

**“His teachings are in want of faith”:
British Wesleyan Responses to Egerton Ryerson**

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It is early February 1858 in Toronto. Eighteen years have passed since the first union between the Canadian Methodists and the Wesleyan Methodist Church in Britain fell apart; eleven years have passed since the two connexions achieved a reunion; and three years have passed since a dispute over the link between church membership and attendance at weekly class meetings troubled the waters of the Canada Conference. In contrast to these moments of disruption, the first weeks of February 1858 are a time of relative calm for Egerton Ryerson – the Canadian Methodist minister who played a central role in all three upheavals. Since accepting Sir Charles Metcalfe’s offer of the position of superintendent of schools for Canada West in 1844, Ryerson has thrown himself into that difficult, but fulfilling, job. If the letters he writes to his daughter Sophia are anything to go by, Ryerson’s home life is delightful, abounding in affection. And within a year he will find his beloved refuge from all the affairs of church and state at Long Bay Point near Port Ryerse.¹ So bucolic is the scene at the beginning of 1858 after the storms and stresses of previous years that one is tempted to apply John Milton’s description of Samson to Ryerson:

His servants he with new acquist
Of true experience from the great event
With peace and consolation hath dismissed,
And calm of mind all passion spent.²

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But then a letter lands on Ryerson's desk that suggests that not all passion has been spent, particularly among the British Wesleyan ministers stationed in the two Canadas.

The letter that Ryerson received on that cold February day was from John Borland, pastor of Adelaide Street Church, that Ryerson and his family were supposed to be attending. Born in Ripon, Yorkshire, in 1808, Borland immigrated to Lower Canada with his parents when he was nine, converted to Methodism when he was seventeen, and joined the British Wesleyan ministry in 1835. When he died in 1888, both the obituary printed in the *Canadian Methodist Magazine* and the funeral oration delivered at his graveside hit on the same point: that Borland was "a vigorous controversialist" and that "he was no lamb when he was roused."³ That was putting things mildly. Throughout his career, Borland was a self-appointed guardian of clerical morality and a pamphleteer of brutal skill – a "polemical porcupine," to borrow a phrase from John Quincy Adams.⁴ The good reverend was not above firing quills in all directions when in the midst of a fierce connexional battle, even attacking his opponent's grammar, though his own was far from perfect.⁵ Borland was certainly a barb in the side of Egerton Ryerson, attacking him repeatedly, for instance, during the dispute over class meeting attendance.⁶ Though that issue was officially settled in 1856, Borland would not, or could not, let it go. In his letter of February 1858, Borland accused an unrepentant Ryerson of shirking the other "social means of grace" of the Methodist church: preaching, the sacraments, love feasts, and so on. "There are some," Borland warned, "who do not hesitate to say that such treatment of our means of grace should be regarded as a virtual withdrawal from the church."⁷ In turns haughty and threatening, Borland's letter revealed a deep-seated animosity towards Ryerson. In that respect, it reflected a wider, mutual animus that existed for years, both before and after 1858, between the British Wesleyans and the Canadian Samson.

The sometimes-venomous relationship between Egerton Ryerson and the British Wesleyans was the product of more than the transatlantic connexional politics that historians, myself included, have dwelt on in great, but always loving, detail.⁸ It was also produced by emotional trauma. There was more going on when the union between the British and Canada connexions collapsed in 1840 than a fight over power and money, as important as those issues were in triggering that ecclesiastical catastrophe. Having welcomed Ryerson into the charmed circle of the British Wesleyan leadership in 1833, those ministers felt betrayed seven years

later – and Ryerson felt the same way. The battles that followed further embittered a formerly close relationship. Men who had addressed one another as brethren – as members of the great, ocean-spanning fraternity of the Methodist clergy – now saw one another as enemies. The reunion that took place in 1847 only partially healed the emotional wounds inflicted by this “parting of friends”; enmity lingered into the 1880s, ultimately affecting the way that the Canadian Methodists viewed their place in transatlantic Methodism and their own troubled history.⁹

