

***Nihil Obstat: An Exhibition of Banned, Censored & Challenged Works
in the West
~ 1491-2000 ~***

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Synopsis of the Exhibition

The Thomas Fisher Rare Book Library houses the Department of Rare Books and Special Collections of the University of Toronto. With approximately 700,000 rare books, it is a major research centre with manuscripts and printed materials that document human thought since the Middle Ages. The library sponsors three exhibitions annually that highlight various aspects of our collections. Though a part of the University Library, the Fisher is open to the public, whether they are affiliated with U. of T. or not. Indeed, it is this very notion of universal access that is the premise for this particular exhibition of banned, censored, and challenged works.

The books on display fall into six basic categories: religion, science, philosophy, politics, literature, and works either by Canadians, or challenged by the Canadian government. With very few exceptions the ninety books in the exhibition come directly from the shelves of the Fisher. Included will be Dante's *Commedia* (1491), Tyndale's *Newe Testament* (1534), Copernicus' *De revolutionibus orbium coelestium* (1566), Galileo's *Dialogo sopra i due massimi sistemi del mondo tolemaico e copernicano* (1632), Descartes' *Les méditations métaphysiques* (1647), Locke's *Essay Concerning Human Understanding* (1690), Rousseau's *Du contrat social* (1766), Voltaire's *Candide* (1759), Mill's *Principles of Political Economy* (1848), Whitman's *Leaves of Grass* (1856), Huxley's *Brave New World* (1932), Balzac's *Droll Stories* (1874), Joyce's *Ulysses* (1922), Callaghan's *Such is My Beloved* (1934), Miller's *Tropic of Cancer* (1949), _kvoreck_'s *Zbabelci* (1958 - a classic of modern Czech literature), selected issues from Toronto's *The Body Politic Newspaper* (1971-1987), Laurence's *The Diviners* (1974), and Oates' *Foxfire: Confessions of a Girl Gang* (1993) to name but a few. Other authors whose works will also be on display include Luther, Calvin, Chaucer, Machiavelli, Hobbes, Hume, Bentham, Twain, Beecher-Stowe, Atwood, Finley, and Rushdie. An illustrated catalogue is currently in production and will be ready for sale by January 2005 at the latest. It will include prefatory essays written by Alberto Manguel and Richard Landon, Director of the Fisher Library, with short introductions to each section of the exhibition, as well as individual expositions of the censorship history of each title.

The freedom of the press and the liberty of writers in general are once again being challenged, but now as victims of the global war against terror. This display, therefore, is

intended to put censorship in an historical context. In the past, did the efforts of censors ultimately advance or hinder human development? Is it better to quash those ideas with which we disagree, or does society grow stronger through open discussion of them? Is our security better guaranteed today by silencing our opposition any more so than it was in the past? And lastly, we hope that those who see this exhibition will be left with one fundamental question: What would *my* world be like if the censors had actually succeeded and these works had either not survived or never existed at all?

Religion & Science

1. William Tyndale (d. 1536). *The Newe Testament*. Antwerp: M. Emperowr, 1534.

By 1524, England was the only European country that did not have a printed vernacular edition of the Bible.¹ The only version of the Scriptures permitted in Henry VIII's realm was the Latin Vulgate translated by St Jerome some eleven hundred years earlier. In 1525 Tyndale, a priest of the pre-Reformed tradition as well as a humanist, produced the first New Testament in English at Cologne, and six thousand copies were smuggled back to Britain the following year.² This 1534 edition represents a careful revision of that earlier work.³ Together with the other Reformers of his day, Tyndale believed that the Bible had to be translated into the people's language and released from the allegorical interpretations so common in the mediaeval church. His New Testament was immediately denounced by the Tudor bishops as well as the King, who saw in his efforts the unsettling power of Lutheranism.⁴ In 1535, Tyndale was arrested in Antwerp where he was working on a translation of the Hebrew Scriptures. He was taken to Brussels, and in the following year was strangled and burned at the stake. Although all vernacular translations were opposed by the Catholic Church, no version was as violently suppressed as Tyndale's New Testament.⁵ It was condemned and forbidden by the Council of Trent in 1546 and was banned during the reign of Queen Mary Tudor. All of these efforts notwithstanding, nine-tenths of his translation survived in the Standard Version of the Bible, licensed under King James I and still beloved of the English-speaking world.

