

AND GLADLY TEACH: G. M.
WRONG AND THE DEPARTMENT
OF HISTORY AT THE
UNIVERSITY OF TORONTO

Ph. D.

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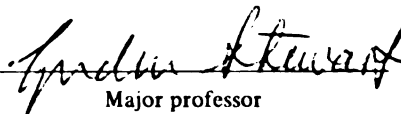
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ABSTRACT

And Gladly Teach: G.M. Wrong and the Department
of History at the University of Toronto

By

William Duncan Meikle

Prior to 1890 history in Canada was seldom taught in universities and was written by men untrained in the discipline. By 1930 the Canadian Historical Association and Review had come into existence, graduate work in history was well underway, and the writing of history was dominated by full time and well trained professors of history.

The Department of History at the University of Toronto was a major force in this development. This thesis tells the story of that development under George Wrong, the head of the Department from 1892 to 1927. Wrong and the men and women he appointed developed a curriculum and established a tradition that can be summarized by the phrase "and gladly teach". The students who passed through that department became imbued with an enthusiasm for history and public service. Between them they helped establish the historical profession in Canada.

The material for this study was drawn from university publications, periodicals, minutes and presidential papers, the publications, biographies, diaries and personal correspondence of the staff and some students, the minutes and correspondence

of organizations outside of the university to which the members of the Department belonged and interviews with staff and students. Also useful was an analysis of the patterns of decisions in areas such as appointments, curriculum changes, theses accepted and publications. From this material it was possible to identify the values held by Wrong and members of his staff.

Wrong looked to Oxford for his model. The Oxford pattern was adapted to the needs of Toronto in several areas: the History Department had close ties with the Departments of Classics and English, students were encouraged to complete their education at Oxford and up to 1929 most of the appointees to Toronto had an Oxford degree, and the staff praised the Oxford systems and values. The most significant of these values were the emphasis on good writing, the desire to identify and teach the best students in small groups, and realization that some effort must be made to reach the general public through lectures and books.

No other institution in Canada produced as many leaders of the historical profession as did the University of Toronto. Wrong and members of his staff were instrumental in developing the practice and standards of critical analysis of historical writing in Canada. They wrote books and articles for all levels and between them dominated the histories of Canada and Great Britain that were used in elementary and secondary schools across Canada. The Department of History

produced the largest proportion of graduate students in history in Canada and many of these became heads of history departments in other universities.

The background and values of Wrong and his staff, coupled with the dominance of the University of Toronto in Canada, created a nucleus of a historical profession that had distinctive features, features that have continued to affect the study of history in Canada.

AND GLADLY TEACH: G.M. WRONG
AND THE DEPARTMENT OF HISTORY AT
THE UNIVERSITY OF TORONTO

by

William Duncan Meikle

A THESIS

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A Clerk there was of Oxenford....
Whatever money from his friends he took
He spent on learning or another book
And prayed for them most earnestly....
Formal at that, respectful in the extreme,
Short, to the point, and lofty in his theme.
The thought of moral virtue filled his speech
And gladly would he learn, and gladly teach.

--Geoffrey Chaucer,
"The Prologue" in The
Canterbury Tales.

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PREFACE

This is the story of a Department of History--its founding, growth, values and influence. The membership of the Department is defined by the University calendars and records of appointments and pay; in each of these areas the men and women described here were listed under the heading "Department of History". Those who made up the Department had several things in common: they were appointed by Wrong or on his recommendation and they worked together--physically, socially and intellectually--on matters of curriculum, standards, and the responsibility of teaching a variety of subjects to a variety of classes. This thesis is an attempt to describe their backgrounds, the values they brought to the University of Toronto and to the study of history, and something of the impact they had on their students and on the Canadian public.

Much of the story is known to those whose lives centre on the University of Toronto but very little has been written for the record. Most studies of the University concentrate on the broader subjects of administrative structure, financial problems, or the relationship with the provincial government. These studies, while valuable, are far removed from the appointment of individual professors,

the interchange between professor and student, and the work of the professor outside of the classroom.

The introduction describes the work of Sir Daniel Wilson, who was the first person to teach history at Toronto-- but not the first historian. The Department of History had its beginnings in 1892 with the appointment of George Wrong (1860-1948). Wrong's work as head of the Department is divided into three parts: the period up to 1904, during which he was the only teacher in the Department; from 1904 to the end of the First World War; and from the end of the war to the arrival of Chester Martin two years after Wrong retired. (George Smith was acting head from 1927 to 1929). Within each part the organization is the same; the first chapter introduces those who were appointed. The second chapter in each part describes the Department as a whole-- the curriculum in theory and in practice, and the teaching methods. The third chapter describes the work of the staff in areas related to history yet outside the Department. Part IV is a brief attempt to show that the changes since 1929 were not a complete rejection of the tradition established by Wrong and his staff.

The most basic of Wrong's values--and the theme of this thesis--was the commitment to teaching. Wrong and those he appointed felt that their first obligation was to teach, not only in the classroom but in the country as a whole.

They instructed the community in many ways--by the example of their character and personal life; by speaking in public; and by writing for audiences at many levels, from the man-in-the-street and the elementary school teacher, to the university professor and the occupant of appointed or elected office. The title of this thesis could be applied to almost every one of the men and women who taught in the Department; between them they established a tradition that has lasted to the present.

A secondary theme is the development of the history profession in Canada. The period covered by this study was a period of transition. Prior to 1890 most of the history written in Canada was the product of men untrained in the discipline. Men like Wrong were the first of the full-time historians and they contributed a great deal to raise the standards of historical writing and research, and to provide a particular interpretation of Canadian history.

Wrong and his generation were also part of the transition away from an older style of historical writing. Wrong's insistence that history was primarily narrative, his desire to have history closely linked with literary studies, and his desire to have students trained more in breadth than in methodology or in a narrow speciality are examples of nineteenth century traditions of historical writing in Britain and in the United States. Yet, while rooted in the nineteenth century, Wrong and his Department anticipated and encouraged

many of the features of the modern approach to history such as extensive use of archives, documented articles, raising standards through constant criticism. specialized teachers, instruction in the methodology of history, and graduate degrees.

Some mention should be made of the author's bias. When I began this study I was intrigued by the apparent shift from an Oxford model toward the American. I had intended to introduce the thesis with the phrase carved on the Memorial Tower at the University of Toronto: "Nothing is here for tears, nothing to wail..." By this I meant that, although I was tracing the americanization of an institution, I was not really concerned with anything more than an analysis of the phenomena. I no longer have that point of view.

The cumulative impact of living in the United States for four years affected my belief that I was not really concerned with anything more than an objective description of the americanization of the University. One facet of this experience was the realization that Canada and Canadians are not the same as the United States and Americans. The differences in manner, tradition, style--call it what you will--are intangible and very subtle, but they exist nonetheless. This alone would have been sufficient reason for shying away from the americanization model, even without the methodological problems that arose.

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I had set the development of the University of Toronto within the context of North America partly because of the many similarities between Toronto and universities in the United States, and partly because I did not want to be charged with describing Toronto in a "vacuum". But it soon became apparent that this approach was either insufficient or erroneous. Eventually I decided that the "americanization" model was based on a questionable assumption--that Canada and the University of Toronto were derivative in nature, little more than a pale copy of universities in the United States. It is an easy assumption to make; much of the development of Canada has been preceded by similar developments in the United States and it is a common belief in Canada that whatever happens in the United States will also occur in Canada, although perhaps years later and in somewhat altered form.

At the opposite extreme to the "derivative assumption" is the "indigenous assumption"--the assumption that Canada, and the University of Toronto, developed in a manner that can be discussed solely within the context of Canadian traditions. This is not to claim that Canada (or Toronto) developed in a vacuum, nor is it to deny that Canada has no roots in, or was unaffected by, developments in the United States, England or Europe. It is merely the claim that Canada is a sufficiently valid context within which one can discuss the development of the University of Toronto. It

is merely the claim that the assumptions lying behind the indigenous explanation or model are as valid as the assumptions lying behind the derivative model. Neither model is absolutely sufficient, and the indigenous model is easier to work with.

There are some indications that the University of Toronto did in fact develop in a manner that was more indigenous than derivative. For one thing, the Preamble of the Report of the Commission on University Discipline (1906) stated that while the University had built on European traditions, it was clear that it was also built on traditions that grew out of the religious and political situation in Ontario.¹ Also, in an article written in 1912, it was stated that Sir Daniel Wilson felt contempt for Oxford and Cambridge and he would not have Toronto copy Scottish models either. "He desired the University of Toronto to create a type of its own" and it would seem likely that he succeeded in doing so.²

¹pp. vii-xvii. See also C.W. Humphries, "James P. Whitney and the University of Toronto" in Edith Firth, ed., Profiles of a Province, Studies in the History of Ontario, (Toronto; Ontario Historical Society, 1967) 122.

²George M. Wrong, "Sir Daniel Wilson" Arbor III (January 1912) 159. See also A.F. Bowker, "Truly Useful Men, Maurice Hutton, George Wrong, James Mavor and the University of Toronto", (Ph.D. Toronto, 1975) 398-9; and W.S. Milner, et. al. Honour Classics in the University of Toronto, (Toronto, University Press, 1929) 30-31; "...the course in Toronto is far from being a pale reflection of that in Oxford. It is rooted in our own needs, and stands or falls as it answers to them."

Another area of possible bias is the author's reaction to the unrest, chaos and apparent decline of standards in universities in both Canada and the United States since the mid 1960s. Comparisons of this period and the many factors involved, with my own years as a student in the early 1960s and also with the descriptions of university life in the years 1890-1930 have left me with the feeling that something valuable has been lost or diluted. For these reasons I feel that there may indeed be something "here for tears", and the values symbolized by the phrase "and gladly teach" are much closer to my present state of mind. It is my hope that this study will do more than record the activities of a significant group of people; it is my hope that this study will show that their lives and values are worthy of emulation by the students and teachers of the future.

This thesis is not without weaknesses. First, it was written by an "outsider"; a member of the faculty of the University of Toronto would be in a much better position than I to imagine what happened in early meetings. Second, the analysis of the Department of History touches but briefly on a number of topics which deserve more attention. Third, even within the context of the Department of History this paper has limitations. There is, for example, no mention of faculty meetings, and very little mention of internal politics, because some papers were not yet open to researchers, the minutes of early department meetings appear

to have been lost, and the correspondence is not complete. Fourth, there are many men whose contribution is ignored or understated. W.S. Wallace and W.P.M. Kennedy were not full-time members, and Harold Innis was not a member at all, even though he was close to the Department. Members of the Departments of Classics, English and Political Science were also close to the Department of History, but--apart from some minutes of the graduating department of English and History--there is neither space nor documentation to describe these relationships. A fifth area of weakness is historiography, the study of the written works of the men in the Department. This is touched on but lightly in the case of Wrong, and not at all in the case of the others. These topics all deserve further exploration but I decided that it was enough to describe the Department of History under George Wrong.

The focus is on Wrong because he was the head, and for twelve years the only member of the Department. Yet it is not a biography of Wrong and there is much more to his life than is described here. More attention is paid to the school textbooks written by Wrong than to books written for adults. Many people read his textbooks, and for some it was the only history of Canada or Britain they read. Yet this thesis is not a study of Wrong's historiography; more needs to be done on his views of Canada, the changes in his views, and his later books. The study mentions the developments in other universities but it is not a study

in comparative education. Nor is this a study of what the students thought. It is a study of the Department of History under one man: the appointments he made, the curriculum and methods he and his colleagues developed, and something of their work beyond the classroom.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

More than one hundred people replied at length to letters or consented to interviews regarding this thesis. Even the list of teachers who can take some of the credit for this work covers four universities and goes back ten years, or even further, if I were to include those who first aroused my interest in Canadian historiography and the University of Toronto. Obviously I can do no more than say I am very grateful for the help given me by these people, by the archivists, librarians, and faculty at Carleton, Case-Western Reserve and Michigan State, and by the many people who have had a direct acquaintance with the Department of History at the University of Toronto. There are, however, some whose interest, patience and assistance goes far beyond the call of duty or normal courtesy. The staff of the University of Toronto Archives, Library, and Department of Rare Books and Special Collections deserve far more credit than they are ever likely to receive. Alan Bowker provided many ideas and encouragement when it was most needed. Without the material provided by Mrs. C.H.A. Armstrong the early portions of this thesis would have been much less thorough. Professor Carl Berger read an early version and made many useful suggestions. And most of all, my wife Alison, whose support during the preparation of this thesis meant all the difference in the world.

Abbreviations:

Armstrong Collection	Papers in the possession of Mrs. C.H.A. Armstrong, Toronto, Ontario.
AHR	<u>American Historical Review</u>
CHR	<u>Canadian Historical Review</u>
DL	Douglas Library, Queen's University Kingston, Ontario.
LC	Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.
OA	Province of Ontario, Archives, Toronto, Ontario.
PAC	Public Archives of Canada, Ottawa, Ontario.
RHPRC	<u>Review of Historical Publications</u> <u>Relating to Canada</u>
UTA	University of Toronto Archives, Toronto, Ontario.
UTL	Department of Rare Books and Special Collections, University of Toronto Library, Toronto, Ontario.

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INTRODUCTION

THE NINETEENTH CENTURY BACKGROUND

CHAPTER ONE

"Modern History Had No Place": Sir Daniel Wilson and History at the University of Toronto, 1853-1892

Prior to the nineteenth century, writers of history were not trained in history, did not see themselves primarily as historians, and did not earn their living solely through the teaching and writing of history. The histories they wrote were usually uncritical narratives. The nineteenth century saw the beginnings of change in two related developments: the idea of history as a science, and the transfer of the practice of history to the university. As a science, history became more exacting in method; as a university subject history became the preserve of a select group.¹ This chapter will provide a brief outline of these developments--or their absence--in Europe, United States, Canada and the University of Toronto.

History as a science was articulated in Germany in the

¹J.R. Hale, ed, The Evolution of British Historiography from Bacon to Namier (New York, World Publishing, 1964) 10-35; Harry Elmer Barnes, A History of Historical Writing (New York, Dover, 1937, 1962) passim; Felix Gilbert, "European and American Historiography", in History: The Development of Historical Studies in the United States John Higham, et. al. (Englewood Cliffs, Prentice Hall, 1965) 315 ff.

historical seminar of Leopold von Ranke, in which documentary material was examined in minute detail to determine its validity as evidence. This practice developed habits of intellectual independence and thoroughness in thought and method.² The German seminar had little direct effect on the historians in England but similar trends can be seen. Hale states that, in 1871 and 1873, respectively, Oxford and Cambridge permitted undergraduates to study history, and history alone, for the first time; the English Historical Review began in 1886; the works of J.A. Froude, published between 1856 and 1870, show an increasing use of documentation; and in 1898 a historian lamented the disappearance of "artistic narration" and "glowing style" in favour of "original research...the study of special institutions and ...punctilious precision of minute detail."³

It would be impossible to provide a full picture of the teaching and writing of history in the United States prior to 1876 (the year that graduate study at The Johns Hopkins University began) but three main characteristics may be noted. First, undergraduate work in history was primarily recitation of specific textbooks which were often selected on

²C.F. Thwing, The American and the German University (New York, Macmillan, 1928) 46-54; G. Iggers and Konrad von Moltke, eds. The Theory and Practice of History by Leopold von Ranke (New York, Bobbs Merrill, 1973) xi-xx.

³Hale, British Historiography, 54-9.

the basis of moral or denominational values.⁴ Second, history writing was seldom "scientific" as later generations came to understand the term. William Burgess of Columbia and Herbert Adams of Johns Hopkins were the first fully trained full-time professors of history and they did not teach until 1873 and 1876 respectively. Prior to that men like Francis Parkman and George Bancroft dominated the field, and, while they were not unreliable as historians, their concentration on the broader and more romantic theme of the American epic resulted in the multi-volumed narratives rather than analytic monographs.⁵ Even Bancroft, who had studied in Germany, was prone to make generalizations which "preceded rather than followed [research]".⁶ Third, graduate instruction in history was almost non-existent.⁷ There had been attempts to organize

⁴Jurgen Herbst, The German Historical School in American Scholarship (Ithaca, Cornell University Press, 1965) 23; H.H. Bellot, American History and American Historians (Norman, University of Oklahoma Press, 1952) 1-2; Richard Hofstadter and W.P. Metzger, The Development of Academic Freedom in the United States (New York, Columbia University, 1955) 286.

⁵William A. Dunning, "A Generation of American Historiography", American Historical Association Annual Report (1917) 351-52; Barnes, Historical Writing 229-34; C.M. Andrews, "These Forty Years", American Historical Review (hereafter AHR) XXX (January, 1925) 233-4; Bellot, American Historians 15.

⁶Herbst, The German Historical School 101.

⁷Richard J. Storr, The Beginnings of Graduate Education in America (Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1953) vii-viii; Bellot, American Historians 8.



formal seminars in history at Michigan in 1869 under C.K. Adams and at Harvard in 1870 under Henry Adams, but these had not overcome the prevailing tradition of non-specialized study geared to "gentlemanly" interests.⁸ Writing in 1880, R.T. Ely said "no American College teaches United States history thoroughly,"⁹ and later another historian said: "In 1880 there were only eleven professors of history in the whole country."¹⁰ As late as 1884 there were "only fifteen professors and five assistant professors who gave all their time to history."¹¹

By 1900, however, the situation had changed considerably. The Johns Hopkins University had become the model for graduate instruction in the United States. By 1901 the historical seminar under Herbert Adams had granted 104 Ph.D. degrees and many of these graduates later held positions of leadership in the profession; the American Historical Association was begun by Adams in 1884; the Johns Hopkins University Studies Series

⁸Herbst, The German Historical School, 35-41.

⁹R.T. Ely, "American Colleges and German Universities", Harpers 61 (July 1880) 256.

¹⁰W.P. Webb, "The Historical Seminar: Its Outer Shell and Its Inner Spirit." Mississippi Valley Historical Review XLII (June 1935) 7.

¹¹J.F. Jameson, "The American Historical Association, 1884-1909", AHR XV (October 1909) 2.

began to publish monographs in 1882 and Columbia University founded a similar series in 1891; and the American Historical Review began in 1896.¹² The cumulative effect of these changes meant that the study of American History had adopted the values of science, and was dominated by academics.

The development of history in Canada followed a similar pattern. History writing in the nineteenth century was largely narrative and was written by men who did not have formal training in history and who did not practice the art on a full-time basis. Most of those who wrote history were journalists (for example: Hannay, McMullen) or lawyers (Christie, Gunn); a smaller number were doctors (Canniff),

¹²C.W. Eliot, cited by W.C. Ryan, Studies in Graduate Education (New York, The Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching, Bulletin No. 30, 1939) 3-4; Charles Keyes "Quality of Intellectuality in American Universities", The Johns Hopkins Alumni Magazine, III (March, 1915) 199-204; E.G. Bourne, "The Early History of the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy in the United States", Educational Review, X (June 1895) 82-84; Herbert B. Adams: Tributes of Friends, The Johns Hopkins Studies in Historical and Political Science, extra volume XXXIII, (Baltimore, The Johns Hopkins Press, 1902).

The seminar under Adams produced six Presidents of the American Historical Association: C.M. Andrews, C.H. Haskins, J.F. Jameson, James Schouler, Frederick Jackson Turner, and Woodrow Wilson. It produced five Presidents of the American Political Science Association: J.S. Reeves, Albert Shaw, W.F. and W.W. Willoughby and Woodrow Wilson. A.W. Small was President of the Sociological Society and the American Economic Association. Graduates of the seminar were editors of the following journals:

American Historical Review - J.F. Jameson 1895-1901, 1905-1928
 American Political Science Review - W.W. Willoughby 1906-1917
 Journal of Political Economy - T.B. Veblen 1896-1905
 American Journal of Sociology - A.W. Small 1895-1926
 Yale Review - C.M. Andrews 1910-1931

engineers (Kingsford), businessmen (Begg), clergymen (Bryce) or civil servants, (Heriot, Bourinot). As a group they restricted research to copying from other secondary accounts or from official documents, choosing between contradictions when they could not resolve them, and putting the story into the most readable form possible. These men lacked a concept of history as a discipline and quite often, sometimes consciously, wrote from a very partisan point of view.¹³

History in universities was taught by men whose training was usually in theology, and less often in classics or science.¹⁴ There were no separate departments for history and many teachers of history were responsible for other subjects or for administrative duties, or both. No Canadian history was taught. Indeed, according to Preston, "modern history had no place at all."¹⁵ The content of history courses was restricted to Greek and Roman history and some European history and was often taught in conjunction with the study of languages. When public figures discussed curriculum at the university

¹³See K.N. Windsor, "Historical Writing in Canada to 1920" in Carl F. Klinck, ed. Literary History of Canada (Toronto, University Press, 1965) 208-250.

¹⁴See Appendix A; The theological background was common at Harvard; see R.A. McGaughey, "The Transformation of American Academic Life: Harvard University, 1821-1892" in Perspectives in American History, volume VIII, Donald Fleming and Bernard Bailyn, eds., (Cambridge, Charles Warren Centre for Studies in American History, 1974) 249 ff. Most American historians, however, were not trained in theology; see Appendix M.

¹⁵R.A. Preston, "Breakers Ahead and a Glance Behind" Presidential Address, Canadian Historical Association Report (1962) 4-7; Chester Martin, "Fifty Years of Canadian History" in Fifty Years Retrospect Canada 1882-1932, Royal Society of Canada (Toronto, Ryerson, 1932) 63-9.

level history received little or no attention.¹⁶ The opinion was widespread that history as a subject was of no importance, that anyone could read history because it was written in non-technical English, and that therefore history did need not be studied, and certainly did not need the assistance of a professor. Opinions such as these lasted into the twentieth century.¹⁷

An examination of the status of history at the University of Toronto provides a specific example for the remarks above. It also provides evidence that the study of history really did not begin with Daniel (later Sir Daniel) Wilson, appointed Professor of History, English and Ethnology in 1853. Daniel Wilson was born in Scotland in 1816, and was educated at

¹⁶See: Edward Blake, Address at the Convocation of the University of Toronto, 1892; J.M. Clark "The Functions of a Great University" Inaugural Address to University College Literary and Scientific Society, 16 November 1894, Toronto, Bryant Press 1895; G.W. Ross, The Policy of the Education Department (Toronto, Warwick, 1897) (Ontario Archives Pamphlet No. 27).

¹⁷Canadian Farmer's Sun, 17 October 1894; G.M. Wrong, "Historical Study in the University and the Place of Medieval History" Inaugural Lecture (Toronto, Bryant, 1895) G.M. Wrong, "The Beginnings of Historical Criticism in Canada, 1896-1936, "A Retrospect", Canadian Historical Review (hereafter CHR) 17 (March 1935) 3.

This is not to say that there was no interest at all; some demands were made to teach Canadian history. See: unsigned editorials in The Varsity 28 October 1882 and 28 February 1885; Report of W.F. Stockley, to the University of New Brunswick Senate, 1889, cited in A.G. Bailey, "Origins of the Study of History in the University of New Brunswick," unpublished ms, University of New Brunswick, n.d.; "More History for our Colleges", Acta Victoriana 7 (February 1884) 5.

Edinburgh University. As a boy he made many sketches of buildings in Edinburgh and began to learn the art of engraving. He lived in London from 1835 to 1842 before returning to Edinburgh. He earned his living as an engraver, art critic, literary adviser, print seller, and as a writer of "potboilers". He also produced Memorials of Edinburgh in Olden Time (2 vols. 1848) and Archaeology and Prehistoric Annals of Scotland (2 vols. 1851) plus a number of articles for the Society of Antiquarians of Scotland. By 1853, he was sufficiently well known as an archaeologist that he was invited to the University of Toronto.¹⁸

Wilson was a very busy man and the subject of history was the least of his concerns. Wilson's diary¹⁹ reveals him as being concerned mostly with the administration of University College and later the University of Toronto. The issues on which he wrote in detail include appointments,

¹⁸For biographical details of Wilson see: Hugh Hannah, "Sir Daniel Wilson: the Man and His Work", a pamphlet in the University of Toronto Library, extracted from the seventeenth volume of the Book of the old Edinburgh Club, April, 1930; H.H. Langton, Sir Daniel Wilson; a Memoir (Toronto, Thomas Nelson and Sons, Ltd., 1929); H.R. Fairclough "Sir Daniel Wilson" University of Toronto Monthly (hereafter UTM) 2 (February 1902) 118-21; A.F. Hunter "The Semi-Centennial of 'Prehistoric Man'" UTM 13 (November 1913). Wilson was knighted in 1888.

¹⁹A copy of Wilson's diary is available in the University of Toronto Library, Department of Rare Books and Special Collections (hereafter UTL). The copy was made by the University Librarian, H.H. Langton, who was requested by Wilson's daughter to allow no one else to read it. All material relating to the university was copied and the rest was destroyed. H.H. Langton to W.S. Wallace, 13 June 1953.

co-education, the Federation of the University and attacks upon it, intrigues by political leaders in Ontario, meetings with the Attorney General, the fire of 1890, fund raising and architecture. Only three times does Wilson talk about his own history lectures and only once does he mention history as a subject.²⁰

From the list of Wilson's publications we see that his scientific interests seldom included history. He wrote biographical studies of Cromwell and Chatterton, one study of "Wolfe and Old Quebec" for The Canadian Monthly and a few descriptive pieces on Edinburgh and architecture, but the majority of his articles were in archeology or anthropology. Wilson was active in the Canadian Institute, was editor of the Canadian Journal from 1854 to 1859, and was president from 1859 to 1861 and 1878 to 1881. A series of 19 letters to Sandford Fleming, most of them in a three year period, 1878-81, indicate that Wilson was concerned with matters of fund raising and proof reading and even the task of getting the material to the printer.²¹

²⁰March 9, 1891, March 20, 1891, April 14, 1892. Wilson was sufficiently interested in history to resist demands that he teach ancient history. He insisted that Modern History be assigned to the University and not to the colleges in the Federation agreement of 1887. See Diary, 21 September 1853; W.S. Wallace, A History of the University of Toronto (Toronto, University Press 1927) 131; UTL, W.S. Wallace Papers, Box 21 "History of University College".

²¹Fleming Papers, Public Archives of Canada (hereafter PAC). Both Fairclough and Hunter state that Wilson's main interest lay in Science. For a bibliography of Wilson's work see: [H.H. Langton, ed.], The University of Toronto and Its Colleges, 1827-1906 (Toronto, The Librarian, 1906) 250-52.

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Wilson did not use the summer break to further his knowledge of history to any great extent. At least three summers were taken up by archeological explorations²² and in later years he spent his summers in Scotland, or more often in New Hampshire, where he did little else but walk and paint.²³ Art was his hobby. He spent as much time as he could sketching and painting and for several winters in Toronto the sketching club met in his house once a week.²⁴ Wilson was also active in church and charitable works. He was one of the founders of Wycliffe College, served on its board for 14 years, and was often a delegate to the Diocesan Synod. He was also Chairman of the Board of the Newsboys Lodging House.²⁵

In addition to his duties as Principal of University College from 1880, and President of the University from 1887,²⁶

²²1855-56, 1875. See: Hunter, "Prehistoric Man", 16-17.

²³W.A. Langton, "Sir Daniel Wilson as an Artist" UTM 2 (April, 1902) 182.

²⁴Ibid.

²⁵G.M. Wrong, "Sir Daniel Wilson" The Arbor, III (January, 1912) 159-60. Wrong was secretary of the News boys lodging House.

²⁶The evidence suggests that Wilson took his duties seriously. For meetings of the University Senate he was one of the more constant attenders; he was present for 55 of 72 meetings in the four years from 1877 to 1880. See: The Varsity, 9 April 1881.



Wilson had one of the heavier teaching loads. In terms of total students, only three departments had more students than did History and Ethnology, and in each of those departments assistance was available to the professor. The statistics in Table 1 suggest that Wilson was overworked, or that he was in danger of neglecting his classes, or both.

TABLE 1

Arts Students and Staff in 1890

	<u>Pass</u>	<u>Honours</u>	<u>Total</u>	<u>Staff</u>
Latin	230	63	293	1 Lecturer, $\frac{1}{2}$ fellow
French	120	103	223	1 Lecturer, $\frac{1}{2}$ fellow
German	143	98	241	1 Lecturer, $\frac{1}{2}$ fellow
Mathematics	202	29	231	1 Professor, 1 fellow
English	102	155	259	1 Professor, 1 lecturer
History and Ethnology	149	81	234	The President
		4		

NOTE: The number of students in eight other departments ranged from 36 to 164. One of the reasons for the high enrollment in History and Ethnology was that it was a required subject for students in Modern Languages.

SOURCE: Statistical table drawn up by William Dale and sent to George Ross, 12 December 1890. Ontario Archives, (hereafter OA) R.G.2, Series D-7.

It would therefore appear that however much Wilson enjoyed the study of history, his duties as Principal, President, editor, and his interests in science, art and philanthropy were such that one cannot say he devoted any significant amount of time to history. He was, nevertheless, a scholar and a teacher of history, and his work as a historian should be assessed in those terms insofar as possible.

Wilson's general reputation has been mentioned and further evidence that he was esteemed can be found in the demand for his books. Memorials of Edinburgh and Prehistoric

Annals of Scotland both went into a second edition and Prehistoric Man went into three editions. A.F. Hunter was an archeologist and his assessment of Wilson in 1912 points out that Wilson laid some of the foundations for the methodology of modern anthropology, and that other anthropologists and scholars, including Huxley and Darwin, regarded Wilson as an authority.²⁷

A sampling of some of the less technical articles by Wilson indicates that he read widely and was keenly aware of the need to avoid judgments that were not supported by evidence. For example, in an age when it was all too easy to make assertions about race that would be rejected today, Wilson was relatively free of attitudes that stereotyped racial features. In an article dealing with the relationship of race and brain size Wilson criticized generalizations that were unsupported or that were contradictory to the available evidence. He pointed out that men of high ability vary greatly in brain size and that some primitive races have relatively large brains.²⁸ On the other hand, Wilson was not completely free of racist overtones when he spoke of "Negroes and other typical representatives of inferior savage races" and the aptitude of certain peoples to organize their own form of

²⁷Hunter "Prehistoric Man", 18-19; see also: Langton, Sir Daniel Wilson, 45-47.

²⁸Daniel Wilson, "Brain Weight and size in relation to Relative capacity of races", The Canadian Journal (of Science, Literature, and History) new series, 15 (October 1876) 208-16.

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government.²⁹ In an article dealing in part with Eskimos there is no evidence that Wilson had ever seen an igloo and in the same article he reveals a somewhat paternalistic point of view regarding the life and values of the Indians.³⁰ One author provided an apt assessment of Wilson as a scholar and teacher: "We may almost say that his learning was more diffuse than accurate".³¹ We may conclude that Wilson was a synthesizer and critic of existing literature in anthropology rather than a reporter of original investigations, or that he made few contributions to the field in his later years, or both, and that his scholarship was concentrated in his early years.

Wilson the historian falls far short of the mark set by Wilson the archeologist and anthropologist. His bibliography contains no historical study of merit except possibly the biography of Chatterton (1869). Wilson wrote in his diary in 1889 that he hoped to write a history of America before Columbus--even though he was nearly blind at the time--but nothing ever came of this. Wilson did more as a teacher of history than as a researcher or writer, but even as a teacher his

²⁹Ibid., 197; Daniel Wilson, "Pre-Aryan American Man" Transactions, Royal Society of Canada, II (1883) 36, 43.

³⁰Wilson "American Man" 36-38.

³¹"Sir Daniel Wilson" unsigned article in Review of Historical Publications Relating to Canada, 5 (1900) 204-5. The author was probably H.H. Langton; a number of phrases in this article and the Memoir by Langton are similar.

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his work is not outstanding. He commented once that he had been reading about Henry VIII, and he mentions preparing for lectures, but he spent very little time on history. He did not regard the study of history as unimportant, but he said more than once that he wanted to be free of the burden of lecturing in history.³² What material there is indicates that his course of study was at best a survey of thirty lectures covering the period from Constantine to the Wars of the Roses.³³ Rote learning was the norm and examinations offered neither choice nor opportunity for discussion or analysis.³⁴ Obviously the teaching of history under Wilson was far from innovative.

³²Wilson, Diary, 19 May 1882, 1 November 1882, 13 April 1889, 9 March 1891; see also his Convocation Address (1888) 14.

³³There is a list in Wilson's handwriting of two series of lectures, undated, in History for the Easter term, Wrong Papers, UTL. Notebooks from Wilson's Honours English class (2nd year) had one lecture on Shakespeare and one lecture on the Collier and Rose editions of Shakespeare. J.H. Coyne Papers, University of Western Ontario. The pass course also showed a tendency towards the survey approach. W.N. Ponton Papers, University of Toronto Archives (hereafter UTA).

³⁴See Examination Papers held in University of Toronto Archives: in 1860 a First Year History Examination stated "Legible writing and correct spelling are indispensable". See also Preston, "Breakers Ahead", 6-7. For examples of examinations in other places, see W.E. MacPherson, "Recent Tendencies in Teaching of History" Ontario Education Association Proceedings (April 1916) 374-82, for excerpts from a Normal School examination in history, 1851; and The One Hundred Prize Questions in Canadian History and the answers of Hermes, (Montreal Dawson, 1880). OA, Pamphlet 26.

The superficiality of Wilson's treatment of the subject of history was criticized by close observers. John Langton, at the time (1856) Vice Chancellor of the University and Auditor General of Canada, wrote in a letter to his family:³⁵

We have a department of History and a man at the head of it Dr. Daniel Wilson, well known in Europe as well as here, but his department is really ridiculous. In a five years course he only brings English History down to Henry VII, and there is absolutely no other history except that of Egypt down to Cleopatra and that of Spain under Ferdinand and Isabella, French and German history going with those languages....

A second critic was John Squair; he had been an Honours student in Modern Languages and History in 1882; he later became Professor of French in the University of Toronto. In his autobiography we wrote:³⁶

The work [under Wilson] was heavy....It was rendered more difficult than it might have been by the prescription of a large group of ill-related treatises on the History of Language and Literature, Ethnology, etc., on which little help was given by the teaching staff, for which it was not to blame. It was certainly a much overworked staff.

Squair went on to say that in history he was required to read many pages from Grote, Mommsen, Gibbon, Macaulay and others. He felt that this "may be nothing but getting vague and imperfect views of the great questions treated by eminent men, and sometimes indeed getting nothing at all." The third criticism came after

³⁵John Langton, 12 November 1856, in W.A. Langton, ed., Early days in Upper Canada (Toronto, Macmillan, 1926) 289-90. This letter was more than 6000 words long and dealt with many aspects of the University in a critical fashion. After 1890, History and Ethnology were placed in the Department of Political Science. See UTA, Loudon Papers, A 27, M 56 (Page 6).

³⁶John Squair, The Autobiography of a Teacher of French (Toronto, University Press, 1928) 71-3.

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the fire of 1890, when Wilson's work in history declined even more. He was burdened with the task of rebuilding, and he had lost his set of notes reputed to have been "repeated for many years". The situation led Edward Blake to write that "... the accounts I receive of Sir Daniel's lectures are not at all satisfactory."³⁷

These criticisms, coming from men who were well aware of the work of other teachers, and equally aware of the seriousness of their comments, must not be taken lightly. When combined with other evidence of Wilson's work, their criticisms lend considerable weight to the argument that Wilson was not a major force as a historian. One cannot even safely claim that Wilson made a significant contribution to the study of history by influencing his successor; George Wrong probably owed as much to Wycliffe College and to his own personal development as he did to Wilson. If Wilson had any influence on Wrong, it was not

³⁷Blake to Sir Oliver Mowat, 11 June 1892, UTA, Blake Papers. Edward Blake (1833-1912) was active in the Liberal Party and was Chancellor of the University. Mowat was Prime Minister of Ontario.

while Wrong was an undergraduate.³⁸

Thus Wilson, trained as an archeologist, interested primarily in anthropology and university administration, and to a lesser extent in art and charitable works, cannot be said to have founded a Department of History or to have begun the study of Modern History at the University of Toronto. He read little in history and he wrote less. His program of lectures was superficial and made little impact on his students. History at the University of Toronto under Wilson resembled history in Europe and the United States in the years prior to 1870; it had not yet begun to grow towards an academic, scientific profession. It is, therefore, with the appointment of George Wrong in 1892 that the story of the Department of History must begin.

³⁸In his Inaugural Lecture (1895) Wrong praised the inspiring teaching of [Paxton] Young, but not that of Wilson. In an article on "Sir Daniel Wilson", Arbor, III (January 1912) 150-60, Wrong stated that Wilson's contributions were in the areas such as: building the university, character and sense of duty, art, archeology, and charitable works; nothing was said of Wilson's influence as a teacher. The only other writers of history that attended the University of Toronto before 1892 were George Bryce and H.H. Langton. Bryce never became a full time historian and Langton was more of a librarian and editor than a researcher and teacher. No evidence was found for Wilson's work, if any, with graduate students.

It is probable that the most significant contribution of Wilson to the study of Modern History at the University of Toronto was his insistence, at the time of Federation, that the subject be assigned to the University and not to the Colleges. See Wallace, History of the University, 131.

PART I

THE BEGINNINGS (1892-1904)

CHAPTER TWO

"Gladly Would He Learn": The Early Life and Philosophy of George M. Wrong

For virtually all of his adult life George Wrong did his writing at a desk on which his father had carved Chaucer's description of the "Clerk" from "Oxenford": "Gladly wolde he lerne and gladly teche". These words were suggested as an epitaph when Wrong died as a fitting and symbolic summary of his life and values.¹

George McKinnon Wrong was born in 1860, at Grovesend, a small village near what is now Port Burwell, Ontario. His father was descended from United Empire Loyalists and both parents had landed gentry in their background. Life in the colonies was not easy and neither family succeeded in their attempts to live the life of an English country gentleman. Wrong's father lost the family farm to foreclosure and moved to nearby Vienna where he earned a meagre living as a woodworker. Wrong completed his education there, then went to Toledo, Ohio, to work in a mercantile house owned by relatives; after two years he moved to Toronto

¹Geoffrey Chaucer, "The Prologue" in Canterbury Tales; W.S. Wallace, "The Life and Work of George M. Wrong" CHR 29 (September 1948) 237.

where he worked in a bookstore.² In 1879 he began his studies at Wycliffe college and in 1880 he matriculated into the University of Toronto. He took his degree in Divinity concurrently with the work for a B.A. in Mental and Moral Philosophy and Civil Polity, graduating in 1883. Then he joined the faculty at Wycliffe College.

Wycliffe College was founded in 1878 by the supporters of the low church or evangelical wing of the Church of England in Canada. The founding of Wycliffe was one expression of a split within the Church of England over matters of ritual, philosophy and method.³ It was the hope of the evangelical wing that Wycliffe would provide an alternative to the established Trinity College for the training of clergymen and missionaries. These clergymen would provide a more pure and simple form of service, and would emphasize mission work in non-Christian countries and among the urban poor. The evangelical wing hoped to rescue the Church of England from the "darkness of a sacerdotalism and the blight of

²G.M. Wrong, The Chronicle of a Family (a mimeographed pamphlet "for private use only") Toronto, 1938, 57-8; copy in UTL.

There is some confusion regarding the spelling of Wrong's middle name. Wallace spells it "MacK..."; Chester Martin spells it "Mack..."; Norman Wrong, who did a genealogy of the Wrong family, spells it "McKinnon", as it appears on Wrong's baptismal certificate.

³See Philip Carrington, The Anglican Church in Canada: A History (Toronto, Collins, 1963) 110, 127-8;

ritual".⁴ When Wrong entered Wycliffe it was something of an "outlaw" college and for many years there was an intense rivalry between Wycliffe and Trinity. Wycliffe became affiliated with the University of Toronto in 1885 and joined the Federation in 1889.

Exactly why Wrong chose to go to Wycliffe is not known but there are several possible reasons. Wrong grew up in Huron Diocese; the Rector for Port Burwell and Vienna from 1866 to 1878 was Rev. John Shulte, a convert from Roman Catholicism, and the Bishops of the Diocese during the years of Wrong's youth were Rev. Benjamin Cronyn and then Rev. Isaac Helmuth. All three of these were strong supporters of the evangelical wing and the Huron Diocese was a "hotbed of evangelism".⁵ Their influence may have been the cause of a comment made by Wrong in 1892, in which he stated that he had been filled with "the fervor of Christian belief and the acceptance of evangelical views". Another reason for choosing Wycliffe might have been poverty; Wrong said that his family was

⁴Dyson Hague, et. al., The Jubilee Volume of Wycliffe College (Toronto, Wycliffe College and University of Toronto Press, 1927). The words are from a typewritten addition facing page 44; the book contains many such additions which were probably written by Hague. The book is in the Wycliffe Library.

⁵The phrase was used by Rev. W.R.R. Armitage, Maple, Ontario, whose father had been a roommate of George Wrong at Wycliffe. Interview, May 1971. The phrase implies that the Bishop of Toronto and probably most of the Synod opposed the founding of Wycliffe College. Rev. T.R. Milman, Wycliffe College, Interview, 26 March 1975.

"terribly poor" and Wycliffe had funds for needy students. Another reason may have been the personal interest of J.P. Sheraton, Principal of Wycliffe College. Wrong's later career suggests that he chose Wycliffe from a combination of evangelism and ambition; a desire to make something of himself and to help others.⁶

The tone of Wycliffe while Wrong was a student and a teacher appears to have been one of dedication and almost belligerent Protestantism. The rules stated that students were not allowed to be out after 10 p.m., or to be absent without permission, or to miss more than two lectures per term.⁷ The required textbooks listed in the calendars often present a partisan or defensive point of view. Robert Flint attacked atheism, materialism, positivism, secularism, and pantheism--showing their inadequacies and contradictions--and presented arguments against these positions. A.S. Farrar argued that free thought

⁶T.R.Milman, Interview, 26 March 1975; Wrong, Daily Journal, 22 July 1892, in the possession of Wrong's daughter, Mrs. C.H.A. Armstrong, Toronto (hereafter Armstrong Collection); Mrs. C.H.A. Armstrong, Interview, 13 April 1972. J.B. Brebner, "George Mackinnon Wrong" in L.G. Wickham Legg and E.T. Williams, eds., Dictionary of National Biography, 1941-50 (Oxford, 1959) 979-80. A.F. Bowker, "Truly Useful Men: Maurice Hutton, James Mavor, George Wrong and the University of Toronto, 1880-1927." (unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of Toronto 1975) 73-75.

⁷Changes in the rules suggest life was not all that dull. In 1895-97 students were told that smoking was "forbidden"; by 1899 it was deemed necessary to change the wording "forbidden" to "ABSOLUTELY PROHIBITED." See Wycliffe calendars. Italics in the original.

leads to unbelief and infidelity. Canon Birks presented arguments ("evidences") supporting the existence of miracles and the authenticity of the Bible. "The further any race of men have been removed from contact with Divine revelation, the deeper their moral darkness has become." William Paley wrote 250 pages of biology leading to the conclusion that natural religion prepares the way for revelation. G.P. Fisher stated that the four most "prominent events of modern history" were the invasion of the barbarians, the crusades, the Reformation, and the French Revolution. Charles Hardwick spoke even more favourably of the Reformation:⁸

It recovered...the primitive and apostolic faith....
From it...has dated a new era in the moral progress
of the Western nations. It has led to the rejection
of that semi-Judaism in thought and feeling...the
servile posture of the Hebrew, as distinguished
from the free and filial spirit that should
characterize the children of God.

To be sure, these were not the only books used by Wrong as a student and as a professor. The list does include books that were more scholarly or objective, such as Green's History of England, and Hooker's Ecclesiastical Polity, but most of the texts used by Wrong as a student and later as a lecturer appear

⁸See Robert Flint, Anti-Theistic Theories (The Baird Lectures for 1877) 4th ed. (London, Blackwood, 1889); A.S. Farrar, A Critical History of Free Thought in Reference to the Christian Religion (New York, Appleton, 1888); Canon T.R. Birks, ed., A View of the Evidences of Christianity by William Paley, D.D. (London, Religious Tract Society, first published 1794) 12; William Paley, Natural Theology (New York, American Tract Society, n.d.) G.P. Fisher, The Reformation (New York, Scribners, 1894, 1st. published 1873); Charles Hardwick, A History of the Christian Church During the Reformation, new ed. (London, Macmillan, 1883) 10.

to be dogmatic or defensive, or both, and filled with moral fervour and faith in the progressive influence of Christianity.

In addition to his duties as lecturer in Church History Wrong taught Liturgics and Apologetics for at least four years.⁹ He was also Dean of Residence in 1885-6, Librarian in 1888-9, and Registrar in 1888-9 and 1891-2. Wrong visited several countries in Europe in the summer of 1884, and spent a term studying in Germany.¹⁰

Wrong's connection with Wycliffe did not cease when he joined the faculty of the University in 1892. He had been one of the founders of the Wycliffe Alumni Association, and was Secretary-Treasurer in 1884-5, President in 1889-90. His work with the Alumni Association continued at least until 1902.¹¹ He served on the editorial committee of the church

⁹1885-6, 1887-8, 1889-91; calendars for some years were not available.

¹⁰Evangelical Churchman, 9 (11 September 1884) 212; Wrong "German Student Life" Varsity, 10 (10, 17 March, 1891) 222-3, 234-5.

¹¹Wycliffe College, Alumni Association Minute Book. The Alumni Association was a major force behind efforts to raise money to send missionaries overseas. See: Rev. Canon S. Gould, "The Spirit of Missions" in Hague, Jubilee Volume, 146-50.

periodical Parish and Home, which lasted until at least 1907.¹² Of more significance is the fact that Wrong served as Examiner, Honorary Lecturer and Lecturer at Wycliffe until 1913. At times this was perhaps merely an honorary post, but he is listed in several calendars as Lecturer in Apologetics, and from at least 1910 to 1913 he taught Ecclesiastical History. The cash books for the years 1910-13 show that he was paid \$100 a month for nine or ten months of each year.¹³ He was a trustee of Wycliffe from 1895 to 1925, he continued to write for the Evangelical Churchman until it ceased publication in 1899 and he was involved in its management.¹⁴ Wycliffe College was obviously very important to Wrong.

¹²Parish and Home was begun to "circulate evangelical literature" and in 1895 had a circulation of 4000. Hague, Jubilee Volume, 46. A complete run could not be located.

¹³Wycliffe College, Calendars and cash books. Neither set of books was complete.

¹⁴In a form letter sent to Sir Leonard Tilley in 1894, Wrong made an appeal for support for the Evangelical Churchman in the form of capital for a printing establishment under the management of J.E. Bryant. Wrong to Tilley n.d., Tilley Papers, New Brunswick Museum, Box 34. Wrong himself put money into the venture, and in 1898 was President of the firm. In letters to his wife in that year he speaks of his doubts that he will get his money back, and of problems with Mr. Bryant. In October 1898 he stated that he had made the last payment (\$250) to Bryant Press. Interview 13 April 1972. Mrs. Armstrong recalls that he had a "a frightful row" with Bryant Press. See letters Wrong to Sophia Wrong, 17 October 1898, 21 October 1898, 11 November 1898, 29 March 1899, 9 April 1899 and 10 April 1899, Armstrong Collection.

Religious beliefs were a significant part of Wrong's thought but should not be exaggerated. He took his theological degree but his service as a minister was limited to one summer (1883) as a curate, several years as assistant curate at St. James, occasional services at Murray Bay (his summer home in Quebec) and some weddings. He avoided duties such as baptisms and was happy when not obliged to hold regular services.¹⁵ It was not uncommon then for a man to take orders as preparation for a wide range of occupations, or as a means of "finding" himself. It is quite possible that Wrong fitted into either or both of these categories. He said: "I find that the practical value the Bible has for me is that I go to it to find out how God has dealt with man in the past and so learn how I may expect Him to deal with me".¹⁶ Religion may have been less important than sentiment; his comments in letters to his wife during a lengthy separation in 1898-9 and after his son was reported missing in action in 1916 reveal a man who was deeply emotional in his sorrow and loneliness and who seemed to be determined to believe that it was all for the best: "...we shall be a finer race for all these days of trial."¹⁷ In 1923 he visited the

¹⁵Mrs. C.H.A. Armstrong, Interview, 13 April 1972; see also Wrong to Sophia Wrong, 19 September 1898, 20 February and 10 April 1899, Armstrong Collection.

¹⁶Wrong, Daily Journal, [1892] 4, Armstrong Collection.

¹⁷Wrong to Sophia Wrong, 5 December 1915, Armstrong Collection.

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area where his son and a nephew were buried and noted:¹⁸

It is futile to moralize about what they died for and to ask whether they died in vain. One cannot believe that either they or the enemy dead were sacrificed in vain. But man advances by dark and mysterious paths and we do not understand each stage of the advance.

Wrong's religious beliefs had not been static. In 1892 he looked back and saw himself developing from an earlier "fervour of Christian belief" and "acceptance of Evangelical views" through several years of "doubts and hesitations in regard to these views" to the beginnings of a renewal of faith. He wrote of difficulties in reconciling logic and science with religious faith and of feelings that his teaching was less than adequate because of these doubts. Although his Daily Journal (1892) reveals that he still had many questions, he was able to write that he was regaining "the simplicity of faith again, the confidence that Christ is everything...."¹⁹ But Wrong's doubts seldom found expression in public. Externally he maintained a consistent position, described by Dyson Hague as not evangelical or practical, but "Protestant", and by Bowker as that of an "unshakeable optimist".²⁰

¹⁸Wrong, Travel Diary, 6 July 1923, Armstrong Collection.

¹⁹Wrong, Daily Journal, 22 July 1892, Armstrong Collection.

²⁰Hague, Jubilee Volume, 45; Bowker, "Truly Useful Men", 177 ff; 216.

Wrong's attachment to the evangelical wing was based less on a theoretical or doctrinal position than on a sense of mission, a desire to help others by reaching out and showing them a better way. "Christianity is a system of rescue, and the Church is a great missionary society" wrote Wrong in 1888.²¹ His approach was directed at the emotions and his philosophy was to accentuate the positive; he questioned the spiritual value of ornate service and said that he preferred a "more direct appeal to men's hearts".²²

Wrong continued to support the evangelical position after he became Professor of History, seeing an appointment to a friend as a victory for "men of our views" as against the "high and dry Anglicanism".²³ Wrong's "Protestantism" is shown most clearly in his denunciation

²¹Wrong, Letter, "City Missions" Evangelical Churchman 12 (1 March 1888) 511; In his chapter on "Mission" Berger defines the imperialist mind of men like G.R. Parkin and G.M. Grant as a "tendency to infuse religious emotion into secular purposes". They "exalted the role of ideals in human affairs" and sought to re-establish the ideals of service and duty...." Carl Berger, The Sense of Power; Studies in the Ideas of Canadian Imperialism, 1867-1914 (Toronto, University Press, 1970) 217-20 and ff.

²²Wrong, Daily Journal, 17 May 1892, Armstrong Collection.

²³Wrong to Cody, 10/16 August 1903, OA, Cody papers. Henry John Cody (1868-1951) held many posts in Toronto which touched the life of Wrong: in addition to being a Canon and a Archdeacon, Cody was Minister of Education (1919), and Chairman of the Board of Governors of the University (1923-1932). He became President of the University in 1933.

of the alleged Jesuit intrigues. In defending Wycliffe College against the charge of not meeting the threat of the Jesuits, he wrote:²⁴

It may not be out of place for me to close by deprecating from the historical standpoint any panic over the aggressions of the Jesuits. Let us be active in resisting that aggression...but let us not fear the outcome. They have given us the law of the Protestant succession in England, they have paved the way for the English dominion in India. They have been expelled from nearly every country in Europe, and history teaches no more certain lesson than that their power in this country will not endure, for it contains the seed of its own destruction.

Wrong's suspicions of the Jesuits was probably due to his dislike of anything that smacked of authoritarian fanaticism or a threat to individual liberty.²⁵ Later, perhaps as the heat of the controversy over the Jesuit Estates had cooled somewhat, Wrong's views of the Jesuits were less harsh.²⁶

For Wrong there was little to distinguish the functions of a clergyman and the functions of a professor:²⁷

No study can satisfy me...that is not the study of man. I could not engage in a study wh. began and ended in merely literary criticism [of the Bible].... I must study life, man, his cravings, his failures, his hopes. I am in short by temperament a student of History....

²⁴G.M. Wrong, (letter to Editor) Evangelical Churchman, 13 (4 October 1888) 259-60. See also a signed review in Ibid., 9 (19 August 1886) 170.

²⁵Bowker, "Truly Useful Men", 184.

²⁶See below, 204-6.

²⁷Wrong, Daily Journal, [1892] 4, Armstrong Collection.

A sense of mission pervaded in everything he did. Wrong's speeches to students and his articles in The Varsity contain a significant amount of exhortation--to study, to avoid impure thoughts, to avoid the evils of drink, to work for the unity of Canada, etc. Even history had a lesson to teach, he said. In his inaugural lecture he spoke of the "true meaning" of history: "History is concerned with wide and complex movements... [which] have a deeper meaning, only to be grasped when the insight and discrimination of a trained student are brought to the task".²⁸ The duty of the professor was to awaken and inspire, and then guide the intellectual interests of the student toward a discovery of the truth.²⁹ The purpose of a university education was not to enable a person "to become a member of a class, [but] to secure a helpful equipment for life in any class".³⁰

In addition to duties associated with the university and historical research, Wrong's sense of mission led him into many projects involving charity, temperance, or education. Much of this work had its origins in his connection with the men involved with Wycliffe College. The Newsboys Lodging Home

²⁸Wrong, Historical Study in the University and the Place of Mediaeval History, An Inaugural Lecture Delivered on Saturday, January 12, 1895. (Toronto: Bryant Press, 1895) 6, 9, 11.

²⁹Ibid., 9.

³⁰Wrong, Travel Diary, 24 June 1923, Armstrong Collection.

had been one of Sir Daniel Wilson's pet projects, and Wrong also committed himself to its needs. At one point, when new quarters were planned for the home, Wrong was "thankful" that he was not to have "any of the collecting to do". Four months later he wrote that some \$8000 had been collected and that he had "sent out many appeals through the mails" and had thus helped in the collection to the extent of three to four hundred dollars.³¹

Wrong was one of a group of men who extended the concepts of Wycliffe College into secondary and elementary levels of education by founding Havergal College for girls and Bishop Ridley College for boys, in 1893 and 1889 respectively.³² Wrong's house on Jarvis Street was not far from the early site of Havergal, and Miss Knox, first Principal of Havergal,

³¹Wrong to Sophia Wrong, 12 January 1899 and 6 April 1899, Armstrong Collection. Wrong also worked for the Grenfell Mission, the Red Cross, and the Evangelia Settlement House. Mrs. C.H.A. Armstrong, Interview, 13 April 1972. His work with the Red Cross began about 1916 and culminated in his election as President of the Ontario Red Cross (1929-31). See Red Cross in Ontario, Year Books.

³²Some of the names which appear on the early lists of trustees or governors are: R. Millichamp, N.W. Hoyles, and S.H. Blake (on all three boards) and Rev. S. Jones, Sir Casimir Gzowski and B.H. Dixon (Wycliffe and Ridley only). For the values of the schools and the "inter-locking directorate" of their boards, see J.D. Purdy "The English Public School Tradition in Nineteenth Century Ontario" in Aspects of Nineteenth Century Ontario: Essays Presented to James J. Talman, F.H. Armstrong, et. al. eds. (Toronto, University of Western Ontario in association with University of Toronto Press, 1974) 240-1.

and others on the staff were well acquainted with the Wrong family. Wrong served as Secretary Treasurer of Havergal until 1898, and as Secretary until 1905, and there are many references to talks, walks and teas with Miss Knox and members of her staff in Wrong's letters to his wife in 1898-9.³³ Wrong's connection to Ridley was less extensive. His role in its founding was described as "active" by the school's historian, who did not provide any details. Wrong spoke several times at chapel, and was on the Board of Governors from 1901 to 1948.³⁴

Wrong was part of the activities of Ketchum Hall, where he taught a Bible class to working men, at one point having 70 or 80 in the class. Wrong was one of the organizers of the North End Club, which was designed to provide, in the form of a reading room and coffee lounge, an alternative to saloons.³⁵ Wrong's work within the temperance movement was more at the practical level than speechmaking; he worked "for years" with the Ontario Society for the Reformation of

³³See: G.M. Wrong "An Appreciation" in Ellen Mary Knox (Toronto, Havergal College, 1925) 33-9; Havergal College, Minutes of the Board of Directors.

³⁴Kim Beattie, Ridley, The Story of a School (St. Catherines, Ridley College, 1963) 270, 282, 758 and 1014.

³⁵Wrong, letter to Evangelical Churchman, 15 (February 1891) 476.

Inebriates.³⁶ More than once he wrote about spending an afternoon or an evening trying to locate someone who had disappeared on a drinking spree, or talking to the person's family.³⁷

Wrong seemed to be the kind of person who attracted troubled souls of all kinds, even strangers. Perhaps they sensed he had a sympathetic ear. He related the story of a Miss Lovejoy, a young girl who approached him on board ship going to England in the summer of 1892. She had been "led astray" by the chief steward on the ship and was suffering pangs of remorse and anxiety. Wrong stated: "I tried to comfort her as well as I could while showing my disapproval of her conduct". Eventually he gave the girl enough money to get to London. He referred to her as a "poor weak-minded creature" more than once, and says that the

³⁶Wallace, "Wrong", 237. A letter containing the Society's letterhead and officers, found by Alan Bowker, describes the aims of the Society. See: G.M. Wrong to N. Burwash, 9 April 1910, Burwash Papers, United Church Archives, Victoria University. The City of Toronto provided funds for the Society in 1906 and 1909 to the amount of \$69.45 and \$300.00; see: The Treasurer's Annual Report, (1906) 170 and (1909) 200. (In 1909 the City gave the Open Air Horse Parade \$1000 and the National Battlefields Association \$5000.)

³⁷For example see: Wrong to Sophia Wrong, 12 January 1899, Armstrong Collection.

the incident was "a pitiful story of weakness and folly".³⁸

It would appear that Wrong's moral code and sense of social duty to those less fortunate than himself was both sincere and very deeply rooted. In many ways this was expected of a university professor; "Christian" and "Gentleman" were attributes mentioned repeatedly in reference to students, friends and job applicants around the turn of the century.³⁹ These attributes were a part of the age and very much a part of the circles in which Wrong moved. Wrong's own philosophy suggests values that were closely linked to these two words.

The place of Christianity in the study of history was, for Wrong, more than an important part of the development of Western Civilization; in some ways Christianity was Western Civilization. "Greece surpasses us in taste, as Rome did in organization, but we are the ethical superiors of both nations", he said in his inaugural address. Christian thought, he went on to say, brought thoughts of "peace and hope...universal pity and sympathy" and equality through the "fellowship of faith". Christianity also increased productivity by dignifying manual labor. Christianity influenced feudalism,

³⁸Wrong, Daily Journal, April 18 and 19, 1892, Armstrong Collection.

³⁹See testimonials on behalf of applicants (successful and unsuccessful) for positions on the faculty, 1885-1905, UTA. My impression is that recent attributes of comparable frequency would include phrases such as: competent scholar, intelligent and hardworking, a good man, a friendly outgoing person, etc.

bringing "rights as well as obligations to the tillers of the soil". The culture of the Aztecs, though it included buildings, metals and religion, was not civilized because they had not learned the use of iron or the arch, and their "religious processions were the rites of atrocious cannibals, whose culture was, in fact, only a stage in advance of that of the Iroquois Indians".⁴⁰

The university was the place to get the insights necessary for political wisdom. The students' "future thinking" would be "determined largely" by the impetus they received while at school, and it was the "duty of the professor" to "awaken or to instruct this intellectual interest".⁴¹ Wrong felt that "all intellectual exercises are indirectly useful. They develop mental vigor...".⁴² The value of a university training would be appreciated even by the farmer's son who took a degree "before settling down upon the farm". This last comment shows that, naive though Wrong may have been regarding the motives of students and their future careers, he did feel that the university should be within reach of "a large number."⁴³ To accomplish this

⁴⁰Wrong, "Historical Study" (1895) 11-15.

⁴¹Ibid., 8.

⁴²Ibid., 18

⁴³G.M. Wrong "History in Canadian Secondary Schools" American Historical Association, Annual Report, (1898) 552. At the time the University of Toronto charged \$40 a year.

fees should be as low as possible. One of his few criticisms of Oxford was that the annual expenses there were £120 to £200 whereas a man could go to Berlin for less than half that amount.⁴⁴

Yet, in spite of this apparent egalitarianism, Wrong's ideas of the right kind of education were elitist. His own children were sent to school in Europe in 1898, and his wife went with them partly to save money, but mostly to acquire a knowledge of French and a familiarity "with foreign life." Wrong wrote to his wife: "you must not spare the necessary expense to have them properly taught."⁴⁵ The children were sent to Ridley or Havergal for a year or two each when they were about 14 or 15, and while his eldest son was in his first year at the University of Toronto, Wrong was thinking ahead four years in terms of Oxford.⁴⁶ During an extended visit to Europe in 1913 Wrong wanted his youngest daughter to go to school for a few weeks in England "just to get the proper English accent...talking to nice little English girls".⁴⁷

⁴⁴Wrong, Daily Journal, 27 April 1892, Armstrong Collection.

⁴⁵Wrong to Sophia Wrong, 9 December 1898, 20 January, 20 March, 1899, Armstrong Collection.

⁴⁶Wrong to W.L. Grant, 1 January 1907, Grant Papers, PAC. Murray Wrong did go to Oxford in 1911.

⁴⁷Wrong to Agnes Wrong, 21 October 1913, Armstrong Collection.

