of the Toronto Mail. In 1871, when they took over A. S. Irving Co. to establish the Canadian News and Publishing Co., G. M. Adam had noted "they were capable and enterprising men; and their business record in the way of native publishing ventures . . . shows them to be industrious, intelligent and shrewd." As to their business practices, he put forth the prevailing Canadian stance:

Most of [their publications] have had a very large sale, being representative of current literature, popular among a class that will and must be amused. Though this class of writing has but little intrinsic merit, and is likely to be but ephemeral in character, yet if this literature is to be sold in the country, we may as well have it employ native labour in its manufacture, so long as it infringes no legal copyright. The moral interest of the author . . . it may perhaps, be time enough to respect when our American friends respect English copyright interests.
The Belford brothers' later connection with the Canadian Monthly, although brief, precipitated an incident in a continuing copyright feud between them and Mark Twain. It began with the reprinting by the Canadian News and Publishing Co., their earlier firm, of a series of sketches by Twain, lifted from the pages of Galaxy. The Canadian Monthly, in March 1876, had carried another sketch of Twain's, "A Literary Nightmare," and acknowledged it as reprinted from the Atlantic Monthly. That same year, this sketch, along with "Old Times on the Mississippi," was published, without permission of the author, by Belford Brothers in book form. Belford Brothers had also brought out a cheap edition of The Adventures of Tom Sawyer and sold copies in the United States as well as Canada, thereby, according to Samuel Clemens in a letter to his publisher, taking all the profits out of the book: "We find our copyright law here to be nearly worthless, and if I can make a living out of plays, I shall never write another book. . . . The Canadian Tom Sawyer has actually taken the market from us in every village in the Union." Meanwhile, Belford Brothers had written to the editor of the Atlantic, W. D. Howells, in November 1876, asking whether arrangements could be made to publish Mark Twain's future contributions to the Atlantic: "We would be willing to pay liberally for the right to publish them in the magazine although the law allows us to pirate them." Clemens replied to Howells that "If there is another magazine in Toronto (or Montreal) I want to give it advanced sheets - Belford Brothers, the miserable thieves, couldn't buy a sentence from me for any money. Is there another magazine - I earnestly want to give advanced sheets to it." The following year, having completed "Some Rambling Notes on an Idle Excursion," Clemens again put the question to Howells, and also inquired of H. O. Houghton, the
publisher of the *Atlantic*, his opinion of the *Canadian Monthly*, then published by Hart & Rawlinson. Clemens was apparently unaware of the reprinting (with acknowledgement) of the earlier sketch "A Literary Nightmare" in the *Canadian Monthly*. When Houghton had assured him that the *Canadian Monthly* was a "first class journal," Clemens arranged for duplicate proofs of "An Idle Excursion" to be sent to the magazine. It appeared in the *Canadian Monthly* from October, 1877 to January, 1878, with the note "published from advanced sheets by arrangement with the author and his American Publishers." The editors of the *Mark Twain-Howells Letters* claim that "Clemens probably offered the articles to the *Canadian Monthly* without charge. The device prevented the Belford Brothers from pirating them; but the strategy could not be repeated because in June, 1878, the *Canadian Monthly* was taken over by the Belford's." But, as Gordon Roper points out, "he did not beat the Belford Brothers... Once again they anticipated his authorized English and American publishers by issuing in 1878 an edition - the first anywhere in book form - of an *Idle Excursion*." The volume also contained "The Loves of Alonzo Fitz Clarence and Rosannah Ethelton," a piece which had appeared in the *Canadian Monthly* in March 1878, "published by arrangement with the author." Twain had intended to send a third sketch to *Canadian Monthly*, probably "About Magnanimous-Incident Literature," according to a letter to Howells in March 1878. He decided later, however, that he would not venture simultaneous publication in Canada unless Houghton could get the Canadian copyright immediately transferred to himself or some personal friend of his. Clemens either realized the futility of assigning copyright to any Canadian publisher, or had heard of the impending merger of *Canadian Monthly* and Belford's.
The Canadian Monthly was to be taken over by Clemens' hated enemies the Belfords with the issue for July 1878, and some rumour of the impending change had apparently reached Boston. Clemens would have suffered agonies if he had helped the Belford's get Canadian copyright to any of his work by sending it himself to a magazine they were about to acquire.35

For the third time the management of the Canadian Monthly was to change hands. The newly formed publishing company which took over publication was, ironically, only briefly connected with the Belford's.
NOTES

CHAPTER III

1 Prospectus for 1875, CMNR, VI (November 1874).

2 Ibid.


4 Advertisement, CMNR, VII (January 1875).


7 Public Archives of Canada, Buchanan Papers, Buchanan to Messrs. Adam, Stevenson, August 7, 1876.


9 Shrive, ibid., pp. 201-2.

10 Instances of early work which was later published in an altered version can also be found in the poems of Alexander McLachlan. The poem, "To an Indian's Skull," published in the Canadian Monthly in 1872 appears later in a considerably expanded version in his Poems and Songs. See Alexander McLachlan, Poems and Songs (Toronto: Hunter, Rose, 1874), pp. 162-5, and CMNR, I (February 1872), 142-3.

11 Prospectus for 1875, CMNR, VI (November 1874).

12 CMNR, X (September 1876), 276.

13 Lovell was also a nephew of John Gibson, the Garland's editor and G. M. Adam was a son-in-law of Gibson.
He thus proved "by reductio ad absurdum, that he could do in exile what, as a Canadian, he was not permitted to do at home." CMNR, II (July 1872), 90.


Lovell later became "one of the largest distributors of imported books at cheap prices that publishing history ever witnessed." Stern, Imprints on History, p. 264.

See CMNR, I (April 1872), 289-99: II (July 1872), 96; II (December 1872), 575; Rose-Belford's Canadian Monthly and National Review, I (September 1878), 396-76. Hereafter cited as RB CMNR.


Canada Bookseller, II (April 1871), 25.


The final instalment in Canadian Monthly included a note from the author regarding the omission of a name in the original proof from Atlantic.

Smith and Gibson, Twain-Howells Letters, p. 201.

33 Smith and Gibson, Twain-Howells Letters, pp. 222-3.

34 Ibid.

35 Ibid.
The amalgamation of Belford's Monthly and the Canadian Monthly, resulting in the emergence of Rose-Belford's Canadian Monthly and National Review in July 1878, came about with the joining of forces of Hunter, Rose and Company and Belford Brothers. The new firm of Rose-Belford Publishing Company was established with George M. Rose as president and Robert Belford as manager, operating from 60 York Street, Toronto. The alliance between Rose and the Belfords was short-lived for within a year the firm moved to the former Hunter, Rose quarters at 25 Wellington Street and Alexander and Charles Belford with their partner, James Clarke, reorganized and moved to Chicago. Robert Belford, meanwhile, set up Belford and Company in Toronto but later also moved to New York. The firm of Rose-Belford continued in Toronto under George Rose and his brother, Daniel. Robert Hunter of Rose's original firm died in 1877.

The unauthorized reprinting of American books undertaken by Belford Brothers was continued by the new firm. The sharp increase in the reviews of American books from Canadian publishers in the first issues of the magazine after amalgamation reflected the extension of such practices in Canada. From July to December 1878, forty-five books of the sixty-two reviewed bore both American and Canadian imprints, one had both British and Canadian publishers and two had all three.
The Canadian Monthly did not, however, become a Rose-Belford house organ for the promotion of the publisher's offerings. Under its new editor, George Stewart, it attempted to promote such popular journalistic features as the serialized novel and the illustrated article. It also strove to maintain its earlier standards which had earned it an excellent reputation but small financial support. George Stewart later recalled that the Canadian Monthly "though a very excellent publication, was not paying." Stewart's career in publishing had started in 1865 with the Stamp Collectors' Monthly Gazette in St. John, New Brunswick. In 1867 he had founded and edited Stewart's Quarterly, gaining an acceptable reputation for the magazine during its five years of publication. A regular contributor to Belford's Magazine, in May 1878 he moved to Toronto to take over the editorship of Rose-Belford's Canadian Monthly.

In compliance with the pressure to compete with the illustrated monthlies, the Canadian Monthly began to run illustrated articles. As the cost of engraving was high, the illustrations were purchased from American publishers at a reasonable price. These illustrations appeared in other contemporary journals, but not necessarily accompanying the same articles. One American editor was known to supply illustrated copy by selecting some cuts from a stock built up over the years and commissioning a writer to write around them. Another method of supplying copy was to run excerpts from a current book in the publisher's press. At least one of the Monthly's illustrated articles was an excerpt from a forthcoming Rose-Belford book, Annie Brassey's A Voyage in the Sunbeam.

Under Stewart the Canadian Monthly began to purchase more fiction from American writers than heretofore. The serialized novels of earlier
issues had been those of the Canadian writers, Louisa Murray, Agnes M. Machar, Mrs. J. V. Noel and Mrs. Lovett-Cameron, supplemented by those of the popular British authors, F. W. Robinson, William Black and Wilkie Collins. Belford's Monthly had been publishing work from James Payn, Edgar Fawcett, Walter Besant and James Rice before the amalgamation and these names began to appear in the new Canadian Monthly. Stewart later recalled that Payn's terms were well within their financial resources, for Payn "was not very much embarrassed with wealth at that period."

Stewart's account of his transactions with Wilkie Collins raises the possibility that Rose-Belford brought out the first edition anywhere of at least one of his stories. Canadian Monthly purchased The Haunted Hotel for one hundred pounds, a price which included serial and book publication rights, "and the privilege of selling it to any American publisher, save Harper Brothers of New York, with whom the author had a quarrel." The Monthly later sold the item for three hundred dollars and considered itself amply re-imbursed. The first instalment of The Haunted Hotel appeared in the British magazine Belgravia in June 1878 and in Canadian Monthly in July, and the story was published in book form by Chatto and Windus of Piccadilly in November 1878. Because the Canadian Monthly carried a review of The Haunted Hotel under the Rose-Belford imprint in the November issue, it is reasonable to assume that it was published the month before. Stewart also purchased a second story from Collins, The Fallen Leaves. Collins considered this work to be his best to date and accompanied each instalment with a note, one of them stipulating "the absolute, literal reprinting of "The Fallen Leaves" . . . the gentle reader will have the
story exactly as I have written it, or will not have the story at all."8

Published by Chatto and Windus in July 1879, the serialized form appeared in the Canadian Monthly from February 1879 to March 1880. The Rose-Belford edition of the novel, however, was not reviewed in the Canadian Monthly until October 1879.

During Stewart's year as editor, an incident arose involving Goldwin Smith and Sir Francis Hincks. In the first of Smith's "Papers by a Bystander" in January 1879, he had criticised earlier statements by Hincks, who retaliated to the "Bystander" with further argument on the subject in "Round the Table."9 Hincks, in the same issue, continued his critique of Goldwin Smith's "The Political Destiny of Canada," in an article of his own similarly titled.10 Stewart later recalled the situation:

Sir Francis Hincks wrote strongly on the Letelier difficulty in Quebec, and broke a lance with Prof. Smith. Some years afterwards the old statesman called at my residence in Quebec to ask me to give him the name of his opponent. Of course, I could not gratify him without consent of the writer.11

If Stewart's recollections are not at fault, Hincks evidently was not aware of the identity of the "Bystander" nor did he realize he was taking on his old opponent by another name. It was the first appearance of Smith's pen name in the Canadian Monthly since his break with the magazine four years earlier. The practice of anonymous journalism still remained, it seemed, a cherished tenet.

With the resignation of George Stewart as editor in 1879, the magazine moved into another phase.12 The frontispiece of the July issue of that year bore, for the first time, the name of G. Mercer Adam as editor. For the next three years, until its demise in 1882, the Canadian Monthly expanded in size and became almost exclusively made up of original material
by Canadian writers. The continuing controversy of science and religion developed further with the publishing of Goldwin Smith's article, "The Prospect of a Moral Interregnum." Theological and ethical aspects of a morality with or without religion were vigorously debated while two other topical issues, the "temperance question" and the "woman question" provoked further articles in a running exchange of arguments. 13

Fiction was enormously popular reading fare in this period although contributions to the Canadian Monthly were relatively few. "However stagnant the general publishing trade might be there is no dearth of fiction," the Monthly noted in 1875. "If novel reading keeps pace with novel writing, there must be little else read." 14 In the United States, fiction filled the pages of the "family" monthlies and weeklies but was not dominant in such magazines as Harper's and the Atlantic. Most of the serial fiction in American periodicals came from England and editors frequently complained of the American writers' lack of narrative talent. 15 Good short stories appeared to be particularly wanting. The editor of Galaxy stated that: "Our public has no notion whatever of the poor quality of almost all the writing in this department submitted to American publishers and editors." 16

In 1872, the Monthly had pointed out that: "We prefer short tales to serials, but we welcome every description of fiction, from the domestic novel to the fairy tale. Humour in any form is as acceptable as it is rare." 17 The short story form, however, was still limited largely to "true life" narratives and undramatic "adventure" stories.

With the dearth of good fiction, any opportunity presented to publish writers like Mark Twain and William Dean Howells would be considered very profitable and the appearance of a story by Howells, "A Fearful Responsibility,"
in the July and August 1881 issues of the Canadian Monthly, published without any acknowledgements, raises certain speculations. Howell's father, W. C. Howells, had contributed several items to the Canadian Monthly in 1878, the year of his appointment as American consul in Toronto, having previously held the consular post in Quebec. The Howell family had many close connections with Canada (Annie Howell having married Achille Fréchette, brother of the French Canadian poet) and visits were often exchanged across the border. William Dean Howells was familiar with Mark Twain's feud with the Belford's and had had his own trials with the Canadian firm. The story, "A Fearful Responsibility," was published in Scribner's a month before its appearance in the Canadian Monthly and had either been lifted from their pages without the author's permission or had been given or sold to the Canadian Monthly. Howells would be sufficiently familiar with the magazine to learn of an unauthorized reprinting of his work. If the Canadian Monthly published the story without an "arrangement with the author" as indicated, it was uncharacteristic of Adam and the earlier established practices of the magazine. It is possible that a need to promote the magazine at this time overrode any compunction he may have had.

Contributions of poetry during these final years of the Monthly increased from two or three to an average of eight original poems an issue. Public demand for poetry may not have been greater but the sources, at any rate, were more plentiful. As with the earlier poetry, the quality was uneven. The celebration of the months, the seasons and the years were still recurring themes and the deaths of leading figures continued to be appropriately acknowledged with commemorative poems. In a day when many
political leaders "like Cartier, Howe and McGee" were in Adam's words "in sympathy with literature," poems of translations of classical verse were not uncommon from the pens of writers, journalists and politicians. But among these intellectual exercises, the work of some young emerging poets began to appear. In 1880, Charles G. D. Roberts began to contribute to the Monthly from Chatham, New Brunswick. One of his poems, "Off Pelorus," appeared in the magazine in April 1881. Its later publication in his collection, In Divers Tones, is a slightly revised version. Other youthful contributors during these years were Frederick George Scott and Sara Jeannette Duncan, names attesting to G. Mercer Adam's role as a receptive and encouraging editor.

Charles Pelham Mulvany wrote of the "self-sacrificing care" by Adam devoted to the Monthly:

With scant appreciation and no reward, Mr. Adam laboured for years to keep life in the Canadian Monthly, whose publishers showed little inclination to second his efforts by any expenditure of money in canvassing for, or in other ways promoting, the success of the serial which they owned. In how many cases, known to the writer, has Mr. Adam written long letters of encouragement and counsel to literary aspirants? . . . Owing to the course pursued by the publishers, the contributions were unpaid for, and it is a remarkable proof of Mr. G. Mercer Adam's personal influence among literary men, that contributions of such high merit should have poured in and over so long a period. When the inevitable end came, it was not due to any exhaustion of the literary material, which was never more vigorous and abundant than in the latest issues of the Monthly.

With the June issue of 1882 the final announcement of the Monthly appeared. The reasons for its suspension, which the publishers hoped would not be permanent, included "our inchoate state as a nation," the increasing competition from American and English magazines, and the lack of support from the press, from public figures and from the reading public.
The public has its preferences, and has a right to them, and if it gives little heed to native projects in higher literature, or finds more attraction in those that have their source abroad, Canadian publishers must accept the situation and await the development of a national spirit more favourable to culture and intellectual advancement. Till we reach the self-containedness and self-dependence which it is to be hoped the country will one day attain, Canadian literary enterprise will have little to encourage it. . . . Without the stimulus of patriotism all enterprises of a purely literary character must languish, and Canadian talent be drafted off to more remunerative spheres.  

For G. Mercer Adam, the greater sphere of remuneration proved, finally, to be the United States. Immediately after the demise of the Monthly, he had continued his work in literary publishing in Canada, including the editing of the Canada Educational Monthly, which he had founded in 1877, and the managing of the Bystander for Goldwin Smith. But when Henry J. Morgan wrote in 1903 to inform Adam of his nomination to the Royal Society of Canada, the letter found Adam in New York. Adam's reply was revealing:

In many respects, I should have been glad to have continued my work in Canada, but the field there, at the best, is a narrow one, as you know, and when one has large responsibilities as I have in the shape of numerous offspring, by two dear wives, it behooves one to make many sacrifices, and forego even one's loved country, for the sake of boiling the pot and making some provision, however modest, for one's own.27

To the end, Adam remained in the background of Canada's literary scene. In a postscript to his letter to Morgan he said, "I have frequently thought of writing an article in the way of personal reminiscence connected with Canada and my own literary work."28 There is no evidence that he did.
NOTES

CHAPTER IV


2 Stewart, "Literary Reminiscences," Canadian Magazine, XVII (June 1901), 164.

3 Ibid.


6 Ibid., 165.


8 Stewart, "Literary Reminiscences," 165.

9 Francis Hincks, RB CMNR, II (February 1879), 248-50.

10 Francis Hincks, RB CMNR, II (February 1879), 170-82.


12 Stewart retired "to accept the editorship of the Quebec Chronicle." Stewart, "Literary Reminiscences," 166.

13 See Index.

14 CMNR, VIII (August 1875), 188.


16 Galaxy, XIX (February 1875), 288-9.
17. *CMNR*, II (July 1872), 1.


20. "I suppose Belford is on the watch for my new book. I'm in hopes he'll find it too long to publish at the cheap rate he gets out the others." W. D. Howells, letter to W. C. Howells, April 17, 1880, in *Life in Letters of W. D. Howells*, p. 284.


25. *RB CMNR*, VIII (June 1882), 660.

26. The establishment of the Society had come under criticism in *CMNR*. See Index.


28. Ibid.
V

CONCLUSION

The Canadian Monthly expired at a time when no other Canadian periodical could be considered a competitor for its audience. The Nation had ceased publication in 1876, the New Dominion Monthly in 1878, and the Bystander, temporarily, in 1881 to be resumed again in 1883. Whether the immediate causes for its demise were caused more by lack of promotion on the part of the publishers, as suggested by Mulvany, than by lack of interest on the part of the public, the fact remained that the market among the English-speaking reading public of Canada was not sufficient to sustain the kind of journalism the Monthly afforded. The Canadian public never had supported the magazine sufficiently to make it a financially viable business. Nurtured by Goldwin Smith at its beginning, it did not become the "starveling affair" he predicted after he had weaned it, but only because of the efforts of G. Mercer Adam and others who continued its publication with little if any material profit and considerable sacrifice.

The boom in magazine publishing in England and the United States had caused one editor to comment that, "there were more magazines in the wretched field than there were blades of grass to support them."¹ Another was concerned over the "mania of magazine-starting" which, he feared, should "spend itself by every successful writer becoming possessed of a magazine of his own."² But the boom did not result in large circulations for the
magazines in the same class as the Monthly.\(^3\) The first class periodicals in these countries had the advantages of reaching audiences abroad as well as at home. Rose-Belford's, in 1878, advertised facsimile editions of the Fortnightly Review, published from duplicate plates which reached them so promptly from England they were able to sell copies "as soon as the original arrives in Canada, and at one-half the price."\(^4\) Although the Monthly had been pleased to report a brief comment in its behalf in the English Publishers' Circular in 1873\(^5\) and the Bystander was claimed to have been read widely in England,\(^6\) colonial productions generally received scant attention abroad. The circulation of a Canadian magazine, as Adam point out, was almost entirely limited to a "public whose ear can be reached by a Canadian publisher."\(^7\)

Dependent on a small public, the Canadian Monthly did to a large extent owe its existence to what Goldwin Smith called "a short-lived glow of national feeling which passed through the veins of the community on the morrow of Confederation."\(^8\) "A stimulus of patriotism\(^9\) had animated a small group of people to persist in their efforts to maintain certain standards of journalistic endeavour. The magazine was born in terms of high idealism: the stated aim was to encourage a literature "indigenous in character and honest and pure in spirit."\(^10\) It succeeded as a publication with a mature and independent objectivity that was new in Canadian journalism. For a literary periodical, independence of outlook became an increasingly expensive commodity in a welter of popular literature.

For its contributors, the Monthly's requirements were "temperateness of tone, courtesy and a fair ability of treatment."\(^11\) Their names form a large part of the lists of the published authors of the latter
half of the nineteenth century. The Monthly had provided them with a vital medium that was encouraging of their talents and, in a sense other than financial, rewarding for their efforts.

For the readers of its day, the Monthly offered guidance and some stimulus in the exploration of new work in literature and ideas. It often provided critical standards of performance and expression. Most importantly, it presented to the Canadian reader the awareness of the possibilities of an indigenous literature.

For today's reader, the Canadian Monthly presents a document of an earlier era which was involved in issues paralleling those of our present society - from the calls for a "new" nationalism to the pleas for the protection of Newfoundland seals. It affords a valuable insight into the sources of developing trends in Canadian culture and literature. Above all, it bears testimony to the spirit and idealism of a small group of literary nationalists who not only kept it alive in a strongly competitive marketplace but maintained the high standards they had early set for it.
NOTES

CHAPTER V


3 Altick, English Common Reader, p. 360.

4 Advertisement in the Canadian Spectator, I (February 23, 1878).

5 CMNR, III (March 1873), 263.


7 CMNR, VI (December 1874), 573.

8 Smith, The Bystander, II (January 1883), 68.

9 RB CMNR, VIII (June 1882), 660.

10 CMNR, IV (December 1873), 548.

11 RB CMNR, IV (February 1880), 113.

12 CMNR, V (June 1874), 552.
INDEX
to
The Canadian Monthly and National Review 1872-1878
and
Rose-Belford's Canadian Monthly and National Review 1878-1882

INTRODUCTION

1. Subject and Author Headings

Entries under the subject and author headings are listed in chronological order. This sequence reveals the development or pattern of an individual author's contributions and of specific subject matter. In the line entries, the names of contributors are given as signed and pseudonyms indicated.

Sample entry:

ARDAGH, Alice Maud 1866-1936
A woman's love. [P] Esperance [pseud]. RB5:74 J1 80

Explanation:


Where only a possible identification can be made, there is a cross-reference in the heading to the attributed name, preceded by ? and enclosed in brackets to indicate editorial insertion.

Sample entry:

AURORA [pseud, see also ?MORGAN, Mary]
A song. [P] 2:324 0 72

60
Explanation:

The pseudonym, "Aurora," is possibly that of Mary Morgan. Her poem, "A Song," can be found in volume two of Canadian Monthly and National Review on page 324 in the issue for October 1872.

No positive identification of pseudonyms or of anonymous contributors has been made without textual evidence found either in the Canadian Monthly or in source material which is listed in the Bibliography. Suggested attributions are based on textual references in the magazine, (such as place-names accompanying some contributions), dates of publication, and the nature of the material.

2. Fiction and Poems Headings

Entries under the form headings, FICTION and POEMS, are listed alphabetically by title.

Sample entry:

FICTION
An adventure and no mistake. J.F.N. 2:429-35 N 72

Explanation:

The story, "An Adventure and No Mistake," by J.F.N. can be found in volume two of Canadian Monthly and National Review on pages 429 to 435 in the issue for November 1872.

3. Book Reviews Heading

Under the form heading, BOOK REVIEWS, books reviewed are listed by author in alphabetical order. Reviews are unsigned unless designated by [Rev. by ...], in which case, the review forms the basis of a feature article. The date of publication of the book is given only when it differs from the date of entry. The name of the author of the book is followed by the title, the publication details if given, and the location in the magazine. The authors are listed as given in the text of the book review.
Sample entry:

BOOK REVIEWS

Carlyle, Thomas

My 81; [Rev. by L.Murray] RB7:121-33 Ag 81

Explanation:

The publication, Reminiscences, written by Thomas Carlyle and published in New York by Harper Bros. and in Toronto by James Campbell & Son in 1881, is reviewed anonymously in Rose-Belford's Canadian Monthly and National Review, volume six, on pages 544 to 548 in the issue of May 1881. It is also reviewed by L. Murray in Rose-Belford's Canadian Monthly, volume seven, on pages 121 to 133 in the issue of August 1881.

4. Other Editorial Departments

The following editorial departments of the Canadian Monthly contain material not indexed under subject headings, but references to their locations in the magazine can be found under their titles.

Bric-a-Brac. Miscellaneous items of light material.

Books Received. Listings of new publications.

Current Events. Commentary on contemporary political affairs primarily in Canada.

Current Literature. Reviews and references to material in leading contemporary periodicals and brief references to new offerings in publications.

Literary Notes. Items of interest in the sphere of publishing, such as news of forthcoming books.

Music and the Drama. Current musical and theatrical events in Toronto.

Round the Table. Readers' views on a variety of miscellaneous topics.

Science and Nature. References to current practical, technical, or scientific items of interest.

The Monthly's Scrap Book. Short anecdotes and verse.
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Publishers

- Adam, Stevenson & Co. January, 1872 - December, 1876
- Hart & Rawlinson Co. January, 1877 - December, 1877
- Hunter, Rose & Co. January, 1878 - June, 1878
- Rose-Belford Publishing July, 1878 - June, 1882

Printers

- Hunter, Rose & Co. January, 1872 - June, 1882

Symbols

- [F] Fiction
- [R] Review
- (Rep) Reprinted
- Anon Anonymous
- [P] Poem
- [pseud] Pseudonym
- (Tr) Translation
- Rev. by ... Reviewed by ...
### Dates

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</table>

Volume numbers for **Canadian Monthly** are 1 to 13
Volume numbers for **Rose-Belford’s Canadian Monthly** are RB1 to RB8
SUBJECT-AUTHOR INDEX TO
THE CANADIAN MONTHLY, 1872-1882

A., R.S.
Intruding thoughts. [P] RB8:295 Mr 82

A., T.W.
To a skylark. [P] 11:378 Ap 77

ABBOTT, Stephen A.
Alcohol in medical science. 8:27-34 J1 75

ABERCONWAY [pseud, see also ?ROBERTS, Charles G.D.]
Spectators. RB4:486-8 My 80

ABOUT, Edmond 1828-1885
The canon's daughter. [F] (Tr) 1:362-78 Ap 72
The king of the mountains. [F] (Tr) 6:294-308 0, 398-415 N, 494-514 D 74
see also BOOK REVIEWS

ACADIA
Old forts of Acadia. J.G. Bourinot. 5:369-78 My 74
The scene of Evangeline. G.A. Mackenzie. RB3:337-43 0 79
Annapolis Royal and the expatriation of the Acadians. Arthur Harvey.
RB5:337-52 0 80

A'DALE, Allan [pseud]
The proctors: a sketch of Canadian university life. 2:362-6 0 72

ADAM, Graeme Mercer 1839-1912
New aspects of the copyright question. RB1:369-76 S 78

ADAMS, Will
about
First Englishman who visited Japan. C.H. Redhead. 8:477-82 D 75

ADDISON, Joseph 1672-1719
about

ADVERTISING
Curiosities of advertising. G.S.H. 10:214-6 S 76

AFRICA
March to Coomassie. [R] Anon. 6:309-25 0 74
The land of the pygmies. [R] J.M. Buchan. 6:439-46 N 74
The slave trade on the Upper Nile. [R] Anon. 7:56-66 Ja 75
Livingstone's last journals. [R] Anon. 7:254-63 Mr 75
The land of the Matabele. A. Campbell. 9:18-20 Ja 76
Across Africa. [R] Anon. 12:31-9 J1 77

AGRICULTURE
Agriculture experimental stations. J. Cheesman. RB6:62-8 Ja 81

ALCHEMIST [pseud]
O donna di virtu! [P] RB8:360 Ap 82
The permanence of Christianity. RB8:525-30 My 82

ALEYNE, Julia
Up the Saguenay to Ha-ha Bay and Chicoutimi. 8:35-7 J1 75
Lake Memphremagog. 10:120-1 J1 76
Dawn of English art. RB7:365-78 0 81; RB8:69-77 Ja 82

ALFRED, King of England 849-899
Alfredus rex fundator. Goldwin Smith. 2:157-69 Ag 72

ALLEN, Grant 1848-1899
Only an insect! [P] 6:521-2 D 74
Vive la commune! [P] 8:98-9 Ag 75
To Herbert Spencer. [P] (Rep from Popular Science Monthly) 8:320-1 0 75
Force and energy. 10:20-31 J1 76
The return of Aphrodite. [P] (Rep from Temple Bar) RB5:411 0 80
Magdalen tower. [P] RB6:33-6 Ja 81

ALLEN, Joseph Antisell 1814-1900
Hidden blessings. [P] 9:407 My 76
Jelly-fish: notes of recent discoveries in rudimentary biology.
11:407-11 Ap 77
Evolution of morality. 11:490-501 My 77
The temperance question: a reply to Fidelis. 12:24-31 J1 77
The temperance problem. 12:282-91 S 77
Orangism, Catholicism and Sir Francis Hincks. 12:379-91 0 77

ALLINGHAM, William 1824-1889
Words and deeds. [P] (Rep from Fraser's Magazine) RB2:625 My 79

ALLISON, L.C.
Butler's Hudibras. [R] RB1:68-78 J1 78
Ancient war galleys. RB1:574-85 N 78

ALLYNE, Enylla [pseud]
Sonnet. [P] RB1:225 Ag 78

An AMATEUR [pseud]
Yachting. 1:440-6 My 72

ANAT IVE [pseud]
Russian reminiscences. [F] 6:216-27 S, 326-41 0 74
ANDERSON, William James 1813?-1873
&Curiosities of Canadian literature. 1:55-61 Ja 72

ANONYMOUS

Prose
Our pioneer bishop: John Strachan. 1:406-20 My 72
Great Britain, Canada and the United States. 1:453-66 My 72
How I was rusticated from Cambridge. (Rep from Temple Bar) 1:471-4 My 72
The great duel of the 17th century. 2:38-55 J1 72
Italian vignettes. 2:225-36 S 72
Political struggles on both sides of the line. [Goldwin Smith] 2:263-73 S 72
The bridal veil. [F] 2:289-310 0 72
Political corruption. 2:366-78 0 72
The half-breeds of Red River. [?Charles Mair] 2:303-7 0 72
The science of selling. (Tr) 2:378-81 0 72
The game of checkers. (Tr) 2:434-43 D 72
The Grand Trunk and other railways of Canada. 3:265-73 Ap 73
A wirepuller of kings. [R] [Goldwin Smith] 3:396-408 My 73
Notes on the session. [Goldwin Smith] 3:520-36 Je 73
Headwaters of Cayuga Lake. 4:123-33 Ag 73
Confederation in Nova Scotia. 4:361-75 N 73
Dress. (Rep from French Home Life) 4:438-50 N 73
Furniture. (Rep from French Home Life) 6:78-89 J1 74
Mr. Goldwin Smith. 4:547-8 D 73
The white rose. [F] (Tr) 5:56-61 Ja 74
Reform in ocean passenger travel. [?James Young] 5:97-101 Fe 74
Ouida's novels. (Rep from Contemporary Review) 5:171-5 Fe, 255-60 Mr 74
My recollections of Fenton Grammar School. (Rep from Belgravia) 5:353-60
Ap, 446-51 My 74
Miracles, modern and medieval. 6:189-97 S 74
March to Coomassie. [R] 6:309-25 0 74
Down the St. Lawrence on a raft. [W.A.Foster] 6:343-55 0 74
The slave trade on the Upper Nile. [R] 7:56-66 Ja 75
Not just yet. [F] (Rep from Belgravia) 7:159-62 Fe 75
A dialogue between a loving pair of twins. [F] 9:119-21 Fe 76
Through sorrow to love. [F] (Tr) 13:157-64 Fe 78
Opium eating. 13:248-55 Mr 78
The northern lakes of Ontario. RB3:1-8 J1 79
The late honourable George Brown. RB4:656-7 Je 80
On a little oatmeal: a Scottish sketch. [F] RB5:317 S 80
George Eliot. RB6:203-4 Fe 81
James Garfield. RB7:538-9 N 81
Note on the death of S.J.Watson. RB7:638-9 D 81
The colonial status quo vs. Canadian independence. RB8:113-21 Fe 82
The secret passage: a tale of Ottawa city. [F] RB8:184-91 Fe 82
Rejected MSS. (Rep from Belgravia) RB8:259-65 Mr 82
Darwin and his work. RB8:540-2 My 82
The Royal Society of Canada. RB8:545-9 My 82

Poetry
Love in death. 1:71 Ja 72
The sleepers. 2:55 J1 72
Sleep. 2:435 N 72
A Christmas ode. (Tr)  2:556-8 D 72
The portrait. (Rep from Nugae Canoroe) 4:42 J1 73
A life voyage. 4:299-301 O 73
Farewell to Canadian summer. 4:307-8 O 73
Little goldenhair. 4:500 D 73
Faint heart. 4:527 D 73

Scattered seeds. (Rep from Lyra Innocentiam) 5:33 Ja 74
Unspoken words. (Rep from Songs from the Southern Seas) 5:101-2 Fe 74
To hope. 5:147 Fe 74
Not as I will. 5:213 Mr 74
Thorns. (Tr) 7:232 Mr 75
A winter song. (Rep from Temple Bar) 9:111 Fe 76
When shall springtime cheer us? (Rep from Apple Blossoms) RB2:727 Je 79
Speculum vitae. (Rep from Public Opinion) RB3:31 J1 79
Why? RB3:92 J1 79
Somewhere. (Rep from Friar Anselmo) RB3:528 N 79
Song. (Rep from Driftwood) RB3:601 D 79
Thou knowest, O my Father! (Rep from Friar Anselmo) RB3:645 D 79

Greetings. RB4:34 Ja 80
Trust. (Rep from Along the Way) RB4:172 Fe 80
Sunshine and shadow. RB4:465 My 80
An appeal to May. (Rep from Apple Blossoms) RB4:485 My 80
Sans l'espoir. RB4:503 My 80
Ripe grain. RB4:526 My 80
A spring cry. RB5:149 Ag 80
Life is like a tear. RB5:469 N 80
Praise of spring. (Tr) RB6:413 Ap 81
Fame. [P] RB6:532 My 81
Inconstancy. [P] RB6:642 Je 81
Wages. (Rep from Chambers' Journal) RB7:559 D 81
Buds and babies. RB8:351 Ap 82

ANTHROPOLOGY
People you don't know. N.W. Beckwith. (Rep from Cruisings and Musings in the China Sea and East Indian Archipelago) 10:406-12 N 76

ANTONELLI, Cardinal
A personal sketch of Cardinal Antonelli. E. Ransford. 10:533-8 D 76

ARCHER, Andrew
Constantinople. 11:38-41 Ja 77
see also BOOK REVIEWS

ARCHITECTURE
Grecian architecture. Sertanego [pseud]. 8:433-7 N 75
Architecture in Canada. R.C. Windeyer. RB3:482-7 N 79

ARCTIC EXPEDITIONS
The coming Arctic expedition. A.H.B. (Rep from Cornhill) 7:360-6 Ap 75
ARDAGH, Alice Maud 1866-1936
A woman's love. [P] Esperance [pseud]. RB5:74 J1 80
Voices of the loved ones. [P] Esperance [pseud]. RB5:194-5 Ag 80
Fourteen years ago. [P] Esperance [pseud]. RB5:233-6 S 80
Remember me. [P] Esperance [pseud]. RB5:360 O 80
Faithfulness. [P] Esperance [pseud]. RB5:528-9 N 80
In the moonlight. [P] Esperance [pseud]. RB5:660 D 80
My life. [F] Esperance [pseud]. RB6:171-81 Fe 81
A serenade. [P] Esperance [pseud]. RB7:165 Ag 81
It is I. [P] Esperance [pseud]. RB7:425-6 O 81
The Spanish girl's song. [P] Esperance [pseud]. RB7:606 D 81
In the orchard. [P] Esperance [pseud]. RB8:52-3 Ja 82
On crossing a battlefield. [P] Esperance [pseud]. RB8:146 Fe 82
Sorrow endureth for a night, but joy cometh with the morning. [P]
Esperance [pseud]. RB8:242 Mr 82
Memorials. [P] Esperance [pseud]. RB8:514 My 82
His picture. [P] Esperance [pseud]. RB8:598-9 Je 82

ARGYLL, George Douglas Campbell, Duke of. 1823-1900
On hibernicisms in philosophy. (Rep from Contemporary Review) 1:164-70 Fe 72

ARGUS [pseud]
Our future. 12:507-9 N 77

ARMSTRONG, W.D. 1845-
Longfellow. RB8:488-97 My 82

ARNE [pseud]
Medicine and matrimony. [F] 7:514-20 Je 75; 8:45-54 J1 75

ARNOLD, Edwin 1832-1904
Destiny. [P] (Rep) RB3:395 O 79
see also BOOK REVIEWS

ARNOLD, Matthew 1822-1888
Despondency. [P] (Rep from Poems) RB2:701 Je 79
Worldly place. [P] (Rep) RB5:521 N 80
about
The poetry of Matthew Arnold. W.D.LeSueur. 1:219-29 Mr 72
Matthew Arnold as a poet. W.Townsend. RB1:335-46 S 78
Another view of Matthew Arnold's poems. M.J.Griffin. RB1:546-52 N 78
see also BOOK REVIEWS

ART
Early Christian art and symbolism. W.H.Withrow. 1:119-25 Fe 72
Concerning the relations of science and art. Gervas Holmes. 2:74-8 J1 72
Art and morality. G.A.Simcox. (Rep from Macmillan's Magazine)
2:466-71 N 72
The Ontario Society of artists. Anon. 3:261-2 Mr, 545-6 Je 73; 7:558-9 Je 75; 9:452-3 My 76; 10:91-2 J1 76; 11:681-2 Je 77
The Art Union exhibition. Anon. 6:85-9 J1 74
Fine art: painting by J.C. Forbes of Toronto. Anon. 9:452-3 My 76
Art aspects of the Centennial. Fidelis [pseud]. 11:148-56 Fe 77
The Toronto loan exhibition of pictures. Anon. 11:228-30 Fe 77
Schools of Italian art. Amy Rye. 11:486-9 My, 633-8 Je 77; 12:40-4 J1 77
Fine art: art criticism. 12:104-5 J1 77
Sketches of English portrait painters. Amy Rye. 12:454-60 N 77
Sketches of celebrated English landscape painters. Amy Rye. 12:565-70 D 77
European porcelain. Amy Rye. RB1:499-503 O 78
Greek ornamental art. Amy Rye. RB2:548-53 My 79
Art education: a plea for the artisan. L.R.O'Brien. RB2:584-91 My 79
Recent notes by Ruskin. Amy Rye. RB4:480-5 My 80
Gossip about the first Dominion art exhibition. An unlearned visitor [pseud]. RB4:545-53 My 80
The dawn of English art. Julia Aleyne. RB7:365-78 O 81; RB8:69-77 Ja 82
Your house and mine: aesthetic or not aesthetic? D. Fowler. RB8:590-7 Je 82

ARTHUR, King

The Arthur of history and romance. R.W. Boodle. RB5:582-8 D 80

ASHBURTON, Lady Harriet

Harriet, Lady Ashburton. Lord Houghton. (Rep from Monographs Personal and Social) 4:160-7 Ag 73

ASTRONOMY

Past and future of our earth. R.A. Proctor. (Rep from Contemporary Review) 7:82-94 Ja 75
The spectroscope and its lessons. S.H. Janes. 13:266-74 Mr 78

AURORA [pseud, see also ?Morgan, Mary]

A song. [P] 2:324 0 72
The emigrant mountaineer. [P] (Tr) 2:543-4 D 72
A few words about ferns. 7:163-6 Fe 75
Livingstone. [P] 7:414 My 75

AUSTRALIA


AUTHORSHIP

Men of letters and unlettered wives. Francis Jacon. (Rep from Aspects of Authorship) 3:241-7 Mr 73
Basil plants and pansies. Louisa Murray. 5:225-33 Mr 74
Rejected MSS. Anon. (Rep from Belgravia Magazine) RB8:259-65 Mr 82

AWDE, Robert

Neptune's address to Hanlan. [P] RB3:168-9 Ag 79
B., A.H.
The coming Arctic expedition. (Rep from Cornhill) 7:360-6 Ap 75

B., A.M.
British connection: ideal an real. 10:413-8 N 76

B., E.R.
Familiar sayings. 13:532-5 My 78

B., F.W.