Affection and Esteem

The ministers who gathered around Jabez Bunting at the head of the Wesleyan Methodist Church in Britain, the Buntingites, were a notoriously tetchy group. During the mid-1830s, however, they quickly accepted Egerton Ryerson as one of their own. From the beginning, those English preachers saw something in Ryerson that appealed to their obsession with order and centralized power. During the negotiations that led to the union of 1833, Ryerson was the point man for the Buntingites. When he travelled to England to finalize the arrangement, the Wesleyan leadership listened to him carefully and hailed his “piety, talents, and general deportment,” all of which had “secured for him the affection and esteem” of the British ministry.¹⁰ In a demonstration of those warm feelings, Bunting and his allies extended what honours they could to Ryerson. They gave him the opportunity to take part in a fundraising meeting in Nottingham alongside some of the leading men of the connexion and to conduct his first service in England at the ground-zero of global Methodism: John Wesley’s chapel in City Road, London. Ryerson was thrilled, noting in a memorandum that, at Wesley’s chapel, he had preached within sight of the great man’s tomb and the graves of Wesleyan luminaries such as Adam Clarke and Richard Watson.¹¹ Over the next year, this budding sense of transatlantic fraternity bloomed. The Buntingites sent Ryerson their regards while turning to him as the most reliable source of information they could possibly have about the condition and needs of Methodism in Upper Canada. Ryerson responded with his own good wishes and with the assurance that he would be “glad indeed” to hear from his British counterparts as often as their busy schedule permitted.¹²

Ryerson had a rougher ride with the British Wesleyan missionaries and laity in Lower and Upper Canada, but even there he found supporters and friends during the mid-1830s. Having tangled with the Canada

Conference since 1814, the members of the British Wesleyan community in the colonies distrusted both the union of 1833 and its main Canadian spokesman. Among the laity, however, that animosity usually faded once they met Ryerson. In Kingston, for instance, the layman Thomas Milner noted, in August 1833, that a union of the British Wesleyan and Canadian Methodist denominations in the town “might & would have been effected 12 months ago” had Ryerson been appointed to a local circuit. He was “a very able preacher warm & energetic,” Milner enthused, and his sermons had “killed” every anti-union “prejudice dead to rise no more.”¹³ At the same time, the Wesleyan leadership in Britain clamped down on the anti-union – and often anti-Ryerson – agitation taking shape among several of their preachers in the Canadas. When the missionary John Barry tried to convince the Buntingites that Ryerson had deceived them in the union negotiations, they responded by suggesting that Barry himself was “guilty of bearing false witness against his neighbour; and that neighbour a Minister of the Gospel of Christ.”¹⁴ With Barry packed off to Bermuda, the way was clear for preachers like Joseph Stinson and William Lord who shared the Buntingites’ warm regard for Ryerson. Stinson saw Ryerson as the “vigorous hand” wielding the “defensive weapon” of Methodism in the Canadas from the editorial desk of the denominational newspaper, the *Christian Guardian*. Lord viewed Ryerson as an essential man, too. He even suggested that the Canadian should be invited to take a circuit in England for a year. It was a perfect plan, Lord wrote. It would draw the bonds of transatlantic brotherhood even tighter, thoroughly imbuing Ryerson “with the spirit of Wesleyan Methodism” and saving him from the “the bane of Canada” – “a mean, selfish, party-spirit, [and a] want of lofty & honourable principle,” which were entirely unknown in the Old Country, of course.¹⁵

Judas, Wolf, and Devil

Like many relationships, past and present, this one fell apart because of a disagreement over power and money. The trouble began when Egerton Ryerson returned to the editorship of the *Christian Guardian* in mid-summer 1838 after an absence of three years. Ryerson replaced Ephraim Evans – a British preacher of orthodox Buntingite views. Where Evans had avoided attacking the Church of England’s claim to be the legally established church of Upper Canada, Ryerson vigorously assaulted such Anglican pretensions. And where Evans had towed the Buntingite

line, arguing that the Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society (WMMS) in London, England, should control any government grant for mission work in Upper Canada, Ryerson demanded local control over funds earmarked for the gospel work in the province.¹⁶

