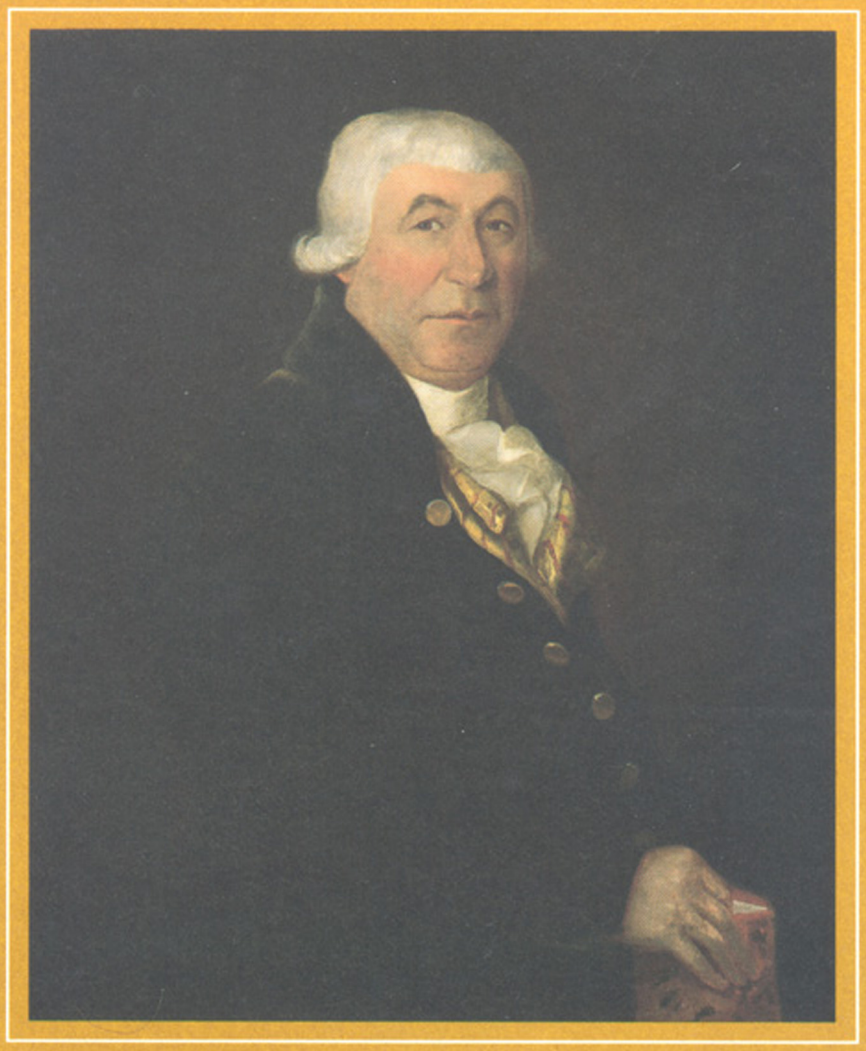
vol. IX 1996

Fontanus

from
the collections of
McGill University



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Foreword

Universities are inevitably places of intuitive topography. Students and instructors acquire, swiftly or slowly, a built-in mental map of those places where knowledge, together with those who profess it, are to be found. Offices, classrooms, laboratories are inscribed in our minds through a highly personalized order of space, time, chronology.

In the interests of public accessibility (a political gesture of no mean importance) institutions of higher education, particularly those in North America, now render their workings more visible. Buildings are clearly labelled, maps are posted at main public entrances, guided tours direct the occasional visitor to the main sites of interest.

Of course, libraries figure prominently in these maps, both private and public. Even an undergraduate of one week's standing can usually point out a building known as the Main Library. And at the risk of the now cardinal sin of elitism, it must also be said that the more modest the institution the more likely it is that the Main Library will indeed be a solitary edifice with its function displayed prominently upon its facade.

For libraries, in the plural, and in their accepted anonymity, are perhaps the surest indicators of a university's mission, of the richness and the variety of its intellectual endeavours.

This year McGill celebrates the 175th anniversary of its founding. We have campus maps and guided tours, and in a satisfying way those of us in the Humanities can point to the prominent fortress of McLennan and say, in a spirit of expediency, "There is The Library" ... However, the longer we have been at McGill the more we know that our university houses a multiplicity of collections where the specialist and the intellectually curious can find more particular resources; often in haven of quiet and speedy reference. There are, in fact, no fewer than sixteen libraries and sub-libraries at McGill. All working with that brand of discreet diligence which manages to resist, *Dieu soit loué*, the deadening impersonality of Centralization.

More particularly, and more remarkably, we have *Fontanus*, a journal of the McGill libraries, launched in 1988. Constant in editorial endeavour, comprehensive in scope. Not a mere information sheet but a remarkably elegant publication, abundantly illustrated, its every article annotated with rigorous detail. There is no publication of similar calibre to be found anywhere else in Canada. Furthermore, the energies which gave it birth have been able to launch a series of extended monographs, all based upon the resources and the personalities which go hand in hand in maintaining McGill's intellectual eminence.

This 175th anniversary edition of *Fontanus* is indeed a sure testimony to McGill's place in the international spirit of excellence which motivates the Academy, simply and at its best.

Michael Cartwright
Département de langue et littérature françaises

"Much Given to Reading"
A Literary Footnote on James McGill

by S.B. Frost

James McGill as merchant, magistrate, Member of the Legislative Assembly and of the Executive Council of Lower Canada, Colonel and Officer Commanding the Montreal Militia, was in his day one of the most prominent persons in the city. After his death in 1813, his name was perpetuated by the college for which he had left endowment, but owing to particular circumstances, as a person he was quickly forgotten. Few personal papers or memorabilia survived into the later decades of the 19th century. However, among the rare memories recorded by Principal Dawson in an article written in 1870, was a reminiscence that McGill was "much given to reading and full of varied information." Dawson inferred from this that "he cultivated and enjoyed the society of the few men of learning" then in Lower Canada. Cultural opportunities were indeed few in a city that lacked schools, and where books, either French or English, were hard to come by. Dawson's inference is supported by McGill's lifelong interest in efforts to obtain schooling, by the fact of his own solid education at Glasgow University, and by his later acquaintance with current literature, as exemplified by the works of Thomas Paine and T.R. Malthus. His own library appears to have included standard works, like Charles Rollin's Histoire Ancienne. *When in 1810 the first Public Library was launched in Montreal, McGill was elected one of the Directors. Similarly, when the early school-master Alexander Skakel assembled "philosophical apparatus" for experiments in optics, magnetism and "galvanism," McGill was one of the Trustees appointed to oversee the use of the auxiliary funds collected by public subscription. Clearly, in his own lifetime, James McGill was widely recognized not only as a successful businessman and an assiduous public servant but also as a man of culture and intelligence.*

*Marchand, magistrat, membre de l'assemblée législative et du conseil exécutif du Bas-Canada, colonel et officer de la milice, James McGill était à son époque l'une des personnalités les plus influentes de Montréal. Après sa mort en 1813, son nom est perpétué par le collège dont son legs permet la création mais des circonstances particulières font rapidement tomber sa personne dans l'oubli. Rares sont les documents ou objets personnels qui ont survécu aux dernières décennies du XIX^e siècle. Cependant, parmi les quelques souvenirs évoqués par le principal Dawson dans un article écrit en 1870, en apprend que McGill «aimait beaucoup lire et connaissait maintes choses». Dawson en déduit que McGill «cultivait et appréciait la compagnie des rares érudits» qui vivaient alors dans le Bas-Canada. Les occasions de se cultiver étaient en effet minces dans une ville qui manquait cruellement d'écoles et où les livres, qu'ils soient en français ou en anglais, étaient difficiles à trouver. La déduction de Dawson est confirmée par les efforts que McGill n'a eu de cesse de déployer dans le domaine de la scolarisation, par l'éducation très solide qu'il a reçue à l'Université de Glasgow et par sa connaissance de la littérature de son époque, comme en témoignent les oeuvres de Thomas Paine et de T.R. Malthus. Sa propre bibliothèque contenait vraisemblablement de grands classiques comme l'*Histoire Ancienne *de Charles Rollin. Lorsque la première bibliothèque municipale ouvre ses portes à Montréal en 1810, McGill fait partie de ses administrateurs. De même, quand l'un des permiers instituteurs, Alexander Skakel, décide de réunir du «matériel philosophique» pour des expériences d'optique, de magnétisme et de «galvanisme», McGill est au nombre des fiduciaires chargés de surveiller l'utilisation des fonds auxiliaires recueillis à l'issue de campagnes de souscription publiques. De son vivant, James McGill était connu comme un homme d'affaires prospère, un fonctionnaire accompli et un homme cultivé et intelligent.*

It is a curious fact that James McGill who as merchant, magistrate, militia-officer and Member of the Legislative Assembly, was one of the best-known persons in the city (he was, reported *The Gazette*[1] of Montreal, "accompanied to the grave by an immense concourse of citizens of all classes") nevertheless within a few years of his decease was almost wholly forgotten.

The ready explanation is that he had no

affectionate family to nurture his memory. He had no children from his marriage to Charlotte Desrivières, his adopted daughter Charlotte Porteous predeceased him by fourteen months, his brothers John and Andrew, both also childless, were long dead. His wife's family, francophone and Catholic, despite being his fortunate heirs, had no natural affinity with their anglophone, Protestant benefactor, and the second and third generations quickly forgot him—all the more readily because twenty years of bitter litigation had alienated even the immediate heirs from those who were trying, in the face of great difficulties, to implement McGill's bequest "for the purposes of education and the advancement of learning in this Province". Archdeacon Jehoshaphat Mountain, lawyer Stephen Sewell, physician John Stephenson, who were trying to coax the still-born McGill College into life, were men of a new generation, none of whom had known the benefactor personally. The unfortunate breach between the Desrivières family and the College supporters was not repaired until 1875, when the University asked the legal heirs of that time for permission to remove James McGill's remains from the former Protestant Cemetery in Dufferin Square to the campus for reburial under a restored tomb. The permission was quickly and generously given[2]. Relations were further strengthened two years later when Caroline Desrivières, granddaughter of François Desrivières, Mrs. McGill's elder son, married Judge Thomas McCord, uncle of David Ross McCord, founder of the McCord Museum, who, probably through this connection, inherited James McGill's desk and a unique miniature portrait of him. Subsequent relations between the university and members of the Desrivières family have been uniformly cordial[3].

Nevertheless, irretrievable damage had been done. Personal memories, small anecdotes, precious papers, tell-tale memorabilia, the normal after-effects of an active, influential life, were neglected and lost, and the college, struggling to survive without the promised government support which McGill himself had envisioned, concentrated on the legal provisions of the bequest, and remembered the benefactor only in that regard. He had become merely a phrase, 'the Founder'. That signified his only remembered achievement, his Last Will and Testament his only words ever quoted.

Moreover, we have to recall that McGill himself was not a little to blame. He was not the sort to generate much in the way of personalia. Business associate John Askin wrote to Isaac Todd, more than forty years after the McGill-Todd collaboration first began: "Nothing would be a greater loss to Mr. McGill than [that] of your Society; he loves you as a brother, and you always brought home dayly [*sic*] news, interesting and amusing, which he otherwise could not have had; his natural turn being not to mix, but with a few, chosen friends"[4]. All the information that has trickled down to us supports that comment. McGill was clearly a self-reserved person; he had little small talk, did not express himself easily, especially on the rare occasions when his emotions were stirred deeply. When Charlotte Porteous, ("my amiable Miss Porteous", he called her, even though she had lived thirty years as a daughter in his home) was attacked by tuberculosis; he wrote to Askin that her illness threatened to "rid [deprive] us of the greatest consolation that either Mrs. McGill or I possess", and that "her Situation rings my heart with woe"[5]. But when a few months later she did indeed die, his diary entry beginning the month of July 1812 read "1st to 4. weather sunny. blowing from w. to n. and east. This morning at 2 o'clock I had the distressing misfortune to lose Miss Porteous by decay"[6]. McGill was obviously a man of few words. He outlived most of his contemporaries, and when he passed away there were few in Montreal to cherish personal memories of him. Askin died in Upper Canada in 1815, Mrs McGill died in Montreal in 1818, Todd retired to England and died at Bath in 1819; Alexander Henry, seemingly indestructible, continued in Montreal until he passed away aged 85 in 1824, by which time McGill's once strong *persona* had already faded.

For the next hundred years or so, the only one to show any interest in James McGill as a person was Principal William Dawson. In 1870 he wrote an article for *The New Dominion Monthly* entitled "James McGill and His University"[7]. Here at least, James is not treated merely as an appendage to an institution but as someone who might be venerated in his own right. The article is short, seven columns occupying three and a half pages, but three of those seven columns are concerned with McGill and his intentions. Moreover, in this brief space, we not only get the bare facts of McGill's life-story, but also what hitherto had been so woefully lacking, some few crumbs of personal reminiscence. Dawson had taken the trouble to enquire of the older

generation still living in Montreal when he arrived there in 1855; what memories they could muster of this man who had been so prominent in the city in their childhood and youth. Forty years is not a long period to ask the elderly to recall, but we all know that that kind of memory is very selective, and therefore we do not expect Dawson to have garnered a great deal. But what he does have to report is very interesting.

He is able to comment, for example, on McGill's physical appearance—"a tall and commanding figure", "in his youth a very handsome man", "becoming corpulent in old age". One of Dawson's informants had evidently been a member of the Beaver Club "and represents him, when a very old man, at one of the meetings, singing a voyageur's song with accurate ear and sonorous voice, and imitating, paddle in hand, the action of the bow-man of a 'North canoe' in ascending a rapid". It is a vivid little snap-shot. But Dawson is quick to add "But though taking his full share in the somewhat jovial social life of that early time, Mr. McGill was always esteemed a temperate man". Dawson does not mention that other tradition, that it was McGill who proposed that those who must go home to their wives should leave at midnight, and that the doors should then be locked, so that rum, reminiscence and song might continue without interruption.

He goes on, however, to record that "the remembrance of another contemporary represents [McGill] as much given to reading and full of varied information". From this Dawson infers that "he cultivated and enjoyed the society of the few men of learning from the mother country". The purpose of this note is to draw together several items of information from other sources, which lend support to this bookish view of McGill's habits and personality.

McGill himself could with good reason claim to be one of the "men of learning then in the colony". He had attended grammar school and had matriculated at Glasgow University. He had received a good education in the classical languages (solid in Latin, probably less so in Greek) and stayed long enough to get a good knowledge of French, for he obviously had more than just the familiarity he acquired later in life with the voyageurs' patois. He was nominated in 1792 for election as Speaker of the first Legislative Assembly, "because he speaks both languages". He was not elected, the choice going to a unilingual francophone, but he was appointed to the committee charged with checking the translation of the proceedings into English or into French, as the case might be. His many written submissions to Government officials and the records of speeches made, reveal the discipline of an ordered and well-informed mind. Moreover, he could take his place effectively among the seven or eight men chosen to form the Governor General's Executive Council, a responsibility he fulfilled with great acceptance for twenty years[8].

But Dawson was fully justified in saying that the "men of learning" among McGill's contemporaries were few. The cultural poverty of the first generation of Montreal anglophones could hardly be exaggerated. There were no public schools in Lower Canada until five years after McGill's death; in 1818 the Royal Institution for the Advancement of Learning began to administer some thirty-five schools, mostly English-Protestant[9]. The few private schools which preceded them were for the most part little more than "dame schools" and seldom lasted long. The career of William Nelson, a London-trained schoolmaster, was exceptional; he came to the Province in 1781 and settled at Trois-Rivières. He claimed that when he arrived there were only two other properly trained teachers in the Province. He moved to Montreal and taught there from 1790 to 1794, but when his son Wolfred was three and his son Robert newly-born, he transferred to Sorel where he remained, running a school mainly for the sons of British officers[10]. In 1790 there were said to be only eighteen such ventures, of varying quality, serving an anglophone population of some 10,000[11]. Montreal seems to have been left devoid of trained teachers until the arrival in 1799 of the Scot Alexander Skakel, M.A. of Aberdeen. He opened his Classical and Mathematical School in Little St James Street, but again it was not until five years after McGill's death that the school evolved into a public institution with the name Royal Grammar School[12].

The commerce of printing and book-selling tells the same story. It is notorious that la Nouvelle France was never permitted to set up its own press; printing came to Quebec only at the beginning of the British period when two Americans, William Brown and Thomas Gilmore, began to publish the *Quebec Gazette*. Montreal had to wait until 1776, when another

RIGHTS OF MAN:

BEING AN

ANSWER TO MR. BURKE'S ATTACK

ON THE

FRENCH REVOLUTION.

EIGHTH EDITION.

BY

THOMAS PAINE,

SECRETARY FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS TO CONGRESS IN THE AMERICAN WAR, AND AUTHOR OF THE WORKS INTITLED "*COMMON SENSE*," AND "*A LETTER TO THE ABBE RAYNAL*."

LONDON:

PRINTED FOR J. S. JORDAN, No. 166, FLEET-STREET.

MDCCXCI.

Figure 1

AN ESSAY

ON THE

PRINCIPLE OF POPULATION;

OR,

A VIEW OF ITS PAST AND PRESENT EFFECTS

ON

HUMAN HAPPINESS;

WITH AN INQUIRY INTO OUR PROSPECTS RESPECTING THE FUTURE REMOVAL OR MITIGATION OF THE EVILS WHICH IT OCCASIONS.

A NEW EDITION, VERY MUCH ENLARGED.

By T. R. MALTHUS, A. M.

FELLOW OF JESUS COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE.

LONDON:

PRINTED FOR J. JOHNSON, IN ST. PAUL'S CHURCH-YARD,

BY T. BENSLEY, BOLT COURT, FLEET STREET.

1803.

Figure 2

(Department of Rare Books and Special Collections, McGill University Libraries)

American, Benjamin Franklin, brought along Fleury Mesplet to print revolutionary pamphlets, and, when that endeavour failed, Mesplet published Montreal's first news-sheet and (the only effort that generated any sales) little books of Catholic piety. John Duncan, a Scottish visitor, remarked gloomily as late as 1818, that "the literature of the city may be estimated by the fact that there is but one book-shop in it whose collection of English authors has even moderate claims to respectability"[13].

Nevertheless, there were from early times those who appreciated the companionship of books and could afford the high cost of gathering their own collections. In la Nouvelle France some private libraries could boast several hundred volumes, and at least one neared the three thousand mark[14]. After the inclusion of la Nouvelle France in the Province of Quebec under British jurisdiction, the importation of books from Britain or the Thirteen Colonies became much easier but, of course, imports from France and Europe were much more difficult. But administrators, Army officers and no doubt some merchants acquired reading matter for themselves, their wives and families. The military officers stationed on St. Helen's Island, for example, ran a small private library from 1778 until the withdrawal of the garrison at the time of Confederation[15]. Dawson's comments suggest that McGill was among those who possessed and enjoyed a private library.

We dearly wish he had kept a list of the books in his collection, and that a copy had survived into the present, for few things tell us more about a man than his reading. What little evidence we have suggests that McGill's bookshelves were well-stocked and the books themselves well-chosen. In January 1793, in a letter to John Askin he refers to Thomas Paine's *Rights of Man*[16]. (Fig. 1) The first part of this work was occasioned by the publication in 1790 of Edmund Burke's *Reflections on the French Revolution*. *Rights of Man* was published 13 March, 1791. Paine's second part was published in 17 February, 1792. Even if McGill's comment referred only to the first volume, knowledge of the work and its influence ("it would seem that the French Revolution and Mr. Paine's book on the rights of man have turned peoples heads") shows a surprising awareness of what was afoot in European and American literary circles. Books and papers took at least three months to arrive in Montreal from England.

That McGill tried to keep abreast of the significant writing of his day, particularly in the area of politics and social theory, is supported by a unique item in the catalogue of the McGill University Rare Book collection—a copy of Thomas Malthus' *Essay on the Principal of Population*, printed in 1803, bears the signature "James McGill"[17]. (Fig. 2) The work was originally published in England in 1798, but here is evidence that James McGill possessed the later edition and we may fairly presume, had made himself familiar with its contents, within a few years of its first appearance. We begin to understand his reputation for being "full of varied information."

A well-informed mind rests on a foundation of broad and general knowledge, such as is gained from works designed for the general rather than the specialist reader. This is particularly true in the field of history; national histories are comprehensible only when viewed in the context of world history. One of the great 18th century educators of Europe was Charles Rollin, whose *Histoire Ancienne* in 13 volumes, 1730-38, surveyed not only Greece and Rome but also Egypt, Babylonia and other civilisations. His work was said by later scholars, to be "distinguished for purity and elegance of style" if "deficient in critical sagacity"[18]. Nevertheless Rollin made Egypt, Greece and Rome live for generations not only of French readers but also of students throughout Europe generally, for he was much translated. English versions, of which there were several, began in 1739; the work was still being reprinted in France in 1827. Dr. Richard Virr, of the McGill Rare Book Department, has kindly informed me that in 1890, a sale catalogue advertised an odd copy of "Rollin's History, Volume 12" as bearing the signature "James McGill Montreal". Surely, McGill was not content with an odd volume of such a celebrated work, but acquired all thirteen. We hope some collector still cherishes that volume, and news of it encourages the thought that in libraries or in second-hand book-stores, there may yet be other works on dusty shelves bearing that same signature.

But of course all such private libraries were for the use of the owner and of his immediate circle. Towards the end of the 18th century, a new notion was arriving in Montreal—the idea that a public library

would help to serve the growing appetite for good reading, especially for those who could not, like James McGill, readily pay for their own reading materials. English publications were necessarily expensive items, whether they had been shipped across the ocean from Britain or imported from the United States. French books encountered additional difficulties. Because colonies were only supposed to trade with the "Mother Country", books from France were technically contraband. Those that were smuggled into French Canada had not been given clearance by the Church and were as often as not "the unwholesome works of the encyclopedists"[19], which were frowned upon by the hierarchy. There was much to be said, therefore, for the institution of properly constituted public libraries.

An attempt to operate a circulating library on a commercial basis was made in Quebec City as early as 1764, at the very beginning of the British period, but it was soon abandoned as unprofitable. Governor General Sir Frederick Haldimand (in office 1778-84), a Swiss Protestant who seems to have been very well-intentioned but peculiarly insensitive to his charges' susceptibilities, spent £500 (a considerable sum) of his own money, to buy books both in French and English, in order to enlighten what he recognized was the woeful ignorance of the general population. To give the collection prestige, he required the Bishop of Quebec to house it in the episcopal palace. That dignitary was much dismayed when he discovered the nature of the library, which drew largely on Protestant and current political and philosophical writers. Consequently, the hierarchy discouraged its use. The collection finally found its proper home with the Quebec Literary and Historical Society[20].

In Montreal, the first truly public library was not launched until 1796. "The Montreal Library" was established as a joint-stock company, issuing 125 shares at £10 apiece[21]. We are not surprised to find that James McGill was elected one of the Directors of the Library. As one who valued reading, he welcomed this new venture, and participated wholeheartedly. Unfortunately, as Edgar Moodey, the historian of the Fraser-Hickson Library, observes: "Nothing is known of its membership, and little of its history, but it was obviously an exclusive circle which patronized it". Even its original location is in doubt, but later it found a home in John Molson's New Mansion House hotel, which adjoined the Bonsecours Church. Shares at £10 each would limit the number of applications for admission, quite severely; perhaps the cost was intended to do so. The days of truly public libraries had not yet arrived, but "the Montreal Library" of 1796 was a beginning, and James McGill was one of its founders.

A little removed from books and reading, but not from culture, were the "natural philosophical" interests of the school master, Alexander Skakel. He was given to experimenting in the burgeoning new sciences of optics, magnetism and "galvanism", as well as with the new discoveries in chemistry. For these activities, he required apparatus, and the citizens of Montreal thought so well of his research and teaching in these areas that they subscribed £400 to help him procure what he needed[22]. James McGill subscribed handsomely to the venture, and was invited to become one of the Trustees to oversee the use and administration of the funds. It is another indication that he was a well-educated man, "much given to reading, and full of varied information" and well able to enjoy "the society of the few men of learning from the mother country then in the colony".

If keepers of records needed any defence, which in this Age of Information they assuredly do not, the story of James McGill's rehabilitation would certainly supply it. He was a great man in his day, a few years later he was quite forgotten, and remained so for a century or more. But fortunately archivists stored unconsidered legal records and librarians preserved the correspondence and occasional papers of obscure persons; public and academic libraries collected articles and pamphlets and books on the fur trade, on colonial, constitutional and all other kinds of history. Consequently, researchers, including a Quebec Superior Court judge, a McGill graduate student, a self-described antiquarian, and others "given to much reading," were able to piece the fragments together and reconstitute the *persona* of this man to whom we owe so much. The fact that we now have on campus a life-sized statue of James McGill striding out from his farm to serve his city and his province (see p. 22, Fig.5), symbolizes a resurrection made possible by archives and archivists, libraries and librarians, and we gladly acknowledge our indebtedness.

Notes

1. *The Gazette*, Montreal, 21 December, 1813.
2. McGill University Archives (MUA) Fact Sheet,'James McGill's Tomb'. See E.H.Bensley,'Is James McGill buried under the Ginkgo Tree?', *McGill News* 38, 18-19,45
3. In 1966 Alan Ridge the first University Archivist prepared a genealogical tree of the Desrivières family 'from 1764 to the 20th century'. The present writer has also corresponded to mutual benefit with present-day members of the family.
4. Askin to Todd, 14 April, 1812; *Askin Papers*, Detroit Public Library Commission, 1931.
5. McGill to Askin, 14 February, 1812; MUA.
6. James McGill diary, *Quebec Almanac*, July 1812; MUA
7. *The New Dominion Monthly*, March 1870, 37-40.
8. For the details of McGill's life, see S.B. Frost, *James McGill of Montreal*, McGill-Queen's Press, 1995.
9. R. Magnuson, *Brief History of Quebec Education*, 1980; 20.
10. 'William Nelson', *Dictionary of Canadian Biography* (DCB), VI, 536-37.
11. Magnuson, 18.
12. S.B.Frost, 'Alexander Skakel', DCB VII, 809-10.
13. G.R. Craig, *Early Travellers in Canada, 1955;* 57.
14. Magnuson, 9.
15. E.C. Moody, *The Fraser-Hickson Library, 1977*; 14.
16. McGill to Askin, 20 January, 1793; Quaife I, 460.
17. See the reproduction of the title page, p.12
18. *Encyclopedia Americana, 1958, XXIII, 636.*
19. The phrase, used by a contemporary cleric, is quoted by E.C. Moodey from A. Drolet, *Les bibliothèques Canadiennes, 1640-1960*; 1965.
20. Moodey, 14.
21. The proposal was advertised in *The Gazette*, 16 February, 1796.
22. 'Alexander Skakel', DCB VII, 809-10.

James McGill
An Album

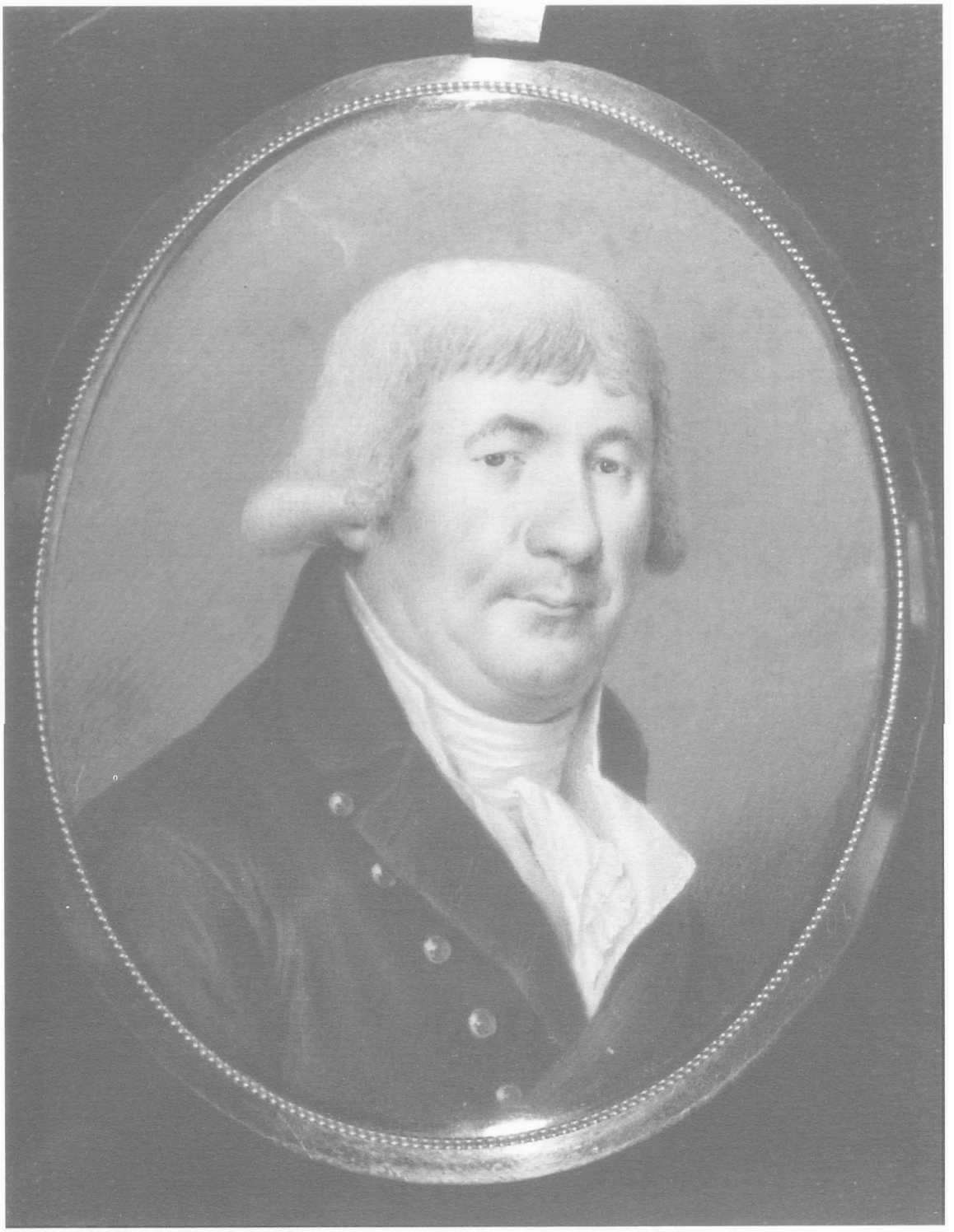

Figure 1. James McGill, c. 1805-11.