This sense of elitism tempered Wrong's belief in progress, democracy and education. Although he thought that aristocracy tended towards oppression, he also valued the aristocratic respect for excellence. He feared the consequences of a franchise that was too liberal, and an educational system that was becoming universal. He felt that progress was a "fragile thing" and worried that too much emphasis on reform would destroy valuable traditions. He believed that the ideal leader was a man of good character, who had a background in public affairs, constitutions, history, and general knowledge, and who had a strong sense of duty, dignity and humility.⁴⁸ The work ethic was also prominent in his thinking; he complained of workers who:⁴⁹

in too many cases, want high pay without hard work. With this I have no sympathy. I have always been willing to work hard...to give the best that is in me,...and surely we have the right to expect the same from others. A meagre output for high pay will play the deuce with the soul or will or the body of the worker.

In the summer of 1892 Wrong was thirty-two years old. He had overcome the disadvantage of a childhood marked by genteel poverty and had obtained a sound education, and a position at Wycliffe College. He had married the daughter of Edward Blake, then leader of the Liberal Party of Canada and Chancellor of the University of Toronto. When

⁴⁸Bowker, "Truly Useful Men", 247, 267, 404-6.

⁴⁹Wrong to Willison, 23 June 1920, PAC, Willison Papers.

it became apparent that Sir Daniel Wilson was dying, Wrong decided to apply for the position of Professor of History. He was as well prepared academically as could be expected in that era but he was not prepared for the furor that arose over the appointment.

The story has been told before⁵⁰ but deserves brief mention here because it reveals something of the operations of the University in the 1890s, because it left scars on Wrong and probably on some of the others,⁵¹ and because there is one minor point regarding the role of Edward Blake that other commentators have ignored.

The issue of George Wrong's appointment developed in three stages: the initial appointment as Lecturer in History in 1892, the period prior to his appointment as Professor of History in 1894, and the period in early 1895 when charges that undue influence had been exerted by Edward Blake spread into the public arena. Wrong was in Oxford working at the

⁵⁰H.S. Ferns and B. Ostry, The Age of Mackenzie King: The Rise of the Leader (Toronto, British Book Service, 1955) 17-29; Hector Charlesworth, More Candid Chronicles (Toronto, 1928) 72-92; W.S. Wallace, University of Toronto, 152-5; Bowker, "Truly Useful Men", 83-4. It is unlikely that any of the above had seen Ross' letter to the Lt. Governor, or the Proceedings of the Commission, described below, n 58.

⁵¹See Wallace, "Wrong", 232.

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Bodleian Library when he heard of Wilson's illness.⁵² Wilson died on the 6th of August and within a week Wrong had written a letter of application for the post to G.W. Ross, Premier of Ontario. This "letter", printed as a pamphlet dated 13 August 1892, outlined Wrong's qualifications for the position, his aims as a teacher of history and his ideas of the nature and role of history. But, eager as Wrong was to be appointed in Wilson's place, he did not want to accept the position if it involved only the status and pay of a lecturer. His salary at Wycliffe was reported to be \$1800, and the salary of a lecturer was usually only \$800.⁵³ The Ontario Government, which was dealing with the matter directly,⁵⁴ was reluctant to

⁵²Wrong to Blake, 27 July 1892. OA, Blake Papers; Wrong, Daily Journal, 26 July 1892, Armstrong Collection.

⁵³Wrong to G.W. Ross, 13 August 1892, OA, pamphlet 33; W.W. Braun to The Varsity, 14 November 1894; the estimates in the Wycliffe College Council Minutes, 10 May 1889 give Wrong's salary as \$1500.

⁵⁴Part of the reason for Government involvement was the fact that Wilson's death also created a vacancy in the office of President of the University. On the other hand, there were occasions when the next President, James Loudon, was not consulted about appointments. See Loudon's Memoirs, 101, 109, UTA, and Loudon to Harcourt, 13 September 1904, OA, RG 2, Series D-7. Some indication of the position of President Loudon vis à vis the Provincial Government may be seen in the following letter, which is quoted in full.

My Dear Mr. Ross,

Mr. Wrong informs me that he wishes to go out of town for a few days at the beginning of May. His lectures are over and he will be back before he is required to read examination papers. There is no need, I presume, to make formal application to you for leave of absence.

Yours faithfully,

Loudon to Ross, 25 April 1893, OA, RG 2.

appoint a young man to Wilson's chair, which involved a full professorship. The Government eventually agreed to appoint Wrong temporarily for one year, renewable for one year, at a salary of \$1500 per year. It was understood that at the end of the first or second year, the Government would advertise for applicants for the Chair of History.⁵⁵

Dissension rose when the outline of these facts, in particular the salary to be paid to Wrong, became known among some of Wrong's colleagues. Loudon passed the complaints on to the Government, stating that seven or eight professors were unhappy with the appointment and salaries of Wrong and another man. Some of these men, said Loudon, had left positions paying \$1500 and \$2000 to come to Toronto for a salary of \$800. Loudon also reported that there were rumours that the appointment to Wrong was not temporary, and that the Department of History was being favoured over other departments by allowing a lecturer to jump directly into a professorship. Loudon was also worried about the prerogatives of the University; for a time the Government had considered abolishing the chair of History and replacing it with an associate professorship for financial reasons.⁵⁶ It was a period of mild but continuing tension.

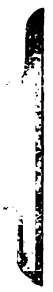
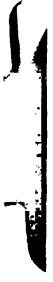
⁵⁵Loudon to Harcourt [draft] 11 January 1893; Loudon to Ross, 8 March 1893, Loudon Papers, UTA; Wrong to Blake, 16 June 1893, OA, Blake Papers; [8] July 1893, OA, Blake Papers.

⁵⁶Loudon to Harcourt, 11 January 1893, Loudon to Ross, 8 March 1893, 11 August 1894, UTA, Loudon Papers; see also Wrong to Blake, 16 June 1893, OA, Blake Papers.

In the fall of 1894, when Wrong was appointed full professor, the underlying tension erupted. Wrong soon ceased being the focal point as claims that his appointment was due to the influence of his father-in-law, Edward Blake, developed into complaints about poor teaching on the part of a number of professors. The issue spread to include the rights of students who had been refused permission to bring two outside speakers to the campus, and the right of the editors of the student paper to comment on the issues. The matter culminated in the dismissal of one professor, and a student strike; a Royal Commission was appointed to make inquiries.

The only matter of concern here is whether or not Wrong's appointment was a result of the connection with Chancellor Blake. Every account of the case states that there is no evidence that Blake acted with impropriety or even suspicion. Nonetheless, there are two points worth considering. First is a letter from Blake to Ross, then Minister of Education, stating that he [Blake] could not take any part in the choice. If Blake had stopped at that point there would be no grounds for suspicion. Blake, however, went on in the letter to outline the qualifications of his son-in-law: "professor" Wrong of "Wycliffe" he said, has "made History his specialty" and is "now at Oxford".⁵⁷ These comments were not necessary and one must wonder why Blake included them, and

⁵⁷Blake to Ross, 26/7 July 1892, UTA, Blake Papers.



what impact they had on Ross. Secondly, the principals in the case, Loudon, Harcourt and Ross, all said in effect that they had not been "approached" by Mr. Blake on the matter. What they did not state was that the relationship between Wrong and Blake was not a factor in the decision to appoint Wrong.⁵⁸ It is a cynical interpretation, to be sure, and it is quite possible that their "denial" can be taken literally, It is equally possible that it was a clever evasion. Blake made no approach because he did not need to. Wrong received the appointment because he was the most qualified applicant and one of his many qualifications was that he was known to be a member of a strong influential family which had close ties with the university. While it is true that there is no "evidence" of improper influence, the gratuitous comment by Blake and the ambiguous denials by Ross, Harcourt and Loudon do nothing to lessen the suspicion that Wrong's appointment was based on factors beyond his academic qualifications.

W.S. Wallace wrote that the controversy surrounding Wrong's appointment "spurred him [Wrong] to prove to the

⁵⁸Loudon, Memoirs, 109; Ross to the Lt. Governor in Council, 14 February 1895, OA, RG 2, Series P-2, Box 87, #77; Report of the Commissioners on Discipline in the University of Toronto (Toronto, Warwick, 1895) 10; Proceedings of the Commission on Discipline in the University of Toronto, April 8-22, 1895, OA, RG 18, 531-3. Further, in his testimony Harcourt refused to comment on the thinking of the Government in making the appointment to Wrong. Ibid., 536. He may have desired to avoid setting a precedent of disclosure, or he may have had something to hide.



world that he was worth the appointment...."⁵⁹ It is certainly true that Wrong worked hard as head of the Department of History, but there is no direct evidence that this was due to the fear of being found unworthy. Since Wrong had already shown a willingness and an ability to work hard it is likely that the controversy was but one of many forces. Wrong was a man of religion and deep emotion. He was anxious to help others, and to improve the world in which he lived. He was a man who liked people, who sought and usually found a personal message in human activities, and he could not help but try to bring to others this message of moral behaviour, of human progress, of civilization. These values would appear again and again in his work as head of the Department of History.

⁵⁹Wallace, "Wrong", 232.

CHAPTER THREE

"And Gladly Teach": The Curriculum as a Reflection of Wrong's Values

Soon after Wrong was appointed Professor of History changes began to appear in the curriculum. History became an autonomous Department and Wrong established joint programs with the Departments of English and Classics. The program was divided into pass and honours and the number of history courses offered was increased, especially in modern history and the history of the British Empire. A formal program of essay writing was begun and the first M.A. degrees in history were granted. In addition to these observable changes Wrong issued a number of statements of intent regarding his desire for more medieval history, for increased use of documents and for an emphasis on teaching and on social history. Some of these intentions were never put into effect, and others cannot be measured. But both statements of the intent and the changes made reflect Wrong's sense of mission. He would teach history and he would provide his students with a sense of style, general culture, and public responsibility.

The status of his Department was a significant issue for Wrong. For a brief period after Wilson's death History had been listed in the calendars as part of the Department of Political Economy, suggesting that Wrong was subordinate to James Mavor,

Professor of Political Science from 1892 to 1923.¹ This was not at all satisfactory to Wrong and he set about to make the course "more fully historical,"² to create the graduating department of Modern History and to bring the subject of Constitutional History, then taught by the Department of Political Economy, into the Department of History.³

Constitutional History became the focal point of a series of quarrels between Wrong and Mavor; the feud revolved around the question of which Department should teach the subject and reveals much about the values of both men. The roots of the problem lay in the appointment of William Ashley in 1888. Ashley had taken Constitutional History in addition to his other subjects in order to relieve Sir Daniel Wilson. Four years later, when Mavor arrived to replace Ashley, it

¹See: Mavor to Falconer, n.d. [ca 1909] UTL, Mavor Papers 'U of T file'; Wrong to Cody, 10 November 1926, OA, Cody Papers.

²Wrong to Mrs. [Edward] Blake, 6 March 1893, OA, Blake Family Papers.

³The University of Toronto had two kinds of departments: teaching departments and graduating departments. Teaching departments followed the subject classification--physics, chemistry, modern history--while graduating departments were formed to satisfy the needs of the students who wished to combine subjects such as Mathematics and Physics, or English and History. Wrong was head of the Department of History; most of his students were enrolled in Modern History, English and History, or Classics with English and History option. Students in other courses such as Political Science, English, languages and pass courses could also enroll in History courses.

was natural that he would take over all of Ashley's responsibilities. Wrong questioned the separation of History and Constitutional History from the beginning of his appointment in 1892, but at first he did not have sufficient status to effect a change. He did, however, get the agreement, or so he claimed, of Mavor, the President, and the Minister of Education that Constitutional History should be "attached" to the Department of History upon the expiration of the appointment to J.M. McEvoy, who was then teaching the subject in Mavor's department. When this did not occur, the feud was on.⁴

The clash between Wrong and Mavor was due as much to differences in life-styles as to the question of jurisdiction. While both were gregarious and hard working, and often supported the same causes, they simply got on each other's nerves. Wrong would go to bed early and rise early to do his writing; Mavor would stay up most of the night. Wrong was very much concerned with propriety; Mavor worked to bring the Doukobours to Canada. When Wrong lectured, it was an inspiring narrative; Mavor's style was that of a brilliant man thinking out loud. Wrong saw Mavor as dissolute and undisciplined; Mavor saw Wrong as unscholarly, and thought that Wrong's appointment was the result of the Blake family

⁴Wrong to Edward Blake, 16 June 1893, OA, Blake Family Papers; Wrong to Mavor, 28 October 1894, UTL, Mavor Papers; Wrong to Ross, 23 July 1895; OA, RG 2, D-7, Box 14.

connection. While the two men could cooperate when they had to, their personal differences made the jurisdictional dispute over Constitutional History almost impossible to resolve.⁵

The clash was more than merely the question of who would teach the subject for at the bottom lay sincere differences regarding the role of Constitutional History in their respective programs and the nature of those programs. Wrong saw it as the core of his studies of the British Empire, the raison d'être of the British peoples. In addition, the study of constitutions was the traditional approach to the study of history. "Political History cannot be separated from Constitutional History because constitutions are the outcome of political movements," said Wrong.⁶ Mavor, on the other hand, thought that Constitutional History was a necessary foundation for law and legal expertise, and since these were his responsibilities, the subject must be taught in his Department. Constitutional History, he wrote, is a necessary complement to legal studies, and the Department of History "desires to emphasize the non-legal side...."⁷ Mavor was concerned that the Honours History courses would be too

⁵Dora Mavor Moore, Interview, 5 March 1972; Mrs. C.H.A. Armstrong, Interview, 13 April 1972; Bowker, "Truly Useful Men", 326-29.

⁶Wrong to Maurice Hutton (President pro tem) 5 November 1906, UTA, Falconer Papers (estrays).

⁷Mavor to Falconer, n.d. [ca 1909] UTL, Mavor Papers.

specialized and that students in Political Science would be overloaded with the work, thus losing time on other subjects. He was further concerned that if the Department of History taught Constitutional History it would not be taught "in connection with the economic and legal studies...." Mavor also claimed that the work done in Wrong's Historical Club was infringing on the subject matter of Political Science, and that essays on economic subjects were "afterwards given credit for as term work." When Wrong made changes in the curriculum of Modern History, Mavor argued that the changes would "destroy the possibility of a common course" in first year and would eliminate an "exact" subject (Mathematics, Physics or Biology) and for it substitute General History, "a vague expression whose scope is not disclosed". The new program, said Mavor, lacked thoroughness.⁸

Wrong, whose case is less thoroughly documented, felt that the separation of History and Constitutional History was due to mere circumstance and thus had no basis in either theory or necessity. In fact, Wrong argued, such a separation did not exist in any university that he knew of, was "unnatural", and frequently embarrassed his work. Wrong felt that he was head of an independent Department and that

⁸ James Mavor, Memorandum Upon a Projected Course in History, 27 June 1905, UTA, Loudon Papers. Mavor was probably more concerned that he had not been involved in the planning of the new course than with the changes themselves.

Mavor's position was an attempt to undermine the significance of that Department.⁹ Wrong eventually decided to lecture on the subject himself.¹⁰ Mavor did not teach Constitutional History himself and when a change was made in the Department of Political Economy Wrong tried to "capture" the subject for the Department of History.¹¹ As Wrong's staff grew the Department of History did take on increasing responsibility for Constitutional History, first with English Constitutional History, then, with the coming of W.P.M. Kennedy, Canadian Constitutional History.

One of the major factors behind the struggle over Constitutional History was Wrong's concept of the place of

⁹Wrong to Hutton, 5 November 1906, UTA, Falconer (estrays); Wrong to Ross, 23 July 1895, OA, RG 2, Series D-7, Box 14.

¹⁰Wrong to Mavor, 29 October 1894, 16 February 1899, UTL, Mavor Papers. Other areas were affected by the quarrel, such as appointments for Mackenzie Fellows, the Publications Committee, Wrong's status in examining committees, and general staff meetings, even as late as 1921. See: Wrong to Mavor, 11 May, 19 June, 20 June 1897, UTL, Mavor Papers; Wrong to Loudon, 12 July, 30 July 1897, 5 June 1905, UTA, Loudon Papers; H.A. Innis, to Mary [Quale Innis] 25 November 1921, UTA, Innis Papers.

¹¹James MacGregor Young to Falconer, 22 August 1907, UTA, Falconer Papers; Falconer to Mavor, 25 June 1910, UTA, Falconer Papers.

When W.P.M. Kennedy, a member of the History Department (1914-1926), was appointed to the Faculty of Law in 1926, Wrong claimed that the move was due to "outside pressures" and "intrigue", and expressed concern that Constitutional History would remain in the Department of History. See: Wrong to Falconer, 7 and 13 January 1926, memorandum re Kennedy, 20 January 1926, UTA, Falconer Papers, Box 94 and 97; Wrong to Cody, 10 November 1926, OA, Cody Papers.

History generally in the curriculum, and the lessons the students would learn from their years in university. To Wrong, the study of history was the core of humanities study, and the development of character was the main function of university education.¹² Wrong was in this period laying the foundations of a history program modelled on the Greats program at Oxford, where much emphasis was placed on the study of Greek and Latin Classics, and on English literature. This was reflected in the creation of the graduating department of English and History and the inclusion of a course in Classics (Aristotle and Hobbes) in the Department of Modern History.¹³ As the staff of the Department expanded Wrong's wishes were more fully implemented. This movement of History closer to the humanities and away from the social sciences may explain some of Mavor's resistance. Wrong was more interested in fostering breadth, style and character in his students than he was in training students in exactness and expertise in certain areas.

True education, for Wrong, was that which is left after one has forgotten everything he has learned.¹⁴ "It is the

¹²Bowker, "Truly Useful Men," 273-4; 341-7.

¹³Wrong said that the course was started by W.J. Alexander; see: "Professor W.J. Alexander" UTM 27 (January 1927) 151-2; although the course first appeared in the calendar for 1894-5, the earliest minutes of the Department of English and History available in the University Archives begin in 1914.

¹⁴Reported in The Varsity 33 (1 December 1913) 3.

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man who is something more than a physician who makes the best physician",¹⁵ he said. The main function of the university was to provide the students with a sense of responsibility and general culture that would accompany them after they left the university. History in particular enlarged one's vision and taught one to distinguish error from truth. It was, in short, a training to develop character and moral leadership as well as intellect. His concern for character explains Wrong's interest in such matters as college residences, religion in the schools, women's rights, and the Rhodes and Flavelle Scholarships; it also is one of the main reasons behind his insistence that the teaching of the undergraduate must be considered the main responsibility of a professor.¹⁶

Even before he joined the staff of the University Wrong felt that good teaching was on a par with, if not ahead of, good scholarship. He was dismayed that some professors were appointed on the basis of reputations they had made as "writers" and who seldom taught. Wrong pleaded constantly for closer relations between faculty and students: "I wish my students would come more often to me to talk about

¹⁵Wrong, "The Student Life" The Varsity 23 (14 October 1903) 1-2.

¹⁶Much of Wrong's thinking on these matters came from Maurice Hutton, Professor of Classics from 1880 to 1928; see: Bowker, "Truly Useful Men", 273-283, 341-7.

their work and their perplexities", he wrote.¹⁷ He soon developed the practice of having students to his office or to his house, and from all accounts he enjoyed their company very much.¹⁸ "It is a great privilege", he wrote to Parkin, "to be so closely in touch with the young life of the country."¹⁹ Wrong worked at improving relations with students, and even though occasionally tempted by thoughts of a more active role in public life, he always drew back to what he saw as his first responsibility.²⁰

Wrong's emphasis on teaching arose from a belief that he had an obligation to reach out and help students. "I cannot see these semibarbaric intelligences about me without feeling I ought to do a multitude of things to try to reach them",²¹ he wrote. The duty of the professor, he thought, was not to merely read lectures, but to "breathe life and meaning"

¹⁷Wrong, "German Student Life II" The Varsity (17 March 1891) 234-5; Daily Journal [1892] 124; "Professors and Undergraduates" The Varsity 22 (14 October 1902) 3.

¹⁸See Vincent Massey, What's Past is Prologue: the Memoirs of Vincent Massey (Toronto, Macmillan, 1963) 21-2; Underhill Interviews, I, 51; II, 53-4, PAC, Underhill Papers.

¹⁹Wrong to Parkin, 12 October 1911, PAC, Parkin Papers.

²⁰Bowker, "Truly Useful Men", 276-7; 402.

²¹Wrong to W.L. Grant, 5 November 1907, PAC, Grant Papers.

into the "dry bones" of history.²² The note of obligation in this sense of mission sprang in part from his feeling that teaching could sometimes be a "grind". "I am harassed by too great a range of work (I lecture on about 1500 years!)"²³ Increasingly, Wrong wanted time to write: "I should have less teaching to free me for some research work", he wrote to Falconer.²⁴ Yet he continued to teach, and to structure the curriculum in such a way as to increase his contact with the students.²⁵ One of the ways in which this was accomplished was the introduction of essays as a major requirement in the work of history students. The practice began in 1896 and over the next two decades evolved into a separate class (History 5) in which the writing of essays was the sole requirement. Students later claimed that being graded on "the basis of both matter and form" forced them to develop good writing

²²Wrong, "Historical Study" (1895) 8-9.

²³Wrong to Grant, 10 November 1906, 25 September 1907; PAC, Grant Papers; Wrong to Harlan, 22 October 1903, University of Kentucky, Law Library, Harlan Papers. John Marshall Harlan (1833-1911), a member of the U.S. Supreme Court, spent many summers at Murray Bay.

²⁴Wrong to Falconer, 24 November 1908, UTA, Falconer Papers; see also Wrong to Doughty, 28 April, 1 May, 8 May, 25 November, 1906, 16 April 1907; PAC, RG 37, vol. 101; Wrong to Falconer, 17 March 1919, UTA, Falconer Papers.

²⁵Underhill Interviews, I, 51, PAC, Underhill Papers.

habits.²⁶ Their recollections suggest the effort that Wrong made on their behalf.

Wrong might have been thinking of the challenge "What is there for a Professor of History to do?" when he began to organize the course of study. Certainly he believed that a teacher was necessary. "The truths of history are subtle and... to teach it there must be...a vigorous and disciplined imagination and the power of arranging complex material effectively."²⁷

More important was his view that "History is concerned with wide and complex movements...[which] have deeper meaning, only to be grasped when the insight and discrimination of a trained student are brought to the task."²⁸ This was a theme that Wrong repeated for many years. The main function of a historian is to provide an interpretation for the reader: "We must interpret the setting and the spiritual sources of events" he told a meeting of the Canadian Historical Association.²⁹ "The reader needs...guidance in difficult places."³⁰

²⁶See Calendar for the Year 1902-3, 115, 116, 118; A.R.M. Lower, My First Seventy-five Years (Toronto, Macmillan, 1967) 50; Editorial, Fergus News-Record, 8 February 1940.

²⁷Wrong, "History in Canadian Secondary Schools" American Historical Association Report (1898) 553.

²⁸Wrong, "Historical Study" (1895) 6.

²⁹Wrong "The Historian's Problem" Canadian Historical Association Report (1927) 5-7.

³⁰Wrong "Historical Criticism" (1936) 3-4.



Early in Wrong's tenure as head of the Department the number of history classes was increased, and Honours and Pass students were given different reading lists.³¹ This separation led to increased specialization, smaller classes, and closer contact with the students. The honours classes reflected the elitist desire to focus on good students and to give them the very best instruction. Much later, Frank Underhill wrote that:³²

Our pass course [sic] is a Cloaca Maxima into which we canalize as far as possible all those who come to university for a good time.... Nobody on the staff takes any interest in them, they simply attend lectures, write the required quota of essays, and try exams.

In his letter of application Wrong had stated that the "interest in history of our own young country should have a very prominent place in the curriculum of a Canadian university."³³ But for Wrong the history of Canada had to be studied in conjunction with the histories of the United States, Britain and the British Empire. Wrong wanted his students to study the "causes of social and political changes

³¹There is no evidence stating whether or not the classes were separate in the early years or if the lecturer talked to both groups simultaneously; in later years the separation was total.

³²F.H. Underhill to Bill [J.W. Eaton], 6 November 1938, PAC, Underhill Papers, vol. 41. See also Morley Callaghan, The Varsity Story (Toronto, Macmillan, 1948) 86.

³³Wrong to Ross, 13 August 1892, OA, Pamphlet 33.

rather than...narrative history." He also wanted them to learn to analyse the "wide and complex movements" that made up history. To him the development of British law and freedom was the most valuable study of all. Thus the calendars stated that special emphasis would be placed on the history of England, United States, Canada and the British Empire--a pattern that was to last for many decades.

To accomplish these aims the subjects of medieval history and ethnology (studied under Wilson in the second and fourth years) were gradually supplanted by modern history. Ethnology continued as a minor part of the fourth year program until 1905, when it did not appear in the calendar at all. Later, Wrong talked over "some aspects of the subject to undergraduates during some years."³⁴

Although medieval history was to decline in importance in the curriculum, Wrong made a special plea for the study of the middle ages in his inaugural lecture. The reasons he gave for the study of medieval history illuminate his values, and help to explain some of the changes he made. He said that the middle ages were important because in that period the "new conceptions" of Christianity were "slowly

³⁴Wrong to J.P. McMurrich, 14 February 1922, UTL, History Department, M 99. As late as 1920 the Department was referred to as the Department of History and Ethnology in the University Estimates. Bursar [F.A. Moure] to Wrong, 21 June 1919, UTA, History Department, B7.

taking form" and because it was in this period that "the foundations of our own well-being" were laid. The foundations to which Wrong referred were the "thousand years" of "unbroken development" of England and the growth of traditions of parliamentary democracy.³⁵ Wrong wanted his students to appreciate the traditions and methods of contemporary politics: "We cannot doubt that the wise student of the past is the best interpreter of the present," he said.³⁶ What Wrong wanted his students to study was not so much medieval history as the history of British democracy and civilization.³⁷

In his inaugural lecture Wrong spoke of the skills necessary for sound historical work. To be a trained specialist in history students needed to be able to distinguish error from truth, and to fill the gaps in the story. "Students of History ought to...[deal] with original authorities" said Wrong.³⁸ But in spite of these claims it does not seem likely that Wrong's classes studied original documents extensively.³⁹ Wrong felt that the main task of the

³⁵Wrong, "Historical Study" (1895) 11-15, 17.

³⁶Ibid., 18.

³⁷Ibid., 17.

³⁸Ibid., 9.

³⁹A.R.M. Lower said that while an undergraduate he had "never heard of original documents". Interview, 25 October 1971. R.M. Saunders said that the study of documents was the result of Chester Martin's influence. Interview, 11 December 1973.

professor was to make history interesting. He wrote, after hearing a lecture at Oxford, that "students need, not original research, but such a treatment of the subject as will interest them in it."⁴⁰ If documents were used in class, the professor would draw "the real meaning of historical movements" from them. What Wrong produced were scholars in the sense of cultivated men of breadth, not scholars trained in a narrow specialty or a scientific method.

Wrong used the concept of scientific history but he did so in a special sense. In part Wrong meant the discipline of poring over documents and printed sources to weigh justly the records of a remote age and to detect blunders and lies. He wrote that "...sound historical science working from its knowledge of human nature...can recall with accuracy...the vivid life of a past time..."⁴¹ But Wrong also used the term scientific history to mean objectivity, which to him meant looking at both sides of a question and then proceeding with an air of confident impartiality.⁴² One consequence of this was the tendency to make a statement then to qualify it virtually immediately, at times giving the appearance of ambiguity or self contradiction. In his inaugural address,

⁴⁰Wrong, Daily Journal [1892] 188.

⁴¹Wrong, The Crusade of 1383 (1892) vii.

⁴²Wrong "Historical Study" (1895) 9, 11.

Wrong made several of these statement-qualification comments. For example, he said "The lecture...is the best means of instruction..." then qualified it by stating, "There are, of course, lectures and lectures."⁴³ In another speech he said: "There is a changeless rule in human society that change itself is certain" then completed the sentence with: "the rule is sometimes slow in application."⁴⁴

(This tendency of Wrong's was sufficiently pronounced that in 1963 a political columnist said that the "style" of Prime Minister Pearson was a result of the training he had received at the University of Toronto as a student and later as a professor in the Department of History. Pearson was described as being prone to respond to a difficult question or problem by an approach that could be called "on the one hand, but on the other." The approved method at Toronto was "a wide preliminary reading before writing an essay....Anyone who took...a single line of argument...such as a trial lawyer would do [was] not conforming to the method [of showing] his mastery of the subject in detail before [making] any leaps to a judgment...")⁴⁵

⁴³Ibid., 5, 6, 7, 8, 17, 18.

⁴⁴Wrong, Revolution and Reaction (Oxford, Oxford University Press, 1938) 9.

⁴⁵Douglas Fisher, "Mr. Pearson: Trees in the Desert" Toronto Telegram, 13 December 1963. Fisher wrote that Pearson said afterwards "It's the best bit of insight on me yet." Fisher to W.D. Meikle, 25 May 1971. See also Wrong's review of two books on Lord Strathcona, AHR, 21 (July 1916) 804-6.

Thus, while Wrong paid lip service to the concepts of scientific history and the use of documents in the classroom, in practice he concentrated on breadth and on making the subject interesting. Even in the area of graduate work Wrong did not insist on extensive use of documents.

Graduate work had begun at Toronto in the earliest days of the University, with the granting of the first M.A. in 1843.⁴⁶ The regulations for the M.A. program were not always stated in the nineteenth century, nor were they specific, but it appears that what was usually required was a Toronto B.A. and a thesis.⁴⁷ As late as 1903 the only regulation in the calendar read:

Candidates for the Degree of Master of Arts must have been admitted to the Degree of Bachelor of Arts, must be of the standing of one year from admission to the degree of Bachelor of Arts, and must have sent in an approved thesis upon some subject in one of the departments in the Faculty of Arts. The thesis must be sent to the Registrar not later than 1st May.

In the latter part of the nineteenth century the M.A. thesis was no more demanding than an essay, and three Toronto

⁴⁶For a brief history of the graduate programme see: Graduate Studies in the University of Toronto, Report of the President's Committee on the School of Graduate Studies, Bora Laskin, chairman, (University of Toronto Press, 1965) 1-14; hereafter cited as Laskin Report. For the Ph.D. see: P.N. Ross, "The Origins and Development of the Ph.D. Degree at the University of Toronto, 1871-1932", unpublished Ed.D. Thesis, University of Toronto, 1972. No Ph.D.'s were granted by Toronto in history until 1925.

⁴⁷Laskin Report, 3.

professors said that the M.A. regulations were "superficial" and that the treatment of the thesis was "somewhat perfunctory", contributing little to the development of research.⁴⁸

The first M.A. listed for the Department of History was granted in 1893.⁴⁹ From 1893 to 1899 five theses were accepted; from 1900 to 1904 there were sixteen.⁵⁰ Yet, in

⁴⁸"The M.A. Degree" The Varsity, 3 (24 February 1883) 196-7; the article recommended reading courses and examinations on the German model. Ramsay Wright and W.J. Alexander "The Arts Faculty" in W.J. Alexander, ed. The University of Toronto and its Colleges, 1827-1906 (Toronto, 1906) 92. A.B. Macallum, "The Foundation of the Board of Graduate Studies", UTM, 16 (February 1916) 220.

⁴⁹Since candidates for the M.A. in history do not appear to have had any rules apart from the general regulations until 1917, and since no departmental philosophy has been discovered for the early period, virtually the only evidence for the M.A. program in history is theses accepted by the department and held by the University of Toronto Archives.

The University of Toronto Library has compiled a list of M.A. theses by department. The earliest thesis held is in English Literature, 1890. Twelve departments accepted their first M.A. thesis in the period from 1890-1899; nine more in the period 1900-1912.

A student could proceed to the M.A. by course and examination, without doing a thesis, but no records have been found to verify that any students actually did so. See: Laskin Report, 3. One exception to this might be the case of George Wrong, who was awarded an M.A. in 1896. No information was found as to what department gave the degree, or why, and there is no record of a thesis done by Wrong. There is a possibility that he was awarded the degree on the basis of his published work. Unearned M.A.s were the norm in the 1860s and 1870s.

⁵⁰The University of Toronto was not the first Canadian university to grant an M.A. in History, but no other university had a sustained graduate program until at least 1910. See Appendix F. For a list of M.A. theses accepted by the Department of History and the later occupations of the students, see Appendix H.

spite of the number involved, graduate work was not a serious concern. Even though Wrong was alone in the Department in this period, he did not regard the task as an intolerable burden. In 1905 he wrote to Loudon: "I have had three Graduate students (this year) but these have not been any considerable tax on my time."⁵¹

The topics of the theses accepted parallel Wrong's interests in church history (monasteries, the Reformation, Luther, John Knox, Cromwell) and Canadian history (the French regime, and constitutional development). Most of those who did theses on church history were ministers, most of the remainder of the graduates were teachers.⁵²

The quality of the early M.A. theses was not much different from the quality of the Toronto M.A. as a whole; they were closer to undergraduate essays than to serious research papers by advanced students. In general they were

⁵¹Wrong to Loudon, 25 April 1905, UTA, Loudon Papers. By way of contrast, at the same time Mavor claimed that he devoted four hours per week for about half the session to graduate students. See: Mavor to Loudon, [Report on the Department of Political Science], 15 May 1905, UTA, Loudon Papers.

Some theses granted in history may have been supervised by members of the faculty outside the Department of History. The names of Professors Mavor, Lefroy, McCurdy and Hume appear on four theses written between 1897 and 1904; these men may also have been an "outside examiner". Many theses had no name on the title page except that of the student.

⁵²There were ten ministers, nine teachers and two barristers; seven of the teachers were women. For further analysis of these points, see below, 190-93.

short (often under 5000 words), undocumented narratives. They seldom used primary sources and they seldom contained any kind of interpretation or theme, being descriptive rather than analytical.⁵³ The standards of writing were either low or inconsistent. One example of awkward writing can be found in the following sentences taken from a thesis accepted in 1903:

From the moment the French landed on the shores of Canada many of them seemed to enter into the spirit of the place....The Nipissing Indians were said to kill other tribes with charms. The French element were very receptive of such and also retained and practiced them in a smaller degree....Almost all the Governors of New France in Canada showed a serious dignity, especially those from the time of Frontenac until the collapse of French rule....Among the dishes specially favoured by the upper classes was one of great size and richness and of elaborate construction, called the Easter Pastry.

A note on the back of this thesis in Wrong's hand reads:

"Very carefully done; style somewhat laboured. 73" ⁵⁴

⁵³Most of the theses written in this period are available at the University of Toronto Archives. The number of pages listed in Appendix H is deceptive as the number of words per page varied from 125 to 650.

For comparative purposes, see: the undergraduate essay by A.R.M. Lower, "English Monasticism..." 1912, Queen's University Library, Lower Papers, 28.

⁵⁴M. Lick, "Social Features of the Old Regime in Canada" unpublished M.A. thesis, University of Toronto, 1903, n.p. Most theses were better written than this one, although many would be regarded today as excessively sloppy. The average thesis then would be accepted today as a fair to good undergraduate essay; a few would meet current M.A. standards.

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The M.A. program in history reflected Wrong's values indirectly. Graduate students were not a "considerable tax" on his time; rather, his energies were focused on the teaching of undergraduates. The work that was done was not narrow research, but broad narrative. There appears to be a close affinity between Wrong's interest in the church, the reformation and the French regime in Canada, and the work done by his M.A. candidates. The students were either encouraged to work on such topics or they sought out Wrong because in him they found a sympathetic supervisor. The standards were not high, and probably did not reflect Wrong's standards in his own writing.

Research was not emphasized largely because Wrong had other values. He felt it more important to concentrate on the character of his students, in particular the undergraduates, and the development of a public conscience, moral leadership, and a cultured elite. Teaching was regarded as a mission, a means of accomplishing these goals. The teacher was needed to ensure that the true meaning of the facts was made clear to the student. But Wrong's sense of mission was not restricted to the work and standards he imposed on his students. He also took his message to the world outside the classroom.

CHAPTER FOUR

"I am Busy with My Review": The Historical Work of George Wrong Beyond the Department of History

Wrong wanted to raise the standards of history writing and to raise the status of history as a subject of interest. To accomplish these aims he founded and for twenty-two years edited the Review of Historical Publications Relating to Canada. He also worked closely with members of the Ontario Educational Association and published history books of his own.

Starting about 1850 there came to be a discernibly new style in periodicals that were used to present the results of scientific research. Earlier writings had been mostly a means of reporting in general terms what subjects were being investigated; the new style was primarily the presentation of results of original investigations building on a foundation of previous papers and suggesting new points of departure. At about the same time we can see the beginnings of the now familiar pattern of explicit references.¹ Publications in history in the United States and England

¹D.J. De Solla Price, Little Science, Big Science (New York, Columbia University Press, 1963) 63-5. Price quotes Barnaby Rich: "One of the diseases of this age is the multiplicity of books...." Rich made this statement in 1613. Plus ça change....

tended to follow the example of the sciences.²

At the University of Toronto the publication of monographs came under the umbrella of the University of Toronto Studies Committee, although some individuals or departments published independently.³ The earliest series that published historical material was Studies in Political Science (1889-1895) which was superseded in 1896 by Studies in History and Economics. The emphasis was on the study of "the problems of political society", especially the institutions of the State, "in the same spirit as the biologist brings to the observation of the animal organism...."⁴ Wrong was aware of these views, and cooperated on some occasions with the

²The Johns Hopkins University Studies, the first of its kind in North America, was organized in 1882 to provide an outlet for the work being done in the seminar of Herbert Adams. Other universities followed suit, notably Columbia University, whose Studies began in 1891. The English Historical Review began in 1886; The Bulletin des Recherches Historique (Quebec) in 1895; the American Historical Review in 1896. See also Fritz Stern, ed. The Varieties of History from Voltaire to the Present (New York, World, 1956) 170-77.

³Between 1895 and 1935 some 19 different series of monographs had been issued in various subjects; some of these faded in a few years while others lasted until the late 1930s or early 1940s. Many appear to have been replaced either by more specialized journals or by journals financed through professional associations instead of through the university.

⁴W.J. Ashley, "Introduction" in: J.M. McEvoy, "The Ontario Township", Toronto University Studies in Political Science, W.J. Ashley, ed., First Series, No. 1 (Toronto, Warwick, 1889) 5-7.

publications of the Department of Political Science,⁵ but his interest was not with the scientific monograph but with a separate series, the annual Review of Historical Publications Relating to Canada (1897-1919).

The Review first appeared in February 1897. Wrong hoped to bring books to the attention of the public⁶ and to "raise the standards of historical writing".⁷ Later he

⁵Wrong's name is listed among those on the Committee of Management of the Studies in History and Economics in 1905, 1919, 1924 and 1928. The History and Economics series was listed under the History Department as "Second Series". In the second series Wrong worked intermittently. He produced a translation in 1897, Louisbourg in 1745: The Anonymous lettre d'un Habitant... Edited with an English translation by G.M. Wrong, (Toronto, Briggs, 1897). He edited H.P. Biggar's The Early Trading Companies of New France, University of Toronto Studies in History, extra vol. 1901. Biggar was at the time a fellow in Political Science at Toronto. Wrong assisted in the production of "The Maseres Letters 1766-1768" edited and with introduction, notes and appendices by W.S. Wallace, University of Toronto Studies in History and Economics, vol. III (1905-1919). Wallace stated in the preface that he was greatly indebted to Wrong and H.H. Langton for their advice and criticism. Wrong also lobbied for funds to publish E.H. Oliver, Roman Economic Conditions to the Close of the Republic. See: Loudon to Harcourt, 12 January 1905, UTA, Loudon Papers.

⁶Wrong to C.H. Van Tyne, 1 May 1905, Clements Library, Ann Arbor, Van Tyne Papers.

⁷Wrong to Sir Wilfrid Laurier, 4 March 1897, PAC, Laurier Papers.

said:⁸

It is an attempt to review our historical literature critically and sympathetically and, continued each year, is likely, I hope, to effect some improvement in its quality.

While other historical journals contained articles and reproduced documents as well as reviewing books, the Review limited itself to reviews and brief notices. After the first issue, which had no subdivisions except a section labelled "minor notices", there were five sections: Canada's relations to the Empire, History of Canada, Provincial and Local History (with a subsection for each Province), Geography, Economics and Statistics, and Law, Education, and Bibliography. In Volume III a section on Archeology, Ethnology and Folklore was included, and in Volume X Ecclesiastical History was added to the section on Law, Education and Bibliography. Volume XVIII (1913) added subsections for the western provinces and the Yukon. The Review followed the same basic format

⁸Wrong to A.T. Gerrans (draft?) 15 August 1920, Armstrong Collection. In a letter to Mavor, 19 November 1911, W.S. Wallace stated that the object of the Review was more bibliographical than critical. This may reflect Wallace's interest. Mavor Papers, UTL.

Forty years later Wrong said that he was "not conscious of any direct connection" between the founding of his Review and that of the American Historical Review in 1895. But he did attend the meeting at which the steps to found the AHR were taken, he worked to raise money for the venture, and he wrote four reviews for the first volume. See: Wrong "Historical Criticism" (1936) 4-6; Wrong to J.F. Jameson, 22 June, 16 July, 3 August, 9 October, 20 December 1895, 6 March 1896. Library of Congress (hereafter LC), Jameson Papers, File 1805. Jameson (1859-1937) was editor of the AHR. See also Appendix D for reviews by Wrong.

until 1919 when it was superceded by the Canadian Historical Review.

From the beginning the Review was a personal concern of Wrong's. For years, even when he had the assistance of H.H. Langton, University Librarian, Wrong referred to it as "my Review". He may well have been justified in this; he founded it, edited it, and reportedly paid for the first issue out of his own pocket. Further, the Review occupied a great deal of time; in several letters he said "I am busy with my Review", reading "hundreds of pages" and "grinding out 2 or 3 articles a day...." From December through February he was so busy that he was often forced to drop other plans.⁹ It was also Wrong's review in the eyes of the public; he recalled being "cut in the street" by someone whose book was severely criticized and who did not appreciate such treatment.¹⁰

⁹See Chester Martin, "Professor G.M. Wrong and History in Canada" in Ralph Flenley, ed. Essays in Canadian History Presented to George Mackinnon Wrong for his Eightieth Birthday (Toronto, Macmillan, 1939) 12; Wrong to Sophia Wrong, 9 December 1898, 5 January 1899, 10 January 1899, 10 January 1899, 10 April 1899, Armstrong Collection; Wrong to Harlan, 21 December 1902, 15 February 1904, Harlan Papers, University of Kentucky Law School, Louisville, Kentucky.

¹⁰Wrong, "Historical Criticism" (1936) 7-8. See also Martin, "Professor G.M. Wrong", 10-12; Wallace "Wrong", 234-5.

Editing and writing was only part of Wrong's work for the Review; he also lobbied for financial support. He wrote to Laurier in 1897 pointing out that the Ontario Government had taken 100 copies at \$7.00 each, and hoping that the Federal Government would also support the endeavor.¹¹ The main claims for funds, however, went to the Ontario Government. He praised George Ross, then Minister of Education, for his "kindness in helping our work" and pointed out that he [Wrong] had hopes for closer relations between the University and the Department of Education, and for better "public feeling for the university". The Review and other publications of the University Studies, said Wrong, were a means of giving the University of Toronto "an advantage at slight cost" over McGill University, which was "pressing" Toronto "very hard".¹² A year later, in a series of letters to Ross' successor in the Department of Education, Wrong expressed himself directly and forcefully. "Rather stunned" and "distressed" by the news that an anticipated grant for the University Studies was not to be forthcoming, Wrong stated that he had done all he could to obtain a favourable vote. A few months later, apparently having wrung from the government the required subsidy, Wrong was again involved in a

¹¹Wrong to Laurier, 4 March 1897, PAC, Laurier Papers.

¹²Wrong to Ross, 25 January 1899, OA, RG 2, Series D-7. Unfortunately, Wrong did not elucidate.

wrangle. He complained that the Department of Education had subtracted the cost of printing from the grant of \$600, in violation of an undertaking to print at the expense of the Government. Wrong said that action was a "breach of faith" and that he was holding the Minister's "personal honour" pledged to rectify the situation.¹³ In later years the question of financing the Review does not seem to appear in the correspondence of the Minister of Education and it seems likely that the Review had become established to such an extent that lobbying for funds was no longer necessary.

If one can argue that Wrong's personal concern and involvement justifies calling it "his" review, then it is not unreasonable to say that the values expressed in the Review were Wrong's values. There is a danger here, however; most of the reviews were unsigned and there is no means, at this point, of knowing whether or not a particular review was by Wrong, or that it reflected his point of view. But, as has been pointed out, Wrong wrote many of the reviews himself, and it is a truism that an editor imposes a style and standards on the work he accepts for publication. On this basis it can be argued that those values which were expressed repeatedly were the values held by Wrong.

The features mentioned most often in reviews were those of accuracy, dependability and usefulness. Reviewers praised

¹³Wrong to Richard Harcourt, 15 May, 22 May, 25 May and 24 August, 1900, OA, RG 2, D-7.

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authors who gave evidence of factual precision and hard work, who provided references, and who included such things as indexes, illustrations, bibliographies and suggestions for further research. One review stated that:¹⁴

...we cannot close our eyes to the fact that throughout the civilized world a change has taken place in the method of writing history, and that the public demand and insist upon scientific accuracy before every other quality.

One of the means of ensuring accuracy was complete reference to sources, a practice that had been ignored by most writers of history prior to the 1890s:¹⁵

The Author...has greatly enhanced the value of his work by giving numerous references to his sources of information, a practice which ought to be more generally adopted by historical writers as a guarantee of accuracy and help to other investigators.

Another means of ensuring dependability was through hard work. Many reviews mentioned the thoroughness of the author.¹⁶ Reviewers also looked for usefulness in a book. A useful book, besides being accurate and dependable, had an index. The absence of an index was noted many times.¹⁷

¹⁴Anonymous Review and Eulogy of Abbé H.R. Casgrain, Review of Historical Publications Relating to Canada (hereafter RHPRC) X (1906) 52. This was a ten page review with much detail on the Seven Years War--a topic upon which Wrong wrote extensively (1908, 1914, 1918, 1928).

¹⁵Anonymous notice of William Houston, The Universities of Canada (Toronto, Warwick, 1896) RHPRC, II (1898) 214.

¹⁶See: RHPRC vol. V, 57, 58, 59, 168; vol. VII, 1, 19, 126-7, 189, 193; vol. X, 6, 35, 112; vol. XII, 4, 25, 35, 45, 54; vol. XV, 32, 37; vol. XIX, 28, 33, 57-8.

¹⁷See: RHPRC vol. V, 27, 53, 54, 127; vol. VII, 29, 44; vol. X, 30, 84, 101; vol. XII, 19, 50, 58.

Bibliographies, illustrations, and maps, also received some attention. Style was another virtue that was often praised.

Several other themes deserve notice, although they do not appear sufficiently often to claim that a pattern existed. Wrong did not publish a review written by A.G. Doughty, Dominion Archivist, because "we wished to note only that part of [the book] relating to Canada".¹⁸ Comments on the usefulness of an American book to a Canadian audience were often made in a manner that was highly critical of the failure of the author to pay due regard to the role Canada played in events. While the relative usefulness of a book is a legitimate concern to a Canadian reader, the tone in which the criticisms were made suggested more than a small amount of either nationalism or feelings of being ignored by American scholars, or both. Impartiality was mentioned occasionally, but it cannot be said if this implies that impartiality was expected, or that it was not a prime value. "Balanced" was a word that seemed to be applied in place of impartiality; it is possible that presenting both sides of a point was a means of obtaining a sort of impartial approach. This was

¹⁸Wrong to Doughty, 9 March 1910, PAC, RG 37, vol. 101. Earlier Wrong had written to Doughty to say that he was "most grateful" for Doughty's contributions. They were "authoritative which is precisely what we want." Wrong to Doughty, 30 December 1905. PAC, RG 37, vol. 101.

consistent with Wrong's approach.¹⁹

Some themes or values are conspicuous by their absence. Comments about an author's interpretation were very rare. There seems to be an inability or a lack of desire to discuss an author's interpretation of evidence; it might even be said that the reviewers thought that any authority was as good as any other. Another theme that did not appear in the Review was reference to relativism or the bias engendered by the author's era, background and point of view. One cannot, however, draw conclusions on the basis of material that is not present unless there is evidence that the omissions were deliberate. All that can be said is that the Review was seldom theoretical in its criticisms.

In spite of these weaknesses the Review did have an influence on the development of the historical profession. J.B. Brebner said that the Review "made it unwise to publish uncritical history [in Canada]".²⁰ A bigger impact was

¹⁹RHPRC vol. V, 9; vol. XII, 25, 30, 33; vol. XV, 195; vol. XIX, 16-17, 21. On the other hand, "balance" might be a means of avoiding a decision, or of disguising a bias, or of failing to have a general theory within which the author could operate comfortably; see above, 58-60.

²⁰J.B. Brebner, "George Mackinnon Wrong" Dictionary of National Biography (1941-50) 979-80. See also Wallace, "Wrong", 234-5; Martin, "Professor G.M. Wrong", 10-14; K.N. Windsor, "Historical Writing in Canada", 239, 242, 246.

probably on the educated public; the Review pointed out the good and the bad, and eventually led to an acceptance of critical evaluation by scholars--a significant step in the process of creating an independent profession.

In addition to his work with the Review Wrong had a significant though indirect impact on the history profession through his connection with the Ontario Educational Association. Within the O.E.A., Wrong was active in the Historical Section (after 1907 called the English and History Section). His name appears on the membership lists every year from 1896-1909; he took an active part in almost every meeting--he was often first on the list of those who paid their fee of 25¢ or 50¢--and attended again in 1912 and 1915. He was a member of the Council (of six or seven) from 1896 to 1905 and was elected President of the Section in 1897. Other academics participated in the English and History Section, but none were as constant or as active as Wrong.²¹

Wrong's service on various committees reveals something of his concerns, and to a lesser extent his influence. One of the biggest problems was the status of history--then disturbingly low (in the eyes of historians)--in relation to other school subjects. In 1898, a committee was formed to

²¹OA, Ontario Educational Association, Minutes of the English and History Section and O.E.A., Annual Report 1896-1915.

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consider the question of the status of history. It recommended (1) care regarding the appointment of history examiners, (2) more time be devoted to history in the curriculum, and (3) that attention be drawn to the lack of attention paid to history by the University of Toronto.²² Again in 1899 Wrong and W.J. Robertson were requested to discuss the matter on behalf of the Section with the University Senate Committee on Changes in Matriculation Standards, and to take the report of the Committee on the Status of History to the Provincial Government.²³ In 1902-3 Wrong was the convenor of a committee formed to draw up a syllabus for elementary and secondary school history. Their recommendations emphasized the history of Britain, Canada and the British Empire for elementary grades; ancient, medieval and British history in lower and middle secondary grades; and intensive study of certain topics in Canadian history in upper school (grade 13).²⁴ The idea that the student would benefit more from a detailed examination of a limited period than from a survey of the whole was repeated by Wrong in the meeting in April 1911, and again in the recommendations of a resolution

²²OA, Ontario Educational Association, Minutes of the English and History Section, 10 December 1898.

²³Ibid., 4 and 5 April 1899. For Wrong's concern with the status of history see also Wrong to Jameson, 28 July 1899, LC, Jameson Papers and Proceedings of the Ontario Educational Association, (1897) 24; (1898) 27; (1899) 27; (1902) 26-7.

²⁴Ibid., 91; Report of the Committee on History, Ontario Education Association (Toronto, King's Printer, 1903). This pattern, plus American history, dominated the Ontario history curriculum until the mid 1960s.

adopted by the English and History Section in 1913.²⁵ Thus Wrong, by bringing the subject of history to the attention of the Ontario Educational Association, helped raise the status of history and the status of those who taught it. He also paved the way for a sympathetic reception for his own school books.

In addition to the Review of Historical Publications Relating to Canada and his work with the Ontario Educational Association, Wrong wrote or edited three general histories and two school texts; he also delivered several addresses dealing with the subject of history. Wrong's first major publication was The Crusade of 1383, known as that of the Bishop of Norwich.²⁶ It was a short work; Wrong had intended to do a larger study of the Peasants' Revolt, and this was possibly a preliminary essay, perhaps rushed into print when Wrong applied for the position as lecturer in the University. The Crusade itself is not significant; it is not mentioned in any of the basic works on the middle ages and Wrong never returned to the subject. But the book does illustrate Wrong's style, and indirectly his values.

²⁵OA, OEA, Minutes of the English and History Section, April 1911, OA, OEA, Papers, Copy of resolution adopted at the meeting of the English and History Section, 26 March 1913.

²⁶London, James Parker and Co., 1892.

The book was well received. Reviewers praised Wrong mainly for being interesting (6 reviews used this word), graphic (3), well written (3), and lively. He was also commended for his use of original documents (6), and for being detailed (4), genuinely critical (2), accurate (2), and for using the methods of the new school of history.²⁷ The book is unquestionably well written. It is almost entirely narrative; Wrong limits his interpretation to a conclusion that the crusade was a failure and did more harm than good, and a few descriptions of cruelty that appear overdone in the context of the book.

The art of narrative was the aspect of historical methodology that was Wrong's prime concern. His comments on the art of "constructing the narrative" leave no doubt that he came close to equating narrative and methodology. A history should flow; it was the task of the historian to arrange "complex material effectively."²⁸ He praised E.A. Freeman's work on the Norman Conquest: "with laborious effort and masterly insight [he] retold the story as well as he could".²⁹ It is likely that Wrong put emphasis on the

²⁷See: excerpts from reviews printed in G.M. Wrong, ed. Application and Testimonials of George M. Wrong, B.A. for the Post of Professor of History in the University of Toronto (Toronto, 1894).

²⁸Wrong, "Historical Study" (1895) 6; Wrong "History in Canadian Secondary Schools"(1898) 553.

²⁹Wrong, "Historical Study" (1895) 7.

narrative because he saw history as a means of educating the public; to reach this public, history must be written in a popular style. He doubted the value of the Cambridge Modern History. "Such things lack unity and homogeneity of style and will never be read by the masses."³⁰ History to Wrong was a useful tool: "In the calm study of the problems of the past we shall acquire the temper and the wisdom to solve our own."³¹ The sense of mission was also linked to the publicist in him. "I sympathize with anything that will elucidate the history of this country." he wrote to Doughty.³² Wrong's faith in the power of history continued through his lifetime; in 1936 he wrote "...the study of history with its frank exposure of both rights and wrongs may lead to confession and reconciliation among the nations."³³ Thus Wrong-the-history-teacher is linked through his sense of mission to Wrong-the-historian writing popular narrative history that would appeal to the many.

But it was not just a smooth story that made a narrative-- it was primarily the insight, the "disciplined imagination", that the historian brought to bear on the material that made the work a success. This material, said Wrong, ought to be

³⁰Wrong to Doughty, 1 December 1904, PAC, RG 37, vol. 101.

³¹Wrong, "Historical Study" (1895) 19.

³²Wrong to Doughty, 11 August 1909, PAC RG 37, vol. 101.

³³Wrong, "Historical Criticism" (1936) 4.

based on original or contemporary sources as much as possible.³⁴
From a contemporary account one obtains "glimpses of the
play of character...[of] living men and women."³⁵ But to
the contemporary account the historian brings his own in-
sights, "intellectual acuteness, chastened imagination [and]
sympathetic feeling".³⁶ The historian was a skilled craftsman.
In the preface to The Crusade of 1383 Wrong stated that "the
material for the story is scattered, and when it is not scanty
it is untrustworthy in its detail...." But this did not deter
him:³⁷

...sound historical science, working from its
knowledge of human nature which has remained
unchanged, can recall with accuracy, if not with
completeness, the vivid life of a past time if
it has even scanty contemporary records.

Wrong leaned heavily on medieval chronicles, in particular
the work of Froissart. He said that Froissart was "usually
untrustworthy" but went on to cite him 33 times in the next
40 pages.³⁸ For Wrong, imagination was more significant than
discipline.

³⁴Wrong, "Historical Study", (1895) 9, 11.

³⁵Ibid., 10.

³⁶Ibid., 11-12.

³⁷Wrong, The Crusade of 1383 (1892) v-vi.

³⁸Ibid., 54n. and ff. Most of the citations were from
part x which Wrong felt "fits in entirely with what we know...."
58n.

Wrong was not unaware of the need for a historian to be critical or discriminating in his use of sources. He knew that witnesses were often inaccurate or incompetent, prone to exaggerate or to see only what they wanted to see. He knew that every document should be tested for accuracy and authority.³⁹ He said historians should not try to interpret the design of Providence, or to champion the history of any one race, or to teach patriotism, or be the ally of the politician.⁴⁰ Bias to Wrong meant being sympathetic to one side or the other or to a particular person, or taking a nationalistic point of view; it did not mean the author's basic interpretation of the sources.⁴¹ Wrong distinguished between secondary and primary sources. In commenting on an anthropology thesis he said that "secondary authorities are put upon the same footing as primary--Parkman and the Jesuit Relations."⁴² Wrong was aware that there was "a great

³⁹See Wrong to J.F. Jameson, 29 October 1900, LC, Jameson Papers and Wrong's introduction to Louisbourg in 1745 (1897) 4-6.

⁴⁰Wrong, "What the Historian should and should not attempt", address, reported in The Varsity 20 (15 January 1901) 191.

⁴¹See: Wrong, Washington and His Comrades in Arms: a Chronicle of the War of Independence (New Haven, Yale, 1921) 277; Wrong, Canada and the American Revolution: The disruption of the first British Empire (Toronto, Macmillan, 1935) 482-6. In 1936 Wrong said that the varied interpretations of the French Revolution and the American Revolution are the result of "biased interpretations" and "antagonism" and are therefore not impartial. "Historical Criticism" (1936) 3.

⁴²See J.M. McQueen "The Iroquois as Warriors and Hunters" unpublished M.A. thesis, Toronto, 1907.

deal of new material" for a possible article on Montcalm and the Seven Years War and often he mentioned the need to go to the "original authorities".⁴³

But Wrong's use of sources was not without weaknesses. Wrong used the concept of "authority" and "original authority" in a somewhat limited way. He appears to have equated authority with printed documents (as distinct from the original or manuscript sources).⁴⁴ In praising Freeman he pointed out that Freeman used printed books "for the most part within reach of any man".⁴⁵ He recognized that the increasing rigour of historical study might make more use of manuscript material necessary, but in his own work seemed to be content with published material. Even his treatment of published sources was casual. He often omitted footnotes and in The Earl of Elgin (1905) sources were listed in the preface with little or no assessment of value. In A Canadian Manor and its Seigneurs (1908) Wrong provided references in very general terms only; for example, a manuscript collection, or a secondary work based on good sources, or published documents might be listed as the basic source, with no other details. This

⁴³Wrong to Jameson, 16 July 1895, 11 March 1899, LC, Jameson Papers; Wrong, "Historical Study", (1895) 7, 9-10.

⁴⁴Wrong, "Historical Study" (1895) 9; Wrong to J.E. Roy, 4 December 1905, PAC, Roy Papers; Wrong, Canada and the American Revolution (1935) 479.

⁴⁵"Historical Study" (1895) 7.

source was the "authority" for large portions of the book, sometimes whole chapters. Similarly, Rise and Fall of New France (1928) used printed sources and secondary monographs almost entirely. None of these three books had footnotes beyond the occasional clarification, and, in Canadian Manor, a few references to source. Yet, while he appeared to depend increasingly on secondary sources, in the early stages of his career and in particular in his public pronouncements, Wrong was relatively sophisticated in his appreciation of the use of source material.⁴⁶

Wrong was aware of the trend to regard history as a science but his roots were elsewhere. He used the term "sound historical science" to refer to the historian's ability to fill in gaps in the record and to distinguish error from truth and he used the term "scientific precision" in a manner that might imply objectivity. What these concepts meant to him was the expertise of the specialist.⁴⁷ He drew a parallel between the man of science reconstructing an animal on the basis of a single bone and the historian who "can construct

⁴⁶For criticisms of his work in the 1920s see below, 207-8.

⁴⁷See: Wrong, The Crusade of 1383 (1892) preface; Wrong "History in Canadian Secondary Schools" (1898) 554; Daily Journal, [1892] 30. For an analysis of how other historians of that era used the concept 'scientific history', see: John Higham, et. al., History, The Development of Historical Studies in the United States (Englewood Cliffs, Prentice-Hall, 1965) 104 ff; and Harvey Wish, The American Historian: A Social-Intellectual History of the Writing of the American Past (New York, Oxford, 1960) 267-8.

a correct idea of the whole...."⁴⁸ He used the biological analogy in his statement about the Union of 1840: "It created in germ something like a Canadian nation...."⁴⁹ But in practice Wrong saw history more as a literary form than a science, and in this he was more in the tradition of the nineteenth century than the twentieth. He did not write in the dry, cautious, heavily-qualified and thoroughly-footnoted style of the modern monograph. Rather, he wrote narrative, usually popular, history.

One other characteristic of Wrong's books was a tendency to describe cruelty and atrocities in more detail than would seem to be necessary. Many of the incidents so described were trivial, and almost all of them were presented with an underlying tone of moralizing.⁵⁰ Some of this may have been related to his view of Indians as savages--bloodthirsty, backwards, greedy for rum, content to be backwards--⁵¹ but his attention to atrocity goes beyond the

⁴⁸Wrong, Daily Journal, [1892] 30. In 1927 Wrong said that history "can never be finally written" because man and his institutions are fickle, immature, irrational; "until man has become superman there will not be a science of history." Wrong, "The Historian's Problem" (1927) 6-7.

⁴⁹Wrong, Earl of Elgin (1905) 38.

⁵⁰Wrong; Crusade of 1383 (1892) 16, 61, 72-4, 79-80, 86; Earl of Elgin (1905) 27-8, 36-7, 43-54, 99-100, 108-9, 110-11, 114-15, 131, 198-200; A Canadian Manor (1908) 9, 67; Conquest of New France (1918) 5, 6, 167; Fall of Canada (1914) 40-3, 84-5; Washington and His Comrades in Arms (1921) passim; The Canadians (1938) 434.