As Ryerson's campaign unfolded, a distrust of his motives and character either reappeared or grew among the British Wesleyans in the colonies and the home country. In Kingston, in November 1839, the once supportive layman Thomas Milner noted that things in the town were now "in an uncomfortable state" thanks to what he saw as Ryerson's determination "to push things to the last extreme." Ryerson might attend a meeting of the connexional book committee and promise "perfect amendment" of his wayward course in church-and-state relations, but could he be trusted to keep his word?¹⁷ The lay elite of British Wesleyan Montreal had already answered that question, cancelling their subscriptions to the *Christian Guardian* because of what they saw as Ryerson's "disloyal sentiments." The missionary Matthew Richey urged Ryerson not to overreact to the Montreal laity's actions, but Ryerson ignored that advice. He hit back at his Lower Canadian assailants, denouncing them as a gaggle of extremists – a "school of Bloodshed and French extermination."¹⁸ The fraternal bonds between the Canadian Methodist and British Wesleyan communities in the Canadas were snapping. Even the missionary Joseph Stinson, who had no "personal quarrel" with Ryerson and who "on many accounts" respected and loved him, was increasingly appalled by "the *tendency* of his writings." By the end of May 1839, Stinson, like many of his fellow British Wesleyan preachers in the Canadas, had convinced himself that Ryerson never cared "a fig" for the union of 1833. He had only supported it for his own political and financial purposes.¹⁹ The Buntingites also shared that opinion by the spring of 1840; they charged Ryerson with an "utter want of ingenuousness and integrity" in his dealings with the home connexion. When Ryerson and his brother William travelled to England that summer to attend the British Conference, the minister Elijah Hoole demonstrated how drastically the relationship between transatlantic brethren had deteriorated: Ryerson should not even be allowed to speak, Hoole warned his fellow Buntingites, "his teachings are in want of faith."²⁰

The schism of 1840 was as ill tempered and unedifying as any other ecclesiastic division of the nineteenth century. Relations between Ryerson and the Wesleyans in Britain reached fever pitch even before the British Conference voted to sever its links with the Canada connexion. In a move that still shocks by its pettiness, instead of billeting the Ryerson brothers

with a local Methodist family, as was customary, the Buntingites shuffled them off to one of the sketchy boarding houses of Newcastle-upon-Tyne. During the actual Conference sessions, Egerton Ryerson and the Buntingites blasted away at one another with accusations of bad faith and willful destructiveness, despite the president's weary plea "have we not heard enough on this subject?"²¹ It seems that no one had heard enough. As the union collapsed, the discourse of factionalism rapidly displaced the language of fraternity. In British North America, ministers and laity who sided with the Canada Conference labeled the British connexion the "English party," "inconsistent Tories" who adopted a "truckling tone" in their public pronouncements, and as the very epitome of "puffing, strutting" pomposity.²² The British Wesleyans and their supporters in the colonies were more focused in their efforts to "hold the together the in-groups by anathematising the out-groups." They attacked the "*Ryersonian Methodists*," the "Ryersonian Conference," the "Ryersonian movement," the "Ryersonian party," the "Ryersonian faction," and the "*Ryersonian union trap*."²³ The British Wesleyans' anger with the collapse of the union and the man they held responsible for it also came out in a torrent of vintage mid-nineteenth century invective. In private and public, they charged that Ryerson was "mean & disingenuous," "wily," a violator of "courtesy & candor," an adept at "gulling," a man of "restless ambition," a mountebank minister eaten up by "infamous delusions and consummate hypocrisy," a "Cromwellite," a "Jesuit," and a "Judas, Wolf and Devil." He was full of "hate [for] the British Conference and the British Nation"; "shut up in his warm study scheming against British Wesleyan influence"; as full of "malicious endeavours" as any other modern-day schismatic; a panderer to "every kind of popular prejudice"; and a reprobate fit only to be taken "out of the provinces" and transported to "New South Wales for life."²⁴