Reproduction of watercolour and gouache with gum arabic on ivory. 6.1 cm. x 5.3 cm.
(McCord Museum of Canadian History)

Figure 2. James McGill
(*Canadian Illustrated News*, May 29, 1875)

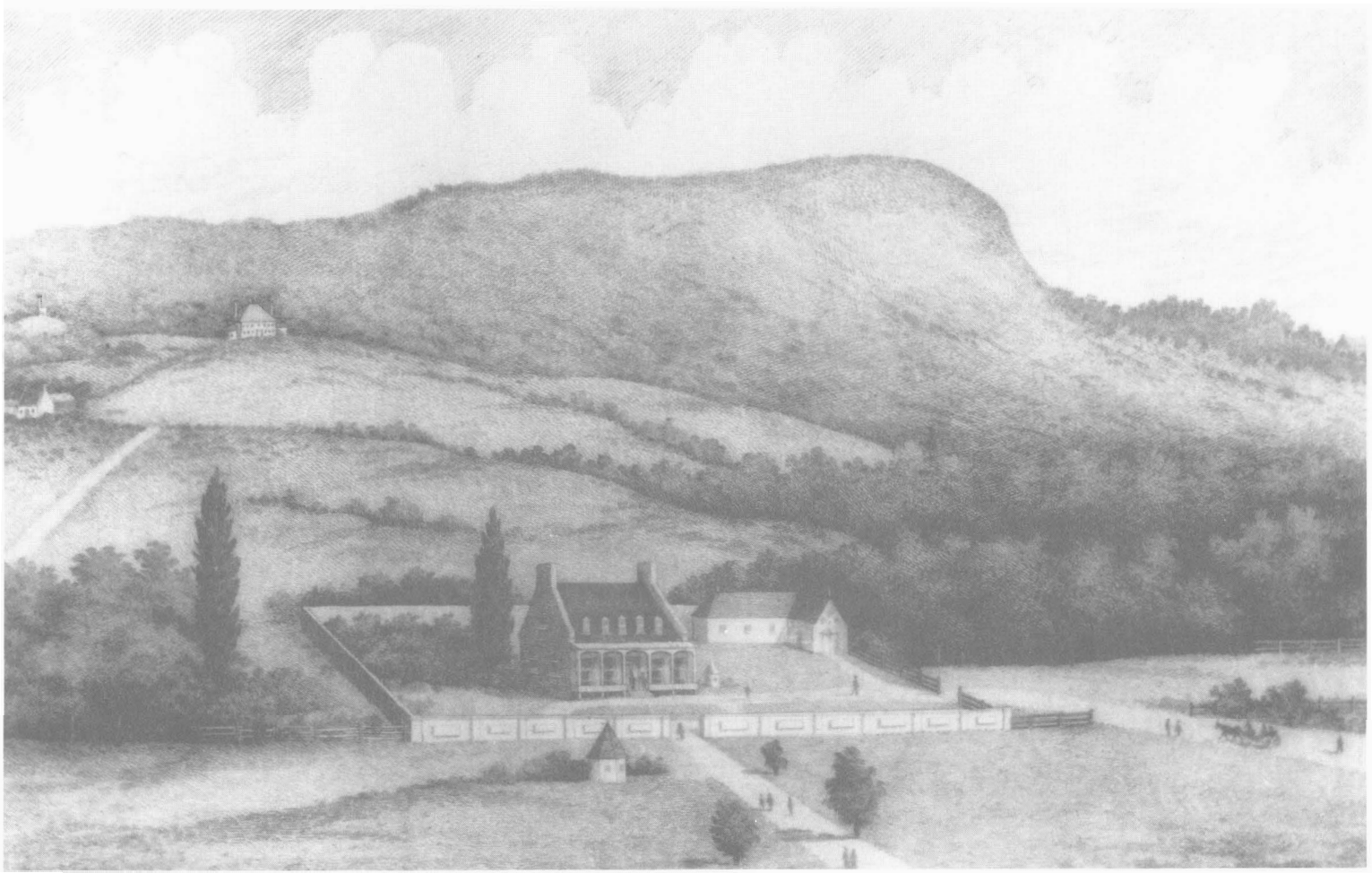

Figure 3. A charter in 1821 allowed for the establishment of McGill College on the Burnside estate. Burnside Place, 1852, by W.B. Lambe. (McCord Museum of Canadian History)

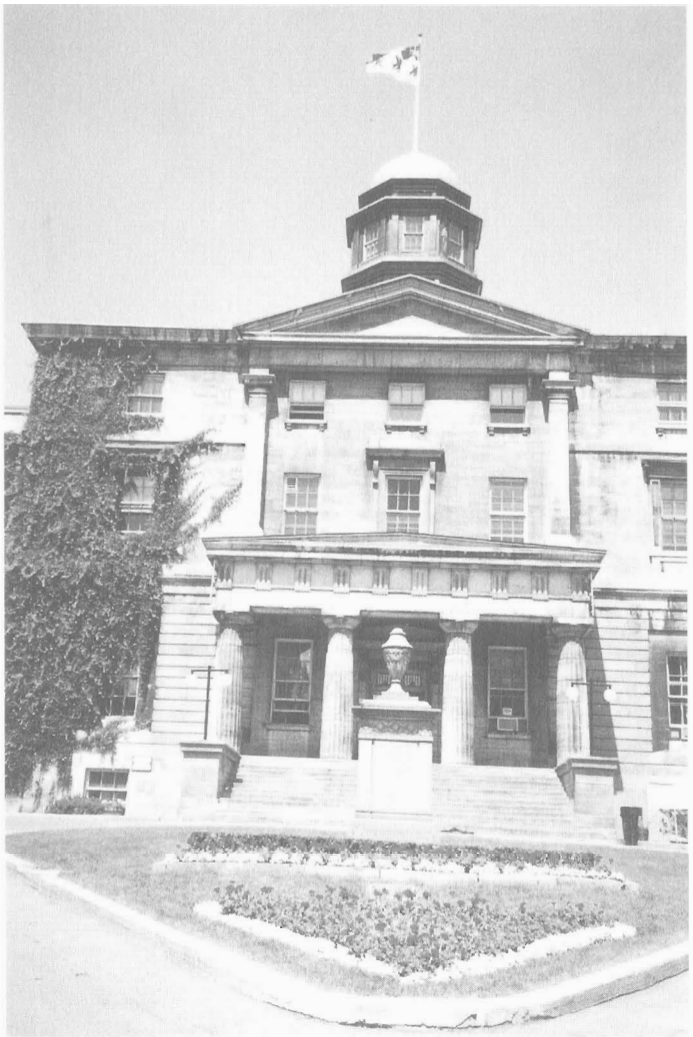

Figure 4. The monument/tomb of James McGill which had been moved from the Old Protestant Cemetery, Dorchester Street in 1875 and placed on campus in front of the Arts Building. It was repaired and refurbished in 1971.

Figure 5. James McGill striding across his Burnside estate. Bronze sculpture by David Roper Curzon unveiled June 6, 1996, in celebration of McGill University's 175th anniversary.

The Legacy of Peter Redpath

On October 31st, 1993, McGill University celebrated the 100th anniversary of the Redpath Library, a gift to the University from Peter and Grace Redpath. On that day a century ago they attended the festive opening ceremonies in the presence of Canada's Governor-General and the Countess of Aberdeen.

The 1993 issue of Fontanus was devoted to the generous and significant donations to McGill University from one of its greatest benefactors, Peter Redpath and his family; gifts which included not only the library building but also thousands of books acquired through Redpath funds, which to this very day continue to enrich the McGill Library collections.

The text below records speeches from the 1993 centennial celebrations given by the Vice-Chancellor and Principal of McGill, and the invited guest speaker, Miles Blackwell of Blackwell's Oxford, England.

Le 31 octobre 1993, l'Université McGill a célébré le centenaire de la bibliothèque Redpath, offerte à l'Université par Peter et Grace Redpath. Un siècle auparavant, les Redpath assistaient en personne aux cérémonies d'inauguration de la bibliothèque, en présence du Gouverneur général du Canada et de la Comtesse d'Aberdeen.

Le numéro de 1993 de Fontanus *est consacré aux dons exceptionnellement généreux que Peter Redpath et sa famille, qui sont parmi les plus grands bienfaiteurs de l'Université, ont fait à McGill: il s'agit non seulement de la bibliothèque Redpath, mais également de milliers d'ouvrages acquis grâce au Fonds Redpath, lequel continue encore aujourd'hui d'enrichir les collections des bibliothèques de McGill.*

Le texte ci-dessous reprend les discours prononcés lors des célébrations du centenaire de la bibliothèque par le principal et vice-chancelier de McGill et par M. Miles Blackwell de Blackwell's à Oxford (Angleterre), qui avait été invité pour l'occasion à venir prononcer une conférence.

Principal David L. Johnston

Ladies and Gentlemen, it is a great pleasure to be with you today as we celebrate the one-hundredth anniversary of this marvellous old building. I want to take an early opportunity to congratulate and thank those who conceived the idea of this celebration and have contributed to its organization—the Director of University Relations, the Director of Libraries, the President of the James McGill Society, the Dean of Music and all those who helped to plan and effect this happy occasion. I remind you that Redpath Hall continues to be as much a part of McGill's life in 1993 as it was in 1893. Students, faculty, staff, and members of the public who came in the past to read books and study come now to attend lectures and hear wonderful concerts. The magnificent architecture of this building with its double hammer beamed ceiling and gargoyles was enhanced twelve years ago by the outstanding organ built by Hellmuth Wolff that sits so prominently on the west gallery. The Faculty of Music has made of Redpath Hall a home for memorable music. And the original connection with the library and books is continued by the annual Book Sale of the Women's Associates.

This is probably an excellent time for us to consider how Redpath Hall came into existence and to express our gratitude and appreciation of those generous benefactors, architects and craftsmen who created this treasure and provided the University with such a grand setting that can be adapted for so many important

occasions including the one we are attending today.

The Chancellor told us of one of the important people in its history: Grace Redpath, the wife of Peter, who in her own right contributed to the construction of this building, its endowments, and book collections.

Three other people must also be mentioned who made singular contributions: two benefactors and one architect. The architect was Andrew Taylor, a Scotsman who after studying in England came to Canada as a young man. During his twenty-year career in Montreal, he enjoyed a distinguished career, erecting buildings across the country and teaching ecclesiastical architecture at the Montreal Presbyterian College. Many people consider him to be the finest architect of the McGill campus. Of his six buildings, several survive: Redpath Library where we sit today, and across the campus from us, the old Physics Building now the Macdonald Stewart Library Building, and the old Chemistry Building, now the Macdonald Harrington Building, housing the School of Architecture. All buildings possessed dignified and picturesque exteriors. As for their interiors, they were designed to function practically and meet the needs of students and faculty of one hundred years ago. It is a tribute to the architect and his collaborators that the buildings have also lent themselves to being adapted and converted to the ongoing needs of McGill faculty and students, and are today continuing to serve the University so effectively.

The second important figure in this trio of architects and benefactors is John Henry Robinson Molson, (the son of William Molson who constructed the west wing of the Arts Building). One of the long line of Molsons who have so generously supported McGill over the years, John Molson in 1889-1980 bought the land on which this building stands, with the express intent that Pater Redpath could construct his library here. The gift of the library is an instance of generous collaboration by McGill benefactors.

By any standard, Peter Redpath is one of the greatest benefactors in McGill's history. In 1864 he joined the Board of Governors, in 1871 he endowed the Chair of Natural Philosophy and in 1880-1882 he built Redpath Museum. His love of McGill and his admiration for Sir John William Dawson, McGill's Principal of the day, resulted in his very generous support of the University.

Peter Redpath's crowning contributions to McGill were the superb book collections he amassed—the Redpath Historical Collections and the Redpath Tracts—and this remarkable structure where we are meeting today. What is so impressive in this story of intelligent benefaction is the forward gaze of Peter and Grace Redpath. They built a Library Reading Room far larger and more splendid than the modest McGill of 1893 required. They provided stack space for many more books than the University possessed at that time. But they were not planning for 1893—and the 19th century—they were planning and providing for the University of the 20th century. It is the same feature which impresses us with regard to their book donations—and they were many, quite apart from the truly remarkable collection the Redpath Tracts. Here were books to form the foundation of research collections, not likely to be used in the near future, but in those coming days of the 20th century when a growing and improving university would count them among their most valuable resources.

You can see to what conclusions my thoughts are going to lead me, almost without my expressing them—but express them I will, for they are so appropriate to our own situation. We are planning today for the future—not for the 20th, but for the 21st century. We too must not let our ideas —nor our dreams—be limited by our needs or capacities of today, but only the potential of the future "A man's reach must exceed his grasp, or what's heaven for?" This celebration today with its appreciation of the present and the past, must also serve as an inspiration for the future. We must allow Peter and Grace Redpath and Andrew Taylor and J.H.R. Molson to be not only those who give richness and dignity to our past, but also to be those who beckon us on, encouragingly, into the future.

Taylor, the Architect, and Molson and Redpath the benefactors—assisted by Mrs. Redpath—built better than they realized. Whether as a library reading room, a concert hall, a meeting room, or a grand reception hall, this room lends a sense of dignity and appropriateness to any University occasion. In celebrating the one-hundredth anniversary of Redpath Library and Redpath Hall, we are celebrating one

hundred years of study, scholarship, social and musical life in the history of McGill University. In a sense we are celebrating the three benefactors, Grace and Peter Redpath and John Molson, and the architect, Andrew Taylor; but in another sense we may really be celebrating the countless students, faculty, staff, and members of the public for whom Redpath Hall and Redpath Library have been an essential dimension of their knowing and living McGill University.

Madame Chancellor, we are surrounded in this place by many of those who have served the University so well in the past, and I believe they are encouraging us to go forward with hope into the future!

Miles Blackwell

Dear friends, when I was last in Montreal, on Midsummer's Day, I came into this remarkable building to look at it anew. I have known it for years, and admired it; but had not seen it before with the eyes of someone who had been given the immense honour of reversing Osler's migration to Oxford so as to commemorate the matchless foresight and open-handedness that led to its creation a century beforehand.

On that Midsummer's Day I realised that Peter Redpath's dream was dreamed also by others, who shared his values and qualities, and could inspire him as he did them. And I understood that it was not just the building that mattered but also the great University which prompted its creator and to whose benefit and wider purposes he devoted himself. When we consider what Peter Redpath contributed to McGill we must look also at the purpose McGill conceived for itself 100 years ago.

Frost's History of the University shows what was intended by its leaders for the society in which they worked. It was a society so sure of its ethical and moral foundation that Samuel Butler was inspired to write his Psalm to Montreal occasioned by the banishment of a naked Greek statue as too shocking for genteel view (much as the young Winston Churchill of the same era was not permitted to set eyes on The Boneless Wonder in the fairground):

> Stowed away in a Montreal lumber-room
> The Discobolus standeth and turneth his face to the wall:
> Dusty, cobweb-covered, maimed and set at naught.
> Beauty crieth in an attic, and no man regardeth:
> O God! O Montreal!

It was a society of high purpose. Principal Peterson, appointed just as this great building was completed, wrote thus during the torment of The Great War of "Canada and the Empire":

> We ought to be—and we are—proud of our imperial connection. For we know that in the world as we find it today the strength and prosperity of our United Empire affords one of the best possible guarantees of order and freedom, justice, peace and progress... In their combination in the British Empire they are the highest that has as yet been attained in the social and political development of the world.

It was not, even so, a society wholly without perception or humour. Could it have been in ironic commemoration of Redpath's generosity, as well as in understanding of the human condition, that Stephen Leacock wrote as he did in *Nonsense Novels* about how and who started the feud that split the Glen?

> It had been six generations agone at a Highland banquet in the days when the unrestrained temper of the time gave way to wild orgies, during which theological discussions raged with unrestrained fury. Shamus McShamus, an embittered Calvinist, half crazed perhaps with liquor, had maintained that damnation could be achieved only by faith. Whimper McWhinus had held that damnation could be achieved also by good works.

We surely feel redeemed by both Peter Redpath's faith and his good works as they show plain before us now as they have done for a century. Even so, in giving thanks to him and for his example we should not forget his father who laid the foundations of the family's fortune.

We know from the memoriam published for Peter Redpath that his father John was "one of those strong, earnest, pious and clear-headed men of whom Scotland

has supplied so many to build up the colonies of the empire. A leader in the Church to which be belonged, and one of its office-bearers, he was a diligent and sagacious man of business, and displayed his ability in this way by founding the first sugar refinery in Canada, and one of the largest on the American continent." It does not mention that John and his three companions had walked to Montreal barefoot from Quebec City in 1816, each with his only pair of shoes strong round his neck by its laces the longer to preserve them.

I once had pretensions to being an historian, and one of modern history's riveting paradoxes for me is that whereas the Americans won Canada for the British the British preferred to hold on the Sugar Islands than to the American colonies. Thus when Admiral de Ternay is landing General de Rochambeau's forces in Narragansett Bay, Rhode Island in July 1780, Admiral Rodney's fleet is defending the West Indies rather than supporting the American loyalists.

It is predictable that the remaining British possessions should trade with each other with the staple goods at their disposal. Canada had a bounty of fish to export, the Sugar Islands had slaves to feed who could not subsist on sugar and who lived instead on cod.

Feltoe's History of his company tells us that "John Redpath recognized that simply relying on his investments would not secure his family's future. Therefore he began to investigate various aspects of manufacturing... He struck out at a complete tangent to his previous considerations and looked at a business totally without competition in Canada, name sugar refining." I would be greatly surprised if this provision of a return cargo for the small merchant ships carrying the fish, small both because of the need to avoid glutting the island markets as well as because of the difficulty of access to island harbours, did not also yield benefits in lower costs and higher profit margins in just the same way as it would today.

It is worth remark than another of the great libraries of the world has depended even more directly on the harvest of the seas for its benefaction. The Bodleian Library was endowed with a foundation collection of manuscripts donated in the 15th century by Duke Humfrey of Gloucester, younger brother of Henry V, the victor of Agincourt. These were supplanted by books, most from the gift of Sir Thomas Bodley at the end of the 16th century: the money to provide them came from Lady Bodley, the proprietress of pilchard fisheries off the coast of Devon in South-West England.

There is another link here, that between benefactresses. Sir Thomas Bodley's injunction was to "stirre up other men's benevolence," who had but to look to the example of his wife whose good works so shone before them. In the same way Grace Redpath, first side by side with her husband and later after his death, continued his good works in ways enormously important to the University, by donating the first extension to the original building and in collaboration with the Librarian, Charles Gould, making countless gifts of books. In this respect her influence on the collection was far greater even than that of her husband, in whose memory her own generosity was so touchingly, explicitly and unfailingly exercised.

The purpose of Peter Redpath's generosity was no different from Sir Thomas Bodley's: to endow a Great University with a Great Library. He could not do so today, and the reason is the cost of information, its proliferation and the cost of storing it. As to the last, the number and size of McGill's present libraries testify.

There has been a profound change in the academic's tools of trade. In Redpath's day the monograph was the workhorse of preceptor and student alike although the way in which it was used differed widely. In this library the collection was intended to be for the faculty: it was otherwise at the Baillieu Library of the University of Melbourne, another great colonial university. The comparison is not inapt: Melbourne was characterized by Kipling in *The Night Mail* as one of the four great imperial cities, together with Delhi, London and, of course, Montreal. The Baillieu's collection was built for undergraduates, whose learning was intended to be supplemented by their own tutor's books for more advanced study.

A previous librarian at the Baillieu told me that his modern library was reverting in terms of its book collections to its antique characteristic, that of an undergraduate library: the number of research monographs he could acquire were diminishing in number, not just because of rising prices—which for

books tend to be self-regulating, because as a rule of thumb the more expensive the book the fewer copies are sold, and the publishers must therefore adjust their intentions for their future titles—but because three-quarters of his acquisitions budget had to be devoted to learned journals and these overwhelmingly in the sciences.

There is a double danger here, not just the excision of books from the collection but because, unlike books, the prices of journals are not self-regulating. There is more and more to publish, every inducement for the library not to devalue its current holdings by cancelling subscriptions, and seemingly no will to acknowledge the economic consequences of academic activity. As a result the average price of a current subscription is now $411 Cdn, has risen 1,470% in monetary terms since 1970 and continues to do so (the price of books has risen by 900% to $60 Cdn and has stabilised). The consequences for library collections have been disastrous and the outlook is calamitous.

My purpose is not to demonstrate as has your Director of Libraries that at extrapolated rates of expenditure the Library will swallow all the University's resources within a measurable period nor to redescribe at length the publishing chain. The characteristics of the latter process are all too familiar: the researcher works at the University's expense to provide material to a publisher, who processes it and sells it on to a specialist distributor who then resells to the library of the University of origin "at a ridiculously high price," as a Dublin taxi-driver with disarming honesty once offered his services to my parents.

Neither do I seek to argue that various links should drop out of the publication chain nor to dispute which of these should be, as each would have to be reinvented if it did not exist. I seek no exclusive resolution of the problems but rather an inclusive one, because the debate itself simply obscures the underlying truth, which is:

that as a society we risk being infinitely informed but that we thereby hazard wisdom.

Few things can be easier to generate than information, as Marshall McLuhan foresaw. Twenty-six years ago in *The Medium is the Message* he wrote: "Electric circuitry profoundly involves men with one another. Information pours upon us, instantaneously and continuously. As soon as information is acquired, it is very rapidly replaced by still newer information." Even so, information stands in the same relationship to wisdom as "provisions" did to honey for Winne the Pooh.

In Redpath's day wisdom was achieved through learning, and to learn you were both informed and informed yourself. There are several books now to be found that reflect my own concern that computer games are severely damaging to the development of the intellect, which by its own nature is not table-driven.

It is the quantity of information that worries me so much as the unthinking use that can be made of it. We need no reminding of the Princeton student a few years back who was able to create a plan for a working atomic bomb from the contents of articles in scientific journals. We do not need to be told by journalists on the BBC on 13th July this year that they were offered 55 kilograms of weapons-grade plutonium on Moscow's black market and a well-travelled route to the West through the Lithuanian capital, Vilnius. The report went on to show how in a briefcase from readily available materials could be constructed with repellent ease a bomb that would, for a start, vaporise all matter within 500 metres of where we sit and go on to destroy the rest of this great city. I have a dreadful fear that we risk a crisis of unwisdom and of its results.

The existing and developing applications of electronic publishing, driven by technology rather than by inspiration, further risk the suppression of knowledge, without which there cannot be wisdom. The reason is that the ease with which data can be manipulated may predominate over the virtue of the data itself.

The distinction between the medium and the message is captured for me in the celebrated cartoon that appeared some years ago in *The New Yorker*. In it two dogsleighs are shown to be passing in a howling blizzard, travelling in opposite directions. In the back of the departing sleigh the driver is calling to his counterpart, "Well, what if I do happen to be fond of chihuahuas, and in no particular hurry?"—and here

reality overtakes inspiration, because until 1991 there was a lone competitor in the celebrated Iditarod from Anchorage to Nome who annually entered against the native huskies his team of poodles.

The moral I draw is that the cartoon can be reproduced by technology but its wit is the inspiration of spirit. This relationship creates and enriches the library, it enlightens it users, but each part would be lost without the other—just as society without knowledge, and knowledge without learning, and learning without wisdom will in turn lead to the end of the humane civilisation which so many of us so unthinkingly enjoy, that civilisation which as ever carries within its mind and in its hand the potential for its own destruction.

We are met tonight to give thanks for that goodly heritage of wisdom that this building and its benefactor Peter Redpath exemplify, and to renew our faith in the ideals that inspired them. I say for him, for his advisers, and for what they achieved "Thank God for Montreal" and I thank God too for the inscription beneath the window over there but which used to stand above the fireplace now removed. The words are from the third chapter of the Book of Proverbs: "Happy is the man that findeth wisdom, and the man that getteth understanding."

Floreat Plutoria: Satirical Fiction About McGill

by Robert H. Michel

McGill has appeared in many kinds of fiction but nowhere more strikingly than in satirical writing. Stephen Leacock, Régis Messac, William Weintraub, Mordecai Richler, Eileen Fitzgerald, Dany Laferrière, Brian Moore and others mixed reality and imagination to focus on McGill from unusual angles, in detail or just in passing. Drawing on personal blends of humour, affection, fantasy and criticism, each writer created a unique vision or glimpse of McGill and its students, staff and community. The results are as diverse as the attitudes and dreams which McGill evokes.

L'Université McGill a servi de cadre à de nombreux romans, mais c'est surtout dans les romans satiriques que son évocation est la plus frappante. Stephen Leacock, Régis Messac, William Weintraub, Mordecai Richler, Eileen Fitzgerald, Dany Laferrière, Brian Moore et d'autres, mêlant la réalité à la fiction, se sont intéressés à McGill selon des perspectives inusitées, tantôt détaillées, tantôt superficielles. Associant humour, affection, rêve et critique, chaque auteur a donné de McGill, de ses étudiants, de son personnel et de sa communauté une image ou un aperçu unique en son genre. Les résultats sont aussi divers que les attitudes et les rêves suscités par McGill.

In McGill University's case, the sincerest form of flattery has sometimes been satire—satire that usually is fairly gentle. "Who could live in the City a month without observing the imposing buildings of Plutoria University, as fine as any department store in town?" Stephen Leacock's bumptious, imaginary university, modeled on McGill in 1914 is one of his lasting take-offs. Cynics would say it accurately predicts McGill's future as an academic, architectural, under-funded smorgasbord. The college novel is a well-known genre, especially the Oxford novel which had reached cult status with Max Beerbohm's fanciful satire *Zuleika Dobson* (1911). McGill appears in many novels—romances, coming-of-age stories, thrillers and mysteries. Leaving most of these aside for the present, the following is a selection of satires which includes some of the best writing about McGill. Frequent quotations will let the writings speak for themselves, with apologies to authors whose plots have been stretched out of shape by this lopsided focus on McGill.

McGill satires prove that McGill is less flamboyant, less loved or hated than Oxford (or Cambridge or Harvard), more matter of fact and realistic, as befits a Scots, Canadian, scientific, practical sort of place. As McGill celebrates its 175 years, it may be of interest to see how it has provoked novelists, including its own Professors Leacock and Régis Messac, who made McGill the centre-piece or back drop for satires against McGill and society. Satirical fiction about McGill complements the factual histories of McGill by Stanley Frost, Margaret Gillett and others, by offering sidelights on how people have imagined, criticized and remembered McGill. (Page references to the novels are given between parentheses). [Real McGill equivalents to invented people or buildings are suggested between brackets].

PLUTORIA UNIVERSITY

In *Arcadian Adventures among the Idle Rich* (1914), Leacock spoofed the economic, social and intellectual aspirations of Plutoria University, ostensibly American (perhaps to attract more readers) but unmistakably McGill.[1] He burlesqued Montreal's business plutocrats: rich manufacturers plot in the Mausoleum Club; Anglican clergy run hymn-book and pipe-organ corporations. Trained under Thorstein Veblen at Chicago, Leacock gently distrusted the leisure class and conspicuous consumption but allowed that the rich could make themselves useful. Leacock's main aim was to mock the pursuit of wealth by people and institutions; much of his plot centres around the University's ceaseless quest for money. The chapters on Plutoria and its President, Dr. Boomer, who hoped to pension off staff, replace old buildings with higher ones, and multiply vacuous or mechanical courses satirized the desperation of the cash-strapped, market-driven University; echoes may be caught in today's

McGill. Dr. Boomer, an archaeologist-classicist and champion fund-raiser (these qualities may have been lifted from McGill Principal Peterson) would invade the offices of capitalists and give them copies of his famous pamphlet on the "Use of the Greek Pluperfect," or appeal to their vanity by assuming they understood his Latin tags. You may choose what to fund, Boomer would say: "dormitories, apparatus, campuses, buildings, endowment..." but choose they must (p.50). A likely donor was Mr. Tomlinson, an uncomplicated, decent sort who becomes a "Wizard of Finance" after a Plutoria geologist discovered gold on his farm (in a Devonian strata where it should not be—he hoped he would get a learned paper out of it). Dr. Boomer toured the campus with Tomlinson, telling him he needed funds to dismiss old professors, pointing out what is wrong with several that they meet. He hoped his guest would give enough money to pension them off so he could hire new cheaper ones. Boomer also needed money for new buildings (pp.17, 55-57).