B., J.
An Indian legend. 13:201-3 Fe 78

B., J.B.
It might have been. [P] 9:383 My 76

B., M.
Change. [P] 10:73 J1 76
Memories. [P] 11:368 Ap 77

B., M.E.
The Saguenay hunter. [P] RB3:401 0 79

B., N.H.
My twenty-first birthday. [P] 10:238 S 76

B., P.E.
Man's moral nature. [R] RB5:51-9 J1 80

A BACHELOR OF ARTS [pseud]
It is peace. [P] 1:325 Ap 72

BALLADS
Ballads of the scaffold. George Stewart. 10:32-5 J1 76

BALZAC, Honoré de
The vendetta. [F] (Tr) 3:191-207 Mr, 309-22 Ap 73

BANKING
The Bank of England and the Act of 1844. Francis Hincks. 3:177-88 Mr 73
Depreciation of bank stocks. K.N.McFee. RB2:692-5 Je 79
The personal responsibility of bank directors. A.T.Innes. (Rep from Contemporary Review) RB8:266-80 Mr 82

BARNES, Charles Lee 1857-
The kingfisher. [P] RB8:45 Ja 82
Sonnet. [P] RB8:369 Ap 82
BATTLEFIELDS
The ravages of peace. William Withrow 4:177-8 S 73
The scars of a recent conflict. Daniel Clark. RB1:216-25 Ag 78

BAWDEN, Joseph
Ancient society. [R] 13:494-9 My 78
Notes on surnames. RB4:504-11 My 80

BEACONSFIELD, Benjamin Disraeli, Earl of. 1804-1881
The schoolboy days of the Earl of Beaconsfield. D.F. 12:154-9 Ag 77
see also BOOK REVIEWS

BEATY, James 1831-

BECKWITH, N.W.
Our Canadian forests. 1:527-32 Je 72
Canadian ship-building. 3:457-69 Je 73
British, American and British-American ships. 5:461-80 Je 74
Legend of the Kini-Balii. 6:114-28 Ag 74
Seven years past. [P] 6:423-4 N 74
People you don't know. 10:406-12 N 76
The Bugis princess. [F] 11:616-29 Je 77

BEECHER, Henry Ward 1813-1887
Jonathon's sentiments towards John. (Rep from Christian Union) 5:261-2 Mr 74

BEEMER, Nelson Henry 1853-
Medical education. RB4:632-5 Je 80

BEERS, William George 1843-1900 [see also SHEBAYGO, pseud]
Cheek. 2:256-62 S 72
Wild duck. 5:34-43 Ja 74
A land-lubber at sea. 11:379-91 Ap 77

BEGG, William Proudfoot 1843-
Alexander McLachlan's poems and songs. 12:355-62 O 77

BELL, James W.
German socialists and the last Reichstag. RB6:37-46 Ja 81

BELL, John Allison
Tower Woods, Halifax, N.S. [P] RB6:52-3 Ja 81
A strain from the sea-sicle. [P] RB8:225-6 Mr 82

BENEDICT, Hester A.
A day dream. [P] 7:66 Ja 75

BERMUDA
Bermuda. Shirley [pseud]. 11:392-6 Ap 77
BESANT, Walter
see also BOOK REVIEWS

BETTS, F.P.
Summer travel: Kingston. 10:112-9 Ag 76

BIART, Lucien
What a woman will do. [F] (Tr) 4:193-210 S 73
Silveria: scenes from Mexican life. [F] (Tr) 4:397-417 N 73

BILDAD [pseud]
The pulpit and revivalism: a lay sermon. 11:480-4 My 77
What can we know of the future life? 13:626-9 Je 78

BIOLOGY
The jelly-fish: notes of recent discoveries in rudimentary biology.
J.A. Allen. 11:407-11 Ap 77

BLACK, William 1841-1898
12:1-23 J1, 105-23 Ag, 213-31 S, 321-43 O, 480-500 N, 612-27 D 77;
13:1-22 Ja 78
see also BOOK REVIEWS

BLISS, William Blowers 1795-1874
The marriage hymn of Julia and Manlius. [P] 3:469-71 Je 73

BOODLE, R.W.
Modern pessimism. RB3:591-601 D 79
Mr. Mallock: a retrospect. [R] RB4:195-203 Fe 81
The Arthur of history and romance. RB5:582-8 D 80
The Idylls of the King: their growth and meaning. RB6:379-98 Ap 81
Emulation as an element in poetry. RB7:33-7 J1 81
From Virgil. [P] RB7:198 Ag 81
Mr. Mallock's Romance of the Nineteenth Century. [R] RB7:322-7 S 81
England's Ragnarok: a political essay. RB7:442-58 N 81
Notes upon Romeo and Juliet. RB8:470-80 My 82

BOOK REVIEWS
Abbott, Benjamin Vaughan
RB5:328-9 S 80
Abbott, Edwin A.
How to Parse. Boston: Roberts. Toronto: Hart & Rawlinson. RB1:639 N 78
About, Edward
RB5:441-2 O 80
BOOK REVIEWS (continued)

Adams, J.
Electricity. Toronto. 11:674-77 Je 77

Adams, W. Davenport
Toronto: Adam. RB1:116-7 Jl 78

Ainslie, Herbert
Higher Law. London: Tinsley. 2:382-3 0 72
1:567 Je 72

Alcott, Louisa May
Rose in Bloom. Toronto: Hart & Rawlinson, 1876. 11:226-7 Fe 77
RB1: 637 N 78

Allen, Grant
Physiological Aesthetics. London: King. 12:98-9 Jl 77

Amos, Sheldon

Anonymous
10:89 Jl 76
The Auriphone and Its Future. Toronto: Rose-Belford. RB1:120 Jl 78
The Canadian Academy of Arts. Ottawa, 1879. RB4:219-20 Fe 80

History of the Dominion of Canada. Montreal: Lovell. 11:567 My 77
Toronto: Copp, Clark. 7:102 Ja 75

RB1:384 S 78

Picturesque America. N.Y.: Appleton. 5:268-9 Mr 74
Science Text Books. London: Collins. 4:174-5 Ag 73
Supernatural Religion. Toronto: Rose-Belford. RB2:626-8 My, 742-8 Je 79
Unorthodox London. London. 4:484-500 D 73

Appleton's New Handy Volume Series, No. 1-5. N.Y.: Appleton. Toronto:
Hart & Rawlinson. RB1:254-5 Ag 78

Arber, Edward
Mr. Edward Arber's English Reprints. Toronto: Willing & Williamson.
RB4:107-8 Ja 80

Archer, Andrew

Armstrong, T.C.L.

Arnold, Edwin
BOOK REVIEWS (continued)

Arnold, Matthew


Audiffret, Emile d'


Author of Anne Dysart

Sir John. N.Y.Harper. RB4:330 Mr 80

Author of Blue Roses


Author of Heaps of Money

Mademoiselle de Mersac. Toronto:Willing & Williamson. RB5:102-3 J1 80

Author of My Little Lady

Ersilia. N.Y.:Holt. 10:180-1 Ag 76

Author of The Queen of Connaught

The Dark Colleen. N.Y. & Montreal:Lovell,Adam,Wesson. 11:679-80 Je 77

Author of Society in St. Petersburg


Ayres, Anne


Aytown, William Edmonstone

Lays of the Scottish Cavaliers, and Other Poems. Rouse's Point, N.Y.: International. 1:189 Fe 72

Baird, Spencer F.

Annual Record for Science and Industry for 1872. N.Y.:Harper. 4:87 J1 73

Baker, Samuel W.


Balfour, John H.

First Book of Botany. London:Collins. 2:475 N 72

Beaconsfield, Earl of


Beard, George M.

Hay Fever, or Summer Catarrh. N.Y.:Harper. 10:271 S 76

Beckwith, Arthur

Majolica and Fayence. N.Y.:Appleton. 11:563 My 77

Bedouler, Emile de la


Beecher, Henry Ward

The Life of Jesus, the Christ. Toronto:Campbell. 1:382-4 Ap 72

Belanger, J.A.


Bengough, J.W.

The Grip Cartoons, I & II. Toronto:Rogers & Larminie. 8:269 S 75

Benjamin, S.G.W.

BOOK REVIEWS (continued)

Bentzon, T.

Besant, Walter
Celia's Arbour. With James Rice. Toronto:Rose-Belford. 13:682-3 Je 78
RB2:628-9 My 79

Bishops and clergy of the Anglican Church
The Holy Bible, I:The Pentateuch. N.Y.:Scribner. 1:183-5 Fe 72

Black, William
Macleod of Dare. Montreal:Dawson. Toronto:Rose-Belford. RB1:640 N 78
Maid of Killeena, and Other Stories. N.Y.:Harper. 7:460 My 75
White Wings. N.Y.Harper. Toronto:Campbell. RB5:557-8 N 80

Blackie, John Stuart
Four Phases of Morals. Edinburgh:Edmonston & Douglas. 1:569 Je 72

Blackmore, R.D.
Clara Vaughan. N.Y.:Harper. RB5:220-3 Ag 80

Bliss, William R.
Paradise in the Pacific. N.Y.:Sheldon. Rev. 4:301-7 O 73

Boardman, George Dana

Brackenbury, Captain

Brassey, Annie
A Voyage in the Sunbeam. Toronto:Rose-Belford. RB2:120-2 Ja 79

Brassey, Thomas
Work and Wages. N.Y.:Appleton. 2:472-5 N 72

British Immigrant [pseud]
The Political Destiny of Canada. Montreal, 1879. RB4:217 Fe 80

Brougham, Lord Henry

Broughton, Rhoda
Joan: A Tale. N.Y.:Appleton. 12:101-2 J1 77
Second Thoughts. N.Y.:Appleton. Toronto:Hart & Rawlinson. RB5:335 S 80

Browning, Robert
Fifine at the Fair, and Other Poems. Boston:Osgood. 2:285-7 S 72

Bryant, William Cullen

Buchanan, Robert
The Land of Lorne. N.Y.:Felt. Toronto:Adam,Stevenson. 1:188 Fe 72
11:226 Fe 77

Bucke, Richard Maurice
Rev. by P.E.B. RB5:51-9 J1 80
BOOK REVIEWS (continued)

Buckle, Henry Thomas

_History of Civilization in England._ Toronto: Rose-Belford. RB2: 252-3

Fe 79

Buckley, Arabella B.


RB2: 736 Je 79

Bulles, Arthur

_Petites Chroniques pour 1877._ Quebec: Darveau. 13: 330-1 Mr 78

_Le Saguenay et la Vallée du Lac St. Jean._ Quebec: Coté, 1880.

Rev. by W. Kingsford. RB7: 221-33 S 81

Burn, R. Scott


Burnand, F.C.

_Through the Keep-It-Dark Continent, or How I Found Stanley._ Toronto: Rose-Belford. RB1: 639 N 78

Burritt, Elihu

_Chips from Many Blocks._ Toronto: Rose-Belford. RB1: 118-9 J1 78

Burton, John Hill

_History of Scotland, I._ Edinburgh: Blackwood. 3: 453 My 73

Busch, Moritz

_Bismarck in the Franco-German War, 1870-1._ Toronto & Chicago: Belfords, Clarke. RB3: 445 O 79

Bushnell, Horace


Butler, Samuel


RB1: 68-78 J1 78

Butt, Beatrice May

_Hester._ N.Y.: Appleton. Toronto: Hart & Rawlinson, 1879. RB4: 101-2 Ja 80


Cairnes, J.E.


Toronto: Adam, Stevenson. 8: 182-4 Ag 75

Cairns, John


RB7: 217-8 Ag 81

Cameron, Verney Lovett


J1 77

Campbell, Duncan

_Nova Scotia._ Montreal: Lovell. 5: 179-82 Fe 74

_History of Prince Edward Island._ Charlottetown: Bremner, 1875. 9: 80-2 Ja 76

_The Canadian Academy of Arts._ Ottawa, 1879. RB4: 219-20 Fe 80


RB4: 593-600 Je 80
BOOK REVIEWS (continued)

Capell, Rev. Monsignor
A Reply. N.Y.:Appleton. 7:369 Ap 75

Carlyle, Thomas
The Early Kings of Norway. N.Y.:Harper. 8:80-2 J1 75
Rev. by L. Murray. RB7:121-33 Ag 81

Carmichael, James

Carpenter, W.B.
Principles of Mental Physiology. N.Y.:Appleton. 5:554-5 Je 74

Carroll, John
My Boy Life. Toronto:Briggs. RB8:222 Fe 82

Cartwright, C.E.
Life and Letters of the Late Hon. Richard Cartwright, ed. Toronto:
Belford, 1876. 11:107 Ja 77

Cassell's History of the War Between France and Germany. I. London,
Paris & N.Y.:Cassell,Petter & Galpin. 1:189 Fe, 2:188-9 Ag 72

Cesnola, Louis
Toronto:Hart & Rawlinson. RB1:500-10 O 78

Chambers, William
Memoir of Robert Chambers. N.Y.:Scribner,Armstrong. 1:564-5 Je 72

Chandler, Amos Henry
Lyrics, Songs and Sonnets. With Charles Pelham Mulvany. Toronto:Hunter,
Rose. RB4:663-4 Je 80

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Mr 76

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BOOK REVIEWS (continued)

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0 81

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6:572 D 74

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BOOK REVIEWS (continued)

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1:379-81 Ap 72

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Ja 72

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From the Earth to the Moon. 5:96 Ja 74

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BOOK REVIEWS (continued)

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Wedmore, Frederick


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The Canadian Militia. 7:461 My 75

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BOOK REVIEWS (continued)

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Yorke, Onslow


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Yule, Mrs. J.C.

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BOOKS AND READING

see also BOOKS RECEIVED

CURRENT LITERATURE

LITERARY NOTES


An old book. John Reade. 9:21-5 Ja 76

Method in reading. Amy Rye. RB5:135-7 Ag 80

BOOKS RECEIVED

11:111 Ja, 227-7 Fe, 343 Mr, 455-6 Ap, 567 My, 680 Je 77; 12:102-3 J1 77;
13:112 Ja, 224 Fe, 332 Mr, 444 Ap, 556 My 78; RB3:112 J1 79

BOTANY

A few words about ferns. Aurora [pseud]. 7:163-6 Fe 75

Weeds in water-works. A.F. Kemp. RB4:628-31 Je 80

A talk about flowers. Mary Morgan. RB7:459-64 N 81

BOURDILLON, F.W.

Gathered roses. [P] RB3:369 O 79

BOURINOT, John George 1837-1902

From the Great Lakes to the sea. 1:538-45 Je 72

Notes from Ottawa. 2:170-3 Ag 72

Canada on the sea. 3:89-98 Fe 73
The old forts of Acadia. 5:369-78 My 74
The Ottawa Valley: its history and resources. 7:41-55 Ja 75
Canadian historic names. 7:289-300 Ap 75
The House of Commons in session. 11:279-87 Mr 77
The old Japanese cabinet. [F] 12:139-52 Ag 77
Titles in Canada. 12:344-50 O 77
Through the phosphate country to the desert. 13:23-31 Ja 78
Mr. Speaker. 13:129-36 Fe 78
Forms and usages: a parliamentary study. RB2:291-301 Mr 79
The national development of Canada. RB4:225-337 Mr 80
The late Judge Marshall, or, the record of an earnest life. RB4:516-21
My 80
The intellectual development of the Canadian people. RB5:628-37 D 80;
RB6:3-14 Ja, 108-24 Fe, 219-34 Mr 81
The island of Cape Breton. RB8:329-338 Ap 82

BOYD, John Anderson
February. [P] 1:126 Fe 72

BOYLE, David 1842-1911
Kee-Ohim-Ah-Tik. [P] RB5:27-8 J1 80

BRASSEY, Annie
A voyage in the Sunbeam. (Rep from A Voyage in the Sunbeam) RB1:
385-400 O 78
see also BOOK REVIEWS

BRASSEY, Thomas
about
A true captain of industry. [R] Anon. 2:309-23 O 72
see also BOOK REVIEWS

BRIC-à-BRAC
RB5:111-2 J1, 223-4 Ag, 335-6 S, 447-8 O, 560 N, 672 D 80; RB6:105-6 Ja,
218 Fe, 330 Mr, 553-4 My, 661-2 Je 81; RB7:106-8 J1, 218-20 Ag,
331-2 S, 439-40 O, 550-2 N, 657-8 D 81; RB8:110-2 Ja, 222-4 Fe,
327-8 Mr, 440 Ap, 551-2 My, 657-9 Je 82

BRITISH COLUMBIA
Our new provinces: British Columbia. W.F.Coffin. 3:361-72 My 73
A potlatch among our West Coast Indians. J.D.Edgar. 6:93-9 Ag 74
Queen Charlotte Islands. T.C.Porter. 7:412-4 My 75
British Columbia and its relations to the Dominion. F.J.R. 10:369-76
N 76

BRONTE, Charlotte 1816-1855
about
Charlotte Bronte's birthplace. Georgiana M.Craik. 9:264-7 Ap 76

BROOKS, Phillips 1835-1893
about
The Rev. Phillips Brooks on 'Popular Scepticism'. Laon [pseud].
RB3:26-31 J1 79
BROWN, David K.  
Burns and Ferguson.  RB4:63-73  Ja 80  
One day in seven.  RB4:423-8  Ap, 527-31  My 80  
The drink question.  RB5:606-13  D 80  
Modern life and nervous force.  RB8:122-9  Fe 82

BROWN, George  1818-1880  
about  
The late Honourable George Brown.  Anon.  RB4:656-7  Je 80

BROWN, William  
The philosophy of immigration.  RB2:696-701  Je 79

BROWNING, T.B.  
Communism.  13:478-88  My, 577-87  Je 78

BRUCE, E.C.  
About some fire mountains.  RB1:641-56  D 78  
Something more about volcanoes.  RB2:157-69  Fe 79

BRYCE, George  1844-1931  
Our new provinces: Manitoba.  3:372-8  My 73  
Fragment of Canadian history.  [R]  5:273-80  Ap 74

BRYMNER, Douglas  1823-1902  

BUCHAN, J.M.  
The land of the pygmies.  [R]  6:439-46  N 74  
A visit to some of the Detroit schools.  8:483-6  D 75  
The scientific treatment of history.  13:366-74  Ap 78  
George Eliot, the novelist.  RB6:255-69  Mr 81

BUCK, Edgar  
Song's pinions.  [P]  RB8:258  Mr 82

BUCKLAND, Cecil  
In the Carlist country.  RB2:513-24  My 79

BUCKLE, Henry Thomas  1821-1862  
about  
The life and writings of Buckle.  [R] Francis Rye.  RB5:150-8  Ag 80  
see also BOOK REVIEWS

BUDDHISM  
Buddha and Buddhism.  Fidelis [pseud].  13:35-42  Ja, 165-71  Fe 78  
Buddhism and Christianity.  Fidelis [pseud].  13:509-20  My 78  
The light of Asia.  [R] Frederick T.Jones.  RB4:584-92  Je 80

BURNS, Robert  1759-1796  
about  
Burns and Ferguson.  David K. Brown.  RB4:63-73  Ja 80
BURRITT, Elihu 1811-1879
The American and British 'Down-East'. 11:500-5 Je 77
The integration of the British Empire: from an American standpoint.
12:124-33 Ag 77
The reality and mission of ideal characters. RB2:145-56 Fe 79

see also BOOK REVIEWS

Burton, John 1834-1897
Mosaic and mosaic? RB7:317-22 S 81

BUTLER, Samuel 1835-1902
about
Butler's Hudibras. L.C.Allison. RB1:68-78 J1 78

BYGRAVE, Hilary
A spring song. [P] RB6:540-1 My 81
The two ships. [P] RB6:634-5 Je 81

A BYSTANDER [pseud] see SMITH, Goldwin

C.
Queen Victoria in Italy. RB2:605-7 My 79

C., A.
Goethe's Faust. 9:123-9 Fe 76
What is genius? RB5:637-8 D 80

C., E.J.
A memory. [P] 6:215-6 S 74
The pilgrimage to Kevlaar: from the German of Heine. [P] (Tr) 12:452-4 N 77

C., G.
The new life. 11:258-61 Mr 77

C., J.
New Year's Eve. [P] RB4:61-2 Ja 80

C., M.L.
The well of St. Keyne. 10:345-9 O 76

C., R.
Canada: a visitor's farewell. [P] 4:516 D 73

C., S.C.
Mystery. [P] 6:308 0 74

C., T.
The recent cricket match and some of its lessons. RB1:608-15 N 78
C., W.E.
A glance at the Revolutionary War. 11:516-8 My 77

C. W.F. [see also ?COFFIN, William F.]

CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY
How I was rusticated from Cambridge. Anon. (Rep from Temple Bar) 1:471-4 My 72
Reminiscences of some Cambridge professors. Henry Scadding. (Rep from Leaves They have Touched) 7:201-8 Mr 75

CAMERON, John
Experiences of the great North-West. 8:371-8 N 75

CAMPBELL, Alexander
The land of the Matabele. 9:18-20 Ja 76

CAMPBELL, Belle 1830-1887 [see also CAMPBELL, Elizabeth]
Margaret's sorrow. [F] RB2:685-91 Je 79
Just for fun. [F] RB5:61-5 J1 80

CAMPBELL, Clarence Thomas 1843-1922
Concerning old age. 1:448-52 My 72

CAMPBELL, Elizabeth [see also CAMPBELL, Belle]
How it happened. [F] RB3:396-401 O 79

CAMPBELL, Robert 1835-1921
The mental hospitality of the Scot. RB8:79-86 Ja 82

CAMPBELL, Thomas 1777-1844
Thomas Campbell, a criticism. William Lyall. RB1:187-97 Ag 78

CANADA [pseud]
To H.R.H. the Princess Louise. [P] RB4:544-5 My 80

CANADA
see also ART
CURRENT EVENTS
Individual Provinces
The national development of Canada. J.G.Bourinot. RB4:225-337 Mr 80

Architecture
Architecture in Canada. R.C.Windeyer. RB3:482-7 N 79
Census
The Canadian census of 1871. Arthur Harvey. 1:97-104 Fe 72
Ten years' progress. J. Costley. 5:1-14 Ja 74

Civil Service
The public service of the Dominion. E.A. Meredith. 3:1-12 Ja 73
Civil service reform. G.E. Casey. 11:83-91 Ja 77

Colonization
Queen Charlotte Islands. T.G. Porter. 7:412-4 My 75

Commerce
Our commercial relations with the United States. J. McL. 1:214-8 Mr 72
The growth of Canadian commerce. James Young. 1:387-91 My 72
The situation: commercial and financial. James Young. 8:123-31 Ag 75
The four fat and the four lean years. James Young. 13:186-9 Fe 78

Confederation
Colonel Gray on Confederation. A Bystander [pseud]. 2:173-83 Ag 72
Our new provinces: British Columbia. W.F. Coffin. 3:361-72 My 73
Our new provinces: Manitoba. George Bryce. 3:372-8 My 73
Confederation in Nova Scotia: a crisis past. Anon. 4:361-75 N 73
British Columbia and its relations to the Dominion. F.J.R. 10:369-76 N 76

Conservation
Our Canadian forests. N.W. Beckwith. 1:527-32 Je 72
The Thousand Islands. Fidelis [pseud]. 6:42-5 J1 74
Forest destruction. P.S.H. RB3:136-45 Ag 79
Fashionable murder. P.S.H. RB4:280-6 Mr 80

Currency
Old colonial currencies. Samuel E. Dawson. 1:326-33 Ap 72

Description and Travel
Down the St. Lawrence on a raft. [W.A. Foster] 6:343-55 0 74
The Ottawa Valley: its history and resources. J.G. Bourinot. 7:41-55 Ja 75
Up the Saguenay to Ha-Ha Bay and Chicoutimi. J.Aleyne. 8:35-7 J1 75
Experiment of the great North-West. J. Cameron. 8:371-8 N 75
Around Lake Ontario: notes of a holiday cruise. F.F. Manley. 10:46-59 J1 76
Kingston and the Thousand Islands. F.P. Betts. 10:112-9 Ag 76
Lake Memphremagog. J. Aleyne. 10:120-1 Ag 76
Among the sea-trout. A.W. Powell. 10:434-8 N 76
The American and British 'Down-Easters'. Elihu Burritt. 11:590-5 Je 77
Through the phosphate country to the desert. J.G. Bourinot. 13:23-31 Ja 78
The northern lakes of Ontario. Anon. RB3:1-8 J1 79
The scene of Evangeline. G.A.MacKenzie. RB3:337-43 O 79
Winnipegosis. W.F.Munro. RB3:473-81 N 79
A fishing trip to Muskoka. H.V.P. RB5:13-20 J1 80
On the basin of Minas. T.Cross. RB5:471-4 N 80
The north land. S.Reid. RB6:622-4 Je 81
The Saguenay and Lake St. John. [R] W.Kingsford. RB7:221-33 S 81
The island of Cape Breton. J.G.Bourinot. RB8:329-38 Ap 82

Economic Policy
Our public indebtedness. A.T.Drummond. 10:461-8 D 76
The cost of government in Canada. W.McDonnell. RB4:173-7 Fe 80
The financial situation in Canada. James Hedley. RB5:84-7 J1 80
What is money? G.Manigault. RB5:412-8 O 80

Geography
The new Canada: its natural features and climate. Charles Mair. 8:1-8 J1 75
The new Canada; its resources and productions. Charles Mair. 8:156-64 Ag 75
The ice phenomena and the tides of the Bay of Fundy considered in connection with the construction of the Baie Verte Canal. Henry Y. Hind. 8:189-203 S 75
Rain and rainfall in Canada. T.H.M. 11:192-6 Fe 77

History
The romance of the wilderness missions. M.J.Griffin. 1:344-53 Ap 72
Early phases of British rule in Canada. Fennings Taylor. 2:239-50 S 72
The last of the Hurons. W.H.Withrow. 2:409-17 N 72
An old Canadian town. Fidelis [pseud]. 4:1-18 J1 73
Toronto of old. Daniel Wilson. 4:89-96 Ag 73
Fragment of Canadian history. [R] George Bryce. 5:273-80 Mr 74
The old forts of Acadia. J.G.Bourinot. 5:369-78 My 74
The Iroquois. Thomas Cross. 5:402-9 My 74
Early French settlements in America. J.Langton. 5:502-13 Je 74
The old régime in Canada. [R] Anon. 6:485-93 D 74
Wolfe and old Quebec. Daniel Wilson. 7:105-13 Fe 75
Canadian historic names. J.G.Bourinot. 7:289-300 Ap 75
Titles in Canada. J.G.Bourinot. 12:344-50 O 77
Stewart's Canada under Lord Dufferin. [R] W.F.Rattray. RB1:733-40 D 78
Nelson at Quebec. Henry H.Miles. RB2:257-75 Mr 79
Canadian life in the country fifty years ago. Canniff Haight. RB4: 2-12 Ja, 561-74 Je 80
Annapolis Royal and the expatriation of the Acadians. Arthur Harvey. RB5:337 O 80
The early years of Three Rivers. [R] William Kingsford. RB5:449-60
A forgotten hero: Jacques Cartier. Annie Walker. RB6:88-95 Ja 81
Ontario fifty years ago and now. Canniff Haight. RB6:443-54 My, 556-77, Je 81; RB7:283-92 S 81
Illustrations of Canadian life. William Wye Smith. RB8:155-68 Fe, 226-35 Mr, 515-23 My 82

Immigration
Immigration. Thomas White. 1:193-200 Mr 72
The immigrant in Canada. Thomas White. 2:2-8 J1 72
The gentleman emigrant. [R] Anon. 6:515-21 D 74
Juvenile pauper immigration. A Canadian [pseud]. 12:292-8 S 77
The philosophy of immigration. William Brown. RB2:696-701 Je 79
The Chinese question. Jasper H. Preston. RB7:81-3 J1 81
The Chinese question. G.M. Grant. RB7:207-11 Ag 81

Indians
The half-breeds of Red River. Anon. 2:303-7 O 72
The last of the Hurons. William Henry Withrow. 2:409-17 N 72
The Iroquois. Thomas Cross. 5:402-9 My 74
A potlatch among our West Coast Indians. J.D. Edgar. 6:93-9 Ag 74
An Indian legend. J.B. 13:201-3 Fe 78
In the North-West with Sitting Bull. E.D. Clark. RB5:66-73 J1 80
Canada and her Indian tribes. William Leggo. RB5:139-49 Ag 80
A legend of the upper Ottawa. P.A.X. [pseud]. RB5:279-85 S 80

Intellectual Life
Old and new in Canada. W.D. Le Sueur. 7:1-9 Ja 75
The intellectual progress of Canada. James Douglas. 7:465-76 Je 75
Canadian culture. J.E. Wells. 8:459-67 D 75
The academy and the grove in Canada. I.A. Jack. RB1:454-61 O 78
The intellectual development of the Canadian people. J.G. Bourinot. RB5:628-37 D 80; RB6:3-14 Ja, 108-24 Fe, 219-34 Mr 81

Journalism
The London and Canadian press. N.F. Davin. 5:118-28 Fe 74
The newspaper press and the law of libel. J. King. 8:394-405 N 75
The press association and its objects. J. King. 9:529-34 Je 76
The Bennett case. N.F. Davin. RB5:300-8 S 80
The colonist organ's attack on freedom of discussion. William Norris. RB7:166-72 Ag 81
Editor and contributor. Ishmael [pseud]. RB8:511-4 My 82

Land Transfer
Suggestion for the amendment of the laws relating to land. G.S. Holmested. 9:322-6 Ap 76
The simplification of the transfer of land. G.S. Holmested. 11:76-82 Ja 77
The law of succession to land in Ontario. G.S.Holmested. 12:475-80 N 77
Mills' land bill for the Northwest Territories. G.S.Holmested. RB1:78-84 J1 78

Law

Legislation upon insolvency. R.M.F. 2:419-23 N 72
A tragedy of errors. D.B.Read. RB5:167-9 Ag 80
The Bennett case. Nicholas Flood Davin. RB5:300-8 S 80
The legal responsibilities of criminals. Machaon [pseud]. RB5:541-7 N 80
Parliamentary law affecting lawyers in parliament. Thomas Hodgins.
RB7:333-43 0 81

Loyalists

Relics of loyalty, or scraps from the catacombs. U.E.L. [pseud]. 8: 215-21 S 75

Militia

Our militia. Miles [pseud]. 5:185-91 Mr 74
A plea for the militia. Two Militiamen [pseud]. RB2:192-9 Fe 79
The militia system of Canada. Centurion [pseud]. RB4:293-301 Mr 80
Imperial federation and Canadian defences. Salter M.Jarvis. RB4:449-58 My 80
Amateur soldiers and permanent protectors. Machaon [pseud]. RB7:40-6 J1 81

Nationalism

see also CANADA and GREAT BRITAIN
CANADA and the UNITED STATES
CURRENT EVENTS

Great Britain, Canada and the United States. Anon. 1:453-66 My 72
Imperial and colonial confederation. A.T.Drummond. 7:406-11 My 75
The political future of Canada. Jehu Mathews. 8:54-61 J1, 89-98 Ag 75
Canadian nationality and its opponents. William Norris. 8:237-43 S 75
Why imperial federation is impracticable. Roswell Fisher. 8:334-8 O 75
Canada's alternatives. Roswell Fisher. 8:428-32 N 75
A criticism of critics. Jehu Mathews. 8:495-503 D 75
The earth and man. Rev. Canon O'Meara. 9:253-61 Ap 76
British connection: ideal and real. A.M.B. 10:413-8 N 76
The political destiny of Canada. Goldwin Smith. (Rep from Fortnightly Review) 11:596-614 Je 77
The political destiny of Canada. Francis Hincks. 12:56-66 J1 77; RB2: 170-82 Fe 79
The integration of the British Empire: from an American standpoint. Elihu Burritt. 12:124-33 Ag 77
Our future. Argus [pseud]. 12:507-9 N 77
Nationalism and reaction. G.A.Mackenzie. 12:594-601 D 77
The practical principles of Canadian nationalism. William Norris.
13:352-9 Ap 78
Confederation of Canada with Britain in relation to the Canada Pacific Railway. B.A.Whitman. RB2:319-27 Mr 79
The Canada Pacific Railway and imperial confederation: a reply. Roswell Fisher. RB2:543-6 My 79
Political morality. Carroll Ryan. RB3:402-10 0 79
Canadian nationality: a present-day plea. William Norris. RB4:113-8 Fe 80
Federation, annexation or independence? Granville C. Cunningham. RB4:242-52 Mr 80
A criticism of Mr. Norris's article on 'Canadian Nationality'. Benjamin W. R. Tayler. RB4:394-6 Ap 80
Canada's difficulties. Roswell Fisher. RB4:521-6 My 80
Commercial union with the United States. A. McGoun. RB5:1-11 J1 80
Canada's present position and outlook. George M. Grant. RB5:196-210 Ag 80
The future of Canada. Nicholas Flood Davin. RB6:490-8 My 81
The colonist organ's attack on freedom of discussion. William Norris. RB7:166-72 Ag 81
Canada and the Empire: a reply. Thomas Cross. RB7:294-302 S 81
Canadian independence. Francis Hincks. RB7:400-5 0 81
Canadian colonialism and Sir Francis Hincks. William Norris. RB7:501-6 N 81
Is Canadian loyalty a sentiment or a principle? Alpheus Todd. RB7:523-30 N 81
The true idea of Canadian loyalty. William D. LeSueur. RB8:1-11 Ja 82
The colonial status quo vs. Canadian independence. Anon. RB8:113-121 Fe 82
The future of Canada. J. W. Longley. RB8:147-54 Fe 82
Our English critics. Thomas Cross. RB8:532-5 My 82

National Revenue
Exemption from municipal taxation: a plea for its abolition. W. F. MacLean. 10:311-6 0 76
The indemnity and tax exemption questions. W. McDonnell. RB3:417-9 0 79

Natural History
A glance within the forest. Catherine Parr Traill. 6:48-53 J1 74
Voices from the Canadian woods: the white cedar. Catherine Parr Traill. 9:491-4 Je 76
Our forest trees. Catherine Parr Traill. RB1:90-5 J1 78

Natural Resources
Our Canadian forests. N. W. Beckwith. 1:527-32 Je 72
The Thousand Islands. Fidelis [pseud]. 6:42-5 J1 74
Ice-cutting on Lake Huron. Morgan Coldwell. 7:135-41 Fe 75
Forest destruction. P. S. H. RB3:136-45 Ag 79

Navigation
From the Great Lakes to the sea. J. G. Bourinot. 1:538-45 Je 72
Canada on the sea. J. G. Bourinot. 3:89-98 Fe 73
Concerning Canadian ship-building: its record and resources. N. W. Beckwith. 3:457-69 Je 73
The ice phenomena and the tides of the Bay of Fundy considered in connection with the construction of the Baie Verte Canal. Henry Y. Hind. 8:189-203 S 75
Oratory
Great speeches. Nicholas Flood Davin. RB6:270-85 Mr 81