2. Judah ben Samuel (ca. 1150-1217). *Sefer ha-hasidim*. Bolonya : Avraham ha-Kohen b. k. mo. ha-r. Mosheh ha-Kohen, 5298 [1537 or 1538 C.E.].

To say that the censorship of Hebrew books has a long history is an understatement. Since the year 1144, when it was first burned in Paris on charges of blasphemy, the *Talmud* has constantly attracted the attention of censors. In 1239, Pope Gregory IX ordered all Jewish books destroyed;⁶ in 1592, Pope Clement VIII forbade the possession by Christians or Jews of any writings in Hebrew that contained heretical or erroneous statements concerning the Scriptures.⁷ The first censor of Hebrew books was Jacob Geraldino whose salary, ironically, was paid by the Jewish community itself.⁸ This copy of the *Sefer ha-hasidim* or "Book of the Pious" (the ethical teachings of the Hasidei Ashkenaz movement) is noteworthy for the clear expurgation marks made by the ecclesiastical censor throughout the work. In many places, however, another hand has reinserted the offending texts that refer to the cross, converts to Christianity, and the person of Jesus. This Bologna edition was probably edited by a French scholar who lived

before 1300, since the transliterated vernacular words are in French. Censorship of this text was not limited to the Roman censors. Nineteenth century Russian officials made other bizarre changes so that the word for “priests”, for example, was replaced with a Jewish homonym meaning “clothes” rendering the meaning of whole sections entirely senseless.⁹

3. Galileo Galilei (1564-1642). *Dialogo sopra i due massimi sistemi del mondo tolemaico e copernicano*. Florence: B. Landini, 1632.

Based on Copernicus’ theories, in this volume Galileo confirms the thesis that it is around the sun, not the earth that the heavenly spheres revolve. Should there have been any doubt about his theories, Galileo provides a series of diagrammatic illustrations, the clearest of which depicts the sun being encircled by the six known planets in Book III.¹⁰ His research led to further speculation about the elliptical orbit of the planets and to the theory of the finite nature of the universe. Two key principles expressed in this work guide modern science today. First, that theories about nature must be confirmed through observation and evidence; and second, that natural processes are best understood when represented mathematically. The year following its publication Galileo was imprisoned in Rome on a charge of heresy and the *Dialogo* was formally condemned in 1634. The scientist was placed under house arrest for the rest of his life until his death in 1642. His name remained on the *Index* until 1835, though he was not officially rehabilitated by the Church until 1992.¹¹ As one commentator noted, “if it is denied to history to surround the head of Galileo, the greatest advocate of the new system, with the halo of the martyr, ready to die for his cause, posterity will ever regard with admiration and gratitude the figure of the man, who, though he did not heroically defend the truth, was, by virtue of his genius, one of her first pioneers, and had to bear for her sake an accumulation of untold suffering.”¹²

4. Charles Darwin (1809-1882). *On the Origin of the Species*. London : J. Murray, 1859.

Darwin’s opinions on the “descent with modifications” of a wide variety of organisms challenged the prevailing belief in an orderly creation by God in six days. Although the author never criticized theology directly, ecclesiastical authorities certainly interpreted his work in that vein. His concluding remarks, as pious as they may seem today, were in fact heretical to many nineteenth century eyes. “There is grandeur in this view of life,” he wrote, “with its several powers, having been originally breathed by the Creator into a few forms or into one; and that, whilst this planet has gone cycling on according to the fixed law of gravity, from so simple a beginning endless forms most beautiful and most wonderful have been and are being evolved.”¹³ The implications of this final statement were serious since it would seem to indicate that what God had wrought at the beginning was subject to change and therefore imperfect. Furthermore, to describe the original creation as “simple” was an affront to the divine glory. Not surprisingly, his book was barred from Trinity College, Cambridge (from which institution Darwin had graduated); but its greatest opponents have long been found among American fundamentalists who succeeded in having the book banned in numerous school jurisdictions, especially in the South. By the end of the 1920s, the work had been proscribed in four states while more

than twenty other states considered doing the same.¹⁴ The “Scopes Trial” of 1925 is perhaps the most famous incident involving challenges to Darwin’s theory, though as late as the 1990s it still had to be taught along side biblical creationism in Arkansas, Louisiana and Kansas. Unlike most challenged books, however, this work was never actually removed from the bookstores¹⁵ nor did it appear on the Roman *Index*.