Leacock, who taught in the yet to be restored Arts Building, loved to make fun of McGill's obsession with expansion. When he created Plutoria University, McGill had just ended a great period of construction, funded by businessmen: Lord Strathcona's Medical Building and Royal Victoria College and Sir William Macdonald's Physics, Chemistry, and Engineering Buildings. As Boomer led Tomlinson around campus, he pointed out the pride of Plutoria: Chicago-style skyscrapers fronting the Campus on Plutoria Avenue [Sherbrooke Street].

> These buildings are exceptionally fine, standing fifteen stories high and comparing favourably with the best departmental stores or factories in the City. Indeed, after nightfall, when they are all lighted up for the evening technical classes and when their testing machinery is in full swing and there are students going in and out in overall suits, people have often mistaken the university, or this newer part of it, for a factory (p.54).

From the skyscrapers, Boomer took his guest to the old part of the campus, the Arts Building, Redpath Library, and Redpath Museum, built before 1890; the real McGill that Leacock loved:

> But the older part of the university stands so quietly and modestly at the top end of the elm avenue, so hidden by the leaves of it, that no one could mistake it for a factory. This indeed was once the whole university.... It had been filled with generations of presidents and professors of the older type with long white beards and rusty black clothes and salaries of fifteen hundred dollars (pp.54-55).

The ancestor of Plutoria University, before its expansion, had been Concordia College. "'This, I am ashamed to say,' said Dr. Boomer, as they passed the imitation Greek portico of the old Concordia College Building [the Arts Building], 'is our original home, the *fons et origo* of our studies, our faculty of arts'" (p.57). Boomer wanted to knock the venerable building down "and to build on its site a real *facultas* ten stories high, with elevators in it" (p.58). Said Boomer: "If I had the money I'd have that whole building down and dismantled in a fortnight" (p.59). In fact, ten years later the Arts Building would be renovated with posh marble interiors and Moyse auditorium added. "Tomlinson looked about him humbly as he stood in the main hall. The atmosphere of the place awed him. There were bulletins and time-tables and notices stuck on the walls that gave evidence of the activity of the place" (p.58). The notices mainly announced that professors will not meet their classes due to illness, etc. "You could judge of the grinding routine of the work from the nature of these notices" (p.58). In Leacock's version of the Arts Building, the hall contained the bronze busts of benefactors, such as Mr. Hogworth, "a man of singularly large heart," who had paid for the wind-measure on the roof (pp. 58-59).

They pass to Plutoria's museum [Redpath Museum], where Tomlinson was shown a skeleton of a Diplodocus Maximus not to be confused with the Dinosaurus Perfectus; perhaps some generous benefactor might purchase and donate the bones of the latter. "Better still, it appeared the whole museum, which was hopelessly antiquated, being twenty-five years old, could be entirely knocked down if a sufficient fund was forthcoming; and its curator, who was as ancient as the Dinosaurus itself, could be dismissed on half-pay...." (p.59). Next, they visit the library [Redpath Hall], with its portraits of founders and benefactors. Once again, if someone were to give the money, the library, which "was twenty years old and out of date, might be blown up with dynamite and carted away" (p.60).

From these three real buildings: the Arts Building, Redpath Museum and Redpath Library, Leacock now sends them to his invented buildings on the unused front of the campus: "the tall buildings that housed the faculty of industrial and mechanical science" (p.60). Even here the need of funding is striking: the physical science department has masses of apparatus and no space while chemistry has lots of space but cannot afford equipment.

Exaggerating McGill's expansion under Principal Peterson (1895-1919), Leacock pointed out the changes wrought by Dr. Boomer; more buildings meant more subjects can be taught, whatever their value: "He had changed it from an old-fashioned college of the by-gone type to a university in the true modern sense." Most striking of all, women had long since invaded the classrooms and laboratories: "and there were now beautiful creatures with Cléo de Mérode hair studying astronomy at oaken desks and looking up at the teacher with eyes like comets". (Fig. 1, see p. 81)

Half proudly, half disgustedly, Leacock observed that Plutoria taught everything. In the old days for example, it had taught no religion except for lectures on the Bible. "Now they had lectures also on Confucianism, Mohammedanism, Buddhism, with an optional course on atheism for students in the final year" (p.55). Had Leacock received a revelation that McGill's Divinity School would some day blossom into the pantheistic garden of the Faculty of Religious Studies? Variety did not stop with religion. With the contempt of the humanist for the plumbers of science, Leacock lampooned Plutoria/McGill's expanded curricula and activities:

> It had whirling machines on the top of it that measured the speed of the wind, and deep in its basements it measured earthquakes with a seismograph; it held classes on forestry and dentistry and palmistry; it sent life classes into the slums, and death classes to the city morgue. It offered such a vast variety of themes, topics, and subjects to the students, that there was nothing that a student was compelled to learn, while from its own presses in its own press-building it sent out a shower of bulletins and monographs like driven snow from a rotary plough (p.55).

Boomer's campus tour was for nought. Tomlinson lost his fortune (and was happier for it). The gold samples in the Devonian strata had been "seeded" by speculators. The geology professor would never announce his great discovery and revolutionize his profession as he had hoped.

Much satire of McGill, especially Leacock's, has an architectural angle. This is natural considering that universities and other institutions gauge their progress and stake their immortality on the buildings they manage to put up. The McGill campus nevertheless has always been the architectural icon of Canadian higher learning. H.W. Trott, a McGill medical student who survived a paralysing disease at McGill in 1919 and wrote about his experiences in *Campus Shadows* (1946) recalled the "old and stately buildings, personification of stability and solidity. For years they have symbolized all that is learned and upright in Canada."[2] (Fig. 2, see p. 82) But Plutoria (and McGill) aimed at physical expansion as the means to add more courses and departments and to become more important to society. McGill's buildings sprang up haphazardly, in different styles, here and there, as benefactors donated the funds to construct them. Beyond the use of local grey stone (and later concrete) there was no unified plan such as the University of Virginia's, designed by Jefferson, or now prevalent at modern universities—the construction of all buildings with one sweep of a government's budget. As early as the 1880s, McGill administrators may have hoped to destroy the Arts Building (built 1840s) and extend a huge complex in the style of Redpath Museum (built 1882) from the west side of the campus to the east side.[3] While a few like Leacock enjoyed architectural oddities and anachronisms, one suspects Plutoria and McGill kept their old buildings mainly because they lacked the money to demolish and replace them. Like Old Montreal, McGill's older buildings probably were saved by poverty at the right time. (Fig. 3, see p. 83)

A few years before Leacock invented Plutoria University, McGill's campus had been threatened by the plans of a syndicate to build the multi-storied Ritz Hotel at its southwest corner. More to save the students from the temptations of its bar than for architectural reasons, Sir William Macdonald bought the site and gave it to McGill. The only other threat to the campus's aesthetic serenity came from the eleven story Maxwelton

apartment building, designed by Edward Maxwell and built in 1914. Standing across the street from McGill's main entrance, its hoardings probably went up at the very time Leacock was finishing his spoof. The unbuilt Ritz and the towering Maxwelton may have partly inspired Plutoria's skyscrapers. However, Leacock harped so much on the theme of the University's drive for physical expansion that one suspects Plutoria's skyscrapers may have been be more than Leacock's reaction to encroaching apartment buildings; it may have been a send-up of the architectural master plans for the McGill campus that occupied his colleague, Professor of Architecture, later of Design, Percy Nobbs. Leacock and Nobbs would have known each other as founding members of the University Club. In 1911, three years before Leacock published *Arcadian Adventures*, a great opportunity for campus expansion presented itself. Sir William Macdonald (even more generous than Boomer's plutocrats) nearly doubled the size of the campus by giving the land to the northeast of McGill (Macdonald Park) to the university for sports and other activities. Nobbs had already designed Macdonald's Student Union and Engineering Buildings. Indeed, as early as 1904 he had suggested a long range architectural development plan for McGill, including a block plan for buildings on the Sherbrooke frontage and grand symmetry throughout. By June 1913 he had submitted detailed plans for Macdonald Park, including a gymnasium, stadium, and Oxbridge/Princeton style residence quads. (Fig. 4, see pp. 84-85) Nobbs's schemes were well known but none were built as originally planned. Bit by bit, from the 1920s to the 1990s, somewhat scaled-down residences and sports facilities would be built, some designed by Nobbs. Unlike Dr. Boomer, Nobbs respected the Arts and other existing buildings; however by 1920 he had elaborated a massive symmetrical plan for new buildings on Sherbrooke Street (where Plutoria had its high-rises) with a Convocation Hall and other buildings closing the campus off from the rest of the city.[4] (Fig. 5, see p. 86) As with Macdonald Park, half a century later, McGill finally would build on part of the Sherbrooke frontage, not in Nobbs's stone and bricks but in Brutalist style using serviceable concrete: the McLennan Library and the Otto Maass Chemistry Building and high rise Burnside Hall Buildings, leaving the U-shaped campus still open to Sherbrooke St. In effect, Leacock's Plutoria and Nobbs's plans foreshadowed what McGill would become. Leacock would have smiled at McGill's mood of expansion, Nobbs's plans of 1904 and 1911, and the search for funds. There can be little doubt that Plutoria University's architectural obsessions were partly seeded by the optimistic, utopian proposals of Nobbs.[5]

Leacock was not the only one to exploit McGill's architecture for laughs. In 1927, Frank Scott, published a parody in the *McGill Fortnightly*; "Gertrude Stein Has Tea at the Union." In her unique style, she is talking about the new Roddick Gates at the campus entrance:

> I am becoming very interested in my interest in my interest in your University in its relation to beauty. If you do not mind I will tell you how it all happens. You see I am a follower of beauty follower of beauty and because I follow beauty is just in front of me. That makes it very beautiful, being so close. Being nearness is contemporary with the quite. Now it seems to me that you have beautiful gates just in front of the college [the recently built Roddick Gates] with the college behind and the gates in front. The college is not far behind the gates. So it seems to me that your college is following beauty and that is the most beautiful thing a college can follow. Nothing can be more than the most.[6]

SMITH CONUNDRUM UNIVERSITY

Perhaps influenced by Leacock's Plutoria, Régis Messac, a native of France who taught at McGill from 1924 to 1929, wrote the only novel wholly focused on McGill life. Returning to France, he wrote *Smith Conundrum* [McGill's pseudonym] in 1930-1931 but only published it in 1942. The occupying Nazis destroyed most copies after arresting Messac for his involvement with the Resistance. In 1975 McGill Professor Marc Angenot brought the novel to light and re-introduced Messac to his old University.[7] Messac studied utopias and the detective story and wrote science fiction—the strange customs of McGill provided him with irresistible inspiration.

Set in the 1920s, *Smith Conundrum* extends Leacock's Plutoria themes: business wealth, vapidity, naivety and their effect on higher learning but more bitingly, mocking the anti-intellectual, middle-class,

wealthy milieu that McGill seemed to serve. Like Leacock, Messac used short, funny scenes rather than character development and relocated McGill to the crasser, more recognizable setting of the United States. Yet Messac built his surreal university out of recognizable McGill pieces. His autobiographical protagonist, Professor of French A.J. Pluche, was refused a raise at the same time that the University received $50,000 to build new gates [the Roddick Gates]. The remains of the University's founder (Smith), rested in an urn in front of the Faculty of Arts [recalling James McGill's tomb]. Messac showed how satirists work by adapting to his own purpose the real-life case in 1921-1922 in which German Professor Hermann Walter accused French Professor J.L. Morin of poisoning his well. Walter and Morin probably hated each other because of their national origins, heated up by World War I; but in his novel Messac has "Professor Werther"'s well poisoned by a neighbouring clergyman angered that Werther is an atheist. Once set free of the original facts, Messac amused himself further by blaming the wronged party. Werther failed to win his court case due to the logic of Anglo-Saxon justice—the guilty party must be already suffering pangs of conscience and should not have to carry the additional burden of punishment (pp.148-149).[8]

We follow Pluche into the church-like vestibule of the refurbished marmoreal Arts Building, to teach a class of fifty males and females drawn, Pluche notes, from America's many races. He is particularly offended by the nasal American voice of a co-ed pronouncing the beauties of *Phèdre*. While Pluche talks, they listen politely without understanding. A football player, Harry Swellhead sits next to Anita Loveduck, daughter of a prominent rich clergyman [the cleric's wealth has a ring of Leacock to it]. When she starts doing her lipstick, Pluche knows his hour is up. Walking outside, Pluche is nearly run over by Swellhead and Loveduck at the wheel of a huge car and he imagines his death written up in the *Daily* (chap.1).

Pluche goes to the Library, walking quickly so he will look efficient and American. He reviles its stained glass [Redpath Hall] as worse than Lourdes or the Woolworth Building, and sees students comatose after drinking whisky all night. In a jab at the incipient American addiction to quantification, he runs into his colleague Professor Talkinghorse who is measuring the lengths of articles in the *Encyclopedia Britannica* in order to define levels of knowledge and genius. Galileo scores impressively. Pluche confuses the issue by telling his colleague that he must take language into consideration: English and Italian encyclopedias differ as to the lengths they give Nelson and Dante (p.22).

Messac taught courses on Balzac, 19th-century French theatre, 17th- and 18th-century literature, and general courses in French language and Literature. His alter ego, Pluche, finds the students even dimmer than the professors. While engaging a female student in conversation, he notices that muskrats have been sacrificed to clothe and hat her—she is as pretty and banal as a cigarette ad. She is interested in both Mallarmé and Freud, and proposes to do, as her master's thesis, a Freudian interpretation of Mallarmé. Original, gasps Pluche (pp.31-32).

What is probably the most amusing chapter, "Honoris Causa" (pp.79-90), describes Convocation and the awarding of honorary degrees. It was translated by Gladys Quirk for the *McGill Reporter* in April 1975. Messac ridicules the Convocation; first, its honorary degree system: "Honoris causa! Long live America! No more exams—get your doctorate in a day. Talk about rationalization." He also mocks the pomposity of the convocation, led by the University's President, General Rumblebass Balderdash [Principal Arthur Currie], held in Conundrum Hall [probably Moyse Hall]:

> The General, deans and university dignitaries together with the graduating class settled themselves on the large platform. As the Very Reverend Joshua Helluva, Dean of the College of Theology, invoked the Lord of the Armies from behind a small lectern, the professors standing at the foot of the stage feigned solemnity. Pluche couldn't resist raising his head from time to time to sneak a quick glance at the crowd.... In the foreground, in sharp relief, stood the magnificent figure of Dr. James J. Bunk, Dean of the Faculty of Graduate Studies. His ochre face, and heavy jowl were furrowed all over with angles jutting in and out like a Cubist painting, topped off by a shock of shiny grey locks. An imposing sight, he was for all that completely senile.

> ...Brandishing a small tin tube, the General began his speech in a foreign language. Pluche knew about the tube—it contained the honorary degrees. But the language was a real mystery.... could it be that the General knew Algonquin?

Pluche asks his neighbour, "What's he speaking?" He is told that it is customary to give the speech from the throne in Latin. The words do not sound intelligible to Pluche, who murmurs, "That's funny. I learned Latin..."[9] No one else had and no one understands a word.

Other characters in the novel are based on real people, for example Major Stuart Forbes and probably Réné du Roure among other members of the French Department. How many characters had real models is unclear. For all its amusing episodes, the novel conveys a junior professor's disappointment in his students and frustrations with his superiors in a hierarchical McGill far less free than it is today. Pluche compares the chief of the French Department [presumably the dashing Réné du Roure] to the elegant actor Adolph Menjou. (Fig. 6) Du Roure was probably Leacock's closest McGill friend. He spoke French to du Roure over their lunches and drinks at the University Club; Du Roure died in 1940, of heartbreak, it was said, over the fall of France.[10] Du Roure figures in some of Leacock's satirical skits, in one case dampening Leacock's claim to have shot a hole in one.[11] One wonders whether Du Roure ever brought his friend and his junior professor together.

Smith Conundrum is to some extent a satire of Arthur Currie as well as of McGill. Perhaps this was inevitable, since Currie personified McGill when Messac taught there. Contrary to Leacock who liked both McGill and Currie, Messac was unhappy and perhaps chose Currie as the symbol of the stifling University establishment. With the rest of the professors and students, Messac would have followed the libel trial in 1928, when Currie successfully defended himself against a journalist's charges that he had wasted lives. An anti-militarist, Messac mocked and embellished Currie-Balderdash's military career in a chapter on "La bataille de Tipperary" (pp. 140-160), inflating the charge of eleventh hour heroics. (Fig. 7) He also covered the libel trial and the McGill reaction. Along the way he noted that America rewarded its generals for their slaughters by making them university presidents, since unlike France they have no Academy in which to induct them. Unlike Messac, most McGill staff appear to have admired Currie, Leacock most of all. Currie provoked satire and admiration simultaneously. In *Memoirs of Montparnasse*, said to contain a dose of fiction, poet and erotic writer John Glassco offers a satirical yet admiring glimpse of his old Principal. He is looking for his friend Graeme who is to go to Paris with him:

> Soon I saw him trudging down the campus, and in front, almost hiding him, the immense figure of Sir Arthur Currie, principal of the university, holder of a dozen honourary degrees and ex-warlord of the Canadian Expeditionary Force. What a poor figure Graeme in his long green frieze overcoat and black hat cut behind this white-spatted symbol of the army, attired like the editor of *Vanity Fair*![12]

After five years Pluche, and one gathers, Messac, had enough. Resigning from McGill, Messac returned to France, taught, worked for the Resistance, and died somewhere in Germany in 1945.

UNIVERSITÉ DUPLESSIS

In 1979 the Montreal writer William Weintraub brought out *The Underdogs*, a satire set in the future, twenty years after Quebec has become independent after a referendum [perhaps ca. 2000 AD]. To mark the twentieth anniversary, a "temple de la Langue Française" has been built on the former McGill campus with a huge amphitheatre where poets and others will gather to extol "the glory and the grandeur of the French language" (p. 9). Yet not all is well. Quebec now depends on loans from its wealthy francophone ally Senegal. The rest of Canada has joined the United States and linguistic purity laws have provoked resistance by an Anglo Liberation Army resembling the FLQ cells of 1970. English speakers who fail their language purity tests dream of escape to Vermont, are condemned to live in Point St. Charles, and do the menial jobs. A Padlock Law has closed English libraries (p. 116) and the Bureau pour la rectification des monuments historiques cuts off the head on the statue of Anglo Robert Burns and welds on a new

PROF. DuROURE

Figure 6. *Old McGill*, v. 39, 1936, p. 160.

bronze head—that of Octave Boileau, Patriot of the 1837 Rebellion (p. 89). The Sun Life Assurance Building, once the British Empire's highest building and symbol of English wealth, has been transformed into an indoor farm, loam on its marble floors (p.11). McGill, an even more dangerous symbol of Anglo oppression, has been converted to the cultural ends of the young state. One of the characters, Anglo "freedom fighter" Mona, wants to be a student—but rejects her boss's offer of a linguistic purity certificate if she will spend the weekend with him. She works as a seamstress in McGill's former McIntyre Medical Building. Much of the action takes place here where costumes are made for the Quebec state film industry as well as for a pageant celebrating Réné Levèsque, Camille Laurin and other Founding Fathers (pp. 80-84).

The satire is aimed not at McGill but against the new state. The medical research centre had been one of the first of McGill's buildings to undergo a metamorphosis after Separation. And, a few years later, McGill itself had ceased to exist. Since 1821 it had been a bastion of the Anglo elite, but now its leafy campus and its historic buildings had become the Université Maurice Duplessis, named after the great advocate of Quebec autonomy:

> It had been hoped that Montreal's Maurice Duplessis University would rival Moscow's Patrice Lumumba University in attracting students from the Third World, particularly from the French-speaking African countries. But few of these students ever showed up, for now that Quebec had entered the Post-Industrial Age many Africans considered Quebec itself to be part of the Third World, having pulled itself *down* by its own bootstraps rather than up. So French-speaking students from Mali and Togo and Upper Volta who wanted to learn engineering went to the University of Dakar, in Senegal.... Other French-speaking students, from Benin, Gabon, and Chad, went to Universities in Boston or Sheffield or Toronto where they could learn English (p. 77).

The book reminds one of the often-expressed idea that Quebec rejected Catholicism only to embrace the religions of social science and statism:

> But if the Université Maurice Duplessis failed to find an international role it soon found a national one. It became a centre not only for the theatrical arts but also for the social sciences. Each year it supplied Quebec with thousands of newly-graduated sociologists, all of them eager to join in the task of measuring and calibrating every aspect of human activity in the young republic" (p. 78).

In a pastiche of the 1970 October crisis, Mona and her Anglo terrorists kidnap the Foreign Minster of Senegal during the twentieth anniversary celebrations near the former McGill on Durocher Street. They force the broadcast and publication of their demands, and escape abroad. There would be years of struggle ahead... A play version of this book has caused controversy since 1989 when, the author alleges, fear of offending francophones caused a Montreal theatre to back out of renting its premises for the play's performance; it is being performed this year in Ontario.[13]

STUDENTS

Not surprisingly, McGill students figure prominently in satirical writing about McGill. In almost all fiction and memoirs about McGill, the Arts Building and its steps are the places most often cited. Graduate and former Chancellor Conrad F. Harrington recalled, "While it has been said that marriages are made in heaven, I think a lot were also made on the steps of the Arts Building, which were a meeting place and date bureau *par excellence* for the R.V.C. girls and others, and the male students."[14] Leacock set his "Opening Day at College" from *Funny Pieces* (1936) in the hall of the Arts Building:

> "What the hell are you taking Divinity for?" asked a bright-eyed co-ed of her companion in the jostling crowd that filled the hall of the Liberal Arts Building on the opening day at College.
>
> "Oh, Gee! it's a cinch," answered the other girl, "only two hours a week instead of three and the old bird has never ploughed anyone in thirty years."
>
> "Any prerequisite for it, before you can get in?"

"No, only good moral standing."

"Count me out," said the co-ed.

[Someone wonders where the Professor of French is].

"He won't be back for a fortnight, they say. He's over in Paris learning French."

"What's he need that for?"

"Search me" (pp. 33-34).

The dignified Dean arrives in the hall but it is the janitor Bill Jingleman whom everyone cheers—a reference to McGill's Bill Gentleman, great friend to the students, caretaker of the Arts Building and poet.[15]

Perhaps the most provocative, lively glimpses of McGill students appear in the writings of Mordecai Richler. Although he did not attend McGill, he evokes the McGill of the 1940s and 1950s convincingly, although one wonders if Jews and Gentiles were as socially divided as his characters indicate: his deftly rendered Gentile students tend to be rich, athletic, lazy, and snobbish while his Jewish students come across as insecure, ambitious, and grade-grinding. McGill itself appears as a playground for the rich and a proving ground for the strivers but seldom a moral or intellectual force. In *The Apprenticeship of Duddy Kravitz* (1959), Duddy has a studious, less rebellious, older brother—Lennie, who is a McGill medical student and falls prey to the temptations and potential treachery of life in the fast lane at McGill. Lennie gets into McGill in spite of the anti-Semitism of the 1940s, joins Hillel but picks up airs, becomes an "assimilationist", and starts going to Gentile fraternity parties (pp. 191-193). Duddy talks to Bernie, a friend of Lennie, who says:

> Well, you know he dropped out of sight for a while. Then the next thing I'd heard he'd picked up with the Joe College bunch. The football crowd. Well, you know, drink chug-a-lug and all that. Listen, everyone's entitled to enjoy themselves the way they want. It's not for me, that's all. They're mostly rich kids.. . They run sports cars and get the prettiest. Well, you know, the campus beauty queens. I don't know how Lennie ever got mixed up with them (p. 195).

Bernie has seen Lennie with one of his new friends, Sandra Calder; Duddy suggests they might have eloped. Bernie whistled. "If they eloped you can stop worrying. Old Man Calder is a millionaire. He's on the Board of Governors at McGill" (p.196). Lennie liked the new crowd, happy, outgoing, "not always plugging away"; he had good times with them at the Maritime Bar at the Ritz (p. 214). But it turns out that Lennie has started an abortion for Sandra. He is not the father but has done it as a favour for Sandra and her boyfriend. In fact this is why these new friends courted Lennie in the first place. When Duddy upbraids Lennie for his foolhardy act, Lennie retorts that he was protecting his friends and that Duddy has no code of honour. "You're a sucker not a gentleman," says Duddy (pp. 214-215). Lennie will survive and become a doctor but not before learning that if a Jewish medical student is invited to join the wealthy Gentile crowd, he may be asked to do extra work—in this case an illegal abortion.

Most of the characters in *Joshua Then and Now* (1980) attended McGill in the 1940s. Most were either nappy, superficial, upper bourgeoisie, or disaffected intellectuals or strivers—bookworms who spend Friday nights in the Library rather than at fraternity parties. The glimpses of student days are retrospective; characters now middle-aged look back to golden—or unhappy—times at McGill. Protagonist Joshua trying to get a job on the Paris *Herald-Tribune*, claims he majored in Spanish history at McGill (p. 102). He never did, although he once infiltrated a McGill hockey practice and shocked the other players with his street-style, ungentlemanly play (pp. 99-100). Richler's vignettes are biting and hilarious. At a reunion of high school friends in Ottawa, one character (the ineffable Seymour) says of Izzy Singer, a hustler who got started by following ice trucks and selling refrigerators to their clients on instalment:

> You'll never believe this, but when he was at McGill, that *grauber*, he actually took a couple of courses in architecture, not that he ever wanted to be one, that *paskudnyak*, but so that he'd know enough that they couldn't cheat him when he became a developer. Anyway, so help me God,

he wrote a paper on the construction of Notre Dame, estimating from sources available the cost of the cathedral per cubic foot, and its present value as a Paris tourist attraction, arguing that it had, on balance, been a sound investment (p.141).

Joshua's wife contrasts her McGill set of easy going, indolent WASPs with

> fierce driving Jews, who didn't play by their rules, each one hollering 'me, me, me.' They interrupted you in mid-sentence. They grabbed seats in the front row in lecture rooms. They wore diamond socks....They had already taken over the *McGill Daily*, raging at each other in the columns....they say our fraternities were restricted. It was the only place we felt unthreatened" (pp.177-178).

For Joshua's brother-in-law Kevin Hornby, McGill was his golden age, where he was hero-worshipped for his athletic and social prowess. But after being caught cheating at McGill, his life goes down hill. He lives off women on his cruise boat in Bermuda. He makes a brief comeback running a mutual fund he does not understand and ends up losing the money of his McGill friends who invested with him: "The McTeers, Abbott, the Friars, the Harpers, everyone we were at McGill with. The entire country club" (p. 315).

Once grown up, the McGill WASPs tend to drink too much and are cuckolded by their decaying but elegant wives. A masterful portrayal is that of the social climber, Jack Trimble, who pretends to be British but was born in the poor Montreal district of Point St. Charles. He confesses his climb up the ladder to Joshua; it has been the driving force of his life to join the elite of McGill graduates who live in Westmount, summer in the Eastern Townships, and send the wine back at the Ritz. While his contemporaries played at McGill in the 1940s,

> I got a job as a curb-service waiter at Miss Montreal. Remember it? The first drive-in on the strip. The Jewish kids used to drive out there in Daddy's black-market Buick. Outremont punks. Big tippers, though. Then the real McGill crowd. The quality. McTeer. Tim Hickey. Dickie Abbott and Wendy. The beautiful Pauline Hornby. Kevin in that MG. The outrageous Jane Mitchell. Yeah, that's right. I knew them back then. Not to speak to, mind you, but to serve. Two Michigan Red Hots and fries? Yes, sir... (p.366).

In *Solomon Gursky Was Here* (1989), the protagonist's father L.B. Berger [reminiscent of poet A.M. Klein] goes to literary evenings with McGill professors who write poetry and claim to be socialists—clever catty people with private incomes (p.20). The protagonist Moses Berger wins a scholarship to McGill but here McGill is a mere detail among the novel's lively conceits—such as Jewish Eskimos.

In 1969 Eileen Fitzgerald, a student in Arts at McGill from 1965 to 1968, published *Expo Summer* about a woman student at McGill in 1967.[16] (Fig. 8) The protagonist is named Eileen so the novel may be at least partly autobiographical. The book has some significance as a chronicle of student summer jobs at Montreal's Expo '67 World's Fair and for its half-humorous, half-critical portrayal of the restricted lives of women students at McGill's Royal Victoria College. It was just before the rules all ended in the face of the sexual revolution and women students' demands to live as freely as male students. Expo fever causes McGill to finish exams two weeks early in April 1967. From her perch in R.V.C., Eileen watches Mayor Drapeau's workers wash Sherbrooke Street to impress the tourists. With two girlfriends, she moves out of R.V.C. to an apartment on Mackay Street. Eileen and one of her friends have jobs at Expo, where they have to wear cute clothes and sell junk souvenirs to the visitors. Eileen describes the R.V.C. residence she is leaving with no regrets:

> We slept that night for the last time in a building in Montreal on the corner of Sherbrooke and University Streets which is five stories high and has a larger-than-life statue of Queen Victoria planted firmly and symbolically in the centre of the wide granite staircase leading to the front door. It is an impressively heavy stone building, a grey and immutable architectural monster. I once met a man who had lived in Montreal all of his life and always believed it was a museum. Actually it is called Royal Victoria College and it is the home, of sorts, of all first- and second-year

Figure 7. Sir Arthur Currie on a booklet by the Publicity Committee of the McGill Centennial Endowment Campaign, 1920.