⁵¹To be fair to Wrong he probably felt that the defects of the Indians were due more to lack of education than to intrinsic nature. Bowker, "Truly Useful Men", 216-17.

descriptions of the Indian style of war to include medieval Europe and British conflicts in India. He may have been trying to bring life to the events he was describing in order to appeal to the reader, but it is more likely that he was trying to draw a moral lesson. A constant theme in his books is the progress that has been made--due of course to the spread of education and British democracy--and the lessons that can be drawn from a study of past excesses.

Drawing a moral lesson was but one expression of Wrong's sense of mission; outside the Department or in, he was a man who wanted to teach--the public, school children, even his own colleagues. To do this he wrote textbooks and monographs, he worked with the Ontario Educational Association, and he founded The Review of Historical Publications. In doing so he took the first steps on a long road--a road that would include the professionalization of history in Canada, expressions of Canadian nationalism, and teaching a generation or more the "real meaning" of the past.

PART II

A TRADITION ESTABLISHED (1905-1919)

CHAPTER FIVE

"An Oxford Training is Most Valuable": Appointments to the Department of History

The Department of History grew gradually from one person (Wrong) in 1903 to seven in 1920. When an appointment was to be made to the Department of History both Wrong and President (later Sir Robert) Falconer looked first to Oxford then to Toronto. Table 2 is a summary of appointments made in this period.

TABLE 2

Appointments 1904-1919

<u>Name</u>	<u>B.A.</u>	<u>Later Training</u>	<u>Years with the Department of History</u>
E.J. Kylie	Toronto	Oxford, B.A.	1904-16
A.G. Brown	Toronto	Oxford, B.A.	1905-14
K.G. Feiling	Oxford	--	1907-09; 1949-50
K.N. Bell	Oxford	--	1909-11
W.S. Wallace	Toronto	Oxford, B.A.	1910-24; 1927-29
J.J. Bell	Oxford	--	1911-12
W. Harvey	Toronto	Toronto, M.A. (1912)	1911-12
R. Hodder- Williams	Oxford	--	1912-23
G.M. Smith	Toronto	Oxford, B.A.	1912-29
H. McMurchie	Toronto	Toronto, M.A. (1923)	1912-19
C.V. Massey	Toronto	Oxford, B.A.	1913-19
W.P.M. Kennedy	Dublin	Dublin, D. Litt.	1914-26
M.C. Wrong	Oxford	Toronto, M.A. (1920)	1915-21
S.H. Hooke	Oxford	London, B.D.	1916-23
M.G. Reid	Toronto	Oxford, B. Litt. (1922)	1918-20; 1922-26

NOTE: Dates in brackets are for degrees earned after being appointed to the History Department.

Wrong had complained as early as 1895 that the staff in History had not expanded as had other departments, some of which had grown from one or two professors to as high as eight professors and lecturers.¹ But it was not until Trinity College became federated with the University in 1903 that Wrong began to obtain the assistance he wanted. He argued that the History Department would be unable to "carry out the terms of the agreement" with Trinity because of the large number of students taking history, and because he was all alone--something which was true of no other department in the University.² Later, student enrollment was a factor. After having remained relatively static for some years, the number of students enrolled in the Department rose rapidly between 1907 and 1911--faster than the total university enrollment.³ These changes provided Wrong with the ammunition he needed to press for additional staff.

Adding to the staff was a constant problem, mainly because funds were low. At one point Wrong complained that

¹Wrong, "Historical Study" (1895) 5.

²Wrong to James Loudon, 1 December 1903, UTA, Loudon Papers. Wrong's daughter recalls that he lectured at Trinity College, then some three or four miles from University College. Interview, 1 March 1972.

³See: Appendix B; no reason for this was discovered, but there are the three strong possibilities: the popularity of Kylie; the discussion groups; and the surge of nationalism after the Alaska Boundary decision and the Champlain Tercentenary. See below, Chapters 6 and 7.

the trustees were not paying sufficient attention to his needs even though his own teaching load was twelve lectures a week. Even after obtaining the promise of an additional man, he complained that he "ought to have two more..." in addition to the four already on staff.⁴ Wrong mentioned that he would like to have W.L. Grant join the Department, and he dropped a hint to Adam Shortt at Queen's, but he could not follow through on these as the University was "feeling poor". In addition to the financial problem it did not seem likely that any appointments would be made above the level of lecturer;⁵ it is not clear whether this was due to financial considerations or merely a reflection of the tradition that there could only be a single Professor. Yet Wrong did manage to add to his staff steadily over the next few years. Not only did he replace those who resigned but he added to their number until there was a total of seven in 1914--eight if one counts A.G. Brown, who was ill at the time of Massey's appointment.

It is not clear how much authority Wrong had in making appointments once the budget question had been settled.

⁴Wrong to Walker, 11 February 1907, UTL, Champlain Society; Ibid., 26 June 1905. Wrong to Grant, 30 November 1908, PAC, Grant Papers.(Wrong, Kylie, Brown and Feiling were the members in 1908).

⁵Wrong to Grant, 6 July 1907, 28 October 1908, 30 November 1908, PAC, Grant Papers; Wrong to Shortt, 20 February 1908, DL, Shortt Papers.

At first glance it would appear that his wishes were granted virtually automatically. He spoke strongly about Edward Kylie, and Kylie was appointed.⁶ He asked W.L. Grant, then teaching in Oxford, to speak to Kylie about possible appointments and later told Kylie to offer the lectureship to Feiling.⁷ All three of Kylie, Feiling, and Kenneth Bell, who replaced Feiling, appear to have been appointed without the positions being advertised.⁸ Wrong, writing in 1924, said that at the time of the appointment of Bell, "I had made arrangements by which a fellow of All Souls should come here for two years, to be followed regularly, as I hoped, by other fellows for a similar period."⁹ At two different points Wrong appears to have had his way over the objections of Falconer, Flavelle, Walker, and others who were hesitant to make an appointment he wanted.¹⁰

⁶Brief biographies of each member of the Department will be found in Appendix C.

⁷Wrong to Grant, 27 May and 6 July 1907, PAC, Grant Papers.

⁸See Loudon to Harcourt, 8 January 1904, UTA, Loudon Papers; Falconer to Feiling, 9 July 1908, Bell to Falconer 12 October 1908, Falconer to Bell, 15 January 1909, UTA, Falconer Papers. No letters indicating other applicants were discovered.

⁹Wrong, Testimonial on behalf of K.N. Bell, 29 April 1924, UTA, History Department, File 7.

¹⁰The first occasion was the appointment of Helen McMurchie, who was the second fellow to be appointed, and the second female. The opposition was based on finances. Falconer to Wrong, 14 August 1913, UTA, Falconer Papers. The second occasion was the case of his daughter, Marga. Wrong to Sophia Wrong, 2 October 1915, Armstrong Collection. Wrong to Sophia Wrong, 12 October 1915, Diary, Armstrong Collection.

Yet there are indications that the President did much more than accept Wrong's recommendations. Loudon played a major role in Kylie's appointment and it appears that Falconer, who became President in 1906, was even more active than Loudon in the process of appointing men to the History Department. (Under the terms of the University Act [1906] no appointments could be made or terminated without the express recommendation of the President.) Falconer wrote personal letters confirming appointments, and reappointments,¹¹ and he suggested making an appointment that would mean a man under Mavor in Political Science would go to History half time.¹² And Falconer had some very definite opinions as to what kind of man was best suited for History. He once named the three men he wanted in order of preference,¹³ and on two separate occasions he specified education and nationality:¹⁴

We find that for History an Oxford training is most valuable. A strong Canadian or a strong Scotchman with Oxford training fills our position splendidly in such a subject as that.

¹¹Falconer to Feiling, 19 July 1907 and 9 July 1908, UTA, Falconer Papers. See also Falconer to C.V. Massey, 27 July 1913, UTA, Falconer Papers.

¹²Falconer to Mavor, 19 June 1908, UTA, Falconer Papers.

¹³Falconer to K. Bell, 11 September 1911, UTA, Falconer Papers. The third on the list received the appointment.

¹⁴Falconer to S. Mackenzie (President, Dalhousie University) 3 May 1912, UTA, Falconer Papers; see also Falconer to W.C. Murray (President, University of Saskatchewan) 15 February, 1913, UTA, Falconer Papers. Falconer did not define what he meant by "strong" but from the appointments that were made one might speculate that the qualities he desired included first class grades, effective teaching, willingness to take part in public affairs, leadership, youth and independence of mind.

There are other reasons for thinking that Wrong's influence was limited. Wrong failed to obtain the appointment of a man that he wanted¹⁵ and it appeared at one point that he had been left out of discussions regarding the possibility of bringing to Toronto C.W. Colby, a Harvard Ph.D. then teaching at McGill. Wrong's comment on this suggests that he was somewhat miffed:¹⁶

I may say that my plans have been a little upset by a new scheme to bring Colby here as Professor of Government and Canadian Institutions. If he comes he would work chiefly in the History Department, I do not doubt, but no formal proposal has yet been made to him.

Of more significance than the process is the set of values expressed or implied in the appointments made. The most obvious is the acceptance of Oxford. Only a small percentage of persons considered for appointment were not from Oxford; no other institution as such appears in the correspondence and quite often Oxford was the only place where potential teachers were sought. Further, the only appointments made to non-Oxonians went to part time teachers, one of whom was appointed during World War I, after most of the Department had enlisted. To Wrong and Falconer Oxford training was not just "valuable"; it was almost necessary.

A second value that can be inferred is the desire to appoint only someone who was known to either Falconer and

¹⁵Wrong to Falconer, 13 July 1913, UTA, Falconer Papers.

¹⁶Wrong to Grant, 30 November 1908, Grant Papers.

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Wrong or to someone whose judgment they trusted. Although many appointments went to Canadians, and Falconer had hinted that he preferred Canadians, no appointment went to a Canadian from outside the University of Toronto. All of the Toronto graduates (Kylie, Wallace, Smith, Brown, Massey) were know well to Wrong or his staff, or were marked as potential leaders by winning scholarships to Oxford. The Oxonians also knew each other; Kenneth Bell and Feiling were both Fellows of All Souls and both probably knew Hodder-Williams and J.J. Bell from Balliol. The two exceptions were Marga Wrong who took her undergraduate work only at Oxford, and Kennedy, a graduate of Dublin. Marga Wrong was Wrong's daughter and Kennedy was teaching at St. Michael's College in Toronto when he was invited to join the Department of History. Thus all of the appointees were well known.

The desire to appoint only those known to Wrong or his friends suggests a strong desire to avoid appointing someone who would not fit into the Department. Wrong had wanted a "very promising person" and Falconer had wanted a "strong" man but it is obvious that they were seeking some other qualities as well. Wrong stated, and Falconer agreed, that an appointment should be temporary until the person had been "tested". In his testimonial on behalf of Bell, Wrong stated that Bell had fitted in well in the

Department and had had no trouble adjusting.¹⁷ All of these values coalesced in the appointment of Kylie, which was the most significant appointment made in this period.

The appointment of Kylie was significant for a number of reasons. He was the first of the Toronto graduates to go to Oxford on a Flavelle Fellowship. He was the first to be appointed to Wrong's Department and was thus in a position to advise on other appointments. He was a member of the Department for many years; thus his influence was a continuing force, while that of others was diluted because they were only part-time members or because they were in the Department for only a short time. And since Wrong had never been a regular student at Oxford, the Oxford practices that were adopted by the Department probably came via Kylie. Further, Kylie was marked very early as having great potential as a leader. The comments made when he died in 1915, and the status of those who mourned his loss publicly, reveal this quality clearly. A.L. Smith, Master of Balliol College, wrote: "We had all built such hopes on him...[He] combined the best interests of Canada, Oxford and the

¹⁷Wrong to Grant, 4 June 1907, 17 May 1907, 30 November 1908, PAC, Grant Papers; Wrong to Falconer, 13 July 1913, Falconer to K. Bell, 9 October 1911, Falconer to Walker, 5 May 1911, UTA, Falconer Papers; Wrong, Testimonial, 29 April 1924, UTA, History Department, File 7. All of the appointees in this period had their appointments extended beyond the first year, with the exception of J.J. Bell and Winnifred Harvey.

Empire...."¹⁸ All of these factors combined to make the appointment of Kylie a matter of concern at the highest levels of the University and Provincial Government.

Wrong, fearing that Kylie might be offered a position in England, pressed strongly for the appointment.¹⁹ President Loudon in turn consulted and obtained the consent of his colleagues and the Trustees, and then pressured Richard Harcourt, Minister of Education.²⁰ Harcourt and his colleagues agreed to the appointment of Kylie as Associate Professor,²¹ but this did not make Loudon happy. Appointing an "untried man to a superior position" without "throwing the position open to public competition" would cause "complications" warned Loudon, thinking of the results

¹⁸A.L. Smith to Flavelle, 17 June 1916, DL, Flavelle Papers; for eulogies see Toronto papers on or after 15 May 1916; Flavelle to A.L. Smith, 10 July 1916, DL, Flavelle Papers; University of Toronto Senate, Minutes, 28 June 1916; Wrong and Hodder-Williams, "Edward Joseph Kylie" UTM 16 (June-July 1916) 424-5; C.F. Beer, et. al. "An Appeal for an Edward Kylie Memorial Scholarship" UTM 16 (June-July 1916) 426-9. The co-signers of the appeal included such names as Lionel Curtis, B.E. Walker, President Falconer and many members of the University community. The appeal collected enough money to provide \$850 per year for successful candidates; see advertisements in The Varsity, 29 November 1948 and 27 January 1958.

For other estimates of Kylie's abilities see G.M. Smith to Falconer, 1 March 1927 and F.F. Westbrook to Falconer, May and June 1914, UTA, Falconer Papers.

¹⁹Wrong to Loudon, 1 December 1903, UTA, Loudon Papers.

²⁰Loudon to Harcourt, 8 January 1904, UTA, Loudon Papers.

²¹Harcourt to Loudon, 26 April 1904, UTA, Loudon Papers.

of the appointment of Wrong.²² But Kylie was not without resources; he, and his father, and Flavelle, Harcourt and Wrong argued that Kylie's qualifications were superior, that he merited special attention, and had been forced to borrow due to high expenses.²³ Wrong wrote:

There is no other man in sight....Oxford heads the English speaking world in History [right/just] now. His having engaged in no historical research is counter-balanced by his having had a good training in method and in the writing of English. Besides he has research underway, but historical research takes years to complete. It is not like a single scientific problem which can be isolated.

Ultimately Kylie was appointed lecturer at a salary of \$1,300.

Kylie's first opinions of Oxford had not been favourable. He had disliked the social barriers and felt that the "boyish" Oxford undergraduate could "work more and play less" and that the Oxford "authorities" should become "more in touch with the progressive spirit of the age".²⁴ But Kylie soon changed his mind about Oxford.

²²Loudon to Harcourt, 27 and 29 April, 1904, UTA, Loudon Papers.

²³See Harcourt to Loudon, 28 April, 3 May and 5 May 1904; Edward Kylie to Loudon, May to August 1904; Richard Kylie to Loudon, 29 August 1904; Wrong to Loudon, 28 July 1904; UTA, Loudon Papers. Kylie's father requested that the salary not be made public; Loudon to Harcourt, 28 September 1904 (draft), UTA, Loudon Papers. See also Kylie to Falconer, 5 March 1909, and Wrong to Falconer, 10 March 1909, UTA, Falconer Papers, for correspondence regarding promises of promotion. Salaries of lecturers in other departments ranged from \$1000 to \$1800.

²⁴Kylie to Flavelle, 2 May 1902, D.L. Flavelle Papers.

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The facets of Oxford that impressed Kylie the most were the residences, the tutorial system and the emphasis on the classics. Residence life was a "new experience" and he was delighted by the constant and close contact with others. Oxford was "a place where firm friendships are formed and intercourse with high-minded and sympathetic superiors permitted". If, he wrote, the proper study of mankind is man, "surely nothing could give fuller opportunity for [devotion?] to that study than life in a college residence," where one could meet people from every walk of life.²⁵ Residence life, wrote Kylie, develops self-command, human sympathy, breadth of outlook, originality, freshness of thought, and power of expression.²⁶ In addition, life in the city of Oxford was delightful; Kylie said that he had been deeply influenced by the sense of tradition and the beautiful buildings.²⁷

²⁵Kylie to James Brebner, 10 November 1901, UTA, Kylie Biographical File; Kylie to Flavelle, 2 May 1902, DL, Flavelle Papers; Kylie "Life in an Oxford College" The Varsity 22 (February 1903) 257-8.

²⁶Kylie, "Oxford Education" The Varsity, 24 (1 December 1904) 125-8.

²⁷Ibid; Kylie to Brebner, 10 November 1901, UTA, Kylie Biographical File.

The tutorial system, according to Kylie, balanced intensive instruction, independent reading, and free interchange between student and teacher and between student and student. The tutors kept up to date through contact with other tutors and reading, and the results of their researches appeared in lectures. Men like Stubbs or Jowett expressed, he said, "the fruits of a generation of quiet Oxford thinking." The close contact with the tutor gave the student an insight into true depth of knowledge.²⁸ Kylie also spoke highly of the emphasis on the classics. Classical studies, he wrote, cultivated taste, literary skill, "reverence for antiquity and devotion to the things of the mind." The problems of the past show "in simple and noble form the workings of the human spirit and the progress of human growth." The value of the study of the past lay in the fact that the present is the "product of a long, moral and intellectual evolution...."²⁹

Kylie felt that the Oxford ideal was the production of good citizens: "...cultivation of the mind, not technical skills or commercial cleverness, is the fruit of [Oxford] education...." He quoted Jowett, "We make men", and went

²⁸Kylie "Oxford Education"; Kylie to Brebner, 10 November 1901, UTA, Kylie Biographical File.

²⁹Kylie "Oxford Education".

on to explain:³⁰

Today, the men she [Oxford] makes govern India and other dependencies, fill the consular and civil service, act as ministers of the crown, and do all this with unrivalled fairness, moderation, truthfulness, and honesty.

He felt that the debates enabled the student to learn something of men and their views and he praised the opportunity to take an interest in public questions and to criticize the government.³¹

When Kylie returned to Toronto he did not hesitate to suggest that the University of Toronto would do well to follow the Oxford model.³² In 1911 he advised Frank Underhill, then in his first term at Oxford, to "fall asleep in your arm chair" because the system at Toronto "leaves us too keen, too afraid to relax".³³ An editorial in the University of Toronto Monthly stated that the purpose of a university was "to stimulate, to invigorate, and to call out latent energies", and an article on "Examinations" criticized the type of examinations which lead to cramming. The "enforced recitations and bookkeeping system of American Colleges" were to be deplored because they destroyed freedom

³⁰Ibid.

³¹Kylie to Flavelle, 2 May 1902, DL, Flavelle Papers.

³²See newspaper account of an address to the St. Catharines Canadian Club, Toronto Star, 21 October 1905, UTA, Kylie Biographical File, and a letter to J.S. Willison, 4 July 1905, defending Oxford and Catholicism, PAC, Willison Papers.

³³Kylie to Underhill, 7 November [1911], PAC, Underhill Papers.

and individuality. Examinations at the end of term bring education to a dead stop; they might be better at the beginning of the next term, and they should force the student to "systematize his knowledge" and "relate words to thoughts".³⁴ Breadth of learning was a major value for Kylie.

Kylie valued close interaction among students and their teachers, mental vigour, the development of future leaders and progress through broad education. These values were similar to those held by Wrong and the same pattern appears among those appointed to the Department after Kylie. Interest in the teaching of the undergraduates and seeing them as individuals was a major concern. In addition to supervision of regular discussion groups and the meetings of the Historical Club³⁵ Kylie organized a voluntary group to discuss Canadian constitutional history, and he invited Frank Underhill to a luncheon group that met to discuss municipal reform.³⁶ Bell too formed a conversation and study group that met at his home every two weeks.³⁷ Kylie, Brown, Feiling and Bell presented papers to the Historical Club as well as attending its meetings.³⁸ Further evidence that

³⁴"Editorial Notes" UTM 9 (November 1910) 27. "Examinations" UTM 10 (March 1910) 291-3. Although neither item was signed, Kylie was the editor, and was likely the author.

³⁵See below, Chapter Six.

³⁶Underhill Interviews, II, 47-8, 58, PAC, Underhill Papers.

³⁷Ibid, I, 52.

³⁸Gary Kelly, Historical Club of the University of Toronto: List of Members and Subjects for the years 1905-1960 (Toronto, Sydney Hermant, 1964).

the members of the Department were interested in the students can be found in the statements made by students and colleagues regarding their teaching.

Kenneth Bell, although not a good lecturer, was stimulating in small groups and was, according to Wrong, a born teacher. Wrong hoped that Bell would return to Toronto after the war, but he was unable to convince Falconer.³⁹ Feiling was well thought of as a teacher; he was reappointed in 1908, and returned to Toronto in 1949 as a visiting lecturer. One of Feiling's students in Oxford described him as the "ideal tutor", able to "interest and inspire pupils of very different kinds;" Feiling made the characters of the past "real" and showed the public what "true learning" meant.⁴⁰ Hodder-Williams dramatized his classes; he is remembered for such things as wearing a red tie when lecturing on the French Revolution.⁴¹ Kennedy was described as a "brilliant

³⁹Underhill Interviews, I, 52; Wrong to Sophia Wrong, 22 January, 9 February, 4 March, 1919, Armstrong Collection; Wrong, Testimonial on behalf of K.N. Bell, 29 April 1924, UTA, History Department, File 7. Falconer was worried that Bell might expect to succeed Wrong as head and thus disrupt others in the Department. Falconer to Wrong, 28 February 1919, UTA, Falconer Papers.

⁴⁰Falconer to Feiling, 9 July 1908, UTA, Falconer Papers; David Cecil, "Foreword" in Essays in British History Presented to Sir Keith Feiling, Hugh Trevor-Roper, ed. (London, Macmillan, 1964) v-viii.

⁴¹Mary Reid, Interview, 7 December 1974; Elsinore Haultain, Interview, 27 December 1974. Mary Reid was a sister of Marjorie Reid. Both she and Elsinore Haultain were students at Toronto.

lecturer whose sense of the dramatic enabled him to infuse life into the study ...of the country...."⁴² One of Hooke's students said he had "encyclopedic learning...ready helpfulness and [a] love of teaching"⁴³ Wrong said "Miss Reid has shown capacity to interest the students and gives promise of doing a high order of academic work".⁴⁴ The emphasis on good teaching indicates the importance of the undergraduate in the eyes of the staff.

Members of the Department thought favourably of Oxford.⁴⁵ They repeated at Toronto the methods and lessons of Oxford, encouraged Toronto students to go to Oxford to continue their education and, in the cases of Bell and Feiling, maintained close contact even after they had returned to Oxford. Marga Wrong felt that the Oxford system could be applied in Toronto. Fresh from Somerville College, and Dean of Women as well as lecturer in History and English, she founded a new women's union at University College. A

⁴²Norah Story, The Oxford Companion to Canadian History and Literature (Toronto, Oxford, 1967) 400.

⁴³E.C. Graham, Nothing is Here for Tears: a memoir of Samuel Henry Hooke (Oxford, Blackwell, 1969) 9-10.

⁴⁴Wrong to Falconer, 11 March 1918, UTA, Falconer Working Papers.

⁴⁵K.N. B [ell], "Mr. A.L. Smith's Lectures", UTM 10 (May 1910) 421-3; K.G. Feiling, The Varsity, 27 (16 January 1908) 198; Vincent Massey, What's Past is Prologue, 23 ff; Ralph Hodder-Williams "The Tutorial Spirit", UTM 15 (February 1915) 195-203.

previous union had become the preserve of daughters of Toronto's well-to-do and Marga Wrong was determined to counter this trend. She resisted any tendency to adopt the patterns of the American sororities; instead she insisted the new union be open to all women on the model of British colleges for women.⁴⁶ The tutorial groups of Hodder-Williams were, according to Lower, "duplications of Oxford groups.... His classroom methods, advice to students and general attitudes were just Oxford transferred...."⁴⁷ Successive generations of students were affected by the ideas and way of life of the teachers from Oxford. It was Kylie, Feiling and Bell who aroused the interest of Vincent Massey and Frank Underhill in Oxford, and Massey passed this interest on to Lester Pearson who would join the Department in 1923.⁴⁸ Wrong sent his own children to Oxford and worked with Falconer to obtain funds to support others at Oxford--including two who

⁴⁶Mary Reid, Interview, 7 December 1974; Mrs. W.A. Kirkwood Interview, 18 June 1975. Mrs. Kirkwood was Marga Wrong's successor as head of the Union.

⁴⁷Lower, My First Seventy Five-Years, 47.

⁴⁸Vincent Massey, What's Past is Prologue, 21-2, 41-3; Frank Underhill, Interviews, I, 52, 80; II, 58, PAC, Underhill Papers; Mike: The Memoirs of the Rt. Hon. Lester B. Pearson, vol. I, 1897-1948, (Toronto, New American Library, 1973) 13, 40. While Underhill was in his second year at Oxford, Kylie approached Underhill's father to see if finances would be available for a third year, which Underhill did take. Isa Underhill Millar, Interview, 12 June 1969. Isa Millar is Underhill's sister.

later returned to Toronto to teach history.⁴⁹ It was Feiling, then back at Oxford, who recommended both Hodder-Williams and Smith to Wrong, and it was Feiling, along with Edward Wood, who founded the All Souls Prize to stimulate historical interest.⁵⁰ So strong were the Oxford influences that in 1910, A.L. Smith's daughter wrote:⁵¹

Toronto was...like meeting a part of Oxford, so many past and future members of that place were congregated there....

The members of the Department did not teach narrow specialties or research methods, but rather the broader patterns of history and how to deal with issues. Bell had as an ideal the lectures of A.L. Smith, which balanced idealism and practical necessities, grappled with the problems of the future and exalted the basic unchanging principles. Hodder-Williams valued the tutorial system for its mental

⁴⁹Wrong to Lord Grey, 9 March 1908, copy in PAC, Rhodes Scholarship Trust Papers, Alberta file, "G.M. Smith"; UTA, Falconer Papers, Box 21, "C.N. Cochrane scholarship"; D.J. McDougall, Interview, 19 July 1974; Wrong to Parkin, 21 January 1919, PAC, Parkin Papers; Wrong to J.W. Coyne, 31 [May?] 1931, University of Western Ontario, Coyne Papers; see also C.B. Sissons, A History of Victoria University (Toronto University Press, 1952) 264, for C.D. Massey's interest in similar projects.

⁵⁰Feiling to Wrong, 21 February 1911, UTL, Wrong Papers. The prize was \$200; it began in 1908 and was still in existence in 1931. C.N. Cochrane to Falconer, 9 January 1931, UTA, Falconer Papers.

⁵¹Arthur Lionel Smith, Master of Balliol, 1916-24: a biography and some reminiscences by his wife (London, John Murray, 1928) 179.

training. Both Kylie and Feiling spoke strongly against the excessive pressure which led to cramming, memorizing facts, supplemental examinations, repeated years and transfers. Instead, said Kylie, the student should be taught to recognize and handle the relations between facts. Feiling suggested fewer examinations and lectures and specialization only after the first two years.⁵² G.M. Smith also concentrated on the broader patterns of history.⁵³ What writing these men did was often more literary than scholarly. Kylie was editor of the University of Toronto Monthly, and Feiling, Bell and Hodder-Williams wrote for that magazine and for The Varsity. Hooke and Marga Wrong encouraged the students who began The Rebel, a whimsical and iconoclastic journal that evolved into the Canadian Forum.⁵⁴ Hooke also wrote several articles for Acta Victoriana between 1915 and 1919. In all of these endeavours the main values were the development of the intellect

⁵²Bell, "Smith's Lectures", 421-3; Hodder-Williams, "The Tutorial Spirit", 195-203; Toronto Star, 9-11-[19] 10, UTA, Kylie Biographical File; UTM 10 (March 1910) 291-3; Feiling, The Varsity, 27 (16 January 1908) 198.

⁵³"In Memorium" The New Trail (University of Alberta Alumni), 6 (1948) 7-8; see also UTM 23 (April 1923) 338-9.

The only publication by G.M. Smith known to the University of Alberta Archives is a contribution to H.F. Angus, ed. Canada and her Great Neighbour, sociological surveys of opinions and attitudes in Canada concerning the United States (Toronto, Ryerson, 1938). K. Stotyn to W.D. Meikle, 1 April 1975.

⁵⁴C.B. Sissons, A History of Victoria University (Toronto, University Press, 1952) 263; Graham, Nothing is Here for Tears, 20; Elsinore Haultain, Interview, 27 December 1974. A discussion of the origins of The Rebel has been taped by the University of Toronto Archives.

and the powers of independent thought--values that were high on the list of Oxford virtues.

The sense of mission so prevalent in Wrong was not absent in the other members of the Department. Kylie and Feiling both felt the university had a responsibility to the non-university community. Kylie in particular wanted to use the University of Toronto Monthly as a means of informing or elevating the community. He saw the university as a force for democracy and equality of opportunity, favouring no class and drawing from and contributing to every part of the community.⁵⁵ In this regard Kylie's values were close to those of Wrong. Nor was Wrong alone in his attempts to upgrade the standards of secondary school history through the Ontario Educational Association and the writing of textbooks.⁵⁶ And the entire staff supported the basic premise of A.L. Smith: the purpose of education is to "make men" by training the intellect, by providing opportunities to question the teacher and by focussing on the relationship between the problems of the past and current issues.

⁵⁵"University Extension" UTM 10 (January 1910) 150-1; "English Universities and the Education of the Working People by R.H. Tawney", UTM 10 (April 1910) 313-21; Editorial Notes, UTM 10 (November 1909) 26 and (December 1909) 89-94; K.G. Feiling, "Oxford and the Working Class", UTM 10 (December 1909) 66-9.

⁵⁶Between them, Wrong, Kylie, Feiling and J.J. Bell gave seven papers before the OEA between 1896 and 1910, and Wallace wrote textbooks and general histories for younger readers. See Appendix C and E.

Not all of the members of the Department followed the Oxford model in everything they did. Several were very much concerned with scholarly research. Kylie, in spite of or in addition to his love of the Oxford way, stated in an editorial that research was the true aim of education and he himself spent considerable time on research. He wrote on the constitutional development in Canada and he was in the process of editing the letters of Sir Charles Bagot for the Champlain Society when he enlisted.⁵⁷ Kennedy differed from the pattern set by the other appointees in several ways; he had not gone to Oxford, he had a research degree and he had written two books before joining the Department of History. (Wrong had written one--The Crusade of 1383--and the rest of the staff had written no books at all at the time of their appointments.) Further, Kennedy wrote two more books on constitutional history before 1918 and none of his contemporaries in the Department (save Wrong and Wallace) ever matched Kennedy's output.⁵⁸ Wallace too departed somewhat from the Oxford pattern. He assisted Wrong and Langton

⁵⁷E.J. Kylie, "Constitutional Development, 1840-67" in Canada and Its Provinces..., Adam Shortt and A.G. Doughty, eds. vol. 5, (Toronto, Glasgow Brook, 1914) 105-62; Kylie's mss. on Bagot is held in the Champlain Society Papers, UTL. Kylie was assisted by Winnifred Harvey, who did her M.A. on Bagot, and by Helen McMurchie, who is mentioned in his preface.

⁵⁸See Appendix C. It is not clear why Kennedy was invited to join the Department. It is most likely due to his expertise in constitutional history. It is possible that his religion was a factor; Wrong had a policy of having at least one Roman Catholic on the staff, but Kylie had already been appointed. Mrs. C.H.A. Armstrong, Interview, 13 July 1971.

on the Review of Historical Publications for many years and he proposed, and became the first editor of, the Canadian Historical Review. Wallace discussed the economic interpretation of history in his classes and was possibly the first in the Department to depart from the traditional political/constitutional approach.⁵⁹ In the 1920s Majorie Reid assisted Wallace on the Canadian Historical Review and wrote two scholarly articles herself.⁶⁰ Kennedy wrote that Reid's thesis showed a "sound attitude towards research-- sounder than one expects from Oxford".⁶¹ Obviously research was not entirely neglected by those appointed in this period.

The appointment of two women as fellows was also a departure from the patterns established in this chapter. Winnifred Harvey and Helen McMurchie were Toronto graduates who were appointed as what would today be called graduate assistants or research assistants. Their appointments were

⁵⁹D.G. Creighton, Harold Adams Innis: Portrait of a Scholar (Toronto, University Press, 1957) 28. See also an examination set in 1912 by Wallace and J.J. Bell which asked students to discuss: "The economic interpretation of history is the deepest".

⁶⁰Reid, "Pitt's Decision to Keep Canada in 1761" Canadian Historical Association Annual Report (1926) 21-32, documented the British choice to give up Guadeloupe and to retain Canada; Reid, "The Quebec Fur-traders and Western Policy" CHR 6 (March 1925) 15-32. Very few women are listed in the index to the first ten volumes of the CHR.

⁶¹Kennedy to G.C. Sellery [Dean, University of Wisconsin] 15 May 1925, UTA, History Department, Box 5, P 150.

resisted by Falconer, Walker and others, but the women undergraduates organized a subscription fund for their salaries.⁶² Helen McMurchie married in 1917 and may have been required to resign since her husband was also a member of the university faculty;⁶³ she remained in the department (under the name Mrs. Bott) for several months, no doubt due to the absence of the regular staff. During the war Marga Wrong also assisted in the Department, at first without either pay or the approval of Falconer, who was, according to Wrong, "afraid of the terrible effects of having a Professor and his daughter together in one department." Eventually Falconer authorized Wrong to make what appointments he could and the number of women in the department was officially doubled.⁶⁴

The appointment of four women, three of whom had not attended Oxford, was not entirely a departure from previously

⁶²The reason for the opposition is not clear; it might have been financial, or it might have been the precedent involved in appointing a part time fellow. See Wrong to Falconer, 10 October 1912; Falconer to Wrong, 14 August 1913 and 10 May 1915, UTA, Falconer Papers. Several women held appointments in other departments.

⁶³W.E. Bastedo, Interview, 1 August 1974; K.B. Banham to W.D. Meikle, 26 July 1976; Wrong to Falconer, 18 December 1918, UTA, Falconer Papers. Bastedo and Banham were friends of Helen McMurchie Bott.

⁶⁴Wrong to Sophia Wrong, 2 October 1915, 5 October 1915, 12 October 1915, Armstrong collection. The first two letters are in the form of a diary kept by Wrong.

expressed desires of Wrong and Falconer to appoint only "strong" and "very promising" persons.⁶⁵ All four of the women were exceptional students. Harvey took her M.A. while working as a fellow; McMurchie was described by Bell as a "female Underhill" and received the Governor General's Gold Medal when she graduated; Marga Wrong also took her M.A. while teaching both History and English and administering the womens' union; and Reid won the All Souls prize before going on to Oxford.⁶⁶ More illustrative of the strength and promise of these women is their later careers. Harvey studied economic history at Manchester and did practical work with cotton spinners, then returned to Toronto to work with the Social Services Commission on the problems of women in the work force. During the war she and a friend bought a farm and ran it, so as to be better qualified to give women advice and to say what kind of farming was suitable to women.⁶⁷ Helen McMurchie Bott became head of the Parent Education Division at the newly formed St. Georges' School for Child Study and was the author or co-author of many significant monographs and articles.⁶⁸ Marga Wrong left

⁶⁵See above, 91, 94.

⁶⁶Bell to Wrong, 17 December [1911] UTL, Wrong Papers; Kennedy to G.C. Sellery, 14 May 1925, UTA, History Department, Box 5, P 150. McMurchie was the second women valedictorian.

⁶⁷Margaret Wrong "War Work of University Women at Home" The Varsity Magazine Supplement, 4th ed., (March 1919) 133-4; UTA, Biographical Clipping File.

⁶⁸UTA, Biographical Clipping File, Appendix C.

Toronto to work with the World Student Christian Federation, then doing student relief work in Europe. She became First Secretary of the International Committee for Christian Literature in Africa and spent the rest of her life traveling and writing about Africa.⁶⁹ Marjorie Reid went to Oxford to work on a research degree, one of the first of the Toronto graduates to do so.⁷⁰ Almost everything these four women did was in the nature of pioneering--doing things that had not been done before or had seldom been attempted by women. While they never advanced beyond the lowest ranks in the Department of History⁷¹ they showed an unusual degree of courage, competence, independence and initiative. They were as "strong" and "promising" as any of the male graduates of Oxford.

As a group, the men and women appointed to the History Department were trained at Toronto, or Oxford, or both. They followed the pattern of values held by Wrong. They were committed to their students, active in discussion and literary groups and were highly regarded as teachers. They praised Oxford, repeated the Oxford pattern wherever they could

⁶⁹Agnes Wrong Armstrong, "There's Too Much Waiting To Be Done", Food For Thought, 16 (March 1956) 258-63; Appendix C.

⁷⁰See below, 166, 174.

⁷¹Reid returned to the Department in 1922; her appointment was never "considered permanent". Reid to Underhill, 13 July 1925, PAC, Underhill Papers. See below, 180.

and suggested that Toronto should adopt even more of the Oxford model. They fostered a continuing tie with Oxford by encouraging their students to go there for further training and by correspondence from Oxford. By their own example they encouraged the undergraduate to extend his knowledge of the world and relate the lessons of the past to current issues. They, like Wrong, had a sense of mission; they saw education as a means of "making men" or of improving the world. They worked hard at teaching and on projects outside of the University. But their influence was not restricted to the impact of their background and their style. Their presence in the Department enabled Wrong to reorganize both the curriculum and the method of teaching. The changes in these areas were an important part of the tradition of the Department.

CHAPTER SIX

"Men Who Know their Classics Make the Best Historians": Curriculum and Teaching Methods in the Department

The reorganization of the Department after 1904 involved the introduction of new courses, an emphasis on wide reading and on the writing of essays, and the presentation of essays in small groups. The Oxford model predominated in each of these areas in the sense that the values sought by Wrong were those which he believed were fostered by the Oxford program. The result of the changes in both curriculum and teaching method was the creation of a distinctive tradition, one that was strong enough to withstand even the disruption of the First World War. The acceptance of these values tended to retard the development of the M.A. program in history but in many other ways made a significant contribution to the development of history in Canada.

The basic pattern of courses established in the 1890s had been medieval history in the second year, early modern European and American history in the third, and modern European and American history in the fourth. Proposals to change the history curriculum were being considered before Wrong received an increase in staff, but the major changes

were made after Kylie and the others arrived.¹ As there is, however, no record of the decision-making process we can only analyse the changes that appeared in the calendars.

The calendar for the academic year 1905-6 listed some additions to the basic pattern: classics, special subjects and essays. First, there was a new course covering Aristotle's Politics and Hobbes' Leviathan. This reflected Wrong's belief that "men who know their classics make the best historians."² Wrong probably wanted at least one course for history students who did not have the background or the desire to take a more extensive program in Classics.³

¹See James Mavor, Memorandum Upon a Projected Course in History, 27 June 1905, UTA, Loudon Papers. The influence of Oxford began well before the arrival of Kylie; Wrong boasted in 1898 that history specialists in Toronto "must pass examinations hardly less difficult than those...in modern history at Oxford." Wrong, "History in Canadian Secondary Schools" (1898) 553.

²Wrong to J.F. Jameson, 20 July 1899, LC, Jameson Papers. See also Wrong to W.L. Grant, 15 August 1905, PAC, Grant Papers.

³The Classics course and the Classics, English and History course were taken by many outstanding men and women. Among those who made their mark in history were E.J. Kylie, F.H. Underhill, W.N. Sage, C.N. Cochrane and C.B. Sissons. The Classics program was modelled on the Oxford Greats. See Honour Classics in the University of Toronto, by a Group of Classical Graduates, (Toronto, University Press, 1929) passim; Sir Robert Falconer, "Academic Canada Comes of Age" Saturday Night (1 January 1938) 16. At Oxford, Greats were also a basis for Modern History; see H.W.C. Davis, A History of Balliol College, revised by R.H.C. Davis and Richard Hunt, supplemented by Harold Hartley, et. al. (Oxford, Blackwell, 1963) 242-3.

Second, periods for "special study" were listed; one was to be selected at the beginning of the third year and followed for two years. This was possibly an imitation of the Oxford program in which students did not try examinations every year; it did not, however, offer much in the way of specialization as the subjects were very broad.⁴

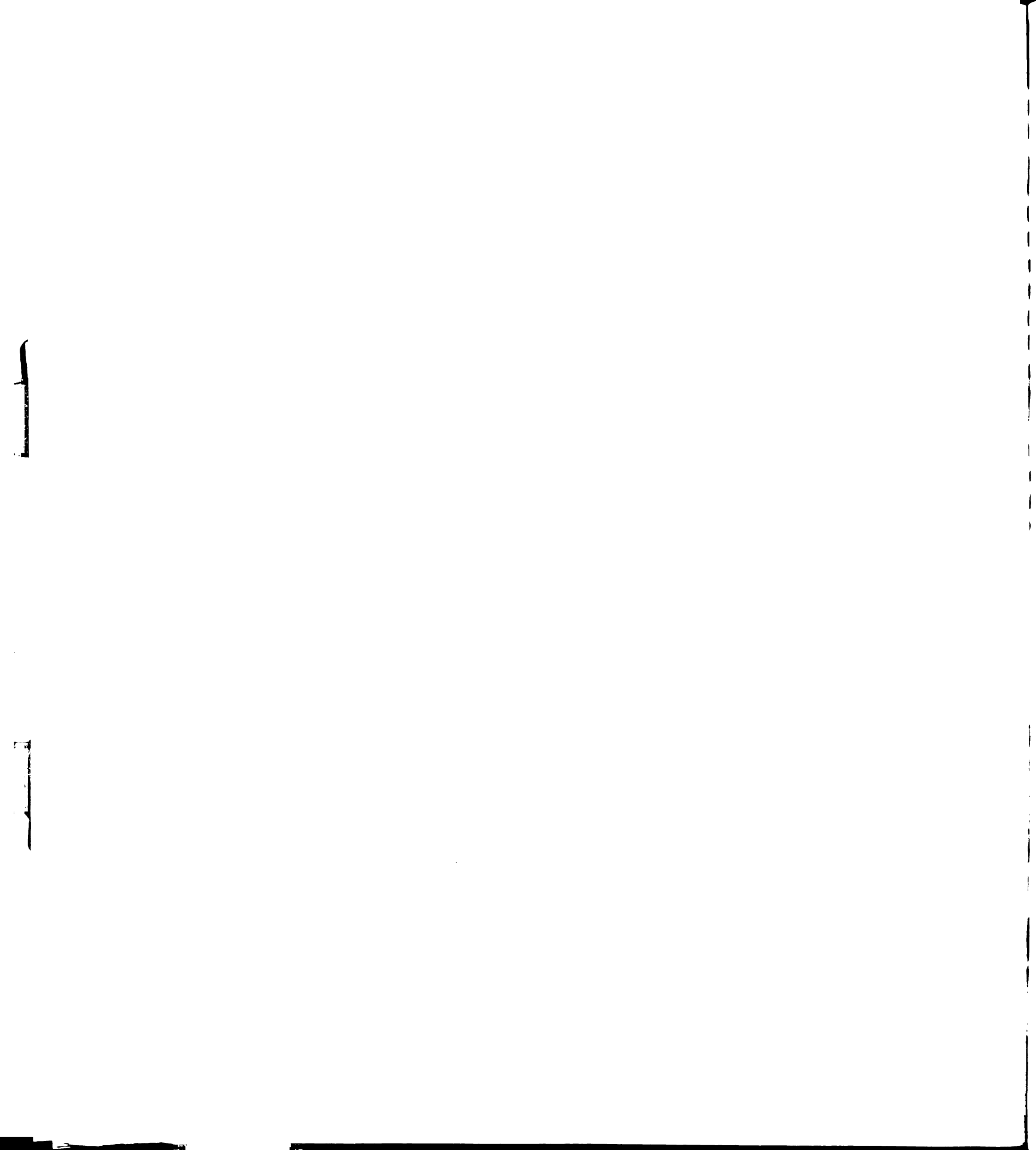
The introduction of essays as a formal requirement was the most significant addition to the curriculum. Wrong was of the opinion that historians must write well; in 1911 he wrote:⁵

...we are not laying enough emphasis upon style; clear, pungent, epigrammatic, if one can get it, witty writing. I have had to notice lately how much better the young fellows that come here from Oxford write than do our men.

To overcome this deficiency third and fourth year honour students were required to write essays and to read them in small groups that met weekly; criticism and discussion

⁴The four special subjects were 1) General History from 919 to 1250; 2) the History of England from 1487 to 1688; 3) General History from 1774 to 1875; and 4) the History of Canada. The calendars listed about thirty books "for reference" for each subject. In later years the special subjects changed frequently and were often much narrower in scope.

⁵Wrong to [C.H.] Haskins, 15 January 1911, LC, American Historical Association Papers. Underhill stated that this was the ideal at Oxford too. See Underhill Interviews, I, 89-91, PAC, Underhill Papers.



followed in the Oxford style.⁶ By 1913 the essay requirement was extended to include a major essay in the fourth year on a subject selected in the second year "under the direction of the Professor of History." Students were expected to use "some of the original materials for a portion of the special period" which had been selected. This essay might have been a reflection of a desire to introduce research methods, but this is unlikely since the requirement that students use original materials seems to have been abandoned, or never implemented. It is more likely that the main feature was not the training in research but rather the benefits of studying a topic thoroughly over a

⁶Wrong to Parkin, 12 October 1911, PAC, Parkin Papers 9666; Wrong, "What has befallen us" UTQ 4 (October 1934) 41. The main difference was the size of the groups. At Oxford the tutor met with but one or two students, who prepared an essay weekly. At Toronto there were several students in the group and it is unlikely that each student prepared and delivered an essay each week. Thus the phrase "Oxford style". Toronto students were also required to take both mid term and year end examinations. See Wrong to M.D. McLean, 4 July 1923, UTA, History Department, M99.

long period.⁷ At Oxford the students did not write examinations every year. This forced them to see their subjects as a whole and to learn the material thoroughly rather than cram on an intensive basis. The extension of the essay over two years would have a similar effect.

The 1910-11 and 1911-12 calendars introduced a new element. The special periods, the essays, and the courses on Europe, North America, Aristotle and Hobbes remained as before, but to them were added courses in British Constitutional History, spread over three years, plus Canadian History and an introduction to Canadian Constitutional History. No evidence is available, but one can suspect that behind these additions lay one or more of: Canadian nationalism, Wrong's feud with Mavor, the needs of high school teachers and the presence of men in the Department of History who were qualified to teach these

⁷There is no direct evidence for this explanation; Ashley's economic seminar, however, was described as being "an instrument of intellectual training [rather] than of active research work", according to S.M. Wickett, "The Study of Political Economy at Canadian Universities" in Appendix to the Report of the Ontario Bureau of Industry, (Department of Agriculture) 1897 (Toronto, Warwick, 1899) 105. Further, Lower said he never heard of an original document while a student at Toronto. Interview, 25 October 1971. Lastly, the English and History Committee considered eliminating formal examinations in third years honours in order to "promote freedom in study, encourage vacation reading and force the student to take a comprehensive view of the work of the final two years". UTA, Minutes of the English and History Department, 26 November 1924. In 1940 students were expected to read books and articles in preparation for their groups but not primary documents. J.M.S. Careless, Interview, 19 April 1971.

subjects.⁸ The reading lists for these courses are too extensive to determine the values behind the choices--other than exposing the students to virtually every major book of value. If any one type of book predominated it was collections of documents and constitutional histories.

A distinctly Oxford practice appeared in Toronto in 1911--extensive reading over the long vacation. In 1913 this was extended; the calendar read:

In the third and fourth years a review of the work of the previous year or years will be required. Subjects for reading during the long vacation will be prescribed to honour students of the second, third, and fourth years, and examinations on these subjects will be held in the first week in October.

There followed a list of books two pages long, containing nearly 100 items--more if one counts individual titles in Parkman's Works or individual volumes in Macaulay's History of England. This program was cut considerably in 1917 and was omitted entirely from the 1919-20 calendar.⁹

⁸See above, 76-77, 87 ff. Wrong felt that anyone teaching Canadian or medieval history in high schools should have studied these subjects in university. He pressed for changes that would make them available as options, which was approved. He tried to make them required subjects but this was not approved. UTA, Minutes of the English and History Department, 19 November 1914, 26 January 1915, 28 November 1917, 7 February 1922.

⁹In 1924 students were advised to prepare during the summer for courses beginning in the fall; the Department suggested wide reading. UTA, History Department, Subject File 8. No other suggestions or reading lists of this nature were found in the papers of the Department.

The general thrust is clear. Oxford was the model (Classics, special subjects, frequent essays, reading over the vacation period), the British Empire was the subject (seven courses on British History, two and a half on Canada) and political and constitutional history was the content. The themes of the courses (on the basis of Wrong's interests) were likely the broad sweep of political movements, human development and progress, with emphasis on British democracy and traditions. The emphasis on political and constitutional history and the growing interest in Canadian history did not distinguish Toronto from history departments in other universities in Canada, but the Oxford model and the number of courses on British history were not repeated elsewhere.¹⁰ But what made Toronto unique was the deliberate attempt to bring the curriculum to the students in the most effective manner possible--the small discussion group, based on the Oxford tutorial.

As early as 1892 Wrong had recognized the weaknesses of the lecture system. In his letter of application he wrote that the lecture expresses only the results of the professor's study and while it does provide breadth it does

¹⁰See Preston, "Breakers Ahead", 9-10, for McGill, McMaster and Queen's; Dalhousie University Calendars, 1899-1900 and 1909-10; J.W.R. Gwynne-Timothy, "Historical Sketch of the Undergraduate Program" unpublished ms, University of Western Ontario, n.d.; C.M. Johnston, McMaster University, Volume 1/ The Toronto Years (Toronto, University Press for McMaster University, 1976) 61-3, 114.

not give students the opportunity to grapple with the evidence and to form their own conclusions.¹¹ Wrong was aware of the alternative to the lecture system provided by the tutorial through his own weeks at Oxford and through his friendship with Maurice Hutton, head of the Department of Classics and a strong advocate of the Oxford system. Then men such as Kylie and A.G. Brown went to Oxford and became enthused with the idea of the tutorial. Kylie wrote:¹²

The tutorial system [at Oxford] brings the student into contact with an instructor who has mastered the subject in hand and whose whole life is given to aiding and encouraging those who come under his charge.

When Kylie joined the Department it was possible to establish discussion groups.¹³

In the first year of operation small groups of honours students, mostly in their second year, met with either Kylie

¹¹Wrong to Ross, 13 August 1892, OA, Pamphlet. Wrong also pointed out that the seminar might force the student to concentrate on minute detail before he had read enough to gain a comprehensive view of history.

¹²Kylie to Flavelle, 2 May 1902, DL, Flavelle Papers; see also A.G. Brown, "First Year Ancient History in University College" Ontario Educational Association, Proceedings (23 April 1908) 231.

¹³Wrong never called them "tutorials"; the term used was "discussion groups". G.P. de T. Glazebrook, Interview, 25 June 1973. The earliest reference to the groups in the History Department is in a memo from Wrong to Loudon "Department of Modern History--Courses of Instruction" 12 May 1905, UTA, Loudon Papers.

or Wrong once a week, for an hour. The group meeting usually replaced one of the three weekly lectures. There were approximately twelve to fifteen students in each group; later, as additional staff joined the Department, some of the groups had six or seven students.¹⁴ Wrong was proud to be able to say "we are rapidly adopting the Oxford tutorial method."¹⁵ The small groups, and the essays written by the students for these groups, were to become one of the distinctive features of the Department. The group system, however, cost both professor and student a great deal of time and effort. In 1921 a professor complained:¹⁶

I still see little hope of getting any original work done in the field of history. The Tutorial System is very [bon?] but is often a [poor] joke for the tutor--worse here than in Oxford where students are content with less spoonfeeding.

At about the same time another professor argued that students who had three or four groups a week were finding it impossible to prepare adequately for every meeting. He wrote: "...the best students...work on one or two subjects ...and either come to many of their groups unprepared or

¹⁴Ibid.; R. Hodder Williams, "The Tutorial Experiment" UTM, 15 (February 1915) 195. It is also possible that small groups were more a function of enrollment than staff size.

¹⁵Wrong to Parkin, 7 December 1909, 12 October 1911, PAC, Parkin Papers.

¹⁶G.M. Smith to Frank Underhill, 8 December 1921, PAC, Underhill Papers.

stay away."¹⁷ He also complained that too many groups were small lectures, and suggested fewer meetings and a better arrangement of subjects to overcome the problem. The records do not indicate any substantial change, therefore it must be assumed that the groups were regarded by the staff as a worthwhile effort, and that, in spite of the load, they were glad to teach in small groups.

From comments scattered over many years we can identify some of the basic values of the discussion group system. In 1905 Wrong stated that he contemplated "doing in the Third Year and in the Fourth Year the same kind of work that Mr. Kylie has been doing so successfully in the Second Year." He also mentioned that the groups were attended by students taking the honours course. Unstated, but clearly implied, was the view that since the staff was limited, the teaching device that "for the first time in our history" provided students with "adequate individual attention" would be available only to a few students.¹⁸ In other words, honours students received the most attention and the best teaching,

¹⁷Hume Wrong, "Suggestions for Changes in the Group System" undated memorandum, UTA, History Department, Box 9, File 8.

¹⁸Wrong to Loudon, 28 April 1905, UTA, Loudon Papers.

and ultimately a better degree.¹⁹

In 1915 Hodder-Williams stated that the tutorials were designed to supplement the lectures and reading. The student benefited from the "mental training" and the opportunity to interact on an individual basis with teacher and other students. Facile generalizations were challenged and specific evidence was demanded, forcing the student to think for himself. Hodder-Williams also found that groups helped the student prepare for examinations better than reading lecture notes; the groups helped the teacher meet the student's individual needs.²⁰ In 1918 Wrong wrote that groups were "the only way really to get into touch with the mind of students...."²¹ The members of the Department held the same values after 1920. Helen McMurchie Bott wrote that the staff tried to "discover and encourage merit".²² Hume Wrong suggested that smaller groups (two to three students) meeting less often would "make the student teach himself".²³ Ralph Flenley, writing to a

¹⁹It is not only the specialization that made the honours degree (four years) better than the three year pass degree; the status of pass students was considerably lower in the minds of many students and faculty. For example see Underhill Interviews, II, 61-2, 137, 139; Underhill to J.W. Eaton, 6 November 1938, PAC, Underhill Papers, volume 41. R.M. Saunders concurred. Interview, 11 December 1973.

²⁰R. Hodder-Williams, "The Tutorial Experiment", 195-203.

²¹Wrong to Falconer, 11 March 1918, UTA, Falconer Working Papers.

²²Helen McMurchie Bott, "The Department of History" UTM, 21 (May 1921) 354.

²³Hume Wrong "Suggestions for Changes".

student who had missed two groups on historical method, said:
"...while we never insist upon attendance at lectures, our
attitude is rather different in respect of these groups".²⁴

George Smith wrote:²⁵

Each member of the staff keeps up a large number of
subjects for tutorial work....Those with the most
varied and largest subjects to maintain are specially
burdened. Changes of staff are always troublesome
since every change means a readjustment of work.

These hours can be cut down by abandoning tutorial
instruction for pass students....To abandon groups for
honours students would be the greatest possible mistake.

The continuation of the discussion groups and the
comments about them reveal a great deal about the values
held by Wrong and his staff. They valued close contact
between teacher and student; they wanted students to learn
to think for themselves, rather than learn by rote; and they
sought out and encouraged students with talent. They
believed in quality, rather than quantity. They believed
that teaching was more important than research or committee
work. They did not ignore the larger public or their duties

²⁴Ralph Flenley to A.C. Jameson, 23 October 1925, UTA,
History Department, Box 2, File 33. See also F.H. Underhill
Interviews, I, 49, PAC, Underhill Papers. This was not an
isolated instance. There are many letters to students
inquiring about absences and future plans; most were signed
by Flenley, but Saunders said "we all wrote to students."
R.M. Saunders, Interview, 11 December 1972.

²⁵G.M. Smith to Falconer, 16 March 1927, UTA, History
Department, Box 2, File 46. Smith said the tutorial system
was better than the "pure lecture system" of some of the "Old
Country" universities and much better than the "quiz classes"
and frequent examinations of the American universities.

as citizens (this will be dealt with in the next chapter) but they believed that their first responsibility was to the teaching of undergraduates. And they believed this wholeheartedly; the discussion groups in the classroom were not the only groups they led. Kylie started a voluntary group to study Canadian Constitutional History and Kenneth Bell had a small informal group which met at his house.²⁶ And Wrong founded the Historical Club, a group that probably had as big an impact on Canadian intellectual life as any university department.

The Historical Club was closely related to the discussion groups in organization, method and values. The first meeting was held in the home of George Wrong in October 1904.²⁷ Its purpose was to provide an "intellectual forum" for the presentation and discussion of papers on a "wide variety of themes" and to provide "a context for social and intellectual interaction of students with a wide range of backgrounds."²⁸ In theory any member of the University was

²⁶Underhill, Interviews, II, 58, PAC, Underhill Papers.

²⁷Chester Martin, "G.M. Wrong", 15. No records of the club were found except a few notes in the files of Sydney Hermant, a Toronto businessman and active alumnus of the University; a pamphlet compiled by Gary Kelly, Historical Club of the University of Toronto; Lists of Members and Subjects for the years 1905 to 1960 (Toronto, Sidney Hermant, July 1964); and scattered letters of members of the Department of History.

²⁸A copy [undated] of the Constitution of "University of Toronto Historical Society" is held by Sydney Hermant. One section contains the phrase "School of Graduate Studies" which suggests that that copy was typed after 1923.

eligible to belong to the Historical Club, but in practice the membership was limited to 25 or 30 male undergraduates in their third or fourth year. Graduate students, with the exception of those who were completing the second of two years, were not eligible. The list of members suggests that half or more of the members belonged to University College; the next largest group came from Trinity and Victoria, then St. Michael's, then the School of Practical Science and Medicine.²⁹

In the spring of each year aspiring members applied for admission, or were nominated by incumbent members. The current members voted by "preferential open ballot". The term lasted for up to two years; about half of the members belonged to the Club for one year only. Members were expected to "deliver" a paper of roughly thirty to forty-five minutes during the second year of membership; if the member wished he could deliver a paper in the first year and be free of the obligation in the second. Failure to meet this obligation or to attend meetings could result in the member's name being stricken from the records.

The limitation on numbers and the election procedures combined to produce a group with considerable prestige. Wrong may have intended to encourage an elite group, or he

²⁹Many students were not identified as to College or program.

may have merely wished to find some way of keeping the numbers down to make the group workable. Whatever the motive, the Club soon had so much status that the number of applicants was greater than the number of vacancies.³⁰ Frank Underhill recalled that it was a "great honour" to be elected and he described the Club as one of the two landmarks of his days as a student.³¹ The restrictive character of the Club had other results. At least one student believed that personal considerations played a significant role in elections; one ex-member asked an incumbent to use "influence" on behalf of a friend who wished to be elected.³² The restrictive nature also meant that the Historical Club was not an official club of the University and therefore could not use University facilities; this, however, did not seem to have an adverse effect on the Club. Most significant, the members took their obligations seriously; they often worked harder on the paper

³⁰Martin, "G.M. Wrong", 15; "In the Halls of Learning", The Globe (8 December 1906) 17.

³¹F.H. Underhill, Interviews, II, 47-52, PAC, Underhill Papers. The second was being invited by Kylie to several luncheons where some reform minded businessmen and politicians discussed municipal affairs. Ibid.

³²A.G. Hooper ('09) to F.H. Underhill ('11) 15 March 1911, PAC, Underhill Papers, vol. 1. The aspirant, H.H. Wallace ('13), did become a member in his third and fourth years. R.M. Saunders felt that first class students got first choice, unless personal considerations were present. Interview, 11 December 1973.

for the Club than they did for class assignments.³³

It was the practice to meet seven or eight times a year in various private homes. Men like Sir Joseph Flavelle, Sir Edmund Walker, E.B. Osler, Chief Justice Moss, Sir Thomas White, President Falconer and President Cody were regular hosts and other men also hosted the Club meetings on a less regular basis.³⁴ Topics had been assigned earlier, possibly as early as the previous spring, probably by the Club as a whole. Wrong wrote once that he hoped to have "a series of Canadian questions" during the year 1910-11; the topics that were listed for that period did include two on Canadian issues but the rest were spread over Australia, the religious question in France, Egypt, Municipal government, Labour problems, and the University.³⁵ This program was not untypical; if there was a unifying theme in the topics for papers it was the background to current issues, and the issues themselves. The procedure was to have a formal presentation followed by discussion and then comments by the host. The

³³Underhill, Interviews, II, 50, PAC, Underhill Papers; Lower, My First Seventy-five Years, 48.

³⁴Martin, "G.M. Wrong", 15; See The Varsity (1910-11) passim, for Z.A. Lash, James Greer, M.J. Haney; Sydney Hermant, a prominent Toronto businessman and alumnus, has been a regular host in more recent years.

³⁵Wrong to Walker, 3 March 1910, UTL, Champlain Society Papers.

evening concluded with refreshments.³⁶ In the early years two or three papers would be presented on various aspects of a particular question; in the 1920s and later formal debates were as common as papers.

With the exception of the years 1916 to 1919, when there were few meetings, this format was continued to the present.³⁷ No explanation for this longevity is available. The organization, the topics, the enthusiasm of the students, and the concern of the history professors, are all possible factors. The one thing that is certain is that Wrong, Martin and others on the staff took an active and continuing interest in the Club. There are many letters from these men dealing with such routine matters as arranging for hosts and speakers, and thanking a host for his contribution. At least four members of the Department presented papers between 1904 and 1915--Kylie (2), A.G. Brown, Hodder-Williams and Feiling.³⁸ Even though the sponsorship of the Club by the Department of History ended in 1963, the Club continued its work as an

³⁶PAC, Underhill Interviews, II, 48-50; Moffatt Woodside to Sydney Hermant, 30 January 1967, letter in the possession of Sydney Hermant.