This bruising connexional warfare took an emotional toll on Egerton Ryerson. The Buntingite charge that he suffered from an "*utter want of integrity*" struck at his sense of self as an honourable minister of Christ. That insult, as well as the others that came cascading down on him, sank "deep into my own heart," he wrote. Such invective also blew apart the bonds of sociability established in the immediate aftermath of the union of 1833. If the Jabez Bunting and his supporters now thought that Ryerson was "*unworthy of the courtesies of private life*," he felt unable to pay them his "personal respects."²⁵ Indeed, so crushing did the weight of British Wesleyan calumny become that Ryerson wrote to the American Methodist

minister Nathan Bangs, bemoaning “the epithets” that had been “multiplied against” him and suggesting that an escape south of the border might be in order.²⁶ Ryerson never took that drastic step, but that the thought of abandoning Canadian Methodism entered his head at all suggests how deeply the factionalism of the 1840s affected him.

What Egerton Ryerson never seems to have considered was the impact of his own words on the Wesleyans in Britain and the Canadas. The Buntingites felt every bit as wounded as Ryerson by the connexional battles of the 1840s. Defending their self-image as the godliest of godly men, they complained that while they might be willing “to be represented as weak or inaccurate – as unduly fond of power – as Tory politicians,” they could not abide being accused of “fraudulent intentions and proceedings.”²⁷ On the other side of the Atlantic, the missionary Benjamin Slight was so hurt and angered by the charges leveled against himself and his fellow British Wesleyans that he wondered if it was even possible to consider the Canadian Methodists “as a genuine branch” of John Wesley’s church.²⁸ Several other ministers and laity who remained loyal to the British Wesleyan connexion in the colonies felt the same. After talk of a reunion with the Canada Conference surfaced in 1846, various laymen stated that, “they would never approve of any Union in which” Ryerson or his brothers “should have control.” The warhorse of Upper Canadian Methodism, the preacher William Case, was even blunter. “Before there was any ‘hugging and kissing’” with Ryerson and his fellow Canadian Methodists, he stated, there would have to be “some ‘confession.’”²⁹ The wounds inflicted by seven years of conflict could not simply be healed through a new arrangement between men who had committed themselves to a transatlantic brotherhood only to see that ideal collapse.

Spirits of Wesleyan Catholicity

Despite vehement opposition on both sides, the British Wesleyan and Canada connexions reunited in 1847, reviving the happy days of an ocean-spanning fraternity first experienced in the early 1830s – on the surface, at least. Just as they had fourteen years earlier, the Buntingites praised Egerton Ryerson for the “noble spirit of Wesleyan catholicity” in which he welcomed this new union. They also assured him of their “confidence that no elements will be hereafter permitted to disturb either our ecclesiastical relations, or our personal friendship.” Once again, the Buntingites would “always be happy” to receive “free and full communica-

tions” from Ryerson, who made his own efforts to move on from past unpleasantness.³⁰ He even had a kind word for Jabez Bunting – noting, in 1850, that, despite being a physical wreck unable to step more than “six inches at a time,” the old man’s “intellect” was as “quick & powerful as ever.”³¹ Ryerson also rekindled his friendship with British Wesleyan missionaries like Joseph Stinson and successfully mended fences with the rabidly partisan lay elite of Montreal.³² And this camaraderie continued in the decades after the reunion. When Ryerson travelled to Europe on government or personal business, he made sure to touch base with leading British Wesleyans, attending missionary society events and meeting with the president of the Conference.³³ These feelings of transatlantic goodwill culminated in the late 1860s and early 1870s in the partnership between Ryerson and the English preacher and head of the Canada Conference, William Morley Punshon. The two men worked well together and became genuine friends. Ryerson conducted the marriage ceremony between Punshon and his dead wife’s sister; and, when Punshon’s Toronto house was threatened by fire, it was Ryerson who helped him stamp out the flames and rescue his precious library.³⁴