Figure 8.

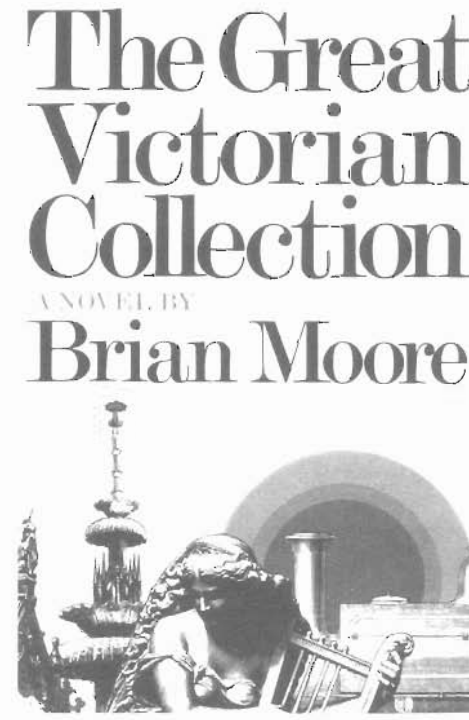

Figure 9.

McGill University as a background in some works of fiction.

> women students at McGill University who do not live with their parents or certified close relatives. I lived there for two years. I signed in and out on my leave card after 9 P.M., couldn't receive visitors after 11 P.M., suffered the phone being shut off at 10:30 P.M. (p.17)

McGill's most famous student musical play, *My Fur Lady* (1957) satirized (among other things) student life at McGill and the restrictions of R.V.C., headed by Muriel Roscoe, a distinguished scientist: "No one could be keener on Victorian demeanour than the girls in Dr. Roscoe's care..."[17] Fitzgerald's Eileen declares that she cannot think of a better way to describe why she and her friends moved out of R.V.C. than to describe its dinner ceremony. She does so in Dickensian detail; it will be recognized by anyone who has been at a private boarding school or a university residence or jail before the late 1960s.

> [Dinner was at 6:15]. Of course we had to wear skirts to dinner. (It wasn't until our second year that R.V.C. girls were permitted to wear slacks outside the closed corridors of the living area without special permission of an Assistant Warden.) So at 6:14 we would scramble out of our jeans or whatever and throw on any skirtlike thing within reaching distance and head for the staircase. We ran down the stairs, around the corner, and into the main hallway where we were confronted with a solid mass of hungry females all jockeying for position near the dining room doors. At exactly 6:15 a bell located directly overhead began to gong madly. It kept on gonging for about a full minute. Then the crowd on the left side of the doors separated down the middle and the girls pushed themselves up against the walls of the corridor to make way for the royal procession wending its way toward the dining room from the lounge a suitable distance away. This was the R.V.C. hierarchy decked out in full dinner regalia, the Warden in a scintillating forest green velvet with a delightful 1943 sort of cut; the Assistant Wardens, in order of age and prestige, trying to make up with their smiles for the stony mien of the Warden; and carrying up the rear the several resident assistants, young women who were still in school and found themselves awkwardly suspended between administration and students because they were allowed free room and board while serving as counsellors on the resident floors (p.19).

Like Leacock, Fitzgerald homes in on the architecture that somehow forms the culture it houses: "The pervading life-style of R.V.C. is reflected in the architectural mood. Its main dining room is a high-ceilinged, cavernous hall, with mahogany trim all along the walls, and mahogany tables and chairs, and a head table for members of the procession" (p.19). She describes waitresses serving the tables with serving dishes which were then spooned out family style; meals took at least an hour because the serving method was so slow. Inevitably, pea fights broke out (p.20). Once free of R.V.C., she pursues a romance over the course of Montreal's most famous summer.

Continuing the romance theme, an irreverent view of McGill education is found in *Going Down Slow*, set in about 1972 by John Metcalf. The protagonist David, a high school teacher, lies in bed with his beautiful grade 11 student Susan, while in the next room his flatmate Jim, another teacher, writes a thesis for the McGill Faculty of Education:

> He was compiling the marks scored by each student during each of the four years of high school in each subject and correlating the arithmetic mean with the score attained on the provincial matriculation exam. He suspected a positive correlation (p.32).

David has his student's welfare at heart: stopping at the Roddick Gates, he encourages her to go to McGill—she will need the piece of paper to get a good job. She retorts that she doesn't want a career that will change her: "Look I was born on Droict in the east end, right? And I'm not going to let anyone turn me into a nice middle-class McGill girl" (p.77).

Haitian-born Dany Laferrière's *How To Make Love To a Negro*, first published in French in 1985 and made into a film, draws McGill into his satire on racial and sexual stereotypes. The black protagonist draws on a harem of McGill women students. He has nicknames for the women he meets: the chief McGill woman is "Miz Literature." She is the opposite of Eileen Fitzgerald's quietly romantic, quietly rebellious,

discreet RVC student of twenty years earlier. He met her "at McGill, at a typically McGill literary soirée". He observes, "Most McGill girls smell like Johnson's Baby Powder" (pp. 22-23). Miz Literature comes to his apartment with cheese and wine; she pours him wine: "I close my eyes. To be waited on by an English girl (Allah is great). Fulfillment is mine" (p.26). He complains Miz Literature is naive and believes everything she is told and also is amazed that she puts up with him; it must be his reward for being black.

> Miz Literature comes from a good family, she has a bright future, upright values, a solid education...she belongs to a feminist literary club at McGill—the McGill Witches—whose mission is to restore the reputation of unjustly neglected poetesses.... So what's going on here? You could hold a gun to her head and she wouldn't do the tenth of what she does here for a white guy. Miz Literature is writing her PhD thesis on Christine de Pisan (p.34).

When she cleans up his place, he observes: "McGill people are taught to decorate their environment" (p.34). Why does she keep coming back? Perhaps she sees him as exotic and dangerous, he thinks:

> By day a WASP princess, by night slave to a Negro.... Suspense guaranteed because with Negroes you never know. Let's just eat her up right now, yum-yum, with a little salt and pepper. I can see the headlines in *La Presse*...'TWO BLACKS ATE A MCGILL CO-ED'.... Miz Literature climbs into my bed....Europe has paid her debt to Africa" (p.35)

This is certainly the McGill-related novel with the most erotic episodes. He meets another beautiful McGill student, Valery; another, "Miz Snob"; and for variety "Sophisticated Lady" from Sir George Williams (Concordia University). The stereotypes (tongue in cheek) pour from every page; the protagonist declares that McGill girls lack tact and logic:

> And when you consider that these girls were sent to a serious institution like McGill to learn clarity of thought, analytical capacity and scientific doubt! But they're so full of Judeo-Christian propaganda that when they get around a Negro, they immediately start thinking like primitives (p.83).

FANTASIES OF A MCGILL HISTORY PROFESSOR

Brian Moore's wonderful concoction, *The Great Victorian Collection* (1975) rebounds off McGill. (Fig. 9) As a journalist in Montreal in the 1950s, Brian Moore would have been aware of the McGill of Principal Cyril James, in the days when McGill's Principal was still the uncrowned Pope of English Montreal.[18] While the satire says little that is peculiar to McGill, the fact remains that Moore chose to use the McGill provenance and academic back-biting in one of his most original works. The protagonist is an Assistant McGill History professor, aged twenty-nine, whose wife has just left him. Anthony Maloney visits Carmel, California (incidentally, where McGill graduate and inventor of transactional psychology Eric Berne lived). Maloney goes to sleep in a motel and wakes up in a huge open air market of Victorian antiques, toys, furniture, paintings and sculpture (the latter ranging from Arabian horses to an enticing statue of Andromeda exposed to sea monsters) of which he is in charge. Some of the works are the actual ones we know from museums, others are long lost "ghosts" or inventions. The book is a collector's fantasy. Many of the objects in the collection, such as the paintings, prove the Victorian talent for masquerading the erotic as historical scenes or metaphors of innocence; for example, there is a circular painting of sisters by Charles Baxter with their "pubescent, soft, garments spilling about snowy shoulders, liquid eyes wide in what waves of childish innocence, or wise in what hidden schoolroom depravities" (pp.121-122). Wifeless, on the loose from McGill, Maloney soon acquires a pretty girl friend who offers real-life supplements to the fantasies fired by the paintings of douce servant girls and sculptures of writhing heroines.

McGill is the reality point in what the protagonist himself agrees must be an illusion; he slowly realizes he has created the entire collection of furniture, paintings and other objects by the strength of his imagination. He also fears that like Never-Never Land, all will disappear once he stops believing the collection is real. The public visit, journalists descend; the

collection commands grips the public imagination. The fantasy art objects and fresh love affair contrast with his obligations at McGill. Finally, though, he calls home to McGill to explain his absence from department duties. McGill is not amused by this unacademic notoriety; indeed, his department head has "hit the roof" after reading in the *Montreal Gazette* about the sudden embodiment of the Victorian collection. Maloney learns that the History Department is planning to get rid of him if he does not return soon (pp.46-47, 53-54, 74). He is in a quandary. His McGill job is unexciting but real; meanwhile journalists and experts are starting to claim his collection consists of fakes and the pressures on him build. On the telephone, his mother warns him that the McGill Board of Governors can fire him if he does not return to his classes (p.81) and that perhaps his uncle, a lawyer, could help. McGill and its job symbolize reality while the miraculous collection represents an escape and possible fortune if sold or displayed with admission fees. A doctor's report on Maloney observes he fears losing his McGill job and also fears his academic enemies have exaggerated the erotic content of the collection (pp.96-97). When the still absent Maloney is fired, a History Department friend tells him over the phone that his firing has caused a campus protest. The students hold that his act of the imagination was more creative than any scholarship:

> What more creative scholarship can anyone imagine than to re-create the artifacts of a period simply through an act of the imagination? Any university but dear old McGill, My God, they'd be so proud of what you've done. But we Canadians, we never recognize originality, because we have no real use for it. We *fire* the man who thinks up something new....This is the academic scandal of the century (p.119).

Likewise, his friend declares that Canada must not lose Maloney to the United States. Maloney now visualizes himself as a hero at McGill:

> From now on he, Anthony Maloney, would be a campus hero, controversial, whispered about in the faculty club.... All he had to do was go home.... Excitement, as if he had just drawn an outstanding hand at cards, filled him as he replaced the receiver. A full house of people assembled back there in Montreal, a flush of students, faces blooming upward. A hero who gave up fame in the States for the cause of academic justice. I am a historian who was witness to that first moment in history when a man's dream literally came true. I could work up a course, say, on the Victorian era as a factor in modern man's historical consciousness, an extension of my Ph.D. Thesis. I'd be an outstanding lecturer, unique in my field (p.120).

He dreams of giving a course on the Victorian era's place in our historical consciousness, then goes to brush his teeth and has a porcelain vision of McGill:

> Brushing vigorously, bending toward the white concavity of the washbasin, he saw, in the porcelain, white snows, snows which covered the lawns at McGill, saw the path, brushed clear, leading up to the library, saw himself walking up the path. Students paused to stare and whisper, breath pluming from their mouths in the cold morning air, as he moved on, an academic hero, the man who had dreamed up the world-famous Great Victorian Collection in faraway Carmel (pp.120-121).

Sadly enough, as reality increasingly invades his life, the pieces in the collection begin to look slightly shabby and worn. Then, worse still, they start to fade. The beautiful artifacts seem to plead with him not to leave. He stays but can do nothing to stop them from slowly fading away like ghosts at sunrise. Readers are left with both a sense of loss for this fantastic array of beautiful old objects and the conviction that the tedium of everyday reality and jobs kills the imagination and its works.

REAL-LIFE STAFF

Real staff members, writers themselves, have appeared in satirical novels. An elegantly written book by Richard Pennington had a touch of McGill-related satire. *Peterley Harvest* (1960) begins:

> Among the Peterley family papers now in the McGill University Library is the Journal of David Peterley that covers the years of his life in

> Australia, in England, and in Prague, the years from 1926 to 1939. The full journal is more an archival collection than a diary, since almost nothing was excluded from its pages, and the description of an evening with a poet or a mistress may be followed by a tradesman's bill (unreceipted), or the plan of a yacht he built for the Bulli sands, or a newspaper cutting of a suicide. So that by 1939, when the journal ends, it had grown to the six bound volumes, the seventeen folders, and the bundle of Czech documents which fill the red box now in the manuscript collection at McGill" (Foreword).

The book was supposedly edited by Peterley's cousin Richard Pennington, McGill University Librarian at the time. It revels in delightful literary devices and observations while following the adventures of a young Englishman with real and imaginary figures of the 1930s. Researchers soon realized the Peterley Papers did not exist, at least not in McGill's Library. The author and protagonist appear to have been Pennington himself; if so the book offers insights into one of McGill's legendary characters. Peter McNally concludes that "It is clear that Richard Pennington has written his autobiography disguised as biography all the while employing the techniques of the novelist."[19]

A character in *Going Down Slow* (1972) by John Metcalf, who has taught at McGill, describes Hugh MacLennan as McGill's version of Mr. Chips:

> Garry had told him that MacLennan lived in Montreal and taught at McGill and he had formed a picture of him as an old man, lonely, walking on the McGill lawns under old trees feeding the pigeons and squirrels with breadcrumbs from a paper bag. He didn't know exactly why he imagined MacLennan in this way. But the picture was quite clear. He filled the paper-bag every night ready for the morning. He always wore an old mac. He often stood watching the football practice, a figure apart from the shouting groups of students (pp.126-127)

In 1979 Jacques Ferron, author of *Le ciel de Québec*, satirized father and son characters modeled on McGill law professor and poet F.R. Scott ("Frank-Anacharsis Scot") and his father Canon F.G. Scott ("Bishop Dugald Scot"). Well-intentioned Frank symbolizes the English Canadian who is puzzled by French-Canadians but wants to be a real Quebecker—not badly enough perhaps. Even though Frank changes his name to François, it is predicted he will probably revert to Anglophone allegiances:

> he'll go teach the Sociology of Residual Fauna at McGill University and later still, of course, after he's assimilated his subject completely, he'll keep the faith and a clear conscience by writing a little novel on the doppelgänger, the late François-Anacharsis Scot (p.285).

*****

The writers examined here show us McGill in a variety of guises and angles; indeed they show how writers can use the university milieu as the focus or backdrop of their fiction. The brief episodic method seems most effective for such a task; Leacock's and Messac's little stories and Richler's vignettes were perhaps the ideal method to lampoon the McGill reality. While today's general readers probably will prefer Moore or Richler, who tell stories which happen to draw on McGill, McGill people will find themselves drawn in incestuously by the allusions and details in Leacock and Messac (who deserves republication).

Novelists, biographers, journalists, literary critics and film makers deal in fact and fiction, reality and imagination, memory and invention. Increasingly there is the danger that they will mix up these elements up as well as capriciously or naively blend the techniques of truth-telling and invention. Thus we have "non-fiction novels" and docudramas. The results range from insights to lies. But unlike those whose duty it is to tell the literal truth, the novelist, especially the satirist, can stir up reality and imagination at will. McGill is a likely inspiration for novelists whether they are satirical, romantic, historical or realist. What could be made of the life of Principal Dawson setting up his fortress of Protestant rationalism? or Cyril James's journey from middle-class London to North American eminence? or Rutherford in the lab Macdonald built him, untangling the invisible?

The satirists do not see McGill as a trainer of the mind, a guardian of intellectual heritage, but at best a

supermarket of ideas, an expanding physical plant, a place to have fun, get ahead, catch husbands and wives. It serves as a vacation or proving ground between childhood and adulthood. Missing from these satires are the ignition sparks given to students by the likes of Osler, Rutherford, MacLennan, and Robert Vogel. Perhaps this is inevitable due to the destructive nature of satire. In contrast, other novels, not covered here, by authors ranging from Constance Beresford-Howe and Hugh MacLennan to thriller writer Robert Ludlum have characters who find intellectual stimulation and grow at McGill.

We cannot know if Plutoria University has weathered as well as McGill. Its inspiration, McGill, still faces economic and political uncertainties that American Plutoria may have side-stepped with huge private endowments. McGill still lives with the burdens and preoccupations it had when Leacock and Messac wrote their parodies; it still worries about funding, establishes new disciplines and even builds new laboratories. As McGill woos government and donors, as it strives and twists to survive to its 200th year in 2021, it will surely inspire more satire.

Acknowledgements

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Notes

1. Many of Leacock's other satires are set squarely on McGill's reality; in *The Iron Man*, he makes fun of the parliamentary-ruled debates, complete with dog Latin, of Arts Faculty meetings, while *College Days* contains more academic skits, and a long poem on the foibles of all the arts professors (Part V).
2. H.W. Trott, *Campus Shadows*, Crosset and Williams, Hemlock, New York, 1946, p. 39.
3. John Bland, "In Advance of all the Others", *McGill News*, Summer 1962, p. 9.
4. McGill University Archives, RG 2, C16, file 20, "L-O, 1904-1907", memorandum, P. Nobbs to Principal William Peterson, ca. Nov. 1904; Percy E. Nobbs, "The sites of the University Buildings", *The McGill News*, June, 1920, pp. 2-5; *The McGill News*, Sept. 1920, pp. 30-31 (Nobbs's sketch of the entire developed campus). See Susan Wagg, *Percy Erskine Nobbs*, McGill-Queen's, Montreal, 1982, chapter 5. The 1904 block plan and a sketch of the 1913 gymnasium and residence scheme are reproduced on p. 59.
5. I am grateful to Susan Wagg and John Bland for information and suggestions; they are not responsible for any inaccuracies in this speculation.
6. F.R. Scott, "Gertrude Stein Has Tea at the Union", *McGill Fortnightly Review*, 25 May 1927, p. 62, quoted by Brian P. Trahearne, "Aestheticism and the Canadian Modernists: Aspects of a Poetic Influence", Ph.D thesis, McGill University, 1986, p.448.
7. *McGill Reporter*, 23 April 1975, pp. 4-5 contains a note by Angenot on Messac and the book and an extract translated by Gladys Quirk.
8. The Walter-Morin dispute is discussed briefly by Robert Michel, "Poison in the Well", *McGill Reporter*, 18 Sept. 1974.
9. Gladys Quirk, "Honoris Causa", *McGill Reporter*, 23 April 1975, pp. 4-5.
10. See Ralph L. Curry, *Stephen Leacock*, Doubleday, Garden City, New York, 1959, pp. 231, 275, 292.
11. Leacock, *The Iron Man and the Tin Woman*, Dodd, Mead and Company, New York, 1929,(pp. 204-206).
12. John Glassco, *Memoirs of Montparnasse*, Oxford University Press, Toronto, [1970], 1973, p.7.
13. See Pat Donnelly's theatre column, *Montreal Gazette*, 6 April 1996, E2; letter from W. Weintraub, *Montreal Gazette*, 13 April 1996, E2. The play was scheduled to open in April 1996 in Cobourg, Ontario.
14. E.A. Collard, ed., *The McGill You Knew*, Longman Canada, Don Mills, Ontario, 1975, p. 35.
15. Collard, ed., *The McGill You Knew*, pp. 216-222.
16. She is listed in the published McGill *Directory of Students* for sessions 1965-1966, 1966-1967, and 1967-1968.
17. Collard, ed., *The McGill You Knew*, p. 124. Private papers and McGill records documenting *My Fur Lady* are held by the McGill University Archives.
18. As a colleague in the McGill Archives once put it.
19. Peter McNally, "Identical Cousins. Richard Pennington and David Peterley: The Story of *Peterley Harvest*", *Papers of the Bibliographical Society of Canada*, 1987, 66-87, p. 79. The only McGill connection in the book is the alleged home of his papers.

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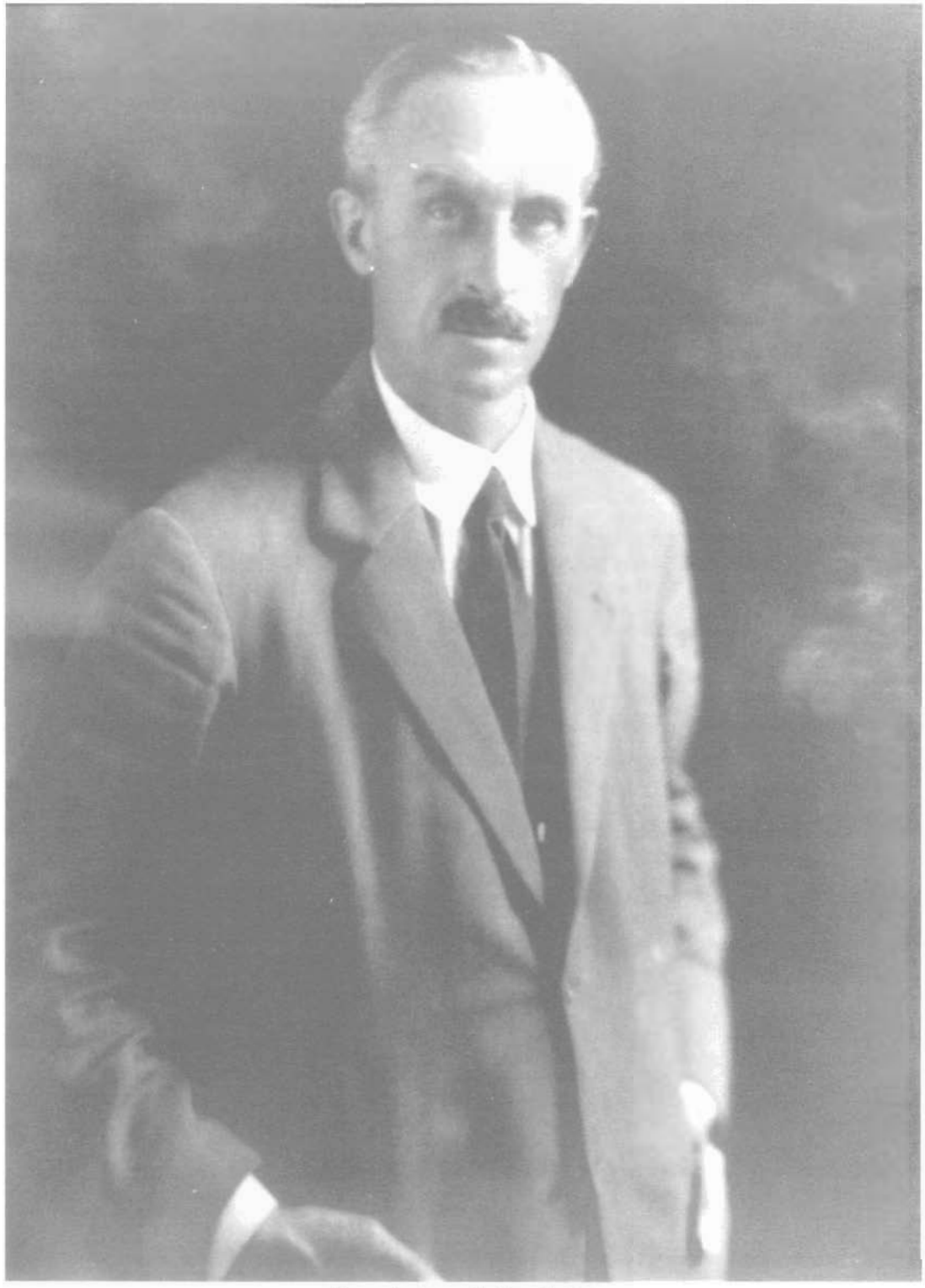

Figure 1. Percy Erskine Nobbs

Percy Erskine Nobbs: Teacher and Builder of Architecture

by Norbert Schoenauer

During the first four decades of this century, Professor Percy Erskine Nobbs was one of the most illustrious of McGill teachers and architects. In 1903, at the age of 28, he was appointed to the Macdonald Chair of Architecture and the directorship of the School of Architecture. Although upon his own request, after ten years, he was relieved of the directorship, he continued to teach design until his retirement in 1940.

Born and educated in Scotland, Nobbs was a talented and prolific architect whose buildings still adorn the campus of McGill University. He also designed several commercial buildings in the city as well as many beautiful Arts and Crafts inspired residences in Montreal, Westmount and other suburban communities.

Endowed with many talents, Nobbs was a versatile man. In addition to being an outstanding teacher and architect, he was also an accomplished painter and sculptor, an Olympic medallist, an expert in heraldry, and a leader in Canada in the area of town planning and urban design. Above all, Nobbs was among the early pioneers who not only appreciated Quebec's building traditions, but taught his students to view its unique rural buildings and grey stone urban houses with reverence.

Pendant les quarante permières années de ce siècle, Percy Erskine Nobbs a été l'un des professeurs et architectes les plus illustres de McGill. En 1903, à l'âge de 28 ans, il est nommé titulaire de la chaire Macdonald d'architecture et directeur de l'École d'architecture. Et si au bout se dix ans, il demande à être relevé de ses fonctions de directeur, il ne continue pas moins d'enseigner l'architecture jusqu'à sa retraite en 1940.

Né en Écosse où il a fait ses études, Nobbs est un architecte à la fois talentueux et prolifique dont les créations ornent encore aujourd'hui le campus de l'Université McGill. Il a également conçu plusieurs immeubles commerciaux ainsi que de nombreuses résidences Arts and Crafts à Montréal, Westmount et dans d'autres banlieus.

Nobbs est un homme aux multiples talents. Professeur et architecte hors de commun, il est également un peintre et un sculpteur consommé, un médaillé olympique, un héraldiste accompli et un véritable chef de file dans le domaine de la planification et de l'urbanisme. Nobbs est surtout l'un des premiers à apprécier les traditions architecturales du Québec et à inculquer à ses étudiants le respect des bâtiments de ferme et des maisons en pierres grises des villes.

This year, the McGill School of Architecture celebrates its centennial. It was in 1896 that Sir William Macdonald endowed a chair in Architecture enabling Sir William Peterson, McGill University's principal, to appoint a professor of Architecture. This effectively created a Department of Architecture within the Faculty of Applied Science, at that time headed by Dean Henry Taylor Bovey, a civil engineer. Stewart Henbest Capper (1859-1925) was selected to be the first Macdonald Professor of Architecture. He was recommended by Professor Gerard Baldwin Brown, a close friend of Peterson. Capper met all the requirements of the new position; he was a well-trained teacher, competent practising architect, and someone "who would have testimonials of the very highest character from the most distinguished authorities,"[1] Capper, a graduate of the University of Edinburgh (like Peterson himself), laid the foundations of the School of Architecture and its architectural library.

Capper's tenure at McGill lasted only seven years: in 1903, he left McGill to establish another new School of Architecture, this time at Victoria University in Manchester. After his resignation Principal Peterson once again turned to Professor Brown for assistance in finding an accomplished man to fill the Macdonald Chair.

A graduate of Uppingham and Oriel College,

Oxford, Gerard Baldwin Brown (1849-1932) occupied the Watson Gordon Chair of the Department of Fine Art at the University of Edinburgh and lectured on both history and theory of fine arts. Since special lectures were offered in the 1880s by the Fine Art department to students who were pursuing architecture as a profession, Brown had first hand knowledge of young talented architects not only in his capacity as a teacher but also as a prominent figure in the intellectual and academic life of Edinburgh. Brown was acquainted with many Edinburgh architects of renown, such as George Washington Browne (1854-1939), James MacLaren (1843-1890), and Robert Stodart Lorimer (1864-1929), in whose offices young promising architects were apprenticing.

G. Baldwin Brown introduced the notion that since art was "a manifestation of the life and culture of its age," great importance must be "given to the connexion between art and its social background."[2] This interpretation of art had a profound influence upon many of his students and contemporaries, including Percy Erskine Nobbs (1875-1964) (Fig. 1), whom he proposed to Peterson as a candidate to fill the Macdonald Chair.

NOBBS: STUDENT AND APPRENTICE

Percy Nobbs was born at his mother's family house in Haddington, Scotland, but his early childhood was spent in St. Petersburg, then the capital of Russia, where his father worked in a bank. It was at the School of Design in St Petersburg that he received his first training in art. At age 12 he returned to Scotland for his secondary schooling at the Edinburgh Collegiate School but continued to complement his formal education by attending classes in drawing, modelling and design, first, at Heriot Watt College, then, at the School of Art and, finally, at the New School of Applied Art.

Like his predecessor, S. Henbest Capper, Percy Nobbs enrolled at the University of Edinburgh and obtained a Master's degree in Arts. Before his graduation he travelled again to Russia as an artist-correspondent, attending the coronation of Czar Nicholas II and Empress Alexandra, granddaughter of Queen Victoria. Back in Scotland, in 1896, Nobbs was articled in the office of Robert Stodart Lorimer, who was a member of the Art Workers' Guild and a distinguished Scottish Arts and Crafts architect of the romantic traditionalist style.