Politics and Philosophy

1. Rene Descartes (1596-1650). *Les méditations métaphysiques*. Paris: La veuve I. Camusat, et P. le Petit, 1647.

Although a devout Catholic, Descartes was clearly impressed by the condemned teachings of Galileo and Copernicus. Hoping to avoid Galileo’s fate, Descartes softened many of his scientific principles in his earlier works, though not sufficiently to prevent his inclusion on the 1663 *Index*, largely through the influence of the Jesuits. In this text Descartes attempted to prove the existence of God and the soul with reference to logical principles. After introducing the notion of universal doubt, Descartes returns to develop his first certainty, namely *je pense, donc je suis* which he had first postulated in his *Discours* of 1637.¹⁶ Only from that prior knowledge, he argues, can the individual can ever posit the existence of a Divine Being and then proceed to an affirmation of the physical world.¹⁷ His rational philosophy necessitated a rejection of mediaeval scholasticism at the same time that it was also being attacked by the Protestant reformers. Descartes’ philosophical works were added to the *Index* since they were not sufficiently Aristotelian in their view of the universe for contemporary Catholic tastes and because they “included the writings of others” who were of questionable repute. They remained listed until 1966. His writings were also banned by Louis XIV of France for undermining Eucharistic realism, and as late as 1926 they were censored in the Soviet Union.¹⁸

2. Thomas Hobbes (1588-1679). *Leviathan, or The Matter, Forme, & Power of a Common-Wealth, Ecclesiasticall and Civill*. London: Printed for Andrew Crooke, 1651.

After the execution of Charles I, Hobbes developed a political theory asserting that humans are by their nature solitary, nasty and brutish. Left to their own devices, he asserted, humans could never control themselves, and government was therefore essential. Since political and religious theory were not yet completely separate, it is not surprising that Hobbes’ theory, which appeared to deny the role of divine grace in individual lives, was offensive to many Christian theologians. For the peace of society, Hobbes insisted that citizens should submit themselves to governments whose sovereigns would, of necessity, enjoy greater power than any religious force. His ideas clearly represented a break with classical tradition by denying “the dictum of Aristotle that man is by nature social,” and were extremely unpopular on the continent.¹⁹ After the Restoration, the book was condemned by the 1683 Convocation of Oxford University.²⁰ Hobbes was prohibited by Parliament from publishing any more philosophical works since they espoused atheistic blasphemy in their denigration of humanity. Surprisingly, it

took fifty-two years for this work to be placed on the *Index*, though the rest of his works followed in 1709 where they remained until 1966.²¹

3. Great Britain. Public Record Office. *Liber munerum publicorum Hiberniae, ab an. 1152 usque ad 1827*. [London : s.n.], 1824-[1830].

In 1823, the cause of Catholic emancipation in Ireland was undertaken by Daniel O'Connell, "the Great Liberator" – an endeavour that would not actually achieve success until 1829. In the intervening years this two-volume work was ordered printed. A masterpiece of scholarship that involved the archives of Trinity College Dublin, the Bodleian, Lambeth, and various other university and royal libraries, these books provided the first serious overview of the state of Ireland both before and since the arrival of the English. Given the general unrest in Ireland, especially in 1829, the book was deemed to be inflammatory. It was rigidly suppressed and destroyed in 1830, just as its index was being printed. According to one nineteenth century bookseller's catalogue, "it is believed that not more than four copies remain unsuppressed." The display copy was preserved only because the original owner, who had been involved in the printing, had purchased the work immediately upon its appearance and the same day sailed for the continent.

4. Karl Marx (1818-1883) and Friedrich Engels (1820-1895). *The Manifesto of the Communist Party*. Vancouver : Whitehead Estate, [1919].

In this book Marx and Engels issued a call to the proletariat to reclaim their dignity as workers. Though published in London in 1848, it was first banned in Germany in 1878 after several assassination attempts on Kaiser Wilhelm I.²² The Catholic Church added the work to its *Index* because of Communism's inherent atheistic character, with American Catholic universities restricting access to the book in their libraries. In 1929, the Chinese government attempted to prevent access to the *Manifesto* as well as to *Das Kapital*, while the Nazis included the title in their 1933 book burnings. During the McCarthy Era, it (along with 30,000 other "subversive" volumes) was destroyed by various American agencies around the world.²³ As recently as 1989 it was confiscated by customs officials in Grenada.²⁴ After the Canadian government effectively banned the importation of literature dealing with working class issues in the wake of the World War I, the Socialist Party of Canada published this Canadian edition of the *Manifesto* using funds from the private bequest of George Whitehead.