Such expressions of renewed transatlantic fraternity were undoubtedly genuine, but, below the largely placid surface of post-reunion connexional politics, the emotional trauma of the 1840s continued to complicate the relationship between Ryerson and the British Wesleyans. In 1850, for example, the recently arrived missionary Enoch Wood noted that his fellow British preacher, Matthew Richey, was suffering from a species of ecclesiastical shellshock. He was periodically “controlled” by “the old feelings which prevailed” during the divisions of the previous decade, Wood wrote.³⁵ Such unresolved feelings came out most forcefully five years later as the members of the Canada Conference argued the issue of class meeting attendance. Wood observed that “the brethren” had become so suspicious of Ryerson’s “designs” in the debate “that they will not work with him.” “It is the spirit of former days revived among these men,” Wood lamented, “personal contention in the early history of this Conference was its heaviest curse; the hostility from without was nothing compared to the dissensions within.”³⁶ With British Wesleyan hotheads like the prickly John Borland attacking him from all sides, and the Wesleyan leadership in Britain once again expressing doubts about his orthodoxy, Ryerson withdrew from the ministry – only to return a year later to an uneasy peace.³⁷ But, as was invariably the case with Ryerson, he had the last word. In 1882, the Methodist Book Room in Toronto

published *Canadian Methodism: Its Epochs and Characteristics*. Though his more conservative brother John wrote the chapter on the troubles of the 1840s, Egerton Ryerson added his own gloss to the tale. In footnote after footnote, Ryerson demonstrated just how far he was from forgiving his British Wesleyan brethren for the punishment he had endured at their hands decades earlier. In Ryerson's telling of events, the Buntingite errand into the British North American wilderness was motivated by untruths and exaggerations from the beginning. Led by men who were more loyal to the interests of the Church of England than the Wesleyan communion "in Canadian affairs," it resulted not in the spread of God's grace, but in "all the evils of schismatic division in Upper Canada."³⁸ This narrative, which entirely exonerated Ryerson himself from any blame, became the accepted version of the Canadian Methodist story well into the twentieth century.

Conclusion

When Egerton Ryerson died in 1882, the *Wesleyan Methodist Magazine* in London, England, printed an obituary that breathed the spirit of brotherhood that the deceased himself had abandoned in his last published work. The notice declared that Ryerson, "by conviction and choice a Methodist," was "not a bigot nor a sectarian, but always ready to fraternize with the friends of Christ, no matter by what name they were known among men." The schism of 1840 was relegated to a single sentence: "The union between the Churches in England and Canada was unhappily dissolved in 1840, which was a cause of great sorrow to him [Ryerson], but the Churches were reunited in 1847."³⁹ Perhaps the Wesleyans in Britain, unlike Ryerson, had recovered from the battles of the 1840s. That would be a neat way to read the situation – as an ironic reversal of Ryerson's narrative. Unfortunately, the facts will not allow so tidy an ending. Printed in a British Wesleyan journal for British Wesleyan consumption, this obituary was written by a member of the Canada Conference.⁴⁰ Negotiating the meaning, and preserving the substance, of transoceanic fraternity remained tricky tasks in the early 1880s – as tricky as understanding the past interplay of personalities, church politics, and human emotions is today.