Parliament
An historical night in the old Canadian parliament. Samuel James Watson. 1:64-71 Ja 72
The Dominion parliament. A Bystander [pseud]. 2:56-7 J1 72
Notes from Ottawa. J.G.Bourinot. 2:170-3 Ag 72
Notes on the session. Anon. 3:520-36 Je 73
The House of Commons in session. J.G.Bourinot. 11:279-87 Mr 77
Mr. Speaker. J.G.Bourinot. 13:129-36 Fe 78
Forms and usages: a parliamentary study. J.G.Bourinot. RB2:291-301 Mr 79
The duration of the legislative assembly. Alfred H.Dymond. RB2:470-86 Ap 79
The powers of Canadian legislatures. S.J.Watson. RB3:519-28 N 79
The powers of Canadian parliaments. S.J.Watson. RB3:561-71 D 79
The change required in the Senate. Lex [pseud]. RB4:277-9 Mr 80
The mace and its use. Charles Clarke. RB7:109-20 Ag 81
Parliamentary law affecting lawyers in parliament. Thomas Hodgins. RB7:333-43 O 81

Political Boundaries
The unsettled boundaries of Ontario. Charles Lindsey. 2:114-33 Ag 72
The northern and western boundaries awarded to Ontario. Parliamentum [pseud]. RB8:379-88 Ap 82

Politics and Government
Political struggles on both sides of the line. Anon. 2:263-73 S 72
Political corruption. Anon. 2:366-78 O 72
Railway reform: the Canada Pacific Railway. David Mills. 2:437-44 N 72
Notes on the ballot. Fennings Taylor. 3:488-97 Je 73
The argument from scandal. Nicholas Flood Davin. RB2:580-3 My 79
Political morality. Carroll Ryan. RB3:402-10 O 79
The prerogative of the Crown in colonial legislation. Thomas Hodgins. RB5:385-97 O 80
The prospects of the Liberal party. A Liberal [pseud]. RB6:429-33 Ap 81
The welfare of Canada. William Caniff. RB7:89-93 J1 81
Politics considered as a fine art. James W.Longley. RB7:418-25 O 81
The power of disallowance and its national importance. James Cockburn. RB8:292-5 Mr, 420-31 Ap 82
The study of Canadian politics. Hugh Pedley. RB8:361-369 Ap 82

Post Office
The growth of the post office. T.C.B.Fraser. RB2:677-84 Je 79
Time Zones
Uniform non-local time. Canadensis [pseud]. 13:648-51 Je 78

Trade
The trade of Canada during 1871-1872. James Young. 3:221-3 Mr 73
Free trade and protection. G. Manigault. 5:214-23 Mr 74
The advantages of protective tariffs. R. Phipps. 9:303-12 Ap, 523-7 My 76
The latest gospel of protection. Roswell Fisher. 9:403-7 My 76
The alliance of democracy and protection. John MacLean. RB2:723-7 Je 79
Protection and free trade. A Freelance [pseud]. RB8:499-508 My 82

Transportation
Railway reform: the Canada Pacific Railway. David Mills. 2:437-44 N 72
Canada Pacific and its railway rivals. James Douglas. 4:457-71 D 73
Present condition of the survey of the Canadian Pacific Railway. James Douglas. 6:229-48 S 74
The Grand Trunk Railway. M. Butt Hewson. 8:275-91 O 75
Confederation of Canada with Britain in relation to the Canada Pacific Railway. B. A. Whitman. RB2:319-27 Mr 79
The Canada Pacific Railway and imperial confederation: a reply. Roswell Fisher. RB2:543-6 My 79
The Canadian Pacific Railway. [R] M. Butt Hewson. RB3:359-69 O 79
Literature connected with the Canadian Pacific Railway. Nicholas Flood Davin. RB8:583-8 Je 82

Treaties
The Treaty of Washington. Charles Lindsey. 1:2-17 Ja 72
The North American Zolverein. Charles Lindsey. 1:132-6 Fe 72
Notes of the Qu'Appelle Treaty. F. L. Hunt. 9:173-81 Mr 76
How treaty-making unmade Canada. W. F. Coffin. 9:349-59 My 76
Canada and her Indian tribes. [R] William Leggo. RB5:139-49 Ag 80

CANADA AND GREAT BRITAIN

see also CANADA Nationalism
COPYRIGHT LAWS
CURRENT EVENTS
The Treaty of Washington. Charles Lindsey. 1:2-17 Ja 72
Great Britain, Canada and the United States. Anon. 1:453-66 My 72
Imperial and colonial confederation. A. Drummond. 7:406-11 My 75
Why imperial federation is impracticable. Roswell Fisher. 8:334-8 O 75
British connection: ideal and real. A. M. B. 10:413-8 N 76
The integration of the British Empire: from an American standpoint. Elihu Burritt. 12:124-33 Ag 77
Federation, annexation or independence? Granville C. Cunningham. RB4:242-52 Mr 78
Imperial federation and Canadian defences. Salter M. Jarvis. RB4:449-58 My 80
The prerogative of the Crown in colonial legislation. Thomas Hodgins. 
RB5:385-97 0 80

CANADA AND THE UNITED STATES

see also CANADA Nationalism
COPYRIGHT LAWS
CURRENT EVENTS

The Treaty of Washington. Charles Lindsey. 1:2-17 Ja 72
The North American Zolverein. Charles Lindsey. 1:132-6 Fe 72
Our commercial relations with the United States. J.McL. 1:214-8 Mr 72
1:354-62 Ap 72
Great Britain, Canada and the United States. Anon. 1:453-66 My 72
Political struggles on both sides of the line. Anon. 2:263-73 S 72
The massacre at the Cedars. Samuel E. Dawson. 5:305-23 Ap 74
Historical sketch of the war of 1812. Fidelis [pseud]. 6:1-24 J1 74
The American and British 'Down-East'. Elihu Burritt. 11:590-5 Je 77
Federation, annexation or independence? Granville C. Cunningham.
RB4:242-52 Mr 80
Commercial union with the United States. A. McGoun. RB5:1-11 J1 80
see also CANADA Nationalism

CANADA EDUCATIONAL MONTHLY

The literature of education in Canada. An Old Head-Master [pseud]. 
RB4:593-600 Je 80

CANADIAN, A. [pseud]

Juvenile pauper immigration. 12:292-8 S 77

CANADENSIS [pseud]

Uniform non-local time. 13:648-51 Je 78

CANADIAN PACIFIC RAILWAY see CANADA Transportation

CANAVAN, W. Birch

Canada's emblem. [P] 1:218 Mr 72

CANNIFF, William 1830-1910

The welfare of Canada. RB7:89-93 J1 81

CARLYLE, Thomas 1795-1881

about

In Memoriam: Thomas Carlyle. Fidelis [pseud]. RB6:316-8 Mr 81
Carlyle and Comte. William Dawson LeSueur. RB6:639-42 Je 81
A defence of Carlyle's Reminiscences. [R] Louisa Murray. RB7:121-33
Ag 81
Thomas Carlyle and Edward Irving. Louisa Murray. RB7:303-15 S 81
see also BOOK REVIEWS
CARO, E.
The end of Bohemia: an essay on the part played by literature and journalism in the recent events in France. (Tr) (Rep from Revue des Deux Mondes) 1:72-8 Ja 72

CAROLS
Christmas Carols. John Hunter-Duvar. 10:494-500 D 76

CARRY, John 1824-1891
Sonnet. [P] 3:511 Je 73

CARTER, F. Henry
Sonnet. [P] RB5:322 S 80

CARTIER, Jacques 1491-1557
about
A forgotten hero: Jacques Cartier. Annie Walker. (Rep from Fraser's Magazine) RB6:88-95 Ja 81

CASEY, George Elliott 1850-1903
Civil service reform. 11:83-91 Ja 77

CATS
The cats of antiquity. J.W. De Forest. (Rep from Atlantic Monthly) 5:438-44 My 74

CAVALRY
Denison's history of cavalry. [R] [F] 13:403-7 Ap 78

CAVENDISH, Henry 1731-1810
about
Henry Cavendish. John Scofferin. (Rep from Stray Leaves of Science and Folklore) 1:158-64 Fe 72

CENTRAL AMERICA
Central American sketches. H.H. 7:233-8 Mr, 340-3 Ap, 436-42 My, 528-32 Je 75; 8:61-7 J1 75

CENTURION [pseud]
The militia system of Canada. RB4:293-301 Mr 80

CESTUS [pseud]
The memory of a song. [P] RB5:21-4 J1 80

CHAMPLAIN, Samuel de 1567-1635
about
The astrolabes of Samuel Champlain and Geoffrey Chaucer. Henry Scadding. RB5:589-601 D 80

CHANDLER, Amos Henry 1837-
June. [P] RB4:627 Je 80

see also BOOK REVIEWS
CHAUCER, Geoffrey 1340-1400
about
The astrolabes of Samuel Champlain and Geoffrey Chaucer. Henry Scadding. RB5:589-601 D 80

CHAUVEAU, Marie
Ma chambrette. [P] (Rep from Journal de l'Instruction Publique) RB1:497-8 0 78

CHEESMAN, James
Agricultural experimental stations. RB6:62-8 Ja 81

Cheetham, William
The song of the press. [P] RB2:547 My 79

CHESS
Chess and chess-players. John White. RB7:391-6 0 81
Another view of chess. S.H. Manchee. RB7:645-8 D 81

CHRISTMAS CARDS
Canadian Christmas cards. Anon. RB7:656-7 D 81

CLARK, Daniel 1835-1912
The poetry of Charles Heavysege. 10:127-34 Ag 76
The scars of a recent conflict. RB1:216-25 Ag 78
An animated molecule and its nearest relatives. RB1:350-69 S 78
Medical manias. RB3:255-69 S 79
Physiology in thought, conduct and belief. RB6:363-77 Ap 81

CLARK, E.D.
In the North-West with 'Sitting Bull'. RB5:66-73 J1 80

CLARKE, Charles 1826-1909
Biennial legislation. RB6:340-1 Ap 81
The mace and its use. RB7:109-20 Ag 81

CLARKE, Rose E.
A peep at convent life and education. RB8:409-19 Ap 82

CLEAVELAND, C.I.
A summer home. [P] 13:576 Je 78

CLELAND, R.
A barbecue in North Mississippi. 13:500-2 My 78

CLEMENS, Samuel Langhorne 1835-1910
A literary nightmare. Mark Twain [pseud]. (Rep from Atlantic Monthly)
9:222-3 Mr 76
Some rambling notes on an idle excursion. [F] Mark Twain [pseud].
12:351-5 0, 446-51 N, 559-64 D 77; 13:74-9 Ja 78
The loves of Alonzo Fitz Clarence and Rosannah Ethelton. [F]
Mark Twain [pseud]. 13:256-65 Mr 78
see also BOOK REVIEWS under Twain, Mark
CLIMATE
The hygiene of the seasons. Alphonse Donne. (Rep from *Change of Air and Scene*) 4:153-60 Ag 73
The climate of Newfoundland. P. Tocque. 10:156-8 Ag 76

CLUNY [pseud]
The hand-clasp. [P] 4:37 J1 73

COCKBURN, James 1819-1883
The power of disallowance and its national importance. RB8:292-5 Mr, 420-31 Ap 82

COFFIN, Family
Relics of loyalty, or scraps from the catacombs. U.E.L. 8:215-21 S 75

COFFIN, William F. 1808-1878 [see also ?C., W.F.]
Our new provinces: British Columbia. 3:361-72 My 73
The death of Brock: a Canadian legend, addressed to the school-boys of Canada. [P] 9:182-5 Mr 76
How treaty-making unmade Canada. 9:349-59 My 76

COLDWELL, Morgan
Ice-cutting on Lake Huron. 7:135-41 Fe 75

COLEMAN, Helena K. 1860-1953
Evening. [P] RB7:88 J1 81

COLEMAN, Rufus A.
How we entered San Juan Harbour. 7:426-8 My 75

COLERIDGE, Samuel Taylor 1772-1834
about
Three friends of mine: De Quincey, Coleridge and Poe. 13:359-65 Ap 78

COLLINS, Joseph Edmund 1855-1892
Stray thoughts at random strewn. RB8:54-61 Ja, 169-78 Fe 82

-COLLINS, Mortimer 1827-1876
A game of chess. [P] (Rep from *Poems*) 4:375 N 73

-COLLINS, Wilkie 1824-1889
The dead alive. [F] 5:16-33 Ja, 128-47 Fe 74
The clergyman's confession. [F] 8:139-45 Ag, 244-9 S 75
The haunted hotel: a mystery of modern Venice. RB1:1-15 J1, 141-61 Ag, 273-88 S, 401-17 O, 529-45 N, 657-72 D 78
about
Wilkie Collins as a novelist. J.L. Stewart. RB1:586-601 N 78
see also BOOK REVIEWS
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Author(s)</th>
<th>Page(s)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>COLONEL [pseud]</td>
<td>Unrest. [F]</td>
<td>RB6:14 Ja 81</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>COLUMBUS, Christopher 1451?-1506</td>
<td>About Christopher Columbus.</td>
<td>L.Hooker. 9:1-9 Ja 76</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>COMMUNISM</td>
<td>Communism.</td>
<td>T.B.Browning. 13:478-88 My, 577-87 Je 78</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CONOLLY, Thomas Louis -1859</td>
<td>About Archbishop Conolly. A Protestant [pseud].</td>
<td>RB6:254-8 S 76</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CONSTANTINOPLE</td>
<td>Constantinople.</td>
<td>Andrew Archer. 11:38-41 Ja 77</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>COOK, W.B.</td>
<td>Religious belief in court.</td>
<td>RB2:728-30 Je 79</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>New aspects of the copyright question.</td>
<td>Graeme Mercer Adam. RB1:369-76 S 78</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>The principles of copyright.</td>
<td>E.Lafleur. RB5:373-81 O 80</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CORNELL UNIVERSITY</td>
<td>Headwaters of Cayuga Lake.</td>
<td>Anon. 4:123-33 Ag 73</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CORNWALL, Barry [pseud]</td>
<td>see PROCTOR, Bryan Waller</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CORPORATIONS</td>
<td>How joint stock companies are manufactured.</td>
<td>Scrutator [pseud]. 10:123-6 Ag 76</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CORSON, Mrs. Caroline Rollins -1901</td>
<td>Modern dress.</td>
<td>1:127-30 Fe 72</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Spiritualism.</td>
<td>10:60-3 J1 76</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Modern controversy.</td>
<td>RB4:459-65 My 80</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Machiavelli and Machiavellism.</td>
<td>RB6:126-34 Fe 81</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CORSON, Hiram 1828-1911</td>
<td>English grammar.</td>
<td>2:68-73 J1 72</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
COSTLEY, John
Ten years' progress. 5:1-14 Ja 74

COWAN, J.S.
From Port Said to Suez. 8:406-11 N 75

COWPER, William 1731-1800

Cowper. Goldwin Smith. 4:213-27 S 73

see also BOOK REVIEWS

CRAIK, Georgiana M.
Charlotte Bronte's birthplace. 9:264-7 Ap 76

CRIME

Crime and its treatment. M. 11:166-73 Fe 77
The legal responsibilities of criminals. Machaon [pseud] RB5:541-7 N 80
Juvenile offenders. D.B.Read. RB5:548-50 N 80

CROFTON, Francis Blake 1841-1912 [see also ?ISHMAEL, pseud]

Stanzas for music. [P] RB4:23 Ja 80
The cry of Cain. [P] RB5:49-50 J1 80
Only a letter. RB5:254-60 S 80
A serenade. [P] RB5:613 D 80
Lobster-spearling: an episode of summer life in Halifax. RB6:48-51 Ja 81
The battle-call of the Antichrist. [P] RB7:38-9 J1 81
Sorrows and solaces of an eye-glass. RB7:84-7 J1 81
The taboo of strong drink. RB7:488-97 N 81; RB8:180-3 Fe 82
Felo de se. [P] RB8:154 Fe 82

see also BOOK REVIEWS

CROLY, G.
The lily of the valley. [P] 6:24 J1 74

CROSBY, F.K.
Apotheosis. [P] 2:169 Ag 72

CROSS, Mary Ann (Evans) 1819-1880

The legend of the Jubal. [P] George Eliot. (Rep from The Legend of Jubal and Other Poems) 6:165-74 Ag 74

about
George Eliot's later manner. F.R. 11:261-8 Mr 77
George Eliot. Anon. RB6:203-4 Fe 81
George Eliot, the novelist. J.M.Buchan. RB6:255-69 Mr 81

see also BOOK REVIEWS under ELIOT, George

CROSS, Thomas

The Iroquois. 5:402-9 My 74
On the basin of Minas. RB5:471-4 N 80
Canada and the Empire. RB7:294-302 S 81
The religion of Goethe. RB8:236-41 Mr 82
Our English critics. RB8:532-5 My 82

CUNNINGHAM, Granville C.
Federation, annexation or independence? RB4:242-52 Mr 80

CURRAN, John
The Irish land question. RB4:178-80 Fe 80

CURRENT EVENTS
2:544-56 D 72; 3:53-63 Ja, 137-54 Fe, 225-40 Mr, 323-39 Ap, 419-37 My 73;
4:58-74 J1, 134-52 Ag, 239-58 S, 321-40 O, 419-37 N, 528-45 D 73;
6:54-67 J1, 147-65 Ag, 249-70 S, 356-80 O, 447-67 N, 545-62 D 74;
7:67-81 Ja, 167-83 Fe, 265-80 Mr, 344-59 Ap, 443-55 My, 533-48 Je 75;
8:68-78 J1, 165-80 Ag, 256-67 S, 349-62 O, 442-53 N, 533-46 D 75;
9:69-80 Ja, 151-65 Fe, 238-49 Mr, 327-40 Ap, 429-46 My, 544-56 Je 76;
11:92-105 Ja, 212-22 Fe, 323-38 Mr, 438-50 Ap, 552:62 My, 662-77 Je 77;
12:83-96 J1, 196-210 Ag, 303-16 S, 422-33 O, 527-41 N, 648-60 D 77;
RB1:103-16 J1, 233-48 Ag 78

CURRENT LITERATURE
3:82-3 Ja, 173-4 Fe, 156-8 Mr, 355-7 Ap, 448-52 My, 547-9 Je 73;
4:169-71 Ag, 268-9 S, 355-6 O, 452-3 N, 548-50 D; 5:92-5 Ja, 177-9
Fe, 263-5 Mr, 362-3 Ap, 452-6 My, 552-3 Je 74; 6:182-4 Ag, 283-4 S,
381-3 O, 478-80 N, 563-5 D 74; 7:94-7 Ja, 195-7 Fe, 281-3 Mr, 371-2
Ap, 456-8 My, 549-51 Je 75; 8:83-4 J1, 185-7 Ag, 270-2 S, 365-8 O,
457-8 N, 549-51 D 75; 9:84-5 Ja 166-8 Fe, 344-6 Ap, 449-52 My,
559-60 Je 76; 10:89-91 J1, 181-3 Ag, 274-5 S, 365-6 O, 455-7 N,
564-5 D 76; 11:112-3 Ja 77; RB1:116-28 J1, 248-56 Ag, 379-84 S,
508-12 O, 629-40 N, 760-8 D 78; RB2:120-8 Ja, 252-6 Fe, 375-84 Mr,
503-12 Ap 79

CYNIC [pseud]
Jeu d'amour. [F] 3:15-32 Ja, 25-9 Fe, 29-32 Mr 73

CYNICO [pseud]
The Sister of Mercy. [F] 4:308-20 O 73

D.
The Hindoo Sirdar. [P] 9:122 Fe 76

D., F.A. see DIXON, Frederick Augustus

D., L.
Canon Farrar's Life of Christ. RB6:73-87 Ja 81

D., G.T. see DENISON, George Taylor
D., H.T.
Winter in St. Petersburg. 12:67-71 J1 77

D., J.
Papal conclaves and ceremonies observed at the election of a Pope.
4:112-22 Ag 73

D., W.
The Mohammedan Luther. 9:318-21 Ap 76

DALACHAR [pseud]
How Jessie's fortune came true. [F] RB4:636-41 Je 80

DALE, Ellis [pseud] see MCKENZIE, G.A.

DANE, Barry [pseud] see LOGAN, John E.

DARWIN, Charles Robert 1809-1882
about
Darwinism and morality. John Watson. 10:319-26 O 76
The evolution of morality. J.A.Allen. 11:490-501 My 77
The ethical aspects of Darwinism: a rejoinder. John Watson. 11:638-44 Je 77
Darwin and his work. Anon. RB8:540-2 My 82

see also BOOK REVIEWS

RELIGION

DAVIN, Nicholas Flood 1843-1901
John Stuart Mill. 3:512-9 Je 73
The London and Canadian press. 5:118-28 Fe 74
The argument from scandal. RB2:580-3 My 79
No law school. RB4:119-20 Fe 80
Legal education. RB4:287-92 Mr 80
The Bennett case. RB5:300-8 S 80
Great speeches. RB6:270-85 Mr 81
The future of Canada. RB6:490-8 My 81
Literature connected with the Canadian Pacific Railway. RB8:583-8 Je 82
Remarks suggested by President Garfield's death. RB7:607-21 D 81

see also BOOK REVIEWS

DAVISON, Thomas
Mechanics' Institutes and the best means of improving them. 10:220-3 S 76

DAWSON, John William 1820-1899
Introduction of genera and species in geological time. 2:154-6 Ag 72

see also BOOK REVIEWS

DAWSON, Samuel Edward 1833-1916
Old colonial currencies. 1:326-33 Ap 72
The massacre at the Cedars. 5:305-23 Ap 74
Prayer and modern science. 8:512-22 D 75
DE FOREST, J.W.
The cats of antiquity. (Rep from Atlantic Monthly) 5:438-44 My 74

DE QUINCEY, Thomas 1785-1859
about
Three friends of mine: De Quincey, Coleridge and Poe. 13:359-65 Ap 78

DELTA [pseud]
The morality of the future. RB4:351-5 Ap 80

DENISON, George Taylor 1839-1925
Cavalry charges at Sedan. 1:47-53 Ja 72
A visit to General Robert E. Lee. 1:231-7 Mr 72
see also BOOK REVIEWS

DENNIS, John Stoughton 1820-1885

DESCRIPTION AND TRAVEL
see also CANADA Description and Travel
Individual countries

DESCRIPTION AND TRAVEL

A letter from high latitudes. Lord Dufferin. 1:550-7 Je 72
Italian vignettes. Anon. 2:225-36 S 72
Sailing on the Nile. Laurent Laporte. (Tr) (Rep) 3:247-53 Mr 73
Paradise in the Pacific. [R] Anon. 4:301-7 0 73
Central American sketches. H.H. 7:233-8 Mr, 340-3 Ap, 436-42 My,
528-32 Je 75; 8:61-7 J1 75
How we entered San Juan Harbour. Rufus A. Coleman. 7:426-8 My 75
From Port Said to Suez. J.S. Cowan. 8:406-11 N 75
From London to Australia and back. J.B. MacKenzie. 10:300-10 0 76
People you don't know. N.W. Beckwith. (Rep from Cruisings and Musings
in the China Sea and East Indian Archipelago) 10:406-12 N 76
Ancient and modern Aztecs. M. McNamara. 12:258-64 S 77
A flying visit to Paris. Lester Lelan. 12:584-94 D 77
A barbecue in north Mississippi. R. Cleland. 13:500-2 My 78
The yellow Tiber. Grace Green. RB1:16-32 J1 78
Yackerbenderkellie: a night in the jungle of central Indian. Arthur
Harvey. RB1:85-9 J1 78
Edinburgh jottings. Alfred S. Gibbs. RB1:129-40 Ag 78
A visit to the Dolomites. W.D. Reed. RB1:257-72 S 78
A voyage in the Sunbeam. Annie Brassey. (Rep from A Voyage in the Sunbeam)
RB1:385-400 0 78
Chester and the Dee. Blanche Murphy. RB1:514-28 N 78
Something about Peru. S.R. Smith. RB2:33-51 Ja 79
In the Carlist country. Cecil Buckland. RB2:513-24 My 79
Down South in a sail-boat. Robert Tyson. RB4:397-407 Ap, 489-503 My,
602-17 Je 80
Going on an excursion. E.A.W. RB5:236-8 S 80
Cloud bound. M. Matthews. RB5:286-90 S 80
Across the sea, or thoughts by the way. I. R. Eckart. RB7:199-206 Ag, 381-9 O, 531-8 N 81

DIDEROT, Denis 1713-1784
about
Diderot and materialism. C. W. Parkin. RB7:640-3 D 81

DINGMAN, D. B.
The position of the American Republic. RB7:507-9 N 81

DIXON, Frederick Augustus 1843-1919
Canada, past and present. [P] 1:507-9 Je 72
Goodbye. [P] 2:133 Ag 72
My old pet name. [P] 6:99 Ag 74
Anteros-love the avenger. [P] F. A. D. 7:411 My 75
L'homme propose. [P] F. A. D. 8:307 O 75
Canadian national anthem. [P] F. A. D. 8:427 N 75
My old year-my living dead. [P] Lyd [pseud]. 9:17 Ja 76
The soul of the organ. [P] F. A. D. 10:200-1 S 76
Little raindrop. [P] 12:45-55 Jl 77
L'homme qui crie. [P] RB2:92-104 Jl 79
Dinners and diners. RB2:645-58 Je 79
Longings. [P] RB3:581 D 79
If you had a bird with a broken wing. [P] F. A. D. RB7:458 N 81
Desolata. [P] RB8:498 My 82
Non posso. [P] RB8:577-8 Je 82

DOBSON, Austin 1840-1921
The child-musician. [P] (Rep from Proverbs in Porcelain) RB4:655 Je 80

DODISHOT [pseud]
The Indian's grave. 2:156 Ag 72

DOLE, Nathan Haskell 1852-1935
Wild roses. [P] RB2:156 Fe 79

DOLE, William Peters 1825-
At the water side: from the French of Sully-Prudhomme. [P] (Tr) 10:412 N 76
L'amour. [P] (Tr) RB2:182 Fe 79
If. [P] RB2:486 Ap 79

DONNÉ, Alphonse
The hygiene of the seasons. (Rep from Change of Air and Scene) 4:153-60 Ag 73
DOUDNEY, Sarah
In time of peace. [P] (Rep from Good Words) RB8:168 Fe 82

DOUGLAS, James 1837-1918
Canadian Pacific and its railway rivals. 4:457-71 D 73
Present condition of the survey of the Canadian Pacific Railway.
6:229-48 S 74
Intellectual progress of Canada. 7:465-76 Je 75
The centennial exhibition. 9:535-43 Je 76
The Philadelphia exhibition: the Australian colonies. 10:239-47 S 76
The Philadelphia exhibition: the display of pottery. 11:69-76 Ja 77
The seat of the war in South America. RB3:113-29 Ag 79

DOUGLAS, Robert W. -1931
Roy Campbell's night in a cedar swamp. [F] 11:157-64 Fe 77

DOYLE, Sir Francis Hastings
The Doncaster St. Leger. [P] (Rep from Poems) 4:19-21 J1 73

DRAMA

see also MUSIC AND THE DRAMA

PLAY TEXTS

Theatricals at Rideau Hall. Anon. 7:374-5 Ap 75
The modern theatre and intellectuality. Hiram B. Stephens. RB4:368-75 Ap 80
Salvani at the Grand Opera House. RB6:216 Fe 81
Musical and theatrical reminiscences. John Hector. RB8:579-82 Je 82
Toronto and its early theatrical entertainments. George M. Harrington. RB8:600-13 Je 82

DRUMMOND, Andrew Thomas 1843-
Imperial and colonial confederation. 7:406-11 My 75
Our public indebtedness. 10:461-8 D 76

DUFERIN, Frederick Temple Hamilton, Baron 1826-1902
A letter from high latitudes. (Rep from A Letter from High Latitudes)
1:550-7 Je 72
Christmas. [F] Earl of Dufferin. 9:43 Ja 76
Club life. [F] Earl of Dufferin. 9:360-1 Ap 76

DUMAS, Alexandre 1802-1870
Saint Januarius, Patron Saint of Naples. (Tr from Corricolo) 5:45-55 Ja 74

DUNCAN, Howard J.
The home and grave of Washington Irving. RB2:717-22 Je 79
The 'At Homes' of Charles and Mary Lamb. RB4:356-61 Ap 80
DUNCAN, Sara Jeannette 1862-1922
   It might have been.  [P]  RB5:290 S 80
   Autumn.  [P]  RB5:494 N 80
   A minister of grace.  [P]  RB5:627 D 80
   Diogenes on bric-a-brac.  RB6:636-8 Je 81
   Conscious.  [P]  RB7:417 O 81

DYMOND, Alfred Hutchinson 1827-1903
   International copyright.  1:289-99 Ap 72
   The duration of the legislative assembly.  RB2:470-86 Ap 79

E., C.
   Odium theologicum: a reply to Sordello.  13:80-3 Ja 78

E., Emma
   To Pyrrha lib.  I Carm V.  [P]  11:165 Fe 77

ECKART, I.R.
   Across the sea; or, thoughts by the way.  RB7:199-206 Ag, 381-9 0,
   531-8 N 81

ECKERMANN, Johann Peter 1792-1854

ECONOMIST [pseud]
   Municipal taxation.  4:388-96 N 73

EDGAR, James David 1841-1899
   A potlatch among our West Coast Indians.  6:93-9 Ag 74
   Celestial America.  6:389-97 N 74

EDUCATION
   see also BOOKS AND READING
   The public schools of Ontario.  James Porter.  1:483-96 Je 72
   Industrial schools.  W.B.McMurrich.  2:424-8 N 72
   The dumb speak.  John Lesperance.  2:506-12 D 72
   Our high schools.  A Head Master [pseud].  3:35-45 Ja 73
   School administration in Ontario.  J.Howard Hunter.  4:517-27 D 73
   My recollections of Fenton Grammar School.  Anon.  (Rep from Belgravia)
   5:353-60 Ap, 446-51 My 74
   Higher education for women.  Fidelis [pseud].  7:144-57
   A visit to some of the Detroit schools.  J.M.Buchan.  8:483-6 D 75
   A student's view of education in New York City.  T.S.Ormiston.  9:112-9
   Fe 76
   Mechanics' Institutes and the best means of improving them.  Thomas
   Davison.  10:220-3 S 76
   The age in which we live and our duty towards it.  J.A.Long.  11:138-46
   Fe 77
On the higher education of women. Minerva Moonshine [pseud]. 11:629-33 Je 77
Election times at a Scotch university. George H.B.Gray. 12:160-3 Ag 77
Law and the study of law. Lester Lelan. 13:190-201 Fe 78
Art education: a plea for the artizan. L.R.O'Brien. RB2:584-91 My 79
Education and co-education. G.M.Grant. RB3:509-18 N 79
No law school. Nicholas Flood Davin. RB4:119-20 Fe 80
No law school. Thomas A.Gorham. RB4:120-4 Fe 80
Legal education. Nicholas Flood Davin. RB4:287-92 Mr 80
The law student's grievance. Thomas A.Gorham. RB4:531-7 My 80
The literature of education in Canada. [R] An Old Head-Master [pseud]. RB4:593-600 Je 80
Medical education. N.H.Beemer. RB4:632-5 Je 80
Theological studies and the times. Hugh Pedley. RB5:88-93 J1 80
The education of the blind. J.H.Hunter. RB5:171-82 Ag 80
University training-training the university teacher. A.G. RB5:261-3 S 80
Intellectual tendencies and training. David Tucker. RB6:161-70 Fe 81
Education and national sentiment. K.Seymour MacLean. RB6:190-4 Fe 81
Compulsory education. Fidelis [pseud]. RB7:174-8 Ag 81
A few words on university co-education. Fidelis [pseud]. RB8:313-19 Mr 82
A peep at convent life and education. Rose E.Clarke. RB8:409-19 Ap 82

EGYPT
Sailing on the Nile. Laurent Laporte. (Tr) (Rep) 3:247-53 Mr 73

ELECTRA [pseud]
A Sabbath morning. [P] RB3:277 S 79

ELGIN, Lord

about
Lord Elgin. [R] Anon. 2:211-23 S, 347-60 O 72

ELIOT, George see CROSS, Mary Ann (Evans)

ELIOT, Frances (Minto)
Personal recollections of the Great Duke of Wellington. (Rep) 2:79-83 J1 72
Old court life in France. (Rep from Old Court Life in France) 4:75-81 J1 73

see also BOOK REVIEWS

EMIGRANTS

see also CANADA Immigration IMMIGRATION
The gentleman emigrant. [R] Anon. 6:515-21 D 74

ENGLAND

see also GREAT BRITAIN
Froude's English in Ireland. J.E.Cairnes. (Rep from Fortnightly Review) 6:270-83 S 74
English radical leaders. [R] G.S.G. 9:280-5 Ap 76
The witches of Warboys. A.Spencer Jones. 13:52-6 Ja 78
Glimpses of old English life. G.H. 13:630-8 Je 78
Chester and the Dee. Blanche Murphy. RB1:514-28 N 78
A sketch of the troubles of the Lancastrian kings. James S.Stone.
RB7:593-605 D 81
The Jewish question. Goldwin Smith. (Rep from Nineteenth Century)
RB8:198-212 Fe 82
The conduct of England to Ireland. Goldwin Smith. (Rep) RB8:628-43 Je 82

ERASMUS 1469?-1536
Erasmus of Rotterdam. George Simpson. RB8:296-300 Mr 82

ERATO [pseud]
Amaranthus [P] RB8:183 Fe 82

ESPERANCE [pseud] see ARDAGH, Alice Maud

ETZEL, Anton V.
The Roses. [P] (Tr) (Rep) 2:253-5 S 72

EVENLY [pseud]
Spirits and water: a ghost story. [F] 4:474-83 D 73

EVERHART, J.F.
Water: fit to drink or not? RB1:711-7 D 78

EXHIBITIONS

see also ART
The Ontario Society of Artists. 3:261-2 Mr 73, 545-6 Je 73; 10:91-2
J1 76; 11:681-2 Je 77
The Art Union exhibition. Anon. 6:85-9 J1 74
The American centennial exhibition. John King. 8:308-14 O 75
The centennial exhibition. James Douglas. 9:535-43 Je 76
10:239-47 S 76
11:69-76 Ja 77
The art aspects of the centennial. 11:148-56 Fe 77
The Toronto Loan exhibition of pictures. 11:228-30 Fe 77
A gossip about the first Dominion art exhibition. An unlearned visitor
[pseud]. RB4:545-53 My 80

F.
A love song. [P] 8:236 S 75

F.
Elnah's grave: an Indian legend. [P] 10:493 D 76
F.
Denison's history of cavalry. [R] 13:403-7 Ap 78

F., D. [see FOWLER, D.]
The schoolboy days of the Earl of Beaconsfield. 12:154-9 Ag 77

F., E.T.
Lilith. [P] RB8:508-10 My 82

F., J.L.
Scientific religion. RB7:560-6 D 81
The cure of moral insanity. RB8:483-7 My 82

F., R.M.
Legislation upon insolvency. 2:419-23 N 72

F., T.H. [see FARNHAM, Thomas H.]
Six days of rural felicity: a summer idyll in prose. RB7:262-81 S, 345-63 O, 466-86 N, 567-92 D 81
This harp is mute: a melody. [P] RB7:405-6 O 81

F., W.H.
My tiger-claw bracelet. [F] 1:533-6 Je 72
Lines on sending some gloves to a lady. [P] 9:200 Mr 76

FAIRFAX, Florence [?pseud]
The rector's flirtation. [F] RB5:162-6 Ag 80

FAIRFAX, Florence
The rector's flirtation: a tale of the Canada Central Railway. RB5:162-6 Ag 80

FAMILY LIFE
A day with the children. J.M.Tocs. RB8:192-6 Fe 82

FARMER, Alice A.
Flossy Venner: leaves from an autobiography. [F] 8:413-25 N 75

FARNHAM, Thomas H.