Threats to the Social Order

1. Dante Alighieri (1265-1321). *La commedia*. Vinegia : Petrus de Plasiis, Cremonensis, dictus Veronensis, 18 Nov., 1491.

Among the earliest works of literature written in the Italian language, *La commedia* provides the foremost model for the fall and redemption genre of modern literature. Dante himself is the protagonist, journeying with Virgil through the various circles of existence as he plumbs the depths to which humans can remove themselves from the divine. Dante condemned corrupt popes to the eighth circle of hell, in the company of

panderers, magicians and those guilty of simony. The suggestion that many of those men who had occupied Peter's Chair had merited eternal perdition because of their interference in the secular and political affairs of Christians undermined the very premise of Christendom itself as it was understood in pre-Reformation Europe.²⁵ Savonarola burned this book, together with *De monarchia* in the "bonfire of the vanities" in 1497. Curiously, the work was never banned in Italy, though the Spanish and Portuguese Inquisitions recalled all copies of the poem for expurgation in 1581. In 1612, the Spanish *Index* eliminated three offending passages before permitting its dissemination.²⁶

2. Walt Whitman (1819-1892). *Leaves of Grass*. Brooklyn, 1856.

The first editions of this work were published anonymously, though Whitman's name appears in the copyright and his portrait appears next to the title page. His greatest offence was his use of vivid descriptions for bodily and sexual functions in terms distressing to Victorian sensibilities. Literary reviews on both sides of the Atlantic immediately condemned its immorality and the president of Yale University even equated the work with permitting public nakedness.²⁷ Informally banned by both New York and Philadelphia booksellers, it was legally banned in Boston in the 1880s.²⁸ The English government only allowed its publication in an expurgated form, with which Whitman himself expressed deep dissatisfaction.²⁹ The poet, however, was not without his defenders in Britain. In 1868 Anne Gilchrist penned "A Woman's Estimate of Walt Whitman" in which she opined that "a quarrel with words is more or less a quarrel with meanings ... If the thing a word stands for exists (and what does not so exist?), the word need never be ashamed of itself; the shorter and more direct the better. It is a gain to make friends with it, and see it in good company."³⁰

3. Emile Zola (1840-1902). *Piping hot! (Pot-bouille.) A Realistic Novel*. London : Vizetelly & Co., 1885 [i.e. 1884].

In 1857 the British government passed the Obscene Publications Act, granting police sweeping powers to search those premises where publications deemed obscene were stored for distribution or sale. The Post Office too could now seize and destroy materials, as well as prosecute those persons responsible for their creation. The problem was that there were no real standards to determine what constituted obscenity, and so in 1868 it was decided that obscene literature tends "to deprave and corrupt those whose minds are open to such immoral influence."³¹ In 1888 Henry Vizetelly was summoned before the Central Criminal Court and charged under the Act for translating and publishing Zola's *La Terre*, *Nana*, and *Pot-bouille*, works that a contemporary *Methodist Times* journalist maintained "no one can read ... without moral contamination."³² At his trial, the jury requested that the offending passages not be read aloud precisely *because* of their obscenity, causing Vizetelly to recognize the futility of his cause, reverse his plea to guilty, pay the £100 fine, and withdraw the books from circulation.³³

4. Aristophanes (ca. 448-380 B.C.). *Lysistrata*. Sydney : Fanfrolico Press, 1925.

Aristophanes' play presents one of the most innovative solutions to the problem of war that diplomats have never considered – the withholding of sexual favours until resolution is achieved. The results are comical, the language is bawdy, and the outcome, as contrived as it may seem, is certain. This large-paper edition, translated by Jack Lindsay

and containing illustrations and decorations by Norman Lindsay, captures the erotic nature of the work. As early as the first century, Plutarch (45-125) considered the prose obscene³⁴ - an opinion shared by the Columbia County (Florida) School Board which removed both this title and *Canterbury Tales* from its reading lists in 1986, even though no complaint against them had ever been lodged. The “sheer vulgarity” of the works was deemed unsuitable for young eyes.³⁵ The Board’s decision was challenged but upheld by the Federal Appeals Court, with the reservation that it was unclear “how young persons just below the age of majority can be harmed by these masterpieces of Western Literature.”³⁶