Endnotes

1. C.B. Sissons, *My Dearest Sophie: Letters from Egerton Ryerson to his daughter* (Toronto: Ryerson Press, 1955), ix-xxxvi. Other key works on Egerton Ryerson include C.B. Sissons, *Egerton Ryerson: His Life and Letters* (Oxford: Oxford University Press / Toronto: Clarke, Irwin and Company Ltd., 1937-47); and R.D. Gidney, "Egerton Ryerson," *Dictionary of Canadian Biography* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1967-), 11:783-95.
2. John Milton, *The Complete Poems*, ed. John Leonard (London: Penguin Books, 1998), 511.
3. *Canadian Methodist Magazine* (May 1888): 472; Sissons, *Egerton Ryerson*, 2:365 n. 3.
4. John Quincy Adams, *Diaries II: 1821-1848*, ed. David Waldstreicher (New York: Library of America, 2017), 560. Adams was referring to the colonial New England controversialist and founder of Rhode Island, Roger Williams.
5. See, for example, the dispute between Borland and the lay grandee Peter LeSueur, writing under the pseudonym 'Scrutator': John Borland, *Dialogues Between Two Methodists, Algernon Newways and Samuel Oldpaths* (Toronto: John Donogh, 1856); Scrutator, *Letter to the Rev. John Borland* (1856); John Borland, *The Reviewer Reviewed* (1856); and Scrutator, *Letter (No. 2) to the Rev. John Borland* (1856).
6. For a short account of this complex dispute in the context of connexional factionalism see Todd Webb, "The Madness of his Method: Methodism, Discipline and the British World," *Historical Papers: Canadian Society of Church History* (2010): 24-25.
7. John Borland to Egerton Ryerson, 11 February 1858, Box 4, File 119, Egerton Ryerson papers, United Church Archives, Toronto, Ontario (hereafter UCA).
8. See, for instance, Goldwin French, *Parsons and Politics: The role of the Wesleyan Methodists in Upper Canada and the Maritimes from 1780 to 1855* (Toronto: Ryerson Press, 1962), 134-64, 171-91, 217-42, 248-71; Neil Semple, *The Lord's Dominion: The History of Canadian Methodism* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1996), 76-99; and Todd Webb, *Transatlantic Methodists: British Wesleyanism and the Formation of an Evangelical Culture in Nineteenth-Century Ontario and Quebec* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2013), 70-101.

9. A phrase borrowed from David Newsome, *The Parting of Friends: The Wilberforces and Henry Manning* (Grand Rapids, MI: Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing Co., 1993).
10. John Beecham to the General Superintendent and Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church in Upper Canada, August 1833, Outgoing Correspondence, Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society (hereafter WMMS), UCA.
11. Memorandum by Egerton Ryerson, 17 April 1833, Box 1, File 10, Egerton Ryerson papers, UCA; Memorandum by Egerton Ryerson, 29 May 1833, Box 1, File 10, Egerton Ryerson papers, UCA; and Egerton Ryerson to an unknown correspondent, 29 May 1833, Box 1, File 10, Egerton Ryerson papers, UCA.
12. See, for example, Edmund Grindrod to Egerton Ryerson, 4 March 1834, Portraits and Letters of the Presidents of the Canadian Conference, UCA; George Marsden to Egerton Ryerson, 4 September 1834, Portraits and Letters of the Presidents of the Canadian Conference, UCA. The quote is from Egerton Ryerson to Robert Alder, 10 October 1833, Box 17, File 106, #23, Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society Correspondence (hereafter WMMS-C), UCA. See also Egerton Ryerson to Robert Alder, 21 May 1834, Box 18, File 112, #22, WMMS-C, UCA.
13. Thomas Milner to John Douse, 3 August 1833, Box 1, File 1, John Douse papers, UCA.
14. Robert Alder to John Barry, 30 December 1833, Outgoing Correspondence, WMMS, UCA. On Barry's brief, hell-raising career in Upper Canada see Webb, *Transatlantic Methodists*, 61-62, 65-66 and Norman W. Taggart, *The Irish in World Methodism, 1760-1900* (London: Epworth Press, 1986), 148, 152-53.
15. Joseph Stinson to John Ryerson, 7 April 1838, Box 2, File 33, Egerton Ryerson papers, UCA; William Lord to Robert Alder, 1 March 1836, Box 20, File 129, #2, WMMS-C, UCA.
16. French, *Parsons and Politics*, 172-6; Webb, *Transatlantic Methodists*, 119-20.
17. Thomas Milner to John Douse, 7 November 1839, Box 1, File 2, John Douse papers, UCA.
18. Matthew Richey to Egerton Ryerson, 2 January 1839, Box 2, File 38, Egerton Ryerson papers, UCA; Egerton Ryerson to William Lunn, J. Ferrier et al., 7 January 1839, Box 2, File 38, Egerton Ryerson papers, UCA. See also Matthew Richey to Joseph Stinson, 8 May 1839, Box 23, File 159, #4, WMMS-C, UCA.