Lorimer's devotion to Scottish architecture began in his youth when his father, Professor James Lorimer obtained a long lease of the 17th century Castle Kellie, Fife, a romantic but derelict house "with its mellow stone walls, turreted turnpike stairs and crow-stepped gables."[4] He completed his apprenticeship with Sir Rowand Anderson RSA, who established the National Art Survey of Scotland to encourage the study of vernacular building, and opened his own office with the help of a commission to restore the 16th century tower house of Earlshall at Leuchars in Fife (1892), owned by R. W. Mackenzie, a friend of the family.[5] Although Lorimer's work entailed other restorations, such as the Dunrobin Castle near Dornoch, Fife, and Lympne Castle, Kent; he also designed several modest cottages, some of these built in Colinton, a suburb of Edinburgh. Nobbs remained in Lorimer's office for four years.

After sucessfully passing the Royal Institute of British Architects' examinations, and winning the R.I.B.A. Tite prize (1900) for the design of a free-standing clocktower, Nobbs was elected an Associate of the Institute. Thereafter he travelled for several months in Europe spending considerable time in northern Italy with two friends and colleagues, Ramsay Traquair (1874-1952) and Cecil E. (Scott) Burgess (1870-1971). It was the beginning of a long association in architectural education that would culminate in later years at McGill University.

Returning from his travels in Europe, in 1901, Nobbs moved to London and worked for the London County Council (LCC), headed by William Edward Riley (1852-1937), an effective construction organizer. At the LCC Nobbs gained much practical experience in building operations and was also exposed to several architects who, like Lorimer, were inspired by the Arts and Crafts movement. Owen Fleming, appointed in 1893 to lead the team of LCC designers, was one of the Arts and Crafts architects much admired for his humane designs of inner city housing estates, such as the flats at Boundary Street (1895) and Millbank (1899), as well as for his low density cottage estates, including Totterdown Fields in Tooting (1903).[6] After a while, Nobbs left the LCC to become chief assistant to A.

Hessel Tiltman (1854-1910), a prominent London architect and a Fellow of the R.I.B.A.[7] It was at this point, in 1903, that he was interviewed by Principal William Peterson, and despite his being only 28 years of age Nobbs was offered the Macdonald Chair of Architecture at McGill University.

NOBBS AT McGILL

In his opening lecture at McGill's Department of Architecture, Nobbs expounded on the importance and influence of material and technical process on design, and averred that "the great quality of truthfulness can only be obtained by having due regard for the natural limitations of materials themselves and the techniques to which they are subjected." He illustrated this point with a comparison between cast iron and wrought iron works: "A clumsy, thickset heaviness is right and proper and beautiful in cast iron while a lacelike slimness is equally characteristic of the material and technic of wrought iron." Unfortunately, for economic reasons, wrought iron was continually being copied in cast iron which, in Nobbs' opinion, resulted not only in a fragile and unsafe railing, but also in a lifeless and ugly product from the artistic standpoint. He concluded his lecture with the advice "to treat materials with sympathy and technics with understanding; to ask what shall this be made of or how will that be wrought before the pencil is committed to the paper; and above all things the negative precept not to sham."[8]

Nobbs' views clearly reflected both John Ruskin's (1819-1900) plea for truthfulness in architecture as well as the Art Workers' Guild credo "to use materials aright." And, like most of his contemporary Arts and Crafts architects in Great Britain, Nobbs had little sympathy for the *Art Nouveau* movement, considering it a mere temporary aberration as well as an eccentric pretense of design in pursuit of originality.[9]

When Nobbs arrived at McGill, he found that the Department of Architecture consisted of Henry F. Armstrong (the only full-time appointed teacher at the School) and two students, Gordon H. Blackader and Harold E. Shorey. Both students had just completed the preparatory first year. A third student, Albert M. Pattison, had left the Department after finishing the second-year course. Blackader would later be seriously

Figure 2. Percy Erskine Nobbs, c. 1903.
(*Canadian Architect and Builder*, October 1903)

wounded at the Battle of Ypres in World War I, which led to his premature death in 1917. The Blackader Library of Architecture at McGill University was founded in his memory, with a very generous endowment by his parents.

Immediately after his arrival, Nobbs (Fig. 2) began to reorganize the four year architecture curriculum into two streams; one, as before, leading to the Bachelor of Science in Architectural Engineering (B.Sc.Arch.Eng.), and the other to a "new" Bachelor of Architecure (B.Arch.) degree. Students in the B. Sc. Arch. Eng. program retained much parallel instruction with civil engineering students, including the prerequisite of Applied Science Matriculation for admission. However, students pursuing the B.Arch. stream were liberated from some of the more demanding technical courses of the Faculty of Applied Science. These Nobbs replaced with courses from the Faculty of Arts; moreover, the less stringent Arts Matriculation (with French compulsory, and Freehand and Geometrical Drawing added) sufficed for admission to this new program. Thus, the preparatory first year of the B.Arch. program now became separate and distinct from that of the B.SC.Arch.Eng. program. This change resulted in the Department becoming the School of Architecture.

As before, during Capper's tenure at McGill, architectural studies proper began in second year and the amount of time devoted to design studio work increased gradually in the upper years. Generally, lectures were divided in five groups: history, structure, theory of design, ornament and decoration, and professional matters. In the third and fourth years lecture hours were usually from 9 to 10 in the morning, to enable Partial Students, working as apprentices in architects' offices, "to avail themselves of the instruction." Such lectures were recommended "for those studying for the R.I.B.A. and the P.Q.A.A. (Province of Quebec Association of Architects) examinations."[10]

With increased enrollment it became necessary, in 1906, to add three new assistants to the School's staff. Cecil Burgess, who had travelled with Nobbs in northern Italy, was appointed to teach "History of Architecture (Egyptian and Byzantine)" and "Building Construction", E.E.S. Mattice taught "Structural Engineering", and Marcel C.T. Beullac, of the Dominion Bridge Works, was responsible for "Professional Practice". Nobbs taught "Design", "Theory and Evolution of Architectural Form", "Building Trades", "Ornament and Decoration", "Science of Planning", and two history courses, "Gothic Architecture" and "Renaissance Architecture".

The principal text book for the History courses was *A History of Architecture* (1896) by Banister Fletcher, and among reference books were listed *From Schola to Cathedral* (1886) by G. Baldwin Brown, Auguste Choisy's *L'Art de Batir chez les Romains* (1873), Violet-le-Duc's *Lectures on Architecture* (1881) and John Ruskin's *Stones of Venice* (1886). The text book for "Theory and Evolution of Architectural Forms" was G. Baldwin Brown's *The Fine Arts* (1891) and reference books were the same as in the History courses. Text and reference books of the "Ornament and Decoration" course included Lewis Foreman Day's *Anatomy of Pattern* (1892), George William Eve's *Decorative Heraldry* (1897), *Grammar of Ornament* (1868) by Owen Jones, Walter Crane's *The Bases of Design* (1897) and Aymer Valance's *William Morris, his Art, his writings and his public life: a record* (1897).[11]

In 1909, Philip J. Turner (1876-1943) joined the staff to teach "Building Construction", while Burgess took charge of the "History of Medieval and Renaissance Architecture", which he relinquished a year later to Thomas Ludlow, a newly appointed Assistant Professor. (Burgess left Montreal to supervise buildings designed by Nobbs for the University of Alberta in Edmonton.) A new instructor, Henri Hubert, a well-known sculptor, was appointed in 1910 to teach "Modelling".

The growth of the School in this period is reflected in the increased numbers of graduates from two, in 1906, to eight, in 1912. With the establishment of a second School of Architecture, the *École Polytechnique* on St. Denis Street (1907), and the founding of the *École des Beaux-Arts* on St. Urbain Street (1923) under the direction of a distinguished graduate of the *École* in Paris, Professor Jules Poivert, there was no pressure to grow rapidly. Far more restricting to growth were the consequences of World War I and the Great Depression of the late 1920s.

A talented and versatile architect eager to design and construct buildings, the somewhat temperamental Nobbs had little patience for administration. Moreover, Principal Peterson disapproved of the School's director seeking ever greater involvement in professional practice instead of devoting all his energies to teaching. This conflict led to Nobbs' request, in 1909, to be relieved of the responsibility of the directorship. His replacement was effected in 1913 with the appointment to the Macdonald Chair of Architecture of Ramsay Traquair (1874-1952)—another friend with whom he had travelled in Italy many years earlier. Nobbs, however, remained on the staff of the School as a Professor of Design until his retirement.

During World War I Nobbs enlisted and was engaged in military training, teaching young Canadian recruits bayonet fighting. Later he joined the Royal Engineers and served as a camouflage expert in France, attaining the rank of major by the end of the war.[12] In the meanwhile, Traquair continued to teach at the School of Architecture, and also gave OTC (Officer Training Corps) combat instruction on the McGill campus. Edgar Andrew Collard recalled that during his instruction Professor Traquair would leap in the air, clutching his bayonet-tipped rifle, his kilt flapping about his legs, and shout to the recruits: "What you require is more fer-rocity!"[13]

THE PRACTICING ARCHITECT

Shortly after his arrival in Montreal, Nobbs had sought professional involvement in the practice of architecture, arguing that a practice was essential to demonstrate to students the application of good architectural values. And indeed, only one year after his arrival at McGill University, he succeeded in obtaining from its Governors the commission to design the Students' Union on Sherbrooke Street West—now the McCord Museum (Fig. 3, see p. 87). "The object of the Union was to make the social life of the undergraduate attractive" and it "was to be a Club" in which students of various academic disciplines were to meet, "not as members of their several faculties, but as members of the University."[14]

Although the building was designed by Nobbs, it was executed in association with the firm Hutchison and Wood, since Nobbs himself had not yet established an architectural office. On the ground floor, the Dining Room occupied the west side of the building, with the kitchen below; while the Grill Room, serving light meals for lunch, was on the east side. On the second level, the most impressive room was the Lounge, and on the third level the large Hall. The Lounge and Hall occupied the entire length of the front. The Union was one of several gifts by Sir William Macdonald, McGill's great benefactor.

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On the 5th of April, 1907, the Macdonald Engineering Building was almost entirely destroyed by fire. Designed by Andrew T. Taylor (1850-1937), the building exterior was solidly built of limestone, but its interior was of mill-construction. Both the interior and the roof of the building were entirely wrecked, and the external stone walls were seriously damaged. Located on the top floor of the building, the Architectural Department,with its valuable collection of casts, models, photographs and lantern slides, was practically wiped out. (Fig. 4, see p. 88) By a remarkable chance some sketch designs (believed to be by Pugin) were saved without serious injury.[15]

On very short notice, Nobbs was commissioned to redesign and rebuild the structure on condition that it be operational for the fall semester that same year, which, in fact, he achieved (Fig. 5, see p. 89). A bas-relief depicting the legendary Phoenix arising youthfully from the ashes, still adorns the south gable of the Macdonald Engineering Building. The School of Architecture was moved from the top floor to the ground floor of the reconstructed building, an area that the Engineering Library would occupy in the 60s and 70s. To replace the destroyed items of the School's Museum Room, Professor Armstrong was sent to England, in 1907, to purchase a new collection of casts, photographs and other equipment.[16]

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In 1910, Nobbs entered into a partnership with one of Capper's first students, George Taylor Hyde (1879-1944). He had graduated from McGill in 1899 with a B.Sc. in Architecture and later studied at M.I.T. This partnership, which lasted until Hyde's death, resulted in the design and execution of many renowned institutional, commercial and domestic buildings. Noteworthy on or near the McGill campus are the University Library Extension (1921), The Osler Memorial Library (1921), the Pathological Institute (1922-24), the Pulp and Paper Research Institute of Canada (1926-28), and the Royal Victoria College Extension (1930).

The University Library Extension stands out as an example of Nobbs urban design civility (Fig. 6, see p. 89). Not only did he use the traditional building material of the campus, Montreal grey limestone, but he also complemented the existing Redpath Library structure (designed by Andrew Taylor), in spite of the fact that he disliked eclectic buildings. Susan Wagg's assessment of this building in her monograph on Percy Nobbs is insightful. "Clasped between the end towers of the old building, Nobbs' elegant addition, with its simplified lines and shape, created a fitting conclusion —both visually and stylistically—to the architectural sequence that unfolded along McTavish Street. Unfortunately, his contribution to this joint architectural effort has been largely obliterated by a later, purely functional addition in reinforced concrete. Modernism's utter rejection of the past left little room for mercy."[17]

Other notable non-residential buildings in Montreal designed by Nobbs and Hyde are: The New Birks Building, Cathcart Street (1911); Edward VII

Figure 9. A.H. Scott House, 1922-23.
(Blackader-Lauterman Library of Architecture and Art. Canadian Architecture Collection)

School on Esplanade Avenue (1912); University Club of Montreal at Mansfield Street (1912); Bancroft School, St. Urbain Street (1914); and the Drummond Medical Building, Drummond Street (1929).

In general, Nobbs preferred the middle road of sober architecture; well-built, functional and integral to its surroundings with an appropriate balance between simplicity and the measured use of meaningful ornamentation displayed in selected places. He had a deep passion for architecture, not only as a designer but also as a builder. "Paper design is not architecture" he stated categorically in an article written for *The R.A.I.C. Journal*. The A B C of architecture, he contended, "must be apprehended out of doors in contact with operations and ruins. The architect may seek consolation in a drawing; but cannot find full satisfaction in creating anything he cannot walk around, or walk into."[18]

A skilled craftsman, Nobbs was always ready whenever necessary to demonstrate good craftsmanship whether in masonry, sheet metal work or in other trades to his workers on the building site. He was a perfectionist, and so was his life-long partner Hyde.

DOMESTIC ARCHITECTURE

Like most Arts and Crafts-trained architects, Nobbs excelled in domestic design. His first residential design, in partnership with David Robertson Brown (1869-1946), was the now-demolished C.W. Colby House (1905-06). Built for Professor Colby, who occupied the Chair of History at McGill, this house had an unusual twin-gabled front bearing an uncanny resemblance to a cottage in Colinton, Edinburgh, designed by his mentor Lorimer. A year later, this time in partnership with Cecil Burgess, Nobbs designed the J.B. Porter House on McTavish Street, which has also been demolished.

In partnership with Hyde, Nobbs built the John Lancelot Todd country house (1911-13), at 180 Senneville Road, Senneville, an exurb of Montreal. Built entirely of stone, Todd's two-story stately mansion, with an impressive arched porte cochere, a large pillared veranda and sleeping porch, has a steep shingled hipped roof, the angle repeated in its polygonal dormer windows.[19]

In 1914, five years after his marriage to Mary Cecilia Shepherd, daughter of McGill's Dean of

Medicine, Nobbs initiated the building of his own family residence at 38 Belvedere Road (Fig. 7, see p. 90). Constructed on the upper slopes of Westmount, this four-story brick building offers its occupants a breathtaking view of the city below. Its steep slated roof and prominent gables, with a subtle flair on the ridge at its gable-ends, are details intrinsic to homes designed by C.F.A. Voysey (1857-1941), one of the most famous Arts and Crafts architects.*

Nobbs' and Hyde's Arts and Crafts design tenets are also evident in a cluster of five charming homes built at 3166-3182 The Boulevard (1921-25) (Fig. 8, see p. 90), Westmount. Four of these homes are semi-detached dwellings, and the fifth, detached. Yet another cluster of homes designed by Nobbs and Hyde is the Grove Park Estate (1924-29), Westmount, a group of houses that, too, reflect the turn-of-the-century domestic architectural trend prevalent in England. These clustered homes also echoed Nobbs' belief that, apart from facilitating aesthetic harmony in a residential enclave, groups of dwellings have an added benefit derived from economics. He argued, for example, that there is a substantial saving in building forty houses together, as against forty houses, one by one. In this spirit Nobbs designed other enclaves for residential projects, such as, Belvedere Terrace, Westmount, and Queen Mary's Gardens, Hampstead.

Additional houses in Westmount designed and built by Nobbs and Hyde were: the H.R. Trenholm House (1921) and the J.H. Magor House (1922), both on Mount Pleasant Avenue, and the F.C. Wilson House (1926), Belvedere Place. On Redpath Crescent, on the slopes of Mount Royal, they designed the G.W. Grier House (1928) and the R.R. Dobell House (1928). On Lakeshore Road in Dorval they built the A.H. Scott House (1922) (Fig. 9), a building that pays homage to traditional French Canadian architecture.[20]

In all his domestic architecture, Nobbs stressed the importance of good sun exposure and efficient ventilation in all rooms of a dwelling. He also believed that all facades of a home should be given equal design consideration in order to ensure that views of the rear of buildings were as pleasing as those of the front.

*Professor Bruce Anderson drew the author's attention to the presence of Voyseyesque ridge flair.

Susan Wagg's observation that Nobbs attained "the most sought-after goal of progressive Arts and Crafts architects," in the Todd country house, namely "a house that is styleless in the historicist sense—at once modern and timeless" applies to all his domestic design.[21]

NOBBS, A VERSATILE MAN

Nobbs was also an accomplished painter and sculptor. In his youth, he took drawing and painting lessons from W.D. MacKay, Secretary of the Royal Scottish Academy (RSA).[22] He must also have been influenced by Phoebe Traquair (1952-1936), another member of the RSA. She was an accomplished artist of miniature paintings, book illuminations and embroideries and was praised by Ruskin for posessing the spirit of the 13th century. Phoebe Traquair was the mother of Nobbs' friend and colleague Ramsay Traquair, who would later succeed him as director of the school.

Nobbs painted a portrait entitled "Macdonald and Peterson on the McGill campus" for the Students' Union.* During World War I, Nobbs also painted several landscape views of the countryside in France, and later made several paintings depicting his own flower garden (Fig. 10, see p. 91).

Most of the plaster ornaments made by Nobbs for the Students' Union were destroyed after the building's conversion to the McCord Museum. But a few Zodiac signs and one stained glass window, were rescued by Professor John Bland. In the 70s, these ornaments adorned a corridor in the School of Architecture when it was in the McConnell Engineering Building. The beautiful stained glass window "Winter," depicting an old hooded person plodding through snow, still embellishes a window of one of the School's offices.

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In addition to being an accomplished artist, Nobbs was also an athlete who won a silver Olympic medal in fencing (London, 1908). As an outdoorsman, he was very fond of fishing and an expert in making flies for

*Featured in *Fontanus*, Vol.VIII, 1995, page 76.

both trout and salmon fishing. "In his youth a railway accident involving a circus enabled him to retrieve the long, white tail of a dead stallion, which kept him and two companions in hair for fishing flies for the rest of their lives."[23] *Salmon Tactics* (1934) and *Fencing Tactics* (1936), two books authored by Nobbs, substantiate his expertise in these two fields.

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Knowledgable in heraldry, Nobbs was appointed to a committee with Dr. John G. Adami, chaired by Dean Charles E. Moyse, to prepare a design for a coat of arms for the University, since the previous arms were deemed faulty and inadequate. The committee's design was accepted and was registered in the Somerset College of Heralds, and is still in use (Fig. 11, see p. 92). The inclusion on the coat of arms of the book, which carries the founder's motto "IN DOMINO CONFIDO" indicates the possession of University powers. The two ancient French crowns refer to the origin of the site and to the Royal Charter of the University. The three points symbolize our three snow-clad mountains [Mount Royal, Outremont, and Westmount], the martlets being the reversal of the McGill family arms, in deference to our founder. The motto "GRANDESCUNT AUCTA LABORE," selected by Sir Wm. Dawson, is broadly interpreted as "Great things increase by dutiful labor."[24]

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In an article for The McGill News (1940), Nobbs expressed his ideas about a new Canadian Flag. He wrote: "The symbolism requires careful thought. There is already a considerable body of opinion favouring a white field because, it is stated, the first French ships to come to the St. Lawrence flew a square, plain white flag. I am quite prepared to accept the white field for another reason. Snow is white and very beautiful and we have more of it than any other Dominion; indeed than all combined. General opinion also seems to favour the incorporation of a Union Jack somewhere So long as there is a Northern Ireland, sending members to Westminster, the Union Jack, as we now know it, will stand. Should Northern Ireland, however, cease for any reason to send members to Westminster, it is to be presumed that St. Patrick's cross (the red saltire now divided with St. Andrew's cross, which is the white saltire) will drop out....Then there is also considerable unanimity as to the maple leaf (or leaves) finding a place in the Canadian flag.....As to the maple leaf, my view is very clear; one leaf only and that a red one....and after all, the most characteristic thing about Canadian maple leaves is that they can be so very red. These red leaves, fallen on an early snow, are associated with the finest gift of nature in this land—October days....The great national flags of the world are all strikingly simple. If we are to have a national flag let it have that artistic quality."[25] Nobbs' comments were prescient: the red maple leaf on a white field was adopted for the Canadian flag decades later.

NOBBS AND MONTREAL'S ARCHITECTURE

When Nobbs arrived in August 1903 at Montreal's harbor, voyagers were typically disenbarking into "an unassorted lot of fragments of wharfs and grain elevators." After hiring a cab, a newly arrived passenger was driven up St. Francis Xavier (rue François Zavier) or St. John Street (rue Saint-Jean), both streets with a picturesque profusion of poles and wires. Crossing narrow St. James Street (rue Saint-Jacques), the traveller would get a glimps of tall and substantial buildings, but after descending into Craig Street (rue Saint-Antoine), a wide thoroughfare, the ambiance suddenly changed: "rows of the neatest old stone houses imaginable" were disfigured "with disproportioned and unattractive, not to say repulsive signs, in apparently some kind of simple and unquestioning faith that they thereby recommend themselves to the general public. A little modesty and tidiness," suggested an anomymous writer with the nom de plume "Concordia Salus," could have made "a wonderful transformation here..... These disfiguring signs are worse than sin, they are blunders, and to architects they are particularly offensive as being a cheap way of obliterating even the finest architecture."[26]

Since this article was apparently written by an architect and a newcomer to Montreal, and since the nom de plume "Concordia Salus" was borrowed from the City of Montreal's coat of arms, it is tempting to attribute the quote to Nobbs. While there is no proof as to the identity of the writer, the sentiments expressed in this article are nevertheless consistent with Nobbs' critical views. In fact, two years after the publication of

this anonymous article, Nobbs chaired the Province of Quebec Association of Architects Committee on City Improvements, which advocated the contruction of a bridge over the wharves to enable passengers to reach the city after disembarkation without having to cross the railway lines that border the river.[27]

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Later in life, in an article written for the *The RAIC Journal*, Nobbs said that on his arriving at the Montreal docks, he hired a cab that passed the new Board of Trade building (by Brown and Miller), which he liked. Later, he recounted, he was shown the Bank of Montreal building then under construction (by McKim, Mead, and White), and was impressed with its Craig Street (rue Saint-Antoine) facade. Windsor Station, the Place Viger Hotel and the Royal Victoria College (all by Bruce Price) he viewed as mementos of the "American Battle of Styles," a skirmish that had spilled over our border. On the McGill campus the Chemistry Building (now the School of Architecture and School of Urban Planning), by Sir Andrew Taylor (in partnership with Hogle and Davis), he assessed as both reasonable and charming, "in contrast with the Ruskinian freakishness of some of its neighbours." The Royal Victoria Hospital (by Saxon Snell) he opined was a mere copy of Edinburgh's Royal Infirmary.

Of Montreal's churches he liked that of the Grey Nuns on Dorchester Street (now boulevard René-Lévesque) designed by Bourgeau in 1871, and St. Patrick's by Rev. Father Martin S.J., built in 1847. Notre-Dame Cathedral on Place d'Armes (by James O'Donnell), he found dull, but admitted that its adroit plan could accommodate a large congregation. The St. James Cathedral (now Cathédrale Marie-Reine-du-Monde) he viewed as merely "a quarter half-scale model of St, Peter's in Rome," which it is. Christ Church Cathedral (by Frederick Wills) represented the Gothic Revival "in full flower."[28] Most of the buildings not favoured by Nobbs were designed either by American or British architects, who did not live in Montreal and had no sense of the Canadian 'genius loci.'

As a former student of Gerard Baldwin Brown and therefore a believer of his teacher's credo that art was ideally a manifestation of the life and culture of its age and place, Nobbs searched for a Canadian architectural identity. He extolled the virtues of vernacular buildings built by the original settlers of Quebec and recalled in one of his articles that when he first came to Montreal, architecture was "subjected to the following more or less competitive influences: a) Parisian academism, b) the rarified classic of the McKim, Mead and White tradition, and c) Gothic revivalism in its many forms, including d) American romanesque. A decade and more was to elapse before I became instrumental in interesting the profession and the general public in the sterling qualities of the old architecture of the Province of Quebec, which paralleled the Colonial period in the USA..."[29]

Nobbs admitted, however, that during the five decades since his arrival in Canada, he witnessed a great improvement in Montreal's architecture. His "haphazard list of a few good buildings" were: The Macdonald Agriculture College, St Anne de Bellevue—Hutchison and Wood; The Municipal Library, Sherbrooke Street East—E. Payette; The Crane Building, Beaver Hall Square (now Square Frère-André)—H. Vallance; The New Court House, Notre Dame Street East—E. Cormier; Bell Telephone Building, Beaver Hall Hill—E. Barott; the Château Apartments, Sherbrooke Street West—G. Ross; and The Congregation of Notre Dame (now Dawson College), Sherbrooke Street West—J. Marchand.[30]

Nobbs, even in his old age (Fig. 12, see p. 92), remained a committed Arts and Crafts architect. He never wavered in his convictions, nor did he ever disown the Arts and Crafts tradition—as many others did before embracing the International Modern Style. In Nobbs' opinion, achitects who followed the modern movement to the letter were mere "accommodation engineers" and his sentiment with respect to this new movement is summed up in the last sentence of his book *Design: A Treatise on the Discovery of Form* (1937): "One must distinguish between modernistic absurdity and modern genius in design—the one denies the past, the other realizes the present as the step between the past and the future."[31]

CONCLUSION

Percy Nobbs was an extraordinary man whose contribution to Canada, his adopted country, as well as to Montreal and McGill University was profound. He

was one of the first architects who understood and appreciated Canadian building traditions, such as the traditional architecture of Quebec and Montreal's grey stone houses, both of which he considered more suitable to local conditions than buildings based on designs imported from abroad. He saw a danger in the "Americanization" of our arts and architecture, and advocated the development of a Canadian design and building tradition, such as our predecessors possessed, but lost during the 19th century.[32]

Nobbs was a pioneer not only in architecture, but in the planning profession as well. He was a proponent of a comprehensive city plan for Montreal for town planning legislation for the Province of Quebec. When the City of Montreal, in 1941, established a planning department, Nobbs was retained as a consultant.

Percy Nobbs was elected president of the Province of Quebec Association of Architects (1924), president of the Town Planning Institute of Canada (1928), president of the Royal Architectural Institute of Canada (1931), vice-president of the Montreal City Improvement League (1930), joint-chairman of the Montreal Committee on Housing and Slum Clearance, member of the Royal Society of Arts, London (1939), and acting president of the Royal Canadian Academy. He received the Outdoor Life Conservation Award (1952) and was awarded an honorary degree of Doctor of letters by McGill University (1957).

Percy Erskine Nobbs died on November the 5th, 1964, at age eighty-nine, leaving behind a legacy of impeccable works of architecture, and of an exemplary devotion and dedication to both teaching and building architecture. Nobbs' drawings and artifacts were presented by Professor John Bland to the Blackader-Lauterman Library of Architecture and Art and have become an integral part of the library's Canadian Architecture Collection and is documented by Irena Murray in *Percy Erksine Nobbs and His Associates: a Guide to the Archives/et ses associés: guide du fonds* (1986).

Nobbs was born and educated in Scotland, but his life's work flourished on the shores of the St. Lawrence. His grave can be found on the slopes of Mount Royal.

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Gentlemanly Satisfaction: The Wellington-Winchilsea Duel of 1829

by Bruce Dolphin

When, in 1829, the Duke of Wellington's government moved to pass Roman Catholic emancipation—basically the restoration of the right of British and Irish Catholics to sit in parliament—Lord Winchilsea in Ultra-Tory outrage publicly and without parliamentary immunity accused the prime minister of having treacherously plotted the destruction of the Protestant constitution. The resulting passage of arms in London's Battersea Fields, through its unusually abundant documentation, provides a singular moment of insight into not only the personal qualities of the participants, but also the political culture of the time and the decline of duelling in British society.

Lorsqu'en 1829, le gouvernement du Duc de Wellington fait voter la Loi d'émancipation des catholiques (qui rétablit le droit des catholiques irlandais et anglais de siéger au Parlement), l'ultra-conservateur Lord Winchilsea accuse, publiquement et sans immunité parlementaire, le premier ministre d'avoir trahi la constitution protestante et conspiré en vue de sa destruction. Le duel qui s'ensuit à Battersea Fields, à Londres, et sur lequel les documents sont étonnamment nombreux, est riche d'enseignements sur les qualités personnelles des protagonistes ainsi que sur la culture politique de l'époque et le déclin du duel dans la société britannique.

Two pistol shots, with but a momentary interval, rent the quiet morning air of south London's Battersea Fields, part of what was then still a Thames-side market garden suburb. It was shortly after 8 A.M., Saturday, 21 March 1829, and Arthur Wellesley,[1] Duke of Wellington and British Prime Minister, had just stood his ground with George Finch-Hatton,[2] Earl of Winchilsea and Nottingham. The event constituted the second, and last, time that an incumbent first minister of the crown fought a duel, the previous such meeting having taken place not far to the west, on Putney Heath, where William Pitt faced George Tierney, M.P. for Southwark, in 1798. While these encounters are today obviously far removed from McGill in time, custom and geography, duelling was not uncommon in Canada during both the French and British colonial regimes.