FARRAR, Frederic William 1831-1913
about
Canon Farrar's Life of Christ. [R] L.D. RB6:73-87 Ja 81

FASHION
Modern dress. C.R.Corson. 1:127-30 Fe 72
The toilette and its devotees. Anon. (Rep from Salad for the Solitary and the Social) 3:155-65 Fe 73
Dress. Anon. (Rep from French Home Life) 4:438-50 N 73
FAWCETT, Edgar 1847-1904
Humour. [P] RB1:289 S 78
The winning card. [P] RB1:462-72 0 78
The wood turtle. [P] RB1:513 N 78
A peacock. [P] RB2:340 Mr 79
One more word about Keats. RB2:449-54 Ap 79

see also BOOK REVIEWS

FERGUSON, Robert 1750-1774

Burns and Ferguson. David K. Brown. RB4:63-73 Ja 80

FESTINA LENTE [pseud]
The Holy Grail. 9:11-7 Ja 76

FICTION

An adventure and no mistake. J.F.N. 2:429-35 N 72
All a green willow. Charles Gibbon. RB3:37-51 J1 79
Am I myself? Henry Spicer. (Rep from Judicial Dramas) 2:455-61 N 72
As long as she lived. F.W. Robinson. 10:1-17 J1, 93-100 Ag, 185-200 S, 328-45 0, 418-33 N, 538-51 D 76; 11:47-62 Ja, 196-211 Fe, 304-19 Mr 77
Beowulf. Anon. (Rep from Popular Romances of the Middle Ages) 2:83-91 J1 72
The black robe. Wilkie Collins. RB5:499-521 N, 561-81 D 80; RB6:15-32 Ja, 135-60 Fe, 235-54 Mr, 343-62 Ap, 467-89 My, 588-613 Je 81
The bridal veil. Anon. 2:289-301 0 72
The Bugis princess. N.W. Beckwith. 11:616-29 Je 77
The canon's daughter. Edmond About. (Tr) 1:362-78 Ap 72
Carmina. Louisa Murray. 2:385-408 N, 481-505 D 72
Carrie's courtship: a tale of a suburban market garden. R.F. 9:186-200 Mr 76
Changes and chances. Paul [pseud]. RB8:12-42 Ja 82
Charlotte's system. Amy Rye. RB4:24-34 Ja 80
The charmed life: an Indian engineer's story. David Ker. 12:362-5 0 77
A Christmas ride in the North-West. S. 11:43-7 Ja 77
Clarice: an old story of the new world. Elsie Trevor. 6:25-39 J1 74
The clergyman's confession. Wilkie Collins. 8:139-45 Ag, 244-9 S 75
Clinker: a prose idyl. St. Quentin [pseud]. RB5:353-9 0 80
Clive Weston's wedding anniversary. R.E. Leprohon. 2:97-111 Ag, 193-208 S 72
The comedy of an umbrella. Ellis Dale [pseud]. 11:519-28 My 77
The course of untrue love. A.E. Wetherald. RB7:242-7 S 81
The dead alive. Wilkie Collins. 5:16-33 Ja, 128-47 Fe 74
A dialogue, between a living pair of twins. Anon. 9:119-21 Fe 76
Dinah Blake's revenge. Mrs. J.V. Noel. 1:201-13 Mr, 302-17 Ap, 393-403 My, 497-507 Je 72; 2:10-22 J1 72
Dr. Reinhard. Kleimar. (Tr) 2:134-52 Ag 72
Eccentricities of a boarding house. Haydon Holme. RB5:398-410 0, 461-9 N 80
A fearful responsibility. William D.Howells. RB7:59-80 J1, 134-65 Ag 81
Flossy Venner: leaves from an autobiography. Alice A.Farmer. 8:413-25
N 75
For father's sake. G.S.H. RB7:27-32 J1 81
The fresh-water cure. N.W.Racey. RB3:242-53 Ag 79
German love. Max Muller. (Tr) (Rep) 6:100-13 Ag, 198-214 S 74
A ghost story. A.E.Wetherald. RB6:499-503 My 81
The haunted hotel: a mystery of modern Venice. Wilkie Collins. RB1: 1-15 J1, 141-61 Ag, 273-88 S, 401-17 Ag, 529-45 N, 657-72 D 78
The heroism of la petite Marie. Blanche L.Macdonell. RB5:309-16 S 80
The Holy Grail. Festina Lente [pseud]. 9:11-17 Ja 76
L'homme qui crie. Frederick A.Dixon. RB2:92-104 Ja 79
How I sailed the 'Flying Scud'. G.A.Mackenzie. 10:516-24 D 76
How it happened. Elizabeth Campbell. RB3:396-401 0 79
How Jessie's fortune came true. Dalachar [pseud]. RB4:636-41 Je 80
How the modern Eve entered Eden. A.E.Wetherald. RB8:131-46 Fe 82
In the green woods. Catherine Owen. 11:269-78 Mr 77
In the Himalayas. W.F.Wilson. RB5:126-33 Ag 80
In the shadow of death. Joseph Poole. RB5:420-34 O 80
Jessie's law suit: a tale of the Bay of Quinté. C.W.Cooper. 2:25-36 Jl 72
Jeu d'amour. Cynic [pseud]. 3:15-32 Ja, 25-9 Fe, 29-32 Mr 73
Journalism in Petroleum Grove. Ellis Dale [pseud]. 11:188-92 Fe 77
Just for fun. Belle Campbell. RB5:61-5 Jl 80
The king of the mountains. Edmond About. (Tr) 6:294-308 0, 398-415 N, 494-514 D 74
Lazy Dick. Maple Leaf [pseud]. 13:520-32 My 78
The life and lessons of a spider. T.T. J. 10:64-73 Jl 76
A literary nightmare. Mark Twain [pseud.]. (Rep from Atlantic Monthly) 9:222-3 Mr 76
Little raindrop. Frederick A.Dixon. 12:45-55 Jl 77
Lost and won. A story of Canadian life. Fidelis [pseud]. 7:12-30 Ja, 115-34 Fe, 209-25 Mr, 303-17 Ap, 389-403 My, 479-96 Je 75; 8:9-18 Jl, 100-14 Ag, 205-13 S, 292-306 0, 380-92 N, 469-76 D 75
Lost in the woods. A story of the Canadian lumber forest. W.H.Williams. 9:509-15 Je 6
Love's young dream. Catherine Owen. 9:95-110 Fe 76
The loves of Alonzo Fitz Clarence and Rosannah Ethelton. Mark Twain [pseud]. 13:256-65 Mr 78
Margaret's sorrow. Belle Campbell. RB2:685-91 Je 79
Marguerite Kneller: artist and woman. Louisa Murray. 1:28-33 Ja,
107-17 Fe, 239-47 Mr, 334-43 Ap, 432-8 My, 519-26 Je 72
Marian's miseries. C.P. Mulvany. RB5:37-49 J1 80
Medicine and matrimony. Arne [pseud]. 7:514-20 Je 75; 8:45-54 J1 75
The monks of Thelema. Walter Besant and James Rice. 13:333-50
Ap, 445-64 My, 557-76 Je 78; RB1:49-64 J1, 168-86 Ag, 312-31 S, 432-53 0,
553-73 N, 689-710 D 78; RB2:52-68 Ja, 218-30 Fe, 350-9 Mr, 431-48
Ap 79
My last patient. N.W. Racey. RB2:554-67 My 79
My life. Esperance [pseud]. RB6:171-81 Fe 81
My tiger-claw bracelet. W.H.F. 1:533-6 Je 72
My young wife's party. Fred Travers. RB4:618-22 Je 80
The night of terror in the backwoods of Canada: a true story. Mary
Elizabeth Muchall. 1:138-41 Fe 72
No hero after all. F.D. Washburne. (Rep from N.Y. Aldine) 9:129-33 Fe 76
Not just yet. Anon. (Rep from Belgravia) 7:159-62 Fe 75
The old Japanese cabinet. J.G. Bourinot. 12:139-52 Ag 77
On a little oatmeal: a Scottish sketch. Anon. RB5:317-22 S 80
The one who loved him. Frances J. Moore. RB3:188-98 Ag 79
Only a fiddle: a Christmas story. Catherine Owen. 8:505-11 D 75
Only a million. Charles Gibbon. RB7:11-26 J1 81
Only an accident! 290 [pseud]. RB5:625-7 D 80
Personal. S. 11:288-92 Mr 77
The poet's greatest work. A.E.W. RB6:306-16 Mr 81
The proctors: a sketch of Canadian university life. Allan A'Dale [pseud].
2:362-6 0 72
The rector's flirtation: a tale of the Canada Central Railway. Florence
Fairfax. RB5:162-6 Ag 80
Reginald Harland: incidents in a gold hunter's life. R.W. Douglas. 12:
601-10 D 77; 13:43-51 Ja 78
Reminiscences of a young soldier in hospital. Anon. (Tr) (Rep from Revue
des Deux Mondes) 3:100-14 Fe 73
Rodney Mainwaring. Lizzie Lyle [pseud]. 9:44-55 Ja 76
The romance of a back street. F.W. Robinson. 7:240-7 Mr, 332-9 Ap,
429-36 My 75
A romance of the underground railway. Fred Travers. RB4:338-41 Mr 80
The roses. Anton V. Etzel. (Tr) 2:253-55 S 72
Roy Campbell's night in a cedar swamp. R.W. Douglas. 11:157-64 Fe 77
The secret passage: a tale of Ottawa City. Anon. RB8:184-91 Fe 82
Selma: a tale of the summer holidays. Ellis Dale [pseud]. 12:164-82 Ag,
265-80 S, 391-413 0 77
Silveria: scenes from Mexican life. Lucien Biart. (Tr) 4:397-417 N 73
The sister of mercy. Cynico [pseud]. 4:308-20 0 73
Six days of rural felicity: a summer id(1)e)yl in prose. T.H.F. RB7:
262-81 S, 345-63 0, 466-86 N, 567-92 D 81
Sold. Mrs. R. Rothwell. 8:322-8 0 75
Some rambling notes of an idle excursion. Mark Twain [pseud]. 12:351-5
0, 446-51 N, 559-64 D 77; 13:74-9 Ja 78
Strange experiences: a story of Bohemian life. Mrs.C.R.Corson. 12:460-74 N, 571-83 D 77
The student's story. F.R. 8:488-95 D 75
Such a good man. Walter Besant and James Rice. 13:57-72 Ja, 113-28 Fe, 225-38 Mr, 377-92 Ap 78
The swallows of St.Jurgens. Theodor Storm. (Tr) 2:325-44 O 72
The sword point. Liebetreu. (Tr) 1:466-70 My 72
Three summer stories. Theodor Storm. (Tr) 1:152-7 Fe 264-9 Mr 72
Through sorrow to love. Anon. (Tr) 13:157-64 Fe 78
'Toots': a Canadian idyl. William Wedd. RB3:572-81 D 79
The Toronto girls' coterie. A.E.W. RB5:24-6 J1, 159-61 Ag, 264-8 S, 382-4 O, 495-7 N, 602-5 D 80
The Toronto girls' coterie. Smarty [pseud]. RB6:69-72 Ja 81
Undine. André Theuriet. (Tr) 3:499-511 Je 73; 4:43-57 J1, 98-108 Ag 73
The vendetta. Honoré de Balzac. (Tr) 3:191-207 Mr, 309-22 Ap 73
Wanted: good board. F.R. 13:608-25 Je 78
What a woman will do. Lucien Biart. (Tr) 4:193-210 S 73
The white rose. Anon. (Tr) 5:56-61 Ja 74
Whose wife was she? Saxe Holm [pseud]. RB4:429-34 Ap, 466-79, My 80
The winning card. Edgar Fawcett. RB1:462-72 O 78
A woman before the mast. M. 10:136-42 Ag 76

FIDELIS [pseud] see MACHAR, Agnes Maule

FIELD, George Washington -1889?
The emigrant's farewell. [P] RB3:344 O 79
Archibald Forbes and his Canadian experiences. RB4:511-4 My 80

FISHER, Roswell Corse 1844-
Why imperial federation is impracticable. 8:334-8 O 75
Canada's alternatives. 8:428-32 N 75
The latest gospel of protection. 9:403-7 My 76
The Canada Pacific Railway and imperial confederation: a reply. RB2:543-6 My 79
Canada's difficulties. RB4:521-6 My 80

FITZGERALD, Edward
Sleep and dreaming. 13:467-78 My 78

FLEURANGE [pseud] see LEFEVRE, Lily Alice

FLOWERS
The rose. T.T.Johnston. 10:217-9 S 76
A talk about flowers. Mary Morgan. RB7:459-64 N 81

FORBES, Archibald

about
Archibald Forbes and his Canadian experiences. George W.Field. RB4:511-4 My 80
FOSSIER, Jules
La rose de Sharon.  [P] 10:219 S 76

FOSTER, William Alexander 1840-1888
Down the St. Lawrence on a raft. Anon. 6:343-55 O 74

FOWLER, D.
Harriet Martineau. 13:172-85 Fe 78
Shakespeare and Scott: Measure for Measure and The Heart of Mid-Lothian.
RB1:420-8 0 78
Ophelia and Portia: the Shakespearean and the fanciful. RB6:504-11 My 81
Desdemona. RB6:643-50 Je 81
Your house and mine: aesthetic or not aesthetic? RB8:590-7 Je 82

FOX, George 1624-1691
about
George Fox and Quakerism. W.R.G.Mellen. RB6:400-13 Ap 81

FRANCE
The end of Bohemia: an essay on the part played by literature and journalism in the recent events in France. E.Caro. (Tr) (Rep from Revue des Deux Mondes) 1:72-8 Ja 72
The great duel of the 17th century. Anon. 2:38-55 J1 72
Old court life in France. Frances Elliot. (Rep from Old Court Life in France) 4:75-81 J1 73
The French constitutional monarchy of 1830. Lord Lytton. 6:531-44 D 74
A flying visit to Paris. Lester Lelan. 12:584-94 D 77

FRASER, T.C.B.
William Penn. 13:408-13 Ap 78
The growth of the post office. RB2:677-84 Je 79

FRECHETTE, Louis-Honoré 1839-1908
about
The Canadian laureate. J.Howard Hunter. RB6:54-8 Ja 81
Rondeau: to Louis Honoré Frechette. [P] Charles G.D.Roberts. RB8:212 Fe 82

A FREELANCE [pseud]
Protection and free trade. RB8:499-508 My 82

FREEMAN, Edward A. 1823-1892
Field sports and vivisection. (Rep from Fortnightly Review) 5:543-50 Je 74

FRENCH SETTLEMENTS
Early French settlements in America. 5:502-13 Je 74
The Old Regime in Canada. [R] Anon. 6:485-93 D 74
FROUDE, James Anthony 1818-1894

about
Froude's English in Ireland. J.E.Cairnes. (Rep from Fortnightly Review) 6:270-83 S 74
Mr. J.A.Froude on the Oxford revival. LL.B [pseud]. RB7:397-9 O 81
see also BOOK REVIEWS

FULLER, Margaret 1810-1850

about
Margaret Fuller Ossoli. G. 13:289-96 Mr 78

G.
Two sonnets. [P] 3:487 Je 73

G.
Margaret Fuller Ossoli. 13:289-96 Mr 78

G.
The marvels of scientific logic. RB5:361-71 0 80

G.
Manhood. [P] RB7:58 J1 81

G., A.
University training—training the university teacher. RB5:261-3 S 80

G., A.W. [see ?Gundry, A.W.]
Drowned. [P] 10:36 J1 76
Waiting. [P] 10:327 0 76
Conquered. [P] 10:433 N 76
Hearts and eyes. [P] 11:137 Fe 77
Unprofitable. [P] 11:589 My 77
To a latter-day Hypatia: a despiser of love and marriage. [P] 13:164 Fe 78
Evolution. [P] 13:647 Je 78
Give me thy hand, forever. [P] RB3:496 N 79

G., G.
Canadian poetry. [P] 7:134 Fe 75
Sonnets—a sceptic's regret. [P] 8:291 0 75
An old story. [P] RB3:145 Ag 79
Thoughts. [P] RB3:241 Ag 79

G., G.R.

G., G.W.
The Royal Navy. 13:240-8 Mr 78
Feminine proper names. 13:597-606 Je 78

G., J.A.
Pagan rites and Christian festivals. 10:525-33 D 76
G., M. J. see GRIFFIN, Martin Joseph

G., S.G.
English radical leaders. [R] 9:280-5 Ap 76

G., W.
Luther's hymn. [P] RB4:538 My 80

GAMMA [pseud]
An apology. [P] 8:378-9 N 75

GANE, William Henry 1815-1879
Retrospect. [P] 2:224 S 72

GARFIELD, James Abram 1831-1881
The funeral day. [P] Fidelis [pseud]. RB7:441-2 N 81
In memoriam: James Abram Garfield. Esperance [pseud]. RB7:487-8 N 81
The dead president. Anon. RB7:538-9 N 81
A sprig of yew. Fidelis [pseud]. RB7:554-9 D 81
Remarks suggested by President Garfield's death. Nicholas Flood Davin. RB7:607-21 D 81

GARIBALDI, Giuseppe 1807-1882
Garibaldi. [P] C.P.Mulvany. RB8:627 Je 82

GASTRONOMY
Dinners and diners. Frederick A. Dixon. RB2:645-58 Je 79

GEOLOGY
The three great problems of geology. [R] S.H.Janes. 12:500-7 N 77
About some fire mountains. E.C.Bruce. RB1:641-56 D 78
Something more about volcanoes. E.C.Bruce. RB2:157-69 Fe 79

GERMANY
Hartz reminiscences. A.M. 8:425-7 N 75
The German socialists and the last Reichstag. James W.Bell. RB6:37-46 Ja 81

GERRARD, George
When death creeps o'er the kindly light. [P] RB6:651 Je 81
In memoriam. [P] RB7:292-4 S 81
When midnight holds a silent reign. [P] RB7:465 N 81
Love. [P] RB7:648 D 81

GIBBON, Charles
All a green willow. [F] RB3:37-51 J1 79
Only a million. [F] RB7:11-26 J1 81

see also BOOK REVIEWS
GIBBS, Alfred S.
Edinburgh jottings. RB1:129-40 Ag 78

GILES, H.M.
The knight's grave. [P] 2:445-6 N 72
Love's questionings. [P] 4:396 N 73

A GIRL OF THE PERIOD [pseud]
Confidences. RB4:624-7 Je 80

GITANO [pseud]
Midsummer musings. [P] 8:214 S 75

GLADSTONE, William Ewart 1809-1898
The shield of Achilles. (Rep from Contemporary Review) 5:249-55 Mr 74
see also BOOK REVIEWS

GOETHE, Johann Wolfgang von 1749-1832
about
Goethe's Faust. A.C. 9:123-9 Fe 76
Eckermann and Goethe. Fidelis [pseud]. RB3:230-41 S, 386-95 O 79
The religion of Goethe. Thomas Cross. RB8:236-41 Mr 82

GORDON, Daniel Miner 1845-1925
about

GORHAM, Thomas A.
No law school. RB4:120-4 Fe 80
The law student's grievance. RB4:531-7 My 80

GRAHAM, Arthur J.
Ethel Marchmont. [F] RB4:125-34 Fe 80

GRAHAM, H.G.
Russel of the Edinburgh Scotsman. (Rep from Fraser's Magazine) RB5:481-94 N 80

GRAND TRUNK RAILWAY see CANADA Transportation

GRANT, Charlotte
Obscured. [P] 1:518-9 Je 72

GRANT, George Monro 1835-1902
The late Hon. Joseph Howe. 7:377-87 My, 497-508 Je 75; 8:20-25 J1, 115-22 Ag 75
Laon on 'Messrs. Moody and Sankey and Revivalism'. 8:250-5 S 75
Christianity and modern thought. 8:437-41 N 75
Education and co-education. RB3:509-18 N 79
Canada's present position and outlook. (Rep from Scribner's Monthly) RB5:196-210 Ag 80
The relation of religion to secular life. RB5:614-24 D 80
The Chinese question. RB7:207-11 Ag 81
see also BOOK REVIEWS

GRASETT, Henry J. 1808-1882

GRAY, George H.B.
The poetry of Algernon Charles Swinburne. 11:509-13 N 77
Election times at a Scotch university. 12:160-3 Ag 77

GREAT BRITAIN
see also CANADA AND GREAT BRITAIN

ENGLAND
The present position and practice of the House of Lords. Lord Houghton.
(Rep from Fortnightly Review) 1:270-8 Mr 72
The Irish question. Goldwin Smith. 3:116-135 Fe 73
Curiosities of parliamentary privilege. Thomas Hodgins. 5:514-25 Je 74
Greater or lesser Britain. Julius Vogel. (Rep from Nineteenth Century) 12:232-46 S 77
Berlin and Afghanistan. Goldwin Smith. RB1:740-51 D 78
Britain's future corn supply. Robert Wilkes. RB5:113-24 Ag 80

GREEN, Grace
The yellow Tiber. RB1:16-32 J1 78

GREENLAND
A letter from high latitudes. Lord Dufferin. (Rep from A Letter from High Latitudes) 1:550-7 Je 72
Old New World tales: the Northmen in America. Pierce Stevens Hamilton. RB8:441-56 My, 554-66 Je 82

GREENWELL, Dora
I hold within my hand a lute. [P] RB3:385 0 79

GREVILLE, Charles C.F. 1794-1865
about
The Greville memoirs. [R] Anon. 7:226-32 Mr 75

GRiFF [pseud]
My first tiger hunt. 11:64-7 Ja 77

GRiFFiN, Martin Joseph 1847-1921
Love-thoughts by lamplight. [P] 1:229-30 Mr 72
The romance of wilderness missions. 1:344-53 Ap 72
Some chapters of the history of the Argentine Republic. M.J.G. 6:523-9 D 74
The two Newman's. M.J.G. 8:317-20 0 75
Questions and answers. [P] 10:213 S 76
Lord Macaulay and the Liberal party. 13:31-4 Ja 78
A last night at Rideau Hall. [P] RB1:46-8 J1 78
A quarrel with the nineteenth century. RB1:162-7 Ag, 290-4 S, 473-7 0 78
Procastination. [P] RB1:461 0 78
Another view of Matthew Arnold's poems. RB1:546-52 N 78

GRIFFITH, Joseph
A name. [P] 12:280-1 S 77

GUNDRY, A.W. [see also G., A.W.]
Marguerite's hymn to the Mater Dolorosa. [P] (Rep from Faust) 7:509 Je 75
Sonnet. [P] 9:515 Je 76
Spencer's Data of Ethics. [R] RB3:646-50 D 79

GWILT, Fanny G.

H., E.B.
True love. [P] RB8:524 My 82

H., E.W.
Long ago. [P] (Rep from Athenaeum) 4:280 0 73

H., G.
Glimpses of old English life. 13:630-8 Je 78

H. G.S. [see also HOLMESTED, George S.]
Curiosities of advertising. 10:214-6 S 76
For father's sake. [F] RB7:27-32 J1 81

H., H. [?HALE, Horatio 1817-1896]
Central American sketches. 7:233-8 Mr, 340-3 Ap, 436-42 My, 528-32 Je 75;
8:61-7 J1 75

H., P.S. [see also HAMILTON, Pierce Stevens 1826-1893]
Forest destruction. RB3:136-45 Ag 79
Fashionable murder. RB4:280-6 Mr 80

H., W.T. [see also HERRIDGE, W.T.]
True art. [P] RB7:133 Ag 81
Au revoir. [P] RB7:530-1 N 81

HAGUE, George 1825-1915
Some jottings on free thought and kindred topics, from a practical point
of view. 10:37-44 J1 76

HAIGHT, Canniff 1825-1901
Canadian life in the country fifty years ago. RB4:2-12 Ja, 561-74 Je 80
Ontario fifty years ago and now. RB6:443-54 My, 556-77 Je 81; RB7:283-92 S 81
HAMILTON, James Cleland 1839-1907
Two cities. [P] 1:34 Ja 72
see also BOOK REVIEWS

HAMILTON, Pierce Stevens 1826-1893 [see also ?H., P.S.]
Old New World tales: the Northmen in America. RB8:441-56 My, 554-66 Je 82

HARRINGTON, George M.
Toronto and its early theatrical entertainments. RB8:600-13 Je 82

HARRISON, J.W.F.
Descriptive music. RB3:271-7 S 79

HARRISON, Susie Frances (Riley) 1859-1935
Christmas. [P] RB7:622 D 81
Confessions: a series of sonnets. [P] Seranus [pseud]. RB8:77-8 Ja, 196-7 Fe, 300-2 Mr 82
To Maurice Thompson. [P] Seranus [pseud]. RB8:537-9 My 82
A fragment. [P] Seranus [pseud]. RB8:646 Je 82

HARVEY, Arthur 1834-1905
Canadian census of 1871. 1:97-104 Fe 72
Yackerbenderkellie. RB1:85-9 J1 78
Annapolis Royal and the expatriation of the Acadians. RB5:337-52 O 80

HAVERGAL, Frances
Wounded. [P] (Rep from Ministry of Song) 3:207-8 Mr 73
Coming summer. [P] (Rep from Ministry of Song) 3:292-3 Mr 73
Sunbeams in the wood. [P] (Rep from Ministry of Song) 4:123 Ag 73

HAWEIS, H.R.
On the law of progress. (Rep from Thoughts for the Times) 2:565-72 D 72
The action of prayer explained in a new way. (Rep from Speech in Sermon) 6:468-78 N 74
see also BOOK REVIEWS

HAYNE, Paul Hamilton 1830-1886
Dolce far niente. [P] 6:355 O 74
November. [P] 6:415 N 74
Welcome to winter. [P] 6:493 D 74

HAYWARD, Abraham 1802-1884
Salons. (Rep from Essays) 4:341-54 O 73

A HEAD MASTER [pseud]
Our high schools. 3:35-45 Ja 73

HEAVYSEGE, Charles 1816-1876
The dark huntsman. [P] 10:134-5 Ag 76
about
The poetry of Charles Heavysege. Daniel Clark. 10:127-34 Ag 76
Heavysege's Saul. [R] Louisa Murray. 10:250-4 S 76
Charles Heavysege. [P] John Reade. RB2:301 Mr 79
HECTOR, John
Musical and theatrical reminiscences. RB8:579-82 Je 82

HEDLEY, James Alexander 1844-1916
The financial situation in Canada. RB5:84-7 J1 80

HELPS, Arthur 1813-1875
Mr. Arthur Helps, as an essayist. Charles Kingsley. (Rep from Macmillan's Magazine) 1:170-5 Fe 72

HENDERSON, T.K.
Sonnet. [P] 5:409 My 74

HEREWARD [pseud]
The legend of St. Hilda's bells. [P] RB5:419 O 80

HERRIDGE, W.T. [see also ?H., W.T.]

HEWSON, M. Butt
The Grand Trunk Railway. 8:275-91 O 75
The Canadian Pacific Railway. [R] RB3:359-69 O 79

HINCKS, Sir Francis 1807-1885
The Bank of England and the Act of 1844. 3:177-88 Mr 73
The political destiny of Canada. 12:56-66 J1 77; RB2:170-82 Fe 79
Canadian independence. RB7:400-5 0 81

Orangism, Catholicism and Sir Francis Hincks. J.A.Allen. 12:379-91 O 77
Canadian colonialism and Sir Francis Hincks. William Norris. RB7:501-6 N 81

see also BOOK REVIEWS

HIND, Henry Youle 1823-1908
The ice phenomena and the tides of the Bay of Fundy considered in connection with the construction of the Baie Verte Canal. 8:189-203 S 75

HISTORY, Study of

HODGINS, Thomas 1828-1910
Curiosities of parliamentary privilege. 5:514-25 Je 74
Legends of the deluge. 8:132-8 Ag 75
The prerogative of the Crown in colonial legislation. RB5:385-97 0 80
Parliamentary law affecting lawyers in parliament. RB7:333-43 0 81
HODGSON, George W.
The true basis of legislative prohibition. RB8:46-52 Ja 82

HOLLAND, Josiah Gilbert 1819-1881
about
A sprig of yew. Fidelis [pseud]. RB7:554-9 D 81

HOLM, Saxe [pseud] see JACKSON, Helen Maria

HOLME, Haydon

HOLMES, Gervas
Concerning the relations of science and art. 2:74-8 J1 72

HOLMESTED, George Smith 1841-1928 [see also ?H., G.S.]
Suggestions for the amendment of the laws relating to land. 9:322-7 Ap 76
The simplification of the transfer of land. 11:76-82 Ja 77
The law of succession to land in Ontario. 12:475-80 N 77
Mills' land bill for the Northwest Territories. RB1:78-84 J1 78

HOME FURNISHINGS
Furniture. Anon. (Rep from French Home Life) 6:78-89 Ja 74
Diogenes on bric-a-brac. Sara Jeannette Duncan. RB6:636-8 Je 81

HOOKER, Leroy 1840-1906
Christopher Columbus. 9:1-9 Ja 76

HORTON, Alice
The tale of a temptation. [P] 3:12-5 Ja 73
Renunciation. [P] 3:395 My 73
Lines. [P] 3:498 Je 73
The angel of endurance. [P] 4:191-2 S 73
Dissembling. [P] 4:483 D 73
Salutary. [P] 5:43-4 Ja 74
Reproach. [P] 5:117 Fe 74
The cross-roads. [P] 6:113 Ag 74
Fellow-sufferers. [P] 6:342 O 74
Low-flying. [P] 6:397 N 74
Speed the going guest. [P] 7:40 Ja 75
Discontent. [P] 7:239 Mr 75
To a crow. [P] 7:264 Mr 75
For a day and for ever. [P] 7:387-8 My 75
Voices. [P] 8:26 J1 75
From death to life. [P] 8:204 S 75
Dancing the old year out. [P] 8:504 D 75
A madrigal. [P] 9:543 Je 76
At the weir. [P] 10:59 J1 76
Sympathy-a madrigal. [P] 10:258 S 76
The path of life. [P] 11:156 Fe 77
A madrigal: from the German. [P] (Tr) 11:350 Ap 77
Tracks of light. [P] 12:55 J1 77
A madrigal. [P] 13:185 Fe 78
Precocity: a sonnet. [P] RB4:292 Mr 80
A madrigal: from the French of Francois Coppee. [P] (Tr) RB5:158 Ag 80
Absence. [P] RB5:460 N 80
A prayer: from the French of Sully Prudhomme. [P] (Tr) RB5:581 D 80
The peacemaker: from the German of Adolph Stober. [P] (Tr) RB6:628 Je 81
Nunc dimittis. [P] RB7:282-3 S 81

HOUGHTON, Richard Moncton Milnes, Baron 1809-1885
The present position and practice of the House of Lords. (Rep from Fortnightly Review) 1:270-8 Mr 72
Harriet, Lady Ashburton. (Rep from Monographs Personal and Social) 4:160-7 Ag 73
The Rev. Sydney Smith. (Rep from Monographs Personal and Social) 4:259-66 S 73
Mr. Swinburne's Bothwell. [R] (Rep from Fortnightly Review) 6:174-82 Ag 74
Notes on Endymion. [R] (Rep from Fortnightly Review) RB6:205-11 Fe 81

HOWE, Joseph 1804-1873
To my wife. [P] 3:32-5 Ja 73
Love's labour lost. [P] 7:157-8 Fe 75

about
The late Hon. Joseph Howe. G.M. Grant. 7:377-87 My, 497-508 Je 75;
8:20-25 J1, 115-22 Ag 75

HOWELLS, William Cooper 1807-1894
The whip-poor-will. [P] RB1:294 S 78
Superficial learning. RB1:429-32 O 78
Richard Realf. W.H. RB1:753-6 D 78

HOWELLS, William Dean 1837-1920
A fearful responsibility. [F] RB7:59-80 J1, 134-65 Ag 81

see also BOOK REVIEWS

HUGHES, Thomas 1822-1896
Oxford. (Rep from Memoirs of a Brother) 3:537-43 Je 73

HUMBER, Hubert [pseud]
My first cariboo. 1:509-18 Je 72

HUNT, F.L.
Out in the snow. [P] 7:142-3 Fe 75
Qu'appelle. [P] 8:393 N 75
Notes of the Qu'Appelle Treaty. 9:173-81 Mr 76

HUNTER, John Howard 1839-1911
School administration in Ontario. 4:517-27 D 73
The education of the blind. RB5:171-82 Ag 80
The Canadian laureate. RB6:54-8 Ja 81

see also BOOK REVIEWS
HUNTER-DUVAR, John 1830-1899
Where did Shakespeare get his Ariel? 9:201-3 Mr 76
D'Anvilles fleet. [P] 10:298-300 0 76
Christmas carols. 10:494-500 D 76
The knight and the maiden: a legend of the Crusades. [P] 11:255-7 Mr 77

ICELAND
A letter from high latitudes. Lord Dufferin. (Rep from A Letter from
High Latitudes) 1:550-7 Je 72
Old New World tales: the Northmen in America. Pierce Stevens Hamilton.
RB8:441-56 My 554-66 Je 82

IMMIGRATION
see also CANADA Immigration

EMIGRANTS
Celestial America. J.D.Edgar. 6:389-97 N 74
Juvenile pauper immigration. A Canadian [pseud]. 12:292-8 S 77

INDIA
Mohammed and Mohammedism. [R] Anon. 7:520-8 Je 75
The Mohammedan Luther. W.D. 9:318-21 Ap 76
My first tiger hunt. Griff. [pseud]. 11:64-7 Ja 77
Yackerbenderkellie. Arthur Harvey. RB1:85-9 J1 78

INDIANS, North American
see also CANADA Indians
An Indian's views of Indian Affairs. Joseph Young. (Rep from North
American Review) RB2:615-25 My 79

INGLELOW, Jean 1820-1897
Wishing. [P] (Rep from Poems) 5:501 Je 74
Jean Inglelow and her poetry. Felix L.Max. RB4:13-23 Ja, 141-9 Fe 80
see also BOOK REVIEWS

INGLIS, George
Mr. LeSueur and his critics. RB5:75-83 J1 80

INNES, Alexander Taylor
The personal responsibility of bank directors. (Rep from Contemporary
Review) RB8:266-80 Mr 82

INTELLECTUAL LIFE
The intellectual life. William D.LeSueur. 7:320-30 Ap 75
A quarrel with the nineteenth century. Martin J.Griffin. RB1:162-7 Ag,
290-4 S, 473-7 O 78
Superficial learning. William C.Howells. RB1:429-32 O 78
A phase of modern thought. John Watson. RB3:457-72 N 79
Modern pessimism. R.W.Boodle. RB3:591-601 D 79
What is genius? A.C. RB5:637-8 D 80
Is civilization declining? W.D.LeS[ueur]. RB6:95-7 Ja 81
IRELAND

The Irish question. Goldwin Smith. 3:116-35 Fe 73
Froude's English in Ireland. J.E.Cairnes. (Rep from Fortnightly Review)
6:270-83 S 74
The last days of the Irish parliament. S.W.Young. RB3:10-25 J1 79
Traits and portraits of Irish beggars. Louisa Murray. RB3:51-62 J1 79
Some Irish minor poets of the century. C.P.Mulvany. RB3:130-5 Ag 79
The Irish land question. John Curran. RB4:178-80 Fe 80
The Irish land question. Lewis Moffatt. RB5:654-60 D 80
The conduct of England to Ireland. Goldwin Smith. (Rep) RB8:628-43 Je 82

IRON

A few words about iron. W.Hamilton Merritt. RB3:32-6 J1 79

IRVING, Edward 1792-1834

about
In memory of Edward Irving. [P] C.P.Mulvany. RB6:204 Fe 81
Thomas Carlyle and Edward Irving. Louisa Murray. RB7:303-15 S 81

IRVING, Washington 1783-1859

about
Washington Irving's 'Old Christmas'. Walter Townsend. RB2:20-9 Ja 79
The home and grave of Washington Irving. Howard J.Duncan. RB2:717-22 Je 79

ISHMAEL [pseud, see also ?CROFTON, F.Blake]
Editor and contributor. RB8:511-4 My 82

ITALY

Italian vignettes. Anon. 2:225-36 S 72
The yellow Tiber. Grace Green. RB1:16-32 J1 78
Queen Victoria in Italy. C. RB2:605-7 My 79

J., T.T.
The life and lessons of a spider. [F] 10:64-73 J1 76

JACK, Isaac Allen 1843-1903
The academy and the grove in Canada. RB1:454-61 O 78

JACKSON, Helen Maria (Fiske Hunt)
Whose wife was she? [F] Saxe Holm [pseud]. RB4:429-34 Ap, 466-79 My 80

JACOX, Francis
Men of letters and unlettered wives. (Rep from Aspects of Authorship)
3:241-7 Mr 73
see also BOOK REVIEWS
JAKEWAY, Charles Edwin 1847-1906
   The star of fame. [P] 10:142-3 Ag 76

JAMES, Alfred

JAMESON, Edward
   On opening letters. (Rep from Golden Age) 7:30 Ja 75

JAMES, S.H.
   The three great problems of geology. [R] 12:500-7 N 77
   The spectroscope and its lessons. 13:266-74 Mr 78

JANUARIUS, Saint
   about
   Saint Januarius, patron saint of Naples. Alexandre Dumas. (Rep from Corricolo) 5:45-55 Ja 74

JARVIS, Salter M.
   Imperial federation and Canadian defences. RB4:449-58 My 80

JARVIS, Thomas Stinson 1854-1926
   Sonnets. [P] 12:611 D 77
   see also BOOK REVIEWS

JEFFERS, T.C.
   The rainbow and the rock. [P] RB7:260-1 S 81

JERDAN, William
   Progress of humanity: the act of war. 10:316-8 O 76

JEVONS, M.A.
   One faith in many forms. [P] (Rep from London Spectator) RB7:344 0 81

JOHNSTON, John 1792?-1829
   about

JOHNSTON, T.T.
   The rose. 10:217-9 S 76

JONES, A.Spencer
   The witches of Warboys. 13:52-6 Ja 78

JONES, Frederick T.
   The light of Asia. [R] RB4:584-92 Je 80

JOURNALISM
   see also CANADA Journalism
   Archibald Forbes and his Canadian experiences. George W.Field. RB4:511-4 My 80
JUDAISM

The Jewish question. Goldwin Smith. (Rep from Nineteenth Century)  
RB8:198-212 Fe 82

K., E.C.


K., S.

A voice. [P] 12:39 J1 77

KEATS, John 1795-1821

One more word about Keats. Edgar Fawcett.  RB2:449-54 Ap 79

KELLY, M.J.