³⁷The first time a woman attended a meeting of the Club was on the evening of 26 January 1967, at the home of Moffatt Woodside. Woodside to Hermant, 30 January 1967.

³⁸See Kelly, Historical Club. All four of these men were Oxford graduates.

independent undergraduate organization.³⁹

The Club has had a lasting impact. Over 1000 students belonged up to 1960, including many who later became well known historians, businessmen, lawyers, educators, and public servants.⁴⁰ In 1915 the Historical Club organized a dinner to celebrate its 100th meeting. Of the nearly 200 members and ex-members Wrong expected between 90 and 100 to attend, a very high proportion.⁴¹ Chester Martin only knew of the Club second hand, but stated in 1929 that he had long been familiar with it "through old members in western Canada who still retain a lively recollection of its usefulness. I shall be very glad...to help carry on its traditions."⁴² One historian stated that the Historical Club had "become the

³⁹J.M.S. Careless to Sydney Hermant and other hosts, [December 1963], copy in the files of Sydney Hermant. Staff and student interest had been sporadic and other commitments by the staff led to a feeling that the staff should end its formal association with the Club. The Club was still in existence in 1975. The Varsity, 19 March 1975.

⁴⁰Some historians who were members of the Club are: A.L. Burt, J.M.S. Careless, C.N. Cochrane, G.M. Craig, D.G. Creighton, L.I. Lapierre, A.R.M. Lower, W.K. McNaught, W.N. Sage, F.H. Underhill, and W.S. Wallace. Some of the many from other fields include: J.G. Althouse, C.H. Best, C.T. Bissell, James Eayrs, G. Ignatieff, F.G. Gardiner, Vincent Massey, and Carleton Stanley.

⁴¹Wrong to W. H. Taft, 14 January 1915, LC, President Taft Papers.

⁴²Martin to C.N. Harding, 14 October 1929, UTA, History Department.

parent of similar student organizations in other Canadian universities".⁴³ The influence of the Club on its members is difficult to assess, but ex-members all say that it provided experience in public speaking, broadened their interest and reading, and provided a chance to meet both students from other departments and some of Toronto's most distinguished citizens.⁴⁴ One member said that the Historical Club by implication upheld the Flavelle-type of business and financial leadership as the kind of force that had made Canada what it was, thus providing a subtle ideal to which students could aspire.⁴⁵ A.R.M. Lower saw the Club from the point of view of the academic: "History clubs have had a good deal to do with giving an atmosphere of professionalism to the study of history in Canada."⁴⁶ Whatever the measure (numbers, later careers, other clubs, memorials, learning) the Historical Club had an impact. And if the Club had an impact, the values it represented must be deeply imbedded in Canadian thought.

⁴³Lower, My First Seventy-five Years, 48. See also F.H. Underhill to J.L. Thomas, 18 November 1925, University of Saskatchewan, President Murray Papers.

⁴⁴W.A. Bean, J.H. Ebbs, P. Gilbert, E.M. Henry, T.D. Leonard, R.S. Mills, and W.D.S. Morden were interviewed in the summer of 1973.

⁴⁵Peter Martin, Interview, 20 September 1973. Mr. Martin ('55) is a publisher in Toronto. See also Bowker, "Truly Useful Men" 224.

⁴⁶Lower, My First Seventy-five Years, 48

The values of the Historical Club were the values of Wrong and Oxford. These included a respect for quality and achievement, faith in the informed citizen as a positive force in political affairs, concern for public issues, and a desire to be prepared academically and correct socially.

Wrong wrote to Underhill:⁴⁷

Oxford...[is] in the centre of the modern state in which vast and pressing political questions are in an acute state of discussion....A man whose mind is occupied daily with both Lloyd George and Aristotle is likely to bring them together in conversation. Here we have only Aristotle....

For Wrong it was not just the historian who would benefit from a knowledge of the classics. The discussion groups and the Historical Club were part of Wrong's effort to bring the wisdom of the past to bear on the problems of the present, and to create a body of citizens who would do likewise. His determination to do so continued through the disruption of the First World War.

During the war the curriculum underwent a number of changes. The result of these changes was a slight increase in emphasis on medieval Europe and a much greater emphasis on France and Germany 1500-1800.⁴⁸ Prior to the war the

⁴⁷Wrong to Underhill, 14 March 1912, PAC, Underhill Papers.

⁴⁸No reasons were found for the increases, but there are two possibilities. The war and the corresponding interest in Europe may have caused pressure for increased attention. More likely is the introduction of a new course or program combining Modern Languages and History. This may have been the result of the needs of high school teachers. See Wrong to Falconer, 13 December 1915, UTA, Falconer Papers.

greatest number of courses covered the History of Britain, the British Constitution, and the British Empire (nine courses). Canada and European History received approximately equal attention--two to three courses each. After the war the number of courses offered in British and Canadian History remained the same as in 1914, but medieval and modern Europe were dealt with in seven courses--a significant increase. This emphasis on British and European History continued for some years. Even the special subjects reflected this; the only periods offered were the English Civil War and the French Revolution.

The war years were not devoid of the familiar issues of status and funding for the Department, and the need for group discussions. Wrong passed on to Falconer complaints from high school history teachers to the effect that there was insufficient attention given by the University to history. Wrong requested that history have the same status as French and English in scholarship competition; that the four scholarships for Classics and Modern Languages be redistributed or redefined to provide two scholarships in Classics and History and two in Modern Languages and History; and that Honours History be "put among the subject for entrance requirements to some Honours courses, notably English and History and Modern History".⁴⁹ Wrong also asserted that the History Department

⁴⁹Wrong to Falconer, 23 October 1917, UTA, Falconer Papers.

had the right to make nominations for the Mackenzie Fellowship, on the grounds that when the Fellowship was established for the Department of Political Science, that department included Political Economy, History and Law. After History became a separate Department, he argued, it should have some authority over the Fellowships.⁵⁰

Wrong used a variety of arguments to justify increased funding for the Department. During the war he said his staff had enlisted and after the war he said he was planning for the future. The demands on the staff during wartime were great, but Wrong continued to hold discussion groups for Honours students, even though he recognized that General students needed groups more.⁵¹

Experience is showing more and more that the only way really to get into touch with the minds of students is to meet them in groups of from five to ten.

Viva voce examinations had been considered at some point.

Hodder-Williams wrote that he and Smith approved of the method and that the term mark might be determined by "occasional (say bimonthly)" viva voce examinations in group hours.

Apparently nothing came of this, but it does indicate that

⁵⁰Wrong to Falconer, 7 November 1917, UTA, Falconer Papers. Wrong's concern for the status of his department was shared by Hodder-Williams, who wrote that he was glad the "history still puts up the fight we always expect of it". Hodder-Williams to Wrong, 19 October 1916, Armstrong Collection.

⁵¹Wrong to Falconer, 11 March 1918, UTA, Falconer Working Papers.

the values of the History Department were not sacrificed during the war.⁵² After the war the returned soldiers were given opportunities to make up for lost time. A lengthy memo to the President from Hodder-Williams, acting head of History, indicates some of the arrangements made. The biggest problem, apart from the small number of staff available, was Constitutional History. Hodder-Williams estimated that from twelve to twenty students in second and third year would need "special tuition" for ten weeks at three hours a week. He felt that no other member of the Department could "duplicate" the work of Kennedy and that "no outsider could adequately fill his place". Kennedy was willing to do the extra work, which involved lectures and grading essays, during the spring term, but his doctor had advised him not to undertake summer work. Hodder-Williams felt that the rest of the staff could handle the rest of the program that summer.⁵³ Hodder-Williams, Smith, Reid and Hooke were expected to give at least two courses each during the summer of 1919.⁵⁴ This is but another illustration of the History Department's willingness to meet the needs of its students.

⁵²Hodder-Williams to Wrong, 23 October 1915, CHA Armstrong Collection.

⁵³Hodder-Williams to Falconer, 20 January 1919, UTA, History Department Papers.

⁵⁴Hodder-Williams to Falconer, 17 June 1919, UTA, Falconer Papers.

From the beginning of the century the graduate program had been evolving slowly. Admissions, examinations, thesis requirements, courses and attendance were regulated and increasingly formalized. In 1903 a Board of Post Graduate Studies was created to consider all matters relating to graduate degrees in the Faculty of Arts.⁵⁵ The calendar for the year 1903-4 stated that the M.A. thesis "must be either printed or typewritten unless the examining professors deem this unnecessary", and that a candidate "may be required to undergo a written or oral examination on the subject of his thesis...." In 1908, when the word "may" was changed to "shall", this examination became obligatory. Up to 1908 a candidate only had to pass fourth year honours examinations to qualify for the M.A.; after that a candidate could proceed by following a "prescribed course of study", as approved by the Senate, or by presenting a thesis on "some selected subject." The thesis had to contain the "results of some special study or investigation...." The Department of History accepted a number of theses under these regulations.

Beginning in 1916 the rate of change accelerated. A Board of Graduate Studies was formed and several rules were changed. Attendance became obligatory but "dispensation" could be granted if the Department concerned, from "direct

⁵⁵This Board became a standing committee of the Senate, then was replaced in 1923 by a School of Graduate Studies. Laskin Report, 5.

knowledge of the candidate's work", so recommended. (In 1921 dispensation could be granted only on the grounds that special facilities existed elsewhere.) Regulations for the M.A. were listed in the calendar under each department in addition to the general regulations. There appeared to be a concerted campaign to attract graduates of other universities to Toronto to work on the M.A. degree; concurrently, the regulations were altered to allow non-graduates of Toronto to proceed towards a Toronto M.A. All of this led naturally to an increasingly detailed articulation and definition of the M.A. program in History.

The campaign to attract students from other universities was introduced in the 1916-17 calendar. Four open fellowships for \$500, good in any department, were offered, with preference given to candidates from outside Ontario. It is possible that Wrong made his own contribution to the campaign; letters from colleagues in Western Canada refer to potential candidates for the fellowship, and A.L. Burt wrote to say that he was "greatly pleased" to learn that Toronto was "undertaking graduate work seriously...."⁵⁶ Whether it was the campaign or some other factor, such as the absence of graduate schools elsewhere in Canada, many students began to

⁵⁶Martin to Wrong, 13 June 1916; M. Eastman to Wrong, 9 May 1916; UTA, Falconer Papers, Box 40. Martin said he had no suitable candidate for the history research fellowship and Eastman recommended L. Mills (M.A. 1918) for the post graduate work in history. A.L. Burt to Wrong, 11 May 1916, UTA, Falconer Papers, Box 40.

come to the University of Toronto to study History. All of the M.A.s graduated prior to 1916 had done their undergraduate work at Toronto; over half of the successful candidates in the next eight years had a B.A. from another university.⁵⁷

The calendar for 1917-18 was the first to have graduate programs listed by department. Under "History" the only statement is "Candidates for this degree [M.A.] are accepted under the general regulations." The following year the statement was the same with the addition of the proviso: "Candidates...must give evidence of having adequate training for advanced study in history." In the calendar for 1919-20, the only year in which it appeared, the listing under History contained a statement on the philosophy of the Department and the resources available to students. The M.A. program

⁵⁷No records were available for non-successful M.A. candidates. After 1918 non-Torontonians came from Saskatchewan (3), Oxford (2, one of whom was Marga Wrong), British Columbia (2), Manitoba (1), and Alberta (1); four were not identified other than coming from outside of Toronto. Eleven graduates of Toronto went on for the M.A. in History during the years 1918-1926. Students with B.A.'s from other universities received M.A. degrees from Toronto in other departments as early as 1911, but in very small numbers.

University College produced the great majority of B.A.'s who went on for an M.A. in History up to 1916:

	U.C.	Trinity	Victoria	Unknown
1893-1905	23	0	0	0
1906-1916	14	5	2	1

See Register of Graduates of the University of Toronto (1920) and Appendix H.

1

2

in history was built on previous study and the undergraduate curriculum. The prime objects were the "extension of general knowledge", the inculcation of "sound methods" and the stimulation of "independent inquiry."

For this reason the work is done, so far as possible, by means of essays on prescribed topics and discussions in groups or small classes.

The values of the graduate program were similar to those of the undergraduate program, but the emphasis on research was much greater, and focussed on Canadian subjects:

For more advanced work it is natural that interest and facilities should be greatest in the sphere of Canadian history...Students are encouraged to select subjects in which they are interested for purposes of research.

The resources available were the Toronto Public Library, the Legislative Library for American history, the Law Society for Constitutional History, and the University Library for English and French History.

Even though the University was beginning to make the M.A. requirements more explicit, there was little indication of higher standards in the theses accepted by the Department of History. There might have been an increasing awareness of the need for specific references but it cannot be claimed that these theses met the standards common to research published in American scholarly journals such as The Johns Hopkins Studies in Historical and Political Science. In many theses it appears that the references were added after

the thesis was written (1901, 1903, 1909, 1913, 1918); in some of these instances references were added in pencil or coloured ink in the margin. Further, in two cases the references for an accepted thesis were sent separately to the Registrar. In both cases the wording of the accompanying letter was to the effect that they [the students] were herewith submitting the authorities consulted in the preparation of the thesis.⁵⁸

One is led to the suspicion that the Registrar was more aware of the rules, or had higher standards, than the Department of History. Bibliographic entries (1918, 1919) included such detailed items as: "newspaper clippings, etc." and "articles on patronage and kindred subjects in periodicals 1900-1918."

The casual approach to references cannot have been accidental. Wrong, Wallace, Kylie and Kennedy were all engaged in serious criticism in the Review of Historical Publications Relating to Canada or in the process of publishing scholarly works of their own, but it is clear that they were not imposing the same rigorous standards on M.A. candidates. Rather, the Department of History was more concerned with teaching undergraduates in small groups, with the cultivation of the qualities of good citizenship, with extending "general knowledge" and with stimulating "independent inquiry": The Department was less concerned with inculcating "sound methods" of research.

⁵⁸See W.J. McAndrew to James Brebner, 25 March 1912 and B.A. Kinder to James Brebner, 8 April 1909; both letters are enclosed with the respective thesis in the University of Toronto Archives.

Although the Oxford values retarded the development of graduate work in history, those values, as adapted by Wrong and his Department, made a significant contribution to the development of history in Canada by arousing the interest of men like Burt, Cochrane, Lower, Sage, Underhill and Wallace--men who dominated the historical profession for more than a generation.

CHAPTER SEVEN

"Moulding the Thoughts on Canadian History": Nationalism and Historical Work Beyond the Department

Wrong participated in several projects that increased the number and raised the standards of books written on Canadian history. Among these projects were books he wrote, books he edited, official committees he served on to preserve or publish material relating to Canada's heritage, and speeches he made during World War I. But these movements were more than part of the gradual maturing of the historical profession; to Wrong they were an expression, conscious or unconscious, of an atmosphere in Canada.

When Wrong wrote that the series of books he was editing (The Chronicles of Canada) would have "a considerable effect in moulding the thoughts on Canadian history of our people..." he was speaking as a man who had been caught up by the feeling that Canadians had a past, and a past that they could be proud of.¹ The key factor in the new mood, for Wrong at least, was the question of Canada's relations with Great Britain and an understanding of Wrong's perception of this

¹Wrong to Willison, 15 October 1913, PAC, Willison Papers; R.C. Brown and Ramsay Cook, Canada, 1896-1921: A Nation Transformed (Toronto, McClelland and Stewart, 1974) 26-44.

issue is vital to a full understanding of his work in the period 1904-19. Wrong was very much in tune with the new mood, especially with regard to the need to assert the interests of Canada. He felt satisfaction when the Canadian government paid the troops sent to South Africa; he said that such action meant that in future "Great Britain will...have to support what we want on this continent".² Wrong was greatly upset by the Alaska Boundary decision; in part he saw it as an example of British willingness to "sacrifice our [Canada's] interests...."³ Nearly four years later he was still fuming. He wrote to W.L. Grant, then in the process of editing one of the volumes of the Champlain Society, and asked Grant to emphasize Canada's relations with Great Britain:⁴

I want to keep that subject before the public mind in view of the coming colonial conferences. We must, in some way, get control of our foreign affairs. That Alaska business has sunk deep into the hearts of the common people.

According to Wrong, sentiment in Canada had changed; "instead of being colonial, [we have] become national."⁵ Certainly

²Wrong to J.S. Willison, 2 February 1900, PAC, Willison Papers; italics in the original.

³Wrong to Harlan, 22 October 1903, Harlan Papers, University of Kentucky Law School.

⁴Wrong to Grant, 1 January 1907, PAC, Grant Papers.

⁵Wrong to Parkin, 27 April 1908, PAC, Parkin Papers, vol. 27. George Parkin (1846-1922) was Secretary of the Rhodes Scholarship Trust.

Wrong had himself become "national" in outlook, and he was not alone. Kylie, too, was very conscious of being a Canadian, and he agreed that Britain did not always act in the best interests of Canada. He complained in a letter from Oxford that the British ought to "broaden their sympathies and show keener interest in...the affairs of the colonies,"⁶ and he too was an advocate of Canadian interests.

Yet, much as Wrong and Kylie wanted Canada to protect her own interests, they did not want Canada to separate herself from England.⁷ Wrong wrote to Parkin that he feared the development of sentiment favoring a Canadian republic; to counter this it was necessary to "get hold of every man who

⁶Kylie to Flavelle, 2 May 1902, DL, Flavelle Papers. Another indication of Kylie's interests, or those of the public, are in the changing topics of his Local Lecture series. He gave several different lectures each year and repeated some of them two or three times; from 1907 through 1914 the topics moved gradually from Oxford and medieval England, to early modern English history, to political theory and the history of Canada. See University calendars.

⁷Wrong realized that the returning soldiers would want "complete autonomy for Canada" but he himself thought that Canadians were happy in the British fold and that unity in the diversity of the Empire was possible. Later he would argue for "political equality" with England--a "partnership on terms of equality". See Wrong to Clifford Sifton, 9 November 1916, PAC, Sifton Papers; Wrong, "The Growth of Nationalism in the British Empire" AHR, 22 (October 1916) 45-57; Wrong, "Opinion in Canada" New Statesman, 25 (4 July 1925, 8 August 1925) 330-2, 471-2; Wrong, "Nationalism in Canada" Journal of the Royal Institute of International Affairs, V (July 1926) 177. Feiling too advocated equality of representation on Imperial Committees: see "Canada the Peacemaker" UTM 9 (June 1909) 279-83.

promises leadership and educate him to think imperially."⁸

Both Wrong and Kylie regarded England as the source of fostering the necessary links. Wrong would have agreed wholeheartedly with the aims of Cecil Rhodes who wanted to "invent some tie with our mother country that will prevent separation."⁹

Wrong thought that if young men could be "imbued with the ideology of Oxford" they would just naturally "think imperially" and this would prevent Canada from becoming a second United States.¹⁰ An unsigned editorial, probably by Kylie, pushed the suggestion beyond Oxford but without losing the Oxford

⁸Wrong to Parkin, 27 April 1908, PAC, Parkin Papers.

⁹C.J. Rhodes to Sir John A. Macdonald, May 1891, cited in H.W. Morrison, Oxford Today and the Canadian Rhodes Scholars (Toronto, Gage, 1958) 59;

Rhodes intended that his scholarships educate "young colonists" thus "giving breadth to their views...instruction in life and manners, and...instilling into their minds the advantages...of the retention of the unity of the Empire." For Rhodes, leadership was founded upon moral courage, public spirit and concern for the common welfare. Ibid., 56-8. See also: L.A. Crosby, Frank Aydelotte and A.C. Valentine, eds. Oxford of Today: A Manual for Prospective Rhodes Scholars (New York, Oxford, 1927); and Dacre Balsdon, Oxford Now and Then (New York, St. Martins, 1970).

¹⁰Wrong to Parkin, 27 April 1908, PAC, Parkin Papers.

values:¹¹

"We [in Canada] ought to have young men in training for diplomacy, attached to British Consuls at foreign courts. They should be getting all the experience and savoir faire...which such a training can afford.... We urge Canada's full participation because it will broaden our vision, restrain and sober us, and elevate our politics."

It is unlikely that either Wrong or Kylie realized the extent to which their position on Canadian nationalism derived from the values of Oxford--breadth of vision, the education of future leaders, a concern for "manners", public spirit and the common welfare, and the sense of mission that led to a desire to "elevate" the country's politics. Had they been asked, they would probably have replied that a mature Canada would be all the more glorious through her partnership with England.¹²

One expression of the nationalism-without-separation sentiment in Canada was the Round Table Movement, founded in England in 1909 to study imperial problems and to promote unity within the Empire. Wrong and Kylie were both involved in the Round Table in Canada; Kylie was secretary after May

¹¹"A Canadian Diplomatic Service" UTM 10 (April 1910) 359-60. Kylie was the editor and according to a note in UTM 9(December 1909) 94 "The editor assumes responsibility for everything appearing in 'Editorial Notes'". See also E.J. Kylie, "Canada's Foreign Relations" in Addresses Delivered before the Canadian Club of Toronto, season 1911-12 (Toronto: Warwick, 1912) 107-11; Kylie also wrote a pamphlet Who caused the War: a Study of the Diplomatic Negotiations Leading to the War (Oxford University Press, 1915) 87 pp.

¹²See James Eayrs, "The Round Table Movement in Canada, 1909-1920" CHR, 38 (March 1957) 1-20.

1911 and, according to Kendle, "the backbone of the organization." The Canadian group organized discussions and wrote articles for both internal and public comment; Wrong and Kylie travelled across Canada speaking to potential members.¹³ Both Wrong and Kylie felt that Canada must have control over her own foreign affairs and, as a corollary, that she must accept the responsibilities of a "fully developed state". Kylie felt that a Canadian navy was a necessary expression of this new nationhood, but Wrong favoured an imperial navy with Canada taking "her share in its control." Both, however agreed that "full equality" within the Empire would protect Canada from the British tendency to appease the United States at the expense of Canadian interests and enable Canada to work out her destiny "apart from the United States."¹⁴

Concern for Canada's autonomy and maturity within the British Empire was not the only expression of the increased consciousness of Canadians in this period. There were several other movements and organizations which had their beginnings after 1905, and which are related to the study of history. The first of these was the Tercentenary of the

¹³John Kendle, The Round Table Movement and Imperial Union (Toronto, University Press, 1975) 103, 184, 261. Wrong, "The Round Table in Canada" The Globe, 30 March 1917. Wrong, Diaries, UTL and Armstrong Collection.

¹⁴Kylie, "The Problem of Empire" Canadian Courier, 11 (19 October 1907) 14; [Kylie] Editorial Note, UTM 10 (December 1909) 86-9; Wrong to Parkin, 16 November 1911, PAC, Parkin Papers; Wrong, "The Growth of Nationalism", (1916) 45-47.

Founding of Quebec, which became a national event when the Governor-General, Lord Grey, turned it into a celebration to foster harmony and unity between the "two great races" of Canada.¹⁵ A second organization was the Quebec Battlefields Association, formed in Quebec to collect money to nationalize the grounds where battles had taken place. Lord Grey again thought it was a good idea, exerted his influence, and a third organization, the National Battlefields Association, was born. Eventually the National Association dominated the other two, primarily through superior financing and overlapping directorships.¹⁶ Wrong, though not directly involved with any of these organizations, was close to some of the directors. In addition he worked with a landmarks committee that eventually pushed a resolution through the Ontario Educational Association to support the preservation of historic landmarks, referring to the work of the National Battlefields

¹⁵Sir George Garneau to Laurier, 20 November 1906, Laurier Papers, PAC; Quebec Battlefields Association, PAC; M.E. Hallett, "The Quebec Tercentennial: Lord Grey's Imperial Birthday Party" CHR, 54 (September 1973) 341. (Hallett suggests the effort to preserve the battlefields began in 1905). Grey to Laurier, 14 December 1906, PAC, Grey Papers.

¹⁶PAC, Quebec Battlefields Association pamphlet, "An Appeal", 11 April 1908, 9. Walker to Rev. R. Campbell, 12 May 1908; Walker to Sir Walter Murton, 22 April 1908, UTL, Walker Papers, Sir George Garneau, H.J.J.B. Chionard, Adelard Turgeon, Lt. Col. William Wood, Walker and Arthur Doughty held positions on two or three of executives. Walker, Doughty and Wood were well known to Wrong.

Association.¹⁷ While these organizations were not related to the work of Wrong in the Department of History they do suggest the strength and direction of opinion in Canada, and in Wrong, and thus provide a backdrop for the historical work done by Wrong for the Champlain Society, his own books, and the Public Archives of Canada.

The Champlain Society was organized in 1905 by four men: B.E. Walker, President of the Bank of Commerce, C.W. Colby, Professor of History at McGill University, James Bain, head of the Toronto Public Library, and George Wrong. The Society was modeled on the Hakluyt and Surtees Societies in Great Britain and the Prince and Camden Societies in the United States. The Society was to undertake the publication of rare books, documents, and translations relating to Canada that the ordinary commercial publisher would not publish. Members would pay a sustaining fee of \$10 per year and would receive on the average two volumes a year. Membership was limited at first to 250, later raised to 500, with half of the subscriptions going to libraries.¹⁸

¹⁷OA, Ontario Educational Association, Minutes of the English and History Section, 1907. The Landmarks Committee existed from 1906 to 1909. The Toronto City Council donated \$5000 to the National Battlefields Association; see Treasurers Annual Report (1909) 200.

¹⁸W.S. Wallace, A Sketch of the History of the Champlain Society, published by the Champlain Society, (1937) 3. This pamphlet was updated and reissued in 1957.

From the beginning the Society emphasized both the growth of Canada and quality in format and scholarship. Wrong's standards were high. He once said that the Society could not afford to do "anything that is not complete and in some sense, final".¹⁹ Great care was taken in matters of paper, binding, uniformity of type and style of printing, and only outstanding authorities of the period were asked to edit or contribute to the series. For Wrong, the task was to raise the standards of Canadian writers and editors even though he might appear to be a "terrible butcher."²⁰ The choice of books, it was hoped, would reflect a pan-Canadian outlook.²¹

We have had in mind that the two volumes published annually should, if practicable, relate one to the French period, the other to the English.

The choices that were made emphasized Canada's growth; the most common subjects were travel, exploration, and the significant figures in political and constitutional development.

Wrong was Editorial Secretary and as such was concerned with the details of style and format.²² His preferences are

¹⁹Wrong to Grant, 16 March 1907, PAC, Grant Papers.

²⁰Wrong to Walker, 28 February 1914, UTL, Champlain Society, 47.

²¹Wrong to Walker [copy] 30 October 1905, see Wrong to Shortt, 9 November 1905, DL, Shortt Papers.

²²Wrong was Editorial Secretary from 1905-23, President 1924-28, and Honorary President 1934-38.

revealing. He stated that the use of "4.00 P M" was an example of "commercialization" and that the correct usage was "4.0 P M" and he said to Grant: "Follow your own good judgment in regard to notes; it is necessary to make concession to the prevailing opinion in these things, but English rather than American precedent is best."²³ Wrong spent a great deal of time on matters of style and at one point he complained of having an average of two to three letters a day to write for matters involving the Society.²⁴ Even Walker, who was very much the dominant figure in the Society, deferred to Wrong on matters of style.²⁵ Thus the Champlain Society, while not being a Wrong creation (as was his Review of Historical Publications) bore his stamp in its emphasis on style and quality.

²³Wrong to Walker, 17 May 1907, UTL, Champlain Society; Wrong to Grant, 9 August 1908, PAC, Grant Papers.

²⁴Wrong to Walker, 11 November 1910, UTL, Champlain Society. For details of Wrong's work see some 50 letters to W.L. Grant (1907-08) dealing with a book being edited by Grant, PAC, Grant Papers. Examples of matters that concerned Wrong include: the procurement of the seal used by Champlain, the format of the title page, binding, capitalization, spelling and word usage; there were occasional letters regarding who would be responsible for the next volume.

²⁵Walker to Wrong, 29 October 1907, 21 May 1908, 15 December 1910, 19 October 1916, UTL, Champlain Society. Walker's name was more influential than Wrong's, his office handled most of the correspondence, and his eye for typographical error and historical fact was as good or better than most of his contemporaries. Walker's letter books for the years 1905-13 contain copies of some 3300 letters of which about 175 were to Wrong. This does not include all of Walker's correspondence on Society matters.

The Champlain Society set a mark and a standard for writers of history in Canada. The publications of the Society were the first carefully documented research efforts in Canada and many of them were, and still are, basic sources. Its importance was such that there was almost always a waiting list. The presence of the series in the libraries and the best homes in Canada brought a sense of Canada's past to many people, and their quality contributed to the growing reputation of those who made their profession the history of Canada.²⁶

While working on the Champlain Society Wrong was also busy writing books of his own. He published a biography of the Earl of Elgin, textbooks on British history and three studies of French Canada.²⁷ These books, while usually balanced and objective, were not unaffected by

²⁶W.K. Lamb, retired Dominion Archivist, Interview, 8 June 1972; John Cooper, retired professor of History at McGill, said that McGill suffered from lack of having a Champlain Society; Interview, 22 May 1972. One attempt to publicize the Society was directed to the members of the York Club in Toronto, and bankers all over the country received personal appeals from Walker. See Walker to Wrong, 13 October 1910 and Wrong to Walker, 19 October 1910, UTL, Champlain Society; G.P. de T. Glazebrook, Interview, 25 June 1973.

²⁷The Earl of Elgin (London, Methuen, 1905); The British Nation; a history (New York, Appleton, 1903); An English History by E.S. Symes, adapted for use in Canadian elementary schools (Toronto, Copp, 1905); An Introductory History of England (never published, see appendix E); Ontario High School History of England (an abridgement of British Nation) (Toronto, Morang, 1911); (Most of the deletions were from the sections dealing with the Anglo-Saxon and medieval periods); A Canadian Manor and Its Seigneurs, the Story of a Hundred Years, 1761-1861 (Toronto, Macmillan, 1908); The Fall of Canada, a chapter in the history of the Seven Years War (Oxford, Clarendon, 1914); The Conquest of New France (New Haven, Yale, 1918).

Wrong's point of view and his penchant for moralizing. His first text, The British Nation, "cost five years work" and was immediately successful.²⁸ One lady, however, complained bitterly that the illustrations of "torture" were enough to "horrify any sweet trusting child...." The Department of Education thought enough of the complaint to request an explanation from Wrong for his inclusion of the scene--a line drawing of the execution of Mary Stuart which showed the executioner holding her severed head up to the crowd. Wrong replied that we must be silent about some things in history, such as "phases of moral depravity", but we cannot be silent about executions: "I would therefore make them as vivid [as] possible and so emphasize the moral truth that our age is gentler and more humane than were previous ages."²⁹ Wrong's moralizing extended to the effect of alcohol on William Pitt:³⁰

Deep drinking may account for the inferior quality of his later as compared with his earlier career; his friend Wilberforce mourned in the older Pitt the anxious, diseased face, the shaking hand, the features red and bloated with wine.

²⁸Wrong to Doughty, 7 June [1906], PAC, RG 37, vol. 101; for praise of the book see comments sent to the Minister of Education by the publisher, G.N. Morang to Harcourt, 1 June 1904, OA, Textbook Correspondence; see also Appendix E.

²⁹Mrs. George Morris to H.A. Pyne, 2 December 1905; Wrong, memo to the Department of Education, 2 December 1905, OA, Textbook Correspondence.

³⁰Wrong, British Nation (1903) 499; this was about the time when Wrong was involved with the Ontario Society for the Reformation of Inebriates; see above, 32-3.

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Obviously Wrong was not above going further than was necessary to make the historical point. He added the details of the execution and the effects of alcohol in order to drive home a moral lesson; Wrong the historian wanted others to learn the "deeper meaning", the "true meaning of the facts."³¹

Wrong was conscious of his efforts to moralize but it is unlikely that he was conscious of the extent to which his work displayed a thoroughly British point of view. The British victory over the French in the Seven Years War was "inevitable" due to the moral virtues of England, in particular their religious tolerance and parliamentary liberty. Other characteristics of the British included technological skill, refined civilization and moral strength and character.³² His opinions of the French, on the other hand, smacked of paternalism: to Wrong the people of Murray Bay "seemed simple, untutored, new..." and French virtues included rural charm, austere virtue, peaceful primitiveness, and avoidance of the "pushing energy of the American spirit."³³ In his analysis of history in secondary schools he justified limiting his remarks to Ontario and Quebec because these two

³¹Wrong, "Historical Study" (1895) 6, 9, 11. See also the discussion of Wrong's descriptions of cruelty, above, 84-5.

³²Wrong, Rise and Fall of New France (1928) I, 198-9, 242-52, 273-314, 336-51; II, 800-06; Fall of Canada (1914) 85, 17-44; Conquest of New France (1918) 164, 170, 177.

³³Wrong, Canadian Manor (1908) iii; Bowker, "Truly Useful Men", 221.

provinces contained nearly five-sixths of the population, and then eliminated Quebec because "the schools are chiefly French, and are largely under the control of the Roman Catholic Church. Obviously the Province of Ontario must be the principal field of our inquiries."³⁴ In Canadian Manor, French Canadians who were pro-American were described--in one paragraph--in excessively negative terms: they "harbored deserters", assisted "rebels", hindered "loyalists", and fomented "sedition" and "treason".³⁵ The effect of these phrases is to leave the reader with the impression that fighting against the British, or siding with the Americans, was about as low as a man could fall, and that there were no redeeming features for anyone who took that position.

Wrong's attitudes towards both French Canadians and Americans are shown when he praised the French Canadian for avoiding the "pushing energy" of the Americans and at the same time condemned the number of holidays celebrated by Roman Catholics.

³⁴Wrong, "History in Canadian Secondary Schools" (1898) 551-2.

³⁵Wrong, Canadian Manor (1908) 84.

Wrong was generally fair in his treatment of the French Canadian; for example, he pointed out--during World War I--that low enlistment rates were a function of isolation from contacts with Britain and Europe and that many areas in Canada were slow in this regard. He then went on to describe Bourassa's campaign against participation. "The Bilingual Question" in The New Era in Canada, J.O. Miller, ed. (Toronto, Dent, 1917) 244-45. See also "The Two Races in Canada" Canadian Historical Association Annual Report (1925) 21-27; "Le Prof. Wrong et l'Unité Nationale" Le Droit (Ottawa) 8 July 1925. On the other hand, most of what Wrong wrote (1914, 1918, 1928) on French Canada dealt with the British victory, which is a British point of view.

He said that an effort to reduce the number of holidays was a "considerable industrial reform."³⁶ It would appear that Wrong valued work and progress, but not as it was manifested in the United States.

The growth of Canada from colony to self-governing nation was a more positive theme in Wrong's writings. An assumption that was very much a part of Wrong's thinking was that the story of Canada was the story of the building of a nation and of protecting it from threats from the United States. In the Earl of Elgin he praised the effort to prevent annexation by the Americans: "Resolute as was Lord Elgin against the annexation of Canada to the United States, he yet had a haunting fear that this would some day come about."³⁷ One of the persistent arguments in the Earl of Elgin is that the colonies must have "control of their own affairs".³⁸ The themes of Wrong's later works followed a similar pattern: the history of Canada was the political development and physical expansion of a small colony to a self-governing nation "occupying half a continent".³⁹

³⁶Wrong, Canadian Manor (1908) iii, 57.

³⁷Wrong, Earl of Elgin (1905) 55-6.

³⁸Ibid., 23, 38-9, 42, 72.

³⁹Wrong, The Canadians (1938); "The Historical Background", The (London) Times, 15 May 1939.

In addition to writing and editing books for Canadians to read, Wrong was involved with a number of groups whose purpose was the preservation of historical material. The Historical Landmarks Association was founded in 1907 to "find out what landmarks are really worth keeping, to spread an appreciative knowledge of them as widely as possible and to concentrate effective influence ...on their preservation."⁴⁰ It was reconstituted as the Canadian Historical Association in 1923. The Historic Manuscripts Commission was also founded in 1907, after two or three years of discussion between Wrong, Doughty, Shortt and Colby. It was responsible for setting policy for the Public Archives, for publication of Reports and Bulletins, and for acquisitions, translations, and internal organization of the Archives. Wrong suggested several changes in the format of the Commission's publications which were adopted. The Commission was disbanded in 1917 upon formation of the Board of Historical Publications.⁴¹ Wrong served as one of the advisers to this board, which published some significant documents, then faded from existence about 1922.⁴² Wrong's contribution to these organizations is

⁴⁰PAC, Historical Landmarks Association, Minute Book. W.N. Sage said the organization began in 1905; "Where Stands Canadian History" Canadian Historical Association, Report (1945) 8; L.J. Burpee, Presidential Address, Historic Landmarks Association, Annual Report (1921) 13.

⁴¹PAC, Historic Manuscripts Commission, Minutes, 14 February 1908; Ian E. Wilson, "Shortt and Doughty: The Cultural Role of the Public Archives of Canada" Unpublished M.A. thesis, Queen's University, (1973) 59.

⁴²Wilson, "Shortt and Doughty", 186-209.

difficult to assess, but at the very least his name lent a certain respectability to them, and probably gained the ear of government officials in more than one instance. The point, however, is not so much his influence as the fact that he was at the centre of a number of movements that individually did very little, but which, as a group, indicate a very strong interest in the history of Canada.

Another of the movements related to the spirit of nationalism and the growing awareness of the importance of history was the establishment of the Historical Research Commission, begun earlier, formalized in 1911. Recent acquisitions and investigations of manuscripts had led to a feeling that there was a need for a fresh survey of Canadian History, one that would help bring Canada together with a "positive and constructive idea of the Nation".⁴³ The result was the multi-volume work, Canada and Its Provinces, edited by Shortt and Doughty, issued 1913-17. Wrong and ten others were associate editors and altogether more than 80 scholars were involved. Wrong contributed to the work, but not as extensively as one might have expected. It is possible that Wrong had some disagreement with Shortt or Doughty,⁴⁴ or that he was simply too busy with the Champlain

⁴³Editor's Introduction, Canada and Its Provinces, vol. 1, Section 1. See Wilson, "Shortt and Doughty", 80.

⁴⁴ See Wrong to Shortt, [incomplete] 25 and 30 March 1910, DL, Shortt Papers.

Society, the Review of Historical Publications and his own writing. It is also possible that he felt the series was not what the Canadian public needed or wanted, and that some other means should be found to bring the story of Canada to as wide an audience as possible. In any event, shortly after the formation of the Historical Research Commission, Wrong embarked on the publication of the Chronicles of Canada Series.

The Chronicles of Canada were a series of thirty-two volumes published between 1914 and 1916. The series covered what was to become the traditional topics of Canadian history: exploration, New France, the coming of the English, Indians and pioneers, responsible government, confederation, and transportation.⁴⁵ The books averaged 150 pages, had no notes and very short bibliographies.⁴⁶ Wrong and the University Librarian, H.H. Langton, were editors of the series, but it is possible that the publisher, Robert Glasgow, did as much editing as did either Wrong or Langton.⁴⁷ It is clear that Wrong wanted to put the series before as wide an audience as

⁴⁵See Appendix D for individual titles and authors.

⁴⁶The two longest were Colquhoun's The Fathers of Confederation and Skelton's The Day of Sir Wilfred Laurier, 200 and 340 pages respectively; the only bibliography that pointed out the bias of the books mentioned was that of W.S. Wallace, The Family Compact.

⁴⁷For one example which indicates both the speed in which the books were produced and Glasgow's contributions see his correspondence with Archibald MacMechan, Dalhousie University Archives, Halifax.

possible. He praised Glasgow's ability to sell books, and the series was designed, and advertised, as "narratives for popular reading". Wrong knew he would not make much money as editor, but he said it was "worth doing" for its educational value.⁴⁸ He believed in it so much that he mentioned it three times in one article on books about Canada.⁴⁹ He wrote to a friend:⁵⁰

This series will have a considerable effect in moulding the thoughts on Canadian history of our people....

The series did reach an enormous number of people. Wallace estimated that more than 30,000 sets were sold and as a result, said Wallace, the Chronicles of Canada "did more to popularize Canadian History among the masses than any previous publication."⁵¹ Walter Sage stated that the Chronicles "blazed four new trails" in Canadian history writing: the red man in Canada, pioneers in the north and the west, the growth of nationality and the national highways.⁵² Wrong

⁴⁸Wrong to Willison, 15 October [1913] PAC, Willison Papers.

⁴⁹Wrong, "Canada: An Outline and Bibliography of its History" The Federal Magazine (January, February 1916) 849-50. In the same article he mentioned the Makers of Canada Series twice, and Canada and Its Provinces, the Review of Historical Publications, and the Round Table once each.

⁵⁰Wrong to Willison, 15 October [1913] PAC, Willison Papers.

⁵¹Wallace, "Wrong", 236. The population of Canada in 1915 was about 8 million.

⁵²W.N. Sage, Canadian Historical Association, Report (1945) 7.

the teacher had indeed gone well beyond the classroom to mould thoughts on Canadian history.

The outbreak of World War I brought to a head all of the feelings for Britain and Canada, for the desire to be of service and to instruct the public. All of the young men on the staff in History enlisted and even Wrong said he felt the call of the "stirring" times. "To sit quietly in a study trying to write a book seems like fiddling while Rome burns," he wrote.⁵³ He thought briefly of going to Oxford but on reconsideration said: "Canada is our own [home] land and I should wish whatever I did to be of real service to Canada."⁵⁴ Wrong was proud of the contribution being made by his ex-students and ex-staff:⁵⁵

Underhill has enlisted as a private....No doubt he expects to get a commission, but he is ready to serve in any capacity--and that is a fine spirit, in fact I [really] believe, the product of Oxford training.

The men from his staff felt as Wrong did: Hodder-Williams wrote that two of Wrong's "history cubs" had won the

⁵³Wrong to Sophia Wrong, 30 September 1915, Diary, Armstrong Collection.

⁵⁴Wrong to Sophia Wrong, 28 November 1915, Diary, Armstrong Collection.

⁵⁵Wrong to Sophia Wrong, 30 September 1915, Diary, Armstrong Collection. Underhill said that reading of the deaths of Oxford men he had known and the efforts made by the University of Toronto to promote recruitment led him to enlist. Underhill Interview, I, 124-6, PAC, Underhill Papers.

Military Cross, and George Smith wrote that he was determined to return to university teaching.⁵⁶

I am not a scholar...nevertheless I am not without ideas and enthusiasm....If we are to be true to the enthusiasms of the past three years and be worthy of the sacrifice of our most noble fellows, we shall have to think only of how best to serve Canada, and forget many material ambitions.

It is obvious that these men were sincere in their beliefs about service to Canada and the British Empire and it is also obvious that they believed that their university training was a significant source of those beliefs.

Towards the end of the war Wrong was invited to join the Khaki University, then being organized in England to provide instruction in various subjects to members of the Canadian Army. The Director of the Khaki University was H.M. Tory of the University of Alberta. He was looking for men with "popular gifts of exposition of scholarly subjects" and he requested that Wrong take charge of instruction in history.⁵⁷ Wrong left for England late in December 1918, and remained in England and France until June 1919. Soon after arriving in England, Wrong arranged for Frank Underhill and W.N. Sage, then on active service, to assist in teaching history to the troops.⁵⁸ The work consisted of

⁵⁶Hodder-Williams to Wrong, 19 October 1916; Smith to Wrong, 2 April 1918, Armstrong Collection.

⁵⁷Tory to Falconer, 8 November 1918, UTA, Falconer Papers.

⁵⁸Wrong to Underhill, 26 January 1919, PAC Underhill Papers.

both popular lectures and work in matriculation and university subjects. Many students were able to refresh their memories during this period or to make up enough courses to gain credit for the academic year.⁵⁹

Both Wrong and Underhill appear to have enjoyed the experience very much; Underhill called it "paradise" and Wrong spoke with pride of lecturing, sometimes twice a day, to audiences of several hundred.⁶⁰ Teaching where the need was great was something they were glad to do.

During the course of the war Wrong did much to educate the public. He gave many lectures--sometimes as many as four or five a week--on Germany and the development of the war, he campaigned publicly and by letter for a coalition government,⁶¹ and he wrote a pamphlet on The War Spirit of Germany. The War Spirit was written in a mild tone, at first glance

⁵⁹Underhill to M.E. Angus, 30 March, 1919; Underhill to Mrs. Richard Underhill, 16 March 1919, PAC, Underhill Papers; Wrong to Falconer, 9 February, 7 and 10 of March, 4 May 1919, UTA, Falconer Papers. See also E.A. Corbett, Henry Marshall Tory; Beloved Canadian (Toronto, Ryerson, 1954) 138-56 for a general description of the Khaki University.

⁶⁰Underhill Interviews, I, 144-5, PAC, Underhill Papers; Wrong complained about the cost of transportation and labour unrest, but not his teaching load: see Wrong to Sophia Wrong, 24 and 31 January 1919, 6, 9 and 16 February 1919; Wrong to Angnes Wrong, 11 February, 1919, Armstrong Collection; Wrong to Underhill, 26 January 1919, PAC, Underhill Papers.

⁶¹See Appendix D; Wrong to Dafoe, 2 December 1916, PAC, Dafoe Papers.

objective and balanced. It was not, however, very far removed from propaganda. According to Wrong, Germans were backward politically and ruled by self-centered despots. British imperialism was "honourable" but that of Germany was a result of greed; theories of racial supremacy in England were "amiable speculations" but those in Germany were ruthless political policy. Germany recognized no law "except the will of the strong" but in the end the unity of the British people would prevail.⁶²

Wrong also worked hard to "make Canada better understood in the United States".⁶³ He made at least two trips to the United States to speak to friends and colleagues and at public meetings. He wanted to promote better understanding of the British Empire and Canada and to provide leading newspapers with "material they can use". He also spoke of trying to get "hostility out of our histories." In one ten-day tour he made a series of addresses at various midwestern universities on such topics as "The Relations of Canada with the British Empire", "Canadian Federalism", and "Canada's part in the

⁶²Wrong, The War Spirit in Germany (Toronto, Oxford, 1915) 1-4, 13, 16, 19, 26-7.

⁶³Wrong to Sir Robert Borden, 28 November 1918, PAC, Borden Papers.

War".⁶⁴ He was well aware that he was deliberately trying to alter public opinion; he wrote to a friend that the "Canadian Government has asked me to look after propaganda aimed at increasing friendliness between us and the United States."⁶⁵

Wrong's work during the war was not a departure from the values he had established earlier--it was but another expression of his desire to act in the public interest by educating others. The work he did outside the Department covered propaganda, scholarly publishing, school texts, popular narratives, historic landmarks and the Public Archives of Canada. In all of these he helped to provide Canadians with a strong sense of their background. He was "moulding the thoughts" of Canadians and laying the foundations for a mature historical profession.

⁶⁴Wrong to Lord Bryce, 26 November, 5 December 1914, 10 January 1916; Bodleian Library, Oxford, Bryce Papers; Wrong to W.H. Taft, 19 April 1918, LC, Taft Papers; Wrong to Borden, 28 November 1918, PAC, Borden Papers; E.B. Green to C.H. Van Tyne, 16 May 1918, Van Tyne Papers, Clements Library, Ann Arbor. Van Tyne was a professor at the University of Michigan and a long time friend of Wrong; Greene was the Chairman of the National Board for Historical Service, which helped arrange the speaking tour.

⁶⁵Wrong to Jameson, 23 April 1918, LC, Jameson Papers.

PART III

YEARS OF TRANSITION (1920-1929)

CHAPTER EIGHT

"Character, Good Manners and Forcefulness":
 Appointments in the 1920s

The Toronto-Oxford pattern of appointments which had been established earlier continued through the decade following World War I, even after 1927 when George Smith became acting head of the Department of History. Yet the traditions

TABLE 3
 Appointments 1920-1929

<u>Name</u>	<u>B.A.</u>	<u>Later Training</u>	<u>Years with the Department of History</u>
R. Flenley	Liverpool	Liverpool, M.A. Oxford, B. Litt.	1920-55
H.H. Wrong	Toronto	Oxford, B. Litt.	1921-27
E.H. Blake	Toronto	Toronto, M.A.	1921-22
J.B. Brebner	Oxford	Oxford, B. Litt.(1925) Columbia, Ph.D.(1927)	1921-25
M.G. Reid	Toronto	Oxford, B. Litt.	1918-20; 1922-26
L.B. Pearson	Toronto	Oxford, B.A.	1923-28
G.P. de T. Glazebrook	Toronto	Oxford, B.A.	1924-41, 1946-48 1963-67
G.W. Brown	Toronto	Chicago, Ph.D.	1925-46
J.C.P. Proby	Oxford	Oxford, B. Litt.	1926-29
F.H. Underhill	Toronto	Oxford, B.A.	1927-55
D.G. Creighton	Toronto	Oxford, B.A.	1927-71
E.W. McInnis	Toronto	Oxford, B.A.	1928-60
H. Rothwell	Manchester	Cambridge, Ph.D.	1929-31
J.J. Talman	Western	Western, M.A. Toronto, Ph.D.(1930)	1929-31
D.J. McDougall	Toronto	Oxford, B.A.	1929-62
C.B. Martin	New Brunswick	Oxford, B.A.	1929-52

NOTE: Dates in brackets are for degrees earned after being appointed to the History Department.

established before the war did not persist unaltered. There were many variations in the pattern, primarily as a result of an increased interest in scholarly research and publication. None of these variations involved a sudden departure from the values and practices that had been established prior to World War I and the Oxford model continued to dominate both appointments and the values of the staff of the Department of History. It is only when the changes are seen as part of a transition that one realizes their importance.

Before the war Wrong had hoped to bring Englishmen to Toronto on a regular basis, but as early as 1916 he realized that first class men would not come to Toronto for \$4000 and that Oxford was becoming an "exhausted mine" as far as the needs of the History Department were concerned.¹ Falconer, however, did not share Wrong's concern; "I am inclined to think", he said "that if you get a Canadian it would be an advantage at present." Falconer sensed the need to look for someone to "give another side to the training" at Toronto such as a Canadian from Harvard or another American University.² Although Smith and Hodder-Williams agreed with

¹Wrong to Falconer, 9 February 1916, 9 June 1923, UTA Falconer Papers; Wrong to Underhill, 15 February 1921, PAC Underhill Papers.

²Falconer to Wrong, 28 February 1919, UTA, Falconer Papers; see also Wrong to Falconer, 16 February 1919, UTA, Falconer Papers.

Falconer, Wrong resisted the suggestion and in 1923 rejected an applicant whose training followed the "American approach".³ Wrong still believed that an Oxford training was "most valuable"; that Oxford was the place to find men who had the qualities he wanted.

In the years after the war Wrong looked for men with first class standing (although at least once he accepted a high second) and a background in Classics or English as well as History. He also looked for certain personal qualities:⁴

I have always tried to include character, good manners, [and] forcefulness as well as learning in the qualifications for a University teacher.

Since Wrong seldom, if ever, looked for staff except in Oxford and his appointments nearly all went to Canadian graduates of Oxford,⁵ it is clear that he associated character,

³Wrong to Falconer, 19 May, 9 June 1923, UTA, Falconer Papers. Wrong opposed what he saw as a "very one-sided method" and he gave as an example the work of Harold Innis on the CPR:

[It is] a sound piece of research but it is almost formless in respect to literary qualities, and the text is overburdened with footnotes to an absurd extent. And this excess of method is what the American School of History glories in.

⁴Wrong to Falconer, 22 March 1921, Armstrong Collection. See Pearson, Mike, 47; Creighton graduated in English and History, and Hume Wrong in Classics.

⁵Brebner, though taking his B.A. at Oxford, was the son of the Registrar at Toronto, and had taken some undergraduate work there before enlisting. Brebner went to Columbia in 1925; a year later Wrong expressed an interest in inviting Brebner back to Toronto. See Wrong to Falconer, 22 April 1926, UTA, Falconer Papers.

good manners and forcefulness with Oxford.⁶

A broad knowledge was expected and sometimes demanded of the staff in history, who often taught a wide range of subjects. While efforts were made to accommodate the interests and background of the individual teacher, the tradition had been established earlier that a professor should be able to profess "all periods".⁷ As late as 1928 Wallace could write disparagingly against "appointing someone simply because he knows how to read medieval charters."⁸

⁶Blake, a nephew of Wrong, was appointed for half term to take the place of C.H.A. Armstrong, who had been appointed but then resigned to work for Prime Minister Meighen. Wrong to Falconer, 29 October 1920, 13 January 1921, UTA, Falconer Papers. Armstrong (B.A., Toronto, 1911) was a lawyer; from 1918-20 he was Secretary of the Canadian War Commission. He married Agnes Wrong.

⁷Wallace to Falconer, 15 August 1928, UTA, Falconer Papers; (Wallace was referring to himself and George Wrong). See also, Donald Creighton, Towards the Discovery of Canada: Selected Essays (Toronto, Macmillan, 1972) 1; Pearson, Mike, 49-50. In his first few years at Saskatchewan, Underhill was asked to teach Ancient History, Greek, Philosophy and Political Science. See Underhill to Murray, 14 January 1914, University of Saskatchewan, Murray Papers and PAC, Underhill Interviews, II, 45-6, 172-3.

The few references to specific teaching responsibilities that were found tend to support Wallace's contention; see Smith to Falconer, 16 March 1927, UTA, Falconer Papers, Box 111; UTA, History Department, Box 7, Files 17,18,21 and Box 9, File 76.

⁸Wallace to Falconer, 15 August 1928, UTA, Falconer Papers. The later careers of several in the Department may indicate the value of a broad background; their books and articles ranged even wider than their teaching duties, and have probably influenced as many outside the classroom as in. See D.G. Creighton's "Introduction" to the Carleton Library Edition of J.B. Brebner, North Atlantic Triangle: The Interplay of Canada, The United States and Great Britain (Toronto, McClelland and Stewart, 1966) xiv-xvi; [R.A. Spencer] "Edward Wardwell McInnis" International Journal 29 (Spring 1974) 315-28; Appendices C and E. Further, I have heard several professors speak with pride of the work involved in teaching many classes; many feel that younger colleagues suffer from a serious deficiency.

The tradition of breadth extended as far as applicants for the Kylie Scholarship, who were selected more on the basis of intelligence, English grammar and personality, than for scholastic achievement.⁹

The staff continued to accept the obligations involved in discussion groups and the Historical Club.¹⁰ They often went further in their effort to reach out to students; they invited students to have tea at their homes or at Baldwin House, where the Department had its offices.¹¹ The staff also concerned themselves with absentees; there are copies of dozens of letters in the History Department files to individual students expressing concern for absences from discussion groups.¹² In addition to regular classes, groups and informal contacts, the entire staff took turns teaching extension classes, and dealing with correspondence students. Much of this involved travelling to other cities or to different schools in Toronto to give courses to teachers. At one point the demand was so

⁹D.J. McDougall, Interview, 19 July 1974. McDougall said that efforts were made to keep the selection committee composed of Oxford men.

¹⁰The only note of dissension discovered was a memo by Hume Wrong who was concerned that too much work was making the discussion groups ineffective. See above, 120-1.

¹¹Interviews with Norah Story, 3 June 1974, Donald Creighton, 18 February 1974 and D.J. McDougall, 19 July 1974.

¹²A few of these were signed "F"; most were not signed. Saunders said "we all wrote to students" and Creighton concurred. Interviews, 11 December 1973 and 18 February 1974.

great that Martin had to refuse a request, stating that both he and Underhill had eight or nine similar engagements. While they were paid for this work, it is clear that money was less important a motive than the sense of obligation to teach no matter where the need.¹³

Other members of the Department also felt this sense that teaching was a higher calling. Helen McMurchie Bott wrote in 1921:¹⁴

History is...not merely an academic discipline but a vital instrument of guidance--a key to the perplexities of the present situation.

In his memoirs, Lester Pearson spoke of wanting to be a "benefactor of humanity" and he praised teachers who had the ability to inspire others. Underhill spent a lifetime trying to articulate the values of liberalism and trying to bring fresh ideas to his students, and the general public, and to make them think for themselves.¹⁵

¹³See Smith to Falconer, 16 March 1927, UTA History Department, F 46; Martin to the Secretary, University Extension, 28 November 1930, UTA, History Department, E 37; Martin to W.J. Dunlop, 18 October 1935, UTA, History Department; Memo re: correspondence classes, 1936-7, UTA, History Department, D 33; Underhill, Interviews II, 18-19, PAC, Underhill Papers. Underhill said that he didn't like giving extension classes because of the time spent travelling and because the classes "had something deadly about them;" he gradually gave it up to the junior men, who needed the money.

¹⁴Helen McMurchie Bott, "The Department of History", 353.

¹⁵Pearson, Mike, 38, 42, 49; Underhill, In Search of Canadian Liberalism (Toronto, Macmillan, 1960) ix-xiii; Underhill Interviews, I, 157-72, PAC, Underhill Papers.

The emphasis on teaching and personal contact with students was a major tradition in the Department. "Methods... are never taken for granted, but are constantly under experiment" wrote Helen Bott. "I was always primarily interested in teaching" said Glazebrook. "We believe in personal human relations between the teacher and the student" said Smith, even "at the expense of other efforts which more readily attract the attention of the authorities and the public."¹⁶ Teaching was for most members of the Department much more than a job to be done; it was part of their mission to serve the public.

The strength and character of the sense of public obligation can be illustrated by the later careers of several members of the Department. Three of those appointed in the 1920s joined the Department of External Affairs and rose to the top. Proby went into medicine, and McInnis and Underhill participated actively in national and international politics as critic, author and editor.¹⁷ Where Wrong and Kylie had worked in religious and charitable organizations, the more

¹⁶Bott, "Department of History", 354; Glazebrook, Interview, 25 June 1973; Smith to Falconer, 1 March 1927, UTA, Falconer Papers; See also Pearson, Mike, 48-55.

¹⁷Hume Wrong was Ambassador to Washington and later Under-Secretary of State; Glazebrook was assistant Under-Secretary of State; Pearson was Minister for External Affairs and Prime Minister. Other members of the Department of History who served in the government include Massey, G.R. Riddell, and J.M.S. Careless; see also Tim Creery, "From Pearson to Smith to Green", Varsity Graduate 8 (December 1959) 26-30 for other Toronto graduates in External Affairs; Appendix C.

recent appointees served the public through their expertise and scholarship. But the ideal was the same--to make a better world through positive action.

While the Oxford values existed in the Department of History, they were not unaltered by the transfer to Toronto. Underhill said that at first his lectures were just a distillation of what he had absorbed at Oxford, but that gradually he developed his own point of view and his own methods; in particular he was influenced by the writings of American historians such as Becker and Beard. Pearson wrote that the Oxford tutorial, with but one student, was impossible to duplicate at Toronto and that teaching at Toronto was often very impersonal and "remote".¹⁸ The ties with Oxford remained and the members of the Department continued to recommend further training at Oxford,¹⁹ but the new members did not write articles in praise of Oxford as had Kylie, Feiling and Bell. The new men wrote in clear effective style, but did not write erudite but light literary articles as had Massey, Marga Wrong and Hooke.²⁰

¹⁸Underhill Interviews, I, 169-70 and ff, PAC, Underhill Papers; Pearson, Mike, 49.

¹⁹Brebner and Hume Wrong were specifically mentioned as having been of great help or influence; Pearson, Mike, 40 and Creighton, Interview, 18 February 1974. McDougall, McInnis and Glazebrook also went to Oxford after being students at Toronto in the 1920s.

²⁰Their writing style was probably due as much to the training they received at Toronto in History, English and History (Creighton, Massey and Wallace) or Classics (Hume Wrong and Underhill).

An even bigger change occurred in the relative emphasis on teaching and writing. Some of the appointees had the traditional general background of Classics or an Oxford B.A., but many had degrees in which original research was a major requirement (see Table 3). Whereas prior to 1919 only one third of the Department had published books or scholarly articles, by 1929 two thirds of the Department had done so.²¹ But while teaching was neither neglected nor disparaged, it is clear that after the war the emphasis had changed. Wrong began to put pressure on members of his staff to publish books. He wrote to Falconer in 1919 that he was seeking "a greater development of production in respect to historical writing". He also urged Underhill: "get a book with your name on the title" if [you intend to] "have a shot at the headship" of the Department when Wrong retired. And Wrong wanted Lower to publish his M.A. thesis: "I think a book is the best thing to keep before your mind, that stays on a shelf and is a reminder of its author".²² The pressure to

²¹See Appendix C; Hilary Bates "Bibliography of Academic and Journalistic Writings by James J. Talman," in Aspects of Nineteenth-Century Ontario: Essays presented to James J. Talman, F.H. Armstrong et. al. eds., (Toronto, University Press, 1974) 334; Norman Penlington "Bibliography of the Writings of Frank H. Underhill" in On Canada: Essays in Honour of Frank H. Underhill, Norman Penlington, ed. (Toronto, University Press, 1971) 133, 136; Marjorie Reid, "The Quebec Fur-traders and western policy, 1763-1777" CHR 6 (March 1925) 15-32 and "Pitt's Decision to Keep Canada" CHA Report (1926) 21-32.