19. Joseph Stinson to Robert Alder, 25 February 1839, Box 23, File 159, #16, WMMS-C, UCA; Joseph Stinson to Robert Alder, 23 May 1839, Box 23, File 159, #6, WMMS-C, UCA. Emphasis in original.
20. Resolutions of a Committee appointed by the British Conference of 1839 to decide finally in all matters relating to the Union existing between the British Conference and the Upper Canada Conference and to the Indian Missions in Upper Canada, 29 April 1840, Box 24, File 167, #9, WMMS-C, UCA; Elijah Hoole to Robert Alder, Resolutions proposed by various persons at the Canada Conference of 1840, July 1840, Box 23, File 168, #29, WMMS-C, UCA.
21. Sissons, *Egerton Ryerson*, 1:557; Benjamin Gregory, *Side Lights on the Conflicts of Methodism during the Second Quarter of the Nineteenth Century, 1827-1852* (London: Cassell and Company, 1898), 290-94. The quote appears on page 291.
22. Alexander Cruikshank to Egerton Ryerson, 12 June 1840, Box 2, File 42, Egerton Ryerson papers, UCA; Henry Mayle to Egerton Ryerson, 16 November 1840, Box 2, File 44, Egerton Ryerson papers, UCA; Matthias Holtby to Egerton Ryerson, 15 March 1842, Box 2, File 51, Egerton Ryerson papers, UCA.
23. Matthias Holtby to Egerton Ryerson, 15 March 1842, Box 2, File 51, Egerton Ryerson papers, UCA; Joseph Stinson to an unknown correspondent, 29 April 1840, Box 23, File 167, #1, WMMS-C, UCA; Matthew Richey to Robert Alder, 26 December 1842, Box 26, File 177, #21, WMMS-C, UCA; *Wesleyan*, 12 November 1840, 65; William Harvard to Elijah Hoole, 21 November 1840, Box 23, File 161, #23, WMMS-C, UCA; Matthew Richey to Jabez Bunting, 3 July 1839, John P. Lockwood Collection, Methodist Archive and Research Centre, John Rylands University Library, Manchester (hereafter MARC, JRULM); *Wesleyan*, 21 January 1841, 105. Emphasis in original. The initial quote is from W.R. Ward, *Faith and Faction* (London: Epworth Press, 1993), 285.
24. John Douse to Eliza Douse, 13 June 1840, Box 1, File 1, John Douse papers, UCA; Journal, 7 August 1842, Box 1, File 2, Benjamin Slight papers, UCA; William Lord to Robert Alder, 12 September 1840, Box 24, File 167, #13, WMMS-C, UCA; Joseph Stinson to Robert Alder, 19 October 1840, Box 24, File 168, #9, WMMS-C, UCA; Joseph Stinson to Robert Alder, 2 November 1840, Box 24, File 168, #12, WMMS-C, UCA; *Toronto Patriot*, 9 October 1840; *Wesleyan*, 27 May 1841, 177; William Lunn to Robert Alder, 28 June 1841, Box 25, File 170, #29, WMMS-C, UCA; *Toronto Patriot*, 5 February 1841; William Martin Harvard to Elijah Hoole, 23 July 1840, Box 23, File 161, #15, WMMS-C, UCA; Joseph Stinson to Robert Alder, 2 November