KEMP, Alexander Ferrie 1822-1884

Weeds in water-works.  RB4:628-31 Je 80

KEPPEL, Sarah

Nothing. [P]  9:31-2 Ja 76  
Dreamland. [P] 10:122 Ag 76

KER, David 1842-1914

Autumn in southern Russia.  12:133-8 Ag 77  
The charmed life.  12:362-5 O 77

KERR, William Henry Corrie -1891

The Antigone of Sophocles.  RB8:389-96 Ap 82

KING, John 1843-1916

The American centennial exhibition.  8:308-14 O 75  
The newspaper press and the law of libel.  8:394-405 N 75  
The press association and its objects.  9:529-34 Je 76  
Our English Shakspere.  10:501-14 D 76

KINGSFORD, William 1819-1896

The early years of Three Rivers. [R]  RB5:449-60 N 80  
John Johnston, of Sault Ste. Marie.  RB7:1-8 J1 81  
The Saguenay and Lake St. John.  RB7:221-33 S 81  
see also BOOK REVIEWS

KINGSLEY, Charles 1819-1875

Mr. Arthur Helps, as an essayist. (Rep from Macmillan's Magazine)  1:170-5 Fe 72

In memoriam: Frederick Denison Maurice. (Rep from Macmillan's Magazine)  
1:546-50 Je 72

about

Charles Kingsley.  Fidelis [pseud].  7:249-53 Mr 75  
In memoriam: Charles Kingsley. [P] Fidelis [pseud].  7:253-4 M4 75
KIRBY, William 1817-1906

see also BOOK REVIEWS

KLEIMAR
Dr. Reinhard. [P] (Tr) 2:134-52 Ag 72

KNIGHT, R.S.
To Thaliarchus. [P] RB8:487 My 82

L., L.
Amourette. [P] RB2:567 My 79
To _________. [P] RB8:531-2 My 82

L., P.C.
Indian summer. [P] 6:293 O 74

L, R.E. [see also ?LEPROHON, Rosanna Eleanor]
Saint Valentine. 3:224 Mr 73

LA RAMÉE, Maria Louise 1839-1907

about
Ouida's novels. Anon. (Rep from Contemporary Review) 5:171-5 Fe, 255-60 Mr 74

see also BOOK REVIEWS

LL.B. [pseud]
Mr. J.A. Froude on the Oxford revival. RB7:397-9 0 81

LABOUR
Work. Samuel Smiles. (Rep from Character) 3:64-75 Ja 73
Servants and employers. Francis J. Moore. RB3:302-5 S 79

LABOUR MOVEMENTS
The nine hours' movement. C. Henry Stephens. 1:423-30 My 72
The labour movement. Goldwin Smith. 2:513-32 D 72
What is culpable luxury? Goldwin Smith. (Rep from Contemporary Review) 3:410-8 My 73

LAFLEUR, Eugène 1856-1930
The principles of copyright. RB5:373-81 O 80

LAMB, Charles 1775-1834

about
The 'At Homes' of Charles and Mary Lamb. Howard J. Duncan. RB4:356-61 Ap 80

LAMB, Mary 1764-1847 see LAMB, Charles

LANDON, Letitia Elizabeth 1802-1838

about
The story of L.E.L. Louisa Murray. 6:130-46 Ag 74
LANGMUIR, John W.
The asylums, prisons and public charities of Ontario and their system of management. RB5:239-47 S 80

LANGTON, John 1808-1894
Early French settlements in America. 5:502-13 Je 74

LANGUAGE
English grammar. H.Corson. 2:68-73 J1 72
Familiar sayings. E.R.B. 13:532-5 My 78
Feminine proper names. G.W.G. 13:597-606 Je 78
The testimony of names of places. John Reade. RB1:602-8 N 78
Notes on surnames. Joseph Bawden. RB4:504-11 My 80
Only a letter. F.Blake Crofton. RB5:254-60 S 80

LAON [pseud] see LESUEUR, William D.

LAPORTE, Laurent
Sailing on the Nile. (Tr) 3:247-53 Mr 73

LAURENTIUS [pseud]
Song of a spirit. [P] 10:161 Ag 76
Shine inward. [P] 13:265 Mr 78

LAW
see also CANADA Law
The newspaper press and the law of libel. J.King. 8:394-405 N 75
Law and the study of law. Lester Lelan. 13:190-201 Fe 78
The Bar of Ontario eighty years ago. D.B.Read. RB1:65-8 J1, 489-97 O 78
Trial by jury. D.B.Read. RB2:216-8 Fe 79
Religious belief in court. W.B.Cook. RB2:728-30 Je 79
No law school. Nicholas Flood Davin. RB4:119-20 Fe 80
No law school. Thomas A.Gorham. RB4:120-4 Fe 80
Legal education. Nicholas Flood Davin. RB4:287-92 Mr 80
The law student's grievance. Thomas A.Gorham. RB4:531-7 My 80
A tragedy of errors. D.B.Read. RB5:167-9 J1 80
Episodes of a law office. A Toronto Practitioner [pseud]. RB5:294-9 S 80
Waves of legal history. K.N.McFee. RB5:530-9 N 80
Juvenile offenders. D.B.Read. RB5:548-50 N 80

LEA, Gowan [pseud] see MORGAN, Mary

LEE, Robert Edward 1807-1870
about
A visit to General Robert E.Lee. George Taylor Denison. 1:231-7 Mr 72

LEFEVRE, Lily Alice (Cooke) –1938
Canada wooed by the seasons. [P] Fleurange [pseud]. 7:301-2 Ap 75
LEGENDS

see also MYTHOLOGY

A letter from high latitudes. Lord Dufferin. (Rep from A Letter from High Latitudes) 1:550-7 Je 72

Beowulf. Anon. (Rep from Popular Romances of the Middle Ages) 2:83-91 J1 72

The legend of the Kini-Balii. N.W. Beckwith. 6:114-28 Ag 74

Legends of the deluge. Thomas Hodgins. 8:132-8 Ag 75

Hartz reminiscences. A.M. 8:425-7 N 75

The rose. T.T. Johnston. 10:217-9 S 76

Pagan rites and Christian festivals. J.A.G. 10:525-33 D 76

An Indian legend. J.B. 13:201-3 Fe 78

A legend of the upper Ottawa. P.A.X. [pseud]. RB5:279-85 S 80

Old New World tales. P.S. Hamilton. RB8:441-56 My, 554-66 Je 82

LEGGO, William 1822-1888

Are legislatures parliaments? [R] RB3:345-58 O 79

Canada and her Indian tribes. [R] RB5:139-49 Ag 80

LEGION [pseud] see SULLIVAN, Robert Baldwin

LELAN, Lester

A flying visit to Paris. 12:584-94 D 77

Law and the study of law. 13:190-201 Fe 78

LEMOINE, James McPherson 1825-1912

The Hon. Louis Joseph Papineau. RB1:346-50 S 78

see also BOOK REVIEWS

LEPROHON, Rosanna Eleanor (Mullins) 1829-1879 [see also ?L, R.E.]

Clive Weston's wedding anniversary. 2:97-111 Ag, 193-208 S 72

see also BOOK REVIEWS

LESPERANCE, John Talon 1838-1891

The dumb speak. 2:506-12 D 72

Abbandonata. [P] 9:9-10 Ja 76

American and Canadian sonnets. RB3:449-55 N 79

see also BOOK REVIEWS

LeSUEUR, William Dawson 1840-1917

The poetry of Matthew Arnold. 1:219-29 Mr 72

Bernardin de St. Pierre. 5:324-38 Ap 74

Old and new in Canada. 7:1-9 Ja 75

The intellectual life. 7:320-30 Ap 75

Messrs. Moody and Sankey and revivalism. Laon [pseud]. 7:510-3 Je 75

Prayer and modern thought. 8:145-55 Ag 75

Proofs and disproofs. Laon [pseud] 8:339-48 O 75

Modern culture and Christianity. Laon [pseud]. 8:523-33 D 75

Prayer and natural law. 9:211-21 Mr 76

Liberty of thought and discussion. 10:202-12 S 76

Science and materialism. 11:22-8 Ja 77

Idealism in life. 13:414-20 Ap 78
The Rev. Phillips Brooks on 'popular scepticism'. Laon [pseud]. RB3:26-31 J1 79
A few words of criticism. RB3:323-8 S 79
The scientific spirit. RB3:437-41 O 79
The future of morality. RB4:74-82 Ja 80
Morality and religion. RB4:166-71 Fe 80
Mr. Spencer and his critics. RB4:413-22 Ap 80
Morality and religion again. RB4:642-55 Je 80
Morality without theology. RB5:522-8 N 80
Is civilization declining? W.D.LeS.[ueur]. RB6:95-7 Ja 81
Progress and poverty, and the doctrine of evolution. RB6:287-96 Mr 81
Carlyle and Comte. RB6:639-42 Je 81
The true idea of Canadian loyalty. RB8:1-11 Ja 82
Physics and metaphysics. [R] RB8:352-60 Ap 82
Free thought and responsible thought. RB8:614-20 Je 82

about

Mr. LeSueur and his critics. George Inglis. RB5:75-83 J1 80

LEVAUX, George V.
Mythology of the ancients. RB1:618-23 N 78

LEVER, Charles 1806-1872
about
Lever's military tales. J.L.Stewart. RB1:199-215 Ag 78

LEWIS, Richard
Mechanics' Institutes and the best means of improving them. 10:223-38 S 76

see also BOOK REVIEWS

LEX [pseud]
The change required in the Senate. RB4:277-9 Mr 80

LEYDEN, Lucas Van
about
Lucas Van Leyden. Walter Townsend. 13:588-96 Je 78

A LIBERAL [pseud]
The prospects of the Liberal party. RB6:429-33 Ap 81

LIBRARIES
see also MECHANICS' INSTITUTES
Wealth and its uses. W.R.G.Mellen. RB2:341-50 Mr 79

LIEBETREU
The sword point. (Tr) (Rep) 1:466-70 My 72

LIGHTHALL, William Douw 1857-1946
Sunrise. [P] 11:173 Fe 77
Praeterita ex instantibus. [P] 12:343 O 77
A national hymn. [P] RB7:553-4 D 81
The confused dawn. [P] RB8:553 Je 82
LINDSEY, Charles 1820-1908

The Treaty of Washington. 1:2-17 Ja 72
The North American Zolverein. 1:132-6 Fr 72
The unsettled boundaries of Ontario. 2:114-33 Ag 72

see also BOOK REVIEWS

LITERARY CRITICISM

see also Individual Authors

A few words of criticism. William D. LeSueur. RB3:323-8 S 79

LITERARY NOTES


LITERATURE

see also BOOKS AND READING

CURRENT LITERATURE

Christmas literature. J.L. Stewart. RB2:73-83 Ja 79
The reality and mission of ideal characters. Elihu Burritt. RB2:145-56 Fe 79
Spectators. Aberconway [pseud]. RB4:486-8 My 80

LIVINGSTONE, David 1813-1873

about

Discovery of Livingstone. Henry M. Stanley. (Rep from How I Found Livingstone) 2:558-65 D 72
Livingstone's last journals. [R] Anon. 7:254-63 Mr 75
Livingstone: obit May 1, 1873. [P] Aurora [pseud]. 7:414 My 75

LIVINGSTONE, Kay [pseud] see MACPHERSON, Katherine L.

LOCKER, Frances

The old government clerk. [P] (Rep from London Lyrics) 3:115-6 Fe 73
Rotten row. [P] (Rep from London Lyrics) 3:308 Ap 73
Old letters. [P] (Rep from London Lyrics) 4:228 S 73
Gerty's glove. [P] (Rep from London Lyrics) 5:513 Je 74

LOCKHART, Arthur John 1850-1926

Song of the English labourer. [P] RB3:650 D 79

LOGAN, John Edward 1852-1915

Sonnet. Barry Dane [pseud]. RB6:72 Ja 81
LONG, J.A.
The age in which we live and our duty towards it. 11:138-46 Fe 77

LONGFELLOW, Henry Wadsworth 1807-1882
The rainy day. [P] (Rep) 6:544 D 74
Grand Pré. [P] (Rep) RB3:343 O 79

Ap 82
Longfellow. W.D.Armstrong. RB8:488-97 My 82

see also BOOK REVIEWS

LONGLEY, James Wilberforce 1849-1922
Politics considered as a fine art. RB7:418-25 O 81
The future of Canada. RB8:147-54 Fe 82

LOUIE [pseud]
Flowers. [P] 9:528 Je 76

LOUREY, D.
The new utopia. [P] RB7:315-6 S 81

LOVETT-CAMERON, Mrs.H.
Juliet. 10:277-90 O, 378-97 N, 470-92 D 76; 11:1-21 Ja, 117-37 Fe,
233-54 Mr, 345-68 Ap, 502-15 My, 644-53 Je 77

LOWELL, James R.
The fatherland. [P] (Rep from Poems) 3:99 Fe 73
Sonnet. [P] (Rep from Poems) 3:135 Fe 73

LYALL, William 1811-1890
Thomas Campbell, a criticism. RB1:187-97 Ag 78
Tennyson, a criticism. RB1:477-89 O 78
Addison. RB2:411-20 Ap 79

LYD [pseud] see DIXON, Frederick Augustus

LYLE, Lizzie [pseud]
Rodney Mainwaring. [F] 9:44-55 Ja 76

LYTTON, Edward Robert Bulwer-Lytton, Earl of 1831-1891
The coming of spring. [P] (Rep from Fables in Song) 5:445-6 My 74
The French constitutional monarchy of 1830. Lord Lytton. 6:531-44
D 74

see also BOOK REVIEWS

M.
A woman before the mast. 10:136-42 Ag 76

M.
Crime and its treatment. 11:166-73 Fe 77
M.
The woman question. [F] RB2:568-79 My 79

M.
The Ontario elections. RB3:225-30 S 79

M.
Concerning youth. RB4:362-7 Ap 80

M., A.
Hartz reminiscences. 8:425-7 N 75

M., A.L.
We're to meet again. [P] RB8:338-9 Ap 82

M., C.E. see MOYSE, Charles Ebenezer

M., C.P. see MULVANY, Charles Pelham

M., E.A. [see also ?MEREDITH, E.A.]
Horace, lib.I, ode 38. [P] 3:220 Mr 73
Horace, ode I.22. [P] 4:28-9 J1 73

M., G.A. [see also ?MACKENZIE, G.A.]
The ball programme. [P] 7:318-9 Ap 75
Mr. Goldwin Smith on the prospect of a moral interregnum. RB3:663-5 D 79

M., G.L.
Love in absence: from the German of Goethe. [P] (Tr) RB5:253 S 80
Slumber song: from the German of Ruckert. [P] (Tr) RB6:613 Je 81

M., H.
Home. [P] 13:464-6 My 78

M., L. see MURRAY, Louisa

M., T.H.
Rain and rainfall in Canada. 11:192-6 Fe 77

Mac., D.J. [see also ?MacMURPHY, D.J.]
The weary watcher. [P] RB6:194 Fe 81

McC., A.V.
The history of confederation. RB5:185-94 Ag 80

McL., J.
Our commercial relations with the United States. 1:214-8 Mr 72

MACAULAY, Thomas Babington, Baron 1800-1859
about
Lord Macaulay and the Liberal party. Martin J.Griffin. 13:31-4 Ja 78
see also BOOK REVIEWS
MACDONELL, Blanche Lucile 1853-1924
The heroism of la petite Marie. [F] RB5:309-16 S 80

McDONELL, William 1814-1900
The day of rest. 9:516-23 Je 76
The child and the sunbeam. [P] 12:570 D 77
Heathen and Christian canonical coincidences. 13:393-402 Ap 78
Past and present. [P] RB3:270 Ag 79
The indemnity and tax exemption questions. RB3:417-9 O 79
The cost of government in Canada. RB4:173-7 Fe 80

McFEE, K.N.
Depreciation of bank stocks. RB2:692-5 Je 79
Waves of legal history. RB5:530-9 N 80

MacGILLIS, Mrs. A.
My baby boy. [P] RB5:60 J1 80
The old year and the new. [P] RB6:1-2 Ja 81
June. [P] RB6:555 Je 81
Winter thoughts. [P] RB8:861-2 Ja 82

McCOUN, Archibald 1853-1921
Commercial union with the United States. RB5:1-11 J1 80

MACHAON [pseud]
The legal responsibilities of criminals. RB5:541-7 N 80
Celt and Saxon. [P] RB6:489 My 81
Amateur soldiers and permanent protectors. RB7:40-6 J1 81

MACHAR, Agnes Maule 1837-1927
An old Canadian town. Fidelis [pseud]. 4:1-18 J1 73
For king and country: a story of 1812. Fidelis [pseud]. 5:102-16 Fe,
192-213 Mr, 183-304 Ap, 381-400 My, 481-501 Je 74
The royal marriage. [P] Fidelis [pseud]. 5:223-4 Mr 74
Historical sketch of the war of 1812. Fidelis [pseud]. 6:1-24 J1 74
The Thousand Islands. Fidelis [pseud]. 6:42-5 J1 74
A birthday song: for Dominion Day. [P] Fidelis [pseud]. 6:45-7 J1 74
September among the Thousand Isles. [P] Fidelis [pseud]. 6:228 S 74
A dirge for the dying summer. [P] Fidelis [pseud]. 6:438 N 74
A New Year's greeting. [P] Fidelis [pseud]. 7:10-11 Ja 75
Lost and won: a story of Canadian life. [F] Fidelis [pseud]. 7:12-30 Ja,
115-34 Fe, 209-25 Mr, 303-17 Ap, 389-403 My, 479-96 Je 75; 8:9-18 J1,
100-14 Ag, 205-13 S, 292-306 O, 380-92 N, 469-76 D 75
Higher education for women. Fidelis [pseud]. 7:144-57 Fe 75
Charles Kingsley. Fidelis [pseud]. 7:249-53 Mr 75
In memoriam: Charles Kingsley. [P] Fidelis [pseud]. 7:253-4 Mr 75
The heralds of Spring. [P] Fidelis [pseud]. 7:404-5 My 75
Prayer and modern doubt. Fidelis [pseud]. 8:224-36 S 75
Prayer and Christian belief. Fidelis [pseud]. 8:328-34 0 75
Present-day sonnets. [P] Fidelis [pseud]. 8:486-7 D 75
Creeds and confessions. Fidelis [pseud]. 9:134-46 Fe 76
To a friend in Europe. [P] Fidelis [pseud]. 9:203-4 Mr 76
The seen and the unseen. Fidelis [pseud]. 9:495-508 Je 76
The creek. [P] Fidelis [pseud]. 10:44-5 Mr 76
The divine law of prayer. Fidelis [pseud]. 10:144-55 Ag 76
The old year and the new. [P] Fidelis [pseud]. 11:29 Ja 77
Spring birds. [P] Fidelis [pseud]. 11:551 My 77
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Author</th>
<th>Notes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>The advent hymn.</td>
<td>[P] Fidelis [pseud].</td>
<td>RB8:11-2 Ja 82</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sophocles as a poet and teacher.</td>
<td>Fidelis [pseud].</td>
<td>RB8:567-77 Je 82</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MACHIAVELLI, Niccolo 1469-1527</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Machiavelli and Machiavellism.</td>
<td>C.R. Corson.</td>
<td>RB6:126-34 Fe 81</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The comedy of an umbrella.</td>
<td>[F] Ellis Dale [pseud].</td>
<td>11:519-28 My 77</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Selma: a tale of the summer holidays.</td>
<td>[F] Ellis Dale [pseud].</td>
<td>12:164-82 Ag, 265-80 S, 391-413 0 77</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nationalism and reaction.</td>
<td></td>
<td>12:594-601 D 77</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The scene of Evangeline.</td>
<td></td>
<td>RB3:337-43 0 79</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MACKENZIE, James Bovell 1851-1919</td>
<td>From London to Australia and back.</td>
<td>10:300-10 O 76</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MacKERRAS, John H.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>In memoriam: the late Professor MacKerras.</td>
<td>Fidelis [pseud].</td>
<td>RB4:135-41 Fe 80</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>McLACHLAN, Alexander 1818-1896</td>
<td>To an Indian's skull.</td>
<td>[P] 1:142-3 Fe 72</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Books.</td>
<td>1:421-2 My 72</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Introduction to &quot;The Warlock's Death-bed&quot;.</td>
<td>[P]</td>
<td>2:237-8 S 72</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>My old schoolmaster.</td>
<td>[P]</td>
<td>11:404-6 Ap 77</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alexander McLachlan's poems and songs.</td>
<td>W.P. Begg.</td>
<td>12:355-62 0 77</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>see also BOOK REVIEWS</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MacLEAN, John</td>
<td>The alliance of democracy and protection.</td>
<td>RB2:723-7 Je 79</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>see also BOOK REVIEWS</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MacLEAN, Kate Seymour</td>
<td>In the Sierra Nevada.</td>
<td>[P] 7:247-8 Mr 75</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Christmas.</td>
<td>[P]</td>
<td>8:476 D 75</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The higher law.</td>
<td>[P]</td>
<td>RB4:98 Ja 80</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Two windows.</td>
<td>[P]</td>
<td>RB4:124 Fe 80</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tide-water.</td>
<td>[P]</td>
<td>RB4:622-3 Je 80</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Walt Whitman and his poems.</td>
<td>RB5:29-34 J1 80</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The voice of many waters.</td>
<td>RB5:65 J1 80</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Forgotten songs.</td>
<td>[P]</td>
<td>RB5:210 Ag 80</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>An April dawn.</td>
<td>[P]</td>
<td>RB5:260 S 80</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Education and national sentiment.</td>
<td>RB6:190-4 Fe 81</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Removed.</td>
<td>[P]</td>
<td>RB7:32 J1 81</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A knight-errant.</td>
<td>[P]</td>
<td>RB7:241 S 81</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Song-crowned. [P] RB7:396 O 81
May. [P] RB8:456-7 My 82

see also BOOK REVIEWS

MacLEAN, W.F.
Exemption from municipal taxation: a plea for its abolition. 10:311-6 O 76

MacMURCHY, D.J. [see also ?M., D.J.]
Morning. [P] RB8:191 Fe 82

McMURRICH, William B.
Industrial schools. 2:424-8 N 72

McNAMARA, M.
Ancient and modern Aztecs. 12:258-64 S 77

McNEILL, Allan N.
A glimpse at Polynesia. 9:269-79 Ap 76

MacPHERSON, Katherine L.

McSLOGAN, Stephen
To a mosquito. [P] RB5:498 N 80

MAGEE, H.C.
Nox erat. [P] 12:152-3 Ag 77

MAIN, William
The warlock's death-bed. [P] 2:238-9 S 72

about
Introduction to "The Warlock's Death-bed". Alexander McLachan. 2:237-8 S 72

MAIR, Charles 1838-1927
The new Canada: its natural features and climate. 8:1-8 J1 75
The new Canada: its resources and productions. 8:156-64 Ag 75
Kanata. [P] 9:209-10 Mr 76
see also ANONYMOUS The half-breeds of Red River

MAITLAND, Mary A. (Davidson) 1839-1919
At the gate. [P] 2:112-3 Ag 72
Love's dream. [P] RB5:166 Ag 80
Impromptu lines. [P] RB5:381 0 80

MALLOCK, William Hurrell 1849-1923
A friend. [P] (Rep from Poems by Wm.H.Mallock) RB4:641 Je 80

about
Mr. Mallock: a retrospect. R.W.Boodle. [R] RB6:195-203 Fe 81
Mr. Mallock's Romance of the Nineteenth Century. [R] R.W.Boodle.
RB7:322-7 S 81
MANCHEE, S.H.
Another view of chess. RB7:645-8 D 81

MANIGAULT, Gabriel 1809-1888
Freetrade and protection. 5:214-23 Mr 74
What is money? RB5:412-8 0 80

MANITOBA
The half-breeds of Red River. Anon. 2:303-7 0 72
Our new provinces: Manitoba. George Bryce. 3:372-8 My 73
Winnipegosis. W.F. Munro. RB3:473-81 N 79
In the north-west with 'Sitting Bull'. E.D. Clark. RB5:66-73 J1 80

MANLEY, F.F.
Around Lake Ontario: notes of a holiday cruise. 10:46-59 J1 76

MANNERS, Robert Rutland
True solitude. [P] 7:331 Ap 75
Canada. [P] 12:189 Ag 77
A night in June. [P] RB1:472 0 78
The coming of the princess. [P] RB1:615-7 N 78
Kaspar. [P] RB2:29-32 Ja 79

MANNERS AND MORALS
Cheek. W. George Beers. 2:256-62 S 72

MAPLE LEAF [pseud] see GWILT, Fanny C.

MARSHALL, John George 1786-1880
about

MARSTON, Philip Bourke 1850-1887
Unsheltered love. [P] (Rep) RB8:597 Je 82

MARTIN, W.S.
The river. [P] 7:225 Mr 75
Sunshine. [P] 12:257 S 77

MARTINEAU, Harriet 1802-1876
about
Harriet Martineau. D. Fowler. 13:172-85 Fe 78

MARTINEAU, James 1805-1900
Modern materialism: its attitude towards theology. (Rep from Contemporary Review) 9:223-37 Mr 76

MARVIN, L.C.
An escape from Siberia. RB2:302-18 Mr 79

MASSEY, Gerald
The captain of the 'Northfleett'. [P] 3:409 My 73
MATERIALISM  see RELIGION

MATHEWS, Jehu
The political future of Canada. 8:54-61 J1, 89-98 Ag 75
A criticism of critics. 8:495-503 D 75

MATRIMONY
A monologue on matrimony. Anon. (Rep from Salad for the Solitary and the Social) 3:437-46 My 73
Brides and bridals. [R] Anon. 5:410-23 My 74

MATTHEWS, M.
Cloud bound: an artist's experience in the White Mountains of New Hampshire. RB5:286-90 S 80

MAURICE, Frederick Denison 1805-1872
about
In memoriam: Frederick Denison Maurice. Charles Kingsley. (Rep from Macmillan's Magazine) 1:546-50 Je 72

MAX, Felix L.
Jean Inglelow and her poetry. RB4:13-23 Ja, 141-9 Fe 80
see also BOOK REVIEWS

MAYNARD, H.Rowan
The women of the north-west. RB5:291-2 S 80

MECHANICS' INSTITUTES
see also LIBRARIES
Mechanics' Institute and the best means of improving them. I. Thomas Davison. 10:220-3 S 76; II. Richard Lewis. 10:223-38 S 76

MEDICINE
Euthanasia. J.Scofferin. (Rep from Stray Leaves of Science and Folk-lore) 2:461-6 N 72
Alcohol in medical science. Stephen A.Abbott. 8:27-34 J1 75
Medical manias. Daniel Clark. RB3:255-69 S 79
Medical education. N.H.Beemer. RB4:632-5 Je 80
Modern life and nervous force. David K.Brown. RB8:122-9 Fe 82

MELLON, W.R.G.
Wealth and its uses. RB2:341-50 Mr 79
George Fox and Quakerism. RB6:400-13 Ap 81

A MEMBER of the Toronto Athenaeum Club [pseud]
A dream of social revolution. RB6:629-34 Je 81

MEREDITH, E.A. [see also ?M., E.A.]
The public service of the Dominion. 3:1-12 Ja 73
Talfourd's Tragedy of Ion. 8:38-45 J1 75
MERMO TH [pseud]
Sonnet. [P] 8:131 Ag 75

MERRITT, W. Hamilton 1855-1918
A few words about iron. RB3:32-6 J1 79

META [pseud]
The great spirit. [P] RB5:352 0 80

MEXICO
Ancient and modern Aztecs. M. McNamara. 12:258-64 S 77

MILES [pseud, see also ?MILES, Henry Hopper]
Our militia. 5:185-91 Mr 74

MILES, Henry Hopper 1818-1895 [see also ?MILES, pseud]
Nelson at Quebec. RB2:257-75 Mr 79

MILITARY SCIENCE
see also WARS
Cavalry charges at Sedan. George T. Denison. 1:47-53 Ja 72

MILL, John Stuart 1806-1873
about
John Stuart Mill. Nicholas Flood Davin. 3:512-9 Je 73
Liberty of thought and discussion. William D. LeSueur. 10:202-12 S 76

MILLS, David 1831-1903
Railway reform: the Canadian Pacific Railway. 2:437-44 N 72

MILLS, William
Charity. [P] 9:402 My 76
My little fairy. [P] 10:126 Ag 76
We think of Thee, 0 God. [P] 11:147 Fe 77
The Rideau Canal. 13:375-7 Ap 78

MOBERLY, Thomas Edward 1849-
To the mayflower of Nova Scotia. [P] 7:442 My 75

MOFFATT, Lewis
The Irish land question. RB5:654-60 D 80

MONACHUS [pseud]
Autumn tints. [P] 2:418-9 N 72

MONEY
Old colonial currencies. Samuel Edward Dawson. 1:326-33 Ap 72
Liberty and its symbols on coins and medals. Henry Scadding. 9:479-87 Je 76
Wealth and its uses. W.R.G. Mellen. RB2:341-50 Mr 79
What is money? G. Manigault. RB5:412-8 0 80
MONOCLES
Sorrows and solaces of an eye-glass. F.Blake Crofton. RB7:84-7 J1 81

MONRO [pseud]
Shattered idols. [P] 4:387 N 73

The MONTHLY'S SCRAP BOOK
RB4:110-2 Ja, 222-4 Fe, 335-6 Mr, 446-8 Ap, 559-60 My 80

MOODIE, Susanna (Strickland) 1803-1885
The orphan. [P] 1:527 Je 72

see also BOOK REVIEWS

MOODY, Dwight Lyman 1837-1899
about
Messrs. Moody and Sankey and revivalism. Laon [pseud]. 7:510-13 Je 75
Laon on 'Messrs. Moody and Sankey and revivalism.' G.M.Grant. 8:250-5 S 75
Proofs and disproofs. Laon [pseud]. 8:339-48 O 75
Christianity and modern thought. G.M.Grant. 8:437-41 N 75
Modern culture and Christianity. Laon [pseud]. 8:523-33 D 75

MOONSHINE, Minerva [pseud]
On the higher education of women. 11:629-33 Je 77

MOORE, Frances J.
By my fireside. [P] RB3:62 J1 79
In my garden. [P] RB3:129 Ag 79
The one who loved him. [F] RB3:188-98 Ag 79
Servants and employers. RB3:302-5 S 79

MORALITY

see also RELIGION
Concerning the relations of science and art. Gervas Holmes. 2:74-8 J1 72
Art and morality. G.A.Simcox. (Rep from Macmillan's Magazine) 2:466-71 N 72
Music and morals. [R Anon. 3:208-20 Mr 73
Darwinism and morality. John Watson. 10:319-26 O 76
The evolution of morality: a reply. J.A.Allen. 11:490-501 My 77
Political morality. Carroll Ryan. RB3:402-10 O 79
The prospect of a moral interregnum. Goldwin Smith. (Rep from Atlantic Monthly) RB3:651-63 D 79
Mr. Goldwin Smith on 'the prospect of a moral interregnum.' G.A.M. RB3:663-5 D 79
The future of morality. W.D.LeSueur. RB4:74-82 Ja 80
Morality and religion. W.D.LeSueur. RB4:166-71 Fe 80
Morality and religion again. W.D.LeSueur. RB4:642-55 Je 80
Man's moral nature. [R] P.E.B. RB5:51-9 J1 80
Mr. LeSueur and his critics. George Inglis RB5:75-83 J1 80
Morality and the Gospel once more. J.F.Stevenson. RB5:269-77 S 80
Morality without theology. W.D.LeSueur. RB5:522-8 N 80
A dream of social revolution. A Member of the Toronto Athenaeum Club. RB6:629-34 Je 81
The cure of moral insanity. J.L.F. RB8:483-7 My 82

MORATA, Olympia 1528-1563
about

MORGAN, Mary 1856?- [see also ?AURORA, pseud]
O sweet sad face. [P] Gowan Lea [pseud]. 7:496 Je 75
Doubt not. [P] Gowan Lea [pseud]. 8:138 Ag 75
To the new year. [P] Gowan Lea [pseud]. RB4:46 Ja 80
The castle by the sea: from the German of Uhland. [P] Gowan Lea [pseud]. RB5:295 S 80
The nature. [P] Gowan Lea [pseud]. RB6:269 Mr 81
Spring song: from the German of Heine. [P] Gowan Lea [pseud]. RB7:178 Ag 81
Sonnet. [P] Gowan Lea [pseud]. RB7:211 Ag 81
A talk about flowers. RB7:459-64 N 81
To the new year. [P] Gowan Lea [pseud]. RB8:68 Ja 82
An aesthetic party. [P] Gowan Lea [pseud]. RB8:291 Mr 82

MORRIS, William 1834-1896
Songs. [P] (Rep from Love is Enough) 3:135-6 Fe 73
Love's October. [P] (Rep) 6:325 O 74
MORSE, F. Louise
The poetry of Shelley. 12:247-57 Ag 77

MOSS, Thomas 1837-1881

MOWAT, J. Gordon

MOYSE, Charles Ebenezer 1852-1924
Ode to nature. [P] C.E.M. RB7:93-4 J1 81
A New Year's wish. [P] C.E.M. RB8:100 Ja 82
Poetry as a fine art. RB8:243-57 Mr 82
see also BOOK REVIEWS

MUCHALL, Mary Elizabeth (Traill) 1841-1892
The bachelor's wife. [P] 1:131 Fe 72
The night of terror in the backwoods of Canada: a true story. 1:138-41 Fe 72
Only. [P] 1:343 Ap 72
My Lisette. [P] 1:496 Je 72
Running the Douro Rapids. [P] 2:302 O 72
Memories. [P] 2:408 N 72
Only a baby gone! [P] 10:310 O 76
Fallen idols. [P] 13:72-3 Ja 78

MULLER, Frederich Max 1823-1900
German love. (Tr) 6:100-13 Ag, 198-214 S 74

MULVANY, Charles Pelham 1835-1885
Reverie. [P] 2:67 J1 72
Some Irish minor poets of the century. RB3:130-5 Ag 79
"Messalina speaks". [P] RB3:253-5 S 79
Ballads of fair faces. [P] RB3:455-6 N, 590 D 79; RB4:73 Ja, 177 Fe 80
A Christmas carol. [P] RB4:1 Ja 80
Society in Dublin thirty years ago. RB4:376-8 Ap 80
Returned from sea. [P] (Rep from Lyrics, Songs and Sonnets) RB4:515 My 80

Some difficulties of agnosticism. RB4:578-82 Je 80
Marian's miseries. [F] RB5:37-49 J1 80
Estelle. Choriambics. [P] RB5:59 J1 80
The summer night. [P] RB5:285 S 80
A love idyl. [P] C.P.M. RB5:371-2 O 80
In memory of Edward Irving. [P] RB6:204 Fe 81
After the storm. [P] C.P.M. RB6:399 Ap 81
Niagara: from the French of Louis Honoré Fréchette. [P] (Tr) RB7:26 J1 81
When the locks of burnished gold. [P] C.F.M. RB7:120 Ag 81
In memoriam: Samuel James Watson. RB7:639 D 81
The trysting-place revisited. [P] RB8:87 Ja 82
Garibaldi. [P] RB8:627 Je 82
see also BOOK REVIEWS

MUNRO, William F.
Winnipegoosis. RB3:473-81 N 79

MURPHY, Blanche Elizabeth Mary Annunciata (Noel) 1845-1881
Chester and the Dee. RB1:514-28 N 78

MURRAY, George 1830-1910
The wisdom of the East. 1:392-3 My 72
To a beautiful girl: translated from Victor Hugo. [P] (Tr) RB5:278 S 80
Fame and love: translated from Victor Hugo. [P] (Tr) RB5:474-5 N 80
Madrigal: from the French of Henry Murger. [P] (Tr) RB5:588 D 80

MURRAY, John Clark 1836-1917
Atomism and theism. 7:31-9 Ja 75
see also BOOK REVIEWS

MURRAY, Louisa 1818-1894
Marguerite Kneller. [F] 1:28-33 Ja, 107-17 Fe, 239-47 Mr, 334-43 Ap, 432-8 My, 519-26 Je 72
One woman's valentine. [P] L.M. 1:137 Fe 72
Forsaken. [P] L.M. 1:403-5 My 72
Carmina. [F] 2:385-408 N, 481-505 D 72
Basil plants and pansies. 5:225-33 Mr 74
The story of L.E.L. 6:103-46 Ag 74
Heinrich Jung Stilling. 9:26-31 Ja 76
Heavysège's Saul. [R] 10:250-4 S 76
Swift and the women who loved him. 11:30-7 Ja, 174-82 Fe, 293-302 Mr, 529-44 My 77
Poetry and dogma. 12:366-9 O 77
The fair Ophelia. 13:137-45 Fe 78
Traits and portraits of Irish beggars. RB3:51-62 J1 79
A defence of Carlyle's Reminiscences. RB7:121-33 Ag 81
Thomas Carlyle and Edward Irving. RB7:303-15 S 81

MUSIC
Music and morals. [R] Anon. 3:208-20 Mr 73
Theatricals at Rideau Hall. Anon. 7:374-5 Ap 75
Descriptive music. J.W.F. Harrison. RB3:271-7 S 79
Music. Crotchett. RB4:220-2 Fe 80
Salvani at the Grand Opera House. RB6:216 Fe 81
Musical and theatrical reminiscences. John Hector. RB8:579-82 Je 82

MYTHOLOGY

Mddy also LEGENDS
Mythology of the ancients. George V. LeVaux. RB1:618-23 N 78

N., J.F.
An adventure and no mistake. 2:429-35 N 72

NAVAL HISTORY

Ancient war galleys. L.C. Allison. RB1:574-85 N 78

NELSON, Horatio Nelson, Viscount 1758-1805

Nelson at Quebec. Henry H. Miles. RB2:257-75 Mr 79

NEIL [pseudo]
A year ago. [P] 9:494 Je 76
Untrue. [P] 10:290 O 76
Horace for ladies. [P] 11:165 Fe 77

NEOT, G. [pseudo]
On a hummingbird. [P] 1:117-8 Fe 72

NEW BRUNSWICK

The American and British 'Down-East's. Elihu Burritt. 11:590-5 Je 77

NEWELL, John Robert 1853-1912
Ode to midnight. [P] RB6:342 Ap 81
Sonnet. [P] RB6:160 Fe 81

see also BOOK REVIEWS

NEWFOUNDLAND

The climate of Newfoundland. P. Tocque. 10:156-8 Ag 76

NEWMAN, Francis William 1805-1897

The two Newman's. M.J.G. 8:317-20 O 75

NEWMAN, John Henry 1801-1890

The two Newman's. M.J.G. 8:317-20 O 75

see also BOOK REVIEWS

NICHOL, R.T.