²²Wrong to Falconer, 9 February 1919, UTA, Falconer Papers; Wrong to Underhill, 21 March 1923, PAC, Underhill Papers; Wrong to Lower, 26 October, 7 and 19 December 1923, 10 March 1924, UTA, History Department, Box 3.

publish was noticed by both senior and junior members of the Department. Smith was told that he was foolish to waste his energies on undergraduates, and Pearson recalled years later that Wrong had said that his (Pearson's) chances of advancement were thin unless he got down to work on a book.²³ Brebner went so far as to send his manuscript to Columbia University Studies because the University of Toronto Studies and Oxford were too slow in publishing.²⁴ The situation at Toronto had changed considerably from the days when an editorial in The Varsity said that professors should not write books because this might cut into the time that should be spent preparing lectures.²⁵

Wrong himself may have been under some pressure to alter his traditional pattern of appointments. In reply to a comment that his Department was made up of Englishmen he said that only Kennedy and Flenley were not graduates of the University of Toronto and "not one member...was brought from England."²⁶ In the same letter he pointed out that all members

²³Cochrane to Underhill, 10 February 1926, PAC, Underhill Papers; Tim Creery, "From Pearson to Smith to Green" 26-30. In his memoirs Pearson says nothing of this; Creery obtained the information from an interview with Pearson. Creery to Meikle, 20 November 1974.

²⁴Brebner to Archibald MacMechan, 2 January 1926, MacMechan Papers, Dalhousie University.

²⁵The Varsity, 27 (23 January 1908) 216.

²⁶Wrong to Falconer, 22 April 1926, UTA, Falconer Papers.

of the Department had done or were contemplating research on Canadian history. The defensive tone of his letter gives the impression that the criticism was taken seriously by Wrong. Certainly it was a far cry from the note of pride, made fifteen years earlier, that five of the seven in his Department were graduates of Oxford.²⁷

The changes made after Wrong retired in 1927 offer some hints as to the pressures involved. Falconer asked George Smith to act as head of the Department, to coordinate its work and to speak on its behalf.²⁸ Smith had taken his B.A. at Toronto and had gone on to Oxford as a Rhodes Scholar. Except for war service, he had been a member of the Department of History since 1912, and he was in close accord with the values of breadth, teaching and public service.²⁹ This accord is illustrated by the pattern of appointments made while he was acting head and in the year or two prior to that, years in

²⁷Wrong to Parkin, 12 October 1911, PAC, Parkin Papers.

²⁸Falconer to Smith, 24 June 1927, Falconer to the Board of Governors, 23 June 1927, UTA, Falconer Papers; Falconer to Underhill, 14 May 1927, PAC, Underhill Papers; Smith was not happy with the idea of being chairman; the term was not generally understood and he suggested that either he be appointed acting head or that the chairman be allotted a "definite sum" of money. Smith to Falconer 3 July 1927, UTA, Falconer Papers.

²⁹"In Memorium" (a copy of a motion passed by the Council of the Faculty of Arts and Science, University of Alberta), New Trail 6(1948) 7-8: "He was not a narrow specialist...not a research man."

which Wrong's interest in the Department was declining. Four appointments went to Toronto graduates who had taken an Oxford B.A. and two other appointments went to Oxford graduates (see Table 3).

Yet Smith departed slightly from the Toronto-Oxford pattern of appointments in a number of ways. First, Smith said that the men to be appointed:³⁰

should be chosen for their ability and their personality but also with some regard for the subjects they profess and with some attention to the gaps in our curriculum....

While the qualities that Smith wanted (ability and personality) were similar to the qualities demanded by Wrong (character, good manners and forcefulness), it is clear that Smith had rejected the belief that a professor should profess "all periods".³¹ Second, Smith was critical of the Department's weakness in medieval history and he was involved in the

³⁰Smith to Falconer, 1 March 1927, UTA, Falconer Papers.

³¹Wrong himself may have rejected the belief, but he never said so explicitly; he did, however, belong to a generation that accepted the idea. See Wallace to Falconer, 15 August 1928, UTA, Falconer Papers.

movement to overcome this weakness;³² the medievalist Rothwell was appointed in 1929. A third departure was the appointment of a graduate student (Talman) as reader to mark tests and examinations for professors who had become overburdened by an unexpectedly high enrolment.³³ Smith may also have been the moving force behind the appointment of Brown, the first man to join the Department after being trained in the United States.³⁴ But the most significant departure from the Toronto-Oxford pattern under Smith was the appointment of Chester Martin as head of the Department.

³²Medieval history had been covered during the war by Marga Wrong and Hooke. Flenley was supposed to have been appointed as a medievalist, and he did do some work in this area in the early 1920s; however he became more interested in modern Europe, and medieval history passed to Brebner, possibly to Proby, and then to McDougall. The creation of the Pontifical Institute for Medieval Studies in 1929 had an impact on the Department of History; according to Bertie Wilkinson, President Cody pushed the Department to balance the Pontifical Institute. See Smith to Underhill, 13 May, 6 June 1927, PAC, Underhill Papers; Smith to Falconer, n.d. re: estimates for 1927-28, UTA, Falconer Papers A32/3; [Smith] to M.D.C. Tait, 11 December 1928, UTA, History Department, SF 5; Falconer to E. Barker, 5 February 1929, UTA, Falconer Papers; (Toronto) Globe, 1 November 1928; L.K. Shook, Catholic post-secondary education in English-speaking Canada: a history (Toronto, University Press, 1971) 161-3, 210 ff; Wilkinson, Interview, 1 May 1975; F.M Powicke to Falconer, 4 March 1929, UTA, Falconer Papers.

³³Smith to Falconer, 5 October 1928, UTA, Falconer Papers; J.J. Talman to Meikle, 23 September, 31 October 1974, Interview, 28 September 1974.

³⁴D.G. Creighton, Interview, 18 February 1974.

The decision to appoint Martin meant that four men in the Department were by-passed. Wrong had suggested that Underhill might be interested but Falconer rejected the idea on the grounds that Underhill had only just joined the Department. Smith and Flenley were qualified but neither had published in Canadian history.³⁵ Wallace had been editor of the Review since 1920 and had taken charge of graduate students and "techniques of research" while Smith had been acting head, but Wallace was also University Librarian and may not have been interested in being head of History. When Martin was appointed, Wallace announced his intention to resign his connection with graduate students.³⁶ Martin, on the other hand, was a Rhodes scholar who had twenty years of teaching experience and who had published five books.³⁷ It is therefore likely that the main reason for Martin's appointment was the growing interest in research in Canadian history.

³⁵Wrong to Underhill, 21 March 1923, PAC, Underhill Papers; Falconer to Underhill, 3 May 1927, PAC, Underhill Papers; Smith had been unhappy about the "Sturm und Drang" atmosphere in the Department since the war and he hinted that the appointment of Hume Wrong smacked of nepotism. (Between 1915 and 1921 Wrong appointed a daughter, a son and a nephew to the Department). Cochrane to Underhill, 5 May 1923, 10 February 1926; Smith to Underhill, 6 June 1927, PAC, Underhill Papers.

³⁶Smith to Falconer, 3 May 1927, Falconer to Wrong, 14 May 1927, UTA, Falconer Papers; Wallace to Smith, 17 October 1928, UTA, History Department, W 195. The pressure for graduate work may have come from Underhill and Flenley; see [Smith] to Wrong, 16 November 1928, UTA, History Department, Box 7, File 5.

³⁷See Appendix C.

One other variation from the pattern of appointments established before the war should be noted. Wrong had appointed a total of four women to the staff beginning in 1912, and while two of these were appointed during the war, it could be argued that he did want at least one woman on staff. Marjorie Reid was reappointed in 1922, after taking a B. Litt. at Oxford, but her appointment was "never... considered permanent" and even after several years she was never promoted beyond lecturer. Kennedy wrote in a letter that "...our policy [in the History Department] is not...to give higher appointments to women." Reid was unhappy and had made enquiries about prospects at Saskatchewan, then married in 1926, and left teaching completely.³⁸ What is significant is the apparent discrimination, and the fact that after Reid left there were no women in the Department (except for readers) until the 1940s.

To summarize, the pattern of appointments during the 1920s remained fairly close to the Toronto-Oxford traditions established before the war, but there were several variations. There were suggestions, at first rejected by Wrong, regarding the need for someone trained in the United States. Then appointments were made to Brown, who had a Ph.D. from Chicago, and to Underhill who had been greatly influenced by American

³⁸Reid to Underhill, 13 July 1925, PAC, Underhill Papers; Kennedy to Sellery, 9 May 1925, UTA, History Department, Box 5, P 150.

historians. Appointments went to men--and one woman--with research degrees. Appointments were made with eye to subject specialization and with particular reference to the need for a medievalist. The first graduate assistant was appointed. Wrong started to "pressure" his staff and others to publish, and the proportion of the staff who did publish doubled during the 1920s. The members of the Department did not praise Oxford openly and publicly and at one point Wrong became quite defensive about their origins--virtually denying the Oxford ties. And finally, a new head was appointed from outside the Department. Wrong's desire for people with character, good manners and forcefulness was granted and many of the traditions he established were continued, but changes made during the 1920s were to mark the beginning of a different tradition in appointments. It was a period of transition from an emphasis on breadth to an emphasis on scholarly writing, but the change in the pattern of appointments is less obvious than the changes in the graduate curriculum.

CHAPTER NINE

The Best B.A.: The Worst M.A.: Changes in the Graduate Program

In 1927 a University of Chicago Dean was reported to have said that Toronto had the best B.A. on the continent, but that his opinion of the M.A. was directly the opposite and that the Toronto M.A. had no value at Chicago.¹ The Dean's opinion might have been valid if it had been expressed early in the decade, but by 1927 the University had changed the M.A. program considerably, and the History Department had raised the standard of its M.A. to a level approximating that which exists today. But in the early part of the decade there was no Ph.D. program in history and the M.A. theses that were accepted varied widely in quality. The only part of the history curriculum in which the Department could take pride was the B.A. program which, if not the best, on the continent, was good enough that few changes were thought necessary.

In discussions regarding course content and method the staff continued to uphold values that had come from Oxford.

¹Walter Murray, President of the University of Saskatchewan, to Falconer, 15 May 1927, UTA, Falconer Papers. Murray's daughter had taken her M.A. in history at Toronto (1924) and had difficulty in obtaining credit for her work.

Various members of the Department suggested altering the structure so as to encourage the students to read more widely and to take a comprehensive view of the work; they also spoke several times of the necessity to give first class grades only for work of high quality--and how infrequently this occurred.² Teaching remained a major priority; members of the Department had a teaching load of eighteen hours a week and did extra work in correspondence, extension and summer classes.³ The pattern of courses remained as before, with the emphasis on British and Canadian constitutional history, followed by medieval and modern European history and ancient political theory. Yet one can perceive a drift away from the Oxford-orientation in the curriculum during the 1920s.

Most of the changes made in the curriculum in this decade were merely housekeeping,⁴ but a few might be regarded

²See UTA, Minutes of the English and History Department, 26 November 1924; Smith to Underhill, 23 May 1927, PAC, Underhill Papers; Underhill to Murray, 4 January 1926, PAC, Underhill Papers; Flenley to R.W. Swetland, 16 March 1931, UTA, History Department, N 124; Flenley to A.V. Douglas, 18 January 1932, UTA, History Department, T 187; and letters in UTA, History Department, Box 10, File 98, and Box 6, File T 184. See also Underhill to H.D. Archibald, 21 September 1951, PAC, Underhill Papers and The News (Toronto) (2 September 1905) 15.

³Smith to Underhill, 23 May 1927, PAC, Underhill Papers; Extension Department to G.P. de T. Glazebrook, 20 October 1926, UTA, History Department; W.J. Dunlop to Wrong, 19 March 1925 and reply, 25 March 1925, UTA, Falconer Papers, Box 91; Wrong, Memo "Recommendations Regarding Extension Work in History", 18 March 1925, UTA, Falconer Papers, Box 91.

⁴For example: moving a course to a different year, adding a course in Historical Geography or International Relations for a few years, clarifying the separation between pass and honours, reducing the number of pass courses offered, or deemphasizing the Indian wars and the American Revolution.

as the beginnings of the Americanization of the curriculum. First, the number of special subjects was increased from two to nine, thus offering more choice to the individual student. Second, a separate course in the history of the United States was listed for the first time; prior to 1923 American history had been discussed as part of the developments in the British Empire ("with special reference to Loyalist opinion") or in a half course only. Further, the 1930 calendar suggested a changing point of view by including a discussion of European expansion overseas with "special reference to North America". Had there been no further development these changes would be insignificant. But later there were other developments, and the changes in the 1920s mark the faint beginnings of a trend towards a relatively free choice from among a great number of courses, towards the reduction of the status of British History to but one of several areas of world significance, and towards a North American point of view. But during the 1920s the B.A. program in general did not undergo many changes; it was the graduate curriculum that went through a period of transition.

The M.A. program in the University was little more than a B.A. plus an essay.⁵ The process of formalizing the regulations and raising the standards, which had been going on since early in the century, became more or less complete in

⁵See above, 60-63, 138-9.

the 1920s with the introduction of specified courses, required attendance and examinations. What was true of the University in general was also true of the Department of History. Up to 1920 the M.A. in History did not extend much beyond the undergraduate program in either philosophy or standards and the theses were marked by inconsistencies of format to such an extent as to make one question whether or not there was a full understanding of either the process or the purpose of research.

The physical appearance of many theses resembled an early draft of an essay. Odd sized paper was common and not always consistent within a single thesis. There were many corrections in the text and in a few cases entire paragraphs were struck out. Margins were an innovation that became the norm only in later years; more than one thesis accepted in the early part of the century had absolutely no margins whatsoever. Some theses which were typed might have looked better if they had been handwritten. It was obvious that the Department of History did not regard M.A. theses in the same light as published material which might affect the reputation of the university, nor even as an early stage for a publishable paper.⁶

⁶A 1918 thesis was written on both normal and legal sized paper, and a 1923 thesis on paper that measured 8½ by 6 inches.

It should not be thought that sloppy or casual work necessarily means unscholarly work. A.R.M. Lower's thesis has been consulted several times, and both Harold Innis and Adam Shortt urged him to have it published; see Shortt to the Secretary, Board of Graduate Studies, 3 May 1923, G.M. Smith to Miss MacKenzie, 11 May 1923 UTA, History Department, Box 3.

A cursory examination was made of theses accepted by Queen's and McMaster and by other Toronto departments in this period; they resembled history theses in general physical appearance and format. On the other hand many of these theses would probably be acceptable today.

More important than the physical appearance of a thesis is the format, which includes not only such features as page size and the use of typewriters, but also references and bibliography. Table 4 summarizes the characteristics of theses written while Wrong has head of the Department. Of particular significance is the date of the first appearance of a certain characteristic, the number of years that elapsed before that characteristic became the norm, and the fact that many of these features became the norm only in the 1920s.

TABLE 4
External Format in M.A. Theses in History

<u>Characteristic</u>	<u>Earliest Appearance</u>	<u>Absent as Late as</u>
Unlined paper	1893	1918
8½ x 11 inch paper	1893	1923
Typed	1900	1903
Double Spaced	1900	1923
Bibliography or its Equivalent	1900	1913
References or Footnotes	1904	1924
Publisher and Date of Books Listed in Bibliography	1903	1920
Use of Word "Bibliography"	1912	1924

The failure to have specific standards for references is more than a matter of form. References are among the most important hallmarks of modern scholarship; they permit the reader to assess the evidence upon which an argument is built, and to retrace the steps by which a conclusion was reached. In this manner scholars check one another and build on past knowledge. The presence of references and bibliography is a necessary step in making an intellectual study acceptable to

other experts in the same profession, and the inconsistencies in the History Department in this regard lend considerable weight to the charge that Toronto had the worst M.A. on the continent. For example, at least ten different phrases were used where "bibliography" appears today.⁷ The variety suggests both a lack of consistency and a conception of the use and significance of sources that was at best unclear or undefined, and at worst quite naive. Another illustration of this naivety was the addition of references after the thesis had been written.⁸

There is no clear watershed, before which M.A. theses had certain characteristics, and after which the modern format was used consistently. All that can be said is that the external format required today--typed, doublespaced, on unlined 8½ by 11 inch paper of good quality, with regular margins, references and bibliography in a recognized style--did not exist consistently in M.A. theses accepted by the Department of History. Some of the early theses had some of these features, but not until the mid 1920s did this format become the norm, enabling the M.A. theses in history to take on the trappings of the modern thesis. The transition was a gradual one, as was the formalization of other regulations.

⁷These were: "list of works consulted" (1899); "books consulted" (1901, 1914); "authorities" (1903); "books read" (1903, 1911); "works consulted" (1905, 1908); "list of references" (1908); "list of authorities" (1909); "authorities and books consulted" (1919); "authors read" (1920); and "sources and authorities" (1924).

⁸See above, 138-9.

One of the reasons for the poor reputation of the Toronto M.A., at least in the eyes of the Dean at Chicago, was the absence of definite courses, attendance requirements and examinations;⁹ during the mid 1920s this shortcoming was rectified as the regulations were made increasingly specific. The earliest mention of oral examinations for "all candidates" appears in 1919 and written examinations could be imposed "where required" after the candidate's thesis had been read.¹⁰ But Wrong soon realized that even these changes were not enough and that the M.A. program was not meeting the needs of students coming into the program without a Toronto B.A. Accordingly he made arrangements for all graduate students to take "four or five groups weekly" and to write an examination in December and an essay by February of their first year.¹¹ By 1925 a separate course of study had been instituted covering British, European, Canadian and American history. Regulations were drawn up for students proceeding by course alone and by course and thesis. Students who chose Canadian subjects were informed

⁹Walter Murray to Falconer, 15 March 1927, UTA, Falconer Papers, and above, 182 ff; the practice of the History Department had been to make blanket recommendations to the Registrar, giving in support only the title of the satisfactory thesis.

¹⁰Hodder-Williams to Miss Mackenzie (Secretary of Graduate Studies) 8 May 1919, University of Toronto, School of Graduate Studies, Minutes of the Board of Graduate Studies, History File.

¹¹Wrong to Underhill, 17 March 1924, PAC, Underhill Papers; Wrong, Memo, 5 December 1924, UTA, History Department, Box 8, File 53.

in the calendar that they "should be prepared to avail themselves of the facilities for research in the Dominion Archives at Ottawa".¹² During the next few years attendance, language requirements and cognate subjects were more closely defined.¹³ Even though the process of formalization continued after 1930 the changes were minor; the basic pattern of the M.A. program had been established.

The theses that were accepted reveal much about the interests of the staff and the currents of thought in the 1920s.

¹²Students proceeding by course alone were responsible for: (1) bibliography and historical method, (2) two periods out of a list of six--later eleven or twelve--and (3) a cognate subject; students who wrote a thesis were responsible for (1) and (3) and for the preparation of a thesis "on an approved subject based on the sources and prepared under the direction of the staff in history" plus the general background of the subject chosen.

¹³In 1928 students were required to be "in actual attendance"; in 1929 a language requirement, "French or German", appeared for the first time; a year later students who wrote a thesis were required to take both written and oral examinations; the choices of cognate subjects were broadened from Economics and Political Science to Political Science, English, Philosophy and Anthropology (1928) to "courses in other departments by arrangement" (1932).

Table 5 indicates that the interest in Canadian history rose appreciably after 1918 and that this trend was even more pronounced under the stewardship of Wallace and Martin. During the years 1924 to 1927 the number of M.A. degrees granted fell from six to two to one to none.¹⁴ After 1927, when Wallace was head of graduate studies, the number of degrees granted rose and the number in Canadian History rose even more rapidly.

TABLE 5

Subject Areas of M.A. Theses Granted in History, 1893-1940

	<u>Asia/ East Europe</u>	<u>West Europe</u>	<u>Great Britain</u>	<u>United States</u>	<u>Canada</u>	<u>Total</u>
1893-1904	-	6	7	1	7	21
1905-1916	1	6	12	1	7	27
1918-1926	2	2	6	-	17	27
1928-1934	-	-	3	-	21	24
1935-1940	-	-	4	1	23	<u>28</u> 127

SOURCE: See Appendix H

Another subject area that shows a marked change after 1918 is church history, which virtually disappeared after Wrong left. Related to theses in church history was the number of ministers taking the M.A. degree. Most of the twenty-eight ministers who received a M.A. did so before 1927;

¹⁴Wrong had expressed a desire to retire in 1923, and his involvement with the American Historical Association dropped after 1920. He was in his 60s, and it is reasonable to assume that his interest and energies were declining. On the other hand, he continued to write and take part in public activities; further, these were the years in which the Ph.D. program was begun. They were also years when Wallace was not a member of the Department.

twenty three before 1915.¹⁵ And, understandably, most of the ministers wrote on topics related to church history, as illustrated in Table 6. This suggests that Wrong's interest

TABLE 6

Subject Classification of M.A. Theses in History, 1893-1926

Occupation	Church History	Classification Difficult		Political History
Ministers	19	2	2	2
Non Ministers	-	4	1	38
Unknown	1	1	1	4

NOTE: Topics defined as church history include biographical studies emphasizing the theology of men like John Knox, Oliver Cromwell, Thomas Cranmer, and Martin Luther; periods such as the Reformation and the British Civil War; and subjects such as monasteries and the Book of Common Prayer.

SOURCE: See Appendix H

in church and medieval history, expressed so forcefully in his inaugural address but largely ignored in the curriculum, found its expression in the graduate program. It also suggests that the needs of society or the interests of the students were changing from an emphasis on the ministry before the war to a more secular approach in the 1920s. This transition is further illustrated by the occupations of

¹⁵See Appendix H.

the students taking the M.A. degree, as listed in Table 7.

TABLE 7

Occupations of 127 M.A. Graduates in History, 1893-1940

	<u>1893- 1904</u>	<u>1905- 1917</u>	<u>1918- 1927</u>	<u>1928- 1934</u>	<u>1935- 1940</u>	<u>Total</u>
Education	8(6)	4*(2)	6(4)	6(3)	6(1)	30(17)
Ministry	10	13*	2	-	3*	28
Higher Education	-	3**(1)	8(1)	8**(1)	3(1)	22(4)
Public Service	-	-	5(4*)	2*	3(2)	10(6)
Journalism	-	2(1)	2(1)	2*	3*	9(2)
Business	-	3(1)	1(1*)	1	1(1)	6(3)
Library	-	-	-	2(2)	3(2)	5(4)
Law	1	1	-	1	-	3
Occupation Unknown	<u>2(1)</u>	<u>3(1)</u>	<u>4(2)</u>	<u>4(3)</u>	<u>7(4)</u>	<u>20(11)</u>
Total	21	29	28	26	29	133(47)
# per year	1.8	2.2	2.8	3.7	4.8	

NOTES: * A student who had two different occupations.

() The number of women included in the larger figure.

"Education" includes elementary and secondary teachers, inspectors and school principals; "higher education" includes university teachers and administrators; "public service" includes those who worked for government agencies, the United Nations and the Canadian Institute for International Affairs; "journalism" includes writers and broadcasters. No theses were listed for the years 1917 or 1927.

SOURCES: Information regarding occupations was provided by the Office of Statistics and Records, University of Toronto. See Appendix H.

After the war the number of ministers dropped sharply, and the number employed in some areas of public service rose correspondingly.

Table 7 also lists the proportion of women who received a M.A. Women are over-represented in education and library, and under-represented in higher education, journalism and law.

Some, such as secretaries, may have their status misrepresented, but several others held positions of significance and responsibility. One can conclude first, that some women occupied positions traditionally held by men, and second, that the History Department did not discriminate against women as graduate students (even though they did discriminate in appointments and promotions).¹⁶

Another change in the graduate curriculum during the 1920s was the introduction and granting of the first Ph.D. in history. The University had been interested in original research as early as 1883, when fellowships were introduced; the first Ph.D. was granted in 1900. For the University as a whole the significant period of growth was during the first quarter of the century when the Ph.D. program and administration went through a process of gradual formalization culminating in the formation of the School of Graduate Studies in 1923.¹⁷ But most of the early Ph.D.s granted were in science; in history, there were a few tentative gestures towards developing the Ph.D., but nothing of significance was accomplished until the mid 1920s.

¹⁶Maragaret Wrong was widely known for her work in war-torn Europe and in the field of African education; A.H.G. Macdonald was a Deputy Director in the United Nations; Sister Mary Thomas Aquinas Carroll was a college President; and several others were university teachers, social workers, or interpreters. See Appendix H, and above, 180.

¹⁷See P.N. Ross, "The Origins of the Ph.D."; A.B. Macallum, "The Foundation of the Board of Graduate Studies" UTM 16 (February 1916) 220; Laskin Report, 1-13.

In 1900 history was one of several minor fields available to students majoring in Political Science and Oriental Languages and Literature. In 1903 Wrong "transmitted" a recommendation from "the teaching staff in history" that history be changed from a minor to a major subject in the Ph.D. program. From 1904 to 1908 history was included in the calendars, but from 1909 to 1916 history was not a Ph.D. subject, major or minor.¹⁸ When the Board of Graduate Studies was formed in 1916, history again appeared in the Ph.D. program, offering majors in the History of Canada, England under the Tudors and Stuarts and seven minors in British, European, American and Canadian history and after 1917, Aristotle and Hobbes--the same as the undergraduate curriculum. Wrong said of the program: "we do not give formal courses....Each candidate is dealt with individually and his work is done privately in relation to the member of the staff to whom he is assigned".¹⁹ (At the time there was one student enrolled.) The calendar was not much more specific; candidates had to: "present a thesis of such a character as to constitute an addition to the literature of the subject selected". Although there was a

¹⁸There are several possible reasons. Ross suggests that the lack of staff and the demands of undergraduate teaching prevented departments such as History from offering a full Ph.D. program; "The Origins of the Ph.D.", 276-8. The Ph.D. degree was earned through the honours departments, and at that time Wrong was the only member of the History Department. When the History Department did expand, none of the new members had undergone Ph.D. training.

¹⁹Wrong to Jameson, 2 November 1922, LC, Jameson Papers.

program, no students were graduated until after the formation of the School of Graduate Studies in 1923.²⁰

The Ph.D. program, even though starting later than the M.A. program, and at a much more mature level, still went through a process of evolution. Even though there were regulations for attendance, courses, foreign languages and publication of theses, at first the regulations were interpreted rather loosely. For example, Wrong felt that the residence requirement need not be applied strictly in the cases of Sage and A.G. Dorland in London, Ontario, as long as the work "was done in accordance with a plan arranged here". He did suggest that Dorland spend a "few weeks" in Toronto so that their minds "might get into close touch".²¹ The decision regarding Sage was justified on the grounds that he had been in residence as an undergraduate and thus the history staff "knew all about him".²² To one applicant Wrong said "It might be possible for you to qualify by attending

²⁰The first Ph. D.s were granted to Walter Sage, then teaching at U.B.C., and Walter Kerr, a Toronto student who had finished his degree at Oxford. Sage described his motives for taking the Ph.D.:

I am going to be working at B.C. history anyway and I might as well be getting some academic credit for my work. That is rather a utilitarian way of looking at it, but the Canadian West is not exempt from the American worship of the Ph.D....My dream is to get an English doctorate, preferably from London, but in the meantime I should be glad to obtain a Toronto Ph.D.

Report of the Staff in History on...W.B. Kerr..., 4 May 1925, UTA, History Department, Box 3; Sage to Grant, 16 October 1921, PAC, Grant Papers.

²¹Wrong to Dorland, 22 November, UTA, History Department.

²²Ibid.

during summer session".²³ The treatment of the language requirement was similarly less than rigid. A few weeks before Sage graduated Wrong inquired: "Have I raised with you the point as to your having two languages other than English?"²⁴ Apparently this matter had been brought to Wrong's attention by the Dean of Graduate Studies. As late as 1929 no arrangements had been made for special instruction in languages beyond informing the students that they must do "sight papers". Nor were examinations for these students formalized; as far as the Department was concerned, they would "probably call in a language expert" to examine the students. Shortly thereafter a reading course was instituted.²⁵

The requirement that theses be published also underwent change. In the early stages of the Ph.D. program students had been required to deposit 100 copies of the thesis with the Registrar (150 in 1912). In 1925, according to Wrong, the Department of History required only one copy, but in practice the candidate had three copies made.²⁶

²³Wrong to E.T. Glendon, 15 January 1926, UTA, History Department.

²⁴Wrong to Sage, 28 April 1925, UTA, History Department.

²⁵[G.M. Smith] to McMurrich, 18 January 1929, History Department. One member of the German Department recommended passing a student, and suggested a slightly lower standard for Ph.D. candidates in North American History who had little need for German. See J.A. Surerus to Martin, 24 January 1934, UTA, History Department, File G 54. For the reading course see J.J. Talman to R.S. Harris, 25 March 1973, copy in possession of W.D. Meikle.

²⁶Wrong to Sage, 10 February 1925, UTA, History Department.

Because the first theses were extensive Wrong felt "it would be asking too much to require their publication in full" and, on behalf of the Department, undertook to publish a "sufficient portion of each of the theses to satisfy the requirements of the School of Graduate Studies".²⁷ A year later Wrong wrote that the University did not enforce the rule for publication and required only a statement from the Department that the material was publishable, and a statement from the author that negotiations for publication were "in progress".²⁸ The calendar for 1929-30 stated that the thesis must be a work of "original research...worthy of publication". The transition to the modern requirement was virtually complete.

The graduate program in history had been growing gradually since the 1890s and it reached maturity in the 1920s. The forces which led to the establishment of the School of Graduate Studies had contributed to the evolution of the history program, and so had the presence of members of the Department of History who had a background in research. Yet the growth of the graduate program did not occur solely within the context of the University and the History Department. The decade of the 1920s was a period when the historical profession itself matured.

²⁷Wrong to Miss Mackenzie, 7 May 1925, UTA, History Department, Box 3.

²⁸Wrong to Dorland, 29 March 1926, UTA, History Department.

CHAPTER TEN

"We Must Interpret Events": The Historical Work of George Wrong Beyond the Department

At the same time that appointments were beginning to go to holders of research degrees and the graduate program was maturing, Wrong was continuing to work for the development of the profession as a whole, to write textbooks, and to speak and write on the relations of Canada and the Empire. In each of these areas of concern Wrong believed that it was the duty of the historian to be the "interpreter of both the past and the present". In his Presidential Address to the Canadian Historical Association he said: "We must interpret the setting and the spiritual sources of events".¹ As before Wrong continued to teach everyone: colleagues, school children and the public. And yet the decade of the 1920s was a period of transition. The historical profession began to leave Wrong behind; the use of his textbooks gradually declined; and Canada continued to assert her growing independence of Great Britain, in spite of valiant efforts by Wrong to reconcile nationalism and imperial unity and to uphold the nobility of the Empire.

¹Wrong "The Two Races in Canada" Annual Report of the Canadian Historical Association (1925) 21; Wrong, "The Historian's Problem" (1927) 5.

One of the more significant developments in the growth of the historical profession was the conversion of Wrong's Review of Historical Publications Relating to Canada into the quarterly Canadian Historical Review. The CHR, which first appeared in March 1920, was edited by W.S. Wallace. Wallace had assisted Wrong on the older Review since 1910 and had been given increasing responsibilities. In 1919 he felt that "the time had come when students of Canadian history would be glad to have a vehicle for the publication of their researches". Wallace drew up a series of proposals which were submitted to the Studies Committee responsible for the annual Review. These were accepted and Wallace was appointed editor of the new journal and remained in that position until 1930.²

During the 1920s the CHR published many articles that presented the economic interpretation and staples approach to history, or that brought attention to Canada's physical environment and the problems of settlement. These articles provided an alternative to the political-constitutional-imperial themes that dominated the attention of Canadian historians.³ The CHR also brought to the attention of the members of the

²W.S. Wallace, "The Establishment of the Canadian Historical Review", CHR, 26 (1945) 191; for slightly different versions (drafts) see memos by Wallace, UTL, Wallace Papers. Boxes 21 and 22.

³J.M.S. Careless, "The Review Reviewed, or Fifty Years with the Beaver Patrol" CHR, 51 (March 1970) 53.

profession "matters of interest and importance which otherwise might escape notice" such as recent acquisitions by the archives and the research being done by graduate students.⁴ The publication of research, the new interpretations and the other information was a part of the professionalization of Canadian historians.⁵

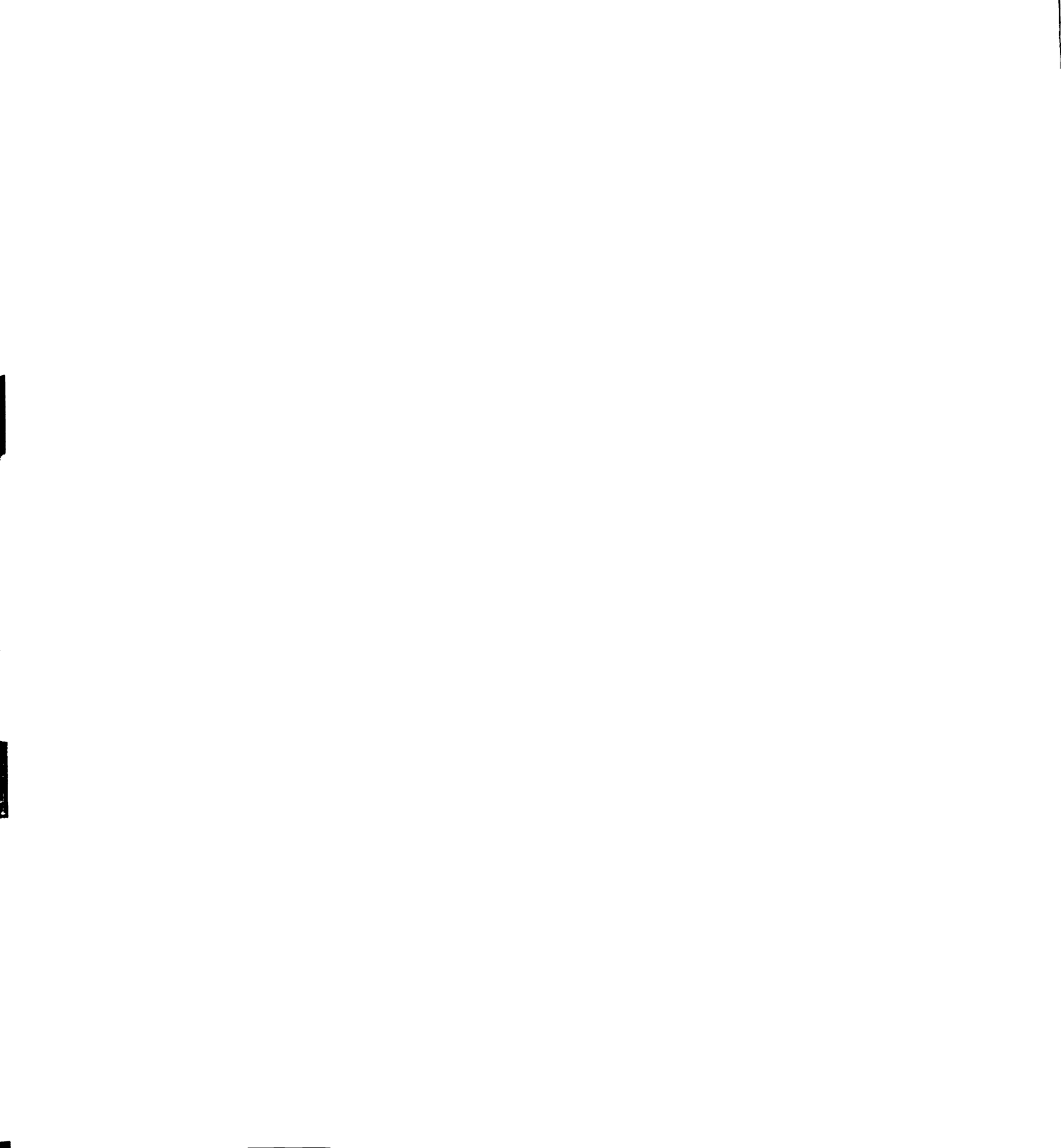
Yet however much the CHR introduced new ideas to Canadian history it did not represent a rejection of the values that underlay its predecessor. Wallace had been a student and a colleague of Wrong for nearly twenty years and their views were not far apart. The first statement of intent said that the CHR was to be a "continuation and development" of the critical evaluation and bibliographic service provided by the earlier Review.⁶ Wrong himself supported the CHR fully; he served on the Board of Editors and he wrote twenty-four reviews and five articles in its first

⁴"Notes and Comments" CHR 1 (June 1920) 131 and (September 1920) 237.

⁵Careless, "The Review", 48-9, 56, 68, 71; see also Appendix J.

⁶"Notes and Comments" CHR 1 (March 1920) 1.

An example of the similarity between Wrong and Wallace can be found in their letters to J.S. Willison; Wrong said the Chronicles of Canada would not pay much but was worth doing for its educational value and Wallace asked Willison to ignore the low pay offered for an article "in view of the sort of work we are trying to do". Wrong to Willison, 15 October 1913, Wallace to Willison, 8 September 1920, PAC, Willison Papers.



nine years.⁷ Even in 1929, when the Board of Editors was enlarged to bring in historians from all across Canada, no change was made in the practice of appointing a member of the Department of History to the most influential position, that of managing editor.⁸ Thus the traditions established by Wrong continued under the guidance of his colleagues.

The professionalization of Canadian history was also aided by the establishment of the Canadian Historical Association which grew out of the Historic Landmarks Association in 1923. Wrong had been one of the founding members of the Historic Landmarks Association and he thought highly of its work. Wrong took part in the discussions that led to the founding of the CHA and he was one of six members of the Council from 1922 to 1926. He was active in its meetings and was elected President in 1926. Although his contribution to the founding of the CHA was probably less tangible than that of L.J. Burpee and others, Wrong's presence--as doyen of Canadian historians--provided a valuable stimulus and an aura

⁷See Appendix D.

⁸Careless, "The Review", 53-4.

⁹See: Review of Historical Publications Relating to Canada XX (1916) 65-6.

of legitimacy and respectability.¹⁰

Wrong was less concerned with the development of the historical profession than he was with writing for elementary and secondary students. During the 1920s he wrote or revised eight textbooks. One or more of these was used in seven provinces and in some areas he had almost a monopoly in British and Canadian History. Hundreds of thousands of copies of his books were issued and each was probably "recycled" at least three times, so the total number of readers may well be in the millions.¹¹ The potential for influence was very high, and thus Wrong's point of view becomes significant.

Wrong had written The British Nation in 1904; a slightly shorter version appeared in 1911 and had not proven satisfactory. A new edition, considerably longer than either of its predecessors, was published in 1922. Wrong devoted significantly more attention to the era of the French Revolution and he added new material on the period after 1911. The space

¹⁰L.J. Burpee (1873-1946) was First Secretary of the International Joint Commission. He was elected President of the Historic Landmarks Association in 1920, presided over the formation of the CHA and was President of the CHA in 1923; Bowker "Truly Useful Men", 102.

¹¹Statistics for books published by Ryerson were destroyed when that company was bought out by McGraw-Hill. 197,000 copies of the Ontario Public School History of England and the Ontario Public School History of Canada were issued in 1922, see J.E. Wetherall to A.H.U. Colquhoun, Memo, 16 January 1923, OA, RG 2, Series P-3. Newspaper clippings support this figure; see Toronto Telegram, 16 February 1922 and Toronto Star 9 March 1927. For estimates of sales of other texts see Appendix E.

devoted to the era of the French Revolution was nearly tripled between 1904 and 1922--15 to 43 pages. The additional material dealt with Napoleon's actions in Egypt, British expansion in India, unrest in Ireland and British victories over Napoleon. Wrong's preoccupation was with the beginnings of the second British Empire--and this section laid the foundation for his later emphasis on the survival of the Empire during World War I.

Pride in the Empire dominated his description of post-1900 England. In both the revision of The British Nation and in the Ontario Public School History of England Wrong wrote page after page describing how a person could travel over the whole world and wherever he went find British forts, seaports, acquisitions and victories. England, according to Wrong, provided protection, guidance and a common means of communication to many peoples of the world; they all shared the "benefit" of the institutions of British freedom and the contributions of her "noble literature". He ended Britain's History with the statement that nowhere in the Empire was there "any wavering in the resolve to maintain its unity".¹² The message to the reader was clear: the long history of the Empire, its struggle for survival and its contributions to progress and civilization all combined to justify and to maintain its existence. The teacher was still "moulding the thoughts" of his students.

¹²Wrong, Britain's History (Toronto, Copp Clark, 1929) 386-7.

Another feature of Wrong's point of view in the 1920s was the apparent softening of earlier statements. In 1911 Wrong had written, "The French people are naturally warlike...." In 1922 that sentence was omitted. In 1904 he had made references to the Jesuits' desire for power; in the two later editions the index, though admittedly only half as long, had no entries for "Jesuits". Wrong had written in 1904 "The Roman Church was resolved to recover England [during the reign of Elizabeth I]"; this was later softened to: "The Roman Catholic Church now took other steps to restore its power". In 1904 Wrong put the blame for the execution of Mary Queen of Scots squarely on the shoulders of Elizabeth:

After weeks of doubt, Elizabeth signed Mary's death-warrant, but still showed unwillingness to give the final order for execution. In fact she wished others to take this responsibility, that she might afterwards escape the discredit of the act.

In 1911 and 1922, Wrong stated that "...she would give no order for the execution" (instead of just being temporarily unwilling) and the sentence suggesting she wanted the blame to fall on others is omitted entirely. The 1904 edition contained a page of details of Mary's manner and clothing, with illustrations; these are not in either of the later editions. The morals of Charles James Fox received a variety of comments from Wrong. In 1904 Fox's life was described as "profligate", in 1911 it was "dissolute" and in 1922 Fox's "vicious habits" were blamed on his father, who took Fox to Paris at the age of fourteen and encouraged the young man in

"gambling and other vices".¹³ It would appear that as he grew older, Wrong became more tolerant.

In addition to his books in British History Wrong published a history of Canada for elementary students in 1921. This book also showed Wrong's point of view on significant issues. Indians were "savage" or "helpless children" who lived in "squalor" and who tortured their victims in "unspeakably savage" ways--described in detail by Wrong. Jesuits were "resolved to win the world for their faith". Both the deportation of the Acadians and the manner in which it was done was justified by circumstances. The American Revolution was caused by the "fair" demand of the British that the colonists pay taxes for their own defence, and resulted in barbarous treatment of the Loyalists. William Lyon Mackenzie was "unbalanced" and his supporters were radicals, not "moderate, high-minded and dignified" men like Robert Baldwin. Wrong did provide a sentence or two in every case to balance the presentation; for example, Indian leaders werewise, Jesuits were brave, the Acadians suffered terribly, the Americans were seeking self-government, and many of Mackenzie's demands were justified.¹⁴ But the emphasis is such

¹³Wrong, British Nation, 306 ff; 416, 422, 438-9, 472; High School History of England (1911) 228 ff, 432; High School History of England (1922) 230 ff, 457.

¹⁴Ontario Public School History of Canada (Toronto, Ryerson, 1921) 49-55, 116-17, 140-61, 222-32.

that a student would take away negative impressions of Indians, French, Americans and Jesuits, and positive impressions of the British, of moderates, and of those who fought to defend Canada and the British connection.

As with his histories of Britain, Wrong softened his opinions over the years. The Story of Canada (1929) contained significant changes.¹⁵ Many of the alterations made by Wrong were the result of the need to condense the material up to Confederation by some 25 per cent, but some changes indicate a slightly different outlook. The Jesuits were there only to help and convert the Indians--not to "win the world". Wrong's treatment of the Acadians was more sympathetic, their point of view was included ("fear of French reprisals") and their sufferings were described in more detail. The treatment of Mackenzie was much more sympathetic to Mackenzie. Where in the earlier text the justice of Mackenzie's cause was underplayed and the word "radical" was used where others might have used "reform", in the later text Wrong quoted Mackenzie and stated that the Family Compact were "despots" who dreaded the loss of their "comfortable posts".¹⁶ On the other hand the

¹⁵Ontario Public School History of Canada (1921) was re-issued in 1924 under the title Canada: a Short History. Wrong, with Chester Martin and Walter Sage, published The Story of Canada in 1929. Martin and Sage contributed signed chapters on the west; the remainder of the book was a revision of Wrong's earlier texts.

¹⁶The Story of Canada (Toronto, Ryerson, 1929) 28-33, 78, 96 ff, 145-8.

For some reason, Wrong included in the 1929 text the gratuitous comment that Sir Francis Bond Head was "a member of family of Portugese Jews who had taken an English name." 151.

thrust is still more favourable to the governing class than to the Mackenzie forces. Most of the omissions and changes in the 1929 text made the text more bland rather than offering a different interpretation and the total effect is only slightly less pro-British and pro-Canadian.

Wrong's textbooks on British History were used through the 1930s but in 1927 and 1928 his Canadian histories were dropped by some provinces.¹⁷ This, the beginning of the gradual transition to texts by W.S. Wallace and George Brown, was but one example of the waning of Wrong's influence in the 1920s. Wrong was the grand old man of Canadian history; his colleagues nominated him to the Council of the CHA and later elected him President, and he became President of the Champlain Society on the death of Sir Edmund Walker. But Wrong was in his sixties, and the new standards were beginning to outstrip him.

The most obvious weakness in Wrong's approach to history was his tendency to depend on secondary sources.¹⁸ This was noted by Doughty who, when asked to check a manuscript of Wrong's against the sources, replied that so much new material had been added to the Archives that a check of Wrong's

¹⁷Wallace, A New History of Great Britain and Canada (Toronto, Macmillan, 1925) and A First Book of Canadian History (Toronto, Macmillan, 1928). See Appendix E.

¹⁸Wrong, "Historical Study" (1895) 7 and above, 82-3.

manuscript would involve extensive revisions. It was Doughty's opinion that:¹⁹

There is not a chapter in Canadian history that can be properly written with a knowledge obtained from books.

Adam Shortt had a similar opinion of Wrong's work; he wrote to a friend that Wrong was not "familiar with the original documents."²⁰ When Wrong's Rise and Fall of New France (2 volumes) was published in 1928, it was criticized gently but firmly for being based almost entirely on printed materials.²¹ Wrong's faith in printed material had been largely overlooked in earlier years, but by the end of the decade it was clear that standards had changed, that more research was necessary and that the emphasis on teaching would have to be reconsidered.

But Wrong believed otherwise. In his Presidential Address to the CHA he said: "Making sure of the facts" is only the first stage of the historian's work; the historian must also understand, interpret and present the past. Unstated, but clearly implied, is the message that interpretation is more important and that the work of the historian is to teach the "true

¹⁹Doughty to Wrong, 13 May 1921, PAC, RG 37, vol. 199, 371-2.

²⁰Shortt to W.W. McLaren, 14 January 1922, DL, Shortt Papers; see also Bowker "Truly Useful Men" 105; I.E. Wilson "Archivists and Historians--The Doughty Era", Paper delivered to the Canadian Historical Association (5 June 1974) 10-11.

²¹See Arthur Lower, "The Drama of New France" The Nation 128 (6 March 1929) 288-90 and J.B. Brebner, Historical Outlook 20 (November 1929) 354-6.

meaning" of the movements of the past.²²

Wrong took this injunction seriously. In addition to regular courses given at the university and through extension and correspondence classes, he, and others in the Department, lectured to many different audiences. One program was a two week course designed for farmers, covering economics, hygiene, literature and constitutional history. Wrong claimed that it was a great success, attracting over 300 students. Members of the Department also gave a series of lectures at St. John's Garrison Church in 1929 and 1930. (These lecture programs are reminiscent of the work and values of Kylie and Feiling in the years before the war.) Wrong was also concerned about the relations between French and English in Canada and he tried to "lessen friction" in the "interests of national unity".²³ But an even greater effort during the 1920s was directed at "interpreting" the events surrounding Canada's changing relationship with Great Britain.

Wrong was aware that Canada's relationship with Great Britain was evolving. He said that "organic union", "Imperial Federation" and "cooperative diplomacy" had not succeeded;

²²Wrong, "Historical Study" (1895) 6, 11.

²³Wrong to C.B. Sissons, 21 April 1922, PAC, Sissons Papers; Wrong "Regulation Seventeen", The Globe, 6 December 1922; Wrong, "The Two Races in Canada" CHA Annual Report (1925) 21-7; Wrong to Underhill, 15 February 1921, PAC, Underhill Papers; see above, 105.

Canadian nationalism, had been sparked by the "intense irritation...against Great Britain" over the Alaska Boundary Decision and fanned by the growing realization that "the sons are grown up...[and] have made homes of their own". This nationalism was now [1926] strong enough that it could not be turned back; "There is no halting place in the march to full political development."²⁴ The result of all of this was the beginning of the end of the British Empire.

Wrong did not oppose this evolution but he was worried. "There is some uneasiness in Canada about existing relations" he said, probably revealing more about himself and his own feelings than about those of the rest of the population.²⁵ On the surface Wrong was concerned that Canadians had not yet fully realized that Canada must accept and assume full responsibility, legally and in the eyes of the entire world, for "carrying out what she undertakes":²⁶

If Canada is not responsible for fulfilling treaties made by Great Britain, Great Britain is not to be responsible for fulfilling treaties made by Canada.

²⁴Wrong, "Nationalism in Canada" Journal of the Royal Institute of International Affairs, I (July 1926) 180, 178, 184, 187, 181; see also Wrong, "Canada and the Imperial War Cabinet" CHR, I (March 1920) 3-25; Wrong, "Canada and the League of Nations", New York Times (27 February 1920) 12; Wrong "The Evolution of Foreign Relations in Canada" address to the American Historical Association, December 1924 and published in CHR, 6 (March 1925) 4-14; Wrong, "Canada's Problem of Equality with Great Britain" Empire Club of Canada, Addresses Delivered to the Members During the Year 1926, 24 (1927) 299-310.

²⁵"Wrong", Nationalism in Canada (1926) 178.

²⁶Ibid., 182.

The problem was that, in fact and in the eyes of the world, Canada had not yet accepted this responsibility and this, according to Wrong, posed a threat to the close ties between Canada and Great Britain. Wrong argued that Canadians would no longer accept British "rule":²⁷

We shall then not hear of Great Britain permitting Canada to do something anymore than we hear of Canada's permitting Great Britain to do anything.

In particular, he said, there was a growing suspicion that Canada was in danger of being "drawn into war without her consent".²⁸ Canada, he said, had her own personality, and her own problems, and she must be able to operate on her own terms in her own interest.

What Wrong really feared, though he seldom voiced it openly, was that nationalism would lead to the break up of the Empire. At one level he feared that Canadian nationalism would be underestimated in Great Britain and the United States, leading to misunderstandings that would harm the relationship. At another level he feared that nationalism might be overestimated, leading other countries to assume a poor relationship between Canada and Great Britain, which would be equally damaging to the relationship. To avoid these errors of understanding, Wrong tried to explain in all three countries what appeared to be "anomalies" in the relationship.²⁹ His message

²⁷Ibid., 183.

²⁸Ibid., 189-90.

²⁹Ibid., 190.

had a constant theme: Canada was no longer a colony, the Empire had grown into the Commonwealth, the sense of unity among British peoples was stronger than ever and an even closer unity was possible in a "partnership on terms of equality".³⁰ It was the full equality that provided the main theme; he believed that only if Canada accepted an even greater degree of responsibility could she be accepted as an equal of Great Britain, and only if she was accepted as an equal could unity be preserved. He spoke as a Canadian, but his love of Great Britain and her institutions was strong enough to make him fight to retain the tie.

Wrong's nationalism was not so strong that it altered his practice of looking to England for his model. He thought that Canada was still provincial in outlook and experience.³¹ "The chief defect of Canada" he said, "is its lack of political education," and the solution was to have "a large class of persons qualified to form and guide opinion".³² And he continued to look to Oxford as the place to train these leaders. Twice in his article on nationalism he mentioned a hypothetical Canadian who was studying at Oxford and he justified the inclusion of a course on the history of the United States by pointing out that Oxford too was beginning to recognize the

³⁰Ibid., 77.

³¹Ibid.

³²Wrong "Democracy in Canada" CHR, 2 (December 1921) 323.

importance of the United States to the Empire.³³ The world around him might be in a state of transition but the old values remained. His sense of mission, his faith in Great Britain, his desire for a trained elite--all of these were a part of Wrong's life outside the Department of History as well as within. And many of these values were sufficiently established or sufficiently valued that they remained in force long after the 1920s had passed into history.

³³Wrong "The Teaching of the History and Geography of the British Empire" CHR, 5 (December 1924) 305.

PART IV

THE THIRTIES AND BEYOND

CHAPTER ELEVEN

"Into a New Era": Building on the Tradition

To mark the "fortieth anniversary of the founding of a journal of historical criticism in Canada", the CHR published an article in which Wrong discussed the changes over the years. Forty years ago, said Wrong, there was in Canada no professional organization or journal, and little interest in archives. There were few professors of history and the teaching of history was sadly neglected:¹

When we compare [the situation then] with the situation today of voluminous and competent writing and teaching of history in Canadian universities, we realize that the study has passed into a new era.

By the 1930s the "years of transition" had also brought a "new era" to the Department of History. The retirement of Wrong, the appointment of teachers with degrees in research, the introduction of a mature program of graduate studies in History, the growing emphasis on publications and the establishment of the CHR--all of these changes might leave the impression that the traditions established by Wrong had been pushed aside. But in fact, while some of the traditions had been diluted, there were many which remained in force through the 1930s and for many years after.

¹Wrong, "Historical Criticism" (1936) 7.

Although a number of appointments were made during the 1930s (Table 8) the Department grew very little. Saunders,

TABLE 8
Appointments 1930-1939

<u>Name</u>	<u>B.A.</u>	<u>Later Training</u>	<u>Years with the Department of History</u>
R.M. Saunders	Clark	Clark, M.A. Cornell, Ph.D.	1931-71
C.C. Bayley	Manchester	Manchester, M.A. Chicago. Ph.D.(1938)	1932-3
R.G. Riddell	Manitoba	Toronto, M.A. Oxford, B. Litt.	1934-42
R.A. Preston	Leeds	Leeds, M.A. Yale, Ph.D.	1936-8; 1945-8
B.K. Wilkinson	Manchester	Manchester, Ph.D.	1938-67

although not a medievalist, was appointed when Rothwell returned to Scotland; Bayley replaced Flenley, who was on sabbatical leave; the appointment of Preston was "temporary" until a medievalist--Wilkinson--could be appointed; and Riddell was a group leader appointed only on a part-time basis.² The only other appointments went to readers.³

Saunders was the first American, and the first man trained wholly in the United States, to be appointed to the Department. But his appointment is not as significant a departure from the Toronto-Oxford pattern as it first appears. The

²See Martin to Falconer, 15 July 1931, 24 August 1931, 1 June 1932, UTA, Falconer Papers; Martin to Cody, 18 September 1936, UTA, Cody Papers, Box 5, P 141; Martin, "G.M. Wrong", 5; Martin to LePan, 26 September 1934, UTA, History Department, S 171.

³Gould, Langford, McEachern, MacLaren, Ray and Sims; see Appendix C.

appointments of Brown and Rothwell broke the pattern first, and Saunders himself represented a middle position in the spectrum of traditions: specialization and breadth. He did bring something of the "narrow specialist" to the study of history--he taught historiography and he regarded the special subjects as "stepping stones" in the creation of a historian--but he also upheld the value of breadth. He taught several subjects in the first few years; "when I came" he said, "everyone was expected to meet the needs of the Department."⁴ Further, Saunders was so thoroughly absorbed by the prevailing style in the Department that two colleagues said that he did not bring in ideas learned in the United States, and one man who was a student during the 1960s said that Saunders' was the only one of his groups that had the earmarks of the Oxford style.⁵ Thus, while there was some increase in subject specialization and training in research, the Oxford influence was still dominant during the 1930s.

The significant change in the pattern of appointments came in the 1960s. Prior to that there was a slight increase in the percentage of staff who came to the Department with an American Ph.D., and later with a Toronto Ph.D., but in neither

⁴Saunders, Interview, 11 December 1973.

⁵Glazebrook, Interview, 25 June 1973 and McDougall, Interview, 18 July 1974. Mel Starkman, an archivist at the University of Toronto, Interview, May 1974, and 22 October 1976.

of these categories was there a significant change until the 1960s.⁶ By 1970 nearly half of the members of the Department had an American Ph.D., and nearly a third had an American B.A. (thus implying American birth). Twenty-two had one or more degrees from Toronto, and only nine had an Oxford degree. Table 9 summarizes the distribution by degree and by country, and shows the extent of change that occurred

TABLE 9
History Staff 1970: Country of Training

First Degree	Last Degree				
	Canada	United States	Britain	Other or unknown	
Canada	30	10	12	8	-
United States	25	4	20	1	-
Britain	10	3	-	6	1
Other or unknown	5	1	1	-	3

in the sixties.⁷ Yet, in spite of the apparent Americanization, there remained, even in 1970, a significant group from Oxford.

The continuing influence of Oxford can be explained by several factors. The Toronto-Oxford group (Underhill, Creighton, McInnis, Glazebrook, McDougall) plus others who had been at Oxford (Flenley, Martin, Riddell) remained at the centre of the Department well beyond the 1930s. Even though Martin was

⁶There were no women appointed to the Department during the 1930s (except for two readers) and very few in the years after. For the total number of staff, see Appendix B.

⁷See Appendix L.

head, his influence was limited, since he had entered a functioning department with several senior men. Further, many of Martin's values paralleled those of Wrong's in matters of both curriculum and teaching methods.

Martin valued both breadth and relating history to present affairs. The student of history, he said, should be taught to see the point of view of all sections of Canada and to see it as a whole. "It is not the narrow specialist who sees the wider vision", but those trained in the humanities, which add "that indescribable something to exact knowledge...."⁸ These values were not far removed from those voiced by Wrong, thus it is not surprising that few changes were made in the curriculum.

Wrong had established a program that encouraged an elite group to achieve very high standards through the study of British and Canadian history and political theory, without much emphasis on either medieval history or interpretations that went beyond the political-constitutional realm. Martin continued this program. The continuity of the history program that had been established earlier was highly valued by the staff, who regarded it as an "integrating factor in University

⁸Martin, "What is happening to our tradition?" The opening address to the University of Manitoba, 27 September 1916, 16-17, OA, Pamphlet; Interview, Toronto Star, 18 September 1929, UTA, Biographical File. See above, 50-52.

instruction".⁹ All through the 1930s the undergraduate course was built on a foundation of British history, and, following the Oxford model, designed to train people for public service. Martin supported efforts to retain this continuity. He also refused to lower standards. He resisted a proposal to combine third year pass students with first year honours and he retained the Oxford tradition of giving very few firsts. As in the days of Wrong, much was given to honours students, and much was expected of them; the staff saw their real work as being that done in honours classes and an essay from an honours student had to be very good to get a first class grade.¹⁰

⁹"Confidential" [Memorandum resisting the transfer of Modern History to the Colleges] n.d. [ca. 1938] PAC, Underhill Papers, vol. 90, File 21; the memo had the "unanimous approval of the Department of Modern History".

¹⁰Martin to Fennel [the University Registrar] 10 January 1933, UTA, History Department; Underhill to H.D. Archibald, 21 September 1951; Underhill Papers; Underhill to Chief Inspector, Bank of Toronto, 11 September 1936, PAC, Underhill Papers, vol. 2. Underhill, Interview, 13 June 1968; Saunders, Interview, 11 December 1973; Glazebrook, Interview, 25 June 1973. When Americans joined the staff the feeling was that a low B in Toronto was about the same as in the United States, but that A's were much harder to obtain at Toronto; J.M.S. Careless, Interview, 19 April 1971.

So strong was the sense of unity that the members of the Department were largely unaware of the differences in their assumptions about history; Careless, Interview, 19 April 1971. One student said she tried to "inject economic considerations into [Martin's] discussions but he wouldn't buy it"; he felt that Canada's development was "indigenous" --not influenced by developments elsewhere--and that racial factors were the main thrust in Canadian development. Irma Pattison to W.D. Meikle, 5 April 1974.

While the emphasis remained as it had before the 1930s (British and Canadian political constitutional development, a strict division between pass and honours, and an insistence on high standards) there were minor changes in the curriculum. The depression resulted in fewer courses being offered, there was less emphasis on colonial and imperial history and somewhat more emphasis on North American history and international relations. Then in the late 1950s and early 1960s the number of courses offered began to rise; by 1970 a total of eighty-four courses (some of which were half courses) were offered in the calendar. Until then, however, the Oxford values prevailed--breadth rather than specialization, training for public service, high quality, and working hardest for an elite group.

Martin, like Wrong, also valued good teaching. In this he was aided by H.J. Cody, who succeeded Falconer as President in 1932. Cody wrote:¹¹

...the ability to teach is counted an absolute necessity. In this University we try to have the head of each department take some of the first year classes.

Martin was opposed to the system of mass production common in American universities. He said that at Toronto the effort was to keep in contact with the individual undergraduate student, and that professors must bend all their energies to

¹¹H.J. Cody to J.L. Dampeer, 30 June 1937, UTA, Cody Papers.

the preservation of that contact.¹² As had Wrong before him, Martin saw the discussion groups as a means of achieving good teaching and a vital part of the curriculum. "I am inclined to think that without the groups you will find a certain amount of difficulty", wrote Martin to a student who was hoping to complete the year in spite of missing classes.¹³ So strong was the tradition of teaching in groups that in 1974 a member of the Department wrote that in the thirties "most of the teaching was done in tutorials."¹⁴

Close personal contact with students was also encouraged outside the classroom. Martin continued the practice of inviting students to his home for social occasions; Brown too was a frequent host, and many professors would invite students to have tea at Baldwin House.¹⁵ Martin and others supported the Historical Club, writing to influential citizens on its behalf, and holding meetings in their homes-- just as Wrong had done.¹⁶

¹²Martin, Interview, Toronto Star, 18 September 1929.

¹³Martin to A.E. Duffield, 14 May 1935, UTA, History Department, Box 2, File 53.

¹⁴[R.A. Spencer] "Edward Wardwell McInnis" International Journal, 29 (Spring 1974) 318.

¹⁵A.D. Lockhart, "Some recollections of the U. of T. History Department", memorandum to W.D. Meikle [26 March 1974]. Mr. Lockhart taught history for many years at the Ontario College of Education.