- 1840, Box 24, File 168, #12, WMMS-C, UCA; Benjamin Slight to the General Secretaries of the WMMS, 2 March 1841, Box 25, File 169, #32, WMMS-C, UCA; *Toronto Patriot*, 20 November 1840; John Mathewson to Robert Alder, 25 March 1842, Box 26, File 178, #31, WMMS-C, UCA. Emphasis in original.
25. Egerton Ryerson to Jabez Bunting and Robert Alder, 24 November 1846, Box 3, File 75, Egerton Ryerson papers, UCA.
 26. Egerton Ryerson to Nathan Bangs, 10 May 1841, Portraits and Letters of the Presidents of the Canadian Conference, UCA. See also Nathan Bangs to Egerton Ryerson, 23 May 1841, Portraits and Letters of the Ministers of St. James Methodist Church, Montreal, UCA.
 27. Robert Alder to John Ryerson and Anson Green, 4 July 1842, Box 26, File 184, #9, WMMS-C, UCA.
 28. Benjamin Slight to the General Secretaries of the WMMS, 18 August 1841, Box 25, File 170, #21, WMMS-C, UCA.
 29. Summary of the discussions between Robert Alder and the members of the Canada West District, 26 May 1847, Box 31, File 224, #[?], WMMS-C, UCA.
 30. Matthew Richey to Egerton Ryerson, 28 June 1847, Box 3, File 76, Egerton Ryerson papers, UCA; Robert Alder to Egerton Ryerson, 17 September 1847, Box 3, File 78, Egerton Ryerson papers, UCA.
 31. Egerton Ryerson to John G. Hodgins, 8 November 1850, Box 3, File 86, Egerton Ryerson papers, UCA.
 32. See, for example, Egerton Ryerson to John G. Hodgins, 8 November 1850, Box 3, File 86, Egerton Ryerson papers, UCA; Charles De Wolfe to Elijah Hoole, 24 October 1848, Box 29, File 226, #32, WMMS-C, UCA; Charles De Wolfe to Robert Alder, 20 April 1849, Box 33, File 235, #6, WMMS-C, UCA.
 33. See, for example, Egerton Ryerson to John G. Hodgins, 30 April 1867, Box 5, File 149, Egerton Ryerson papers, UCA; Egerton Ryerson to John G. Hodgins, 9 May 1867, Box 5, File 149, Egerton Ryerson papers, UCA; Egerton Ryerson to John G. Hodgins, 19 June 1876, Box 6, File 195, Egerton Ryerson papers, UCA; Egerton Ryerson to John G. Hodgins, 27 January 1877, Box 6, File 198, Egerton Ryerson papers, UCA.
 34. Egerton Ryerson to William Morley Punshon, 19 June 1867, Portraits and Letters of the Presidents of the Canadian Conference, UCA; William Morley Punshon to Egerton Ryerson, 10 July 1867, Portraits and Letters of the Presidents of the Canadian Conference, UCA; William Morley Punshon to

George Parkin, 18 August 1868, William Morley Punshon papers, UCA.

35. Enoch Wood to Robert Alder, 26 September 1850, Box 34, File 250, #9, WMMS-C, UCA.
36. Enoch Wood to John Beecham, 17 August 1855, Box 39, File 282, #16, WMMS-C, UCA; Enoch Wood to John Beecham, 5 October 1855, Box 39, File 282, #28, WMMS-C, UCA.
37. Sissons, *Egerton Ryerson*, 2:285-326; Webb, *Transatlantic Methodists*, 158-59.
38. Egerton Ryerson, *Canadian Methodism: Its Epochs and Characteristics* (Toronto: William Briggs, 1882), 303, 308.
39. *Wesleyan Methodist Magazine* (May 1882): 329, 333.
40. Reverend Edward Barrass was born in England in 1822, joined the Primitive Methodist ministry in 1841, emigrated to British North America in 1853, joined the Canadian Primitive Methodist Conference in the same year, and was received on trial by the Canada Conference of the Wesleyan Methodist Church in 1859. See George Cornish, *Cyclopedia of Methodism in Canada* (Toronto: Methodist Book Room, 1881), 65, and <https://krassoc.wordpress.com/2012/10/14/edward-barrass-m-a-d-d-methodist-minister-author/>