Troy. [P] 12:638-9 D 77
The passing of autumn. [P] 13:146-7 Fe 78
NICHOLSON, H. Alleyne
Man's place in nature. 1:35-45 Ja 72

see also BOOK REVIEWS

NICHOLSON, M.H.
The minstrel's good night. [P] RB1:197-8 Ag 78

NOEL, Geoffrey
Broken. [P] (Rep from College Rhymes) 6:197 S 74

NOEL, Garet [pseud]
On the late disaster in London, Ontario. [P] RB7:46-7 Jl 81
The song of Niagara. [P] RB7:172-3 Ag 81
Lake Ontario. [P] RB7:379-80 0 81
The St. Lawrence. [P] RB8:588-9 Je 82

NOEL, Mrs. John Vavasour 1815-1873
Dinah Blake's revenge. [F] 1:201-13 Mr, 302-17 Ap, 393-403 My, 497-507
Ja 72; 2:10-22 Jl 72

A NON-RESIDENT OF NEWFANGLE [pseud]
Newfangle and its opinions. RB3:200-6 Ag 79
Newfangle again. RB3:410-6 0 79
A brief summing up on the woman question. RB3:620-6 D 79

NORRIS, William
Canadian nationality and its opponents. 8:237-43 S 75
The practical principles of Canadian nationalism. 13:352-9 Ap 78
Canadian nationality: a present-day plea. RB4:113-8 Fe 80
A review of political parties in Canada: from a Canadian stand-point.
RB6:614-20 Je 81
The colonist organ's attack on freedom of discussion. RB7:166-72 Ag 81
Canadian colonialism and Sir Francis Hincks. RB7:501-6 N 81

see also BOOK REVIEWS

NORTON, Charles Ledyard 1837-1909
The canoe convention on Lake George. RB7:426-9 O 81

NOSTREBOR, Dr. [pseud]
The lover's leap: an Indian legend. [P] 10:248-9 S 76

NOVA SCOTIA
Confederation in Nova Scotia. Anon. 4:361-75 N 73
The American and British 'Down-Easters.' Ellihu Burritt. 11:590-5 Je 77
The scene of *Evangeline*. G.A. MacKenzie. RB3:337-43 O 79
On the basin of Minas. Thomas Cross. RB5:471-4 N 80
Lobster-spearing. F. Blake Crofton. RB6:48-51 Ja 81
The island of Cape Breton. John G. Bourinot. RB8:329-38 Ap 82

OATES, Moses [pseud] see MOWAT, J. Gordon

O'BRIEN, Lucius R.
Art education: a plea for the artizan. RB2:584-91 My 79

O'HAGAN, Thomas 1855-1939
Ireland! [P] RB4:301-2 Mr 80

OLD AGE
Concerning old age. Clarence Thomas Campbell. 1:448-52 My 72

AN OLD HEAD-MASTER [pseud]
The literature of education in Canada. [R] RB4:593-600 Je 80

OLIPHANT, Margaret 1828-1897
For an andante of Mendelssohn's. [P] (Rep) RB8:469 My 82
see also BOOK REVIEWS

OMAR, Khayyam
about
An old Persian poet. [R] Fidelis [pseud]. 10:399-404 N 76

O'MEARA, Rev. Canon
The earth and man. 9:253-61 Ap 76

ONTARIO
see also EXHIBITIONS
The recent struggle in the parliament of Ontario. A Bystander [pseud].
1:143-9 Fe 72
The late session of the parliament of Ontario. A Bystander [pseud].
1:318-24 Ap 72
The public schools of Ontario. James Porter. 1:483-96 Je 72
The unsettled boundaries of Ontario. Charles Lindsey. 2:114-33 Ag 72
Marine of Toronto harbour, 1799-1816. Henry Scadding. (Rep from
*Toronto of Old*) 3:345-53 Ap 73
Toronto of old. Daniel Wilson. 4:89-96 Ag 73
School administration in Ontario. J. Howard Hunter. 4:517-27 D 73
The Ottawa Valley. John George Bourinot. 7:41-55 Ja 75
Exhibition of the Ontario Society of Artists. Anon. 7:588-9 Je 75
Around Lake Ontario. F. F. Manley. 10:46-59 J1 76
Kingston and the Thousand Islands. F. P. Betts. 10:112-9 Ag 76
The law of succession to land in Ontario. George S. Holmested. 12:475-80
N 77
Through the phosphate country to the desert. J. G. Bourinot. 13:23-31 Ja 78
The duration of the legislative assembly. Alfred H. Dymond. RB2:470-86 Ap 79
The northern lakes of Ontario. Anon. RB3:1-8 J1 79
The Ontario elections. M. RB3:225-30 S 79
A three weeks' fishing trip to Muskoka. H. V. P. RB5:13-20 J1 80
Biennial legislation. Charles Clarke. RB6:340-1 Ap 81
Ontario fifty years ago and now. Canniff Haight. RB6:443-54 My, 556-77 Je 81; RB7:283-92 S 82
The north land. Sydney Reid. RB6:622-4 Je 81
The northern and western boundaries awarded to Ontario. Parliamentum [pseud]. RB8:302-13 Mr, 379-88 Ap 82
Toronto and its early theatrical entertainments. George M. Harrington. RB8:600-13 Je 82

OPiUM
Opium eating. Anon. 13:248-55 Mr 78

O'REGAN, Myles
The battle of Lundy's Lane. [P] RB5:124-5 Ag 80

ORMISTON, T. S.
A student's view of education in New York City. 9:112-9 Fe 76

OUIDA [pseud] see LA RAMEE, Maria Louise

OUTRAM, George 1805-1856
The annuity. [P] (Rep from Lyrics, Legal and Miscellaneous) 6:128-9 Ag 74

OWEN, Catherine [pseud?]
Only a fiddle: a Christmas story. [F] 8:505-11 D 75
Love's young dream. 9:95-110 Fe 76
In the green woods. [F] 11:269-78 Mr 77

OXFORD UNIVERSITY
Alfredus rex fundator. Goldwin Smith. 2:157-69 Ag 72

P., F. E. P.
Sleighing song. [P] 9:25 Ja 76

P., H. V.
A three weeks' fishing trip to Muskoka. RB5:13-20 J1 80

PALGRAVE, Francis T. 1788-1861
To Florence. [P] (Rep from Idylls and Songs) 4:133 Ag 73
PAPACY
Papal conclaves and ceremonies observed at the election of a Pope. J.D. 4:112-22 Ag 73

PAPINEAU, Louis Joseph 1786-1871
A stray leaf from an old diary. J.LeMoine. RB1:346-50 S 78

PARKIN, C.W.
Diderot and materialism. RB7:640-3 D 81

PARLIAMENTUM [pseud]
The northern and western boundaries awarded to Ontario. RB8:302-13 Mr, 379-88 Ap 82

PASTON, John 1466

PAUL [pseud]
Changes and chances. [F] RB8:12-42 Ja 82

P.A.X. [pseud]
A legend of the upper Ottawa. RB5:279-85 S 80

PAYN, James 1830-1898
see also BOOK REVIEWS

PEARL [pseud]
Visions of the night. [P] 11:62-3 Ja 77

PEDLEY, Hugh 1852-1923
Theological studies and the times. RB5:88-93 J1 80
The study of Canadian politics. RB8:361-9 Ap 82

PENN, William 1644-1718

PEPYS, Samuel 1633-1703

PERRY, Flora
After the ball. [P] (Rep) 7:208 Mr 75

PETERS, G.J.D.
Memor et Fidelis. [P] RB6:46-7 Ja 81
PHILOSOPHY
On hibernicisms in philosophy. Duke of Argyll. (Rep from Contemporary Review) 1:164-70 Fe 72
Diderot and materialism. C.W.Parkin. RB7:640-3 D 81

PHIPPS, R.W.
The advantages of protective tariffs. 9:303-12 Ap 76

PHYSICS
Force and energy. Grant Allen. 10:20-31 J1 76

PLAY TEXTS
The game of checkers. Anon. (Tr) 2:434-43 N 72
Scenes from Rabagas. Sardou. (Rep) 4:29-36 J1 73

POE, Edgar Allan 1809-1849

about

POEMS
Ab initio. Isabella Sinclair. RB3:186-7 Ag 79
Abandonata. John Lesperance. 9:9-10 Ja 76
Absence. Alice Horton. RB5:460 N 80
Aca nada. Kay Livingstone. [pseud]. 13:606-7 Je 78
Across the gulf. Fleurange [pseud]. RB3:294-5 S 79
An advent hymn. Fidelis [pseud]. RB8:11-2 Ja 82
An aesthetic party. Gowan Lea [pseud]. RB8:291 Mr 82
After the ball. Flora Perry. (Rep) 7:208 Mr 75
After the storm. C.P.M. RB6:399 Ap 81
The afterglow. Gowan Lea [pseud]. RB5:624 D 80
Afterward. Mary Barry Smith. 8:34 J1 75
Agricola. (Tr) John Reade. RB8:121 Fe 82
Alexis. John Reade. 1:150-1 Fe 72
Amaranthus. Erato [pseud]. RB8:183 Fe 82
L'amour. (Tr) W.P. Dole. RB2:182 Fe 79
Amourette. L.L. RB2:567 My 79
An angel in the house. Anon. (Rep) RB6:638 Je 81
The angel of endurance. Alice Horton. 4:191-2 S 73
The annuity. George Outram. (Rep from Lyrics, Legal and Miscellaneous) 6:128-9 Ag 74
Anteros: love the avenger. F.A.D. 7:411 My 75
An apology. Gamma [pseud]. 8:378-9 N 75
Apotasis. F.K. Crosby. 2:169 Ag 72
An appeal to May. Anon. (Rep from Apple Blossoms) RB4:485 My 80
An April dawn. Kate Seymour MacLean. RB5:260 S 80
An April day. Fidelis [pseud]. 13:502 My 78
At parting. A.C. Swinburne. (Rep from the Athenaeum) 8:243 S 75
At the Chaudière Falls. Charles Sangster. 1:200-3 Mr 72
At the gate. Mary Maitland. 2:112-3 Ag 72
POEMS (continued)
At the water side. W.P.Dole. (Tr) 10:412 N 76
At the weir. Alice Horton. 10:59 J1 76
Au revoir. W.T.H. RB7:530-1 N 81
Autumn. Sara Duncan. RB5:494 N 80
Autumn. C.G.D.Roberts. RB7:509 N 81
Autumn. W.W.S. 4:437 N 73
Autumn rain. J.R.Wilkinson. RB3:488 N 79
An autumn song. Gowan Lea [pseud]. RB7:506 N 81
Autumn tints. Monachus [pseud]. 2:418-9 N 72
Ave atque vale: Henry Wadsworth Longfellow. C.P.Mulvany. RB8:419-20
Ave imperatrix. Oscar Wilde. (Rep) RB7:389-91 O 81
Bachelor's buttons. D.W. 5:55-6 Ja 74
The bachelor's wife. Mary Elizabeth Muchall. 1:131 Fe 72
The ball programme, G.A.M. 7:318-9 Ap 75
Ballad of the poet's thought. Charles D.Roberts. RB4:375 Ap 80
Ballads of fair faces. C.P.Mulvany. RB3:455-6 N, 590 D 79;
RB4:73 Ja, 177 Fe 80
The bard. Charles Sangster. 1:438-40 My 72
The battle of Lundy's Lane. Myles O'Regan. RB5:124-5 Ag 80
The battle of the Huns. Fidelis [pseud]. 2:361-2 O 72
The battle-call of the antichrist. F.Blake Crofton. RB7:38-9 J1 81
Bay sorrel: a ballad. F.R. 12:514 N 77
Beautiful, why wilt thou die? John Reade. 4:97 Ag 73
Beneath the leaves. Jane Smith. 10:398 N 76
Betrayed. Vox Tristis [pseud]. 2:251 Ag 72
Birthday song: for Dominion Day. Fidelis [pseud]. 6:45-7 J1 74
Broken. Geoffrey Noel. (Rep from College Rhymes) 6:197 S 74
Buds and babies. Anon. RB8:351 Ap 82
By my fireside. Frances J.Moore. RB3:62 J1 79
Canada. Nicholas Flood Davin. 13:350-1 Ap 78
Canada. R.Rutland Manners. 12:189 Ag 77
Canada. F.S.Spence. RB7:8-11 J1 81
Canada. E.S.T. 7:18-9 J1 75
Canada. D.W. 4:471-3 D 73
Canada: a visitor's farewell. R.C. 4:516 D 73
Canada, our hame: dedicated to Scottish readers. Fidelis [pseud].
RB5:34-6 J1 80
Canada, past and present. F.A.Dixon. 1:507-9 Je 72
Canada wooed by the seasons. Fleurange [pseud]. 7:301-2 Ap 75
Canada's emblem. W.Birch Canavan. 1:218 Mr 72
Canadian idylls: the Queen's birthday.
  Prelude; Spina Christi, part I. RB6:414-23 Ap 81
  Spina Christi, parts II & III. RB6:511-7 M 81
  Interlude first; the bells of Kirby Wiske. RB8:281-91 Mr 82
  The Lord's supper in the wilderness. RB8:370-9 Ap 82
Canadian national hymn. F.A.D. 8:427 N 75
Canadian poetry. G.G. 7:134 Fe 75
The captain of the 'Northfleet'. Gerald Massey. 3:409 My 73
Captain Vivaine: an operetta. F.R. 11:183-7 Fe 77
POEMS (continued)

The castle by the sea. Gowen Lea [pseud]. (Tr) RB5:295 S 80
Catherine-dying. Mary St.Ledger. 4:418 N 73
Celt and Saxon. Machaon [pseud]. RB6:489 My 81
Change. M.B. 10:73 J1 76
A chapter of French history. John Reade. 2:36-7 J1 72
Charity. William Mills. 9:402 My 76
Charles Heavysege. John Reade. RB2:301 Mr 79
The child and the sunbeam. W.McDonnell. 12:570 D 77
The child-musician. Austin Dobson. (Rep from Proverbs in Porcelain) RB4:655 Je 80
Chloe's theft: a 17th century song (after Herrick). Walter Townsend. RB1:453 0 78
Christmas. Earl of Dufferin. 9:43 Ja 76
Christmas. Kate Seymour MacLean. 8:476 D 75
Christmas. John Reade. RB2:69-73 Ja 79
A Christmas carol. Fidelis [pseud]. RB6:59-61 Ja 81
A Christmas carol. C.P.Mulvany. RB4:1 Ja 80
A Christmas carol. F.R. 12:583 D 77
Christmas: 1878. Watten Small. RB2:105 Ja 79
Christmas, 1881. S.Frances Harrison. RB7:622 D 81
A Christmas hymn. Mary B.Sanford. RB2:19 Ja 79
A Christmas ode. Anon. (Tr) 2:556-8 D 72
Club life. Earl of Dufferin. 9:360-1 Ap 76
The coming of spring. Robert, Lord Lytton. (Rep from Fables in Song) 5:445-6 Mr 74
The coming of the princess. R.Rutland Manners. RB1:615-7 N 78
Coming summer. Frances Havergal. (Rep from Ministry of Song) 3:292-3 Ap 73
Confessions: a series of sonnets. Seranus [pseud]. RB8:77-8 Ja, 196-7 Fe, 300-2 Mr 82
The confused dawn. W.D.Lighthall. RB8:553 Je 82
Conquered. A.W.G. 10:433 N 76
Conscious. Sara Duncan. RB7:417 O 81
The consolations of science: from Lucretius. Goldwin Smith. (Tr) 1:53-4 Ja 72
Constantia to her love. C.L.R. 11:484-5 My 77
The creek. Fidelis [pseud]. 10:45-5 J1 76
The cross-roads. Alice Horton. 6:113 Ag 74
The cry of Cain. F.Blake Crofton. RB5:49-50 J1 80
Cupid's missive. Temple [pseud]. RB6:254 Mr 81
The dance of the winds. Mrs.J.C.Yule. 2:344-6 O 72
Dancing the old year out. Alice Horton. 8:504 D 75
D'Anvilles fleet. John Hunter-Duvar. 10:298-300 O 76
The dark huntsman. Charles Heavysege. 10:134-5 Ag 76
A day dream. Hester A.Benedict. 7:66 Ja 75
De profundis. X.Y. [pseud]. 12:365 O 77
The death of Brock: a Canadian legend addressed to the school-boys of
Canada. William F.Coffin. 9:182-5 Mr 76
POEMS (continued)

Death of summer. J.R.Wilkinson. RB5:639 D 80
Desolata. F.A.Dixon. RB8:498 My 82
Despondency. Matthew Arnold. (Rep) RB2:701 Je 79
Destiny. Edwin Arnold. (Rep) RB3:395 O 79
A dirge for the dying summer. Fidelis [pseud]. 6:438 N 74
Disarmament. John G.Whittier. (Rep) 4:320 O 73
Discontent. Alice Horton. 7:239 Mr 75
Dissembling. Alice Horton. 4:483 D 73
Dolce far niente. Paul H.Hayne. 6:438 N 74
Dominion Bay, 1879. Fidelis [pseud]. RB3:8-9 J1 79
The Doncaster St.Leger. Sir Francis Hastings Doyle. (Rep) 4:19-21 J1 73
Doubt. Daniel Wilson. (Rep from Spring Wild Flowers) 8:315-6 O 75
Doubt not. Gowan Lea [pseud]. 8:138 Ag 75
Dreamland. Sarah Keppel. 10:122 Ag 76
Dreams. Gowan Lea [pseud]. 10:500 D 76
Drifting. H.L.Spencer. 11:21 Ja 77
Drowned. A.W.G. 10:36 J1 76
Drowned at the ford. E.W.Thomson. 2:23-5 J1 72
Elnah's grave: an Indian legend. F. 10:493 D 76
Eloise. Mrs.J.C.Yule. 1:446-7 My 72
Elswitha. Mary Barry Smith. 7:114-5 Fe 75
The emigrant mountaineer. Aurora [pseud]. (Tr) 2:543-4 D 72
The emigrant's farewell. George W.Field. RB3:344 O 79
Estelle: choriambics. C.P.Mulvany. RB5:59 J1 80
Evening. H.Kay Coleman. RB7:88 J1 81
Evening in early summer. M.L.S. 10:18-9 J1 76
Evening in June. T.W.S. RB8:582 Je 82
Evolution. A.W.G. 13:647 Je 78
Faint heart. Anon. 4:527 D 73
The faithful wife: a Norse legend. A.R. 10:110-1 Ag 76
Faithfulness. Esperance [pseud]. RB5:528-9 N 80
Fallen idols. Mary Elizabeth Muchall. 13:72-3 Ja 78
Fame. Anon. RB6:532 My 81
Fame and love. George Murray. (Tr) RB5:474-5 N 80
Farewell to Canadian summer. Anon. 4:307-8 O 73
Fatherland. James R.Lowell. (Rep) 3:99 Fe 73
February. J.A.Boyd. 1:126 Fe 72
Fellow-sufferers. Alice Horton. 6:342 O 74
'Felo de se'. F.Blake Crofton. RB8:154 Fe 82
Fifteen years later. Fidelis [pseud]. 11:614-5 Je 77
The fishers. Charles Sangster. 8:222-3 S 75
Flowers. Louie [pseud]. 9:528 Je 76
For a day and for ever. Alice Horton. 7:387-8 My 75.
For an andante of Mendelsohn's. Mrs.Oliphant. (Rep) RB8:469 My 82
Forgiveness. John Reade. RB6:296 Mr 81
Forgotten. Agnes Maule Machar. RB5:470 N 80
Forgotten songs. Kate Seymour MacLean. RB5:210 Ag 80
Forsaken. L.M. 1:403-5 My 72
Fourteen years ago. Esperance [pseud]. RB5:233-6 S 80
A fragment. Seranus [pseud]. RB8:646 Je 82
A friend. William H. Mallock. (Rep) RB4:641 Je 80
From death to life. Alice Horton. 8:204 S 75
From Virgil. R.W.B. RB7:198 Ag 81
The funeral day, Sept. 26th, 1881. Fidelis [pseud]. RB7:441-2 N 81
A gage d'amour. Anon. (Rep from Vignettes in Rhyme) 6:40-1 J1 74
A game of chess. Mortimer Collins. (Rep) 4:375 N 78
The game-awa'land. A.M.R. RB5:397 O 80
Garibaldi: died at Caprera, June 2nd, 1882. C.P.Mulvany. RB8:627 Je 82
The gates of life. St. Quentin [pseud]. RB3:102 J1 79
A gage d'amour. Anon. (Rep from Vignettes in Rhyme) 6:40-1 J1 74
A game of chess. Mortimer Collins. (Rep) 4:375 N 78
The gates of life. St. Quentin [pseud]. RB3:102 J1 79
The great spirit. Meta [pseud]. RB5:352 O 80
Greetings. Anon. RB4:34 Ja 80
The Hadji said. H.L.Spencer. RB2:169 Fe 79
The hand-clasp. Cluny [pseud]. 4:37 J1 73
The hapless mother. Rose [pseud]. RB6:181 Fe 81
Hearts and eyes. A.W.G. 11:137 Fe 77
The heralds of spring. Fidelis [pseud]. 7:404-5 My 75
Hidden blessings. J.A.Allen. 9:407 My 76
The higher law. Kate Seymour MacLean. RB4:98 Ja 80
The Hindoo Sirdar, or the Rajah of Bickrampore. D. 9:122 Fe 76
His picture. Esperance [pseud]. RB8:598-9 Je 82
Home. H.M. 13:464-6 My 78
"L'homme propose." F.A.D. 8:307 O 75
Honour. Surena [pseud]. 2:255 S 72
Horace. F.A.D. (Tr) 7:339-40 Ap 75
Horace. W.P.Dole. (Tr) 9:279 Ap 76
Horace. W.P.Dole. (Tr) 9:417 My 76
Horace. E.A.M. (Tr) 3:220 Mr 73
Horace. E.A.M. (Tr) 4:28-9 J1 73
Horace. Goldwin Smith. (Tr) 3:46 Ja 73
Horace for ladies. Emma E. 11:165 Fe 77
Horace for ladies. Nemo [pseud]. 11:165 Fe 77
Horizons. Gowan Lea [pseud]. 13:596 Je 78
Humour. Edgar Fawcett. RB1:289 S 78
"I hold within my hand a lute." Dora Greenwell. RB3:385 O 79
An idyl of Swampville. F.R. RB5:138 Ag 80
"If you had a bird with a broken wing." F.A.D. RB7:458 N 81
Impatient buds. E.Watson. RB4:600-1 Je 80
Impromptu lines (written in an old album). M.A.Maitland. RB5:381 O 80
In a studio. Fidelis [pseud]. RB4:82 Ja 80
In church. M.W. RB6:587 Je 81
In exile. Maurice Thompson. (Rep from Century) RB8:535-7 My 82
In memoriam. George Gerrard. RB7:292-4 S 81
In memoriam: Charles Kingsley, obiit 23rd January, 1875. Fidelis [pseud]. 7:253-4 Mr 75
In memoriam: Henry J. Grasett, D.D., Dean of Toronto. G.R.G. RB8:431 A 82
In memoriam: James Abram Garfield. Esperance [pseud]. RB7:487 N 81
In memoriam: Samuel James Watson. C.P.Mulvany. RB7:639 D 81
In memoriam: Thomas Moss, Chief Justice of Ontario. Fidelis [pseud]. RB6:107-8 Fe 81
In memory of Barry Cornwall, October 4, 1874. Algernon C.Swinburne. (Rep) 6:530 D 74
In memory of Edward Irving. C.P.Mulvany. RB6:204 Fe 81
In my garden. Frances J. Moore. RB3:129 Ag 79
In the moonlight. Esperance [pseud]. RB5:660 D 80
In the orchard. Esperance [pseud]. RB8:52-3 Ja 82
In the Sierra Nevada. Kate Seymour MacLean. 7:247-8 Mr 75
In time of peace. Sarah Doudney. (Rep from Good Words) RB8:168 Fe 82
In vain. H.L.Spencer. RB1:545 N 78
Inconstancy. Anon. RB6:642 Je 81
Indian summer. P.C.L. 6:293 O 74
The Indian summer. Henry Raine. 2:428-9 N 72
The Indian's grave. Dodishot [pseud]. 2:156 Ag 72
Intruding thoughts. R.S.A. RB8:295 Mr 82
Ireland! T.O'Hagan. RB4:301-2 Mr 80
The Iroquois. Charles Sangster. (Rep from The St. Lawrence and the Saguenay) 4:211-2 S 73
Is it a dream? (an unfinished poem). Samuel J.Watson. RB7:637-8 D 81
"It is I." Esperance [pseud]. RB7:425-6 O 81
"It is peace." A Bachelor of Arts [pseud]. 1:325 Ap 72
It is well. H.L.Spencer. RB2:499 Ap 79
It might have been. J.B.B. 9:383 My 76
It might have been. Sara Duncan. RB5:290 S 80
The Italian boy. Frances E.Smith. RB5:12 J1 80
Iterumne? Charles E.Roberts [sic] RB4:118 Fe 80
January. Samuel James Watson. 1:27 Ja 72
The jewels: a Jewish legend. Edward J.White. 2:505-6 D 72
June. Amos Henry Chandler. RB4:627 Je 80
June. Mrs. A.MacGillis. RB6:555 Je 81
July. John G.Whittier. RB3:75 J1 79
Just a transient year ago. R.Marvin Seaton. RB2:722 Je 79
Kanata. Charles Mair. 9:209-10 Mr 76
Kaspar. R.Rutland Manners. RB2:29-32 Ja 79
Kee-chim-ah-tik: a rhyming legend of the 'Broken Fall,' now known as the Falls of Elora. David Boyle. RB5:27-8 J1 80
The kingfisher. Charles Lee Barnes. RB8:45 Ja 82
The knight and the maiden: a legend of the Crusades. John Hunter-Duvar. 11:255-7 Mr 77
A knight-errant. Kate Seymour MacLean. RB7:241 S 81
POEMS (continued)
The knight's grave. H.M. Giles. 2:445-6 N 72
Lake Ontario. Garet Noel [pseud]. RB7:379-80 O 81
A lament for May-day. Catherine Parr Traill. 1:532 Je 72
A last night at Rideau Hall, April 15, 1878. Martin J. Griffin. RB1:46-8 Jl 78
The last tournament. Alfred Tennyson. (Rep from Contemporary Review) 1:78-87 Ja 72
The legend of Jubal. George Eliot [pseud]. (Rep from The Legend of Jubal and Other Poems) 6:165-74 Ag 74
A legend of Roland. E.C.R. 8:467-8 D 75
The legend of St. Hilda's bells. Hereward [pseud]. RB5:419 O 80
The legend of the roses. Samuel James Watson. 9:147-50 Fe 76
The leper knight: a legend of Malta. Carroll Ryan. RB1:418-9 O 78
Let us launch our boat. Mary Barry Smith. 1:431 My 72
Life. Esperance [pseud]. RB6:124-6 Fe 81
Life and love. W. 10:376-7 N 76
"Life is like a tear." Anon. RB5:469 N 80
A life voyage. Anon. 4:299-301 O 73
Lilith. E.T.F. RB8:508-10 My 82
The lily of the valley. G. Croly. 6:24 Jl 74
Lines. Alice Horton. 3:498 Je 73
Lines on sending some gloves to a lady. W.H.F. 9:200 Mr 72
Lissa (July 20, 1866). David Tucker. RB5:539-40 N 80
Little goldenhair. Anon. 4:500 D 73
Livingstone: obit May 1, 1873. Aurora [pseud]. 7:414 My 75
Long ago. E.W.H. (Rep from Athenaeum) 4:280 O 73
Longings. F.A. Dixon. RB3:581 D 79
Die Lore-lei. F.R. (Tr) 8:122 Ag 75
Lotus. Charles G.D. Roberts. RB8:643 Je 82
Love. George Gerrard. RB7:648 D 81
Love and pride: from an old Scottish legend. Fidelis [pseud]. 13:274 Mr 78
A love idyl. C.P.M. RB5:371-2 O 80
Love in absence. G.L.M. (Tr) RB5:253 S 80
Love in death: from Catullus. Anon. 1:71 Ja 72
The love-letter. Dante Gabriel Rossetti. (Rep) RB8:566 Je 82
A love song. F. 8:236 S 75
Love-thoughts by lamp-light. Martin J. Rossetti. (Rep) 1:229-30 Mr 72
Love's burial. H.L. Spencer. RB1:15 Jl 78
Love's choice. F.R. RB2:591 My 79
Love's dream. M.A. Maitland. RB5:166 Ag 80
Love's labour lost. Joseph Howe. 7:157-8 Fe 75
The lover's leap: an Indian legend. Dr. Nostrebor [pseud]. 10:248-9 S 76
Love's longing. Christina Rossetti. (Rep) 5:305 Ap 74
Love's October. William Morris. (Rep) 6:325 O 74
Love's questionings. H.M. Giles. 4:396 N 73
Love-flying. Alice Horton. 6:397 N 74
Luther's hymn. W.G. RB4:538 My 80
A madrigal. Alice Horton. 9:543 Je 76
A madrigal. Alice Horton. (Tr) 12:350 O 77
A madrigal. Alice Horton. 13:185 Fe 78
A madrigal. Alice Horton. (Tr) RB5:158 Ag 80
Madrigal. George Murray. (Tr) RB5:588 D 80
Magdalen Tower. Grant Allen. RB6:33-6 Ja 81
The maiden's lament. S.T. (Tr) 2:512-3 D 72
Manhood. G. RB7:58 J1 81
The maple in autumn. W.E.W. 8:432 N 75
Marching in: on the occupation of the Citadel by the first Canadian garrison. York [pseud]. 1:105-6 Fe 72
Marching out: on the departure of the last British troops from Quebec. York [pseud]. 1:18 Ja 72
Marguerite's hymn to the mater dolorosa: from Goethe's Faust. A.W.Gundry. 7:509 Je 75
The marriage hymn of Julia and Manlius. William B.Bliss. 3:469-71 Je 73
Mary Secord: a Canadian ballad of 1813. Fidelis [pseud]. RB4:575-7 Je 80
May. Kate Seymour MacLean. RB8:456-7 My 82
Memor et Fidelis. G.J.D.Peters. RB6:46-7 Ja 81
Memorials. Esperance [pseud]. RB8:514 My 82
Memories. M.B. 11:368 Ap 77
Memories. Mary Elizabeth Muchall. 2:408 N 72
A memory. E.J.C. 6:215-6 S 74
The memory of a song. Cestus [pseud]. RB5:21-4 J1 80
"Messalina speaks." C.P.Mulvany. RB3:253-5 S 79
Midsummer musings. Gitano [pseud]. 8:214 S 75
"A minister of grace." Sara Duncan. RB5:627 D 80
The minstrel's curse. W.T. (Tr) 13:488-9 My 78
The minstrel's good night. M.H.Nicholson. RB1:197-8 Ag 78
The mocking bird. Charles Sangster. 1:46 Ja 72
A modern dryad. Fidelis [pseud]. RB1:752 D 78
Modern scepticism. Surena [pseud]. 2:173 Ag 72
The Mohammedan princess. Amy Rye. RB4:582-3 Je 80
A mood. Frederick George Scott. RB8:481-2 My 82
Morning. D.J.MacMurchy. RB8:191 Fe 82
Morning. J.A.Ritchie. RB6:621 Je 81
Morning song. R.S. 10:468-9 D 76
Multum in parvo. F.R. 13:238-9 Mr 78
Music at night. Sarah Williams. 5:525 Je 74
My baby boy: a nursery idyl. Mrs.A.MacGillis. RB5:60 J1 80
My little fairy. William Mills. 10:126 Ag 76
My Lisette. Mary Elizabeth Muchall. 1:496 Je 72
My old pet name. F.A.Dixon. 6:99 Ap 74
My old schoolmaster. Alexander McLachlan. 11:404-6 Ap 77
My old year—my living dead. Lyd [pseud]. 9:17 Ja 76
My princess. H.L.Spencer. RB2:327 Mr 79
My rose. Mary Barry Smith. 1:213-4 Mr 72
My sister's sleep. Dante Gabriel Rossetti. (Rep) 3:189-90 Mr 73
My 21st birthday. N.H.B. 10:238 S 76
My wife. W.D.R. 10:404-5 N 76
Mystery. C.S.C. 6:308 O 74
A name. Joseph Griffith. 12:280-1 S 77
A national hymn. William D. Lighthall. RB7: 553-4 D 81
Neptune's address to Hanlan. Robert Awd. RB3: 168-9 Ag 79
Nevermore. Alfred James. 1: 333 Ap 72
The new Utopia. D. Lourey. RB7: 315-6 S 81
New year bells. Edward J. White. 5: 14-5 Ja 74
New year's eve. J. C. RB4: 61-2 Ja 80
A new year's greeting. Fidelis [pseud]. 7: 10-1 Ja 75
A new year's wish. C. E. M. RB8: 100 Ja 82
New year's wishes. Frances Havergal. (Rep from Ministry of Song).
3: 52-3 Ja 73
Niagara. Nicholas Flood Davin. RB2: 409-10 Ap 79
Niagara: from the French of Louis Honoré Fréchette. C. P. Mulvany. (Tr)
RB7: 26 J1 81
A night in June. R. Rutland Manners. RB1: 472 O 78
Non posso. F. A. Dixon. RB8: 577-8 Je 82
Nondum est: a psalm. Charles Ritchie. RB5: 169-70 Ag 80
Not as I will. Anon. 5: 213 Mr 74
"Not yet, not yet, the light." Beatrix Tollemache. (Rep) RB3: 626 D 79
Nothing. Sarah Keppel. 9: 31-2 Ja 76
Notre Dame des anges. Fidelis [pseud]. RB7: 364 O 81
November. Paul H. Hayne. 6: 415 N 74
November. W. H. Withrow. 2: 423 N 72
November fancies. Fidelis [pseud]. 10: 514-5 D 76
Nox erat. H. C. Magee. 12: 152-3 Ag 77
Nunc dimittis. Alice Horton. RB7: 282-3 S 81
The nun's prayer. Frances E. Smith. RB5: 133-4 Ag 80
O donna di cirtu! Alchemist [pseud]. RB8: 360 Ap 82
"O! if we owe warm thanks to heaven." John Stuart Blackie. RB6: 466 My 81
O sweet sad face. Gowan Lea [pseud]. 7: 496 Je 75
Obscured. Charlotte Grant. 1: 518-9 Je 72
The 'Ocean Stag'. Charles Sangster. 2: 209 S 72
Ode to midnight. John Robert Newell. RB6: 342 Ap 81
Ode to nature. C. E. M. RB7: 93-4 J1 81
The old and the new. Henry Raine. 2: 308-9 O 72
The old government clerk. Frederick Locker. (Rep from London Lyrics)
3: 11: 15-6 Fe 73
Old letters. Frederick Locker. (Rep from London Lyrics) 4: 228 S 73
An old story. G. G. RB3: 145 Ag 79
The old year and the new. Fidelis [pseud]. 11: 29 Ja 77
The old year and the new. Mrs. A. MacGillis. RB6: 1-2 Ja 81
Omne ignotum pro magnifico (or untrodden ways). Fidelis [pseud]. RB8:
130 Fe 82
On a dead fly found crushed in my scrap-book. D. W. 2: 73 J1 72
On a humming bird. G. Neot [pseud]. 1: 117-8 Fe 72
On crossing a battle-field. Esperance [pseud]. RB8: 146 Fe 82
On opening letters. Edward Jameson. (Rep from Golden Age) 7: 30 Ja 75
On the beach. Gowan Lea [pseud]. RB3: 358 O 79
J1 81
POEMS (continued)

One faith in many forms. M.A. Jevons. (Rep from the London Spectator) RB7:344 0 81
One foot on sea, and one on shore. Christina Rossetti. (Rep) RB7:592 D 81
One of Canada's heroines: Madeleine de Verchères. John Reade. RB1:332-4 S 78

One woman's valentine. L.M. 1:137 Fe 72
Only. Mary Elizabeth Muchall. 1:343 Ap 72
Only a baby gone! Mary Elizabeth Muchall. 10:310 0 76
"Only an insect!" Grant Allen. 6:521-2 D 74
The orphan. Susanna Moodie. 1:527 Je 72
Out in the snow. F.L. Hunt. 7:142-3 Fe 75
Paolo and Francesca. John Reade. 1:62-3 Ja 72

The parting of Hector and Andromache. Goldwin Smith. 4:109-11 Ag 73
The passing of autumn. R.T. Nichol. 13:146-7 Fe 78
Fast and present. W. McDonnell. RB3:270 Ag 79
The path of life. Alice Horton. 11:156 Fe 77
Patience. C.W. Ritchie. RB4:635 Je 80
The peacemaker. Alice Horton. (Tr) RB6:628 Je 81

A peacock. Edgar Fawcett. RB2:340 Mr 79
Per totam noctem. Charles Ritchie. (Tr) RB5:247 80
Petrarch. John Reade. (Tr) RB6:577 Je 81
The pilgrimage to Kevlaar. E.J.C. (Tr) 12:452-4 N 77
The poet's hour. Gowan Lea [pseud]. RB6:170 Fe 81
The poet's invitation to the statesman. Goldwin Smith. (Tr) 1:247-9 Mr 72

The portrait. Anon. (Rep from Nugae Canoroe) 4:42 Jl 73

Poverty. George E. Shaw. RB4:319 Mr 80
Praeterita ex instantibus. William D. Lighthall. 12:343 0 77

Praise of spring. Anon. (Tr) RB6:413 Ap 81
A prayer. Alice Horton. (Tr) RB5:581 D 80

Precocity: a sonnet. Alice Horton. RB4:292 Mr 80
A presage. Fidelis [pseud]. RB6:503 My 81
Present-day sonnets. Fidelis [pseud]. 8:486-7 D 75
Presumption. W.F. Wilson. RB5:605 D 80
Priere: song. Gowan Lea [pseud]. (Tr) RB7:399 0 81

Procrastination. Martin J. Griffin. RB1:461 0 78

"Qu'appelle." F.L. Hunt. 8:393 N 75
Questions and answers. Martin J. Griffin. 10:213 S 76
The rainbow and the rock. T.C. Jeffers. RB7:260-1 S 81
The rainy day. Henry W. Longfellow. (Rep) 6:544 D 74
Reflections. Gowan Lea [pseud]. 13:42 Ja 78
"Remember me." Esperance [pseud]. RB5:360 0 80
A reminiscence. W.T.T. 7:477-8 Je 75
Remonstrance. Alice Horton. 5:281-2 Ap 74

Removed. Kate Seymour MacLean. RB7:32 Jl 81
Renunciation. Alice Horton. 3:395 My 73
Reproach. Alice Horton. 5:117 Fe 74

Reputation: an epigram. George E. Shaw. RB4:180 Fe 80

Retrospect. William Henry Gane. 2:224 S 72
POEMS (continued)