¹⁶Martin to Vincent Massey, 29 January 1932; Martin to George Drew, 17 February 1932, UTA, History Department, M 106; Cody to Underhill, 23 September 1937, PAC, Underhill

While the undergraduate curriculum remained fairly stable, the graduate program continued to move in the direction of more sophisticated research. The subjects offered did not change but became increasingly specialized within the framework of British, European and North American history. The process of articulating and formalizing the regulations that had accelerated during the twenties was continued by Martin but at a much slower pace. He circulated a memo regarding thesis format to everyone registered in the graduate program. It related to the technique of footnotes, and references, and Martin commented: "It is very important, I think, to secure accuracy and uniformity in these technical matters."¹⁷

The biggest change made by Martin was in the use of archival resources. Wrong, Brown and Wallace had occasionally encouraged students to go to the archives, but Martin made it clear that students were expected to use the archives. He wrote to a prospective graduate student:¹⁸

The theses prepared in [Canadian] History usually require a month's intensive work at the Public Archives in Ottawa or in Halifax or Washington.

Papers, vol. 3; Flavelle to Underhill, 1 November 1937, PAC, Underhill Papers, vol. 4; Julia Jarvis, Interview, 1 March 1972. Miss Jarvis was W.S. Wallace's secretary.

¹⁷See Martin to D. Stepler, 9 April 1934 and Stepler to Martin, 17 December 1934. UTA, History Department, Files S 170-172. This was not the only student who was requested to make changes. There are a number of cases in the files where the student did not receive the degree.

¹⁸Martin to J.D. Keane, 12 October 1934, UTA, History Department. This was the only mention of a specific expectation of time found in the History Department's papers; several

Martin wrote to the School of Graduate Studies to say that it was a policy of the Department of History to "turn both the Provincial and Federal Archives into veritable laboratories for our research and graduate work."¹⁹ Not only did Martin expect students to use the Archives in Ottawa--he arranged financial assistance for them to do so. Approximately \$250 was set aside in what he called "our little research fund". It was controlled eventually by the Bursar and Martin would write to authorize payment to a student for travelling expenses.²⁰ Martin's belief in the importance of research was strong enough that he could write to a student contemplating a transfer from the ministry: "Your classical background is an asset but it can scarcely supply the historical background for graduate work in another field."²¹

students spent from a month to "several weeks" at the archives. See Martin to Miss Mackenzie, School of Graduate Studies, 8 January 1931, 30 March 1931, 5 January 1932, UTA, History Department, Box 8.

¹⁹Martin to J.C. McLennan, Dean, S.G.S., 16 February 1931, UTA, History Department, L 86; Martin, response to S.G.S. questionnaire, 15 January 1931, UTA, History Department, Box 8, File 55.

²⁰Martin to Falconer, 31 October 1930; Martin to S. Beatty, 7 May 1937, Martin to the Bursar, 9 December 1931, 9 March 1932, UTA, History Department, vol. 5, P 143.

²¹Martin to H. Woods, 20 November 1929, UTA, History Department.

In spite of Martin's interest in sending students to archives, the graduate program was not a major part of the history program during the thirties. Few of the staff were involved and most professed a dislike of the Ph.D. degree, even while recognizing that it had to be offered so that Toronto graduates would be qualified for university posts.²² The real growth of graduate studies did not occur until after 1964.²³

The members of the Department also carried on many of the traditions established earlier in their professional and public work outside the classroom. Brown became editor of the CHR in 1930 and he brought to it an increased emphasis on books written on American history.²⁴ But he retained the format and the standards set by Wallace, and he voiced a policy reminiscent of Wrong's desire to write for the masses. "We wish to avoid narrow specialization", wrote Brown; while we try to maintain "a high level of scholarship" at the same most of the articles can be read by "the general reader".²⁵

²²Underhill, Interview, 13 June 1968; J.J. Talman to Robin Harris, 25 March 1973, copy in possession of W.D. Meikle.

²³J.B. Conacher, "Graduate Studies in History in Canada: The Growth of Doctoral Programmes" Historical Papers of the Canadian Historical Association (1975) 1-3, 12-13.

²⁴Careless, "The Review", 53.

²⁵Brown to Cody, 9 February 1934, UTA, Cody Papers, Box 7; [Brown], memo to H.J. Cody, 1935, UTA, Cody Papers, Box 18.

The relationship between the Review and the History Department continued, even though Wrong retired from the Editorial Board in 1932, and Brown retired as editor in 1949. The succeeding editors were all members of the History Department and the Review reflected their standards and values.²⁶ Also, fifteen of the twenty most frequent contributors up to 1939 were very close to the Department.²⁷ Thus the policies and standards of critical evaluation established by Wrong continued through his students and colleagues well beyond the 1930s.

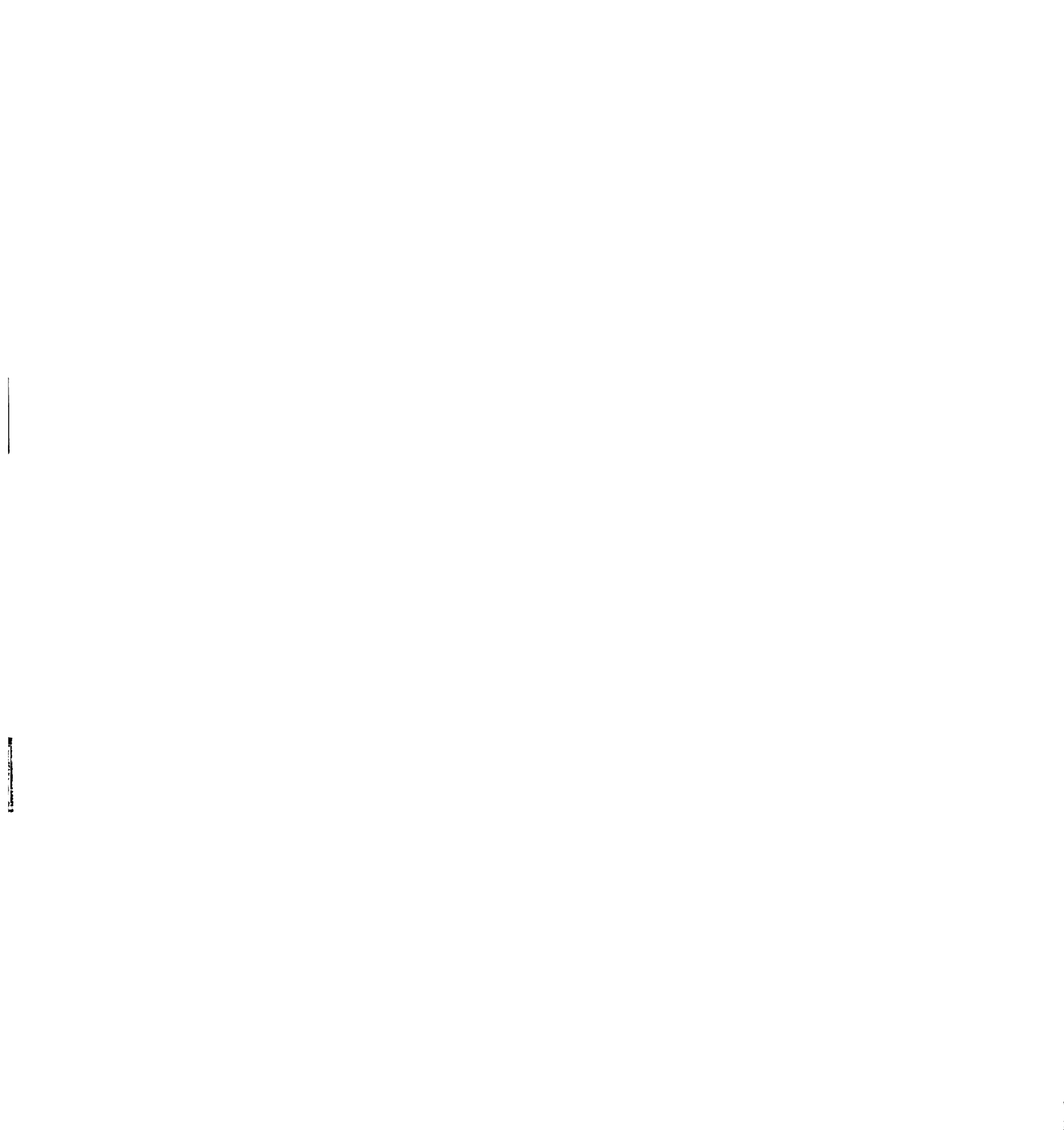
Members of the Department continued to produce textbooks. Wallace published two more in addition to those written in the twenties. They were used--though not as extensively as Wrong's--throughout Canada in the thirties and forties then they were supplanted by texts written or edited by Brown.²⁸ Brown's Building the Canadian Nation (1942) was probably the most widely used text in Canada, being authorized in eight of the ten provinces. Brown was assisted by members of the Department who went over the book page by page, "often word for word".²⁹ Brown also acted as editor (but was listed as co-author) of texts written by others, most

²⁶Careless, "The Review", 53-4, 57, 62, 67.

²⁷See Appendix K.

²⁸See Appendix E.

²⁹Ibid., Saunders, Interview, 11 December 1973.



of whom were closely associated with the History Department. These texts were used through the 1960s. Others in the Department also wrote texts for elementary and secondary schools and for college use.³⁰

Public lectures--both academic and political--during the thirties were also a part of the extracurricular work of the Department. Saunders, Brown and Underhill are listed as having given lectures in cities all over Ontario, as far apart as Ottawa and Sarnia.³¹ Underhill and McInnis were invited to lecture in modern history to the Worker's Education Association, and Brown and Underhill were invited to lecture in modern world history in Niagara Falls. Members of the Department were also willing to take a stand on matters of principle. When sixty-eight members of the University staff sent a letter to Toronto newspapers protesting police

³⁰See Appendix C for texts written by Edgar McInnis and Donald Creighton. Kenneth Mawson, a Toronto teacher with a B.A. and M.A. from Toronto, and J.T. Saywell, a member of the Department, edited a series of textbooks for Clarke, Irwin; The British Epic (1959), The Modern Era (1960), Bold Ventures (1962) and Nation of the North (1967). Most of the authors were graduates of Toronto or teachers in the Toronto area. The same publisher issued a series for senior high school students, edited by Saywell and John Ricker, also a graduate of Toronto. Five of the six authors were members of the Department. See Canada and the United States; a Modern Study (1963), The Foundations of the West (1963) and The West and a Wider World (1966).

³¹UTA, Department of Extension, Geographical File; Martin to W.J. Dunlop, Department of Extension, 23 June 1938, UTA, History Department, W 202; Hird to W.J. Dunlop, 20 May 1931, UTA, History Department.

actions at a public meeting, almost everyone in the Department signed the letter.³² And, although few in the Department agreed with the political views of radical reform, when Underhill was threatened with dismissal for his public speeches several of his colleagues spoke in his defense.³³ Obviously the sense of mission and the willingness to participate in political and educational work, wherever the need, was a major tradition in the Department in the thirties.

Yet Wrong was quite correct when he said that the study of history had passed into a new era. The change did not occur suddenly, and many of the practices and traditions begun before World War I persisted for many years. But the seeds planted in the twenties were beginning to sprout in the thirties. Appointments went to those who were trained in research, many of whom were Americans; the curriculum lost its central core and began to resemble that of an American university with increasing electives and a deep commitment to graduate studies.

³²Globe and Mail, 16 January 1931; Star, 15 January 1931; see Canadian Forum, 11 (March 1931) 210-12 for the reactions to the professor's letter.

³³Douglas Francis, "The Threatened Dismissal of Frank H. Underhill from the University of Toronto: 1939-1941" a paper presented before the Canadian Historical Association, (June 1975) 21-3; W.D. Meikle, "The University of Toronto and the Threatened Dismissal of Professor Frank H. Underhill 1940-41", unpublished M.A. essay, Carleton University, (1967) 31.

But one tradition has lasted--the commitment to teaching the undergraduate in small groups. The 1976-7 calendar states that the "basic approach to instruction" will "combine lectures with small tutorial groups in which the students and the tutor can explore historical problems in depth." And the response of the University to the Council of Ontario Universities report on History (1974) attempted to reassert the importance of teaching undergraduates.³⁴ The Department of History had grown to meet the needs of a new era, but its growth had been built on a foundation designed by Wrong, and Wrong's values were centered on the phrase "and gladly teach".

³⁴A.E. Safarian to M.A. Preston, 29 April 1974, in Council of Ontario Universities, Perspectives and Plans for Graduate Studies, 15, History, Advisory Committee on Academic Planning, (1974) C 27.

PART V

CONCLUSIONS

CHAPTER TWELVE

"And Gladly Teach": The Significance of George Wrong and the Department of History at the University of Toronto

If there is a popular myth about George Wrong it is probably best expressed in a newspaper article published nearly thirty years after his death. The title of the article called him the "scholar who enlivened history" and the author described Wrong as the one who "lifted the curse of dullness from Canadian history...the first man to interest Canadians in the story of Canada and...the first to introduce the subject of Canadian history into the curriculum of a Canadian university."¹

Like most popular myths, these words contain some exaggeration. Men such as Francis Parkman, William Kingsford and Charles Tuttle wrote interesting histories of Canada before Wrong did and there are many who contributed to the scholarly treatment of Canadian history such as the archivists Douglas Brymner and Arthur Doughty, and the historians Adam Shortt, George Bourinot, C.W. Colby, Thomas Chapais and A.S. Morton. Other universities in Canada preceeded Toronto in

¹Donald Jones "Historical Toronto: Pub was home of scholar who enlivened history" Star (24 July 1976) F 6.

listing Canadian history in their calendars and granting graduate degrees in History.² Yet, in spite of these qualifications, there is a great deal of substance in the description of Wrong as the first to "interest Canadians" and to bring history into the university curriculum. More than any other institution, with the possible exception of the Public Archives of Canada, Wrong and others in his Department stimulated an interest in and influenced the study and writing of Canadian history.

The primacy of Wrong in the development of Canadian history was aided considerably by the fact that the University of Toronto was by far the largest university in Canada. From 1890 to 1920 it had twice as many students as the next largest university.³ The significance of this may be illustrated by

²Books on Canadian history were listed in Toronto calendars as early as 1893-4, and the number increased gradually over the years. In 1905 Canada was offered as a special subject, and in 1909 it became a full course. The McGill University calendars list courses in Canadian history in 1900 and 1906, but an article in the Montreal Gazette (17 May 1927) stated that a full course in Canadian history would be offered that fall for the first time. In 1893 McMaster listed readings on Canadian constitutional history and offered Canadian history as one of several subjects for the M.A. degree. In 1889 and 1899 respectively, Dalhousie listed Parkman and Queen's mentioned colonial history. In the 1880s students at Western studied the history of Canada and other countries in both third and fourth years, according to J.W.R. Gwynne-Timothy's unpublished "Historical Sketch of the Undergraduate Program". The trouble is, there is no means of knowing if the calendars represented accurately what went on in the classroom. See Appendix F.

³R.S. Harris, A History of Higher Education in Canada 1663-1960 (Toronto, University Press, 1976) 612-15, 625-29.

the fact that Toronto graduates held one half to two thirds of the teaching positions in Ontario high schools.⁴ Further, in 1958 one quarter of the foreign service officers (83 of 362) were graduates of Toronto, and several of the History staff had held significant posts in the Department of External Affairs.⁵ By 1958 there were approximately 80,000 Toronto alumni and many of these were in positions of leadership in business, politics and other professions.⁶ Obviously the University of Toronto has had an impact on Canadian life. And the Department of History, which touched on the lives of at least ten percent of the students of the University (see Figure 1), has had a large share in that impact.

But Wrong's influence was more than just a reflection of the prestige of the University of Toronto. In the writing of history, in the production of historians, and in the

⁴"Toronto Graduates in Ontario High Schools." Memo (1898) Loudon Papers, U 17; G.F. Rogers (Ontario Department of Education) to G.M. Smith, 13 February 1929, UTA, History Department, Box 5, File 151; Balmer Neilly to Falconer, 3 December 1929, UTA, Falconer Papers, Box 122.

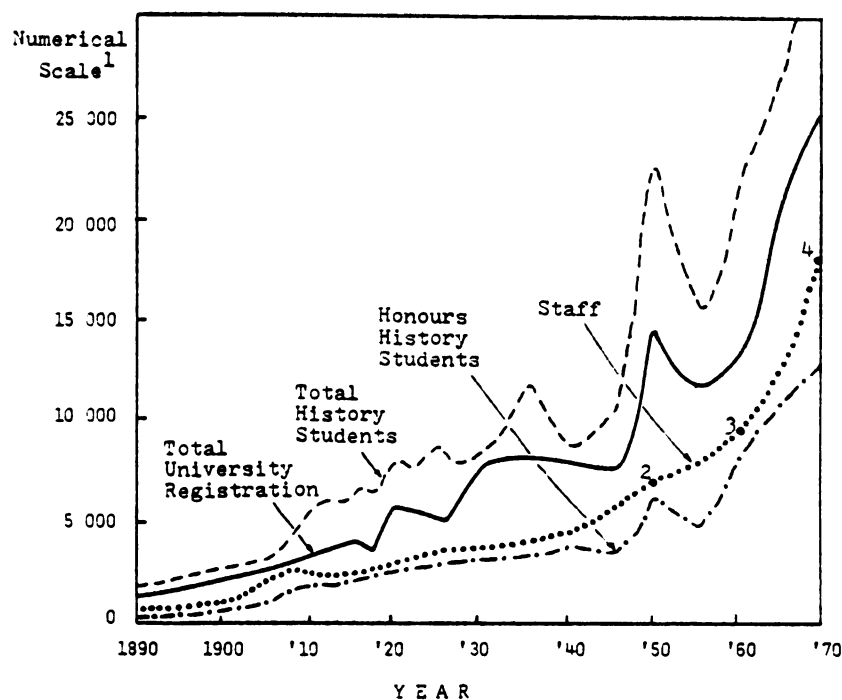
⁵R.S. Harris, "At Home Abroad: Varsity Graduates in External Affairs," Varsity Graduate, 6 (September 1958) 131-3; Massey, Glazebrook, Hume Wrong, Pearson, Riddell and later J.M.S. Careless. See above, 172, and Appendix C.

⁶University of Toronto Bulletin (21 November 1975) 4. In terms of influence the University of Toronto might be compared to The Johns Hopkins University in its first few decades. See above, 4-5.

acceptance of the Toronto model in other universities the staff of the Department of History influenced Canadians directly. Wrong's influence was probably greatest in the area of writing. He exercised his influence through the standards he established in the Review of Historical Publications and the volumes of the Champlain Society. He also had an impact on his own students; Lower wrote many years later that Wrong was the "father of the excellent

FIGURE 1

Relative Growth of Staff and Student Registration 1890-1970



NOTES: ¹Because the total university registration is so much greater than the number of students and staff, the latter figures were adjusted by a conversion factor of 10, 10, and 250. Thus the numerical scale, which represents total university registration in absolute terms, must be divided by 10 to represent the number of history students. For example, in 1910 the number of history students was 532 (see Appendix B for these figures). This appears on the numerical scale as something above 5000.

²Includes 9 "assistants"

³Includes 10 "instructors" and 1 professor emeritus

⁴Includes 9 "lecturers", 2 "Special lecturers" and 3 professors emeriti

prose style marking most Canadian historians."⁷ Certainly much of the best writing in Canadian history has been done by graduates of Wrong's Department.⁸

Since many Canadians read no other history books after they leave school, the texts that Wrong and his staff placed in schools all across Canada have had an incalculable effect. Wrong, and two of his students who later became colleagues, dominated the field of Canadian and British history texts for half a century. The history they wrote became the mainstream of Canadian history, the accepted standard in approach and subject matter. (Only recently have subjects such as social and intellectual history and the contributions of the labourer, the immigrant and the Indian taken their place beside the traditional themes.) Wrong and other members of his Department were, and probably still are, the most influential teachers of history in Canada.⁹ Certainly they are the most widely read.

The impact of the Department has not been restricted to school texts. No other department of history in Canada has produced as many professional historians as has the Department founded by Wrong.¹⁰ In addition to those who were members of

⁷Lower, My First Seventy-Five Years, 302.

⁸See Appendices C, G, I and K.

⁹See Appendix E and above, 204, 207.

¹⁰See Appendices G and I.

his staff there were many others who went from the University of Toronto to other universities. In the field of graduate studies in particular the University of Toronto had a sustained program long before any other university in Canada.¹¹ Toronto established an early lead in the production of historians and continues to retain that lead. In 1963 nearly a third of all graduate students in history, and 42% of the Ph.D. students, were at Toronto.¹² In 1974 the University of Toronto had more Ph.D. history theses in progress than the next two largest schools in Canada combined (147 out of 534).¹³ Although this dominance will be diluted in the future the impact of the Toronto program on the history profession in Canada will last for a long time.

The impact of Toronto can be illustrated by the fact that Wrong's methods were often adopted by other universities. Historical Clubs, modelled on Toronto's, were established at Saskatchewan, Alberta, United and Queen's, and in each case repeated the pattern of encouraging hard work, elitism and

¹¹See Appendix F.

¹²Laskin Report, 12.

¹³J.B. Conacher, "Graduate Studies in History in Canada; The Growth of Doctoral Programs" Canadian Historical Association, Historical Papers (1975) 2-3, 12-13.

discussing current affairs.¹⁴ When Underhill went to Saskatchewan he and Oliver (Toronto '02) and Morton (who had taught church history at Knox for two years) organized the course pattern, the division between honours and general and the tutorial groups along the lines established at Toronto. Further, the letters from Burt at Alberta in the 1920s suggest that Burt continued to hold values absorbed in the years before 1914--such as looking to Oxford for a first class man.¹⁵ In this manner the traditions established by Wrong became a part of the traditions of many other departments.

Even in recent years, Toronto has provided a model or a standard in many history departments across Canada. Twenty-one letters were sent to current or recent department heads who had taken at least one degree at Toronto. Of the seventeen who replied, four agreed that the University of Toronto had been of great significance and eight felt that it had been of some significance in setting standards in their own departments. Six mentioned the graduate program and seven

¹⁴Underhill "Toronto and Saskatchewan" UTM, 24 (February 1924) 204-6; Underhill to J.L. Thomas, 18 November 1925, University of Saskatchewan, Murray Papers; Underhill to J.S. Woodsworth, 3 October 1926, PAC, Underhill Papers, vol. 16; L.H. Thomas, The Renaissance of Canadian History: a Biography of A.L. Burt (Toronto, University Press, 1975) 6; W.H. Heick and Roger Graham, eds., His Own Man: Essays in Honour of Arthur Reginald Marsden Lower (Montreal, McGill-Queen's 1974) ix, 5, 15; Lower, My First Seventy-Five Years, 48.

¹⁵A.S. Morton to Underhill, 18 June 1919, PAC, Underhill Papers. Wrong to Sophia, 6 June 1912, Armstrong Collection ("Oliver [is] my man."); Burt to Underhill, 1921-27, PAC, Underhill Papers.

mentioned Toronto's emphasis on the commitment to teaching and meeting students in small groups. Five of the respondents stated that they tried to avoid certain aspects of the Toronto pattern, such as the emphasis on political-constitutional history and the traditional approaches to history.¹⁶ The "influence" of Toronto appears in many forms.

Further proof of Wrong's influence would be mostly a matter of adding to the specific examples provided above-- showing that Wrong's books were widely read, that his values and standards were adopted and that his practices as a history teacher were adopted (and to what extent) by those who came after him. More important than Wrong's influence, however, is the meaning of that influence to the historical profession in Canada.

The career of Wrong spanned the transition from the amateur to the fully professional historian.¹⁷ The appointment of Wrong and others to teach history at the university level created the first generation of full-time historians. Usually these men were trained in theology and often they taught a wide variety of subjects. Wrong was not unique in

¹⁶See Appendix G and letters in possession of W.D. Meikle. Some of the respondents asked not to be quoted, and many pleaded an inability to deal precisely with the question of the relative influence of Toronto on their own philosophy and policies. Some answered at great length, others did not. For these reasons it was not possible to analyse the responses in greater detail.

¹⁷See Appendix J for an extended definition of the concept "professional historian".

this regard.¹⁸ What made him unique was the rapid growth of his Department and the emphasis he placed on sending bright young men to Oxford to finish their education. As they returned to Canada these men became the nucleus of the second generation of historians.

The second generation consisted of men like Wallace, Underhill, A.L. Burt, Chester New, G.W. Simpson, W.N. Sage and A.R.M. Lower. Their training often included the classics and they tended to write on the broader themes of history. They, along with some of the later products of Oxford such as Glazebrook, McDougall, Creighton and McInnis, became the leaders of the historical profession in the 1930s, 1940s and 1950s. Through the quality of their teaching and writing, they taught the men who are today in positions of leadership and influence in the field of Canadian history. For example, many of Canada's best known contemporary historians were members of the Historical Club at Toronto between the years 1939 and 1955 and a dozen or more received a Toronto Ph.D. in the decade after 1950.¹⁹

The significance of the development through three generations from theology to classics to history cannot be explored

¹⁸See Appendix A.

¹⁹Members of the Historical Club include: E. Cappadocia, J.M.S. Careless, P.G. Cornell, G.M. Craig, James Eayrs, G.S. French, W.M. Kilbourn, L.I. Lapierre, K.W.K. McNaught, H.I. Nelson, J.H. Trueman, A.V. Tucker; for the Ph.D.s see Appendix I.

fully here but three lines of thought may be suggested. First, the development of the historical profession in the United States did not follow the theology to classics pattern. While some of the early teachers of history in American universities had backgrounds in theology, just as many were trained in law, and the majority were trained in the formal Ph.D. programs of German universities or The Johns Hopkins University.²⁰ Their background tended more to political science than the humanities and their successors resisted attempts to substitute a broad education for the training in methodology fostered by the traditional Ph.D. program.²¹ Historical studies in the United States and Canada are, therefore, built on very different foundations and even though the content of history texts and courses may be similar, the underlying assumptions and values are not. The significance of this difference may have been diluted since the mid 1960s but the fundamental differences remain.

A second possible result of the theology and classics background has been suggested in the themes "and gladly teach" and "sense of mission" apparent in the Department. Sir Daniel Wilson and others in his era put a high priority on public service, which usually took the form of religious or charitable

²⁰See Appendix M.

²¹M. Blanshard, Frank Aydelotte of Swarthmore (Middleton, Wesleyan University, 1970).

activities. Wrong continued this commitment, both in his own life and in the kind of people he appointed to the Department. Several members of the Department came from strongly religious backgrounds and almost all of them displayed qualities of "character, good manners and forcefulness".²² Religion was not emphasized as much in the years after World War I but the ideal of public service remained and the various members of the Department worked hard for both their students and the public at large.

The third aspect of the theology to classics to history pattern is the apparent reflection of the social changes that occurred in the decades between 1890 and 1930. In these decades we can see a considerable shift away from religion towards a more secular society, one in which the institutions of government and education have grown immensely. Wrong and his staff and students also moved towards a more secular outlook. Wrong himself changed from church history to secular, and gradually dropped his connections with Wycliffe in favour of organizations such as the Red Cross and the American Historical Association. Many of his staff became even more actively involved in politics and several joined the Department of External Affairs. The students who took their M.A. degrees also show this shift away from religion towards government as a career.

²²Members of the Department who were ordained include Wrong himself, Hooke, Kenneth Bell (1946) and Langford. Several of his staff were sons or daughters of ministers: Creighton, George Brown, Pearson, Reid, Riddell, Wallace, Marga and Hume Wrong; McInnis' father was a church elder.

The theology to classics pattern may explain the sense of mission and the dedication to teaching that is characteristic of the Department of History but it may also have some negative features. Wrong was not without weaknesses as a historian. He neglected the discipline of history in both his own work and in his classes favoring instead good writing. His lack of interest in theory may explain his failure to keep abreast of new developments in history. (In 1934 he sent a copy of his inaugural lecture to Flenley with the inscription "This was written nearly forty years ago. I doubt whether the intervening period has brought any change in the outlook expressed here.")²³ His curriculum neglected the study of French Canada and his ties with French Canadian thinking were limited. No doubt Wrong thought that he was well versed on the subject and that his approach was sufficient. Few of Wrong's books are read today; with the rise of the more scholarly works on French Canada his books became obsolete and of little interest except to those who sought a well constructed narrative. Wrong tended to evaluate both his students and his appointees in terms of their character and their writing ability. In his letters of reference he would mention such qualities as "highmindedness", "trustworthy", "gifts of phrasing", "public spirit" and the person's

²³Wrong, "Historical Study" (1895) copy inscribed 17 January 1934, and held by UTA.

background in languages and sense of style.²⁴ While the sense of mission was a major virtue, it could also lead to blind spots.

The Department itself had limitations that often stemmed from Wrong's interests. The Department stressed the political-constitutional development of Canada and the point of view was that of central Canada, which itself appears often to be limited to Ottawa and Toronto. The Department had a tendency to make appointments from within a narrow circle--first Oxford, then graduates of Toronto itself. The sense of unity that was so strong in the Department--Wrong used to have the entire Department to his house for Sunday dinner--may have hindered the introduction of new ideas.

Yet in spite of these weaknesses Wrong and the Department he built aroused an interest in history and public issues on the part of some of Canada's best young men. Their interest led to an enthusiasm and a commitment to teaching that produced many fine historians. A full assessment of the work of Wrong

²⁴See Wrong to Doughty, 6 July 1907, [11] March 1907, 5 April 1911, PAC, RG 37, vol. 101; letters in the files History Department files to or on behalf of E.M.Gundy, A.S. Hardy, R.A. Ruggles, E.A. Hill, UTA, History Department, Box 2; Box 8, File 53: Subject File 4, S 165.

Although there are not really enough examples to make a good case it would appear that Martin tended to mention perseverance and industry and Underhill tended to emphasize intellectual capacity and range of reading. See letters in History Department Files and PAC, Underhill Papers; specific references have been omitted because many of the subjects are still active.

and his Department cannot be made until this study is linked to other studies, such as history departments in other universities, the development of the historical profession, the growth of Canadian nationalism, the training of high school teachers and the discussions and decisions made in staff meetings. All that can be said here is that Wrong and his Department began a tradition that may be summarized by the phrase "and gladly teach".

A Clerk there was of Oxenford....
Whatever money from his friends he took
He spent on learning or another book
And prayed for them most earnestly....
Formal at that, respectful in the extreme,
Short, to the point, and lofty in his theme.
The thought of moral virtue filled his speech
And gladly would he learn, and gladly teach.

--Geoffrey Chaucer,
"The Prologue" in The
Canterbury Tales.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

Background and Duties of Some Early Professors of History in Canada

<u>University</u>	<u>Name</u>	<u>Training</u>	<u>Subjects Taught/Other Responsibilities</u>
Acadia	J.M. Cramp (1796-1881)	Theology (ord 1818)	Languages, Theology, Logic, Moral Sciences, History, Political Economy, President (1851-3; 1855-69)
Laval	Abbé J.B.A. Ferland (1805-1865)	Theology (ord 1828)	Philosophy (1841-48) History and Literature (1855-64)
Toronto	Sir Daniel Wilson (1816-1892)	Archeology	English (1853-37) History and Ethnology (1853-92) President, University Coll. (1880-92) President, U. of T. (1887-92)
	George M. Wrong (1860-1948)	Theology (ord 1883)	Church History, Liturgics (1883-92) Apologetics (1883-1910) Ethnology (1892-1920) History (1892-1927)
Queen's	G.D. Ferguson (1829-1926)	Theology (ord 1855)	Modern Languages (Queen's, 1869-79; R.M.C., 1875-83) English Language and Literature (1869-1888) History (1869-1908)
Dalhousie	John Forrest (1842-1920)	Theology (ord 1866)	History, Political Economy (1881-85)
McGill	C.E. Moyses (1852-1924)	English, Natural Science, Philology	English Language and Literature (1879-1902); History (1879-94)
McMaster	A. H. Newman (1852-1933)	Theology	Church History, Biblical Criticism, Hebrew, Greek, Comparative Religion, Economics, History
	E.H. Oliver (1882-1935)	Theology (ord 1896) Ph.D. Columbia 1905	History (1905-1909)
	C.W. New (1882-1960)	Theology (ord 1907)	History (1920-51)
Alberta	H.M. Tory (1864-1947)	Science Theology (ord 1892)	Mathematics (McGill, 1893-1906) History (acting head, 1908-21) President (1908-28)
Saskatchewan	A.S. Morton (1870-1945)	Theology (ord 1896)	History, Librarian (1914-40)
	E.H. Oliver (1882-1935)	Theology (ord 1896) Ph.D. Columbia 1905	History and Economics (1909-14)

Note: This information was obtained from university calendars; W.S. Wallace, ed. The MacMillan Dictionary of Canadian Biography 3rd ed., (Toronto, MacMillan, 1963); R.A. Preston, "Breakers Ahead and a Glance Behind," Presidential Address, Canadian Historical Association Report, (1962) 1-16; and Katherine Ferguson, "George Dalrymple Ferguson: First Professor of History at Queen's University", Historic Kingston, 14 (January 1966) 51-66.

APPENDIX B
The Department of History 1890-1970

	<u>University Registration</u>	<u>Total History Students</u>	<u>Honours History Students</u>	<u>Staff</u>
1890	1200*	216	95	1
1891	1461	-	-	1
1892	1261*	-	-	1
1893	-	-	-	1
1894	1472*	-	-	1
1895	1435*	-	-	1
1896	1475*	-	-	1
1897	-	-	-	1
1898	1195*	-	-	1
1899	1774*	-	-	1
1900	1311*	-	-	1
1901	1476*	-	-	1
1902	2241	264	145	1
1903	2428	271	153	1
1904	3061	269	127	2
1905	3418	292	141	2
1906	-	-	-	3
1907	-	-	-	3
1908	3545	383	186	4
1909	3941	442	236	4
1910	4046	538	262	4
1911	4177	550	260	5
1912	4176	676	266	7
1913	4141	538	188	7
1914	4274	522	162	8
1915	4436	714	204	7
1916	4972	463	212	7
1917	7252	556	126	8
1918	2805	578	148	4
1919	3357	605	200	3
1920	5257	771	258	4
1921	5081	543	251	8
1922	5363	591	239	8
1923	5106	713	293	10
1924	4970	723	313	10
1925	4800	914	333	9
1926	5573	683	345	8
1927	5706	800	362	10
1928	6086	764	351	10
1929	6161	869	294	9
1930	7276	318	346	10
1931	7976	1006	362	10
1932	8260	1006	345	10
1933	8481	1122	424	10
1934	7987	977	382	9
1935	7956	1149	375	11
1936	3101	1221	391	10
1937	8291	1147	444	12
1938	7946	816	389	12
1939	9008	876	412	12
1940	7987	835	412	12
1945	7265	1016	344	15
1950	14840	2226	580	27
1955	11682	1518	495	20
1960	12277	2131	370	17
1965	20245	2950	1121	42
1970	25344	-	-	71

SOURCES: William Dale to George Ross, 12 December 1890, OA, R.3. 7, Series D-7; R.S. Harris, *A History of Higher Education in Canada, 1861-1960*, (Toronto: University Press, 1976) 621-27; University of Toronto, *Annual Report of the President*. The numbers marked with an asterisk (*) are students examined. See *The University of Toronto, 1827-1926*, (Toronto: The Librarian, 1906) 260. Figures for other years were not available.

APPENDIX C

Members of the Department of History, 1892-1940

Bayley, Charles Calvert; b. 1907

B.A., Manchester, 1928; M.A., Manchester, 1929; Ph.D., Chicago, 1938. Univ. of Toronto, lect., 1932-33; Colorado College, 1933-34; McGill Univ., 1935- .
Books: The Formation of the German College of Electors, 1949; War and Society in Renaissance Florence, 1961.

Bell, John Johnston; 1878-1953

B.A., Oxford, 1905. Liverpool, 1905-06; Goldsmith's College, Univ. of London, 1906-11; Univ. of Toronto, lect., 1911-12; History Section Ctte. of Imp. Defence, 1917-21; London Day Trg. Coll., 1922-32; L.C.C. Insp. of schools, 1932-42; Exeter School, 1942-47.

NOTE: This information was obtained from standard biographical sources, reminiscences and the university calendars. Since the calendars were usually printed before appointments and promotions were made, one year was subtracted from the dates in the calendars to arrive at the dates listed here. These sketches do not include war service, honours, details of occupations outside of the History Department, or publications other than books.

Photographs are courtesy of: Mrs. C.H.A. Armstrong, Margaret Martin, Mary Reid, Ontario Archives, University of Alberta Archives, and several departments within the University of Toronto: the Department of History, the University Archives, Information Services, and the Photographic Service in the Faculty of Arts and Science.

Bell, Kenneth Norman; 1884-1951

B.A., Oxford, 1906; ordained 1946. Fellow of All-Souls, 1907-14; Univ. of Toronto, lect., 1909-11; G. Bell and Sons, Publishers, 1912-14; Balliol Coll., 1919-41; L.C.C. Rest Centre Service, 1942-43; Vicar of Binley, Coventry, 1946-51. Books: Select Documents in British Colonial History, 1830-60, 1928.

Blake, Edward Hume; 1891-1938

B.A., Toronto, 1911; M.A., Toronto, 1916. Univ. of Toronto, instructor 1921-22; Lawyer, Manning Estate.

Brebner, John Bartlett; 1895-1957

B.A., Oxford, 1920; B. Litt., Oxford, 1925; Ph.D., Columbia, 1927. Univ. of Toronto, Lect., 1921-25; Columbia Univ., 1925-54. Books: New England's Outpost, 1927; The Explorers of North America, 1933, 1955; The Neutral Yankees of Nova Scotia, 1937, 1969. The Making of Modern Britain, 1943; North Atlantic Triangle, 1945, 1966; Canada, A Modern History, 1960.



Brown, Alexander Grant; 1881-1932

B.A., Toronto, 1903; B.A. Oxford, 1905. Univ. of Toronto, Classics, 1905-29; History lect., 1905-06, inst. 1906-08, lect. 1908-14; H.G. Stanton Co., investment counsellor, 1929-32.

Brown, George Williams; 1894-1963

B.A., Toronto, 1915;
Ph.D., Chicago, 1924.
Saskatoon, high school
teacher, 1919-20; Winnipeg,
newspaper editor, 1920-21;
Univ. of Michigan, 1924-25;
Univ. of Toronto, lect.,
1925-29, asst. prof., 1927-
1929, assoc. prof., 1929-35,
prof., 1935-46; Univ. of
Toronto Press, 1946-63.
Books: Building the Canadian
Nation, 1942, 1952, 1968;
Canadian Democracy in Action.
1945, 1959; The Story of
Canada (with Harmon and
Jeanneret) 1949; Canada in
North America to 1800 (with
Harmon and Jeanneret) 1960;
Canada in North America 1800-
1901 (with Harmon and Jeanneret) 1961, 1967; Canada
and the Americas (with Careless, Craig and Ray)
1953; Canada and the World (with Careless, Craig and
Ray) 1953; Canada and the Commonwealth (with Careless,
Craig and Ray) 1953.



Creighton, Donald Grant; b. 1902

B.A., Toronto, 1925; B.A. Oxford, 1927. Univ. of Toronto, lect., 1927-32, asst. prof., 1932-45, prof. 1945-71; chairman, 1954-59. Books: The Commercial Empire of the St. Lawrence, 1937, 1956; British North America at Confederation, 1940; Dominion of the North, 1944, 1957; John A. Macdonald, 1952 and 1955; Harold Adams Innis: Portrait of a Scholar, 1957; The Story of Canada, 1959; The Road to Confederation, 1964; Canada's First Century, 1970; Towards the Discovery of Canada, 1972; Canada: The Heroic Beginnings, 1974.



Feiling, Sir Kenneth Graham; b. 1884

B.A., Oxford, 1906. Fellow, All Souls, 1906-11; Univ. of Toronto, lect., 1907-09; visiting lect., 1949-50; Christ Church, Oxford, 1909-46; Chichele Professor of Modern History, 1946-50; emeritus prof., 1950- Books: Toryism: a political dialogue, 1913; Italian policy since 1870, 1914; A history of the Tory Party, 1924, 1950; England under the Tudors and Stuarts, 1927, 1959; British Foreign Policy 1660-1672, 1930; Sketches in Nineteenth Century Biography, 1930; The Second Tory Party, 1714, 1832, 1938; The Life of Neville Chamberlain, 1946, 1970; A History of England, 1950; Warren Hastings, 1954; In Christ Church Hall, 1960.



Flenley, Ralph; 1886-1959

M.A., Liverpool; B. Litt., Oxford, 1910. Univ. of Manitoba, 1911-15, 1919-20; Univ. of Toronto, assoc. prof., 1920-27, prof., 1927-55, chairman, 1952-54. Books: Six Towns Chronicles, 1911; Register of the Council in the Marches of Wales, 1915; Makers of Nineteenth Century Europe, 1927; History of Montreal, 1928; Modern Europe and the World, 1931; Post-War Germany, 1943.



Glazebrook, George Parkin de Twenebrokes; b. 1899



B.A., Toronto, 1922; B.A., Oxford, 1924. Univ. of Toronto, lect., 1924-29 asst. prof., 1929-37; assoc. prof., 1937-41; prof., 1946-1948, spec. lect., 1963-67; Ext. affairs, 1941-45, 1948-1963. Books: Sir Charles Bagot in Canada, 1929; Sir Edmund Walker, 1933; A History of Transportation in Canada, 1938, 1964; Canada at the Paris Peace Conference, 1942; A History of Canadian External Relations, 1942, 1950; A Short History of Canada, 1950; A History of Canadian Political Thought, 1966; Life in Ontario, 1968; The Story of Toronto, 1971.

Gould, Ernest Clarke;

B.A., Toronto, 1933; M.A., Toronto, 1934. Univ of Toronto, reader, 1934-35; Univ. of Manitoba, 1937-1939; Monetary Times, Financial Editor, 1940-62.

Harvey, Winifred; d. 1928

B.A., Toronto, 1911; M.A., Toronto, 1912. Univ. of Toronto, fellow, 1911-12; Toronto, Social Service Commission, 1916; Monteith, Agricultural School, 1924-1927; married Rev. H.G. Cartledge, 1927.

Hodder-Williams, Ralph Wilfred; 1890-1961



B.A., Oxford, 1911.
Univ. of Toronto, lect.,
1911-18, asst. prof.,
1918-19, assoc. prof., 1919-
1923; Hodder and Stoughton,
Ltd., 1923-60. Books:
Princess Patricia's Canadian
Light Infantry 1914-18, 1923.

Hooke, Samuel Henry; 1874-1968

B.A., Oxford, 1910; B.D., London. Victoria Univ.,
assoc. prof. of Oriental lang. and lit., 1913-23,
prof. 1924-25; spec. lect. in History, 1916-22,
lect., 1923. Books: Christ and the Kingdom of God,
1919; Christianity in the Making, 1926; Prophets
and Priests, 1938; Archaeology and the Old Testa-
ment, 1939; What is the Bible?, 1948; The Kingdom
of God in the Experience of Jesus, 1949; Babylonian
and Assyrian Religion, 1953, 1962; The Siege
Perilous: Essays in Biblical Anthropology and
Kindred Subjects, 1956; Alpha and Omega: A Study
in the Pattern of Revelation, 1961; Middle Eastern
Mythology, 1963.

Kennedy, William Paul McClure; 1879-1963

M.A., D. Litt., Dublin. Univ. of Toronto, instr. in Eng. and Hist., 1914-16, subs. lect., 1917-19, asst. prof., 1919-22, spec. lect., 1922-23, asst. prof., 1923-25, assoc. prof., 1925-26; Dean, Fac. of Law, 1926-49; founder and editor, Univ. of Toronto Law Journal, 1935-49. Books: Archbishop Parker, 1908; Parish Life Under Queen Elizabeth, 1914; Studies in Tudor History, 1916; Documents of the Canadian Constitution, 1918, 1930; The Constitution of Canada, 1922, 1937; Elizabethan Episcopal Administration, 1924; Essays in Constitutional Law, 1934.



Kylie, Edward Joseph; 1880-1916

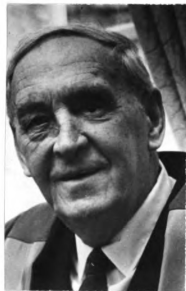


B.A., Toronto, 1901; B.A., Oxford, 1903. Univ. of Toronto, lect., 1904-09, assoc. prof., 1909-16.

Langford, Norman Frederick;

M.A., Toronto, 1936. Univ. of Toronto, reader, 1936-1939; 1938-39; Minister; Editor, United Church, Toronto; Presbyterian Board, Philadelphia. Books: The Two-Edged Sword, 1944; The King Nobody Wanted, 1948; Fire Upon The Earth, 1950.

McDougall, Donald James; b. 1892



St. Dunstons, Physiotherapy, 1917; B.A., Toronto, 1925; B.A., Oxford, 1927. Mond Nickle, 1913-15; N.I.B., London, 1917-18; C.N.I.B., 1918-21; Oxford Univ., 1927-1929; Univ. of Toronto, lect., 1929-35, asst. prof., 1935-1942, assoc. prof., 1942-53, prof., 1953-61. Books: The Church in England, 1850-1950, 1956.

McEachern, Ronald Alexander; b. 1908

B.A., Toronto, 1931; M.A., Toronto, 1933; Ph.D., Toronto, 1934. Univ. of Toronto, reader, 1931-32; Editor, Financial Post, 1942-64; Exec. Vice-Pres., MacLean-Hunter, 1964-70.

McInnis, Edgar Wardwell; 1899-1973

B.A., Toronto, 1923; B.A., Oxford, 1925. Toronto Daily Star. Oberlin, head of Hist., 1926-28; Univ. of Toronto, lect., 1928-35, asst. prof., 1935-42, assoc. prof., 1942-1950, prof., 1950-52; Can. Inst. Int. Affs., 1951-60; York Univ., 1960-68; Chairman, Dept. of Hist., 1962, 1966-68 (Glendon). Books: Poems Written at "The Front", 1918; The Road to Arras, 1920; The Oxford Periodical History of the War, 1940-46; The Unguarded Frontier, 1942, 1970; North America and The Modern World, 1945, 1954; Canada, A Political and Social History, 1947, 1959, 1963, 1969; The English Speaking Peoples (with J.H.S. Reid), 1948; Canada and The United Nations (with F.H. Soward), 1956; The Atlantic Triangle and the Cold War, 1959; The Shaping of Post-War Germany (with R. Hiscocks and R. Spencer), 1960.

MacLaren, Anna Margaret;

M.A., Toronto, 1935. Univ. of Toronto, Reader, 1937-38, librarian.

McMurchie, Helen (Bott); b. 1886

B.A., Toronto, 1912. Univ. of Toronto, fellow, 1912-1913; Instructor, 1913-17, subs. inst., 1918-19; Married Prof. E.A. Bott, 1917. Institute of Child Study, 1925-37. Books: Parents and the Pre-school Child (with W.E. Blatz), 1928; The Management of Young Children (with W.E. Blatz), 1930; Method in Social Studies of Young Children, 1933; Personality Development in Young Children, 1934; Adult Attitudes to Children's Misdemeanors, 1937.

Martin, Chester Bailey; 1882-1958

B.A., U.N.B., 1902; B.A., Oxford, 1907. Public Archives, 1909; Univ. of Manitoba, 1909-29; Univ. of Toronto, Hist. Dept. Chairman, 1929-1952. Books: Lord Selkirk's Work in Canada, 1916; The Natural Resources Question, 1920; The Colonial Policy of the Dominion, 1922; Responsible Government and its Corollaries in the Canadian Constitution, 1923; Empire and Commonwealth, 1929; "Dominion Lands" Policy, 1938, 1973; Lord Durham's Report and its Consequences, 1939; Foundations of Canadian Nationhood, 1955.

Massey, Charles Vincent; 1887-1968

B.A., Toronto, 1910; B.A., Oxford, 1913. Univ. of Toronto, lect., 1913-19, Dean of Residence, 1913-15; Pres., Massey Harris, 1921-25; Envoy Extraordinary to the United States, 1926-30; High Commissioner to England, 1935-46; Chancellor, Univ. of Toronto, 1947-53; Governor-General of Canada, 1952-59. Books: The Making of a Nation, 1928; Good Neighbourhood and Other Addresses, 1930; The Sword of Lionheart and Other Wartime Addresses, 1942; On Being Canadian, 1948; Canadians and Their Commonwealth, 1961; What's Past is Prologue, 1963; Confederation on the March, 1965.



Pearson, Lester Bowles; 1897-1973

B.A., Toronto, 1919; B.A., Oxford, 1923. Armour & Co., 1919-21; Univ. of Toronto, lect., 1923-27, asst. prof., 1927-28; Ext. Affairs, 1928-1948; Member of Parliament, 1948-68; Prime Minister of Canada, 1963-68. Books: Democracy in World Politics, 1955; Diplomacy in the Nuclear Age., 1959; The Crisis of Development, 1970; Words and Occasions, 1970; Mike: The Memoirs of Lester B. Pearson, 2 vols., 1972, 1973.



Preston, Richard Arthur; b. 1910



B.A., Leeds; M.A., 1932; Ph.D., Yale, 1936; Univ. of Toronto, lect., 1936-38; Univ. College, Cardiff, 1938-45; Univ. of Toronto, asst. prof., 1945-48; R.M.C., 1948-65; Duke Univ., 1965- Books: Gorges of Plymouth Fort, 1953; Men in Arms (with S.F. Wise and H.O. Werner), 1956, 1962, 1970; Royal Fort Frontenac (comp), 1958; Kingston Before the War of 1812, 1959; Canada in World Affairs, 1959-61; Canada and 'Imperial Defense', 1967; Canada's R.M.C., 1969; Contemporary Australia, 1969; For Friends at Home, 1974.

Proby, Jocelyn Campbell Patrick; b. 1900

B.A., Oxford, 1921; B. Litt., Oxford, 1924; D.O. Kirksville, Mo., 1934. Univ. of Toronto, lect., 1926-1929. Books: The Place of Osteopathy in Therapeutics, 1953.

Ray, Eldon Pringle; b. 1911

B.A., M.A., Dalhousie; Ph.D., Toronto, 1945. Univ. of Toronto, reader, 1939-40; Simcoe Bd. of Education, 1940-1944; Peterborough Bd. of Education, 1944-73. Books: (with Brown, Careless and Craig) Canada and the Americas, 1953; Canada and the World, 1953; Canada and the Commonwealth, 1953.

Reid, Marjorie Gordon; 1894-1966

B.A., Toronto, 1917; B. Litt., Oxford, 1922. Univ. of Toronto, inst., 1918-20, 1922-23, lect., 1923-26; asst. head, Women's Union, 1922-26; married Prof. K.B. Jackson, 1926.

Riddell, Robert Gerald; 1908-1951

B.A., Manitoba, 1930; M.A., Toronto, 1931; B. Litt., Oxford, 1934. Univ. of Toronto, tut. asst., 1934-39, lect., 1939-42; Dean of Res. (Victoria), 1934-42; Ext. Affs., 1943-51.



Rothwell, Harry; b. 1902

B.A., Manchester, 1925; Ph.D., Cambridge, 1928; Bodleian Library, 1928-29; Univ. of Toronto, lect., 1929-31; Edinburgh Univ., 1931-45; Univ. of Southampton, 1945-68. Books: The Chronicle of Walter Guisborough, 1957; English Historical Documents, 1189-1327, 1973.

Saunders, Richard Merrill; b. 1904

B.A., Clark, 1924; M.A., Clark, 1925; Ph.D., Cornell, 1931. Univ. of Toronto, lect., 1931-38, asst. prof., 1938-46, assoc. prof., 1946-54, prof., 1954-71. Books: Education for Tomorrow, 1946; Flashing Wings, 1947; Carolina Quest, 1951.



Sims, Elizabeth Kendel Montague; b. 1909

B.A., Toronto, 1931; M.A., Toronto, 1934; Univ. of Toronto, reader, 1935-36; Dept. of Geog., 1937; married Prof. A. Hoemberg, 1938. Books: Thy People, My People, 1950.

Smith, George Malcolm; 1888-1947



B.A., Toronto, 1909? B.A.,
Oxford, 1912?; Univ. of
Toronto, lect., 1912-18, asst.
prof., 1918-19, assoc. prof.,
1919-27; prof., 1927-29;
Univ. of Alberta, 1931-47.

Talman, James John; b. 1904

B.A., Western, 1925; M.A.,
Western, 1927; Ph.D., Toronto,
1930. Univ. of Toronto, read-
er, 1929-31; Anglican Church,
1929-31; Ont. Prov. Archives,
1931-39; Univ. of Western
Ontario, Library, 1939-70.
Books: "Western" 1878-1953
(with Ruth Davis Talman),
1953; Early Freemasonry in
Ontario, 1954.



Underhill, Frank Hawkins; 1889-1971

B.A., Toronto, 1911; B.A., Oxford, 1913. Univ. of Sask., 1914-27; Univ. of Toronto, prof., 1927-55; Curator, Laurier House, 1955-59; Carleton Univ., visiting prof., 1964-67. Books: "The Canadian Forces in the War" in Sir Charles Lucas, ed., The Empire at War, 1921; The British Commonwealth, 1956; In Search of Canadian Liberalism, 1960; The Image of Confederation, 1964.

Wallace, William Stewart; 1884-1970

B.A., Toronto, 1906; B.A., Oxford, 1909. Univ. of Western Ont., 1906-07; McMaster Univ., 1909-20; Univ. of Toronto, instr., 1910-13, spec. lect., 1913-14, lect., 1914-20, spec. lect., 1920-24, prof., 1927-29; library, 1923-54. Books: The United Empire Loyalists, 1914; The Family Compact, 1915; By Star and Compass, 1922; Sir John Macdonald, 1924; A New History of Great Britain and Canada, 1925; Dictionary of Canadian Biography, 1926, 1945, 1963; A History of the University of Toronto, 1927; A First Book of Canadian History, 1928; A History of The Canadian People, 1930;

A Reader in Canadian Civics, 1935; Encyclopedia of Canada (6 vols.), 1935-37, 1948.

Wilkinson, Bertie; b. 1898



B.A., Manchester, 1919; M.A. 1920-21; Ph.D., 1926; Exeter Univ. Coll. of the South West, 1923-30; Manchester Univ., 1930-38; Univ. of Toronto, prof., 1938-67. Books: Chancery Under Edward III, 1929; Medieval Council of Exeter, 1931; Constitutional History of England, 1216-1399, 1948, 1952, 1956; The English Coronation, 1953; The Later Middle Ages in England, 1969.

Wrong, George McKinnon; 1860-1948

B.A., Toronto, 1883; ordained, 1883; Wycliffe Coll., 1883-93. Univ. of Toronto. lect., 1892-94; prof., 1894-1927. Books: The Crusade of 1383, 1892; The British Nation, 1903; The Earl of Elgin, 1905; A Canadian Manor and its Seigneurs, 1908, 1926; Ontario High School History of England, 1911; The Fall of Canada, 1914; The Conquest of New France, 1918; Ontario Public School History of Canada, 1921; Ontario Public School History of England, 1921; The United States and Canada, A Political Study, 1921; The Rise and Fall of New France (2 vols.), 1928; The Story of Canada (with C. Martin and W.N. Sage), 1929; Canada and the American Revolution, 1935; The Canadians, 1938.



Wrong, Humphrey Hume; 1894-1954

B.A., Toronto, 1915; B. Litt., Oxford, 1921. Univ. of Toronto, lect., 1921-23, asst. prof., 1923-27; Ext. Affairs, 1927-1954. Books: The Government of the West Indies, 1923; Sir Alexander MacKenzie, 1927.



Wrong, Margaret Christian; 1887-1948



B.A., Oxford, 1914; M.A., Toronto, 1920. Univ. of Toronto, instr. ca 1915-21; U.C. Women's Union, 1916-21; World Student Christian Fed., 1921-26; sect. Intl. Comm. on Christian Literature, 1935-48. Books: Ideals and Realities in Europe, 1925; Africa and the Making of Books, 1934; The Land and Life of Africa, 1935; Across Africa, 1940; Five Points for Africa, 1942; Africa Advancing (with J. Davis and T.M. Campbell), 1945; For A Literate West Africa, 1946.

APPENDIX D

Bibliography of George M. Wrong

In addition to the published works of George Wrong this bibliography contains references to addresses he made, to editorial comments on his statements, and to some unpublished but dated essays. These latter items were included because they provide a clue to what concerned Wrong at a particular time and because at least two were presented to radio audiences.

The material is listed chronologically. Within each year the first items are books written or edited by Wrong, followed by other items for which only the year of publication was available. Then come articles, reviews, addresses and letters-to-editor intermingled chronologically. Some addresses were published, or were presented several times; where this occurs all items are listed under the earliest date. Editorial or individual responses to Wrong are placed with the item to which they refer; occasionally an article about Wrong appears by itself.

The material here was drawn from several sources. "A Bibliography of the Works of George M. Wrong" compiled by Katherine Wales and E.M. Murray (Canadian Historical Review 29 (September 1948) 238-9) lists books and some articles. An earlier version by E.M. Murray "A Bibliography

of the Works of George MacKinnon Wrong" (1938) is available at the University of Toronto Library School; it contains references to reviews of Wrong's books and to the printing history of a few books and pamphlets. Alan Bowker has an extensive list of works by and about Wrong and some of his contemporaries in "Truly Useful Men: Maurice Hutton, George Wrong, James Mavor and the University of Toronto, 1880-1927" (unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of Toronto, 1975). Indexes and catalogues in the Canadian Historical Review, the American Historical Review, The New York Times, the National Library in Ottawa and libraries in Toronto were also used to locate Wrong's work. Newspaper clippings (Biographical File, University of Toronto Archives) provided most of the information regarding addresses and editorial reactions. It should be pointed out that about a dozen of these were not verified; this might be the result of mislabelling, or of microfilming a different edition than the one from which the clipping was taken. The reader should also be aware that no attempt was made to search all newspapers for accounts of Wrong's addresses. The University of Toronto Archives also has, in the Department of Extension Geographical File, a list of lectures delivered in various Ontario cities. Other addresses were located in the Wrong Papers held by the University of Toronto Library, Department of Rare Books and Special Collections. Many references to Wrong's addresses, articles, and letters-to-the-editor were found in the correspondence of his friends in the University

of Toronto Library, the Public Archives of Canada, the Library of Congress, and letters in the possession of his daughter, Mrs. C.H.A. Armstrong of Toronto.

All of the items listed here have been verified, except where otherwise indicated. Unverified material falls into three categories. First are those items which I have not seen but have no reason to doubt; these are arranged in chronological sequence with other items and are enclosed in square brackets. Second are items such as addresses or articles which are mentioned fairly specifically in a letter or some other source, but for which no additional corroboration was available; these are identified as unverified, and are placed at the end of the appropriate year. Third are items which I felt could not be included here at all; these include references which were too vague to be located, and the references in the biographical file in the University Archives which could not be verified.

This bibliography does not include unpublished or undated material, such as essays and diaries in the University of Toronto Library and in the possession of Mrs. Armstrong; or unsigned material, such as anonymous reviews in the Review of Historical Publications Relating to Canada.

Some material was known to exist but was not located, such as addresses to Canadian Clubs in cities outside of Toronto, and articles in Parish and Home, for which only a few volumes were available in the Anglican Church Archives and the New

York Public Library. Another area of omission is biographical data such as service on editorial boards, eulogies, minor notices in newspapers, and reviews of Wrong's books.

In the preparation of this bibliography I was greatly assisted by previous collections, by librarians and archivists all across Canada, in England and in the United States. In particular I would like to thank Mrs. C.H.A. Armstrong; Mr. Alan Bowker; Dr. T.R. Millman, Wycliffe College; Mr. Andy Birrell, Ottawa and Dr. Norman Penlington, East Lansing, Michigan. The staff in the Archives, Reference Room and Microfilm Room of the University of Toronto Library were exceptionally helpful and patient.

It would be appreciated very much if any errors or omissions in this bibliography could be brought to the attention of the Archivist, University of Toronto Library.

Abbreviations used in this bibliography:

Descriptions of Items

- Add: Addresses and sermons, even if later published.
 Art: Articles in periodicals and books; some letters to editors were long enough to be called articles.
 Ed: Books or journals edited by Wrong.
 Let: Letters to editors of newspapers.
 Rev: Books reviewed by Wrong.

Journals

- AHR American Historical Review
 CHR Canadian Historical Review
 EC Evangelical Churchman (Toronto)
 PH Parish and Home (Toronto)
 UTM University of Toronto Monthly

Toronto Newspapers

- Daily News The Toronto Daily News
 Globe The Globe
 Mail The Daily Mail and Empire
 Star The Toronto Daily Star
 Telegram The Telegram
 Varsity The Varsity (University of Toronto)
 World The Toronto World

1884

Add: at St. Paul's Toronto, [see Evangelical Churchman 9 (11 September 1884) 212].

1886

Rev: F.R. Wynne, The Joy of the Ministry: an endeavor to increase the efficiency and deepen the happiness of pastoral work, EC X (8 April 1886) 580.

Let: "New Lectureship in Oriental Languages" The Varsity 6 (3 April 1886) 240 [reply "Our Critic Criticized", Ibid. 224-235 (sic). Both the microfilm in the University of Toronto Library and the original held in the Archives for this issue have pages missing; in addition the pages are misnumbered. A more complete collection of The Varsity for the year 1886 is available at York University, Ducharme Collection.]

Rev: Right Hon. Lord Robert Montague, Recent Events and a Clue to their Solution, EC XI (19 August 1886) 170.

Rev: Henry Footman, Reasonable Apprehensions and Reassuring Hints, EC XI (18 November 1886) 326.

1888

Let: "The Political Science Professorship", The Varsity 8 (25 February 1888) 169.

Let: "City Missions", EC 12 (1 March 1888) 511.

Let: "Historical Theology in Wycliffe College", EC 12 (4 October 1888) 259-60.

1889

Let: "Privy Council Ritual Decisions", EC 14 (5 December 1889) 368.