Indeed, two of McGill College's original four faculty members, both Scottish-born British army veterans of the War of 1812 who became medical doctors, had occasion to issue or accept a formal appeal to arms in civilian life. In 1819 Dr. William Caldwell exchanged fire five times in a tenacious combat with Michael O'Sullivan, M.L.A. for Huntingdon and future chief justice of Montreal, which each man surprisingly survived despite serious wounds. Thirteen years later Dr. William Robertson, first head of the McGill Medical Department and a Montreal magistrate, challenged the Patriote leader Louis-Joseph Papineau. The duel did not come off, yet the intent was there on Robertson's side.[3] But feisty physicians aside, the circumstances of the Wellington-Winchilsea contest find abundant primary source documentation - much of it difficult or impossible to obtain elsewhere - in the Hardinge Papers (MSS. 315) held by the Department of Rare Books and Special Collections, McGill University Libraries.

The foregoing papers record the career of Sir Henry (later Viscount) Hardinge,[4] an individual not without some Montreal association in that, as a young officer in the Queen's Rangers stationed in the city, he drove off at sword-point a number of robbers assaulting Edward ("Bear") Ellice, a Scottish merchant. Some years thereafter Ellice returned home to Britain where as a Whig politician he achieved ministerial rank.[5] Most commonly remembered for his role in the 1840s as the British commander in the First Sikh War and as governor-general of India, Hardinge served as Wellington's second in the 1829 meeting with Winchilsea which engaged, as principals or seconds, four members of what was still ostensibly the same Tory governing party. In fact from the beginning the Wellington administration, formed in January 1828, like

other post-Napoleonic War governments faced divisions between the ministerial front bench and an Ultra-Tory, mostly back bench, right wing disgruntled by what it saw as the government's tendency to temporize in its support for the landed interest and, as the phrase went, "the Protestant constitution in church and state."

Ultra-Tory suspicions of ministerial unsteadiness—"... I shall begin to fear, that all is not well at Head Quarters,"[6] as one Ultra put it—gave way to anger and bitter feelings of betrayal when, early in 1829, the administration announced its intention to pass the long passionately-debated measure commonly known as Roman Catholic emancipation. The divisive nature of the Catholic question had kept it an "open" one in cabinet since the advent of Lord Liverpool's ministry in 1812 but now, argued the Wellington government, conditions were critically altered. While other considerations were involved, the immediate rationale for this dramatic change in policy was to prevent the outbreak of another rebellion in Ireland on the scale of 1798 or even 1641, augured by the recent massively successful agitation of Daniel O'Connell's Catholic Association in that country. In essence, Catholic emancipation meant the repeal of the Papist Disabling Act of 1678 passed as part of the constitutional and religious struggle culminating in the "Glorious Revolution" a decade later and the expulsion of the Catholic King James II. The Papist Disabling Act set criteria to be met by every member of the Lords and Commons before they took their seat. By 1829, those loyal to Rome in the spiritual realm had long since reached a consensus that an equitably-worded oath of supremacy (i.e. allegiance) to a Protestant monarch in the temporal realm constituted no moral obstacle, but the required abjuration of the doctrine of transubstantiation in holy communion proved another matter. While this anti-transubstantiation regulation stood, any conscientious Catholic, or indeed by the scruples of the time, virtually any nominal one, was thus *de facto* though not explicitly *de jure* barred from sitting in parliament.

Popular Protestantism drew upon an anti-Catholic tradition inspired by events—or a version of events—which began at least as far back as the church reform agitation of John Wycliffe, and was successively buttressed by the reign of Bloody Mary and the slightly later threat posed by the Spanish Armada and (had the Armada been successful) the Inquisition, on through Guy Fawkes and the Gunpowder Plot, the 17th century Civil Wars, the Titus Oates affair and the several Irish and Jacobite risings. In keeping with this spirit, the Ultra-Tories and their numerous supporters at large in Britain and Ireland—many of the more prominent of them members of Orange Lodges, Pitt Clubs, or Brunswick Constitutional Clubs—held that harsh historical lessons taught the necessity of an exclusively Protestant parliament for the preservation of national independence and constitutional liberties against the collective Catholic tendency to intolerance in religion, despotism in the state, and obscurantism in both. There also existed the closely related concern that the introduction of a large number of Catholic Irish parliamentarians would, to the peril of Ireland's Protestant population, greatly increase demand for the repeal of the 1800 Act of Union which united the British and Irish legislatures. But in any case, from the Ultras' perspective, their own position was a matter of patriotic prudence, not anachronistic anti-Catholic bigotry as claimed by critics who included some more liberal, or in other cases merely more religiously indifferent, Tories.[7]

With this, and Tory internecine parliamentary battles over Catholic emancipation, as background, Winchilsea addressed his Protestant countrymen by means of a public letter to Henry Nelson Coleridge in the London-based but nationally circulated *Standard*,[8] the leading Ultra-Tory daily newspaper edited by Stanley Lees Giffard, an Irish Orangeman and LL.D. of Trinity College, Dublin. Winchilsea's declaration, written at his Eastwell Park estate near Ashford, Kent, was dated 14 March and published two days later. Thus began a series of letters, notes, memoranda and negotiations which, while perhaps not without parallel in their punctilio, probably have never been equalled with respect to the fullness of their documentation of the proceedings attending a duel. Certainly it is doubtful that any other encounter of the kind in British history ever generated as many first-hand records, to which the Hardinge Papers make an important contribution.

In his open letter published in the *Standard*, Winchilsea accused his party chief, the prime minister, of having been a secret convert to the policy of Catholic emancipation since the previous year, when Wellington (on 21 June, though the exact date was not mentioned)

presided at the inauguration of King's College, London, as a Christian (more specifically an Anglican) antidote to the agnostic University College promoted by many Radicals and the more "advanced" of their sometimes uneasy Whig allies. Inasmuch as Wellington used the occasion and his contribution to the King's College establishment fund to deceive others into thinking he was still a firm supporter of the existing constitution in church and state, ran the letter, Winchilsea as another contributor now felt compelled to remove his own name from the list of subscribers to a morally compromised enterprise.

He further explained:

> ...I confess that I felt rather doubtful as to the sincerity of the motives which had actuated some of the prime movers in this undertaking, when I considered that the noble Duke at the head of his Majesty's government had been induced, on this occasion, to assume a new character, and to step forward himself as the public advocate of religion and morality.
>
> Late political events have convinced me that the whole transaction was intended as a blind to the Protestant and High Church party, that the noble Duke, who had for some time previous to that period determined upon 'breaking in upon the constitution of 1688,' might the more effectually, under the cloak of some outward show of zeal for the Protestant religion, carry on his insidious designs, for the infringement of our liberties, and the introduction of Popery into every department of the State.[9]

Regardless of libel laws, the conventions of extra-parliamentary debate made allowances for strong language, and partisans could safely go quite far in attacking the opinions, attitudes, and even the intelligence, of opponents. However, something one could not do in the higher ranks of male society, without considerable probability of being called out to answer at the risk of one's life, was cast serious aspersions upon the personal character or honour of anyone deemed a "gentleman." Charges which threatened to go as far as those in the *Standard* were currently being made under parliamentary immunity by other Ultras, and indeed by the Earl himself, at Westminster. As recently as 12 March, Wellington's confidante Harriet Arbuthnot noted an harangue typical in both substance and style when she wrote that

> Lord Winchilsea made a furious attack upon the Duke last night, called him despotic & arbitrary, said he had deceived the people, called upon him to dissolve Parliament [for a general election] and ended by moving for a [statistical] return of all Catholic priests & monks in the United Empire. L[or]d Winchilsea always speaks in the House of Lords as if he was shouting to a mob on a windy day upon Pennenden Heath. I never heard such a voice in my life. I went last night & he had begun before I got there, and we actually heard him in the lobbies.[10]

So much for Westminster, but when Winchilsea (Fig. 1, see p. 93) impetuously came forward a few days later publicly in print, he no longer enjoyed parliamentary immunity. The Ultra-Tory Earl thus inadvertently presented the prime minister with the welcome opportunity for a political counter-attack which could be couched in terms of a defence of personal honour particularly telling with fellow peers in the Lords, where Ultra-Tory strength was greatest.

In this connection Wellington later revealingly reported to the Duke of Buckingham, a ministerial supporter whose son and heir, Lord Chandos, was a well known Ultra:

> The truth is that the duel with Lord Winchilsea was as much part of the Roman Catholic question, and it was as necessary to undertake it and carry it to the extremity to which I did carry it, as it was to do everything else which I did to attain the object which I had in view.
>
> I was living here for some time in an atmosphere of calumny. I could do nothing that was not misrepresented as having some base purpose in view.
>
> ... The courts of justice were shut, and not to open till May. I knew that the Bill must pass or be lost before the 15th of April.
>
> In this state of things Lord Winchilsea published his furious letter. I immediately perceived the advantage it gave me; and I determined to act upon it in such a tone as would certainly put me in the right. Not only was I

> successful in the execution of my project, but the project itself produced the effect which I looked for and intended that it should produce .... The system of calumny was discontinued. Men were ashamed of repeating what had been told to them; and I have reason to believe, moreover, that intentions not short of criminal were given up in consequence of remonstrances from some of the most prudent of the party, who came forward in consequence of the duel.
>
> I am afraid that the event itself shocked many good men. But I am certain that the public interests at the moment required that I should do what I did.[11]

The prime minister's allusion to the law courts being closed implies that, had they been in session, he might have considered filing an *ex officio* action for libel. Such was the course soon to be adopted by Wellington against Robert Alexander, a Scot resident in London where he served as editor of the Ultra-Tory *Morning Journal*. But political journalists were widely considered members of a disreputable pseudo-profession, hardly gentlemen socially fit to duel with aristocrats and peers of the realm. Winchilsea's status as a member of the House of Lords made him eminently challengeable, however, and the Duke opened his part of the proceedings the same day (Monday, 16 March) the offending letter appeared in print.

In London, he sent a brief note enquiring of Winchilsea whether the item in the *Standard* was written by the Earl and published by his authority. Wellington's note took two days to reach its intended recipient in Kent since it was first directed to Winchilsea's Suffolk Street house in the capital though the provocative newspaper piece bore an Eastwell Park address. By this time the Duke had despatched a duplicate of his original communication.[12] Winchilsea, receiving both items, one early and one later, on Wednesday, 18 March, replied immediately: "My Lord—The inclosed is a copy of the answer which I returned, by this day's post, to your Grace's letter, which only reached me **this morning**. I intend leaving this place for London to-morrow morning, and expect to be at No. 7, Suffolk-street, between four and five o'clock in the afternoon." He acknowledged responsibility for the letter in the *Standard*, adding that, "As I had publicly given my approbation and sanction to the establishment of the King's College, London, last year, by his Grace the Duke of Wellington becoming a subscriber to it, I thought it incumbent upon me, in withdrawing my name, also publicly to state my reasons for so doing."[13]

Though Monday's accusations against the Prime Minister caused a minor stir in political circles, little thought ensued as to the likelihood of "anything serious" in the way of consequences. Indeed when, on Wednesday, Privy Council Clerk Charles Greville asked Lord Bathurst, Lord President of the council, at Windsor Castle if he had read Winchilsea's declamation, Bathurst jocularly replied, "Yes, and it is a very clever letter, much the wisest thing he ever did; he has got back his money. I wish I could find some such pretext to get back mine."[14] Nor was the Lord President's drollery the only example of humour, or at least of something amusing, manifested in an increasingly rancorous battle whose possibilities for personal danger few as yet properly appreciated.

The handkerchief incident of a short time previous derived not from the press, but from the House of Lords where, as might be expected, Winchilsea's reputation was that of the most impassioned speaker amongst its membership. Moreover, the Ultra-Tory Earl habitually accompanied his Protestant rhetoric at Westminster with flourishes of a white pocket handkerchief in a gesture of anything but surrender. Hence the understandable confusion of the Whig Lord Holland who was surprised when, arriving home one night after sitting near Winchilsea, he found himself in possession of a handkerchief bearing a monogrammed letter "W." Holland duly forwarded the article, together with a complimentary note, to its even more surprised and confused supposed owner. Already on bad terms with Wellington, Winchilsea upon receipt of the handkerchief in turn "fancied it was the Duke's ... sent by way of affronting him,"[15] as Greville records. It is significant that Winchilsea did not go personally, but rather chose a second party, his friend and fellow-Ultra Henry Pelham-Clinton, Duke of Newcastle, to visit Holland for an explanation—practice consistent with an attempt to clear up ambiguity as to whether a challenge had been intimated. Newcastle met Holland, whereupon the cloud lifted when the mysterious handkerchief was discovered to belong not to the Prime Minister, but to Lord Wellesley, his older brother. Again according to

the clerk of the privy council, "The next day Lord Winchilsea came up laughing to Lord Holland in the House of Lords, and said he had many apologies to make for what had passed, but that he really was in such a state of excitement he did not know what he said and did."[16]

Yet if the handkerchief affair ended lightheartedly, it nonetheless quickly proved in its own way portentous. Anticipating events as he prepared to leave Eastwell Park in response to Wellington's written enquiry, Winchilsea once more requested Newcastle to negotiate for him. But the letter, directed to Newcastle's London residence, gave rise to another instance of delayed delivery since the Duke was out of town. In any case, while otherwise still very well disposed toward his Ultra ally, Winchilsea, Newcastle felt relieved to have escaped helping him on this occasion: "It was most fortunate for me that I was not [in London], for nothing that could have been required of me would have been more utterly distasteful...than to have acted as [a] second in a duel."[17] With Newcastle unavailable, Winchilsea immediately upon arrival in town about 4 P.M. next appealed to a Cornishman, Edward Boscawen,[18] Earl of Falmouth, to perform what was to prove an emotionally exhausting, rather thankless task.

Taken by surprise, Falmouth remembered reading the recent letter in the *Standard*, but until approached by Winchilsea "knew nothing whatever" of the resulting correspondence and its ramifications.[19] However, he agreed to act for a fellow Ultra. Wellington meanwhile enlisted his colleague Sir Henry Hardinge, the Secretary at War, as his second. With Winchilsea's return to London in the afternoon of Thursday, 19 March, the main players were in place. Only Hardinge had personal experience of such matters, having in 1824 served as a second for his brother-in-law, Lord Londonderry. As gentlemen, all understood the basics of the contemporary *code duello* and the need, at least as things stood in British society by the end of the third decade of the 19th century, for the utmost discretion, indeed secrecy, in arrangements. This arose in part from a desire to spare family and friends worry, but was also to avoid interference by them or others in an exercise of ritual violence regarded with increasing disfavour even in aristocratic quarters. Legally, the potential existed for a situation politically embarrassing for Wellington and Hardinge in which all the participants could be arrested for a breach of the peace by any magistrate or Bow Street Runner who possessed reasonable evidence of intent, and was not over-awed at the thought of taking into custody the King's first minister as well as the Secretary at War together with two peers engaged in criminal conspiracy with them.

The secretive quartet certainly shared some significant social and political similarities. At the most basic level, all were Anglican and (which was by now essentially true of the Anglo-Irish Wellington also) English; and all were or, in the case of Hardinge, would be in due course, members of the peerage. Moreover, each was sufficiently politically partisan that they either had been, or would be within five years, awarded the accolade of an honorary Doctor of Civil Law degree from that historic spiritual home of Toryism, Oxford University. Yet at the same time, certain striking differences between the two sides in the projected proceedings present themselves. The nearly 60 year old Prime Minister, the "Great Captain" as he was popularly known (later to be also styled the "Iron Duke"), a major figure on the European political and military stage, had for much of British society long since acquired the status almost of a demigod, being awarded laurels and lands by parliament on a scale unprecedented since the rise a century earlier of John Churchill, **Duke of Marlborough**, another national soldier-hero. **Hardinge,** Wellington's trusted comrade-in-arms from **the Peninsular** and Waterloo campaigns, came from the gentry and hence a socially lower origin than the Duke, a younger son of the Earl of Mornington; but the Secretary at War had already achieved considerable public stature. Also, each man had much experience with violent death and injury gained during active military years. **Wellington**, despite all the carnage in which he had been a director, was lucky enough to have escaped with no more than a slight wound from a spent French bullet. (Fig. 2, see p. 94) His second Hardinge (Fig. 3, see p. 95), however, was twice seriously injured during the Peninsular conflict, having been with Sir John Moore when he fell in action while in command at Corunna in 1809. Later, at the Battle of Quatre Bras, two days before Waterloo, Sir Henry lost his left hand. Thus, for the ministerial team, were professional soldiers in politics.

By contrast, their Ultra counterparts were back benchers, and civilians. Falmouth was, in 1807-1808, an ensign in the Coldstream Guards,[20] but he does not seem to have seen combat. Winchilsea, aged 38 in 1829, a Deputy Lord Lieutenant for the County of Kent, had for 20 years held a captaincy in the Kent militia and, for a decade, the rank of Lieutenant in the Northamptonshire yeomanry.[21] But he was at least as innocent of the violence of real military service as his second, the militia and the yeomanry, especially in peacetime, being more social clubs of convivial Saturday night amateur soldiers than effective formations of authentic ones. Both Winchilsea and Falmouth, as members of landed society, certainly did some upland game shooting in season; but occasionally swinging a shotgun at grouse, pheasants and woodcock on the moors scarcely compared to years of military campaigning as conditioning for the deliberate shedding of human blood.

Again, the two Ultras as back benchers commanded incomparably less parliamentary and national prominence. This remained true although Winchilsea's stentorian orations in the Lords gained attention enhanced by well-reported addresses to Kentish public meetings in the autumn of 1828. His successfully demagogic performance in these gatherings at Maidstone (to promote the Brunswick Club movement) and at nearby Pennenden Heath (the latter event a full-scale county meeting which carried a strongly Protestant resolution), reflected the sense of conviction he expressed shortly before. "I, for one, am determined," he told Chandos, "to remain no longer quiet, but to exert, to the utmost, the humble talents & power which I possess, in raising the dormant spirit of the Country, & awakening it to the perilous situation in which we now stand."[22] Yet, some months later, Winchilsea's reckless language now stood him much more personally in a different, potentially fatal, "perilous situation." Obliged to rely heavily on Falmouth's agency, he faced the daunting prospect of dealing in a matter of mortal seriousness with one of the foremost figures of the age, at once a living national monument, Prime Minister, Field Marshal and party chief.

Though not without supporters at the popular level, Winchilsea's public posture invited ridicule and contempt from government adherents, Catholics, Whigs, Radicals and, in general, a heterogeneous array of reformers ranging from liberal Protestants and philanthropists to the fashionably ungodly. Greville, learning of the duel shortly after it occurred, was perhaps especially sarcastic in his reference to the Earl as "such a maniac" who "has so lost his head;"[23] but he echoed a wider sentiment. Yet a month earlier a more charitable, and fairer, estimation was made by the Whig Lady Holland: "Some of the [Ultra-Tory] Lords are really *de bonne foi*, such as Lord Winchilsea, who is not a very able man, but who is honest, frank, and zealous in what he thinks the duty of a true Protestant. I like him personally for his warmth, and sincerity."[24] In essentially similar terms Roundell Palmer (later the Liberal Lord Selborne, and lord chancellor), who not only knew Winchilsea but as a youth lived for a time as a tutor to his eldest son in the household at Eastwell Park, spoke of his host as "a man of frank, kindly, and generous character, but not wise." Palmer added that it would have been better had the Earl been guided more by Lady Winchilsea (a daughter of the Scottish Duke of Montrose), for she possessed a better sense of practical political discretion than did her husband.[25] Thus, in part, for the character of the Duke's verbal assailant.

Intent on orchestrating developments (and on publishing their course if and when warranted) according to the dictates of political policy, Wellington understandably wanted to ensure the exactness of his own records. "I shall be very much obliged to you if you will send me back the Letter for a Moment; as I don't think that the Copy which I have kept of it is accurate. You shall have it back directly,"[26] he wrote to Hardinge, whom he also requested to deliver the following communication to Winchilsea:

London, March 19, 1829.

My Lord - I have had the honour of receiving your Lordship's letters of the 18th instant.

Your Lordship is certainly the best judge of the mode to be adopted of withdrawing your name from the list of subscribers to the King's College.

In doing so, however, it does not appear necessary to impute to me, in no measured terms, disgraceful and criminal motives for my conduct in the part which I took in the establishment of the College.

No man has a right, whether in public or in

private, by speech or in writing, or in print, to insult another by attributing to him motives for his conduct, public or private, which disgrace or criminate him.

If a Gentleman commits such an act indiscreetly, in the heat of debate, or in a moment of party violence, he is always ready to make reparation to him whom he may thus have injured.

I am convinced that your Lordship will, upon reflection, be anxious to relieve yourself from the pain of having thus insulted a man who never injured or offended you.

I have, &c...
Wellington.[27]

Sir Henry found Winchilsea in the late afternoon or early evening, gave him the letter, and was duly referred to Falmouth as Winchilsea's representative.

Perhaps as long as several hours elapsed before the Secretary at War met Falmouth and the two men began negotiations in earnest. Falmouth presented Winchilsea's reply, in the form of a memorandum, to the Duke's request for "reparation" made earlier in the day.[28] Winchilsea averred that,

Whether I may determine to give an explanation of my letter published in the *Standard* on Monday last, will depend upon the correctness of my belief that I had grounds for the opinions complained of by the Noble Duke ....

I am ready to allow that I was mistaken in my view of the Noble Duke's conduct, as expressed in my public letter to Mr. Coleridge ... and to state my regret at having so expressed it, provided that the Noble Duke will state on his part that at the time he came forward to preside at the meeting for the establishment of King's College, London, he did not contemplate the measures which are now in progress for Roman Catholic Emancipation—or, to use Mr. [Robert] Peel's words, 'for breaking in upon the Constitution of 1688'; but without some statement to that effect from the Noble Duke, I cannot withdraw the expressions contained in the above letter.[29]

After some talk, Hardinge left to convey this answer to Wellington, but returned at midnight. In the course of these discussions, when asked "the extent of reparation that would be expected," Hardinge suggested two alternatives that amounted to the same thing: Winchilsea should either write another letter to Coleridge, or one to the Duke himself, expressing regret at having wrongly attributed highly offensive motives to Wellington in the King's College enterprise —this for publication in the *Standard* as the original organ of record. Falmouth, on Winchilsea's behalf, objected to the words "Which motives he is now sensible he was not justified in imputing to his Grace" in a proposed amend,[30] presumably since it still avoided the issue of whether Wellington had indeed, as charged, decided upon Catholic emancipation at the time in question. There things rested between the parties who agreed to meet again after a few hours sleep on what was already Friday, 20 March.

But Falmouth, although feeling the pressure of the circumstances into which he had been so unexpectedly thrust, reported yet again in person back to Winchilsea before finally retiring for the night. It is the more understandable, therefore, that next morning with, as events were to unfold, almost exactly 24 hours to go before the moment of truth, Falmouth hurriedly despatched the following note to Sir Henry. "I did not get to bed till past two this morning—& have overslept myself after having run about so much from four o'clock yesterday to that hour," he explained. "Anxious to prevent extremities if I can properly do so I will with your concurrence make one more attempt before I acquaint you with the result of my one o'clock visit last night, when fatigue had made me very unfit for such business, & I will afterwards be with you as soon as I can at the War Office—I hope before ten o'clock."[31]

While Falmouth experienced the vicissitudes of being a second, Wellington responded to the previous day's memorandum from Winchilsea with one of his own. "I may lament," he commented, "that a Nobleman for whom I feel the highest respect, entertains a bad opinion of me. But I don't complain as long as that opinion is not brought before me." He then proceeded to say,

[However] I cannot admit that any man has a right to call me before him to justify myself from the charges which his fancy may suggest.

> That of which I complain is, that the Earl of Winchilsea and Nottingham should have published an opinion that I was actuated by disgraceful and criminal motives in a certain transaction that took place nearly a year ago.
>
> His Lordship, unprovoked, has insulted me by stating in writing, and authorising the publication of this opinion. For this insult I believed, and am not willing to part with the belief, that his Lordship will be anxious to give me reparation.[32]

This document merely repeated the gravamen of the Prime Minister's previous letter. And again, it did not address the Ultra Earl's contention about the chronology of the intention to carry Catholic emancipation. Consistent with this, in a related memorandum Hardinge stated that a disclaimer by Wellington as to "having contemplated the intentions attributed" to him, was "as a preliminary to any explanation [by Winchilsea] ... considered inadmissible."[33]

Falmouth wrote, and Winchilsea signed, the Ultra message in return:

> March 20, One o'Clock.
>
> Out of respect for the Duke of Wellington, Lord Falmouth has taken to Lord Winchilsea the Duke of Wellington's Memorandum, put into his hands by Sir Henry Hardinge, this morning, at the War-office, with Sir Henry's own note thereon.
>
> In reply, Lord Winchilsea does not feel himself in a situation to comply with the expectation therein expressed, as to the withdrawal of his public letter. Lord Winchilsea, therefore, desires that Lord Falmouth will decline doing so on his (Lord W.'s) behalf.
>
> Winchilsea.[34]

In view of the impasse, after Falmouth delivered this note to his opposite number a "calling out" might be anticipated at any moment. Nonetheless, Hardinge wrote at 2 P.M. saying, "I feel it to be my duty, before I make a final communication to your Lordship, to ascertain beyond the possibility of a doubt, that Lord Winchilsea declines to give the reparation which the Duke of Wellington considers himself entitled to receive." At 3:30 Falmouth found himself unable to do more as a rejoinder than refer the Secretary at War to the one o'clock item bearing Winchilsea's signature, somewhat repetitiously adding "that if by the word 'reparation' any withdrawal of Lord Winchilsea's public letter, or expression of regret for its contents, be expected, he does not feel himself to be in a situation to comply with such expectation."[35]

Before 5 P.M. Falmouth and Sir Henry met, verbally agreeing that the encounter between their principals would take place at 8 o'clock the next morning in Battersea Fields, a location both convenient and reasonably secluded. Only after this, at 6:30, did Wellington personally issue a formal challenge:

> Since the insult, unprovoked on my part, and not denied by your Lordship, I have done everything in my power to induce your Lordship to make me reparation—but in vain. Instead of apologising for your own conduct your Lordship has called upon me to explain mine.
>
> The question for me now to decide is this—Is a Gentleman, who happens to be the King's Minister, to submit to be insulted by any Gentleman who thinks proper to attribute to him disgraceful or criminal motives for his conduct as an individual. I cannot doubt of the decision which I ought to make on this question. Your Lordship is alone responsible for the consequences.
>
> I now call upon your Lordship to give me that satisfaction for your conduct which a Gentleman has a right to require, and which a Gentleman never refuses to give.[36]

Enclosed with a covering letter from Hardinge, the envelope reached Falmouth shortly after 8 o'clock when he "had just sat down to dinner, and being in company ... could not read it without exciting suspicion till some time afterwards." The Earl next found Winchilsea and delivered Wellington's note. Since things had already been arranged by the seconds some hours earlier, Falmouth either naively or, perhaps, already with a hint of suspicion, ventured to Hardinge the presumption that the Duke's apparently superfluous written challenge "was meant merely as a customary form on such occasions."[37] But it is unlikely that he as yet appreciated the extent to which, for the Prime Minister, the affair was really an instrument of politics and not a function of individual honour, hence the need for documentation (including that of the actual calling out) to be subsequently published.

Hardinge the same evening contacted his own friend and Wellington's personal physician, Dr. John Robert Hume, to be in attendance at the intended event. Hume's eldest daughter, Elizabeth, and Lord Douro, the Duke's eldest son, both in their early twenties, had for some years been spoken of as a possible match, Douro certainly at times expressing a romantic interest in the young lady. Yet with an engagement of quite another sort on his mind, it was not a daughter-in-law which Wellington immediately required of the doctor but, somewhat incongruously, both medical skill and weapons to inflict damage to test such skill—neither the Prime Minister nor his second owned duelling pistols, which they therefore borrowed from Hume.[38] To maintain security, the summons was so circumspect that, while its recipient could hardly fail to discern the nature of the occasion that was in the offing, no mention was made of the parties, place or time, except that the physician should be at the Secretary at War's house no later than 6:45 the next morning. Ironically, a very alarmed Hume assumed that his correspondent, Sir Henry, was one of the principals, and confessed himself "almost tempted, instead of answering it, to carry your note to the Duke immediately," so that Wellington could intervene to save Hardinge from danger. But, trusting to Hardinge's "good sense," he agreed despite misgivings to serve as requested.[39]

It now remained only for the challenged party to send an answer, which was not long in coming:

> Suffolk-street, Friday Night, 11 p.m.
>
> My Lord—I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your Grace's note.
>
> I have already had occasion to communicate to your Grace, that under existing circumstances, I did not feel myself in a situation to comply with what was required of me in regard to my public letter.
>
> The satisfaction which your Grace has demanded, it is of course impossible for me to decline.
>
> I have the honour to be, your Grace's most ob[edien]t humble serv[an]t
>
> Winchilsea.[40]

Hence, without the actual word "duel" evident anywhere in the extensive surviving preliminary correspondence and memoranda, all awaited the morrow.