The return. A.E.W. 11:42 Ja 77
The return of Aphrodite. Grant Allen. (Rep from Temple Bar) RB5:411 0 80
Returned from sea. C.P.Mulvany. (Rep from Lyrics, Songs and Sonnets)
RB4:515 My 80
Reverie. C.P.Mulvany. 2:67 J1 72
A reverie. H.L.Spencer. RB2:51 Ja 79
Reveries. Watten Small. RB2:676 Je 79
Ripe grain. Anon. RB4:526 My 80
The river. W.S.Martin. 7:225 Mr 75
The river of time. Anon. RB6:286 Mr 81
Rondeau: to Louis Honoré Fréchette. Charles G.D.Roberts. RB8:212 Fe 82
La rose de Sharon. Jules Fossier. 10:219 S 76
Rotten Row. Frederick Locker. (Rep from London Lyrics) 3:308 Ap 73
The royal marriage. Fidelis [pseud]. 5:223-4 Mr 74
Running the Duoro Rapids. Mary Elizabeth Muchall. 2:302 O 72
A Sabbath morning. Electra [pseud]. RB3:277 S 79
The Sagueneay hunter. M.E.B. RB3:401 O 79
The St. Lawrence. Garet Noel [pseud]. RB8:588-9 Je 82
Saint Valentine. R.E.L. 3:224 Mr 73
Salutary. Alice Horton. 5:43-4 Ja 74
Sans l'espoir. Anon. RB4:503 My 80
"Say when every zephyr sips." R.Marvin Seaton. RB3:198-9 Ag 79
Scattered seeds. Anon. (Rep from Lyra Innocentiam) 5:33 Ja 74
The school of song. Alice Horton. RB4:361 Ap 80
A sea-side waif. C.E.M. RB7:233 S 81
The secret of life. Mary B.Smith. 9:221 Mr 76
September among the Thousand Isles. Fidelis [pseud]. 6:228 S 74
A serenade. F.Blake Crofton. RB5:613 D 80
A serenade. Esperance [pseud]. RB7:165 Ag 81
A serenade. F.R. (Tr) 7:162 Fe 75
Seven years past. N.W.Beckwith. 6:423-4 N 74
Shattered idols. Monro [pseud]. 4:387 N 73
Sheila. St.Quentin [pseud]. RB5:83 J1 80
The shield of Achilles. W.E.Gladstone. (Rep from Contemporary Review)
5:249-55 Mr 74
"Shine inward." Laurentius [pseud]. 13:265 Mr 78
Sic est vita. Charlotte Grant. 1:299-302 Ap 72
Sing us a song of our own land. F.R. 9:478 Je 74
Sleep. Anon. 2:435 N 72
Sleep. Gowan Lea [pseud]. 9:94 Fe 76
The sleepers. Anon. 2:55 J1 72
Sleighing song. F.E.P.P. 9:25 Ja 76
Slumber song. G.L.M. (Tr) RB6:613 Je 81
Somewhere. Anon. (Rep from Friar Anselmo) RB3:528 N 79
Song. Anon. (Rep from Drift Wood) RB3:601 D 79
A song. Aurora [pseud]. 2:324 O 72
Song. A Queenslander [pseud]. 10:318 O 76
Song-crowned. Kate Seymour MacLean. RB7:396 O 81
Song of a spirit. Laurentius [pseud]. 10:161 Ag 76
The song of Niagara. Garet Noel [pseud]. RB7:172-3 Ag 81
POEMS (continued)

Song of the English labourer. Arthur John Lockhart. RB3:650 D 79
The song of the press. William Cheetham. RB2:547 My 79
"Song's pinions." Edgar Buck. RB8:258 Mr 82
Songs. William Morris. (Rep from Love is Enough) 3:135-6 Fe 73
Sonnet. Enyilla Allynne. RB1:225 Ag 78
Sonnet. Charles Lee Barnes. RB8:369 Ap 82
Sonnet. John Carry. 3:511 Je 73
Sonnet. F. Henry Carter. RB5:322 S 80
Sonnet. Barry Dane [pseud]. RB6:72 Ja 81
Sonnet. John Dennis. 5:323 Ap 74
Sonnet. A.W. Gundry. 9:515 Je 76
Sonnet. T.K. Henderson. 5:409 My 74
Sonnet. Gowan Lea [pseud]. 11:489 My 77
Sonnet. Gowan Lea [pseud]. 12:138 Ag 77
Sonnet. Gowan Lea [pseud]. RB2:644 Je 79
Sonnet. Gowan Lea [pseud]. RB3:25 J1 79
Sonnet. Gowan Lea [pseud]. RB6:87 Ja 81
Sonnet. Gowan Lea [pseud]. RB6:624 Je 81
Sonnet. Gowan Lea [pseud]. RB7:211 Ag 81
Sonnet. James R. Lowell. (Rep) 3:135 Fe 73
Sonnet. C.E.M. RB6:68 Ja 81
Sonnet. Meremoth [pseud]. 8:131 Ag 75
Sonnet. J.R. Newell. RB6:160 Fe 81
Sonnet. C.W.R. RB4:337 Mr 80
Sonnet. Charles Ritchie. RB4:458 My 80
Sonnet. Mary Barry Smith. RB2:454 Ap 79
Sonnet. H.L. Spencer. RB1:64 J1 78
Sonnet. H.L. Spencer. RB1:84 J1 78
Sonnet. H.L. Spencer. RB1:167 Ag 78
Sonnet. H.L. Spencer. RB1:428 O 78
Sonnet. H.L. Spencer. RB1:717 D 78
Sonnet. Agnes Strickland. (Tr) 6:514 D 74
Sonnet. Agnes Strickland. (Tr) RB2:691 Je 79
Sonnet. Daniel Wilson. (Rep) 8:8 J1 75
Sonnet. Daniel Wilson. (Rep) 8:114 Ag 75
Sonnet: a sceptic's regret. G.G. 8:291 O 75
Sonnets. T.S. Jarvis. 12:611 D 77
Sonnets. Watten Small. RB1:756 D 78
Sonnets of Michael Angelo [sic]. J.A. Symonds. (Rep from Contemporary Review) 2:532-4 D 72
"Sorrow endureth for a night, but joy cometh with the morning." Esperance [pseud]. RB8:242 Mr 82
The soul of the organ. F.A.D. 10:200-1 S 76
The Spanish girl's song. Esperance [pseud]. RB7:606 81
Speculum vitae. Anon. (Rep from Public Opinion) RB3:31 J1 79
Speed the going guest. Alice Horton. 7:40 Ja 75
POEMS (continued)

Spring. R. Marvin Seaton. RB2:524 My 79
Spring. William Henry Withrow. 3:418 My 73
Spring birds. Fidelis [pseud]. 11:551 My 77
A spring cry. Anon. RB5:149 Ag 80
A spring song. Hilary Bygrave. RB6:540-1 My 81
Spring song. Gowan Lea [pseud]. (Tr) RB7:178 Ag 81
Spring's herald. F.R. 11:302-3 Mr 77
Spring-time. Fidelis [pseud]. 5:379-80 My 74
Stanzas for music. F. Blake Crofton. RB4:23 Ja 80
The star of fame. C.E. Jakeway. 10:142-3 Ag 76
A strain from the sea-sicle. J.A. Bell. RB8:225-6 Mr 82
A summer home. C.I. Cleaveland. 13:576 Je 78
The summer night. C.P. Mulvany. RB5:285 S 80
A summer walk. E.A. Sykes. RB8:178-9 Fe 82
Sunbeams in the wood. Frances Havergal. (Rep from Ministry of Song) 4:123 Ag 73
Sunrise. W.D. Lighthall. 11:173 Fe 77
Sunshine. W.S. Martin. 12:257 S 77
Sunshine and shadow. Anon. RB4:465 My 80
Sympathy: a madrigal. Alice Horton. 10:258 S 76
The tale of a temptation. Alice Horton. 3:12-5 Ja 73
Tecumseth. Charles Sangster. 2:9-10 J1 72
Tell, Cleone, tell me why. R. Marvin Seaton. RB1:161 Ag 78
A temperance epic (an appeal for the drunkard). G.G. Pursey. RB5:182-4 Ag 80
Thekla's song. A.W.W. (Tr) RB5:268 S 80
This harp is mute: a melody. T.H.F. RB7:405-6 O 81
Thorns. Anon. (Tr) 7:232 Mr 75
"Thou knowest, O my Father! Why Should I?" Anon. (Rep from Friar Anselmo) RB3:645 D 79
Thoughts. G.G. RB3:241 Ag 79
Three angels. K.F.M.S. (Rep from Fraser's Magazine) 6:248 S 74
Three sonnets: New year's day. J.L. Stewart. RB2:318-9 Mr 79
Tide-water. Kate Seymour MacLean. RB4:622-3 Je 80
Time. Marvin Seaton. 11:292 Mr 77
Time. George E. Shaw. RB3:481 N 79
To______. L.L. RB8:531-2 My 82
To a beautiful girl. George Murray. (Tr) RB5:278 S 80
To a crow. Alice Horton. 7:264 Mr 75
To a friend in Europe. Fidelis [pseud]. 9:203-4 Mr 76
To a latter-day Hypatia: a despiser of love and marriage. A.W.G. 13:164 Fe 78
To a mayflower. F.M. Rand. RB8:613 Je 82
To a mosquito. Stephen McSlogan. RB5:498 N 80
To a photograph. Edward William Thomson. 1:536-7 Je 72
To a skylark. T.W.A. 11:378 Ap 77
To an Indian's skull. Alexander McLachlan. 1:142-3 Fe 72
To Cora. R. Marvin Seaton. RB2:448 Ap 79
To Florence. Francis T. Palgrave. (Rep from Idylls and Songs) 4:133 Ag 73
POEMS (continued)

To H.R.H. the Princess Louise. Canada[pseud]. RB4:544-5 My 80
To Helen. R.Marvin Seaton. RB1:32 J1 78
To hope. Anon. 5:147 Fe 74
To Herbert Spencer. Grant Allen. (Rep from Popular Science Monthly)
8:320-1 0 75
To Maurice Thompson. Seranus [pseud]. RB8:537-9 My 82
To my wife. Joseph Howe. 3:32-5 Ja 73
To nature. Gowan Lea [pseud]. RB6:269 Mr 81
To Pyrrha. Emma E.(with Nemo). (Tr) 11:165 Fe 77
To Thaliarchus. R.S.Knight. RB8:487 My 82
To the mayflower of Nova Scotia. T.E.Moberly. 7:442 My 75
To the new year. Gowan Lea [pseud]. RB4:46 Ja 80
To the new year. Gowan Lea [pseud]. RB8:68 Ja 82
To the spirit of song. Charles G.D.Roberts. (Rep from Prelude to Orion and other Poems) RB5:547 N 80
Tower Woods, Halifax, N.S. J.A.Bell. RB6:52-3 Ja 81
Tracks of light. Alice Horton. 12:55 J1 77
Translations of the hymn of the three archangels. G.S. (Tr) 2:153 Ag 72
Trilogy of passion and victory. F.R. 9:261-3 Ap 76
Troy. R.T.Nicholl. 12:638-9 D 77
True art. W.T.H. RB7:133 Ag 81
True love. E.B.H. RB8:524 My 82
True solitude. R.R.Manners. 7:331 Ap 75
Trust. Anon. (Rep from Along the Way) RB4:172 Fe 80
Trying to turn the tide. Rose [pseud]. RB5:480 N 80
The trysting-place revisited. C.P.Mulvany. RB8:87 Ja 82
Twilight. Maple Leaf [pseud]. 10:63 J1 76
Two cities. J.C.Hamilton. 1:34 Ja 72
Two lives. F.R. 8:412 N 75
The two ships. Hilary Bygrave. RB6:634-5 Je 81
Two sonnets. G. 3:487 Je 73
Two windows. Kate Seymour MacLean. RB4:124 Fe 80
Under the trees by the river. John Reade. RB1:757 D 78
Unprofitable. A.W.G. 11:589 My 77
Unrest. Colonel [pseud]. RB6:14 Ja 81
Unsheltered love. Philip Bourke Marston. (Rep) RB8:597 Je 82
Unspoken words. Anon. (Rep from Songs from the Southern Sea) 5:101-2 Fe 74
Untrue. Nemo [pseud]. 10:290 0 76
A valentine. Anon. (Rep from Scribner's Monthly) RB6:234 Mr 81
Victoria. A.P.Williams. (Rep from the New York Tribune) RB8:265 Mr 82
Vigil. Sarah Williams. 5:191 Mr 74
Visions of the night. Pearl [pseud]. 11:62-3 Ja 77
Vive la commune! Grant Allen. 8:98-9 Ag 75
A voice. S.K. 12:39 J1 77
The voice of many waters. Kate Seymour MacLean. RB5:65 J1 80
Voices. Alice Horton. 8:26 J1 75
Voices of the loved ones. Esperance [pseud]. RB5:194-5 Ag 80
Wages. Anon. (Rep from Chambers' Journal) RB7:559 D 81
Waiting. A.W.G. 10:327 0 76
The wanderer. Fidelis [pseud]. (Tr) RB1:585 N 78
POEMS (continued)
The warlock's death-bed. William Main. 2:238-9 S 72
Watching for a sign. Samuel J. Watson. RB5:653 D 80
The wayside elm. Mrs. J.C. Yule. 5:400-2 My 74
We think of Thee, O God. William Mills. 11:147 Fe 77
"We're to meet again." A.L.M. RB8:338-9 Ap 82
The weary watcher. D.J. Mac. RB6:194 Fe 81
Welcome to winter. Paul H. Hayne. 6:493 D 74
"What can I do that others have not done?" John Reade. RB8:235 Mr 82
When death creeps o'er the kindly light. George Gerrard. RB6:651 Je 81
When midnight holds a silent reign. George Gerrard. RB7:465 N 81
"When shall springtime cheer us." Anon. (Rep from Apple Blossoms) RB2:727 Je 79
"When the locks of burnished gold." C.P.M. RB7:120 Ag 81
Where thou wert laid. H.L. Spencer. 11:319 Mr 77
The whip-poor-will. Fidelis [pseud]. (Rep from Scribner's Monthly) RB5:434 O 80
The whip-poor-will. William C. Howells. RB1:294 S 78
Why? Anon. RB3:92 J1 79
Wild roses. Nathan Haskell Dole. RB2:156 Fe 79
William Cullen Bryant. H.L. Spencer. RB1:272 S 78
Winds of winter. Mary McIvor Ryan. 9:268 Ap 76
Winter nights. Alex Smith. (Rep) RB3:619 D 79
A winter song. Anon. (Rep from Temple Bar) 9:111 Fe 76
A winter song for the sleigh. Catherine Parr Traill. 1:238 Mr 72
Winter thoughts. Mrs. A. MacGillis. RB8:61-2 Ja 82
The wisdom of the East. George Murray. 1:392-3 My 72
Wishing. Jean Ingleslown. (Rep) 5:501 Je 74
Woman. Moses Oates [pseud]. RB6:105 Ja 81
A woman's love. Esperance [pseud]. RB5:74 J1 80
Womanhood. Esperance [pseud]. RB6:454-6 My 81
The wood turtle. Edgar Fawcett. RB1:513 N 78
Words and deeds. William Allingham. (Rep from Fraser's Magazine) RB2:625 My 79
Worldly place. Matthew Arnold. (Rep) RB5:521 N 80
Wounded. Frances Havergal (Rep from Ministry of Song) 3:207-8 Mr 73
A year ago. Nemo [pseud]. 9:494 Je 76
Youth and age. W.W. Smith. 9:488 Je 76

POETRY
Country walk with poets. Anon. (Rep from Victoria Magazine) 6:78-84 J1 74
Poetry and dogma. Louisa Murray. 12:366-9 O 77
Some Irish minor poets of the century. Charles Pelham Mulvany. RB3: 130-5 Ag 79
Descriptive music. J.W.F. Harrison. RB3:271-7 S 79
Emulation as an element in poetry. R.W. Boodle. RB7:33-7 J1 81
Poetry as a fine art. Charles E. Moyse. RB8:243-57 Mr 82
Two schools of modern poetry. J.F. Stevenson. RB8:621-7 Je 82
POLYNESIA
A glimpse at Polynesia. Allan N. McNeill. 9:269-79 Ap 76

POOLE, Joseph
In the shadow of death. [F] RB5:420-34 0 80

PORTER, James
The public schools of Ontario. 1:483-96 Je 72

PORTER, T.G.
Queen Charlotte Islands. 7:412-4 My 75

POWELL, A. Wentworth
Among the sea-trout. 10:434-8 N 76

PRAYER
see also RELIGION
The action of prayer explained in a new way. H.R. Haweis. (Rep from Speech in Sermon) 6:468-78 N 74
Prayer for daily bread. [R] Fidelis [pseud]. 7:415-25 My 75
Prayer and modern thought. William D. LeSueur. 8:145-55 Ag 75
Prayer and modern doubt. Fidelis [pseud]. 8:224-36 S 75
Prayer and Christian belief. Fidelis [pseud]. 8:328-34 O 75
Prayer and modern science. S.E. Dawson. 8:512-22 D 75
Physical efficacy of prayer. George J. Romanes. 9:33-43 Ja 76
Prayer and natural law. William D. LeSueur. 9:211-21 Mr 76
The divine law of prayer. Fidelis [pseud]. 10:144-55 Ag 76

PRESTON, Jasper H.
The Chinese question. RB7:81-3 J1 81

PRISONS
Crime and its treatment. M. 11:166-73 Fe 77

PROCTER, Bryan Waller 1787-1874
about
In memory of Barry Cornwall. A.C. Swinburne. (Rep) 6:530 D 74
see also BOOK REVIEWS

PROCTOR, R.A.
The past and future of our earth. (Rep from Contemporary Review) 7:82-94 Ja 75

A PROTESTANT [pseud]
Archbishop Conolly. 10:254-8 S 78

PURSEY, G.G.
A temperance epic. [P] RB5:182-4 Ag 80

QUAKERISM
George Fox and Quakerism. W.R.G. Mellen. RB6:400-13 Ap 81
QUEBEC
Down the St. Lawrence on a raft. Anon. 6:343-55 0 74
Wolfe and old Quebec. Daniel Wilson. 7:105-13 Fe 75
Up the Saguenay to Ha-Ha Bay and Chicoutimi. Julia Aleyne. 8:35-7 Jl 75
Church and state in Quebec. [R] Quebecensis [pseud]. 9:418-29 My 76
Lake Memphremagog. Julia Aleyne. 10:120-1 Ag 76
Among the sea-trout. A.Wentworth Powell. 10:434-8 N 76
Nelson at Quebec. Henry H.Miles. RB2:257-75 Mr 79

QUEBECENSIS [pseud]
Church and state in Quebec. [R] 9:418-29 My 76

A QUEENSLANDER [pseud]
Song. [P] 10:318 O 76

R., A.
The faithful wife: a Norse legend. [P] 10:110-1 Ag 76

R., A.M.
The gane-awa'land. [P] RB5:397 0 80

R., C.L.
Constantia to her love. [P] 11:484-5 My 77

R., C.W. see RITCHIE, Charles W.

R., E.C.
A legend of Roland. [P] 8:467-8 D 75

R., F. see RYE, Francis

R., F.J.
British Columbia and its relations to the Dominion. 10:369-76 N 76

R., F.W.
Praise. RB6:578-87 Je 81

R., S.F.

R., W.D.
My wife. [P] 10:404-5 N 76

RACEY, N.W.
My last patient. [F] RB2:554-67 My 79
The fresh-water cure. [F] RB3:242-53 Ag 79
RADICAL, A. [pseud]  
Party politics. 2:447-55 N 72

RAILWAYS see CANADA Transportation  
CANADIAN PACIFIC RAILWAY

RAINE, Henry  
The old and the new. [P] 2:308-9 O 72  
The Indian summer. [P] 2:428-9 N 72

RAMSAY, R.A.  

RAND, F.M.  
To a mayflower. [P] RB8:613 Je 82

RANSFORD, E.  
Cardinal Antonelli. 10:533-8 D 76

RATTRAY, William Jordan 1835-1883  
Stewart's Canada Under Lord Dufferin. [R] RB1:733-40 D 78  
Colonial self-government. [R] RB4:539-44 My 80  
see also BOOK REVIEWS

RAY, Lewis  
The criminal of creation. RB6:182-90 Fe 81

READ, David Breakenridge 1823-1904  
The Bar of Ontario eighty years ago. RB1:65-8 J1, 489-97 O 78  
Trial by jury. RB2:216-8 Fe 79  
A tragedy of errors. RB5:167-9 Ag 80  
Juvenile offenders. RB5:548-50 N 80

READE, John 1837-1919  
Paolo and Francesca. [P] 1:62-3 Ja 72  
Alexis [P] 1:150-1 Fe 72  
A chapter of French history. [P] 2:36-7 J1 72  
Beautiful, why wilt thou die? [P] 4:97 Ag 73  
An old book. 9:21-5 Ja 76  
One of Canada's heroines: Madeleine de Verchères. [P] RB1:332-4 S 78  
My little room. (Tr) RB1:498-9 O 78  
The testimony of names of places. RB1:602-8 N 78  
Under the trees by the river. [P] RB1:757 D 78  
Christmas. [P] RB2:69-73 Ja 79  
Charles Heavysege. [P] RB2:301 Mr 79  
Forgiveness. [P] RB6:296 Mr 81  
Petrarch: from the Italian of Victor Alfieri. [P] RB6:577 Je 81  
Agricola. [P] RB8:121 Fe 82  
What can I do that others have not done? [P] RB8:235 Mr 82
REALF, Richard 1834-1878


REDHEAD, C.H.
The story of Will Adams. 8:477-82 D 75

REED, W.D.
A visit to the Dolomites. RB1:257-72

REID, Sydney 1857-1936
The north land. RB6:622-4 Je 81

RELIGION

see also PRAYER

Man's place in nature. H.A.Nicholson. 1:35-45 Ja 72
Early Christian art and symbolism. W.H.Withrow. 1:119-25 Fe 72
On the law of progress. H.R.Hawes. (Rep from Thoughts for the Times) 2:565-72 D 72
Papal conclaves and ceremonies observed at the election of a Pope. J.D. 4:112-22 Ag 73
Unorthodox London: a chapter on religious sects. [R] Anon. 4:484-500 D 73
Miracles, modern and medieval. Anon. 6:189-97 S 74
Christian life and character as read in the catacombs. W.H.Withrow. 6:285-93 O 74
Atomism and theism. J.Clarke Murray. 7:31-9 Ja 75
Reply to the critics of the Belfast Address. John Tyndall. (Rep) 7:183-95 Fe 75
Messrs. Moody and Sankey and revivalism. Laon [pseud]. 7:510-13 Je 75
Mohammed and Mohammedanism. [R] Anon. 7:520-8 Je 75
Laon on 'Messrs. Moody and Sankey and Revivalism'. G.M.Grant. 8:250-5 S 75
Proofs and disproofs. Laon [pseud]. 8:339-48 O 75
Christianity and modern thought. G.M.Grant. 8:437-41 N 75
Modern culture and Christianity. Laon [pseud]. 8:523-33 D 75
Materialism and its opponents. John Tyndall. (Rep from Fortnightly Review) 9:56-68 Ja 76
Creeds and confessions. Fidelis [pseud]. 9:134-46 Fe 76
Modern materialism: its attitude towards theology. James Martineau. (Rep from Contemporary Review) 9:223-37 Mr 76
The earth and man. Rev.Canon O'Meara. 9:253-61 Ap 76
Science and religion. John Watson. 9:384-97 My 76
The immortality of the soul. Goldwin Smith. 9:408-16 My 76
The seen and the unseen. Fidelis [pseud]. 9:495-508 Je 76
The day of rest. W.McDonnell. 9:516-23 Je 76
Some jottings on free thought and kindred topics. George Hague. 10:37-44 Jl 76
Spiritualism. Mrs.R.Corson. 10:60-3 Jl 76
Evolution and immortality. J.E.Wells. 10:291-8 O 76
Darwinism and morality. John Watson. 10:319-26 O 76
Science and materialism. W.D.LeSueur. 11:22-8 Ja 77
The new life. G.C. 11:258-61 Mr 77
The pulpit and revivalism. Bildad [pseud]. 11:480-4 My 77
The evolution of morality: a reply. J.A.Allen. 11:490-501 My 77
The ethical aspects of Darwinism. John Watson. 11:638-44 Je 77
Orangism, Catholicism and Sir Francis Hincks. J.A.Allen. 12:379-91 O 77
Transubstantiation and odium theologicum. Sordello [pseud]. 12:627-37 D 77
Buddha and Buddhism. Fidelis [pseud]. 13:35-42 Ja, 165-71 Fe 78
Odium theologicum: a reply to Sordello. C.E. 13:80-3 Ja 78
A rejoinder. Sordello [pseud]. 13:84-7 Ja 78
Prof. Tyndall's materialism. John Watson. 13:282-8 Mr 78
Idealism in life. W.D.LeSueur. 13:413-20 Ap 78
Little great men. F.R. 13:490-3 My 78
The ethical value of convictions. J.E.Wells. 13:503-8 My 78
Buddhism and Christianity. Fidelis [pseud]. 13:509-20 My 78
What can we know of the future life? Bildad [pseud]. 13:626-9 Je 78
The reality and mission of ideal characters. Elihu Burritt. RB2:145-56 Fe 79
Religious belief in court. W.B.Cook. RB2:728-30 Je 79
The Rev. Phillips Brooks on 'popular scepticism'. Laon [pseud]. RB3:26-31 J1 79
Spencer's Data of Ethics. [R] A.W.Gundry. RB3:646-50 D 79
The prospect of a moral interregnum. Goldwin Smith. (Rep from Atlantic Monthly) RB3:651-63 D 79
Mr. Goldwin Smith on 'The Prospect of a Moral Interregnum'. G.A.M. RB3:663-5 D 79
The future of morality. W.D.LeSueur. RB4:74-82 Ja 80
Morality and religion. W.D.LeSueur. RB4:166-71 Fe 80
Pessimism. Goldwin Smith. (Rep from Atlantic Monthly) RB4:303-19 Mr 80
Mr. Spencer and his critics. W.D.LeSueur. RB4:413-22 Ap 80
Modern controversy. C.R.Corson. RB4:459-65 My 80
Some difficulties of agnosticism. C.P.Mulvany. RB4:578-82 Je 80
Morality and religion again. W.D.LeSueur. RB4:642-55 Je 80
Man's moral nature. [R] P.E.B. RB5:51-9 J1 80
Mr. LeSueur and his critics. George Inglis. RB5:75-83 J1 80
Theological studies and the times. Hugh Pedley. RB5:88-93 J1 80
Morality and the Gospel once more. F.Stevenson. RB5:269-77 S 80
The marvels of scientific logic. G. RB5:361-71 O 80
Morality without theology. W.D.LeSueur. RB5:522-8 N 80
The relation of religion to secular life. G.M.Grant. RB5:614-24 D 80
Canon Farrar's Life of Christ. L.D. RB6:73-87 Ja 81
The criminal of creation. Lewis Ray. RB6:182-90 Fe 81
Progress and Poverty and the doctrine of evolution. W.D.LeSueur. RB6:287-96 Mr 81
Modern theology and modern thought. Fidelis [pseud]. RB6:297-304 Mr 81
Physiology in thought, conduct and belief. Daniel Clark. RB6:363-77 Ap 81
Positivism versus Christianity. Fidelis [pseud]. RB6:518-32 My 81
Praise. F.W.R. RB6:578-87 Je 81
Moses and the Red Sea. James Roy. RB7:48-57 Jl 81
A page of English church history. James S. Stone. RB7:234-41 S 81
Mosaic and mosaic? John Burton. RB7:317-22 S 81
Scientific religion. J.L.F. RB7:560-6 D 81
The cure of moral insanity. J.L.F. RB8:483-7 My 82
The permanence of Christianity. Alchemist [pseud]. RB8:525-30 My 82
Free thought and responsible thought. RB8:614-20 Je 82

RICE, James see BESANT, Walter

RICHARDSON, John 1755-1831
The letters of Veritas. Henry Scadding. 9:89-94 Fe 76

RITCHIE, Charles W.
Sonnet. [P] C.W.R. RB4:337 Mr 80
Sonnet. [P] RB4:458 My 80
Patience. [P] RB4:635 Je 80
Nondum est. A Psalm. [P] RB5:169-70 Ag 80
Per totam noctem. [P] RB5:247 S 80

RITCHIE, J.A.
Morning. [P] RB6:621 Je 81

ROBERTS, Charles George Douglas 1860-1943 [see also ?ABERCONWAY, pseud]
Iterumne? [P] RB4:118 Fe 80
To the spirit of song. [P] (Rep from Orion and Other Poems) RB5:547 N 80
Autumn. [P] RB7:509 N 81
Rondeau: to Louis Honoré Fréchette. [P] RB8:212 Fe 82
Lotus. [P] RB8:643 Je 82
see also BOOK REVIEWS

ROBINSON, F.W.
The romance of a back street. [F] 7:240-7 Mr, 332-9 Ap, 429-36 My 75

ROMANES, George J. 1848-1894
The physical efficacy of prayer. 9:33-43 Ja 76
see also BOOK REVIEWS

ROSE [pseud]
Trying to turn the tide. [P] RB5:480 N 80
The hapless mother. [P] RB6:181 Fe 81
ROSSETTI, Christina 1830-1894
  Love's longing. [P] (Rep) 5:305 Ap 74
  One foot on sea, and one on shore. [P] (Rep) RB7:592 D 81

ROSSETTI, Dante Gabriel 1828-1882
  My sister's sleep. [P] (Rep from Poems) 3:189-90 Mr 73
  The love-letter. [P] (Rep) RB8:566 Je 82

ROTHWELL, Marianne Bessie (Fowler) 1837-1927
  Sold. [F] Mrs.R.Rothwell. 8:322-8 0 75

ROUND THE TABLE
  11:320-5 Mr, 431-7 Ap, 544-51 My, 653-62 Je 77; 12:77-83 J1, 190-5 Ag,
  298-303 S, 413-22 O, 515-27 N, 639-47 D 77; 13:88-95 Ja, 204-10 Fe,
  309-17 Mr, 422-7 Ap, 535-9 My, 659-65 Je 78; RB1:95-103 J1, 226-33 Ag,
  377-9 S, 504-8 0, 623-9 N, 757-9 D 78; RB2:105-7 Ja, 248-52 Fe,
  373-5 Mr, 500-3 Ap, 607-14 My, 731-5 Je 79; RB3:103-5 J1, 216-20 Ag,
  329-31 S, 442-4 0, 552-5 N, 666-8 D 79; RB4:99-101 Ja, 211-4 Fe,
  320-3 Mr, 435-6 Ap, 657-60 Je 80; RB5:94-101 J1, 211-3 Ag, 323-5 S,
  435-8 0, 550-2 N, 661-5 D 80; RB6:95-7 Ja, 211-2 Fe, 318-9 Mr, 438 Ap,
  542-4 My, 652-4 Je 81; RB7:95 J1, 434-5 0, 540-3 N, 649-51 D 81;
  RB8:101-6 Ja, 644-6 Je 82

ROY, James 1834-1922
  Moses and the Red Sea. RB7:48-57 J1 81

ROYAL NAVY
  The Royal Navy. G.W.G. 13:240-8 Mr 78

ROYAL SOCIETY OF CANADA
  Canadian academy of arts. RB4:219-20 Fe 80
  The proposed Canadian academy of letters. Anon. RB7:99-100 J1 81
  The Royal Society of Canada. RB8:545-9 My 82

RUSKIN, John 1819-1900
  Recent notes by Mr. Ruskin. Amy Rye. RB4:480-5 My 80
  see also BOOK REVIEWS

RUSSEL, Alexander 1814-1876
  Russel of the Edinburgh Scotsman. H.G.Graham. (Rep from Fraser's Magazine)
  RB5:481-94 N 80

RUSSELL, John
  Three generations. Daniel Wilson. 9:397-401 My 76

RUSSIA
  Autumn in southern Russia. David Ker. 12:133-8 Ag 77
  Russian serfage: its rise and its extinction. X.Y. [pseud]. 13:297-309 Mr 78
  An escape from Siberia. L.C.Marvin. RB2:302-18 Mr 79
RYAN, Mary Anne (McIvor) 1850-

RYAN, William Thomas Carroll 1839-1910
The new reformation. 13:639-47 Je 78
The leper knight: a legend of Malta. [P] RB1:418-9 0 78
Political morality. RB3:402-10 0 79

RYDER, Isaiah
Alcohol and the vital principle. RB6:625-8 Je 81

RYE, Amy
Schools of Italian art. 11:486-9 My, 633-8 Je 77; 12:40-4 J1 77
Sketches of English portrait painters. 12:454-60 N 77
Sketches of celebrated English landscape painters. 12:565-70 D 77
European porcelain. Mrs. Francis Rye. RB1:499-503 0 78
Greek ornamental art. RB2:548-53 My 79
Woman as a nurse. Mrs. Francis Rye. RB3:164-8 Ag 79
Charlotte's system. [F] Mrs. Francis Rye. RB4:24-34 Ja 80
Recent notes by Mr. Ruskin. RB4:480-5 My 80
The Mohammedan princess. [P] RB4:582-3 Je 80
Method in reading. Mrs. Francis Rye. RB5:135-7 Ag 80

RYE, Francis
A serenade. [P] (Tr) F.R. 7:162 Fe 75
Die Lore-lei. [P] (Tr) F.R. 8:122 Ag 75
Two lives. [P] F.R. 8:412 N 75
The student's story. [P] F.R. 8:488-95 D 75
Carrie's courtship. [F] F.R. 9:186-200 Mr 76
Sing us a song of our own land. [P] F.R. 9:478 Je 76
Captain Vivaine: an operetta. F.R. 11:183-7 Fe 77
George Eliot's later manner. F.R. 11:261-8 Mr 77
Spring's herald. [P] F.R. 11:302-3 Mr 77
Little great men. F.R. 13:490-3 My 78
The so-called Shakespearian myth. F.R. RB3:76-9 J1 79
An idyl of Swampville. [P] F.R. RB5:138 Ag 80
The life and writings of Buckle. [R] RB5:150-8 Ag 80
Ap 81

S.
A Christmas ride in the North-West. [F]. 11:43-7 Ja 77

S.
Personal. [F] 11:288-92 Mr 77
S., K.F.M.
Three angels. [P] (Rep from Fraser's Magazine) 6:248 S 74

S., M.L.
Evening in early summer. [P] 10:18-9 J1 76

S., O.
Chivalrous homage to women. RB4:207-10 Fe 80
What's Shakespeare? RB4:408-12 Ap 80

S., R.
Morning song. [P] 10:468-9 D 76

S., T.W.
Evening in June. [P] RB8:582 Je 82

S., W.W. [see also SMITH, William Wye]
Autumn. [P] 4:437 N 73

ST. LEDGER, Mary
Catherine—dying. [P] 4:418 N 73

ST. PIERRE, Bernardin de
about
Bernardin de St. Pierre. W.D.LeSueur. 5:324-38 Ap 74

ST. QUENTIN [pseud]
Three friends of mine: DeQuincey, Coleridge and Poe. 13:359-65 Ap 78
The gates of life. [P] RB3:102 J1 79
Sheila. [P] RB5:83 J1 80
Clinker. [F] RB5:353-9 0 80

SALESMAINSHP
The science of selling. Anon. (Rep) (Tr) 2:378-81 0 72

SALONS
Salons. Hayward. (Rep from Essays) 4:341-54 0 73

SANDWICH ISLANDS
Paradise in the Pacific. [R] Anon. 4:301-7 0 73

SANFORD, Mary Bourchier
A Christmas hymn. [P] RB2:19 Ja 79

SANGSTER, Charles 1822-1893
The mocking bird. [P] 1:46 Ja 72
At the Chaudiere Falls. [P] 1:200-1 Mr 72
The bard. [P] 1:438-40 My 72
Tecumseth. [P] 2:9-10 J1 72
The 'Ocean Stag'. [P] 2:209 S 72
The Iroquois. [P] (Rep from The St. Lawrence and the Saguenay) 4:211-2
S 73
The fishers. [P] 8:222-3 S 75
SANKEY, Ira David 1840-1908 see MOODY, Dwight Lyman

SAPERE AUDE CLUB
Stray thoughts at random strung. J.E.Collins. RB8:54-61 Ja, 169-78 Fe 82

SARDOU, Victorien 1831-1908
Scenes from Rabagas. (Rep) 4:29-36 J1 73

SCADDING, Henry 1813-1901
Marine of Toronto harbour, 1799-1816. (Rep from Toronto of Old) 3:345-53 Ap 73
Reminiscences of some Cambridge professors. 7:201-8 Mr 75
The letters of Veritas. 9:89-94 Fe 76
The letters of Legion. 9:205-8 Mr 76
Liberty and its symbols on coins and medals. 9:479-87 Je 76
The astrolabes of Samuel Champlain and Geoffrey Chaucer. RB5:589-601 D 80

SCIENCE
Science and nature. 3:84-6 Ja, 253-6 Mr, 353-5 Ap, 446-8 My, 543-4 Je 73;
4:82 J1, 168 Ag, 266-7 S, 354 0, 450-1 N, 545-6 D 73; 5:89-91 Ja, 175-6
Fe, 262-3 Mr, 361-2 Ap, 451-2 My 551 Je 74
Science and materialism. W.D.LeSueur. 11:22-8 Ja 77
An animated molecule and its nearest relatives. Daniel Clark. RB1:350-69
S 78
The scientific spirit. W.D.LeSueur. RB3:437-41 0 79

SCIENCE AND RELIGION see RELIGION

SCOFFERIN, John
Henry Cavendish. (Rep from Stray Leaves of Science and Folk-lore)
1:158-64 Fe 72
Euthanasia. (Rep from Stray Leaves of Science and Folk-lore) 2:461-6
N 72

SCOTLAND see also GREAT BRITAIN
Election times at a Scotch university. George H.B.Gray. 12:160-3 Ag 77
Edinburgh jottings. Alfred S.Gibbs. RB1:129-40 Ag 78
The mental hospitality of the Scot. Robert Campbell. RB8:79-86 Ja 82