Let: "Privy Council Judgments in Ritual Matters", EC 14 (7 November 1889) 319 [reply EC 14 (21 November 1889) 343].

Art: "St. Columba and Iona", EC 14 (19 December 1889) 396-7.

1890

- Art: "The Trouble at St. Judith's", Parish and Home I
(December 1890) 1-2 [satirical sketch].
- Art: "The Old-time Christmas Spirit", PH I (December 1890) 2-3.
- Art: "Thoughts for the Thoughtful", PH I (December 1890) 4.
- Let: "Patronage", EC 14 (20 March 1890) 551.
- Add: 1 December 1890 (at St. Peter's Church, Toronto)
[see EC 15 (11 December 1890) 374].

1891

- Let: "The North End Club", EC 15 (5 February 1891) 476.
- Art: "German Student Life" (Parts I and II), Varsity X
(10, 17 March 1891) 222-23, 234-35.
- Add: "The Study of History", 18 April 1891 [abstract in
Transactions of the Canadian Institute 4th Ser., Vol. II
(1890-91) 39-40].
- Unverified Art: "A Child's Mission" [a story in 12 parts]
PH I (January to December 1891) [signed "W", possibly Wrong].

1892

- Book: The Crusade of MCCCLXXXIII, Known as that of the
Bishop of Norwich, London: James Parker and Co., 1892.
pp. viii, 96.

1893

- Art: "Feeling and Faith", PH III (February 1893) 2-3.
- Let: "A Parish Magazine", EC 18 (23 February 1893) 88.
- Art: "Growth", PH III (November 1893) 2-3.

1894

- Ed: Application and Testimonials of George M. Wrong, B.A.
for the Post of Professor of History in the University of
Toronto, Toronto, 1894.

Add: "The Fall of Rome" [Saturday public lecture] 3 February 1894 [see Varsity 13 (7 February 1894) 5].

About: "A Recent Appointment" editorial, Varsity 14 (17 October 1894) 12; W.A. Braun, letter and editor's reply, Ibid (14 November 1894) 50-1.

1895

Add: "Historical Study in the University and the Place of Medieval History", 12 January 1895. [Inaugural lecture; see EC 21 (14 February 1895) 74]; published under the same title, Toronto: Bryant Press, 1895.

Add: "University Historical Study" [one of a series of Saturday public lectures delivered during the session 1894-1895].

Let: "The University Trouble", The Globe (4 February 1895) 5 [see also: letter from B.E. Walker, Ibid., p. 3; editorials in Varsity 14 (October 1894) passim; The Evening Star, (4 October 1894) 1].

Add: "The Clergyman in his Study", 1 October 1895 [on opening Wycliffe, see Daily Mail and Empire (2 October 1895) 2].

Add: "The Teaching of Epictetus", 3 December 1895, to Classical Association of University College [Rare Books Department, University of Toronto Library].

1896

Rev: A.G. Bradley, Wolfe, American Historical Review I (January 1896) 355-356.

Add: "Stoic Ethics", 7 February 1896, to Philosophical Society [summary RBD].

Add: "The Cabots" 28 March 1896, Canadian Institute [see EC 21 (2 April 1896) 168].

Rev: H. Lorin, Le Comte de Frontenac: Etude sur le Canada Francais a la Fin du XVII Siecle, AHR I (April 1896) 545-547.

Rev: W. Kingsford, The History of Canada, Vol. VIII, 1808-1815 AHR I (April 1896) 550-553.

Rev: [signed "G.M.W."], M.R. de Kerallain, La Jeunesse de Bougainville et la Guerre de Sept Ans, AHR I (April 1896) 576-77].

Add: "The Discoveries of the Cabots" April 1896, Ontario Education Association.

Rev: E. Richard, Acadia: Missing Links of a Lost Chapter in American History, AHR 2 (October 1896) 159-61.

Unverified Add: "Feudalism in Canada", December 1896, Ontario Education Association.

1897

Ed: Louisbourg in 1745: The Anonymous lettre d'un Habitant de Louisbourg (Cape Breton) containing a narrative by an eye-witness of the siege in 1745, edited with an English translation by G.M. Wrong. Toronto: William Briggs, 1897. pp. 74.

Ed: Review of Historical Publications Relating to Canada [of the year 1896] Vol. I. Toronto: William Briggs, 1897. pp. 190.

Let: "The Working Boys' Home" EC 22 (25 February 1897) 125.

Art: "The Queen's Reign" PH 8 (June 1897) 62-3.

Rev: "Current Skepticism", Coulson Kernahan, The Child, the Wise Man, and the Devil, EC 22 (5 August 1897) 494.

Rev: "The Christian", Hall Caine, The Christian, EC 22 (21 October 1897) 668-669.

1898

Ed: (assisted by H.H. Langton) Review of Historical Publications Relating to Canada [of the year 1897] Vol. II. Toronto: William Briggs, 1898. pp. 238.

Art: "History in Canadian Secondary Schools", American Historical Association, Annual Report (1898) 551-5.

Let: "The Revival of Faith" EC 23 (6 January 1898) 18.

Add: "Normans and their Architecture" February 1898, Women's Art Association [see EC 23 (10 February 1898) 91].

Add: [on French Revolution] 11 February 1898. One of a series of Extension lectures, Public Library, Hamilton, [see EC 23 (17 February 1898) 107].

Add: "The Relative Educational Value of History", 13 April 1898. Ontario Education Association [see EC 23 (4 August 1898) 491-2].

Unverified Add: "The Renaissance in Florence" (1898) Women's Art Association [see Mail (2.12.98), UTA biographical file].

Unverified Add: "Oliver Cromwell", Milton, Ont. [1898-99 Extension Department Lecture Series].

1899

Ed: (with H.H. Langton) Review of Historical Publications Relating to Canada [of the year 1898] Vol. III. Toronto: William Briggs, 1899. pp. 225.

Add: [on flag celebrations] 16 February 1899. Ontario Historical Association [see Globe, (17 February 1899) 4].

Rev: J.E. Roy, Histoire de la Seigneurie de Lauzon, 1897, 1898 AHR 4 (April 1899) 578-80.

Unverified Add: "Cromwell", Dundas, Ont. [1899-1900 Extension Department Lecture Series].

1900

Ed: (with H.H. Langton) Review of Historical Publications Relating to Canada [of the year 1899] Vol. IV. Toronto: William Briggs, 1900. pp. 229.

1901

Ed: (with H.H. Langton) Review of Historical Publications Relating to Canada [of the year 1900] Vol. V. Toronto: William Briggs, 1901. pp. 226.

Add: "What the Historian Should and Should Not Attempt" 14 January 1901. [see Varsity XX (15 January 1901) 191].

Art: "The Constitution of the University of Toronto" Varsity XX (12 February 1901) 239-40.

Add: [The Sphere and Methods of the Historian] 5 March 1901, Canadian Club [see Star (6 March 1901) 1].

1902

Ed: (with H.H. Langton) Review of Historical Publications Relating to Canada [of the year 1901] Vol. VI. Toronto: William Briggs, 1902. pp. 226.

Rev: Sidney Lee, ed., Dictionary of National Biography, Supp., AHR 7 (April 1902) 588-90.

Symposium: (with Adam Shortt, W.S. Milner, Rev. Oswald Rigby) "What Should be Expected in History of the Student on Entering the University?", 3 April 1902, Ontario Educational Association [see Ontario Educational Association Proceedings, Toronto; William Briggs (1902) 27].

Rev: Fitzgerald Molloy, The Queen's Comrade: the life and times of Sarah, Duchess of Marlborough, AHR 7 (July 1902) 767-8.

Art: "Professors and Undergraduates" Varsity 22 (14 October 1902) 3.

1903

Books: The British Nation, A History, Twentieth Century Text Books. New York: Appleton, 1903; Toronto: Morang, 1904. pp. xxxii, 616.

Ed: (with H.H. Langton) Review of Historical Publications Relating to Canada [of the year 1902] Vol. VII. Toronto: William Briggs, published by The Librarian, 1903. pp. 222.

Add: "Ideals of the Ministry", 3 March 1903, Wycliffe College [see Varsity 22 (11 March 1903) 316].

Art: "Text-books on British History" Educational Monthly of Canada 25 (misnumbered 26) (June 1903) 257-60.

Rev: Louise Creighton, ed., Historical Essays and Reviews by Mandell Creighton, AHR 8 (July 1903) 734-36.

Add: "The Teaching and Influence of F.W. Robertson and Phillips Brooks", Wycliffe College Alumni Association, 30 September 1903.

Art: "The Student Life", Varsity 23 (14 October 1903) 1-2.

1904

Ed: (with H.H. Langton) Review of Historical Publications Relating to Canada [of the year 1903] Vol. VIII. Toronto: Morang, published by The Librarian, 1904. pp. 225.

Rev: E. Porritt, The Unreformed House of Commons: Parliamentary Representation before 1832, AHR 9 (April 1904) 565-68.

Rev: J. Morley, The Life of William Ewart Gladstone, AHR
9 (April 1904) 591-95.

Art: "The Conferring of a Degree upon the Archbishop of
Canterbury", University of Toronto Monthly V (October 1904)

Unverified Add: [Japan] in Napanee. [See Department of
Extension memo, n.d. UTA, A73. 018, Box 2/8].

1905

Book: The Earl of Elgin. London: Methuen, 1905; Toronto:
Morang, 1906. pp. xii, 300.

Ed: An English History by E.S. Symes Adapted for Use in
Canadian Elementary Schools. Toronto: Copp, 1905.
pp. vi, 286.

Ed: (with H.H. Langton) Review of Historical Publications
Relating to Canada [of the year 1904] Vol. IX. Toronto:
Morang, 1905. pp. 240.

Art: "A Residence for Men", Varsity 24 (12 January 1905) 1.

1906

Ed: (with H.H. Langton) Review of Historical Publications
Relating to Canada [for the year 1905] Vol. X. Toronto:
Morang, 1906. pp. 221.

Rev: R.G. Thwaites, France in America, 1497-1763, AHR
11 (January 1906) 413-16.

Art: "The Late Principal Sheraton" UTM VI (March 1906) 115-18.

Rev: J.N. Larned, Seventy Centuries of the Life of Mankind,
2 Vol., AHR 11 (April 1906) 707.

About: Stuart Calais "Canadian Celebrities; No. 70--
Professor George M. Wrong" The Canadian Magazine 27 (July
1906) 208-10.

Rev: L.T. Hobhouse and J.L. Hammond, Lord Hobhouse, a
Memoir, AHR 12 (October 1906) 141-43.

Let: "Canada and the United States", The Spectator (London)
(17 November 1906) 783-4. [Re: Newfoundland and Alaska;
editor's reply in Ibid., 784. See also Mail (19 November
1906) 12; Globe (23 November 1906) 4; letter defending
Wrong by C.D.B., Globe (8 December 1906) 14.]

1907

Ed: (with H.H. Langton) Review of Historical Publications Relating to Canada [of the year 1906] Vol. XI. Toronto: Morang, 1907. pp. 225.

Rev: S.J. Reid, Life and Letters of the First Earl of Durham, 1792-1840, AHR 12 (April 1907) 637-40.

Art: "Goldwin Smith Today: The Evening of his Life in Toronto", Boston Evening Transcript (26 October 1907).

About: "A Social Settlement" Canadian Courier 2 (26 October 1907) 15.

Let: "What Canada Owes to the Careful Policy of the British Diplomat", Globe (26 December 1907) 6.

1908

Book: A Canadian Manor and its Seigneurs, the Story of a Hundred Years, 1761-1861. Toronto: Bryant Press, 1908. pp. xiv, 295. (Reprinted Toronto: Macmillan, 1926. pp. xvii, 295.)

Ed: (with H.H. Langton) Review of Historical Publications Relating to Canada [of the year 1907] Vol. XII. Toronto: Morang, 1908. pp. 212.

Add: 23 January 1908 [Literary and Historical Society, Murray Bay] [The Toronto World (24 January 1908) 1.]

Art: "Champlain in English", Bulletin de la Société de Géographie de Québec III (July 1908) 37-42.

1909

Ed: (with H.H. Langton) Review of Historical Publications Relating to Canada [of the year 1908] Vol. XIII. Toronto: Morang, 1909. pp. 198.

"Prefatory Note": Gordon B. Thompson, The Kulturkampf: an essay. Toronto: Macmillan (1909) iii-xii.

Add: "The University Man in Politics", 5 February 1909, History Society of University College. [See Varsity 28 (19 February 1909) 1.]

Add: "Erasmus and His Place in the Reformation Movement",
5 October 1909, Wycliffe College. [See Varsity 29
(8 October 1909) 3.]

Add: [on Christian education] 27 October 1929, Wycliffe
Chapel. [See Varsity 29 (29 October 1909) 3.]

Art: "Report of the Committee appointed to enquire in
regard to a possible College for Women", UTM 9 (June 1909)
286-89. [See "Reply of the Alumnae" Ibid. 289-91.]

Art: "The Attitude of Canada", The Nineteenth Century and
After LXVI (October 1909) 704-15; [also in The Living Age,
7th Series, XLV (1909) 387-96].

Art: "A College for Women" UTM X (November 1909) 4-7.

Add: "Canadian Nationalism and the Imperial Tie", 29 December
1909, American Economic Assoc., American Historical Assoc.
Published in American Political Science Association Proceedings
VI (1909) 100-108 and UTM X (February 1910) 173-83.
[See New York Daily Tribune (30 December 1909) 3;
"Professor Wrong is Wrong" The Mail and Empire (4 January
1910) 6.]

Unverified Book: Introductory History of England. Toronto:
Macmillan, 1909. [See correspondence between Wrong and Sir
James Whitney, May and June 1910, Ontario Archives.]

1910

Ed: (with H.H. Langton) Review of Historical Publications
Relating to Canada [of the year 1909] Vol. XIV. University
of Toronto, 1910. pp. 209.

Art: "Canada--History", Encyclopaedia Britannica, 11th Ed.,
Vol. 5 (1910) 156-59.

1911

Book: Ontario High School History of England. Toronto:
Morang, 1911. pp. viii, 536. [Substantially revised
version of The British Nation (1903).] Revised Editions,
Toronto: Macmillan, 1922, 1924, 1927.

Ed: (with H.H. Langton) Review of Historical Publications
Relating to Canada [of the year 1910] Vol. XV. University
of Toronto, 1911. pp. 220

Let: "Concerning Flags" [Supports lowering of flag at sunset]
Varsity 31 (8 December 1911) 2.

Add: "Relations of the Legislature to the Executive Power in Canada", December 1911, American Political Science Assoc. Published in American Political Science Assoc. Proceedings, Vol. VI, Supp. (1912) 173-80. [The Proceedings are bound with American Political Science Review.]

1912

Ed: (with W.S. Wallace) Review of Historical Publications Relating to Canada [of the year 1911] Vol. XVI. University of Toronto, 1912. pp. 211.

Art: "Sir Daniel Wilson", The Arbor III (January 1912) 150-60.

Add: "Canada as an Adjunct of the United States" Toronto, 9 May 1912. [RBD].

Let: [(signed "G.M.W.") "A Kick" (re: allotment of rugby tickets) Varsity 32 (2 October 1912) 2.]

Add: [proposed toast to Quebec at University College Dinner at McConkey's Hall; H. Bourassa was speaker] [see Varsity 32 (4 December 1912) 1].

Add: to the American Society for the Judicial Settlement of International Disputes, Washington, 21 December 1912. [RBD].

1913

Ed: (with W.S. Wallace) Review of Historical Publications Relating to Canada [of the year 1912] Vol. XVII. University of Toronto, 1913. pp. 240.

Art: "The Federation: General Outlines, 1867-1912", Canada and Its Provinces, edited by Adam Shortt and Arthur G. Doughty, Vol. VI, pp. 3-11. Toronto: Glasgow, Brook and Company, 1913-17, 23 vols. [Wrong was also one of the Associate Editors of Canada and Its Provinces]

Art: "Sir Charles Moss" UTM XIII (January 1913) 127-9.

Add: "Problems of Collegiate Life", 13 January 1913, at Wycliffe College. [see Varsity 32 (17 January 1913) 3].

Art: "Cecil Rhodes and His Work", Arbor 4 (January 1913) 136-44.

Art: "St. Augustine [Quebec]", The University Magazine XII
(February 1913) 65-76.

Add: [on education, at University College, class of 1916;
see Varsity 33 (1 December 1913) 3.]

1914

Book: The Fall of Canada, A Chapter in the History of the
Seven Years' War, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1914. pp. 272.

Ed: (with H.H. Langton) for the Chronicles of Canada
Series, Glasgow, Brook, 1915:

L.J. Burpee, Pathfinders of the Great Plains, a Chronicle
of La Vérendrye and his Sons, Vol. 19;

Thomas Chapais, The Great Intendant, a Chronicle of Jean
Talon in Canada, 1665-1672, Vol. 6;

A.C. Laut, The 'Adventurers of England', a Chronicle of
the Fur Trade in the North, Vol. 18;

Stephen Leacock, Adventurers of the Far North, a Chronicle
of the Frozen Seas, Vol. 20;

W.B. Munro, The Seigneurs of Old Canada, a Chronicle of
New World Feudalism, Vol. 5;

W.S. Wallace, The United Empire Loyalists, a Chronicle of
the Great Migration, Vol. 13;

William Wood, The Passing of New France, a Chronicle of
Montcalm, Vol. 10;

William Wood, The Winning of Canada, A Chronicle of Wolfe,
Vol. 11.

Ed: (with H.H. Langton and W.S. Wallace) Review of
Historical Publications Relating to Canada [of the year 1913]
Vol. XVIII. Published for the University of Toronto by
Glasgow, Brook, 1914. pp. 245.

Art: "Dominion of Canada", Cyclopedia of American Government,
A.C. McLaughlin and A.B. Hart, eds., New York: Appleton,
1914, Vol. I, pp. 210-14; "Canadian Provinces" Ibid.,
214-15; "Canadian Parliament" Ibid., Vol. II, 615-16.

Let: "A Canadian View of Ireland", The Times (London)
(9 June 1914) 7. [see also Star (9 June 1914) 4].

Add: August 1914, sermon at Union Church, Murray Bay. [RBD].

Add: September 1914, sermon at Union Church, Murray Bay [RBD].

Add: "Why Germany is at War", 14 October 1914. Published
in Addresses Delivered before the Canadian Club of Toronto
1914-1915, Vol. XII, Toronto: Warwick Brothers, 1915, 27-33.

Add: "The Germany of Bismark", 19 October 1914 [one of a series of special lectures on the war; see UTM 15 (November 1914) 55-57].

Add: "The Germany of William II" (26 October 1914) [see Varsity 34 (28 October 1914) 1; and "The Empire of William II" UTM 15 (December 1914) 101-3].

Let: The New York Times (28 November 1914) 12 [vs. editorial (23 November 1914) criticizing Canada's prohibition of German newspapers].

Add: [on German culture] (30 November 1914) at Queen's Hall [see Varsity 34 (2 December 1914) 4.]

Add: ["The Possible Terms of Peace" in Addresses Delivered before the Canadian Club of Montreal, Season 1914-15, n.d., pp. 131-8.]

Unverified Add: [on the war], 23 October 1914, North York Teachers' Convention.

Unverified Add: "Germany and the War", 5 November 1914, Women's Canadian Club.

Unverified Add: "Germany and the War" Midland, Ontario [1914-15 Extension Department Lecture Series].

Unverified Add: "Germany's Reasons for War" Women's Canadian Club, Ottawa [1914-15 Extension Department Lecture Series].

Unverified Add: "German Sea Power" Woodstock, Ontario [1914-15 Extension Department Lecture Series].

1915

Ed: (with H.H. Langton) for the Chronicles of Canada Series, Toronto: Glasgow, Brook, 1915:

C.W. Colby, The Fighting Governor, a Chronicle of Frontenac, Vol. 7;

C.W. Colby, The Founder of New France, a Chronicle of Champlain, Vol. 3;

A.C. Laut, Pioneers of the Pacific Coast, a Chronicle of Sea Rovers and Fur Hunters, Vol. 22;

Stephen Leacock, The Dawn of Canadian History, a Chronicle of Aboriginal Canada, Vol. 1;

Stephen Leacock, The Mariner of St. Malo, a Chronicle of the Voyages of Jacques Cartier, Vol. 2;

T.G. Marquis, The War Chief of the Ottawas, a Chronicle of the Pontiac War, Vol. 15;

- Sir Joseph Pope, The Day of Sir John Macdonald, a Chronicle of the First Prime Minister of the Dominion, Vol. 29;
- E.T. Raymond, Tecumseh, a Chronicle of the Last Great Leader of his People, Vol. 17;
- W.S. Wallace, The Family Compact, a Chronicle of the Rebellion in Upper Canada, Vol. 24;
- W.S. Wallace, The War with the United States, a Chronicle of 1812, Vol. 14;
- L.A. Wood, The Red River Colony, a Chronicle of the Beginnings of Manitoba, Vol. 21;
- L.A. Wood, The War Chief of the Six Nations, a Chronicle of Joseph Brant, Vol. 16;
- William Wood, All Afloat, a Chronicle of Craft and Waterways, Vol. 31;
- William Wood, The Great Fortress, a Chronicle of Louisbourg, 1720-1760. Vol. 8.

Ed: (with H.H. Langton and W.S. Wallace) Review of Historical Publications Relating to Canada [of the year 1914] Vol. XIX. Published for the University of Toronto by Glasgow, Brook, 1915. pp. 247.

Pamphlet: The War Spirit of Germany, Toronto: Oxford (1915) 27 pages. Condensed by L. Kohr, reprinted in Globe and Mail (16 June 1914) 6.

Art: "Canada's Part in the War" "The Varsity" War Supplement (1915) 37.

Art: "Elba, a hundred years after", Royal Society of Canada, Proceedings and Transactions, 3rd Series, IX, Section II, (1915) 205-22.

Add: "Germany's Reasons for War" [one of a series of local lectures delivered in Toronto and in Ontario under the auspices of Department of Extension, during the year 1915-16].

Add: "Some phases of the War", 11 January 1915, to Ministerial Association [The Toronto Daily News (11 January 1915) 1].

Art: "William Allaire Shortt" UTM XV (February 1915) 281.

Add: "Napoleon at Elba: The failure of world conquest" [see Varsity 34 (24 February 1915) 2].

Art: "How England has used her sea power", The New York Times (18 March 1915) 10 [opposes C.W. Eliot's proposal for a European Union; says a union of free nations would be better].

- Let: "What is piracy?" The New York Times (29 March 1915) 8. [German submarines.]
- Let: "At Least Once" The New York Times (30 March 1915) 10 [refutes a statement of Dr. Dernburg re insularity of Sir Edward Grey].
- Let: "An Election Opposed", The Toronto Daily News (13 April 1915) 6. [Edit. reply in Ibid. (14 April 1915) 6.]
- Let: "No Election Now, Globe (13 April 1915) 4; "Truce and No Election", Star (13 April 1915) 4.
- Let: "To Avert an Election" [announcing public meeting] Star (19 April 1915) 13. [Description of meeting in Star (24 April 1915) 5.]
- Let: "To Avert an Election" [announcing public meeting, Burwash Hall, 23 April] The Toronto Daily News (19 April 1915) 6.
- Art: "The Cruel Outlook for Peace in Europe", The New York Times (8 May 1915) 14. [Reply by W.F. Cooley, Ibid. (15 May 1915) 12.]
- Rev: J. Boyd, Sir George Etienne Cartier, Bart., His Life and Times: A Political History of Canada from 1814 until 1873, AHR 21(October 1915) 167-69.
- Art: "The Urgency of Economy", Globe (22 November 1915) 6; Mail (20 November 1915) 12; World (19 November 1915). [ed. reply, World (23 November 1915); see also Henry Britton, Mail (23 November 1915) 10.]
- Art: "Canada: An Outline and Bibliography of its History", Pt. 1. Published by the League of the Empire in The Federal Magazine (December 1915) 841-43.
- Add: "The growth of nationalism in the British Empire", (31 December 1915). Published in AHR XXII (October 1916) 45-57.
- Unverified Art: [Outline of the proposals, Federal planning commission for Ottawa and Hull, 1915.]

1916

- Ed: (with H.H. Langton) for the Chronicles of Canada Series, Toronto: Glasgow, Brook, 1916:
A.H.U. Colquhoun, The Fathers of Confederation, a Chronicle of the Birth of the Dominion, Vol. 28.

- A.D. de Celles, The 'Patriotes' of '37, a Chronicle of the Lower Canadian Rebellion, Vol. 25;
- A.G. Doughty, The Acadian Exiles, a Chronicle of the Land of Evangeline, Vol. 9;
- A.C. Laut, The Cariboo Trail, a Chronicle of the Gold Fields of British Columbia, Vol. 23;
- A.M. MacMechan, The Winning of Popular Government, a Chronicle of the Union of 1841, Vol. 27;
- T.G. Marquis, The Jesuit Missions, a Chronicle of the Cross in the Wilderness, Vol. 4;
- O.D. Skelton, The Day of Sir Wilfred Laurier, a Chronicle of Our Own Times, Vol. 30;
- O.D. Skelton, The Railway Builders, a Chronicle of Over-land Highways, Vol. 32;
- William Wood, The Father of British Canada, a Chronicle of Carleton, Vol. 12.

Ed: (with H.H. Langton and W.S. Wallace) Review of Historical Publications Relating to Canada [of the year 1915] Vol. XX. Published for the University of Toronto by Glasgow, Brook, (1916) 224.

Art: "Canada: An Outline and Bibliography of its History", Pt. 2. Published by the League of the Empire in The Federal Magazine (January-February 1916) 849-50.

Art: "Edward Joseph Kylie" UTM XVI (June-July 1916) 424.

Rev: B. Willson, The Life of Lord Strathcona and Mount Royal, 2 Vol.; W.T.R. Preston, Strathcona and the Making of Canada, AHR 21 (July 1916) 804-06.

Let: [union government] Globe (24 November 1916) 4; Star (24 November 1916) 5. [Reply Star (29 November 1916) 14 by F.D. Kerr (pro Wrong)].

Art: "James Henry Oldham, B.A." UTM XVII (December 1916) 93.

Add: "Fifty Years of Federation in Canada (8 December 1916). Published in the Canadian Club of Ottawa, Ottawa, Mortimer (1917) 128-40. [Note: Address with similar title given to Ingersol Canadian Club, (13 October 1916); Men's Club of Deer Park Christ Church (23 November 1916); Royal Canadian Institute (21 January 1917); Hamilton Canadian Club and Women's Canadian Club (Hamilton) (24 January 1917).]

Add: ["Germany's Reasons for War", one of a series of local lectures delivered in Toronto and through Ontario under the auspices of the Department of Extension, during the year 1916-17.]

Unverified Add: "Canada 50 Years after Confederation" Women's Canadian Club, Guelph, Ontario [1916-17 Extension Department Lecture Series].

1917

Ed: (with H.H. Langton and W.S. Wallace) Review of Historical Publications Relating to Canada [of the year 1916] Vol. XXI. Published for the University of Toronto by Glasgow, Brook. 1917. pp. 192.

Art: "The bilingual question", The new era in Canada: Essays Dealing with the Upbuilding of the Canadian Commonwealth, edited by J. O. Miller. Toronto: Dent, (1917) pp. 229-59.

Art: "When the men come back", The Varsity Magazine Supplement (1917) 123-4.

Add: [Canada is badly organized and educated], to Toronto Ministerial Association [see Star (22 January 1917) 4; and Mail (23 January 1917)].

Art: "The creation of the federal system in Canada", The Federation of Canada, 1867-1917 [four lectures delivered in the University of Toronto in March 1917 to commemorate the Fiftieth Anniversary of the Federation.] by George M. Wrong, Sir John Willison, Z. A. Lash, and Sir Robert Falconer. Toronto: Oxford University Press (1917) 1-38. [See Varsity 36 (9 March 1917) 1.]

Let: "The Round Table in Canada", Globe (30 March 1917) [Accompanied by an editorial commenting on Wrong's letter. See also, "They are but Students", Star (31 March 1917) 3.]

Add: "The Duties of Citizenship in Canada" (5 April 1917) at Convocation Hall. [First of a series of lectures on Citizenship. See response in Mail (21 April 1917) 20.]

Add: "Fifty years of federation--a look backward and a look forward" [read at May meeting, 1917, published in Royal Society of Canada, Proceedings and Transactions, 3rd series, XI, section II (1917) 61-70].

Art: "Paris in 1871", University Magazine, VI (December 1917) 559-72.

1918

Book: The Conquest of New France: A Chronicle of the Colonial Wars, Chronicles of America series, X, New Haven: Yale University Press, 1918. pp. x, 246.

Add: "The Revised Jewish State", 28 January 1918, Menorah Society [see Varsity 37 (30 January 1918) 1].

Let: "Replies to 'American Jurist'", The New York Times (29 January 1918) 14 [see "America After the War...VI--Canada" by An American Jurist, The New York Times (12 January 1918) 10].

Art: "Paris in 1794", The University Magazine, VII (February 1918) 28-44.

Add: "Civil Service Reform", 28 February 1918. Published in Empire Club of Canada, Addresses Delivered to the Members During the Session 1917-18, Toronto: Warwick, (1919) 131-39.

Add: [History of Canada] 10 October 1918, Women's Canadian Historical Society [see World (11 October 1918) 7].

1919

Ed: (with H.H. Langton and W.S. Wallace) Review of Historical Publications Relating to Canada [of the years 1917 and 1918] Vol. XXII. University of Toronto, 1919. pp. 203.

Art: "Relations between the United States and Canada", The Historical Outlook [Social Studies for Teachers] X (January 1919) 5-8.

Art: "The Outlook in England", Globe (12 June 1919) 6.

Let: "The Epsom Incident", The Times (London) (24 June 1919) 8 [re: riot by Canadian soldiers, 17 June 1919].

Art: "Old England and New Canada", The Khaki Varsity Souvenir Number (July 1919) 56-58 [a copy in PAC, Underhill papers, 89].

Unverified Add: "Canada's Status in the League of Nations" (Varsity Diggers Club).

1920

Ed: (with H.H. Langton) for the Chronicles in Canada Series, Glasgow, Brook, 1920: W.L. Grant, The Tribune of Nova Scotia, A Chronicle of Joseph Howe, Vol. 26.

D-22

Art: "Canada and the League of Nations. The Dominion Cannot Yield Her Place to Satisfy any Demand of Our Senate", The New York Times (27 February 1920) 12 [summary and comments in Globe (28 February 1920) 42].

Art: "Canada and the Imperial War Cabinet", Canadian Historical Review I (March 1920) 3-25.

Rev: Benjamin Sulte, Georges-Etienne Cartier. Augmenté et publié par Gérard Malchelosse, CHR I (March 1920) 83-5.

Rev: A.B. Keith, ed., Selected Speeches and Documents on British Colonial Policy, 1763-1917, 2 Vols. CHR I (March 1920) 111-12.

Quoted: [on the cancelling of a lecture by Jane Addams, due to pressure from the I.O.D.E. and others] Varsity 39 (1 March 1920) 1.

Add: "What it means to be a Nation", 4 March 1920, to Daughters of Canada [see Globe (5 March 1920) 10; World (5 March 1920)].

Add: "Did the British Empire Cease to Exist on August 4th, 1914?" 8 March 1920. Published in Addresses Delivered before the Canadian Club of Toronto, Season of 1919-20 XVII, 1920. pp. 259-67. [see Mail (9 March 1920); Globe (9 March 1920)].

Add: [the League of Nations] 29 March 1920, Board of Trade Young Men's Club [see Globe (30 March 1920) 3].

Rev: W.R. Riddell, Old Province Tales: Upper Canada, 1920, CHR I (December 1920) 406-8.

Unverified Add: "The Christian as Citizen", February 1920 [at St. James Cathedral Parish House].

1921

Book: Ontario Public School History of Canada, Toronto: Ryerson Press, 1921. pp. 365. [Issued in British Columbia under the title History of Canada, and in Saskatchewan under the title Public School History of Canada, Ryerson, 1921. Reprinted under the title Canada, a Short History, Ryerson, 1924.] [Criticized by R. Stothers, Telegram (16 February 1922) 12; also see Mail (7 January 1922) 16.]

Book: Ontario Public School History of England, Toronto: Ryerson Press, 1921. pp. viii, 384.

207

Book: Washington and His Comrades in Arms, a Chronicle of the War of Independence, Chronicles of America Series, XII, New Haven: Yale University Press, 1921. pp. xii, 295.

Book: The United States and Canada, a Political Study, Wesleyan University, George Slocum Bennett Foundation lectures, second series, 1919-1920. New York and Cincinnati: Abingdon Press, 1921. pp. 191.

Add: [Canada's political development] 21 March 1921, Hamilton Canadian Club [see Herald (22 March 1921)].

Add: [on France before and after the war] to McAll Mission [see The Evening Telegram (1 April 1921) 18].

Rev: H.G. Wells, The Outline of History, Being a Plain History of Life and Mankind, 2 Vols., CHR 2 (June 1921) 190-92.

Rev: Victor Ross, A History of the Canadian Bank of Commerce, with an Account of the other Banks which now form Part of its Organization, Vol. I, CHR 2 (September 1921) 290-94.

Add: "The Framework of Government in Canada", 19 October and 2 November 1921, Bankers' Educational Association. Published in Journal of the Canadian Bankers' Association [Canadian Banker] 29 (January 1922) 219-26.

Let: "Initiation Rites", Varsity 41 (14 November 1921) [see also "Professor Wrong on Initiations", UTM 22 (December 1921) 96].

Art: "Democracy in Canada", CHR 2 (December 1921) 315-32.

Add: "Canada, a Nation", 11 December 1921, Labor Forum [see Mail (12 December 1921) 5].

Unverified Add: ca. 6 May 1921, Lindsay Red Cross.

Unverified Add: [Canada's status] 1921, Montreal Women's Club.

Unverified Add: "Canada as a Nation" (Runnymede Travel Club?) Toronto [1921-22 Extension Department Lecture Series].

1922

Add: "The Washington Conference", 31 January 1922, Convocation Hall [see "Who Say Frenchmen Lack Humour?", Globe (1 February 1922) 9; Telegram (1 February 1922) 10; Mail (1 February 1922) 4]. [Address on same topic given to Electric Club,

8 February 1922, and College Heights Women's Educational Association, 1 March 1922; see Mail (9 February 1922) 5 and clippings in University of Toronto Archives, Biographical File.]

About: "The Spotlight", Star (1 February 1922) 6.

Add: 10 February 1922 [first meeting of graduate students; see Varsity 41 (13 February 1922)1].

Let: "The Empire's Title Deeds", Globe (16 February 1922) 4 [commenting on Churchill's speech].

Add: "Canada's present position in the British Empire", 27 February 1922, Board of Trade Young Men's Club [Mail (28 February 1922) 7].

Rev: E.C. Burnett, ed., Letters of Members of the Continental Congress, Vol. I, CHR 3 (March 1922) 68-72.

Add: "The History of the Church of England", 7 March 1922, St. Barnabas' Church [Globe (8 March 1922) 15].

Add: "Canada and the Problem of Assimilation", 12 March 1922, Temple Centre of Holy Blossom Synagogue [Star (13 March 1922) 5; Mail (13 March 1922) 4; Globe (13 March 1922) 11]. [Wrong commented on the daily press as an influence of assimilation, and stated that fifteen minutes a day was enough time to spend on that kind of reading. See editorial comments Telegram (18 March 1922) 24 and (27 March 1922) 16; Star (16 March 1922) 6; Globe (14 March 1922) 4.]

Add: [Response to toast "The Empire"] 24 April 1922, St. George's Society [Globe (25 April 1922) 13].

Let: [on prohibition in Canada; originally sent to the New Statesman] Social Welfare 4 (May 1922) 177-8.

Rev: Major General R.H. Mahon, The Life of General, The Hon. James Murray, a Builder of Canada: with a biographical sketch of the family of Murray of Elibank, CHR 3 (June 1922) 195-99.

Rev: Sir J. Pope, ed., Correspondence of Sir John Macdonald, First Prime Minister of the Dominion of Canada, AHR 27 (July 1922) 799-801.

Add: "International Relations and Government; 19 September 1922, Student Christian Movement Conference [Globe (20 September 1922) 3].

Let: "Regulation Seventeen", Globe (6 December 1922).

1923

- Art: (Unsigned) [on National Student Conference, December 28, 1922- January 2, 1923] Varsity 42 (January 12, 1923) 1.
- Art: "The Champlain Society", UTM XXIII (March 1923) 274-5.
- Rev: C.H. Van Tyne, The Causes of the War of Independence, Being the First Volume of the History of the Founding of the American Republic, CHR 4 (March 1923) 60-63.
- Rev: O.D. Skelton, Life and Letters of Sir Wilfred Laurier and J.W. Dafoe, Laurier, a Study in Canadian Politics, AHR 28 (April 1923) 570-73.
- Add: [on Francis Parkman] 17 November 1923, Canadian Authors' Association [see Globe (19 November 1923) 12].
- Art: "Francis Parkman", CHR 4 (December 1923) 289-303.
- Rev: H.E. Egerton, The Causes and Character of the American Revolution, CHR 4 (December 1923) 338-42.

1924

- Add: "The Present Situation in Europe", 15 January 1924, Convocation Hall and CFCA radio [see Varsity 43 (16 January 1924) 1; Star (16 January 1924) 2; Mail (16 January 1924) 4; UTM 24 (February 1924) 216-18]. [For replies, see "Severing with France" [editorial] The Christian Guardian (Toronto) XCV (23 January 1924) 4; and interview by Rev. Capt. J.B. Paulin, Star (16 January 1924) 28.]
- Add: "Student Conditions in Europe", 16 January 1924 [see Varsity 43 (17 January 1924) 1].
- Art: "Our Legislative Mills. VIII. A Contrast: the single house legislature of Ontario", National Municipal Review, XIII (March 1924) 169-72.
- Add: "The European Situation", 13 March 1924. Published in Empire Club of Canada, Addresses Delivered to the Members during the Year 1924, Toronto: Maccoomb, 1924, 125-35.
- Add: 25 April 1924, Women's Canadian Club, Toronto [see Globe (26 April 1924) 18; and "Historical Truths and Patriotism" Canadian Magazine 63 (September 1924) 319-20].
- Add: "Prospects of Peace in Europe", 28 April 1924, Methodist Ministerial Association [see Globe (29 April 1924) 14].

Add: [election in the United States] 4 November 1924, Alumni Federation lecture [see Varsity 44 (5 November 1924) 1; Globe (5 November 1924) 11; Mail (5 November 1924) 5; UTM 25 (December 1924) 113-114].

Add: "The teaching of the history and geography of the British Empire", August 1924, British Association for the Advancement of Science. Published in CHR 5 (December 1924) 297-313.

Add: "That in the interests of society the truth of history should sometimes be perverted" debate, 10 December 1924 [see Varsity 44 (11 December 1924) 1, 4].

Rev: J.C. Bracq, The Evolution of French Canada, CHR 5 (December 1924) 365-6.

Add: "The Evolution of the Foreign Relations of Canada", 29 December 1924, American Historical Association [published in CHR 6 (March 1925) 4-14].

1925

Art: "An Appreciation", Ellen Mary Knox, Toronto: Havergal College, 1925, pp. 33-39.

Rev: C.M. Andrews, The Colonial Background of the American Revolution: Four Essays on American Colonial History, and A. Nevins, The American States during and after the Revolution, 1775-1789, CHR 6 (March 1925) 71-4.

Add: "The two races in Canada", 21 May 1925. Published in Canadian Historical Association, Annual Report (1925) 21-7.

About: "Le Prof. Wrong et l'Unité Nationale", Le Droit (Ottawa), 8 July 1925 [re: Wrong, speech in Orillia by Sir George Foster, and Association Canadienne-Française d'Education d'Ontario].

Art: "Opinion in Canada", New Statesman XXV (4 July 1925) 330-32 and Star (18 July 1925). [Response to Harold Spender's article, "Will the Empire Hold Together?" Contemporary Review 127 (April 1925) 409-16; Spender's reply is in New Statesman XXV (18 July 1925) 391-2, and Wrong's response is in Ibid. (8 August 1925) 471-2. See also Star (22 July 1925) 6 and (20 August 1925) 6.]

Add: 13 October 1925, Literary Society, University College [see Varsity 45 (14 October 1925) 1].

Rev: John J. Wynne, S.J., The Jesuit Martyrs of North America: Isaac Jogues, John de Brebeuf, Gabriel Lalemont, Noel Chabanel, Anthony Daniel, Charles Garnier, Rene Goupil, John Lalonde, CHR 6 (December 1925) 349-51.

Quoted: "Profisms", Varsity 45 (5 November, 26 November, 3 December, 1925).

Add: "The British and American Constitutions", 26 November 1925, Toronto Women's Liberal Association [Star (27 November 1925) 26; Globe (27 November 1925)].

Quoted: "No Sympathy" [with those who wish to perpetrate war feeling--re: crests in Hart House] Telegram (3 December 1925) 7 [see Varsity 45 (27 November 1925) 166].

Unverified Add: [on Sir William Osler] 1925, Northumberland and Durham Society of Physicians.

1926

Add: "Nationalism in Canada", 20 April 1926. Published in Journal of the Royal Institute of International Affairs V (July 1926) 177-94.

Art: "The Problem of Status", Manitoba Free Press (Winnipeg) (17 July 1926) 17 [editor's comment, Ibid., p. 11].

Rev: J.F. Jameson, The American Revolution Considered as a Social Movement, CHR 7 (September 1926) 250-51.

Art: "The Debts to the United States", Globe (27 September 1926) 4.

Add: [recommends students spend less on cigarettes, more on books] see Varsity 46 (4 October 1926) 5.

Let: "War Guilt", Globe (18 November 1926) 4.

Add: "The Need to Understand French Canada", 23 November 1926, Women's Canadian Club, Globe (24 November 1926) 16.

Quoted: [re: Ontario Temperance Act] Mail (24 November 1926) 5.

Rev: E.C. Burnett, ed., Letters of Members of the Continental Congress, Vol 3, CHR 7 (December 1926) 338-40.

Add: "Canada's Problem of Equality with Great Britain", 9 December 1926. Published in Empire Club of Canada, Addresses Delivered to the Members During the Year 1926, Toronto: Hunter-Rose, 24 (1927) 299-310. [Editorial comment on speech, Globe (10 December 1926) 4.]

1927

Art: "Professor W.J. Alexander", UTM XXVII (January 1927) 151-2.

Add: "Wolfe and Montcalm" [an introduction to the film based on his Conquest of New France made by Yale University Press] 24 February 1927. [see Empire Club of Canada, Addresses Delivered to the Members During the Year 1927, Toronto: Hunter-Rose, 1928, p. 39; Globe 25 February 1927; Star (24 February 1927) 3. Letter criticizing omission of Wolfe's recitation, and Wrong's reply, Star 5 March 1927.]

Rev: J.J. Jusserand, et. al., The Writing of History; John Fortescue, The Writing of History; and John Buchan, Homilies and Recreations, CHR 8 (March 1927) 56-60.

Rev: B.L. Pierce, Public Opinion on the Teaching of History in the United States, CHR 8 (March 1927) 60-62.

Rev: Cecil Headlam, ed., Calendar of State Papers: Colonial Series, America and West Indies, CHR 8 (March 1927) 56-66.

Rev: Brig. Gen. Sir Percy Sykes, The Right Honourable Sir Mortimer Durand, a Biography, CHR 8 (March 1927) 76-77.

About: "Prof. G.M. Wrong to Retire from University Faculty". Star (9 March 1927) 12.

Add: "The Historian's Problem", May 1927, Presidential Address. Published in Canadian Historical Association Report (1927) 5-7.

Art: "Problems issuing from Confederation", 12 May 1927. Published in Addresses Delivered Before Canadian Club of Toronto, Season of 1927-28 XXV (1927) 3-13.

Art: "Canada's Sixty Years of Confederation", Current History XXVI (August 1927) 721-6.

Rev: John Squair, The Townships of Darlington and Clarke, including Bowmanville and Newcastle, Province of Ontario, Canada, CHR 8 (September 1927) 262-4.

1928

Book: The Rise and Fall of New France, 2 volumes, Toronto: Macmillan, 1928.

About: "Modern Makers of Canada--Prof. G.M. Wrong", Manitoba Free Press (25 January 1928) 13.

Rev: C. Wittke, A History of Canada, AHR 34 (April 1929) 631-33.

About: [recent trip to Europe] Star (21 April 1928) 4.

Rev: J.L. Morison, The Eighth Earl of Elgin: a chapter in Nineteenth Century Imperial History, CHR 9 (June 1928) 175-8.

Debate: [modern journalism] 31 October 1928 [Globe (1 November 1928) 14].

Rev: W.T. Waugh, James Wolfe, Man and Soldier; J.T. Findlay, Wolfe in Scotland, in the '45 and from 1749 to 1753, CHR 9 (December 1928) 341-5.

1929

Book: (with Chester Martin and W.N. Sage) The Story of Canada, Toronto: Ryerson, 1929. pp. xii, 380. [Wrong wrote: Part I, "When Canada was New France", Part II, "Canada as a British State", and Part V, "Our Own Times". Many portions are revisions of Wrong's Ontario Public School History of Canada, Ryerson, 1921.]

Book: Britain's History, Toronto: Copp Clark, 1929, pp. vii, 396. [Revised version of Ontario Public School History of England, Ryerson, 1921.]

Add: "Canadian Historical Backgrounds", 20 January 1929, Canadian Authors' Association [see Globe (21 January 1929); Mail (21 January 1929) 5].

Add: "Canadian History as a Background for Canadian Literature", 26 January 1929, Canadian Literature Club [see Mail (28 January 1929) 5].

Rev: G.B. Parks, Richard Hakluyt and the English Voyages, edited with an introduction by J.A. Williamson, CHR 10 (June 1929) 159-60.

Rev: C.H. Van Tyne, The War of Independence: American Phase, Vol. II of A History of the Founding of the American Republic; and W.C. Abbott, New York in the American Revolution, CHR 10 (September 1929) 250-53.

Rev: J.H. Rose, ed., The Cambridge History of the British Empire, Vol. I, The Old Empire from the beginnings to 1783, CHR 10 (September 1929) 259-61.

Rev: J. Holland Rose, ed., The Cambridge History of the British Empire, Vol. I, The Old Empire from the Beginnings to 1783, AHR 35 (October 1929) 103-5.

1930

- About: [recent trip to China] Star (10 January 1930) 2.
- Add: [China and Japan] 27 January 1930, Foreign Affairs Club
[see Varsity 49 [misnumbered 48] (28 January 1930) 1-2] .
- Add: [Institute of Pacific Relations] 27 January 1930
Foreign Affairs Club [see Varsity 48 (28 January 1930) 1-2].
- Add: "The Position of Canada in the Relations of the British
Empire with the United States", February 1930, Cleveland,
Ohio. [RBD].
- Rev: H.H. Langton, Sir Daniel Wilson: A Memoir, CHR 11
(March 1930) 63-66.
- Add: [Conference on Pacific Relations] 24 March 1930, Board
of Trade Club [see Mail (25 March 1930) 5].
- Add: "What Would United States Naval Parity with Great Britain
Mean for Canada?", 10 April 1930. Published in
Empire Club of Canada, Addresses Delivered to the Members
During the Year 1930, Toronto: Hunter-Rose, XVIII, 1931,
153-64. [see Globe (11 April 1930) 14; Telegram (11 November 1930)
6].
- Rev: W.C. Abbott, New York in the American Revolution; and
C.H. Van Tyne, The War of Independence: American Phase
being the second volume of A History of the Founding of the
American Republic, CHR 11 (September 1930) 250-53.
- Add: "How Democracy is Working in Canada", 2 November 1930,
Canadian Club of Ottawa [see Globe (3 November 1930) 1].
- Rev: J.B. Condliffe, Problems of the Pacific 1929: Proceedings
of the Third Conference of the Institute of Pacific
Relations, Nara and Kyoto, Japan, October 23 to November 9,
1929, CHR 11 (December 1930) 361-2.

1931

- Rev: G. Hanotaux, et. al., Histoire des Colonies Francaise
et de l'Expansion de la France dans le Monde, AHR 36 (January
1931) 372-4.
- Add: [on French Canada] 14 January 1931, Lyceum Club and
Women's Art Association [Globe (15 January 1931) 14; Mail
15 January 1931].

Add: "Our Present Outlook", 6 November 1931, Alumni Association, University College. Published in UTM XXXII (December 1931) 107-13.

Rev: Shane Leslie, Memoir of John Edward Courtenay Bodley, CHR 12 (December 1931) 445-6.

1932

Let: "Canadians Puzzled", The New York Times (25 November 1932) 14. [Comments on proposals by W.G. McAdoo and P. G. Ten Eyck that England should cede territory.]

Add: "The Historian and Society", December 1932, American Historical Association. Published in CHR 14 (March 1933) 4-8.

Unverified Add: "Recent Discoveries in Canadian History", 18 February 1932, [U of T Broadcasting Program].

1933

Rev: H.P. Biggar, ed., The Works of Samuel de Champlain, Vol. IV, 1608-1620, AHR 38 (January 1933) 319-320.

Add: "Our Defective Civilization", 11 March 1933, Canadian Club of Ottawa [see Star (13 March 1933)]. [includes introductory remarks by the President]. [RBD]

Add: "Canada's Present Outlook", (April?) 1933, radio address. [RBD]

Rev: Allen French, General Gage's Informers: New Material upon Lexington and Concord, Benjamin Thompson as Loyalist and The Treachery of Benjamin Church, Jr.; and E.C. Burnett, ed., Letters of Members of the Continental Congress, Vol. VI, CHR 14 (September 1933) 325-27.

Rev: E.W. Spaulding, New York in the Critical Period, 1783-1789, CHR 14 (September 1933) 327-8.

Add: "Revolution and Reaction", 9 September 1933 [a paper read before the Liberal-Conservative summer school, Newmarket]. Published in Canadian Problems: as seen by Twenty Outstanding Men of Canada, Toronto: Oxford, 1933. 3-16.

Add: "Three great democracies--after many years", 16 September 1933, dedication of the Carillon Bridge Monument, Ticonderoga. Published in New York History XV (January 1934) 27-30.

Add: [the relation to Europe of foreign policies of Great Britain and the United States] (November 1933?) radio address. [RBD]

Add: "Britain and United States Foreign Policies", 28 November 1933, radio address under the auspices of the National Council of Education [see Star (28 November 1933) 20].

1934

Add: "The background of the Loyalist movement, 1763-1783", 17 February 1934, Ontario Historical Society, Trinity College. Published in Ontario History XXX (1934) 171-80.

Rev: Tyler Bennett, John Hay: From poetry to politics, CHR 15 (June 1934) 207-09.

Add: "The Historian's Interest in Museums", 1 June 1934, Museums Association of America, Toronto. [RBD]

Rev: Paul Van Der Vrecken de Bormans, René de Kerallein, 1849-1928: Biographie; and Correspondance de René de Kerallein, 1889-1928, Vol. I, CHR 15 (September 1934) 314-15.

Art: "What has befallen us?", University of Toronto Quarterly 4 (October 1934) 34-54.

Let: "Bad Manners", Star (3 October 1934) 6 [correcting Star article re: N.M. Butler article on manners, see Star (2 October 1934)].

1935

Book: Canada and the American Revolution: The disruption of the first British Empire, Toronto: Macmillan, 1935. pp. xii, 497. Reprinted 1968, Cooper Square Publishers, New York.

Add: Introduction to "The Historical Background of Present Problems and Attitudes", 19 June 1935, Conference on Canadian-American Affairs at the St. Lawrence University. Published in Proceedings, W.W. McLaren, A.B. Corey, and R.G. Trotter, eds., Boston: Ginn and Company, 1936. 129-31.

1936

Art: "The beginnings of historical criticism in Canada: A retrospect, 1896-1936", CHR 17 (March 1936) 2-8 [editor's comment, Ibid., 1-2].

1937

Rev: André Siegfried, Canada, translated by H.H. Hemming and D. Hemming, CHR 18 (September 1937) 327-9.

1938

Book: The Canadians: The Story of a People, Toronto: Macmillan, 1938, pp. x, 455.

Pamphlet: The Chronicle of a Family (a mimeographed pamphlet "for private use only"), 1938. pp. v, 62.

Rev: J.C. Webster, 'Thomas Pickon' The Spy of Beauséjour: an account of his career in Europe and America with many original documents, translated by A. Webster, CHR 19 (March 1938) 70-1.

About: [Fiftieth anniversary of Department of Political Economy] [see Varsity 57 (11 March 1938) 1, 4].

1939

About: Chester Martin, "Professor G.M. Wrong and History in Canada", in Ralph Flenley, ed. Essays in Canadian History Presented to George Mackinnon Wrong for his Eightieth Birthday, Toronto: Macmillan, 1939. pp. 1-23.

Ed: The Long Journey to the Country of the Hurons, by Father Gabriel Sagard, translated by H.H. Langton, Toronto: Champlain Society, 1939. pp. xii, 411.

Art: "The Historical Background", Canada, London: The London Times, 1939, 11-17. [Reprinted from "The Canada Number" of The Times (London) (15 May 1939)].

Art: "The Founding [of Ridley College]", Acta Ridleiana (Christmas, 1939) 13-21.

1940

Trans: A. Siegfried, What the British Empire Means to Western Civilization (Oxford Pamphlets on World Affairs, No. C4) Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1940. pp. 28.

Art: "Is the U.S. fooled about this war?", Saturday Night
LV (3 February 1940) 3.

About: [Fergus News-Record (8 February 1940)]

About: [A.R. Ford "Over the Week-End"] London Evening Free
Press (29 January 1940).

APPENDIX E
Textbooks by Brown, Wallace and Brown Authorized
for Use in Elementary and Secondary Schools in Canada¹

USED IN SCHOOLS IN

AUTHOR AND TITLE	PUBLISHER	DATE	PRINTING ² HISTORY	APPROXIMATE ³ SALES	USED IN SCHOOLS IN												
					NSAD	PEI	NS	NB	QUE	ONT	MAN	SASK	ALTA	BC			
G.W. BROWN																	
The British Nation	Appleton	1903	1906, 07, 10	100,000													
The British Nation	Horang	1904	1914 ⁴													71,905-22	
Ontario High School History of England	McGraw	1911	rev. & enlarged 1922, 24, 27				1926-33	(1927)					1908-11	71,905-10	1922-27	1922-27	1922-27
An English History by E.S. Owen. Adapted for use in Canadian Elementary Schools	Copp	1905														1908-26	1910-22
An Introductory History of England	Macmillan	1909													7,914-30		
Ontario Public School History of England	Ryerson	1921	13th 1926					(1923-7)							1921-29	1957	
Britain's History	Copp Clark	1929	13th 1939												1929-39		
Ontario Public School History of Canada	Ryerson	1921	14th 1926					(1923-7)							1921-29		1921-26 ⁵
Canada's A Short History	Ryerson	1924	8th														
WOMEN, MARION, CHANCELLER⁶																	
The Story of Canada	Ryerson	1929	14th 1946												1929-43 71,946	1930-36	(1933)
M.S. WALLACE																	
A New History of Great Britain and Canada	Macmillan	1925	rev. 1911 1898 1949	120,000												1922-37 (1938-41)	1928-42 ⁷
A First Book of Canadian History	Macmillan	1928	16th 1944	320,000											1923-49		
A History of the Canadian People	Copp Clark	1930	18th 1943												1930-45		
A Reader in Canadian Civic Education	Macmillan	1935	10th 1946	180,000											1936-51		(1937-40)
ROBERT W. BROWN⁸																	
Building the Canadian Nation	Dent	1942	rev. 1946, 48, 50, 53, 64 17th 1957	600,000	71,949-59		1954-56	71,948-67	1954-71 (Protestant Canada only)	1949-59	(1946-65)	1950-60	1943-69				
Canadian Democracy in Action	Dent	1945	6th 1947 rev. 1951 new ed. 1955	50,000			(1946-53)	(1946-53)									1944-66
WOMEN, MARION, CHANCELLER⁹																	
The Story of Canada	Copp Clark	1949			(1950-58)		1946-65 ¹⁰		1951-7				1951-60				1951-6
Notre Histoire (Bilingual, French)	Copp Clark	1952															
Canada in North America to 1800	Copp Clark	1960															
Canada in North America 1800-1931	Copp Clark	1961	rev. 1967	730,000				(1946-65)									
BROWN, CAROLANNE, CRAIG, SAUNDERS¹¹																	
Canada and the Americas	Dent	1953	7th 1958	150,000													1954-60
Canada and the World	Dent	1953	5th 1956	150,000													1955-70
Canada and the Commonwealth	Dent	1953	6th 1958	150,000				(1953-65)									1953-67

FOOTNOTES

¹ The second book was a revision of the first.
() Not the only text authorized or uncertain if authorized

NOTES

² This list represents a minimum use of books by name. Information outside of Ontario was obtained by correspondence with Departments of Education and University Libraries and use of the research was verified or corroborated. Books used outside of Ontario list the different titles.

³ This column indicates the highest number of printings seen, or, in the latter part of revision, the highest use obtained since the first printing. This use is based on information from the following libraries: Historical Collection, Ontario Department of Education, Curran Douglas Historical Collection, Ontario Teachers Federation, Toronto (books to be located at Ontario Universities for Student Exchanges), Toronto; Ontario Faculty of Education, University of Toronto; Baldwin School, Toronto; Library and the Library, Toronto; Bureau of Education, Toronto; and Ontario, in particular Ontario Board of Schools in Toronto, also had copies of Brown's textbooks.

⁴ These figures were obtained from Royalty records courtesy of Macmillan of Canada, J.S. Dent and Sons, and Hogarth Maroon.

⁵ In Victoria, B.C. Public Library, according to the catalogue in the National Library, Ottawa.

⁶ One copy of this book could be located; the only other mention of it was in the list of publications by members of the Faculty in the Annual Report of the President for the year ending 1950, University of Toronto, p. 39. A series of letters between Brown and Miss Irene Phillips, et. al., dated, and Dr. S.A. Tans in 1949, and Ontario Teachers Federation, that were printed as a manuscript but were not accepted by the Department of Education. The copy here used is in D.C.; see F. Saunders, Special Collections, UBC Library, to W.D. Meikle, 21 March 1970.

⁷ J.S. Dent (Ph.D., Toronto, 1925) was then teaching at the University of British Columbia. Thayer Martin was teaching at the University of Manitoba; in 1925 he became head of the Department of History at Toronto.

⁸ Plus 65,000 in 2 volume paperback, published in 1967 by McGraw-Hill.

⁹ Professor Maroon, University of Toronto Press, and Sarah Janssen, Copp Clark, prepared the manuscript and submitted it to Brown, whose Building the Canadian Nation provided much of the theoretical framework. University of Toronto, Ontario, 15 January 1949.

¹⁰ J.S. Carleton (B.A., Toronto, Ph.D. Harvard) and J.H. Craig (B.A., Toronto Ph.D. U.S.) were both members of the Department of History, University of Toronto. Eldon P. Ray (B.A., Dalhousie, Ph.D., Toronto) was then a high school principal in Scarborough; he had been a teacher in the Department in 1934-40 and a research assistant for Brown. Brown acted as general editor of the books. E.S. Owen, Interview, 25 August 1974; J.H.S. Carleton, Interview, 26 March 1975.

¹¹ J.W. Wood to W.D. Meikle, 21 September 1973 and 2 October 1973. The second letter was in response to my query regarding the date. No explanation was offered.

APPENDIX F

Ph.D. and M.A. Degrees Granted in History in Canadian Universities¹

	<u>First Ph.D. in History</u>	<u>Author</u>	<u>First M.A. in History</u>	<u>Author</u>
Queen's	1921 ²	U.M. Macdonnell	1911	J.C. Macfarlane
Toronto	1925	W.B. Kerr W.N. Sage	1893	G.S. Sinclair N.I. Perry
Ottawa	1937		1910	
McGill	1938	J.I. Cooper	1922	E.M. Harbert
Laval	1948			
Alberta	1964	Y.F. Zoltvany	1911 ³	E.L. Hill
McMaster	1968	J.M. Craton	1897 ⁴	S.R. Tarr
Western	1963	D. Farrell	1912	A.S. Vroman
Saskatchewan	1963	C.O. White	1914	G.M. Weir
Manitoba	1963	T.J. Kupp	1922	R.K. Finlayson L. Shere
British Columbia	1963	H.A. Leach	1926	E. Stevens
Dalhousie	1971	A. Osuntokun K. Venkatarum	1907 ⁵	J.F. Smith J.L. McCain
Guelph	1971		1966	
Carleton	1975(est)		1958	W.D. Atkinson
Waterloo	1975(est)		1965	G.J. Fischer
Sir George Williams (Concordia)	1975(est)		1968(3)	
New Brunswick	--		1892 ⁶	E. Barker
Acadia	--		1935	C.M. Brown J.D. MacLellan
Mount Allison	--		1939	D.T. Trenholm

¹ This information was obtained from the various universities involved. Several theses were granted in historical subjects well before a department of history was formed; this may account for the many discrepancies between this list and the information in M. Lebel, J.C. Falardeau, R.E. Watters and W.K. Lamb, Canadian Graduate Theses in the Humanities and Social Sciences, 1921-1946 (1947) and W.F. Kuehl, Dissertations in History... (University of Kentucky, 1965 and 1972).

² The second Ph.D. in history was granted by Queen's in 1931, and the third in 1963.

³ The second M.A. in history was granted by Alberta in 1923.

⁴ The second M.A. in history was granted by McMaster in 1910.

⁵ The third M.A. in history was granted by Dalhousie in 1927.

⁶ The second M.A. in history was granted by New Brunswick in 1934.