Hume (with, presumably, a bag of first aid supplies as well as a brace of pistols) arrived at Hardinge's house in Whitehall Place at the appointed early hour next day.[41] There he learned of Sir Henry's role as a second in an imminent contest between "persons of rank & consequence," but for the moment nothing more as to their identities. The doctor recounted later, however, that the Secretary at War "begged of me particularly to keep near him on the ground that I might witness everything that took place, & be able to testify how anxious he had been to prevent this meeting & what his efforts still were to avoid bloodshed." After receiving these tendentious instructions, Hume was sent off in Hardinge's carriage with only the coachman knowing the intended destination. The vehicle's owner meanwhile departed on horseback to "find his friend," the principal. The carriage went through Green Park, then by Pimlico, along King's Road, Chelsea, and crossed Battersea Bridge to the south bank of the Thames. It continued for approximately another half mile, stopping where two roads met at the base of a hill not far from a farm house.

Soon after he alighted, an astonished Hume found Wellington riding up to him in company with Hardinge. "Well, I dare say you little expected it was I who wanted you to be here," said the Duke with a laugh, upon which the doctor only with some effort to regain his composure managed to reply, "Indeed, my Lord, you are certainly the last person in the world I should have expected here." Turning more serious, Wellington answered, "Ah! perhaps so—but it was impossible to avoid it, & you will see by & by that I had no alternative, & could not have acted otherwise than I have done." As directed, Hume removed the pistols he had brought with him from their case, and walked after his two still mounted companions along the crossroad to the left, carrying the weapons under his greatcoat for concealment. Presently, after Wellington and Sir Henry twice rode up to higher ground to look for the other party and Hume hid the guns behind a hedge, Falmouth and the other principal approached on foot from the road, having just arrived via Putney Bridge in a coach and four with armament of their own. The Duke and the Secretary at War dismounted; and the latter, approaching the newcomers with Hume, saluted while Wellington stood off at a distance.

With all parties present, expedition was of the essence. Hardinge the soldier took the initiative and played the dominant role, especially as compared to his defensive and distraught opposite number. At the start, Falmouth did not help his own cause when he attempted to apologise for being a little late because the coachman had driven by way of Putney instead of Battersea Bridge. Nor did things improve when, twice in the next several minutes, he rather plaintively asked if a "paper" —a few hours later revealed as a sealed letter earlier that morning personally handed by him to Wellington's second,[42] addressed with the words "To be read by Sir Henry after the affair shall have terminated"[43]—had been read, which gave Hardinge opportunities to curtly inform him, with animadversions about which side was responsible for matters coming to this point, that the note had indeed not been read. (In not yet having perused it, Sir Henry was after all only following the other party's written instructions, but it is indicative of the stress under which Falmouth laboured that the latter made these premature and awkward enquiries when he himself, of all people, must have been aware of the proviso in the paper's address).

The first field into which the quintet turned proved to have some labourers at work in it. This necessitated leaping over a ditch to a neighbouring field which seemed to offer less chance of unwelcome scrutiny or interruption. Hardinge then presented his party's two pistols for inspection by Winchilsea's second, after which Hume, because the Secretary at War had only one hand, loaded the first weapon. He began loading the other, when Falmouth asked, "Will not one be sufficient?" Plainly he did not anticipate any need for more than one exchange of fire; but Hume, replying that he thought "it might save trouble afterwards," loaded the extra gun also. Hume had turned away when Falmouth called him back to watch the way in which he loaded for Winchilsea. The doctor at first answered carelessly, "You may load, my Lord, in any manner you please," but returned and offered to do it for him upon realizing that Falmouth, "a good deal agitated," was shaking so much he seemed to lack the manual dexterity required to properly charge and prime a flintlock muzzle-loading single-shot weapon. However, loading only one piece rather than the two on the other side, Winchilsea's second managed to complete the task himself.

In the bluff yet controlled manner not uncharacteristic of him, the Duke began to show some impatience. "Now then, Hardinge, look sharp and step out the ground. I have no time to waste."[44] Sir Henry fixed the spot for his principal to stand with words of easy familiarity permitted an old friend: "Have the goodness to place yourself here, Duke." Falmouth preferred 18 paces but Hardinge, who insisted on 12, prevailed,[45] and in the end his counterpart merely confirmed the distance between the combatants. Winchilsea objected at first to being placed between two trees; his adversary cavilled for another reason—"Damn it! don't stick him up so near the ditch. If I hit him he will tumble in,"[46] Wellington cautioned Hardinge. To shoot Winchilsea was one thing; to have him fall into a ditch would be quite another, and just not done.

With the duellists' positions satisfactorily adjusted, Hardinge stood half way between them. He took a paper of his own from his pocket and called on Falmouth to approach near him, enjoining Winchilsea to listen also. The Secretary at War then admonished the two Ultras as being alone answerable for the possible consequences of what was about to occur, for good measure adding his prepared protest note as a peroration:

> My Lord Falmouth
>
> I shall enter my Protest against this meeting by stating my opinion on the ground, that as a Settlement of an affair of Honor, it is the most unnecessary to have forced to this point of any I ever heard of—& that if I do not express my opinion to your Lordship in the same terms of Disgust as I have in the course of the affair, it is because I wish to adhere to the line of moderation adopted by the Duke of Wellington.[47]

As Sir Herbert Maxwell rightly observes in his biography of the Duke, since Hardinge represented the challenger, "remonstrance at this stage on his part was not a little anomalous" according to etiquette in such matters.[48]

Winchilsea listened to this protest-cum-lecture with apparent equanimity but, after Sir Henry finished, "said something in a low voice" to Falmouth of which Hume could only hear the words "rather strong language." Winchilsea's second, though, was by now

Figure 4. The Wellington-Winchilsea Duel. Drawing by W. Heath, published by Thomas McLean, 1829. Reproduced from *The Duel: A History of Duelling* by Robert Baldick. London: Chapman Hall, 1925, p. 104-105.

on the verge of breaking down. The doctor thought he saw tears in Falmouth's eyes as the man expressed the pain caused by the course he found himself obliged to pursue. In so doing, Falmouth moreover for the first time made the, in the circumstances, remarkable confession that he thoroughly disapproved of the publication of his principal's provocative, indeed "indefensible," letter. But in acting as a second he still maintained that "what he had done was unavoidable & that when everything was over, he was confident even Sir Henry Hardinge would do him justice." Far from being moved by this, or by another query about the as yet unread "paper" given him, Hardinge merely coolly commented, as Hume remembered, "indeed, my Lord Falmouth, I do not envy you your feelings." Pointing to a group of on-lookers already gathered at the end of the field, the Secretary at War continued, "We had better take our ground; the sooner this affair is over the better."

At this the two men were given their weapons which, after cocking, they held in their right hands, arms extended down by their sides. Falmouth deferred to his opposite number: "Sir Henry Hardinge, I leave it entirely to you to arrange the manner of firing." The Duke's second accordingly gave his directions, saying, "Then, gentlemen, I shall ask you if you are ready & give the word 'fire' without any further signal or preparation." Following this the command came: "Gentlemen, are you ready? Fire!" Wellington instantly raised his pistol but, as Hume testifies, "observing that Lord Winchilsea did not immediately present at him, he seemed to hesitate for a moment & then fired without effect." His opponent, whose arm had remained down at his side, "steady & fearless ... received the Duke's fire, without making the slightest movement or betraying any emotion." Then, as Winchilsea deliberately raised his arm to the perpendicular and discharged his own gun in the air, Hume thought he saw a smile play over the man's features, "as if to say, 'Now you see I am not quite so bad as you thought me.'" (Fig. 4)

Wellington remained stationary, but Winchilsea and his second at this point approached Hardinge. Falmouth declared that, having stood his adversary's fire, his principal now felt at liberty to make the reparation required by the Duke. Winchilsea's second

then drew from his pocket a written paper which he contended fully satisfied the purpose. Discussion with Sir Henry followed, during which Wellington drew nearer and "listening attentively said in a low voice: 'This won't do. It is no apology.'" Hardinge walked off a short distance with the Duke, almost immediately returning to say, "I cannot accept of this paper unless the word 'apology' be inserted," whereupon the Secretary at War proffered yet another prepared paper of his own with the comment, "This is what we expect." Falmouth countered—rather evasively, in Hardinge's opinion[49]—with the assurance that what he had written was meant as an apology in conformity with the terms of Wellington's memorandum of the previous day. But Sir Henry would have none of this, stating "My Lord Falmouth, it is needless to prolong this discussion. Unless the word 'apology' be inserted we must resume our ground." Turning then to Winchilsea, whom Falmouth had momentarily called aside to converse with, he reminded him, "My Lord Winchilsea, this is an affair between the seconds," upon which Wellington's opponent dutifully withdrew.

Fortunately Hume now ignored any punctilio about negotiations being the monopoly of the seconds, and when after some hesitation a perplexed Falmouth appealed to him, he prevailed upon the Earl to add the contentious term. "Well, Sir Henry," Winchilsea's representative accordingly announced, "I will do it this way, & I trust that will answer every purpose: I will insert [in] apology here in this manner" he went on, pencilling the phrase in the following rather convoluted text:

> Having given the Duke of Wellington the usual satisfaction for the affront he conceived himself to have received from me, through my public letter of Monday last, and having thus placed myself in a different situation from that in which I stood when his Grace communicated with me, through Sir Henry Hardinge and Lord Falmouth, on the subject of that letter, before the meeting took place, I do not now hesitate to declare, of my own accord, that, in apology, I regret having unadvisedly published an opinion which the Noble Duke states, in his Memorandum of yesterday, to have charged him with disgraceful and criminal motives in a certain transaction which took place nearly a year ago. I also declare, that I shall cause this expression of regret to be inserted in the *Standard* newspaper, as the same channel through which the letter in question was given to the public.[50]

Hardinge and his principal, deeming this reparation adequate, prepared to depart without delay, but the Secretary at War could not resist some verbal parting shots. "And now, gentleman, without making any invidious reflections, I cannot help remarking that, whether wisely or unwisely the world will judge, you have been the cause of bringing this man," said Sir Henry, pointing to the Duke, "into the field, where, during the whole course of a long military life, he never was before on an occasion of this nature." This wrung from the forlorn Falmouth yet another attempt at self-justification in which he repeated his disapproval, from the outset, of Winchilsea's transgression. Hardinge remained unsympathetic, stating, in Hume's paraphrase, that if Winchilsea's second "did so [disapprove] and came with the writer of the letter to the ground, his Lordship had done that which he (Sir Henry) would not do for the dearest friend he had in the world." After this rebuff, Falmouth addressed the Duke who, bowing coldly to the two Ultras, had drawn near. But this effort to vindicate himself and explain the pain and anxiety he had suffered also met short shrift. Wellington, lifting up his hands, dismissed the entreaty brusquely—"My Lord Falmouth, I have nothing to say to these matters." He touched the brim of his hat with a "Good morning, my Lord Falmouth; good morning, my Lord Winchilsea," at which point he and his companion mounted their horses and rode off as Sir Henry delivered a final "I wish you good morning, my Lords."

At Falmouth's request, Hume in Hardinge's stead witnessed the Winchilsea paper, putting his own initials at the inserted "in apology" and his signature at the top and bottom of the document. Then, as the men walked from the field back to their carriages, conversation continued, especially between the doctor and Winchilsea's voluble second. The latter, Hume remembered, "repeated again & again how painful it had been to his feelings to be engaged in a business of this kind with a person for whom all the world and he & Lord Winchilsea in particular entertained so much respect & esteem as the Duke of Wellington." Putting his own polemical construction on events when he

asked "then why did you push it so far?" Hume received from his complaisant interlocutor the reply that "it was impossible to avoid" because Winchilsea, being so much in the wrong, "could not have made any apology sufficiently adequate to the offence, consistently with his character as a man of honour, without first receiving the Duke's fire."

Wellington's physician countered with the argument that conduct justifiable or even admirable "towards an ordinary adversary," could not properly be applied to the duke. He followed this with an encomium about the latter, purportedly intended for his Ultra companions, whose artificial style strongly suggests it was subsequently touched up to maximize flattery in the written version given to the Duchess:

> ... I am filled with something approaching to horror, when, after exposing himself for so many years in fighting the battles of his country, after triumphing over all her enemies by a series of victories the most glorious & complete that ever adorned the page of history, I see, he may still be forced to put himself on a level with other men & expose to impertinence that life which he has so often risked for the benefit of us all.[51]

Falmouth's answer, the gist of which could probably be anticipated by this point, was that, "On this occasion at least he did not risk his life. I assure you most solemnly, Sir, that on no other condition would I have accompanied Lord Winchilsea, except upon that of his acting in the manner he has done, & his declaring to me upon his honour that he would not return the Duke's fire." Shortly thereafter, as the men neared the carriages, Hume observed that the circumstances which drew Wellington to the field were "all owing to that cursed spirit of party, which now, as in all times, obscures the judgement and destroys the better sympathies of your hearts." This elicited from Winchilsea, "as if speaking to himself," the reply "God forbid that I should ever lift my hand against him." Yet Winchilsea apparently still showed some antagonistic spirit when he proceeded with, as Hume guardedly put it, "some remarks on Sir Henry Hardinge's manner of conducting the correspondence."[52] These remarks, likely in line with the Earl's "rather strong language" comment about Hardinge's protest just before the duel, got only the aforementioned brief allusion from the doctor who either did not more fully recollect them or, not wishing to encourage bad feeling, thought it best not to emphasize the matter in his narrative. But Hume was candid enough to quote Winchilsea's words of a moment later, "One thing, if I had taken as deliberate an aim at the Duke of Wellington as he did at me I should not have missed him." At this the doctor himself exclaimed, "Good God, Sir, how can you say the Duke took any deliberate aim at you! Did you not perceive that he hesitated from your not raising your pistol and presenting at him? I thought at one time he was going to take down his also, & when it went off I scarcely think the muzzle was directed towards you."

The sound of the gunshots had hardly died away, therefore, when disagreement began as to whether Wellington intended to hit his antagonist, or deliberately missed him. Winchilsea remained firm in the conviction, Roundell Palmer recalled, that "he felt the wind of the Duke's bullet (as he himself told me) unpleasantly close to the curls of his hair," while Wellington is on record as informing his clergyman biographer, George Robert Gleig, that, seeing Winchilsea did not raise his gun, "I turned my pistol aside, and fired wide of him."[53] This testimony derives from years after the event, but the contemporary evidence of both Hardinge and Harriet Arbuthnot, two of the duke's very few real intimates, matter-of-factly states that he "fired at" Winchilsea.[54] On the other hand, Wellington's cabinet colleague Lord Ellenborough (president of the board of control; and, like Hardinge, a future governor-general of India) (Fig. 5, see p. 96) went further: "The Duke said he considered all the morning whether he should fire at him or no. He thought if he killed him he should be tried, and confined until he was tried, which he did not like, so he determined to fire at his legs. He did hit his coat."[55] Wellington did not hit Winchilsea's coat, and the assertion that he did is undoubtedly a rumour subsequently interpolated; but there is nothing implausible in the rest of Ellenborough's account above.

The Duke usually made a poor showing with a shotgun, at times one dangerous to bystanders, having in the previous decade inadvertently hit with birdshot a dog; the legs of a gamekeeper; the arms of a woman hanging laundry out to dry; and his host, Lord Granville, in the face, the pellets luckily missing his

eyes. Ineptitude with a shotgun did not necessarily translate into equal unskillfulness with a handgun, but accuracy with the flintlock duelling pistols of the day required much practice, and this Wellington manifestly lacked. Hence, whether he intended to shoot his opponent in a leg or anywhere else, or swing wide of him by a safe margin, it is alike more than possible that the miss was the close one Winchilsea claimed.

Wellington obviously fired at least in the general direction of the Earl. Winchilsea's magnanimous discharge of his own weapon in the air never aroused much controversy, yet neither this gesture nor his related desire to end the confrontation at that point entirely escaped criticism. John Cam Hobhouse (the former boon companion of Lord Byron, current Radical M.P. for Westminster, and future Lord Broughton) was precious enough to recollect, speaking generally, "I believe that it was not reckoned fair for the person accused [i.e., challenged] to terminate the duel before he had exposed himself to two shots." However, Hobhouse gave the thought more personal application the Monday following the occurrence at Battersea Fields when, in conversation, he not only agreed with Speaker of the Commons Charles Manners-Sutton (after 1835, Lord Canterbury) that Winchilsea "had no right to fire in the air" and "ought to have received the Duke's second fire," but rather superciliously allowed as how, "after standing the two shots, I would not have retracted."[56] Hobhouse might, of course, really have done this had the occasion arisen, thereby perhaps forcing exchanges to continue until death or injury ended the affair. Yet he was never in a duel—still less in Winchilsea's predicament facing an opponent of unique renown—and the M.P. for Westminster's bravado from the safety of the sidelines cannot be taken very seriously.

Those actually involved in affairs of honour commonly pragmatically modified or apparently simply ignored the stern, meticulous canons of the Clonmel Code and its ilk[57] which, if of course with no legal sanction, were supposed to govern their conduct. Hobhouse's and Manners-Sutton's facile attitude notwithstanding, many precedents existed for Winchilsea's decision, including two of the most famous duels of the previous several decades. Prime Minister William Pitt bloodlessly closed his Putney Heath meeting with George Tierney by shooting in the air, admittedly on the second exchange. But fatality attended a Scottish attempt in 1822 when, at Auchtertool, Fifeshire, Sir Alexander Boswell of Auchinleck (son of James Boswell, the biographer of Samuel Johnson) fell mortally wounded trying to fire in the air on the first exchange with James Stuart of Duncarn. Sparing one's opponent was not without risk: neither was killing him, for while Stuart found himself acquitted after standing trial for murder in the high court of justiciary in Edinburgh, not all duellist defendants fared so well.

After leaving his own encounter, Wellington made no attempt to visit his semi-estranged wife, the Duchess, resident at the Stratfield Saye estate in Hampshire purchased for him by parliament in gratitude for his military victories, especially Waterloo. Rather, he repaired directly to an astonished Harriet Arbuthnot, walking in during breakfast with a jaunty "Well, what do you think of a gentleman who has been fighting a duel!" Arbuthnot's reaction, described to their mutual friend Lady Shelley, was understandable: "I am very glad I had no suspicion, for I should have died of fright .... The Duke ... seemed to think it an excellent joke, but I was ready to cry."[58] About noon, as part of his on-going campaign to keep the King from backing away from a most reluctant acquiescence in Catholic emancipation, the Prime Minister went to Windsor. There he persuaded George IV to agree to the dismissal of Attorney-General Sir Charles Wetherell (one of the few office-holding Ultra-Tories), for his vehement attacks on the administration. Wellington also informed the petulant but impressionable monarch of the duel, showing him Winchilsea's *Standard* letter. The King responded surprisingly positively: he approved of Wellington's conduct, going so far as to say that, had he seen the letter earlier, he would himself have called the Prime Minister's attention to it. Returning to London, the Duke that evening dined with Harriet Arbuthnot and her husband Charles "in high spirits & seemed rather pleased at having had a fight."[59] For Wellington, Saturday constituted a good day's work.

Meanwhile others were also busy. Hume, doubtless back home on Curzon Street, plunged into the report to the Duchess. At the same time came a briefly renewed flurry of notes which kept the messengers on the move between Winchilsea and Falmouth on one side, and the Secretary at War on the other. These

centred upon the sealed letter received by Hardinge from Falmouth earlier that morning which stipulated it was "To be read by Sir Henry after the affair shall have terminated." Hardinge had by now, as instructed, read the document whose contents were as follows:

> Suffolk St[reet]
> Friday night
> March 20th 1829
>
> My Dear Falmouth
>
> I cannot hesitate to declare as I now do, that you had no knowledge whatever of my public letter of Monday last, until you saw it in the Newspaper, & that you had no knowledge of my unfortunate affair with the D[uke] of Wellington, till I called upon you yesterday at four in the afternoon. I also wish to add that it is my determination not to fire at the Duke but after the first fire I shall offer the expression of regret, which I shall then be ready to make.
>
> Of this I know you will approve for you have told me so. I own I have been wrong as you have told me in publishing the letter—but after having done so, to have with-drawn it or apologyzed in the manner proposed by Sir H[enry] Hardinge, without having grounds for believing my opinions to be incorrect, might have subjected me to imputations which would have made Life to me utterly worthless.
>
> Believe me
> My D[ea]r Falmouth
> Ever Y[ou]r sincere & obliged f[rien]d
> Winchilsea.[60]

Writing Falmouth to request the "in apology" paper agreed upon at the scene of the duel, the Secretary at War took the opportunity to return the above "after the affair shall have terminated" letter by Winchilsea. While remaining coolly dismissive, Sir Henry nonetheless played the peacemaker in his own way: "The opinions of Lord W[inchilsea] in a private note to y[ou]r Lordship are not considered as having any thing to do with the transaction which has just terminated;—and if they had, I cannot for an instant conceive that y[ou]r Lordship could mean me to present the concluding part of Lord Winchilsea's note to the Duke of Wellington. At any rate I decline to do so."[61] To have apprised the Duke of Winchilsea's "without having grounds for believing my opinions to be incorrect" stance would only have revived an issue whose dangers were obvious and, while Falmouth wanted Hardinge to clearly understand the terms of engagement under which the Ultra side had acted, he was content to leave matters there.

> I am honored by your note returning Lord Winchilsea's letter to me, which letter I put into your hands before the parties took their ground this morning. I thought it due to myself as well as to Lord Winchilsea to make you acquainted with that letter, & if any thing had happened to Lord Winchilsea it would have been a surviving testimony of the intention which he realised on the ground not to fire at the Duke as well as of my conduct. You will of course exercise your own discretion as to acquainting the Duke with its contents. You received it from me before the parties took their ground. You have had the goodness to peruse it, & with that I am satisfied.[62]

It is doubtful that Wellington ever saw the document which, long after his father's death, was evidently for the first time published by the next Duke in the fifth volume of *Despatches, Correspondence, and Memoranda* collectively covering the years 1819-1832.[63] However, the morning of the duel the paper remained a matter of concern to Winchilsea who, putting aside any pique about Hardinge's recent conduct, scrupulously endeavoured to remove any possibility of misunderstanding about the responsibility of his own second:

> In the letter which I wrote hastily to Lord Falmouth late last night ... I fear I may have omitted words, which I find in the draft of that letter, to the Effect that Lord Falmouth had not only expressed his entire concurrence in my not firing at the Duke, without which determination on my part he would not have gone out with me, but also told me that I was wrong, as I confessed myself to be, as to the letter which I published in the Standard. If there should be such an omission, I beg it may be corrected .... The fact is he repeatedly made both the observations alluded to in the course of our conversation, as he did the <u>latter</u> clearly & emphatically to the Duke of Wellington & you on the ground after I had fired in the air.[64]

Curiously, though it might have led Wellington to make inconveniently pointed enquiries about the full contents of his opponent's indicated message of the night before, Sir Henry now responded to Winchilsea by expressing himself as being "quite ready," if Falmouth agreed, to show this post-duel communication to the Duke.[65] He sent the letter for approval by Falmouth who returned it saying he had no objection to its being shown to the Prime Minister, adding "but ... I think it may best become me to leave this to your own discretion."[66]

At the treasury office, three trusted scribes—Charles Arbuthnot, and the Duke's private secretaries Edward Drummond and Algernon Greville—copied the previous week's correspondence. The 17 documents selected to make the case for Wellington challenging Winchilsea were then taken to Home Secretary Robert Peel's nearby house for arrangement before being sent off for immediate broadcast in the *Courier*,[67] the administration's main daily newspaper. The next day, "Not having been consulted upon the publication of the correspondence which appeared in last evening's *Courier*," as he put it with some understatement, Falmouth wrote a note of his own to Robert Alexander of the Ultra-Tory *Morning Journal*—this now in public as opposed to the former private vindication of his recent role. Basically, he once again explained he knew nothing of the contentious *Standard* letter until he read it in the paper and made it clear that, after Winchilsea fired in the air, he had been "the first to propose satisfactory reparation." He stressed "that it never was a question with him whether that publication was wrong, but merely whether Lord Winchilsea was in a situation honourably to subscribe in the terms proposed after he (Lord Falmouth) was requested to undertake the business." In conclusion, rather ambiguously and indeed mysteriously for a public not privy to its contents, Falmouth alluded to his delivery of "a sealed letter, which he had received from Lord Winchilsea on Friday night, to Sir H[enry] Hardinge, who returned it after the affair had been settled."[68]

Reactions to the duel, some of which have already been indicated, of course varied according to the circumstances and predilections of the commentator. The story that "The Duke had no halfpence, and was followed and bothered for some time by the Tollman on Battersea Bridge when Hardinge fished out some silver, or a groom came up," was the nonsense of club gossip. Market garden workers were present, at a respectful distance, at the scene of the meeting, and one or more of them may well have "advised a turn-up with Nature's weapons"—but this humorously amongst themselves and not, as some reports had it,[69] directly to the participants. News of the unexpected event caused a sensation in political circles and high society, Wellington by non-Ultra-Tories being about equally praised for issuing the challenge and blamed for (it was believed) risking his life. Included in the censures was that of Jeremy Bentham, the prominent Radical, who addressed the prime minister as "ILL-ADVISED MAN," reminding him to "Think of the confusion into which the whole fabric of government would have been thrown had you been killed, or had the trial of you for the murder of another man been substituted in the House of Lords to the passing of the Emancipation Bill!"[70] The artist Sir Thomas Lawrence, who in 1824 painted for Peel perhaps the best known portrait of the Duke, must be counted amongst those who, while thankful that "Fortune or Providence rather ... protected him," still approved of his action whereby "the gross Insult has been avenged, and his personal honor been thus sensitively maintained."[71] John ("Honest Jack") Lawless, one of Daniel O'Connell's Ulster lieutenants on poor terms with his own putative leader, lobbying in London with other members of the Catholic Association, praised Wellington extravagantly to Charles Arbuthnot and made the unusual assertion that, "Sir, we are twelve of us here, and not one but would fight for him any day in the week."[72] More typical of pro-Wellington views, the Scotsman John Gibson Lockhart, Sir Walter Scott's son-in-law, held that "there was no sort of call on the Duke, after beating Buonaparte, to go to war with a Booby. But he could not stand the fling at the fair. His correspondence seems admirable every way, and the whole affair was gone thro[ugh] in excellent taste."[73]

Hardinge's brother-in-law and Durham City electoral patron Charles Stewart, Lord Londonderry, a tiresome office-hunter, was confidentially not highly regarded by either the prime minister or the Secretary at War. But he all the same received from Sir Henry, together with a covering note, a copy of Saturday's *Courier* as soon as it appeared. Londonderry's views of the late proceedings, those of a lieutenant-general and a cavalry officer, a Tory borough-monger and landed

magnate, may be of interest. He was, it would seem, an exception to the rule in that he had anticipated hostilities.

> Many thanks my d[ea]r f[rien]d for the paper. When I first read L[or]d W[inchilsea]'s Letter, I felt satisfied, that it could not, & ought not to pass unnoticed, & when once this kind of Affair is *entame*, no one can pronounce where it may stop. I thank the Almighty that all is so completely triumphant for the Duke & that your anguish of mind has eas'd. What an Existence you must have had these last 4 Days!!—To dwell for a Moment now, on what might have happen'd to this wonderful man is too dreadfull.
>
> The only period when the meeting might have been averted, was when the Duke wrote his letter N[umbe]r 5. Had Winchilsea been well advis'd, a handsome Apologetick Answer at that Moment might possibly have closed the Business. After this—the Memorandums encreas'd the complication, & I must in candor own, I do not think either of y[ou]r suggestions could have been embraced.
>
> L[or]d W[inchilsea], having so grossly err'd, seems nevertheless to have conducted himself boldly & as a Man of Honor. Lord F[almouth] has prov'd (more than ever), what he always was a Twaddler & sans, le sens Commun.
>
> I would certainly be cautious (were I in your place), as to publishing, the Alteration in the paper made on the ground,—It stands now so well for the Duke, that if shewn up more, the other party w[oul]d raise a Cry of the Military bullying the Civil, & Falmouth's weakness being rode over by your energies. I w[oul]d be equally silent, as to the Duke taking Aim. Because though to go out, ought not to be Child's Play, still this Affair arose out of political writing in very high party Times, and not out of that serious species of Insult & Injury that generally provoke Duels.
>
> Be assur'd it is impossible that the Business can stand better for the Duke - & 'It's all Well That Ends Well'—But Great God!!! What an ordeal [is] Past!!—
>
> ... I call'd on the D[uke] & should write, but fear it would only bother him just now.[74]

A man who also anticipated the meeting was the Duke of Newcastle who, as has been seen, acted for Winchilsea in the handkerchief incident and then luckily avoided being pressed into the duties performed by Falmouth. Newcastle, in his diary, opined that the Ultras' "written apology ... might have been spared"; it may well be believed he said the same, as friendly criticism, to Winchilsea and his second, too. Manifestly he expressed an Ultra-Tory anger in the immediate aftermath of the duel which contrasts with the measured, polite if hardly warm correspondence which passed between those directly engaged on the two sides. But equally plainly Falmouth, as well as Winchilsea, felt resentment at his recent treatment:

> Arrived in London .... L[or]d Falmouth gave me an account of the Duel. He says that the D[uke] of W[ellington] behaved in a very churlish overbearing manner, & when the affair was over, did not shake hands & departed sulkily. One is almost tempted to wish that a life so dangerous had been taken away—but one must not indulge in such unchristian feelings. The Duke had the villainy to take deliberate aim & has since bragged of the affair as if he were a young subaltern .... Sir H[enry] Hardinge was very officious & bullying & L[or]d Falmouth had great difficulty in restraining him. The D[uke] of W[ellington]'s time may not yet be come but it may & that shortly & terribly for assuredly he is a villain & a swine.[75]

Though neither Wellington nor Peel was, after the passage of Catholic emancipation in the spring of 1829, ever again completely trusted by the Ultra-Tory contingent in parliament, time brought a large measure of public reconciliation which more or less lasted until the final battle over the repeal of the corn laws in 1846. Indeed, in a symbolic gesture of reunion both Winchilsea and Falmouth were in June 1834 awarded Doctor of Civil Law degrees by Oxford during the same festivities which signalled the duke's installation as university chancellor. In a related connection Winchilsea, at least, two years earlier puzzled the Radical editor John Wade who in his *Extraordinary Black Book* made passing reference to him as "that undefinable peer" since he apparently changed his mind alike on parliamentary reform and Wellington.[76]

(The Earl did, in fact, in 1829 along with Lord Blandford—the rakish great-grandfather of Prime Minister Sir Winston Churchill—and a few other Ultra-Tories broach the issue of parliamentary reform with the intention that an extended franchise would better reflect in the Commons the views of anti-Catholic majority public opinion. But the form that the Reform Bills of 1831-1832 assumed was not what Winchilsea had in mind, and together with nearly all other Ultras he looked to Wellington to lead the opposition to such measures which they considered disastrously destructive).