SCOTT, Frederick George 1861-1944
A mood. [P] RB8:481-2 My 82

SCOTT, Sir Walter 1771-1832 about
Shakespeare and Scott. D.Fowler. RB1:420-8 0 78

SCRUTATOR [pseud]
How joint stock companies are manufactured. 10:123-6 Ag 76
SEATON, R. Marvin
Time. [P 11:292 Mr 77
To Helen. [P] RB1:32 Jl 78
Tell, Cleone, tell me why. [P] RB1:161 Ag 78
To Cora. [P] RB2:448 Ap 79
Spring. [P] RB2:524 My 79
Just a transient year ago. [P] RB2:722 Je 79
"Say when every zephyr sips." [P] RB3:198-9 Ag 79

SECORD, (Mary) Laura 1775-1868

about
Mary Secord: a Canadian ballad of 1813. Fidelis [pseud]. RB4:575-7 Je 80

SERANUS [pseud] see HARRISON, Susie Frances

SERTANEGO [pseud]
Grecian architecture. 8:433-7 N 75

SHAKESPEARE, William 1564-1616

about
Anne Hathaway: a dialogue. Daniel Wilson. 1:19-26 Ja 72
Where did Shakespeare get his Ariel? J. Hunter-Duvar. 9:201-3 Mr 76
Our English Shaksper. John King. 10:501-14 D 76
The fair Ophelia. Louisa Murray. 13:137-45 Fe 78
Shakespeare and Scott. D. Fowler. RB1:420-8 O 78
The so-called Shakespearian myth. F. R. RB3:76-9 Jl 79
Ophelia and Portia. D. Fowler. RB6:504-11 My 81
Desdemona. D. Fowler. RB6:643-50 Je 81
Notes upon Romeo and Juliet. R. W. Boodle. RB8:470-80 My 82

SHAW, George E.
Time. [P] RB3:481 N 79
Reputation: an epigram. [P] RB4:180 Fe 80
Poverty. [P] RB4:319 Mr 80

SHEBAYGO [pseud, see also ?BEERS, W. G.]
Lacrosse. 11:396-403 Ap 77

SHELLEY, Percy Bysshe 1792-1822

about
The poetry of Shelley. Louise F. Morse. 12:247-57 Ag 77
Shelley. Walter Townsend. RB1:673-88 D 78

SHIPPING
Reform in ocean passenger travel. Anon. 5:97-101 Fe 74
British, American and British-American ships. N. W. Beckwith. 5:461-80 Je 74

SHIRLEY [pseud]
Bermuda. 11:392-6 Ap 77
SIMCOX, G.A.
Art and Morality. (Rep from Macmillan's Magazine) 2:466-71 N 72

SIMPSON, George
Erasmus of Rotterdam. RB8:296-300 Mr 82

SINCLAIR, Isabella
Ab initio. [P] RB3:186-7 Ag 79

SITTING BULL
about
In the North-West with Sitting Bull. E.D. Clarke. RB5:66-73 J1 80

SLEEP
Sleep and dreaming. Edward Fitzgerald. 13:467-78 My 78

SMALL, Watten
Sonnets. [P] RB1:756 D 78
Christmas: 1878. [P] RB2:105 Ja 79
Reveries. [P] RB2:676 Je 79

SMARTY [pseud] see WETHERALD, Agnes Ethelwyn

SMILES, Samuel 1812-1904
Work. (Rep from Character) 3:64-75 Ja 73

SMITH, Alex
'Winter nights. [P] (Rep from Alex Smith's Poems) RB3:619 D 79

SMITH, Frances E.
The Italian boy. [P] RB5:12 J1 80
The nun's prayer. [P] RB5:133-4 Ag 80

SMITH, Goldwin 1829-1910
The consolation of science. [P] (Tr) 1:53-4 Ja 72
The recent struggle in the parliament of Ontario. A Bystander [pseud]. 1:143-9 Fe 72
The poet's invitation to the statesman. [P] (Tr) 1:247-9 Mr 72
The woman's rights movement. A Bystander [pseud]. 1:249-64 Mr 72
The great duel of the 17th Century. Anon. 2:38-55 J1 72
The Dominion parliament. A Bystander [pseud]. 2:56-7 J1 72
Translations of the hymn of the three archangels. [P] (Tr) G.S. 2:153 Ag 72
Alfredus rex fundator. 2:157-69 Ag 72
Colonel Gray on Confederation. [R] A Bystander [pseud]. 2:173-83 Ag 72
Political struggles on both sides of the line. Anon. 2:263-73 S 72
Political corruption. Anon. 2:366-78 0 72
The labour movement. 2:513-32 D 72
Horace. [P] (Tr) 3:46 Ja 73
The Irish question. 3:116-35 Fe 73
A wirepuller of kings. [R] Anon. 3:396-408 My 73
What is culpable luxury? 3:410-8 My 73
Notes on the session. Anon. 3:520-36 Je 73
The parting of Hector and Andromache. [P] G.S. 4:109-11 Ag 73
Cowper. 4:213-27 S 73
Female suffrage. (Rep from Macmillan's Magazine) 6:68-78 J1 74
The Oneida community and American socialism. A Bystander [pseud]. 6:425-37 N 74
The immortality of the soul. 9:408-16 My 76
The political destiny of Canada. (Rep from Fortnightly Review) 11:596-614 Je 77
Berlin and Afghanistan. RB1:740-51 D 78
The prospect of a moral interregnum. (Rep from Atlantic Monthly) RB3:651-63 D 79
Pessimism. (Rep from Atlantic Monthly) RB4:303-19 Mr 80
Speech at press banquet in his honour. RB7:102-6 J1 81
The Social Science Congress at Dublin: an address. RB8:88-100 Ja 82
The Jewish question. (Rep from Nineteenth Century) RB8:198-212 Fe 82
The conduct of England to Ireland. (Rep) RB8:628-43 Je 82
about Mr. Goldwin Smith. Anon. 4:547-8 D 73
The political destiny of Canada. Francis Hincks. 12:56-66 J1 77; RB2:170-82 Fe 79
Mr. Goldwin Smith on the prospect of a moral interregnum. G.A.M. RB3:663-5 D 79
The press banquet to Mr. Goldwin Smith. Anon. RB7:101-6 J1 81
Mr. Goldwin Smith's Lectures and Essays. [R] J.F.Stevenson. (Rep from Educational Record) RB7:429-33 O 81
Our English critics. Thomas Cross. RB8:532-5 My 82
see also BOOK REVIEWS

SMITH, Jane
Beneath the leaves. [P] 10:398 N 76

SMITH, Mary Barry
My rose. [P] 1:213-4 Mr 72
Let us launch our boat. [P] 1:431 My 72
Elswitha. [P] 7:114-5 Fe 75
Afterward. [P] 8:34 J1 75
The secret of life. [P] 9:221 Mr 76

SMITH, S.R.
Something about Peru. RB2:33-51 Ja 79
SMITH, Sydney 1771-1845


SMITH, William Wye 1827-1917 see also S., W.W.

Youth and age. [P] 9:488 Je 76
Illustrations of Canadian life. RB8:155-68 Fe, 226-35 Mr, 515-23 My 82 see also BOOK REVIEWS

SOCIAL SCIENCES

Address: Social Science Congress, Dublin. Goldwin Smith. RB8:88-100 Ja 82

SOCIALISM

The Oneida community and American socialism. A Bystander [pseud]. 6:425-37 N 74
The German socialists and the last Reichstag. James W.Bell. RB6:37-46 Ja 81

SOPHOCLES 495-406 B.C.

Sophocles as a poet and teacher. Fidelis [pseud]. RB8:567-77 Je 82

SPERLO [pseud]

The ethics of vivisection. 12:72-6 J1 77
Transubstantiation and odium theologicum. 12:627-37 D 77
A rejoinder. 13:84-7 Ja 78
Prohibition. 13:652-9 Je 78

SOUTH AMERICA

Something about Peru. S.R.Smith. RB2:33-51 Ja 79
The seat of war in South America. J.Douglas. RB3:113-29 Ag 79

SOUTHEY, Robert 1774-1843


SPAIN


SPENCE, Francis Stephens 1850-1917

Canada. [P] RB7:8-11 J1 81

SPENCER, Herbert 1820-1903

To Herbert Spencer. [P] Grant Allen. (Rep from Popular Science Monthly) 8:320-1 O 75
Spencer's Data of Ethics. [R] A.W.Gundry. RB3:646-50 D 79
Mr. Spencer and his critics. W.D.LeSueur. RB4:413-22 Ap 80
SPENCER, Hiram Ladd 1829-1915
Drifting. [P] 11:21 Ja 77
Where thou wert laid. [P] 11:319 Mr 77
Love's burial. [P] RB1:15 J1 78
Sonnet. [P] RB1:64 J1 78
Sonnet. [P] RB1:84 J1 78
Sonnet. [P] RB1:167 Ag 78
William Cullen Bryant. [P] RB1:272 S 78
Sonnet. [P] RB1:428 O 78
In vain. [P] RB1:545 N 78
Sonnet. [P] RB1:717 D 78
A reverie. [P] RB2:51 Ja 79
The Hadji Said. [P] RB2:169 Fe 79
My princess. [P] RB2:327 Mr 79
It is well. [P] RB2:499 Ap 79

SPICER, Henry
Am I myself? [F] (Rep from Judicial Dramas) 2:455-61 N 72

SPIRITUALISM
Spiritualism. Mrs. R. Corson. 10:60-3 J1 76

SPORTS
Yachting. An Amateur [pseud]. 1:440-6 My 72
My first cariboo. Hubert Humber [pseud]. 1:509-18 Je 72
Wickets in the West. [R] Anon. 4:38-42 J1 73
The fishing tourist. [R] Anon. 4:273-9 O 73
Wild duck. W. George Beers. 5:34-43 Ja 74
Field sports and vivisection. Edward A. Freeman. (Rep from Fortnightly Review) 5:543-50 Je 74
How I sailed the 'Flying Scud'. G. A. MacKenzie. 10:516-24 D 76
My first tiger hunt. Griff [pseud]. 11:64-7 Ja 77
The recent cricket match. T. C. RB1:608-15 N 78
Fashionable murder. P. S. H. RB4:280-6 Mr 80
A girl's attempt at fishing. J. M. Tocs. RB5:476-9 N 80
Modern canoeing. Robert Tyson. RB6:533-40 My 81
The canoe convention on Lake George. Charles L. Norton. RB7:426-9 O 81

STANLEY, Henry Morton 1841-1904
Discovery of Livingstone. (Rep from How I Found Livingstone) 2:558-65 D 72
see also BOOK REVIEWS

STEPHENS, Charles Henry -1914
The nine hours' movement. 1:423-30 My 72

STEPHENS, Hiram B.
The modern theatre and intellectualty. RB4:368-75 Ap 80

STEPHENS, Sir James Fitzjames 1829-1894
Parliamentary government. (Rep from Contemporary Review) 5:163-71 Fe 74
see also BOOK REVIEWS
STERNE, Laurence 1713-1768  about

Morality and the Gospel once more. RB5:269-77 S 80
Mr. Goldwin Smith's Lectures and Essays. [R] (Rep from Educational Record)
RB7:429-33 O 81
Two schools of modern poetry. RB8:621-7 Je 82

STEWART, George 1848-1906  Ballads of the scaffold. 10:32-5 J1 76
see also BOOK REVIEWS

STEWART, J.L.  The early English stage. RB1:33-45 J1 78
Lever's military tales. RB1:199-215 Ag 78
Wilkie Collins as a novelist. RB1:586-601 N 78
Christmas literature. RB2:73-83 Ja 79
Three sonnets: New Year's Day. [P] RB2:318-9 Mr 79

STILLING, Heinrich Jung  about
Heinrich Jung Stilling. Louisa Murray. 9:26-31 Ja 76

STOCKMAR, Christian Friedrich, Baron 1787-1863  about
A wirepuller of kings. [R] Goldwin Smith. 3:396-408 My 73

STONE, James Samuel 1852-1928  The diary of Samuel Pepys, Esq. RB3:489-96 N, 582-90 D 79; RB4:35-46 Ja 80
John Paston's funeral. RB6:424-7 Ap 81
A page of English church history. RB7:234-41 S 81
A sketch of the troubles of the Lancastrian kings. RB7:593-605 D 81

STORM, Theodor 1817-1888  Three summer stories. (Tr) 1:152-7 Fe, 264-9 Mr 72
The swallows of St. Jurgens. [F] (Tr) 2:325-44 O 72

STRACHAN, John 1777-1867  about
Our pioneer bishop. Anon. 1:406-20 My 72

STRICKLAND, Agnes 1796-1874  Sonnet: from Fillicosa. [P] (Tr) 6:514 D 74
Sonnet: from Petrocchi. [P] (Tr) RB2:691 Je 79

SULLIVAN, Robert Baldwin  about
The letters of Legion. Henry Scadding. 9:205-8 Mr 76
SURENA [pseud]
Modern scepticism. [P] 2:173 Ag 72
Honour. [P] 2:255 S 72

SWIFT, Jonathan 1667-1745
Swift and the women who loved him. Louisa Murray. 11:30-7 Ja, 174-82 Fe,
293-302 Mr, 529-44 My 77

SWINBURNE, Algernon Charles 1837-1909
In memory of Barry Cornwall. [P] (Rep) 6:530 D 74
At parting. [P] (Rep from Athenaeum) 8:243 S 75
Mr. Swinburne's Bothwell. [R] (Rep from Fortnightly Review) 6:174-82
Ag 74
N 77
see also BOOK REVIEWS

SYKES, E.A.
A summer walk. [P] RB8:178-9 Fe 82

SYMONDS, John Addington. 1840-1893
The sonnets of Michael Angelo. (Rep from Contemporary Review) 2:532-4
D 72
see also BOOK REVIEWS

T., E.S.
Canada. [P] 7:18-9 J1 75

T., S.
The maiden's lament: from the German of Schiller. [P] (Tr) 2:512-3
D 72

T., W.
The minstrel's curse: from the German of Uhland. [P] (Tr) 13:488-9 My 78

T., W.T.
A reminiscence. [P] 7:477-8 Je 75

TALFOURD, Thomas Noon 1795-1854
Talfourd's Tragedy of Ion. E.A.Meredith. 8:38-45 J1 75

TAYLER, Benjamin W.R.
A criticism of Mr. Norris's article on 'Canadian Nationality'. RB4:394-6
Ap 80

TAYLOR, Fennings 1817-1882
Early phases of British rule in Canada. 2:239-50 S 72
Notes on the ballot. 3:488-97 Je 73
see also BOOK REVIEWS
TEMPERANCE
The temperance problem. Fidelis [pseud]. 11:369-78 Ap 77
The temperance question: a reply to Fidelis. J.A.Allen. 12:24-31 J1 77
The temperance problem. Fidelis [pseud]. 12:183-9 Ag 77
The temperance problem. J.A.Allen. 12:282-91 S 77
The temperance problem. Fidelis [pseud]. 12:369-78 O 77
Prohibition. Sordello [pseud]. 13:652-9 Je 77
The drink question. David K.Brown. RB5:606-13 D 80
Alcohol and the vital principle. Isaiah Ryder. RB6:625-8 Je 81
The true basis of legislative prohibition. George W.Hodgson. RB8:46-52 Ja 82
The taboo of strong drink. F.Blake Crofton. RB7:488-97 N 81; RB8:180-3 Fe 82

TEMPLE [pseud]
Cupid's missive. [P] RB6:254 Mr 81

TEMPLETON, Tristram [pseud]
Good night. [P] RB6:305-6 Mr 81

TENNISON, Alfred, Baron 1809-1892
The last tournament. (Rep from Contemporary Review) 1:78-87 Ja 72
Tennyson: a criticism. William Lyall. RB1:477-89 O 78
The Idylls of the King. R.W.Boodle. RB6:379-98 Ap 81
see also BOOK REVIEWS

THEATRE
see also DRAMA
MUSIC
Theatrical gossip of an old stager. [R] Anon. 3:47-52 Ja 73
The early English stage. J.L.Stewart. RB1:33-45 J1 78
The modern theatre and intellectuality. Hiram B.Stephens. RB4:368-75 Ap 80
Musical and theatrical reminiscences. John Hector. RB8:579-82 Je 82
Toronto and its early theatrical entertainments. George M.Harrington. RB8:600-13 Je 82

THEOLOGY
Theological studies and the times. Hugh Pedley. RB5:88-93 J1 80

THEURIET, André
Undine. (Tr) 3:499-511 Je 73; 4:43-57 J1 73, 98-108 Ag 73
see also BOOK REVIEWS

THOMAS, Edith M.
Running-water notes. (Rep from Atlantic Monthly) RB8:63-8 Ja 82

THOMPSON, James Maurice 1844-1901
In exile. [P] (Rep from The Century) RB8:535-7 My 82
To Maurice Thompson. [P] Seranus [pseud]. RB8:537-9 My 82
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Years</th>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Pages</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>THOMPSON, Samuel</td>
<td>1810-1886</td>
<td>Reminiscences of a Canadian pioneer.</td>
<td>RB7:179-98</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Ag, 248-60 S, 406-17 0, 510-22 N, 623-37 D 81</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>THOMSON, Edward</td>
<td>1849-1924</td>
<td>To a photograph.</td>
<td>[P] 1:536-7 Je 72</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Drowned at the ford.</td>
<td>[P] 2:23-5 J1 72</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOCQUE, Philip</td>
<td>1814-1899</td>
<td>The climate of Newfoundland.</td>
<td>10:156-8 Ag 76</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOCS, J.M.</td>
<td></td>
<td>A girl's attempt at fishing.</td>
<td>RB5:476-9 N 80</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>A day with the children.</td>
<td>RB8:192-6 Fe 82</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TODD, Alpheus</td>
<td>1821-1884</td>
<td>Is Canadian loyalty a sentiment or a principle?</td>
<td>RB7:523-30 N 81</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>See also BOOK REVIEWS</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOLLEMACHE, Beatrix</td>
<td></td>
<td>Not yet, not yet, the light.</td>
<td>[P] (Rep) RB3:626 D 79</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A TORONTO PRACTITIONER</td>
<td></td>
<td>Episodes of a law office.</td>
<td>RB5:294-9 S 80</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOWNSEND, Walter</td>
<td></td>
<td>Lucas Van Leyden.</td>
<td>13:588-96 Je 78</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Matthew Arnold as a poet.</td>
<td>RB1:335-46 S 78</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Shelley.</td>
<td>RB1:673-88 D 78</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Washington Irving's 'Old Christmas'.</td>
<td>RB2:20-9 Ja 79</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Robert Southey.</td>
<td>RB2:199-215 Fe 79</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Laurence Sterne.</td>
<td>RB2:385-402 Ap 79</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TRAILL, Catherine</td>
<td>1802-1899</td>
<td>A winter song for the sleigh.</td>
<td>[P] 1:238 Mr 72</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Parr (Strickland)</td>
<td></td>
<td>A lament for May-Day.</td>
<td>1:532 Ja 72</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Glance within the forest.</td>
<td>6:48-53 J1 74</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Voices from the Canadian woods: the white cedar.</td>
<td>9:491-4 Je 76</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Our forest trees.</td>
<td>RB1:90-5 J1 78</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TRAVEL</td>
<td></td>
<td>See DESCRIPTION AND TRAVEL</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TRAVERS, Fred</td>
<td></td>
<td>A romance of the underground railway.</td>
<td>[F] RB4:338-41 Mr 80</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>My young wife's party.</td>
<td>[F] RB4:618-22 Je 80</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Christmas at Ferncliff.</td>
<td>[F] RB5:640-52 D 80</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
TUCKER, David
Lissa (July 20, 1866). [P] RB5:539-40 N 80
Intellectual tendencies and training. RB6:161-70 Fe 81

TWAIN, Mark  see CLEMENS, Samuel

290  [pseud]
On an accident! [F] RB5:625-7 D 80

TWO MILITIAMEN [pseud]
A plea for the militia. RB2:192-9 Fe 79

TYNDALL, John 1820-1893
Reply to the critics of the Belfast Address. (Rep) 7:183-95 Fe 75
Materialism and its opponents. (Rep from Fortnightly Review) 9:56-68 Ja 76

Prof. Tyndall's 'materialism'. John Watson. 13:282-8 Mr 78

see also BOOK REVIEWS
RELIGION

TYSON, Robert
Down South in a sail-boat. RB4:397-407 Ap, 489-503 My, 602-17 Je 80
Modern canoeing. RB6:533-40 My 81

U.E.L. [pseud]
Relics of loyalty. 8:215-21 S 75

UNITED STATES

see also CANADA AND THE UNITED STATES
Celestial America. J.D.Edgar. 6:389-97 N 74
The Oneida community and American socialism. A Bystander [pseud].
6:425-37 N 74
A visit to some of the Detroit schools. J.M.Buchan. 8:483-6 D 75
A student's view of education in New York City. T.S.Ormiston. 9:112-9 Fe 76
A Texan barbecue. M.Y. 10:159-61 Ag 76
A glance at the revolutionary war. W.E.C. 11:516-8 My 77
A barbecue in North Mississippi. R.Cleland. 13:500-2 My 78
The scars of a recent conflict. Daniel Clark. RB1:216-25 Ag 78
The position of the American republic. D.B.Dingman. RB7:507-9 N 81

UNIVERSITIES

Election time at a Scotch university. George H.B.Gray. 12:160-3 Ag 77
University training—training the university teacher. A.G. RB5:261-3 S 80
A few words on university co-education. Fidelis [pseud]. RB8:313-9 Mr 82
AN UNLEARNED VISITOR [pseud]
A gossip about the first dominion art exhibition. RB4:545-53 My 80

VAN DRAECKEN, Katherine
Essay on old maids. 4:179-91 S 73

VERCHÈRES, Madeleine de 1678-1747
about
One of Canada's heroines: Madeleine de Verchères. [P] John Reade. RB1:332-4 S 78

VERITAS [pseud] see RICHARDSON, John

VICTORIA, Queen of England 1819-1901
about
Queen Victoria in Italy. C. RB2:605-7 My 79
Victoria. [P] A.P. Williams (Rep from New York Tribune) RB8:265 Mr 82

VIVISECTION
Field sports and vivisection. (Rep from Fortnightly Review) Edward A. Freeman. 5:543-50 Je 74
The ethics of vivisection. Sordello [pseud]. 12:72-6 J1 77

VOGEL, Julius
Greater or lesser Britain. (Rep from Nineteenth Century) 12:232-46 S 77

VOYAGES
How we entered San Juan Harbour. A. Rufus Coleman. 7:426-8 My 75
From Port Said to Suez. J.S. Cowan. 8:406-11 N 75
From London to Australia and back. J.B. Mackenzie. 10:300-10 O 76
People you don't know. N.W. Beckwith. (Rep from Cruisings and Musings in the China Sea and East Indian Archipelago) 10:406-12 N 76
A voyage in the Sunbeam. Annie Brassey. (Rep from A voyage in the Sunbeam) RB1:385-400 O 78
Across the sea, or, thoughts by the way. I.R. Eckart. RB7:199-206 Ag, 381-9 0, 531-8 N 81

VOX TRISTIS [pseud]
Betrayed. [P] 2:251 Ag 72

W.
Life and love. [P] 10:376-7 N 76

W., A.E. see WETHERALD, Agnes Ethelwyn

W., A.W.
Theklas's song: from the German of Schiller. [P] RB5:268 S 80
W., D. [see also ?WILSON, Daniel]
On a dead fly found crushed in my scrap-book. [P] 2:73 J1 72
Canada. [P] 4:471-3 D 73
Bachelors' buttons. [P] 5:55-6 Ja 74

W., M.
In church. [P] RB6:587 Je 81

W., W. [see also ?WITHROW, William]
The ravages of peace. 4:177-8 S 73

W., W.E.
The maple in autumn. [P] 8:432 N 75

WALKER, Annie Louisa 1836-1907
A forgotten hero: Jacques Cartier. (Rep from Fraser's Magazine)
RB6:88-95

WAR
The great duel of the 17th C. Anon. 2:38-55 J1 72
Progress of humanity: the act of war. William Jerdan. 10:316-8 0 76
A glance at the revolutionary war. W.E.C. 11:516-8 My 77

WASHBURNE, F.D.
No hero after all. [F] (Rep from N.Y.Aldine) 9:129-33 Fe 76

WATER
Water: fit to drink or not. J.F.Everhart. RB1:711-7 D 78
Running-water notes. Edith M.Thomas. (Rep from Atlantic Monthly) RB8:
63-8 Ja 82

WATSON, E.
Impatient buds. [P] RB4:600-1 Je 80

WATSON, John 1847-1939
Science and religion. 9:384-97 My 76
Darwinism and morality. 10:319-26 0 76
The ethical aspects of Darwinism: a rejoinder. 11:638-44 Je 77
Prof. Tyndall's 'materialism'. 13:282-8 Mr 78
A phase of modern thought. RB3:457-72 N 79
see also BOOK REVIEWS

WATSON, Samuel James 1837-1881
January. [P] 1:27 Ja 72
Historical night in the old Canadian parliament. 1:64-71 Ja 72
The legend of the roses. [P] 9:147-50 Fe 76
The powers of Canadian legislatures. RB3:519-28 N 79
The powers of Canadian parliaments. RB3:561-71 D 79
"Good tidings of great joy." [F] RB3:645 D 79
Watching for a sign. [P] RB5:653 D 80
The parliament of Ontario. RB6:331-9 Ap 81
about

Note on the death of S.J. Watson. Editor. RB7:638-9 D 81
see also BOOK REVIEWS

WEDD, William
'Toots': a Canadian idyl. [F] RB3:572-81 D 79

WELFARE, Public
RB5:239-47 S 80

WELLINGTON, Arthur Wellesley, 1st Duke of 1769-1852
about
Personal recollections of the great Duke of Wellington. Frances Elliot.
2:79-83 J1 72

WELLMER, Arnold
The Countess Anna. (Tr) (Rep) 6:416-23 N 74

WELLS, James Edward 1836-1898
Canadian culture. 8:459-67 D 75
Evolution and immortality. 10:291-8 O 76
The ethical value of convictions. 13:503-8 My 78

WERNICGDE, Anna
about
The Countess Anna. Arnold Wellmer. (Tr) (Rep) 6:416-23 N 74

WETHERALD, Agnes Ethelwyn 1857-1940
The return. [P] A.E.W. 11:42 Ja 77
The Toronto girl's coterie. A.E.W. RB5:24-6 J1, 159-61 Ag, 264-8 S,
382-4 O, 495-7 N, 602-5 D 80
Going on an excursion. E.A.W. RB5:236-8 S 80
The Toronto girl's coterie. Smarty [pseud]. RB6:69-72 Ja 81
The poet's greatest work. [F] E.A.W. RB6:306-16 Mr 81
The course of untrue love. [F] RB7:242-7 S 81
How the modern Eve entered Eden. [F] RB8:131-46 Fe 82

WHITE, Edward J.
The jewels: a Jewish legend. [P] 2:505-6 D 72
New year bells. [P] 5:14-5 Ja 74

WHITE, John
Chess and chess-players. RB7:391-6 O 81

WHITE, Thomas 1830-1888
Immigration. 1:193-200 Mr 72
The immigrant in Canada. 2:2-8 J1 72
WHITMAN, B.A.
Confederation of Canada with Britain in relation to the Canada Pacific Railway. RB2:319-27 Mr 79

WHITMAN, James 1858-1885
Halifax. RB2:421-8 Ap 79

WHITMAN, Walter 1819-1892
about Walt Whitman and his poems. Kate Seymour MacLean. RB5:29-34 J1 80

WHITTIER, John Greenleaf 1807-1892
Disarmament. [P] (Rep from Poems) 4:320 O 73
July. [P] RB3:75 J1 79
see also BOOK REVIEWS

WILDE, Oscar 1854-1900
Ave imperatrix. [P] (Rep) RB7:389-91 O 81
see also BOOK REVIEWS

WILKES, Robert
Britain's future corn supply. RB5:113-24 Ag 80

WILKINSON, John Richardson -1908
Autumn rain. [P] RB3:488 N 79
Death of summer. [P] RB5:639 D 80

WILLIAMS, A.P.
Victoria. [P] (Rep from New York Tribune) RB8:265 Mr 82

WILLIAMS, Sarah
Vigil. [P] 5:191 Mr 74
Music at night. [P] 5:525 Je 74

WILLIAMS, W.H.
Lost in the woods: a story of the Canadian lumber forest. 9:509-15 Je 76

WILSON, Daniel 1816-1892 [see also ?D., W.]
Anne Hathaway: a dialogue. 1:19-26 Ja 72
Toronto of old. 4:89-96 Ag 73
Wolfe and old Quebec. 7:105-13 Fe 75
Sonnet. [P] (Rep from Spring Wild Flowers) 8:8 J1 75
Sonnet. [P] (Rep from Spring Wild Flowers) 8:114 Ag 75
Doubt. [P] (Rep from Spring Wild Flowers) 8:315-6 O 75
Three generations. 9:397-401 My 76
see also BOOK REVIEWS

WILSON, W.F.
In the Himalayas. [F] RB5:126-33 Ag 80
Presumption. [P] RB5:605 D 80
WINDEYER, R.C.
Architecture in Canada. RB3:482-7 N 79

WITHROW, William Henry 1839-1908  [see also ?W., W.]
Early Christian art and symbolism. 1:119-25 Fe 72
The last of the Hurons. 2:409-17 N 72
November. [P] 2:423 N 72
Spring: a sonnet. [P] 3:418 My 73
Christian life and character as read in the catacombs. 6:285-93 O 74
see also BOOK REVIEWS

WOLFE, James 1727-1759
about
Wolfe and old Quebec. Daniel Wilson. 7:105-13 Fe 75

A WOMAN OF NEWFANGLE [pseud]
Some Newfangle notions. RB3:80-92 J1 79
Another word or two. RB3:296-302 S 79
Some last words on the woman question. RB3:529-35 N 79

WOMEN
The woman's rights movement. A Bystander [pseud]. 1:249-64 Mr 72
Men of letters and unlettered wives. Francis Jacox. (Rep from
Aspects of Authorship) 3:241-7 Mr 73
Essay on old maids. Katherine Van Draecken. 4:179-91 S 73
Basil plants and pansies. Louisa Murray. 5:225-33 Mr 74
Brides and bridals. [R] Anon. 5:410-23 My 74
Female suffrage. Goldwin Smith. (Rep from Macmillan's Magazine)
6:68-78 J1 74
Higher education for women. Fidelis [pseud]. 7:144-57 Fe 75
On the higher education of women. Minerva Moonshine [pseud]. 11:629-33
Je 77
Feminine proper names. G.W.G. 13:597-606 Je 78
Woman's work. Fidelis [pseud]. RB1:295-311 S 78
The woman question. M. RB2:568-79 My 79
The new ideal of womanhood. Fidelis [pseud]. RB2:659-76 Je 79
Some Newfangle notions. A Woman of Newfangle [pseud]. RB3:80-92 J1 79
Woman as a nurse. Mrs.Francis Rye. RB3:164-8 Ag 79
Newfangle and its opinions. A Non-Resident of Newfangle [pseud].
RB3:200-6 Ag 79
Another word or two. A Woman of Newfangle [pseud]. RB3:296-302 S 79
Newfangle again. A non-Resident of Newfangle [pseud]. RB3:410-6 O 79
Education and co-education. G.M.Grant. RB3:509-18 N 79
Some last words on the woman question. Our Old Friend of Newfangle [pseud].
RB3:529-35 N 79
Brief summing up on the woman question. A Non-Resident of Newfangle [pseud].
RB3:620-6 D 79
Chivalrous homage to women. O.S. RB4:207-10 Fe 80
Chivalry or not chivalry? Chivalry certainly. O.Yesse [pseud]. RB4:385-92
Ap 80
Confidences. A Girl of the Period [pseud]. RB4:624-7 Je 80
The women of the North-West. H.Rowan Maynard. RB5:291-2 S 80
A few words on university co-education. Fidelis [pseud]. RB8:313-9 Mr 82
A peep at convent life and education. Rose E.Clarke. RB8:409-19 Ap 82

Y., M.
A Texan barbecue. 10:159-61 Ag 76

Y., X. [pseud]
De profundis. [P] 12:365 O 77
Russian serfage: its rise and its extinction. 13:297-309 Mr 78

YESSE, O. [pseud]
Chivalry or not chivalry? Chivalry certainly. RB4:385-92 Ap 80

YORK [pseud]
Marching out: on the departure of the last British troops from Quebec. [P] 1:18 Ja 72
Marching in: on the occupation of the citadel by the first Canadian garrison [P] 1:105-6 Fe 72

YOUNG, Charles Mayne
about
Mathews, the comedian. Julian C.Young. (Rep from A Memoir of Charles Young, Tragedian) 2:183-7 Ag, 274-83 S 72

YOUNG, James 1835-1913
The growth of Canadian commerce. 1:387-91 My 72
The trade of Canada during 1871-1872. 3:221-3 Mr 73
Reform in ocean passenger travel. Anon. 5:97-101 Fe 74
The situation: commercial and financial. 8:123-31 Ag 75
The four fat and the four lean years. 13:186-9 Fe 78
see also BOOK REVIEWS

YOUNG, Joseph
An Indian's views of Indian Affairs. (Rep from North American Review) RB2:615-25 My 79

YOUNG, Julian Charles
Mathews, the comedian. (Rep from A Memoir of Charles Mayne Young, Tragedian) 2:183-7 Ag, 274-83 S 72
An Austrian romance. (Rep from A Memoir of Charles Mayne Young, Tragedian) 3:339-45 Ap 73

YOUNG, S.W.
The last days of the Irish parliament. RB3:10-25 JI 79

YOUNG PEOPLE
RB8:213-7 Fe, 319-22 Mr, 432-6 Ap, 542-5 My, 647-54 Je 82

YOUTH
YULE, Pamela Vining 1825?-1897
Eloise. [P] Mrs. J. C. Yule. 1:446-7 My 72
The dance of the winds. [P] Mrs. J. C. Yule. 2:344-6 Oct 72
The wayside elm. [P] Mrs. J. C. Yule. 5:400-2 My 74
see also BOOK REVIEWS
APPENDIX A

CHRONOLOGICAL LIST OF CANADIAN MAGAZINES, REVIEWS
AND LITERARY JOURNALS

The following publications, published monthly unless indicated otherwise, are listed in the order of the date of their founding. The list, which cannot claim to be comprehensive, includes major magazines of literary relevance for the period, 1789-1880

1789-1820


1820-1830

The Enquirer. Quebec. May, 1821 - April, 1822.


The Literary Miscellany. Montreal. (Semi-monthly), November, 1822 - June, 1823.


Acadian Magazine: or, literary mirror, consisting of original and selected matter on literature and other subjects. Halifax. July, 1826 - June, 1827.

Canadian Miscellany: or, the religious, literary and statistical intelligencer. Montreal. April, 1828 - September, 1828.


1830-1840


Monthly Magazine. Montreal. 1831-1862?


Literary Miscellany. Niagara. 1832?


Bee: a weekly journal devoted to news, politics, literature, agriculture, etc. Pictou. May 27, 1835 - May 16, 1838.

Colonial Pearl: a volume devoted to polite literature, science and religion. or

Halifax Pearl: Halifax. (Weekly), 1837 - May 16, 1840.

1840-1850


1850-1860

The Mayflower, or Ladies Acadian Newspaper. Halifax. May 1851 - February 1852.

Son of Temperance and Canadian Literary Gem. Toronto. February, 1851 - December, 1854.

The Provincial or Halifax Monthly Magazine. Halifax. 1852 - December, 1853.


The Other. Halifax. 1853.


Montreal Quarterly Review. Montreal. 1856 or 1857?


1860-1870


<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Magazine/Title</th>
<th>Location</th>
<th>Date Range</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>British Canadian Review</td>
<td>Quebec</td>
<td>December 1862 - February 1863</td>
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<tr>
<td>British American Magazine</td>
<td>Toronto</td>
<td>May 1863 - April 1864</td>
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<tr>
<td>Canadian Quarterly Review and Family Magazine</td>
<td>Hamilton</td>
<td>January 1864 - April 1866</td>
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<tr>
<td>Canadian Patriot</td>
<td>Montreal</td>
<td>1864 or 1866</td>
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<td>Saturday Reader</td>
<td>Montreal</td>
<td>September 1865 - August 1867</td>
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<tr>
<td>Stewart's Quarterly</td>
<td>St. John</td>
<td>1867-1872</td>
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<tr>
<td>New Dominion Monthly</td>
<td>Montreal</td>
<td>October 1867-1879</td>
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<tr>
<td>Monthly Rose: a literary and religious magazine for Christian families</td>
<td>Bridgewater, Nova Scotia</td>
<td>June - September 1868</td>
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<tr>
<td>Canadian Illustrated News</td>
<td>Montreal</td>
<td>October 1869 - December 1883</td>
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<tr>
<td>Canada Bookseller: a quarterly record of British, American and Native literature for the use of the trade and book-buyers</td>
<td>Toronto</td>
<td>March 1870 - April 1871</td>
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<tr>
<td>Canadian Literary Journal</td>
<td>Toronto</td>
<td>July 1870 - May 1871</td>
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<tr>
<td>Broad-Axe</td>
<td>Charlottetown</td>
<td>(Weekly), 1871</td>
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<tr>
<td>King's College University Magazine</td>
<td>Halifax</td>
<td>1871</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Canadian Magazine</td>
<td>Toronto</td>
<td>July 1871 - January 1872</td>
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<tr>
<td>Canadian Eclectic Magazine of Foreign Literature, Science and Art</td>
<td>Toronto</td>
<td>December 1871 - February 1872</td>
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<tr>
<td>Canadian Monthly and National Review</td>
<td>Toronto</td>
<td>January 1872 - June 1878</td>
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<tr>
<td>Rose-Belford's Canadian Monthly</td>
<td>St. John</td>
<td>July 1878 - June 1882</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maritime Monthly: a magazine of literature, science and art.</td>
<td>Halifax</td>
<td>1873-1875</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nation</td>
<td>Toronto</td>
<td>(Weekly), April 1874 - September 1876</td>
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</tbody>
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215
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