Canada & Canadians

1. Honoré de Balzac (1799-1850). *Droll Stories*. London : Privately printed, [1874?].

Originally published in 1832 as *Contes drolatiques* this collection depicts the life and often bawdy manners of sixteenth century France. In 1841, “*omnes fabulae amatoriae*” written by Balzac, including this title, were added to the Roman *Index* and remained there until the suspension of its use in 1966. It was similarly purged from libraries and bookstores in Russia in 1870, the United States in 1885, with Ireland and Spain following in 1953. In 1876, Frederick Beecher Perkins, a Boston librarian and cousin to the author Harriet Beecher Stowe, declared that this book should be excluded from the public library as “arsenic and laudanum and rum should be refused to children.”³⁷ In addition to these countries, the title was banned by Canada Customs beginning in 1914 and was subject to confiscation as late as 1970.³⁸

2. Morley Callaghan (1903-1990). *Such is my beloved*. Toronto : Macmillan Co. of Canada, 1934.

Set in downtown Toronto in the 1930s, and considered by many to be Callaghan’s greatest masterpiece, this story concentrates on the efforts of a young Catholic priest to help two impoverished prostitutes overcome the futility of their tragic lives. Because of its realistic depiction of life on Toronto’s streets it was a success from its first printing. For many years, however, Callaghan’s novel was restricted to the “Art Room” at the University of Toronto, in the company of other suspect authors, such as the Marquis de Sade, Havelock Ellis, and James Joyce.³⁹ To gain access to such restricted materials students had to affirm that they were free of “mental problems”. As late as 1972, two ministers in Muskoka sought to have the title removed from the Huntsville High School because of its depiction of prostitution and the use of strong language.⁴⁰

3. Alice Munro (1931-). *Lives of Girls and Women*. Toronto : McGraw-Hill Ryerson, 1971.

Described as “autobiographical in form, though not in fact”, Munro here tells the story of an adolescent girl as she learns about life, sex, and mortality from the other significant women in her life – her mother, their boarder, and her best friend. In the process she discovers her own identity as a female. In 1976, the principal of a Peterborough high school removed the title from the senior English reading list, despite protests from staff

and students.⁴¹ Two years later, parents in Clinton, Ontario demanded that it be removed from the school curriculum because of its alleged vulgarity and negative philosophy. The result was a very high profile public meeting at which the author and June Callwood defended the work. It was in the wake of the attack upon this book, however, that the Freedom of Expression Committee of the Book and Periodical Council was established.

4. *The Body Politic*. Toronto : Pink Triangle Press, 1971-1987.

The Body Politic, one of the most influential newspapers in Canadian gay and lesbian history, was printed in Toronto between 1971 and 1987. Inspired by the frustrations that community had experienced both in dealing with the mainstream media and political inaction after Stonewall, Jearld Moldenhauer assembled “The Body Politic Editorial Collective”. Their aim was to publish articles that reflected life in the local gay community, but they were also directed at encouraging debate at large. Not surprisingly, such pieces galled many municipal officials by challenging contemporary mores on sexuality and youth, prostitution, casual sex, violence against homosexuals, and censorship itself. In 1973, the *Toronto Star* refused to print an advertisement for the paper; in the same year Newsweb Enterprises, a subsidiary of the *Star*, refused to print the paper at all. Two years later the police raided *TBP* offices on Carlton Street, threatening to remove the May issue from newsstands because of a sexually explicit cartoon. It was Gerald Hannon’s 1977 article, “Men loving boys loving men”, however, that incurred the wrath of the police and courts more than any other.⁴² The newspaper was charged under section 164 of the Criminal Code (use of the mails to distribute immoral, indecent or scurrilous material), but was acquitted in 1979 and again in 1982. As recently as 2003 Hannon found himself in court defending his almost quarter-century old words yet again.

¹ N.J. Karolides, M. Bald, D.B. Sova. *100 Banned Books. Censorship Histories of World Literature* (New York : Checkmark Books, 1999), p. 222.

² A.L. Haight, *Banned Books. 387 B.C. to 1978 A.D.* (New York : R.R. Bowker Co., 1978), p. 12.

³ J. Dillenberger & C. Welch, *Protestant Christianity* (New York: Charles Scribner’s Sons, 1954), p. 191.