APPENDIX 3

Selected History Departments in Canada and Potential Toronto Influence

<u>University</u>	<u>Head of the Department of History</u>	<u>Dates</u>	<u>Prior Relationship with the University of Toronto</u>
Memorial	G.E. Panting	1972-	Ph.D. (incomplete)
Prince of Wales College	G.A. Wilson	1951-53	Ph.D., 1959
St. Francis Xavier	Rev. M. MacDonnell	1960-64	M.A., 1945
	R.A. MacLean	1965-71	Ph.D., 1966
Dalhousie	P.B. Waite	1960-68	Ph.D., 1954
New Brunswick	A.J. Bailey	1938-69	Ph.D., 1934
Bishops	D.C. Masters	1944-66	B.A., 1930; M.A., 1931
McGill	C.C. Bayley	1961-66	Staff (History) 1932-33
Ottawa	J. Monet	1972-	Ph.D., 1964
Carleton	D.M.L. Farr	1952-63	M.S., 1946
	H.B. Neatby	1970-73	Ph.D., 1956
Queen's	J.A. Leith	1963-73	B.A., 1953; Staff (History) 1955-56; Ph.D., 1961
	W.R. Graham	1973-76	M.A., 1945; Ph.D., 1950
Trent	G.A. Wilson	1965-72	Ph.D., 1959
York	E.W. McInnis (acting)	1962-63	B.A., 1923; Staff (History) 1928-52 B.A., 1949 -- B.A., 1950 B.A., 1962; M.A., 1963; Ph.D., 1966
	E.W. McInnis (Glendon)	1966-63	
	L. Hertzman (acting)	1967-69	
	L. Hertzman	1969-70	
	S. Eisen	1971-74	
	P.D. Stevens	1974-	
McMaster	W.S. Wallace	1910-20	B.A., 1906; Staff (History) 1910-30
	C.W. New	1920-50	B.A., 1903
	H.W. McCready	1961-64	M.A., 1940
	G.S. French	1964-70	M.A., 1947; Ph.D., 1958
	E. Cappadocia	1975-	M.A., 1947
Waterloo	P.G. Cornell	1960-67	M.A., 1948; Ph.D., 1955
	K.A. MacKirdy	1967-68	Ph.D., 1959
	J.F.H. New	1969-74	Ph.D., 1962
	H. MacKinnon	1975-	M.A., 1947
Western	A.G. Dorland	1920-56	Ph.D., 1927
United	A.R.M. Lower	1929-47	B.A., 1914; M.A., 1923
Saskatchewan	E.H. Oliver	1909-14	B.A., 1902; M.A., 1903; Staff (McMaster) 1905-09
	F.H. Underhill	1914	B.A., 1911
	A.S. Morton	1914-40	Staff (Knox) 1912-14
	G.W. Simpson	1940-58	M.A., 1920
	I.N. Lambi	1969-74	M.A., 1954; Staff (History) 1959-61
Alberta	A.L. Burt	1921-30	B.A., 1910
	G.M. Smith	1931-46	B.A., 1910; Staff (History) 1912-29
British Columbia	S.M. Eastman	1919-32	B.A., 1907 Staff (Khaki University) 1919
	W.N. Sage	1932-53	B.A., 1910; Ph.D., 1925
	F.H. Soward	1953-63	B.A., 1921
	M.E. Prang	1974-	M.A., 1953; Ph.D. 1959

APPENDIX H

M.A. Theses Accepted by the Department of History,
1893-1940, and Occupations of the Graduates

	<u>Occupation</u>
Perry, N.I. Monasticism. 1893. n.p.	Minister
Sinclair, George. Oliver Cromwell. 1893. 79 p.	Minister
*Teefey, John Read. The Life of the Rt. Rev. Dr. de Charbonnel. 1894. 30 p.	Minister
*McCaig, James. The origin and growth of the Canadian constitution. 1897. 39 p.	Teacher
*Rosenstadt, Bertha. Grievances leading to the Rebellion of 1837. 1899. 89 p.	Teacher
*Clark, Gordon Mortimer. Constitutions of Canada. 1900. 39 p.	Teacher
McAlpine, Robert John. Luther and the Reform- ation up to the Close of the Diet of Worms. 1900. 81 p.	Minister
*Guest, Emily Jane. The drama of the wilderness and its chief actors, Montcalm and Levis. 1901. 60 p.	Teacher

Note: The authors are listed chronologically. Where there is more than one author in a year, the order is determined by subject; theses on Canadian subjects are listed first, followed by those dealing with the United States, Great Britain, Western Europe and others. Canadian subjects are preceded by an asterisk (*).

There are about twice as many theses listed for the years 1941-1973 as for the years 1893-1940. The number of theses done on Canadian subjects in the decade 1920-29 was doubled in the following decade, then remained relatively constant for each decade following.

This information was obtained from the catalogue cards in the Reference Department of the University of Toronto Library. A member of the staff estimated that their listings represent about three-quarters of the M.A. degrees granted. Information regarding occupation was supplied by the Office of Statistics and Records.

Hunter, Margaret Emma. Sherman's March to the Sea. 1901. 22 p.	Teacher
Martin, Samuel Thomas. Martin Luther and his Place in the German Reformation. 1901. n.p.	Minister
Tait, Murray Clayton. The Life of John Knox and his Place in the Scotch Reformation. 1901. 65 p.	Minister
Cunningham John David. The Reformation. 1902. 41 p.	Minister
*Lick, Middie. Social features of the Old Regime in Canada. 1903. n.p.	Teacher
*Mason, Laura M. Some characteristics of the Old Regime in Canada. 1903. 39 p.	Teacher
Allin, Elizabeth. The Character of Cromwell. Illustrated by Facts in his Life. 1903. 36 p.	Teacher
Gilfillan, Viola. Cromwell's religious policy. 1903. 15 p.	Teacher
Masters, Charles K. Ignatius Loyola and the Company of Jesus. 1903. n.p.	Barrister
Young, James McGregor. Colonial legislatures and the major perogatives. 1903. 16 p.	Barrister
Barr, Adam Fordyce. The Suppression of the Monasteries in the Reign of Henry VIII. 1904. 27 p.	Minister
Cochrane, Robert Balmer. John Knox: His Character and Work. 1904. 26 p.	Minister
Carter, George Wishart. The Ethical Import of the Reformation. 1904. 62 p.	Minister
Patterson, Robert Brunker. An Estimate of the Influence of Continental Reform upon the Formation of the Book of Common Prayer. 1905. 9 p.	Minister
Ross, John Charles. The Character and Work of John Knox. 1905. 29 p.	Editor
Thomas, Janie. The Work of William Wiberforce for the Oppressed Races of Africa and India. 1905. 21 p.	Teacher

- *Brownlee, Hugh Wallace. The Rebellion Losses Bill. 1908. 67 p. Teacher
- *Goldstein, Walter Hyman. Toronto (York) in the War of 1812. 1908. 74 p. Tobacconist
- Perry, Thomas Henry. John Wesley and his time. 1908. 56 p. Minister
- Raymond, Henry Douglas. Bishop Grosseteste and the Monks. 1908. 21 p. Minister
- Thompson, Gordon Boyce. The Kulturkampf; an essay. 1908. Deceased, 1908. 141 p.
- *Davis, Henry Hague. The unemployed problem in Canada. 1909. n.p. Barrister
- Davis, Mabel. The negotiations between the British authorities in America and the leading men of Vermont during the years 1780-83. 1909. 93 p.
- Kinder, Benjamin Allen. Newman and the Oxford Movement. 1909. 16 p. Minister
- Foster, Minnie May. Marie Antoinette and the French People. 1911. 118 p. Secretary
- Vance, William Hugh. The last days of Archbishop Cranmer. 1911. n.p. Minister
- *Harvey, Winifred. The development of responsible government under Sir Charles Bagot. 1912. 18 p. Lecturer (Toronto)
- McAndrew, William John. Position of the Church of England during the Commonwealth. 1912. 27 p. Minister; Professor (Toronto)
- Carrie, Cyril Richard. The Relation of Christianity to the Social and Political Organizations of the First Five Centuries. 1912. n.p. Minister
- Stuart, Cecil James Scott. The Revival of the Religious Life in the Anglican Communion. 1912. 56 p. Minister
- deFallot, Carl. Japan, the Revolution of 1868; its causes. 1912. Deceased, 1915. 57 p.
- Bracken, George Robert. Francis and Papacy. 1913. 18 p. Minister

- Hiscocks, Henry Griffin. Some ecclesiastical aspects of the Age of Charlemagne. 1913. 26 p. Minister
- Rogers, Howard Orvan. The History of Authority, Civil and Ecclesiastical, from the Fifth to the Seventeenth Century. 1913. 31 p. Minister
- *Harstone, Jean Emily. The early history of the county and town of Peterborough and of Lakefield and Rice Lake. 1914. n.p. Editor
- Trotter, Elizabeth Eleanor. The Case of Warren Hastings. 1914. 35 p. Teacher
- Wallace, William Fulton. Constitutional Experiments under the Commonwealth and the Protectorate. 1914. 86 p. Minister
- *Blake, Edward Hume. The Northwest Rebellions. 1916. 210 p. Company Manager
- *Paterson, Gilbert Clarence. History of the Crown Lands Department of Upper Canada from 1791 to 1837. 1916. 161 p. School Inspector; Professor (Toronto)
- McGillivray, Charles Roy. The Deistic Movement in England. 1696-1739. 1916. 50 p. Minister
- *Cowan, Donald Ross Grant. History of the Inter-colonial and Prince Edward Island Railways. 1918. 276 p. Professor (Michigan)
- *Marr, George Jack. The effect of Confederation on the trade of the Maritime provinces of Canada. 1918. 151 p.
- *Rife, Clarence White. Loyalist Types of the American Revolution. 1918. 141 p. Professor (Hamline)
- Mills, Lennon Algernon. Anglo-Russian diplomatic relations 1875-1907. 1918. 331 p. Professor
- Moir, Hester Wesley (Young). Oliver Cromwell and the Commonwealth of England, Scotland and Ireland, and the Dominions thereunto belonging, from the first of January 1675 to the third of September 1658. 1918. 86 p.
- *McCarthy, Lilian Pearl. Patronage in Canadian Politics. 1919. n.p. Journalist

*McGeachy, James Burns. The Imperial Conference and Canadian Policy. 1919. 231 p.	Journalist; Broadcaster
Noonan, Aileen. The problem of self-government for India. 1919. n.p.	Teacher
*Manzer, Robert Howard. Why British Columbia entered Confederation. 1920. 97 p.	School Principal
Wrong, Margaret Christian. Religion and Society in the 14th Century in England. 1920. 118 p.	Secretary, Christian Federation
*Dunham, Aileen. The Constitutional Act, with special reference to its application in Upper Canada. 1921. n.p.	Instructor
*Shepherd, Eva Pearl. The captains of militia. 1921. n.p.	Crown Life Insurance; Department of Welfare
*Smith, Elizabeth Hamilton Patricia. The Quebec Act. 1921. 163 p.	
*Scott, Seaman Morley. The Executive Power in Canada. 1922. 329 p.	External Affairs
Smillie, Emmaline Eva. The problem of equality for East Indians within the Empire. 1922. 77 p.	Teacher
*Lower, A.R.M. A History of the Canadian Timber and Lumber Trade prior to Confederation. 1923. n.p.	Professor (Queen's)
*McDougall, John Lorne. The Welland Canal to 1841. 1923. 134 p.	Professor (Queen's)
Kerr, Wilfred Brenton. The reign of terror. 1923. 166 p.	Professor (Buffalo)
*Hill, Edward Albert. The extension of the Canadian treaty-making power. 1924. 277 p.	Teacher
*MacFarlane, E.A. The history of Hudson Bay from earliest times until 1713. 1924. 168 p.	
*McClenaghan, Jean Victoria. The administration in Canada of Lord Dalhousie. 1924. 169 p.	Social Worker

- *Murray, Jean Elizabeth. A study of the native peoples who dwelt in the St. Lawrence region at the time of its discovery and earliest exploration. 1924. 109 p. Teacher
- Bell, Harold James. The Tudor Navy and its contribution to early British exploration in America. 1924. 147 p. Minister
- Gallagher, Ernest Otto. The development of utilitarianism as a social philosophy in England during the 19th Century. 1924. n.p. Minister
- *Macdonald, Adelaide Helen Grant. The clergy reserves in Canada to 1828. 1925. 87 p. Deputy Director, UNICEF
- Hampson, Dorothy. The men, aims and principles of the second Paris commune. 1925. n.p. Teacher
- Smith, Waldo Edward Lovel. Aspects of the relations of church and state, with illustrative material from Scottish History. 1926. 136 p. Professor (Queen's)
- *Phelan, Margaret Josephine. Introduction to the Calendar of the Robert Baldwin Correspondence. 1928. 89 p. Librarian
- *Pollard, James Richard Alton. Luther Hamilton Holton, 1817-1880. 1928. 174 p. Principal (Williams College)
- *Stewart, Jean Cram. Simcoe as statesman and administrator. 1928. 151 p. Teacher
- *Cassels, Cecil Gillespie. The Canada First Party. 1929. 72 p. Teacher
- *MacCallum, Helen Mary. The influence of transportation on the movement towards Canadian federation 1840-1867. 1929. 43 p.
- *Hatfield, Gregory Doane Haliburton. The administration of Lord Dalhousie in Nova Scotia. 1931. 108 p. Teacher
- *Killam, Kathleen Eleanor. Lord Dalhousie's administration in Nova Scotia. 1931. 153 p.

- *Masters, Donald Campbell Charles. William Hamilton Merritt and Canadian Trade. 1931. 136 p. Professor (Bishops, Guelph)
- Muckle, Alice May. Sir Francis Hincks and political reform in Canada 1838-1848. 1931. 70 p. Teacher
- *Riddell, Robert Gerald. The influence of United States precedent upon Dominion land policy, 1870-1930. 1931. 180 p. Professor (Toronto); External Affairs
- *Baldwin, Robert MacQueen. Private papers of Robert Baldwin. 1933. n.p. Teacher
- Bishop, Dorothy Louise. The Development of land communication in the western part of Upper Canada to 1840. 1933. 96 p. Teacher
- *Gilroy, Marion Elizabeth. The loyalist experiment in New Brunswick. 1933. 106 p. Librarian
- *Holmes, John Wendell. Border relations between Canada and the United States during the American Civil War. 1933. 129 p. Can. Inst. Int. Affairs
- *McEachern, Ronald Alexander. Canadian discussion of the imperial relationship in the period 1867-1880. 1933. 2 vol. Editor
- *Todd, John Bigelow, Sir John Schultz and the Canadian expansionists agitation at Red River, 1862-1871. 1933. 99 p. Deceased 1936.
- *Warshaw, Leo. The economic forces leading to a centralized federalism in Canada. 1933. 267 p. Lecturer (Toronto)
- Coleman, Mary Electa. Naval rivalry, the focus of Great Britain's diplomatic relations with Germany, 1900-1914. 1933. 198 p.
- *Baldwin, John Russell. Canada and the international political agreements of the post-war period, 1918-1932. 1934. 220 p. Goodyear Tire
- *Gould, Ernest Clarke. Relations between Nova Scotia and the United States (1854-1870). 1934. 137 p. Lecturer (Manitoba); Editor

- *Smith, Goldwin Albert. The Treaty of Washington; a chapter in Canadian national development. 1934. 149 p. Professor
- *Smith, Malcolm Stewart. The genesis of Canadian parties. 1934. 115 p. Lawyer
- Cox, Parker. Liberal radicalism in England, 1870-1886. 1934. 134 p. Principal (Agricultural College, Truro)
- Sims, Elizabeth Kendal Montague. The growth of colonial enterprise in France and England during the Sixteenth Century 1934. 180 p. Lecturer (Toronto)
- *Hughes, Rosemary Stella Middlemore. The influence of Jacksonian democracy in Upper Canada, 1815-1836. 1935. 84 p.
- *Ireland, Willard Ernest. British Columbia, the United States, and British American Union. 1935. 174 p. Teacher
- *Patterson, Keitha Sylvia. Americanism in Upper Canada, 1791-1812. 1935. 140 p. Interpreter
- *Stepler, Dorothy Hamilton. Jacksonian democracy in Upper Canada. 1935. 184 p. Health and Welfare Dept.
- Ives, Kenneth Hurst. A Study of British foreign policy in the Balkans, 1903-1913. 131 p. 1935.
- *MacLaren, A. Margaret. Edward Blake and imperial relations. 1935. 207 p. Librarian
- *Brooks, George Gordon. The problem of defence in Canadian policy, 1860-1865. 1936. 79 p. Teacher
- *Campbell, Robert Ellis. George Brown's attempted reciprocity treaty in 1874. 1936. 246 p. Minister
- *LeDuc, Thomas Harold. The Aroostook War in Canadian-American relations, 1837-1841. 1936. 146 p. Teacher

- 112
- *Martyn, Lucy Madeline Booth. The McNab in Upper Canada; a feudal experiment in the Maitland regime. 1936. 197 p.
- Langford, Norman Frederick. Concepts and functions of the civil state in Seventeenth Century New England. 1936. 146 p. Minister; Editor
- *Clark, Martha Maud Isobel. Simcoe's economic policy. 1937. 124 p. Teacher
- *Penlington, Norman. Canada's entry into the Boer War. 1937. 191 p. Professor (Michigan State)
- Helstrom, Carl Theodore Elias. Anglo-Russian relations, 1890-1907. 1937. 234 p.
- *Frumhartz, Esther. Reciprocity: 1860-1880. 1938. 230 p.
- *Hawkins, Alice Sybil. Unofficial Hansard of Upper Canada, 1832-1836. 1938. 223 p. Secretary
- *Lawson, Murray Grant. Canada's imperial relations, 1902-1914. 1938. 287 p. U.S.A. Government
- *McLean, Mary. Index to unofficial Hansard of Upper Canada, 1820-1832. 1938. 451 p.
- *Plaunt, Dorothy Reynolds Pound. The Hon. Peter Russell and land settlement in Upper Canada, 1796-1799. 1938. 179 p. Librarian
- Carroll, Sister Mary Thomas Aquinas. Roman Christian education in Anglo-Saxon England. 1939. 73 p. College President
- *Curnoe, Lorne John. John Charlton and Canadian-American relations. 1939. 155 p. Teacher
- *Greening, William Edward. The Globe and Canadian politics, 1890-1902; a study of the policies of the Globe and their influence on Liberal policies. 1939. 134 p. Writer
- *Good, Robert Charles. Letter book, 1827-1834 [of John Strachan]. 1940. 384 p. Minister

- *Paterson, William. The progressive political movement, 1919-1930. 1940. 191 p.
Deceased 1944.
- *Sanderson, Charles Rupert. Sir George Arthur, last Lieutenant-Governor of Upper Canada, 1838-1841. 1940. 371 p. Librarian
- *Western, Maurice Alban Walter. Edward Blake as Leader of the Opposition, 1880-1887. 1940. 288 p. Editor
- *Spragge, George Warburton. The John Strachan letter book: 1812-1834. 1940. 507 p. Teacher
- McCready, Herbert William. Robert Peel's administration of Ireland, 1812-1818. 1940. 197 p. Professor (McMaster)

APPENDIX I

Ph.D. Degrees Granted by the Department of
History, 1925-1967, with Supervisors and Later
Careers of the Graduates

<u>Modern History</u>	<u>Employment</u>
Kerr, Wilfred Brenton. The Reign of Terror, 1793-94. 1925. Wilkinson.	Buffalo
Sage, Walter Noble. Sir James Doublas and British Columbia. 1925.	U.B.C.
Dorland, Arthur Garrett. A History of the Society of Friends (Quakers) in Canada. 1927. Wrong.	Western
Talman, James John. Life in the pioneer districts of Upper Canada, 1815-1840. 1930. Wallace and Martin.	Ontario Archs. Western
Bailey, Alfred Goldsworthy. The conflict of European and eastern Algonkian cultures 1504-1700; a study in Canadian civilization. 1934. Innis and McIlwraith.	U.N.B.
McEachern, Ronald Alexander. Goldwin Smith. 1934. Underhill.	Financial Post
Conrad, Harold Everett. The Loyalist experiment in New Brunswick. 1935. Martin.	Nebraska
Long, Dorothy Elizabeth. Edward Ellice. 1941. Martin.	
Wright, Anna Margaret. The Canadian Frontier 1840-1867. 1943. Brown.	

Note: This information was taken from University of Toronto Doctoral Theses 1897-1967, compiled by Judy Mills and Irene Dombra. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1968.) The names of the supervisors were obtained from the School of Graduate Studies and the Department of History; these records were not always consistent. Information about later careers was based primarily on reminiscences.

The theses recorded here represent about half of the theses done prior to 1975.

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Hughes, Henry Brackenbury Louis. Christian missionary societies in the British West Indies during the emancipation era. 1944. McDougall.	
Ray, Eldon Pringle. Transition to responsible government in Nova Scotia, 1835-1864. 1945. Martin.	Peterborough Board of Education
Reid, John Hotchkiss Stewart. British Labour and social politics to 1914. 1946. McDougall.	United; CAUT
Graham, William Roger. Sir Richard Cartwright and the Liberal party, 1863-1896. 1950. Underhill.	Saskatchewan; Queen's
McNaught, Kenneth William Kirkpatrick. James Shaver Woodsworth; from social gospel to social democracy (1874-1921). 1950. Underhill.	Toronto
McKay, William Angus. The Royal Canadian Army Medical Corps in North-west Europe, 1944-45. 1951. Underhill.	Toronto
Bargar, Bradley Duffee. The administration of Lord Dartmouth in the American Department: 1772-1775. 1952. McDougall.	South Carolina
Banks, Margaret Amelia. Edward Blake and Irish nationalism, 1892-1907. 1953. Underhill.	Ontario Archs. Western
Moir, John Sargent. The relations of church and state in Canada West, 1840-1867. 1954. Creighton.	Carleton; Queen's Toronto
Waite, Peter Busby. Ideas and politics in British North America, 1864-1866; a study of opinion on the subject of federal government. 1954. Creighton.	Dalhousie
Cornell, Paul Grant. The alignment of political groups in the United Province of Canada, 1841-1867. 1955. Creighton and Martin.	Acadia; Waterloo
Heisler, John Phalen. Sir John Thompson, 1844-1894. 1955. Creighton.	Ontario Archs.; Public Archs.; Historic Sites

- Neatby, Herbert Blair. Laurier and a Liberal Quebec; a study in political management. 1956. Underhill. U.B.C.; Carleton
- Zaslow, Morris. The development of the Mackenzie basin, 1920-1940. 1957. Underhill and Careless. Toronto; Western
- French, Goldwin Sylvester. Wesleyan Methodism in Upper Canada and the Maritime provinces; the heroic age, 1780-1855. 1958. Creighton. McMaster; Victoria U. (Toronto)
- Bolger, Francis William Pius. Prince Edward Island and Confederation, 1863-1873. 1959. Creighton. P.E.I.
- MacKirdy, Kenneth Alexander. Regionalism; Canada and Australia. 1959. McDougall. Waterloo
- O'Keefe, Cyril Blaise. Contemporary reactions to the Enlightenment, 1728-1762; a study of three critical journals: the Jesuit Journal de Trevoux, the Jansenist Nouvelles ecclesiastiques, and the secular Journal des savants. 1959. Saunders. Loyola
- Prang, Margaret Evelyn. The political career of N.W. Rowell. 1959. Creighton. U.B.C.
- Wilson, George Alan. The political and administrative history of the Upper Canada Clergy Reserves. 1959. Creighton. Western; Trent
- Burt, Arthur Ezekiel. The development of self-government in Jamaica, 1884-1913. 1960. McDougall. Jamaica
- Cook, George Ramsay. The political ideas of John W. Dafoe, 1866-1944. 1960. Creighton. Toronto; York
- MacCormack, John Ronald. The Long Parliament House of Commons, 1643-1648. 1960. McDougall. St. Mary's
- MacIntosh, Alan Wallace. The career of Sir Charles Tupper in Canada, 1864-1900. 1960. Creighton.

- Kendrick, Thomas Frank James. The Church-Whig alliance, the anti-clericalists and the government of Sir Robert Walpole, 1727-1737. 1961. McDougall. Queen's Coll. Flushing, N.Y.
- Leith, James Andrews. The idea of art as propaganda in France, 1750-1799; a study in the history of ideas. 1961. Saunders. Queen's
- Uz-zaman, Waheed. Major currents of Muslim politics in India: 1928-1940. 1961. McDougall. Pakistan
- Brown, Robert Craig. Canadian-American relations in the latter part of the nineteenth century. 1962. Creighton. Alberta (at Calgary); Toronto
- LaPierre, Laurier Joseph Lucien. Politics, race and religion in French Canada; Joseph Israel Tarte. 1962. Saywell. C.B.C.; McGill
- New, John Frederick Hamilton. Anglican and Puritan; the basis of their opposition reconsidered. 1962. McDougall, Piepenburg. California; Waterloo
- Brown, Lawrence Hilton. Grafton and North Cabinets, 1766-1775. 1963. McDougall.
- Daly, James William. The Royalist constitutional position, 1641-1645. 1963. McDougall, Piepenburg. McMaster
- Rennie, Ian Scott. Evangelicalism and English public life, 1823-1850. 1963. McDougall.
- Monet, Jacques. The last cannon shot; a study of French-Canadian nationalism, 1837-1850. 1964. Careless. Laval; Ottawa
- Olusanya, Gabriel Olakunle. The impact of the Second World War on Nigeria's political evolution. 1964. Thornton.
- Armstrong, Frederick Henry. Toronto in transition; the emergence of a city, 1828-1838. 1965. Careless. Western
- Kitzan, Laurence. The London Missionary Society in India and China, 1793-1834. 1965. Thornton.

- Mackinnon, Clarence Stuart. The imperial fortresses in Canada; Halifax and Esquimalt, 1871-1906. 1965. Stacey. Alberta
- Buchanan, John Nyren. Charles I and the Scots, 1637-1649. 1966. McDougall, Piepenburg. Toronto; Guelph
- Dick, William Milner. Labor and socialism in America; the Gompers era. 1966. McNaught. Toronto
- MacLean, Raymond Angus. Joseph Howe and British-American union. 1966. Careless, Creighton. St Francis Xavier
- Merkley, Paul Charles. Reinhold Niebuhr, the decisive years (1916-1941); a study of the interaction of religious faith and political commitment in an American intellectual. 1966. Craig. Santa Barbara; Carleton
- Miller, Sally Mae. Victor L. Berger and the promise of constructive socialism, 1910-1920. 1966. McNaught, Cairns. Univ. of the Pacific, Stockton, Ca.
- Sandiford, Keith Arlington Patrick. Great Britain and the Schleswig-Holstein question; a study in diplomacy, politics, and public opinion. 1966. Conacher, Spencer. Manitoba
- Stevens, Paul Douglas. Laurier and the Liberal Party in Ontario, 1887-1911. 1966. Cook. York
- Barker, John Claude. The reputation of Blaise Pascal in England and America in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. 1967. Saunders. Trent
- Berger, Carl Clinton. The vision of grandeur; studies in the ideas of Canadian imperialism, 1867-1914. 1967. Careless. Toronto
- Evans, Anna Margaret. Oliver Mowat and Ontario, 1872-1896; a study in political success. 1967. Careless. Guelph
- Humphries, Charles Walter. The political career of Sir James P. Whitney. 1967. Conacher. Toronto
- Kenyon, John Peter Blythe. High Churchmen and politics, 1845-1865. 1967. Conacher. Toronto

Mediaeval History

- Daly, Lowrie John. An essay on the political theory of John Wyclif. 1949. Wilkinson. St. Louis University
- Oleson, Tryggvi Julius. The Witenagemot in the reign of Edward the Confessor. 1950. Wilkinson. Manitoba
- Blackley, Frank Donald. The English episcopate in the reign of Edward III, 1327-1377. 1952. Wilkinson. Alberta
- Smyth, Edmond John. The place of Clericis laicos in the reign of Edward I. 1953. Wilkinson.
- Rowe, John Gordon. The papacy and the crusaders in the East, 1100-1160. 1955. Wilkinson Western
- Freeman, Alvin Zell. The nation in array; a study of the infantry in the English armies of Edward the First. 1960. Powicke. William and Mary
- Murdoch, Vaclav. The Wyclif tradition. 1960. Wilkinson. Kansas; Carleton
- Weber, Ruth (Sister Christina Maria). The English Bishops, 1399-1413; their political role in the reign of Henry IV. 1962 Wilkinson. U.S.A.
- Sandquist, Thayron Adolph. English coronations, 1377-1483. 1963. Wilkinson. Toronto
- Bruckman, John Joseph Frederick. English coronations, 1216-1308; the edition of the coronation ordines. 1964. Wilkinson. York

APPENDIX J

The Professional Historian: An Extended Definition

Several historians have written on the "professional historian" but none has made a single-minded effort to define the concept.¹ The best analysis is a pamphlet by W. Stull Holt, The Historical Profession in the United States (1963), but Holt concentrated on an explanation of the term for high school teachers and the need to bridge the gap between teachers and the university professors who dominate the profession. Ten years earlier, Howard Beale addressed the American Historical Association on professional ethics and various breaches thereof; since his comments were based on confidential information, his essay is largely anecdotal and undocumented. John Higham's History (1965) described the development of the profession

¹The writers analysed are listed here in chronological order. It should be noted that most are professional historians; that nearly half of the comments were published in Canada (*), and that half were made in 1965 or later.

Pollard, A.F., "Sources and Writers of English History", Encyclopedia Britannica, 11th ed. (1911) vol. 9, 583-7.

Odum, H.W., "Pioneers and Masters of Social Science", in American Masters of Social Science, H.W. Odum ed., New York: Henry Holt, 1927, pp. 3-22.

*Harvey, D.C., "Canadian Historians and Present Trends in Historical Writing", Canadian Historical Association Annual Report, (1930) 17-24.

*Flenley, Ralph, "Recent Trends in Historical Thought", University of Toronto Quarterly, 8 (July 1939) 394-402.

*Adair, E.R., "The Canadian Contribution to Historical Science", Culture, 4 (March 1943) 63-83.

Beale, H.K., "The Professional Historian: His Theory and His Practice" Pacific Historical Review, 22 (1953) 227-255.

in considerable detail but primarily in terms of the men involved and their achievements, and is thus closer to historiography. In 1970 C.P. Stacey provided a personal account which is valuable for its portrayal of the values by which a historian operates, but which is limited in application. The essay by Phillips and Dewar (1970) shows a concern for the effects on the individual when the profession becomes structured, but does little to define the concept except in negative terms.

In an attempt to clarify the concept "professional historian" I have summarized the thoughts of fifteen writers who have approached the question. Their comments, occasionally supplemented by my own ideas on professionalism, are grouped under four headings (training, occupation,

Holt, W.S., The Historical Profession in the United States, American Historical Association Pamphlet. New York: Macmillan, 1963.

Toulmin, Stephen, and June Goodfield, The Discovery of Time, New York: Harper, 1965.

Higham, John, et. al., History; The Development of Historical Studies in the United States, Englewood Cliffs; Prentice-Hall, 1965.

Gilbert, Felix "European and American Historiography" in Higham, et. al., History; The Development of Historical Studies in the United States, Englewood Cliffs; Prentice-Hall, 1965. pp. 315-387.

Schlesinger, A.M. Jr., "The Historian and History" in The Craft of American History, A.S. Eisenstadt, ed., vol. I, New York: Harper, 1966. pp. 102-109.

*Stacey, C.P., "The Life and Hard Times of an Official Historian", Canadian Historical Review, 51 (March 1970) 21-47.

*Careless, J.M.S., "The Review Reviewed, or Fifty Years with the Beaver Patrol", Canadian Historical Review, 51 (March 1970) 48-71.

*Phillips, Mark, and Ken Dewar, "The Professionalization of History", This Magazine is About Schools, 5 (Winter 1970) 35-58.

standards and loyalties) and the implications are analysed briefly. The result is, at the very least, what I understand by the term "professional historian".

Training

The professional historian is developed through a process that combines formal instruction and the acquisition of skills. Formal instruction is usually involved with factual and bibliographic knowledge in depth. The skills acquired include library use, study habits, and writing style; without these a student cannot become a historian. Yet these skills are seldom formally taught; most are developed through trial and error. The student also learns through the personal example of his teachers the habits and attitudes that are expected of him.²

One of the keys to the development of the historian is "method". More books have been written on this than on any other part of the historians' training. It is so fundamental that most writers skim over the basic concepts, assuming that words such as "systematic", "scientific" and "disciplined" are sufficiently understood to make the point clear. What appears to underlie these concepts is a critical mental attitude--a set of mind that results in extreme caution prior to making a judgment. Sources are regarded with skepticism, the relative dependability of evidence is made clear, and no

²In some ways this process might be called screening rather than training.

statement is made without the awareness of possible challenges from others.³

Another element in the historian's training is breadth. This is not the same as depth, which implies detailed knowledge; breadth refers instead to the overall pattern. Harvey says breadth is having an eye for larger relationships and seeing history as a whole; and Higham says the professional historian relates "every historical study to a broader pattern"; and Schlesinger calls it "perspective".⁴ Closely related to this perspective or broader pattern is the need for an integrative principal. Without a theoretical point of view, be it conscious or not, a historian is not likely to organize his facts in a manner that is consistent internally, or consistent with current interpretation. Nor will he be able to perform one of the functions of the scholar: constructing interpretations and generalizations.⁵

A part of the process of training the professional historian is the gradual admission to the "guild". There are a

³For method see Harvey, 17; Beale 230; for systematic see Odum, 3; Higham, 4, 17; for scientific see Pollard, 587 and Flenley, 396; for disciplined see Schlesinger, 102; for critical approach see Beale, 254-5; Toulmin, 232-5; Careless, 71; Gilbert, 239; Adair, 64-6; Higham, 4.

⁴Harvey, 17, 24; Higham, 6; Schlesinger, 102.

⁵Beale, 230; Stacey, 47; Higham, 20.

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a number of stages in the process, some of which are marked by considerable formality. Of particular note are those controlled by practicing historians: undergraduate and graduate grades, admission to graduate school, acceptance of theses and material for publication, granting of the Ph.D., advances through the various stages of promotion, and honorariums. Not all professional historians have passed through all of these stages, and there are others, such as archivists, high school teachers, genealogists, and popular writers of history, who have passed through (or equalled) many of the above stages but who are not usually called professional historians. Nevertheless, there is a "guild mentality" among professional historians; this will be discussed in more detail in the section on loyalties.

Occupation

One very crucial aspect of being a professional is getting paid for doing it--whatever the field may be. This may be obvious on the surface, but a closer look reveals significant implications. A professional is usually competent, and works in the field full time, or on a life-long basis. In sum, the professional historian has a degree of devotion to the field that borders on total dedication. In many ways his role parallels that of the priest; the historian is expected to be "liberated" from the passions of the day,⁶ and at the same time to be

⁶Schlesinger, 102-3; see also Beale, 236-7; Holt, 1.

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something of a missionary in the guise of teaching, guiding his students, helping them get grants and eventually jobs.⁷

(It is assumed that the professional historian is to be found almost exclusively in the academic setting. Adair equated the beginning of professional history writing with the establishment of chairs of history,⁸ and one of the hallmarks of the professional is the requirement to make contributions to knowledge, to push back the frontiers of ignorance, or at the very least, to exhibit to others in his field the results of his work. The professional historian's self-perceived role in this regard is to "preserve and transmit the...heritage of the past".⁹ Whether or not high school teachers of history are to be included in this aspect of the definition of professional historians is too big a question to be dealt with fully here.)

⁷Beale, 236-7; Harvey, 17.

⁸Adair, 72; see also: Flenley, 395; Higham, 8-9; Gilbert, 320-23, 328; Careless, 62, 68.

⁹Beale, 227; see also Holt, 1, 10-19, 22-3.

Holt argues that high school teachers should be considered part of the historical profession but this is questionable. Most high school teachers have less than half of the training of the academic historian (four years as opposed to eight); they exercise less control over the curriculum, and do no original research. They do preserve and transmit the heritage of the past, but so do parents, ministers, publishers and movie producers.

The next question that should be asked is: where does the money come from to pay the professional historian? The vast majority of historians are supported, directly or indirectly, by public money. This means that the work done by the historical profession is accepted by both the public and by the many levels of officialdom that influence budgets-- curriculum committees, parents and bureaucrats. The mere existence of schools, archives, publications, research grants and libraries all provide evidence of the extent of acceptance of historical programs.¹⁰ Further, the public makes no objection when the history profession claims the right to pass judgment on students or publications or both. This might be the result of apathy or ignorance on the part of the public, or the relative powerlessness of the historical profession, but some sort of case can be made that the public accepts historians as a professional group with the right to restrict admission to the guild and the duty to preserve the nation's past.

Standards

There is a clear link between the public acceptance of history and the ethic of service implied in the historians'

¹⁰Pollard, 585-6; Toulmin, 236; Stacey, 22-3, 26 ff. Toulmin suggested that the opening of the Papal Archives in 1881 marks the culmination of the policy of making documents available to scholars; more recent controversies such as the Bourassa-Ouellet case and the publication of accounts of the J.F. Kennedy years suggest that we are still in a period of transition. See also Higham, 27-31; Gilbert, 329; Phillips, 39.

"duty" to teach, to maintain standards, to seek the truth, or to preserve the traditions. The professional historian often justifies his position in terms of what he does for others: he is helping to create a better world, protecting the public, transmitting valuable knowledge, stimulating respect for the truth, or inculcating patriotism.¹¹ The historian argues that he pays his debt through maintaining or increasing quality. He upholds accuracy, balanced objective judgment, reliability and sound reasoning through his power to do independent research, teach or publish his findings, review and criticize the work of other historians.¹² The university professor, above all others who might claim to be professional historians, is under an obligation to keep up to date in his field. Knowledge has been increasing so rapidly that to keep abreast the scholar has resorted to specialization. As specialization increases, so does the training required. The result is (hopefully) constantly rising standards.¹³

Coupled with the interrelated concepts of service, standards and specialization is the concept of integrity.

¹¹Odum, 7; Beale, 227-8; Holt, 20; Higham, 12-24; Stacey, 30-32, 41.

¹²Pollard, 583; Odum, 7; Flenley, 395-7; Adair, 70 ff; Beale, 238-431; Schlesinger, 105-6; Toulmin, 235; Stacey, 41-45.

¹³Odum, 4-6; Beale, 248-9; Holt, 3; Gilbert, 332-3.

A number of historians mention this without exploring the implications. Two strains of thought can be identified: academic freedom and empirical testing of evidence. The argument is that the historian must be free from pressures from outside and, as much as possible, from his own biases in order to maximize truth. Related to these is the need for an objective test to his conclusions by other historians. The significant element here is the process by which this is done. First the historian is trained to subject his own work to criticism and to be as fair-minded as he can, and to refrain from publishing carelessly. This might be called an internalized discipline, or self-discipline.¹⁴ The other form of discipline is external: the historian is expected to provide a bibliography and references so that others can, if necessary, retrace his steps to verify his conclusions. There are other ways in which the profession evaluates its members: procedures for admission and promotion within the guild have been mentioned; there is also the book review, the historical associations, and gossip.¹⁵

Loyalties

The guild mentality has gone beyond the level of mere abstract theory. Holt says the professional historian is

¹⁴Flenley, 399; Beale, 229; Higham, 8-9.

¹⁵Flenley, 395, Beale, 240-4, 253; Schlesinger, 103; Stacey, 47; Phillips, 36, 40, 47.

conscious of a corporate unity; the treatment and behavior of members on the fringes such as high school teachers and genealogists is an indication of this.¹⁶ Several historians have commented on the bureaucratization of the profession: from membership in associations and internal hierarchies (pecking orders?) to the fragmentation of knowledge and "careerism".¹⁷ Further evidence of the acceptance by historians of themselves as professional historians lies in the fact that their loyalties belong to the subject, and not to the institution that hires them. They move freely from one institution to another, and when hired, are relatively free to determine the details of method and content.¹⁸ The combination of the guild mentality and loyalty to his subject is probably the strongest of the forces which lead the historian to feel part of an independent profession.

Conclusion

To summarize, the professional historian is a person who has undergone a lengthy apprenticeship in the content, method and theory of history; he works at the subject on a

¹⁶Holt, 3, 21; Harvey, 17; see also Higham, 7-9; Stacey, 47; Phillips, 38.

¹⁷Holt, 11-12; Gilbert, 336; Phillips, 40; for "careerism" see Dewar, 49-50 and ff.

¹⁸Holt, 9-10; Phillips, 38. An exception to this might be found in the "old boy network" or the "invisible college system" of hiring through known contacts.

full time basis, usually as a university teacher. Access to the ranks of the professional historian is controlled by practicing historians, and there is a degree of public acceptance of this control. Among the values held by professional historians are integrity and respect for the truth, accuracy, and public service. The loyalty of the historian is likely to be directed more to the subject or to the profession than to the institution which pays his salary-- although this may not remain the case if budget restrictions and the scarcity of jobs continues.

History has some of the features of a traditional profession such as journals, associations and conferences, a degree of self-government, and an accepted identity. Individual historians, however, do not work for fees, and do not have the same recognition in law as do doctors, lawyers and clergymen; further, the historical profession has no means of disbarring or expelling members. But history is a young profession, less than one hundred years old. (The professions of dentistry, nursing, teaching, and sociology are about the same age.) It is really not so long ago that men could ask "what is there for a professor of history to do"? The assumption was that anyone who could read English, could also read English history; given

this, there was no need for a teacher of history.¹⁹ Since it is likely that, as a profession, history has not completed its evolution it is even more likely that the concept too will change, but that is in the future.

¹⁹G.M. Wrong, "The Beginnings of Historical Criticism in Canada: a Retrospect, 1896-1936", the Canadian Historical Review, 17 (March 1936) 3. That question has reappeared in recent years in the form: "what can history do that Political Science and Anthropology and Sociology can't do better?"

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APPENDIX K

The Canadian Historical Review, and the
Department of History, 1920-1939

<u>Relation to the Department of History</u>	<u>Author</u>	<u>Articles</u>	<u>Notes/ Documents</u>	<u>Review Articles</u>
B.A. (Fac)	W.S. Wallace	9	6	
(Fac)	W.P.M. Kennedy	2		9
B.A. Faculty	G.W. Brown	9		1
(Fac)	H.A. Innis	1	5	3
---	W.R. Riddell	6	2	
---	R.G. Trotter	6	2	
M.A. Faculty	G.M. Wrong	7		
---	Paul Knapland	5	2	
B.A.	C.P. Stacey	5	1	
B.A. M.A.	A.R.M. Lower	3	2	1
---	D.C. Harvey	3	3	
B.A. (Fac)	F.H. Underhill	6		
(Fac)	C.B. Martin	4		1
B.A.	A.L. Burt	3	2	
B.A. Ph.D.	W.N. Sage	3	2	
B.A.	J.F. Kenney	3	2	
B.A.	F.H. Soward	2	1	2
M.A., Ph.D.	W.B. Kerr	2	2	1
---	A.H. de Tremaudan	2	3	
B.A. (Fac)	J.B. Brebner	1	4	

NOTES: Faculty: A member of the Department of History.
(Fac): Faculty member in some other department of
the University, or of the Department of History for
a portion of the years in which the items were written.

Among those who contributed two or more articles, notes
or review articles in this period are the following mem-
bers of the University of Toronto staff: D.G. Creighton,
C.N. Cochrane, Alice Ewart, G.P. de T. Glazebrook,
R. Hodder-Williams, Gilbert Jackson, C.W. Jefferys,
E.W. McInnis and C.B. Sissons.

SOURCE: Contents pages of the Canadian Historical Review.

APPENDIX L

History Staff, 1970:
Country of Training, Field of Interest

<u>Name</u>	<u>B.A.</u>	<u>Ph.D.</u>	<u>Field of Interest</u>	<u>Name</u>	<u>B.A.</u>	<u>Ph.D.</u>	<u>Field of Interest</u>
Accinelli	US	US	US	Higgs	Can	Br	Eur
Beattie	US*	Br	Br	Israel	US	US	Br/Asia
Ben-Sasson	Israel	--	Eur	Keep	Can	Can	Eur
Berger	Can	<u>Can</u>	Can	Kenyon	Br	<u>Can</u>	Br
Berman	US	US	US	Kornberg	US	US	Eur
Bliss	Can	<u>Can</u>	Can	LaVigna	US	US	Eur
Bothwell	<u>Can</u>	US	Can	Lloyd	Br	Br	Br
Brady	US	US	Lat.Amer.	Marcus	US	US	Lat.Amer.
Brock	Br	Poland	Eur	Marrus	<u>Can</u>	US	Eur
Brown	US	<u>Can</u>	Can/US	McNaught	<u>Can</u>	<u>Can</u>	US/Can
Cairns	<u>Can</u>	US	Eur	Mellafe	Chile	--	Lat.Amer.
Callahan	US	US	Eur/Lat.A.	Moir	<u>Can</u>	<u>Can</u>	Can
Careless	<u>Can</u>	US	Can	Morton	Br*	Br	Can
Cassidy	?	?	US	H.I. Nelson	<u>Can</u>	US	Eur
Colman	Br*	(Br)	Med	W.H. Nelson	US	US	US
Conacher	Can	US	Br	Patterson	<u>Can</u>	<u>Can</u>	Can
Conway	Aust	US	US	Pearl	US	US	Eur
Craig	<u>Can</u>	US	Can/US	Powicke	Br	(Br)	Br/Med
Cranmer-Byng	Br	(Br)	Asia	Raby	Br	Br	Lat.Amer.
Creighton	<u>Can</u>	(Br)	Can	Robson	<u>Can</u>	Br	Br
Cross	Can	<u>Can</u>	Can	Rose	Can	(Br)	Br
Dafoe	Can	<u>Can</u>	Br	Rossos	Can	US	Eur
Davis	US	US	Eur	Rutherford	US	<u>Can</u>	Can
Dent	Br	Br	Eur	Sandquist	US	<u>Can</u>	Br/Med
Dick	Br	<u>Can</u>	US	Saunders	US*	US	Eur
Dyck	Can	US	Eur	Sheps	Can	<u>Can</u>	US
Eccles	Br*	Can	Can	Shorter	US	US	Eur
Eksteins	<u>Can</u>	Br	Eur	Spencer	Can	Br	Eur
Estes	US	US	Eur	Stacey	<u>Can/Br</u>	US	Can
Finlayson	Aust	<u>Can</u>	Br	Thompson	US	US	Asia
Gerson	US*	Br	Asia	Thornton	Br	(Br)	Br
Goffart	US	US	Eur	Wallot	Can	Can	Can
Grendler	US	US	Eur	P.C.T. White	Can	US	US/Can
Harney	US	US	Eur	W.B. White	US*	US	US
Helmstadter	US	US	Br	Zacour	Can	US	Med

NOTES: * said to be a Canadian citizen
 — University of Toronto or Oxford University
 () M.A. was last degree

SOURCES: Commonwealth Universities Yearbook, 1971-1974, for most M.A., Ph.D. and B.A. degrees; Department of History Memo "Area Committees 1970-1971"; and friends in the University.

APPENDIX M

Some Early Professors of History in the United States

University	Name	Dates Taught History	Training		Subjects Taught/ Other Responsibilities
			Ph.D.	Other	
Harvard	Jared Sparks	1838-49	--	Theology	President 1849-53
	Henry Adams	1870-77	--	--	--
	John Fiske	1869-70	--	Law	Librarian
	H.C. Lodge	1875-79	Harvard	Law	Philosophy
	Edward Channing	1883-1929	Harvard	--	--
	Charles Gross	1888-1909	Germany	--	Political Science
Michigan	A.D. White	1857-67	--	France, Germany	English Literature
	C.K. Adams	1863-85	--	France, Germany, U.S.	Latin
	M.C. Tyler	1867-81	--	Theology	English Language, Literature
Cornell	A.D. White	1866-85	--	France, Germany	President 1866-76; 1881-85; Ambassador 1879- 1881
	W.C. Russell	1867-81	?	?	Vice President 1870-76
	Goldwin Smith	1868-72	--	England	--
	M.C. Tyler	1881-1900	--	Theology	--
	W.R. Perkins	1882-85	--	?	--
	C.K. Adams	1885-89	--	France, Germany, U.S.	President 1885- 1892
	G.L. Burr	1889-1922	Germany	--	Librarian
H. Tuttle	1890-94	--	Journalism	--	
Princeton	C.W. Shields	1869-82	--	Theology	Science, Religion
	W.M. Sloan	1883-97	Germany	--	Latin, Political Science
	W. Wilson	1890-1910	Johns Hopkins	Law	Jurisprudence
Columbia	J.W. Burgess	1876-1912	Germany	--	Political Science, Constitutional Law
	W.A. Dunning	1886-1922	Columbia	Germany	Political Science
	H.L. Osgoode	1890-1918	Columbia	Germany	--
	J.H. Robinson	1892-1919	Germany	--	--
Johns Hopkins	H.B. Adams	1876-1901	Germany	--	--
	J.F. Jameson	1882-88	Johns Hopkins	--	--
Brown	E.B. Andrews	1882-88	--	Theology	Political Economy
	J.F. Jameson	1888-1901	Johns Hopkins	--	--
Pennsylvania	J.B. McMaster	1883-1920	--	Civil Engineer- ing	--
Yale	G.B. Adams	1888-1917	Germany	Theology	--
Wisconsin	F.J. Turner	1889-1910	Johns Hopkins	--	--
	C.H. Haskins	1890-1902	Johns Hopkins	--	--
Chicago	H.E. von Holst	1892-1900	Germany	--	--

SOURCES: John Higham, et. al., History: The Development of Historical Studies in the United States. Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall, 1965; Harvey Wish, The American Historian: A Social-Intellectual History of the Writing of the American Past. New York: Oxford, 1960; Who Was Who in America, vol. 1, 1897-1942. Chicago: Marquis, 1942; correspondence with the respective universities.

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BIBLIOGRAPHY

In addition to material directly relevant to the thesis, this bibliography contains references that might be useful to those who wish to go beyond some of the points touched upon, such as the development of the historical profession, the question of American influences in Canada and the broader fields of comparative education, the study of textbooks used in elementary and secondary schools, Canadian historiography and the history of education.

Part I is a bibliographic essay on the material that was central to the study of George Wrong and the Department of History. Part II is a general list of unpublished sources, and Parts III and IV are lists of books and articles.

I. A Note on Sources

There is a great deal of material dealing with George Wrong but it is scattered and fragmentary. An extensive and excellent genealogy was written by Norman M. Wrong (a nephew of George Wrong) "The Wrong Family in America" (Toronto, 1975) and Wrong himself wrote a pamphlet "for private use only", The Chronicle of a Family, 1938; both of these are available in the University of Toronto

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Library, Department of Rare Books and Special Collections (UTL).¹ Wycliffe College holds calendars, textbooks, cash-books, minutes of Wycliffe Council, letter books, minutes of the Wycliffe Alumni Association and The Evangelical Churchman, all of which were useful. The G.M. Wrong papers in the University of Toronto Library are mostly letters to Wrong, and manuscript sermons, essays and diaries. The letters were edited, but those that remain show Wrong's breadth of interests and contacts. Considerable effort was made to locate letters that Wrong wrote by tracing the papers of his correspondents. Some papers could not be located, some had only one or two letters from Wrong, but some were fairly complete. The best collections of Wrong letters are in the collections of Jameson, Taft, Harlan, Bryce in the United States and in Canada in the collections of Grant, Walker, Doughty, Blake, Willison, the Ontario Department of Education and the Champlain Society of Canada.² For Wrong's personal life the most useful collection of papers is in the hands of his daughter, Mrs. C.H.A. Armstrong of Toronto. This material consists of some two hundred letters from Wrong to his wife and children, letters to Wrong from some of his staff during the First World War, and some of the diaries kept by Wrong when he travelled. One of the most useful was a Daily Journal which

¹For a bibliography of material by and about Wrong see Appendix D.

²Complete locations are listed in Part II of this bibliography.

covered his reading, his thoughts and his work during the spring and the summer of 1892 when he was in Oxford. Unfortunately about a quarter of the pages were removed by Wrong in 1919; he said they were "too naive". Two articles written as eulogies of Wrong merit attention: an editorial in the Fergus (Ontario) News-Record, 8 February 1940, and W.S. Wallace "The Life and Work of George M. Wrong" Canadian Historical Review, 29 (September 1948) 229-37. An excellent analysis of Wrong's social and political thought is A.F. Bowker, "Truly Useful Men: Maurice Hutton, George Wrong, James Mavor and the University of Toronto, 1880-1927" (unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of Toronto. 1975).

Valuable material on Wrong and most of the other members of the staff can be found in biographical files of newspaper clippings (Grier Files) now held by the University of Toronto Archives. In addition to news items these files often contain other material such as war records, date of appointment, and vita. Memoirs of men such as C.B. Sissons, A.R.M. Lower, Vincent Massey, John Squair, L.B. Pearson and J.T. Shotwell provided useful background, as did biographies of Sir Daniel Wilson, A.L. Burt and A.L. Smith. Eight members of the Department (Creighton, Feiling, Hooke, Pearson, Talman, Underhill, Wilkinson and Wrong) have been honoured by a festschrift, many of which contain a biography and a bibliography of the subject. The University of Toronto also holds the papers of George W. Brown and W.S. Wallace; these

collections contain little or nothing on the Department of History, but were useful for an understanding of the individual.

Very little has been published on the Department of History. Ralph Hodder-Williams wrote "The Tutorial Experiment" University of Toronto Monthly 15 (February 1915) 195-203 and Helen McMurchie [Bott] wrote "The Department of History" UTM 21 (May 1921) 353-5. Both of these articles suggest some of the values held by the Department. A later description of the Department is D.G. Creighton and J.B. Conacher, "The Department of History" Varsity Graduate (October 1956) 159-62, 178.

Some comparison is available in articles and theses on other departments of history in both the United States and Canada. Katherine Ferguson "George Dalrymple Ferguson: First Professor of History at Queen's University", Historic Kingston, no. 14 (1965) 50-66, was a most useful study of a nineteenth century historian. A.G. Bailey's "Origins of the Study of History in the University of New Brunswick" (n.d.) is an unpublished manuscript available at the University of New Brunswick Archives; Bailey combined a personal account of his appointment to the first Chair in History in 1938 with an analysis of the slow development of the subject through the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Shorter descriptions of departments at McGill and Western Ontario are E.R. Adair,

"The Study of History at McGill University" Culture II (1941) 51-62 and J.R.W. Gwynne-Timothy, "Department of History: Historical Sketch of the Undergraduate Program", (unpublished manuscript, University of Western Ontario, n.d.). T.B. Brewer, "A History of the Department of History of the University of Texas, 1883-1951," (unpublished M.A. thesis, University of Texas, 1957) provided a competent analysis of a department whose development was in many ways parallel to that of the Department of History in the University of Toronto. A. Charvot, "A History of the Syracuse University History Department, 1871-1922" (unpublished Ph.D. thesis, Syracuse University, 1957) concentrated on the men who made up the department without probing deeply.

The records of the Department of History were disappointing. There was practically nothing for the period before 1920 and very little before 1926. The correspondence after 1926 contained many letters to and from graduate students, and some internal correspondence such as Departmental memos, statements of policy, and distribution of teaching responsibilities. Many of the carbons were unsigned, and as the Department grew larger many routine letters were sent out by the "secretary"--a post held by various members of the Department. Many of the files (some 30%) containing material relating to the mid 1930s were not available to me since they also contained material from the 1940s and 1950s, which was inside the thirty year limit. No Departmental minutes were

discovered for the period up to 1940 and I have been told that none exist prior to 1955. The papers of Chester Martin were not located; it is possible that his personal correspondence was intermingled with that of the Department, and that he took much of it with him upon his retirement.

Official publications such as calendars, examinations, and annual reports were examined, but only the calendars proved consistently useful, and they were often a year or more out of date and provided no information as to motive for any changes made. An attempt was made to analyze examination papers set by members of the Department, but this proved fruitless; there was simply no means of ascertaining what values were represented and there was no clear pattern or trend in the style between the years 1890 and 1940 except more choice and slightly more emphasis on "discussion".

Correspondence about appointments and occasionally on other matters was found in the President's Papers held by the University Archives. These varied in usefulness: the Loudon papers were good, the Falconer papers were good in most instances, but material on some appointments could not be located; and the Cody papers were of little use, being as yet unorganized. The memoirs of James Loudon were edited and contain practically nothing for the years 1895 to 1898; Loudon tended to write about a single issue at a time--

whatever was the most significant issue in a particular term. The Department of History was but one department in the Faculty of Arts and does not appear to have attracted much attention (except in the case of political activities of Professor Frank Underhill). As a result there is little in Loudon, in the President's papers, in the Minutes of the Senate, or in the Minutes of the Board of Governors that mentioned the department directly.

Various periodicals were examined for both background information and material that was by or about the principals in this thesis. The most useful were The Varsity (1880-1940) and the University of Toronto Monthly (1900-1947), which was succeeded by the Varsity Graduate and the University of Toronto Graduate; also useful were: Acta Victoriana (1893-1930); Arbor (1910-1913); and The Rebel (1916-1920). The annual reports of the Minister of Education and the President of the University contained little that was relevant to the Department of History. Other periodicals examined included the Educational Monthly of Canada (1880-1905), Queen's Quarterly (1893-1929), The Canadian Magazine (1893-1920), The University Magazine (1901-1920), and The Round Table (1910-1915).

For an understanding of the aims and methods of the Oxford University program my twelve hours of interviews with Frank Underhill in 1967 and 1968, now transcribed and deposited in the Public Archives of Canada, were indispensable.

Other material on Oxford is listed in parts III and IV of this bibliography; personal experience during a summer course in 1965 enhanced my understanding considerably. For the development of the historical profession in Canada see the papers and publications of the Historic Landmarks Association and the Canadian Historical Association, and the Review of Publications Relating to Canada and the Canadian Historical Review. For a glimpse of the work of Robert Glasgow, publisher of the Chronicles of Canada and many other Canadian history books, see his letters to Archibald MacMechan, 1911 to 1921, Archives, Dalhousie University, Halifax.

J.B. Brebner, "Oxford, Toronto, Columbia" Columbia University Quarterly, 23 (September 1931) 224-40 was valuable for comparative purposes since Brebner was a student at all three institutions and taught at both Toronto and Columbia. Sir Robert Falconer, "American Influences on the Higher Education of Canada", Royal Society of Canada Transactions, (May 1930) 23-28, was part of a series of studies by Falconer on American, English, Scottish and Irish influence in Canada. Falconer dealt almost exclusively in terms of men who came to Canada from the various countries; he did not specify very often just what made the system of one different from the others. Abraham Flexner's Universities: American, English, German (Oxford, 1930, 1968) was also written from the perspective of the late twenties; it is diffuse.

Recent expressions of Canadian nationalism in relation to American dominance offered some helpful clues. The most interesting and original was Leslie Armour, "Aliens in their own Land" The Nation (14 June 1971) 750-53. Armour argued that, within the field of philosophy, Canadian graduate students come under the influence of several schools of thought, while those in American graduate schools are more likely to absorb or be absorbed by just one school of thought. As a result the graduate of an American school appears strong and confident while the graduate of a Canadian school appears wishy-washy, especially if he is being interviewed by an American-trained chairman.

And of course personal experience was a factor; I was a full time student at two universities in Canada (McMaster, 1957-62; and Carleton, 1965-67) and two in the United States (Case-Western Reserve, 1967-8; and Michigan State, 1968-70), and at Oxford for one summer (1965).

Three excellent studies appeared after this manuscript was completed: Carl Berger, The Writing of Canadian History: aspects of English-Canadian historical writing, 1900-1970 (Toronto: Oxford, 1976); Robin S. Harris, A History of Higher Education in Canada, 1663-1960 (Toronto: University Press, 1976); and S.E.D. Shortt, The Search for an Ideal: six Canadian intellectuals and their convictions in an age of transition, 1890-1930 (Toronto: University Press, 1976).

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Bodleian Library, Oxford: James Bryce Papers

Clements Library, University of Michigan: C.H. VanTyne Papers

Dalhousie University: A.M. MacMechan Papers

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AND GLADLY TEACH

ADDENDUM

- Page xi: Change Commission on University Discipline to Commission on the University of Toronto.
- Page 6, n15: I wanted to add the comment attributed to Dr Rand of McMaster "...history had never been taught in Canada..." but I could not find any mention other than Wilson's Diary, 15 June 1891.
- Page 96-7: Insert Page 96a
- Page 101-2: Someone told me, or I read somewhere, that George Smith was so taken by Oxford that he retained an Oxford accent for the rest of his life. Mrs Underhill later told me that several in the Department retained Oxford mannerisms.
- Page 190ff: Bowker said that Wrong left the supervision of ~~of~~ graduate students to the younger members of the staff. I could not locate one of the references given and the other says nothing on the subject. Somewhere I recall that Wrong wrote that he was supervising 3 of the 4 M.A. students that year (sometime in the 1920s); I can't find that reference either.
- Page 220, n 10: On the occasion of Flenley's retirement Underhill described the traditions of the Department. One point that I had missed was that all of the staff called Wrong "Sir", and yet there was a high degree of equality; juniors could speak freely and senior members took their share of the class load. PAC, Underhill Papers, Box 17, File "Writings, various dates..."
- Page 237, n 15: D.C. Masters stated that U.B.C. had three Oxford men on staff. Masters to Martin, 2 May 1934, UTA, History Department, M 110.
- Page 251: George Brown retained his connection with the Department of History after joining U of T Press
- Page 253: Ralph Flenley died in 1969, not 1959.
- Page 256: The book listed for McDougall is really a paper; it was catalogued separately by the library.
- Page 303: D.M.L. Farr received a M.A., not a M.S.
- Page 343: Two theses came to my attention after the bibliography was typed: Benjamin Harrison, "Gabriel Monod and the Professionalization of History in France" (Wisconsin, 1972) and W.J. Heddeshimer, "The Study and Teaching of History in the United States Prior to 1940 with a special reference to the Ohio State University" (Ohio State, 1974).

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