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- ⁴ A.S. Herbert, *Historical Catalogue of Printed Editions of the English Bible 1525-1961* (London : The British and Foreign Bible Society, 1968), p. 6.
- ⁵ Karolides, *op.cit.*, p. 179.
- ⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 276.
- ⁷ Bald, *op. cit.*, p. 277.
- ⁸ W. Popper, *The censorship of Jewish books* (New York : Knickerbocker, 1899), p. 40.
- ⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 130.
- ¹⁰ Cf. Galileo Galilei, *Dialogo sopra i due massimi sistemi del mondo tolemaico e copernicano* (Florence: Giovanni Battista Landini, 1632), p. 320.
- ¹¹ Karolides, *op.cit.*, pp. 197-200.
- ¹² K. von Gebler, *Galileo Galilei and the Roman Curia* (Merrick : Richwood, 1977), p. 315.
- ¹³ C. Darwin, *On the Origin of the Species by Means of Natural Selection* (London: John Murray, 1859), p. 490.
- ¹⁴ J. Rauch, *Kindly Inquisitors. The New Attacks on Free Thought* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1993), p. 7.
- ¹⁵ Karolides, *op.cit.*, pp. 236-240.
- ¹⁶ R. Descartes, *Discours de la methode* (A Leyde : De l'imprimerie de Ian Maire, 1637), p. 33.
- ¹⁷ M. Bald, *Banned Books. Literature Suppressed on Religious Grounds* (New York : Facts on File, 1998), p. 160.
- ¹⁸ A.L. Haight, *Banned Books. 387 B.C. to 1978 A.D.* (New York: R.R. Bowker Company, 1978), p. 20.
- ¹⁹ H. Becker & H.E. Barnes, *Social Thought from Lore to Science* (New York: Dover Publications Inc., 1961), p. 388.
- ²⁰ *The Judgment and Decree of the University of Oxford ...* ([Oxford] : Printed at the Theater, 1683), p. 3, 5.
- ²¹ Bald, *op.cit.*, pp. 155-56.
- ²² *Ibid.*, p. 44.
- ²³ It is interesting to note that in the late 19th century this book was generally not challenged in the United States which was more concerned with the atheistic aspects of the new philosophy than its socialist characteristics. Since the *Manifesto* was still largely perceived as an economic and political treatise, it appears to have escaped notice largely unscathed, though Marx himself was attacked for his atheistic views. Cf. E. Geller, *Forbidden Books in American Public Libraries, 1876-1939* (Westport, Ct.: Greenwood Press, 1984), p. 56.
- ²⁴ Karolides, *op.cit.*, pp. 109-110.
- ²⁵ J.M. Ferrante, *The Political Vision of the Divine Comedy* (Princeton : University Press, 1984), pp. 255-256.
- ²⁶ M. Bald, *Banned Books. Literature Suppressed on Religious Grounds* (New York: Facts on File, 1998), p. 190.
- ²⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 388.
- ²⁸ Geller, *op. cit.*, p. 38. The work's exclusion from Perkins' 1877 *Best Reading* guide again indicates the extent to which this work fell well outside the standards of late Victorian mores. Cf. Geller, p. 26.
- ²⁹ Karolides *et al.*, *op. cit.*, p. 389.
- ³⁰ Haight, *op. cit.*, p. 45.
- ³¹ *Law Reports*, 3 Q.B.D., 1867-68, p. 371.
- ³² Thomas, *op.cit.*, p. 267.
- ³³ *Ibid.*, p. 268.
- ³⁴ Haight, *op.cit.*, p. 2.
- ³⁵ Sova, *op.cit.*, p. 64.
- ³⁶ H. Reichman, *Censorship and selection. Issues and answers for schools* (Chicago : ALA, 2001), p. 21.
- ³⁷ E. Geller, *Forbidden Books in American Public Libraries, 1876-1939* (Westport : Greenwood, 1984), p. 22.
- ³⁸ A.L. Haight, *Banned Books. 387 B.C. to 1978 A.D.* (New York : R.R. Bowker Co., 1978), p. 46.

³⁹ “A Chronicle of Freedom of Expression in Canada”, Part I (1914-1994),

<http://www.efc.ca/pages/chronicle/chronicle.html>

⁴⁰ S. Young, “False alarms”, *Globe and Mail*, 7 Jan. 1972, p. 7.

⁴¹ P. Birdsall & D. Broten, *Mind War: Book Censorship in English Canada* (Vancouver : CANLIT, 1978), p. 48.

⁴² G. Hannon, “Men loving boys loving men” in *The Body Politic*, Issue 39 (Dec. 1977-Jan. 1978).