The Prime Minister challenged Winchilsea, as he later phrased it, because at that juncture "there remained for me only one means of extorting from him an acknowledgment that he was wrong."[77] The move, and more importantly its well publicized *denouement*, met Wellington's political requirements; and with that he was satisfied. A careful reading of the relevant documentation, however, reveals that while Winchilsea eventually proved accommodating enough to express "regret," to admit "wrong" in having "unadvisedly" written the *Standard* letter, and even to reluctantly go along with Falmouth's pencilled "in apology," it perhaps remains a moot point as to whether or to what extent he ever really repudiated his basic contention that Wellington intended to pass Catholic emancipation at the time of the establishment of King's College. With respect to the period under consideration, the third week of June 1828, history reveals nothing that suggests the duke had changed his mind about the matter. The transformation came at the end of July and beginning of August, after Daniel O'Connell's signal victory in the County Clare by-election, with the development of Wellington's conviction, long kept secret except from Peel, the Arbuthnots, and Lord Lyndhurst, the lord chancellor, that concession was now a less desperate policy than civil war in Ireland. Strictly speaking, Winchilsea's claim missed the mark by some five weeks, though after August 1828 its connotations in some respects more nearly applied if one accepts that Wellington acted duplicitously toward the ardently Protestant quotient of the Tory party.

The two Ultras who went to Battersea Fields were almost overwhelmed by the intimidating thought of meeting a national icon in what was in theory, and might be in practice, mortal combat. There could on their part be no thought of shooting at the Duke; and Winchilsea, like numbers before him and after, resolved to fire not at an opponent but in the air. It is indicative of the extent to which such magnanimous practice had grown that two other men who wrote or received correspondence used in the present study—Buckingham and Londonderry—separately also had occasion to resort to the tactic. Duelling was in decline, with what was bloody, ritualistic tragedy to earlier generations increasingly taking on still largely unconscious elements of injury-free farce, indeed parody. Yet for all the prolix posturing on both sides which issued in an innocuous outcome, and the browbeating of Falmouth, especially, by Hardinge and Hume, two angular characters faced each other when Wellington called out Winchilsea. Further, while the Prime Minister's speedy communication to the Duke of Montrose, informing him that his son-in-law conducted himself well at the scene,[78] had an ulterior motive in that the Scottish peer's vote was needed in the Lords, one should also note that whatever he thought about the political quality of Winchilsea, Wellington in moments of undoubted candour still readily affirmed that his opponent carried himself as a gentleman during their Saturday morning meeting.[79]

Likewise, an editorial column in the pro-administration *Courier* was obviously calculated to reconcile rather than exacerbate divisions within the wider Tory fold, but all the same reasonably fairly stated the case when it allowed as how, "The Duke, being the aggrieved party, could not, of course, resort to the expedient adopted by the Earl of WINCHILSEA. Happily the Duke's fire was without effect, and his Lordship having done all that a brave man could do, did all that a man of honour ought to do—He made an apology, when an apology could not be imputed to personal fear, or to any other than the most honourable feelings."[80] Years later Roundell Palmer, by then Lord Selborne, who certainly understood what was expected of the gentlemen of an earlier day, delivered what may serve as a closing commentary in his wry reflection that "though the Duke was, of all men, a champion of law and order, and Lord Winchilsea was a religious man, and had ... written the offensive words in his zeal, always at fever-heat, for Protestantism, the one required and the other submitted to give that strange kind of satisfaction, equally irreconcilable with law and with religion, which such an affront was then supposed to make necessary."[81]

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Primary Source Abbreviations in Notes

Arbuthnot, *Journal* — Harriet Arbuthnot, *The Journal of Mrs. Arbuthnot, 1820-1832*, eds. Francis Bamford and Duke of Wellington, 2 vols., London: MacMillan & Co. Ltd, 1950

Broughton, *Recollections* — Lord Broughton, *Recollections of a Long Life*, ed. Lady Dorchester, 6 vols., London: John Murray, 1909-1911

Ellenborough, *Political Diary* — Lord Ellenborough, *A Political Diary 1828-1830*, ed. Lord Colchester, 2 vols., London: R. Bentley, 1881

Finch-Hatton MSS. — Papers of George Finch-Hatton, 9th Earl of Winchilsea, Northamptonshire Records Office, Northampton

Gleig, *Wellington* — G.R. Gleig, *The Life of Arthur Duke of Wellington*, London: Longman, Green, 1864

Greville, *Memoirs* — Charles C.F. Greville, *The Greville Memoirs: A Journal of the Reigns of King George IV and King William IV*, ed. Henry Reeve, 2nd ed., 3 vols., London: Longmans, Green, and Co., 1874

Hardinge MSS. — Papers of Henry Hardinge, 1st Viscount Hardinge, Department of Rare Books and Special Collections, McGill University Libraries. The Hardinge Papers were given to McGill University in 1965 by the 4th Viscount Hardinge of Lahore. Lord Hardinge lived in Montreal from the early 1950s and was chairman of Greenshields Inc. He died in 1979.

Holland, *Son* — Lady Holland, *Elizabeth Lady Holland to Her Son, 1821-1845*, ed. Lord Ilchester, London: John Murray, 1946

Kenyon MSS. — Papers of George Kenyon, 2nd Baron Kenyon, owned by Lord Kenyon, Gredington, Whitchurch, Shropshire

Maxwell, *Wellington* — Sir Herbert Maxwell, *The Life of Wellington: The Restoration of the Martial Power of Great Britain*, 2nd ed., 2 vols., London: Sampson Low, Marston and Co., 1900

Newcastle MSS. — Papers of Henry Pelham-Clinton, 4th Duke of Newcastle, University of Nottingham Library

Partington, *Scott* — Wilfred Partington, ed., *The Private Letter-Books of Sir Walter Scott*, London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1930

Selborne, *Memorials* — Lord Selborne, *Memorials, Personal and Family: 1766-1865*, 2 vols., London and New York: MacMillan and Co., Ltd., 1896-1898

Shelley, *Diary* — Lady Shelley, *The Diary of Frances Lady Shelley, 1787-1873*, ed. Richard Edgcumbe, 2 vols., London: John Murray, 1912-1913

[Wade,] *Black Book* — [John Wade, ed.,] *The Extraordinary Black Book: An Exposition of Abuses in Church and State*, London: Effingham Wilson, 1832; and New York: Augustus M. Kelley, 1970

WND — Duke of Wellington, ed., *Despatches, Correspondence, and Memoranda of Field Marshal Arthur Duke of Wellington, K.G. [1819-1832]* 8 vols., London: John Murray, 1867-1880; and Millwood, New York: Kraus Reprint Co., 1973

Notes

1. Arthur Wellesley (1769-1852), 1st Marquess of Douro and 1st Duke of Wellington. Born in Dublin. Educ. Eton, 1781-1784, and at Brussels and Angers, 1784-1786. Gazetted ensign, 73rd Highland Regiment; then lieut. in several regiments. Aide-de-camp to lord lieutenant of Ireland, 1787-1793. Lieut.-col. commanding 33rd Regiment of Foot in Holland, 1794-1795. Won great victories and promotions in India, 1797-1805. Fought in Danish campaign, 1808. Commanded in Peninsula, 1809-1814, being awarded highest honours of Spain and Portugal. Created a British field marshal, 1813. Ambassador to France, 1814-1815, and first plenipotentiary to the

Congress of Vienna. Commander of the British and Hanoverian forces in the Waterloo campaign, 1815. Created Prince of Waterloo and field marshal by the Netherlands; also field marshal of Austria, Prussia and Russia, 1818. Commander-in-chief of the British army, 1842-1852.

M.P. for Trim, Irish parliament, 1790-1795; in United Kingdom parliament: M.P. for Rye, 1806; for St. Michael, 1807; for Newport, Isle of Wight, 1807-1809. Chief sec. to lord lieutenant of Ireland and a lord of the treasury, 1807-1809. K.B., 1804; G.C.B., 1815. Created Marquess of Douro and Duke of Wellington, 1814. D.C.L. of Oxford University, 1814; and chancellor, 1834-1852. Master-gen. of the ordnance, 1818-1827; prime minister, 1828-1830; foreign sec., 1834-1835; cabinet minister without office, 1841-1846.

Married in Dublin, 1806, Catherine Pakenham, daughter of Lord Longford, an Irish Orangeman.

2. George William Finch-Hatton (1791-1858), 9th Earl of Winchilsea and 5th Earl of Nottingham. Educ. Westminster, ca. 1803-1806; B.A., Christ's College, Cambridge, 1812. Capt. in Kent militia, 1809; lieut. in Northamptonshire yeomanry, 1819; deputy lord lieutenant of Kent, 1820; lieut.-col. commanding East Kent yeomanry, 1830; deputy lord lieutenant of Lincolnshire, 1831. D.C.L. of Oxford University, 1834.

Married, 1814, Georgiana Graham, daughter of the Duke of Montrose; then, in 1837, Emily Bagot, daughter of Sir Charles Bagot; and thirdly, in 1849, Fanny Rice, daughter of Edward Rice, M.P.

3. Stanley Brice Frost, *McGill University, For the Advancement of Learning* (2 vols., Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1980 and 1984), I, 129-130.

4. Henry Hardinge (1785-1856), 1st Viscount Hardinge. Joined army in 1799, being gazetted ensign to the Queen's Rangers in Canada. Purchased rank of lieut. (1802) and capt. (1804) in infantry. Attended Royal Military College, 1806-1807. Promoted maj. (1809) and lieut.-col. (1811). Deputy quartermaster-gen. of Portuguese army while doing distinguished service in the Peninsular War under Wellington's command, 1809-1814. British military commissioner with the Prussians during the Waterloo campaign. K.C.B., 1815; also awarded Orders of Willelm the Lion of the Netherlands, the Tower and Sword of Portugal, St. Ferdinand of Spain, and Grand Cross of the Red Eagle of Prussia. D.C.L. of Oxford University, 1820. Gov.-gen of India, 1844-1848. Created Viscount Hardinge of Lahore and Kings Newton, 1846. Master-gen. of the ordnance, and then commander-in-chief, 1852. Created field marshal, 1856.

M.P. for Durham City, 1820-1830; for St. Germans, July-Dec. 1830; for Newport, Cornwall, 1830-1832; for Launceston, 1832-1844. Clerk of the ordnance, 1823-1827, and Feb.-Aug. 1828. Sec. at war, 1828-1830 and 1841-1844. Chief sec. for Ireland, July-Nov. 1830 and Dec.1834-April 1835.

Married, 1821, Emily Jane James (nee Stewart), a widow, half-sister of 2nd and 3rd Marquesses of Londonderry.

5. Lord Hardinge, *Viscount Hardinge, By His Son and Private Secretary in India* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1891), p. 12.

6. Newcastle MSS. NeC 5344, Lord Chandos to Duke of Newcastle, 18 Aug. 1828. Cf. Kenyon MSS. 52, Lord Eldon to Lady Elizabeth Repton, [31 Aug. 1828]: "As to their Intentions about the Catholic Question, they let us know nothing. For that Reason I believe they intend something, of which it will not be pleasant for us to hear. For myself, I hope to live to fight the Protestant Battle. I shall...fight to the last...."

7. For a balanced introduction to the subject, see G.F.A. Best, "The Protestant Constitution and its Supporters, 1800-1829," *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society* (5th series, VIII, 1958), 105-127. A fuller study of the Catholic emancipation issue will be found in G.I.T. Machin, *The Catholic Question in English Politics, 1820 to 1830*, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1964.

8. Henry Coleridge served as the secretary of the Committee for Establishing King's College, and Winchilsea's letter to him appeared in the *Standard* on 16 March 1829. The full text is published in *WND*, V, 526-527.

9. *Ibid.*

10. Arbuthnot, *Journal*, II, 252, entry 12 March 1829.

11. *WND.*, 585-586, Wellington to Buckingham, 21 April 1829.

12. Hardinge MSS. 315/11/7, (No.1) and (No.2), Wellington to Winchilsea, 16 and 18 March, in *Courier*, London, 21 March 1829 (newspaper clipping).

13. *Ibid.*, (No.3) and (No.4), Winchilsea to Wellington, 18 March 1829 (newspaper clipping).

14. Greville, *Memoirs*, I, 193, entry 21 March 1829.

15. *Ibid.*, 198, entry 29 March 1829.

16. *Ibid.* In considering Winchilsea's paraphrased admission "that he really was in such a state of excitement he did not know what he said and did," it should not be forgotten that Greville was a chronicler generally hostile to Ultra-Tories.

17. Newcastle MSS. Ne2 F/3, Duke of Newcastle, Diary, entry 22 March 1829.

18. Edward Boscawen (1787-1841), 4th Viscount Falmouth and 1st Earl of Falmouth. Educ. Eton, 1797-1802. Ensign in Coldstream Guards, 1807-1808. M.P. for Truro, 1807-1808. Created Earl of Falmouth as one of George IV's coronation peers, 1821. Recorder of Christchurch, Truro, and Penzance. D.C.L. of Oxford University, 1834.

Married, 1810, Anne Frances Bankes, daughter of the Ultra-Tory M.P. Henry Bankes, of Kingston House, Dorsetshire.

19. Hardinge MSS. 315/11/7, Falmouth to [Robert Alexander], editor of the *Morning Journal*, 22 March, in *Courier*, London, 23 March 1829 (newspaper clipping).

20. Sir Leslie Stephen and Sir Sidney Lee, eds., *The Dictionary of National Biography* (22 vols., London: Oxford University Press, 1960), II, 881.

21. *Ibid.*, VII, 20-21.

22. Finch-Hatton MSS. 4608, Winchilsea to Chandos, 26 Aug. 1828.

23. Greville, *Memoirs*, I, 192, entry 21 March 1829.

24. Holland, *Son*, p. 96, Lady Holland to Henry Edward Fox, 14 Feb. 1829.

25. Selborne, *Memorials*, I, 158, 160.

26. Hardinge MSS. 315/1/20, Wellington to Hardinge, 19 March 1829.

27. *Ibid.* 315/11/7, (No.5), in *Courier*, London, 21 March 1829 (newspaper clipping).

28. *Ibid.*, Falmouth to [Robert Alexander], editor of the *Morning Journal*, 22 March, in *Courier*, London, 23 March 1829 (newspaper clipping).

29. *Ibid.* 21 March, (No.7), Winchilsea Memorandum, 19 March [1829] (newspaper clipping).

30. *Ibid.*, (No.6), Hardinge Memorandum, "Eight o'Clock Evening," "Thursday, half-past Nine o' Clock Evening," "Friday Morning," 19-20 March [1829] (newspaper clipping).

31. *Ibid.* 315/1/20, Falmouth to Hardinge, "*Confidential* Falmouth House ... 8 a.m.," 20 March 1829.

32. *Ibid.* 315/11/7, (No.8), Wellington Memorandum, "in the Morning," 20 March, in *Courier*, London, 21 March 1829

(newspaper clipping).

33. *Ibid.*, (No.9), Hardinge Memorandum, "N.B. - The original of this delivered to Lord Falmouth," 20 March [1829] (newspaper clipping).

34. *Ibid.*, (No.10), Falmouth Memorandum, 20 March [1829] (newspaper clipping).

35. *Ibid.*, (No.11), Hardinge Memorandum (to Falmouth), "Two o'Clock," 21 [*sic* 20] March; *ibid.*, (No.12), Falmouth to Hardinge, "Half-past 3, P.M.," 20 March 1829 (newspaper clippings).

36. *Ibid.*, (No.14), Wellington to Winchilsea, "half-past six P.M.," 20 March [1829] (newspaper clipping).

37. *Ibid.*, (No.13), Hardinge to Falmouth, 20 March 1829; *ibid.*, (No. 15), Falmouth to Hardinge, "Half-past Eleven, p.m.," 20 March 1829 (newspaper clippings).

38. Gleig, *Wellington*, p. 348.

39. Hardinge MSS. 315/1/20, Hume to Hardinge, "Curzon St[reet] 9 o'clock," [20 March 1829].

40. *Ibid.* 315/11/7, (No.16), Winchilsea to Wellington, [20 March], in *Courier*, London, 21 March 1829 (newspaper clipping).

41. Except where otherwise indicated, the account of the events at Battersea Fields is based on Hume's report to the Duchess of Wellington in Hardinge MSS. 315/8/14. Dated the same day as the duel, 21 March 1829, but lengthy and detailed enough that its final version may have required several days to complete, some of its passages - including parts of the dialogue - seem a bit contrived. This may in part have been due to Hume simply creatively compensating for the inexactitude of his memory, but at the same time the narrative as a whole appears to have been an attempt by its author to enhance his standing with the Wellingtons, in some places by obsequiousness. Yet Hume's is the only detailed eye-witness account of what happened on the ground. Hardinge MSS. 315/8/14 contains two copies of the document in different handwriting (one of them evidently bearing Hume's holograph signature), which are textually identical but for some variations in capitalization and punctuation. Another, published, version is in *WND*, V, 539-545. However this, edited by Wellington's eldest son and heir, as will be noted omits certain passages found in the Hardinge MSS. copies of Hume's original rendition of the duel.

42. Hardinge MSS. 315/1/20, Winchilsea to Hardinge, "7 Suffolk St[reet] Saturday Morning 10 o'clock" [21 March 1829]; *ibid.*, Falmouth to Hardinge, "Falmouth House ... 1/4 to 11 a.m." 21 March 1829. The note was evidently delivered by Falmouth to Sir Henry before the parties departed for their rendezvous, as the watchful Hume did not see it transmitted at the scene. Indeed, Hume in his report rather confusingly represents Falmouth as asking Hardinge if the latter had even received the document, when of course Winchilsea's second had himself delivered it.

43. Hardinge's annotation in Hardinge MSS. 315/8/14, pp. 1-2, Hume Report to Duchess of Wellington, 21 March 1829. Hardinge's annotation does not appear in *WND*, V, 540.

44. Maxwell, *Wellington*, II, 234. The duke's two gruff sentences of instruction to Hardinge about stepping out the ground and the placement of Winchilsea were omitted by Hume in his report to the duchess, but recounted later by him to Admiral Sir George Seymour. Quoted consecutively by Maxwell, they are here separated and more logically integrated into the narrative based on Hume's report. There are several variants of the reference to Winchilsea. Cf. Ellenborough, *Political Diary*, I, 403, entry 21 March 1829: "Lord Winchilsea was placed so near a ditch that the Duke said he was on the point of crying out, 'Damn it, if you place him there, he will fall into the ditch'"; and Broughton, *Recollections*, III, 313: "... he said to Hardinge, 'Don't let him stand so near the ditch, or he'll tumble into it if I shoot him.'" However, the version used by Maxwell is probably the most authentic.

45. Ellenborough, *Political Diary*, I, 403, entry 21 March 1829. Falmouth's attempt to have the distance set at 18 paces, intended to lessen danger to the principals, is not mentioned in Hume's report.

46. Maxwell, *Wellington*, II, 234.

47. Hardinge MSS. 315/1/20, Hardinge to Falmouth, n.d. [21 March 1829]. There are two similar though not identical copies of Hardinge's protest; but the quoted draft, hastily written in pencil, appears to be the one actually carried to the field and read on the occasion of the duel.

48. Maxwell, *Wellington*, II, 234-235.

49. Hardinge MSS. 315/1/20, Hardinge Memorandum, "1/4 past 8 o'clock," 21 March 1829. Addressed to "My Lord Falmouth," this document begins as one of two drafts of Hardinge's protest, but continues as a brief memorandum of events from that point in the duel. Some of its content is identical, or nearly so, to phrases found in Hume's report to the duchess.

50. *Ibid.* MSS. 315/11/7, (No. 17), Memorandum, 21 March 1829 (newspaper clipping). Hume's report indicates that this item, or at least the draft carried to the field, was in Falmouth's handwriting; but Winchilsea's vital interest would certainly have made him a co-author if not in reality the sole one. The same text, with the addition of Hume's initials and his two signatures in verification of the "in apology", is published in *WND*, V, 538-539.

51. Another passage of panegyric, addressed directly to the duchess by Hume rather than presented as quoted conversation, is sycophantic (Hardinge MSS. 315/8/14, p.5, Hume Report to Duchess of Wellington, 21 March 1829):

> In meetings of this nature the principals are supposed to commit themselves entirely to the guidance of their seconds, & thus become in their hands almost subordinate agents. On this occasion the Duke conformed himself strictly to this rule, & I could not help admiring how meekly & submissively he conducted himself throughout the whole of this affair.
>
> To those who, unacquainted with the Duke, have only looked at his greatness & recollect him at the head of his army in all the triumph of Victory, driving his enemies before him from the Tagus to the Garonne in one tide of uninterrupted success; or who, after he had vanquished his great rival on the plain of Waterloo and arrived at one bound under the walls of Paris, have beheld him in that Capital in all the splendour of conquest, surrounded by Emperors and Kings, himself the most distinguished of all the members of that brilliant assemblage, fixing the boundaries of kingdoms and controuling by his single word the destinies of the world, this may appear scarcely credible. To others who know the Duke well it will excite neither wonder or astonishment, for, whilst he is perfectly confident in himself, and well aware of the respect due to his great actions, no man assumes less. With the most perfect knowledge of human nature he has always set a just value on popular applause & has never for a moment allowed himself to be blinded by fortune or intoxicated with praise. In his honest pride there is no arrogance, in his dignity no haughtiness, in his superiority no vain-glorious display, but plain, simple & natural in his manner, he is without exception the most unaffected of men. In all situations & on all important occasions he presents the same person. Calm, modest, unassuming, yet dignified, resolute & firm; easy,

unembarrassed, never losing for a second his self-possession, never impatient or hurried.

52. No reference to Winchilsea's "remarks on Sir Henry Hardinge's manner of conducting the correspondence" appears in *WND*, V, 544. Neither does Winchilsea's assertion a moment later about the duke taking "deliberate aim" at him, nor Hume's rebuttal which includes a marginal note by the doctor to the effect that Wellington subsequently confirmed he hesitated upon seeing that his opponent made no attempt to present at him (Hardinge MSS. 315/8/14, p.5, Hume Report to Duchess of Wellington, 21 March 1829).

53. Selborne, *Memorials*, I, 155; Gleig, *Wellington*, p. 349.

54. Hardinge MSS. 315/1/20, Hardinge Memorandum, "1/4 past 8 o'clock," 21 March 1829: Arbuthnot, *Journal*, II, 257, entry 22 March 1829; Shelley, *Diary*, II, 188, Harriet Arbuthnot to Lady Shelley, 21 March 1829.

55. Ellenborough, *Political Diary*, I, 403, entry 21 March 1829. Cf. Broughton, *Recollections*, III, 313: "After the affair was over, the Duke said to Hardinge, 'I only fired at his legs.'"

56. Broughton, *Recollections*, III, 313.

57. The Irish or Clonmel rules, drawn up at the Clonmel summer assizes in 1777 and with rough humour dubbed "the twenty-six commandments" in County Galway, for the most part codified existing custom and seem to have thereafter served as the basis of duelling theory, though (especially in Britain) not necessarily of duelling practice. Nonetheless, by this standard, if both parties agreed to the terms of settlement—as was, after all, the case at Battersea Fields—hostilities could be honourably terminated after only one exchange of fire. However, Winchilsea's tactic of shooting in the air was, by the same token, another matter. Rule XII reads as follows: "No dumb firing or firing in the air is admissible in any case. The challenger ought not to have challenged without receiving offence, and the challenged ought, if he gave offence, to have made an apology before he came on the ground; therefore children's play must be dishonourable on one side or the other and is accordingly prohibited." The full text of all 26 rules of the Clonmel Code is published in Robert Baldick, *The Duel: A History of Duelling* (London: Chapman & Hall, 1965), pp. 33-36. Technically, Winchilsea "deloped" by deliberately firing in the air. Cf. *The Oxford English Dictionary* (2nd ed., 20 vols., Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1989), IV, 425. But the term "delope" never achieved general usage.

58. Shelley, *Diary*, II, 188-189, Harriet Arbuthnot to Lady Shelley, 21 March 1829.

59. Arbuthnot, *Journal*, II, 257-258, entry 22 March 1829. Cf. also Greville, *Memoirs*, I, 195, entry 26 March 1829: "The King, it seems, was highly pleased with the Winchilsea affair, and he said, 'I did not see the letter (which is probably a lie); if I had, I certainly should have though it my duty to call your attention to it.' Somebody added that 'he would be wanting to fight a duel himself.' [Lord] Sefton said, 'He will be sure to think he has fought one.'"

60. Hardinge MSS. 315/1/20. This significant letter from Winchilsea to Falmouth is a copy in Hardinge's handwriting. The same item with a few variations in punctuation, capitalization and spelling appears in *WND*, V, 539.

61. Hardinge MSS. 315/1/20, Hardinge to Falmouth, "11 White-Hall Place ... 10 o'clock a.m." 21 March 1829.

62. *Ibid.*, Falmouth to Hardinge, "Falmouth House ... 1/4 to 11 a.m." 21 March 1829.

63. See note 60 above.

64. Hardinge MSS. 315/1/20, Winchilsea to Hardinge, "7 Suffolk St[treet] Saturday Morning 10 o'clock" [21 March 1829].

65. *Ibid.*, Hardinge to Winchilsea, 11 White-Hall [Place], 21 March 1829.

66. *Ibid.*, Hardinge to Falmouth, 11 White-Hall Place, 21 March 1829; *ibid.*, Falmouth to Hardinge, Falmouth House, 21 March 1829.

67. Ellenborough, *Political Diary*, I, 403-404, entry 21 March 1829.

68. Hardinge MSS. 315/11/7, Falmouth to [Robert Alexander], editor of the *Morning Journal*, 22 March, in *Courier*, London, 23 March 1829 (newspaper clipping).

69. Partington, *Scott*, p.41, John Gibson Lockhart to Sir Walter Scott, 25 March 1829; *Morning Herald*, London, 23 March 1829, in Baldick, *Duel*, p.106.

70. *WND*, V, 546, Bentham to Wellington, 22 March 1829. There followed a somewhat stranger letter which read, in part (*ibid.*, 554, Bentham to Wellington, 23 March 1829): "I must at you once more. I am an Englishman. More than that, I have my designs upon you. I want to make you do what Cromwell tried at and found it was too much for him. I cannot afford to lose you. Your country remains plunged by you into a danger you seem not to be aware of. I am."

71. Hardinge MSS. 315/1/20, Lawrence to Hardinge, Russell Square, 22 March 1829.

72. Greville, *Memoirs*, I, 196, entry 26 March 1829.

73. Partington, *Scott*, p.41, Lockhart to Scott, 25 March 1829.

74. Hardinge MSS. 315/1/20, Londonderry to Hardinge, "Sat[urda]y Night" 21 March 1829. For the text of Wellington's "Letter N[umbe]r 5" alluded to by Londonderry, see above, p. 76-77, the communication dated "London, March 19, 1829."

75. Newcastle MSS. Ne2 F/3, Duke of Newcastle, Diary, entries 22, 26 March 1829.

76. [Wade,] *Black Book*, p. 540.

77. Gleig, *Wellington*, p.349.

78. Greville, *Memoirs*, I, 195, entry 26 March 1829.

79. Ellenborough, *Political Diary*, I, 403, entry 21 March 1829; Gleig, *Wellington*, p. 349. Cf. also Hume's estimation (Hardinge MSS. 315/8/14, pp. 5-6, Hume Report to Duchess of Wellington, 21 March 1829):

> ... I have great pleasure in bearing testimony to the gentleman-like behaviour of Lord Winchilsea. His manner throughout was exceedingly becoming - no haste, no forwardness, no presuming. His countenance, which is very pleasing, wore a certain expression of pensiveness and as I thought, of regret, as if dissatisfied with himself, and, as he seemed to have put himself entirely into the hands of his friend, I confess I felt in spite of me a degree of interest & concern for him.

80. Hardinge MSS. 315/11/7, *Courier*, London, 23 March 1829 (newspaper clipping).

81. Selborne, *Memorials*, I, 154-155.

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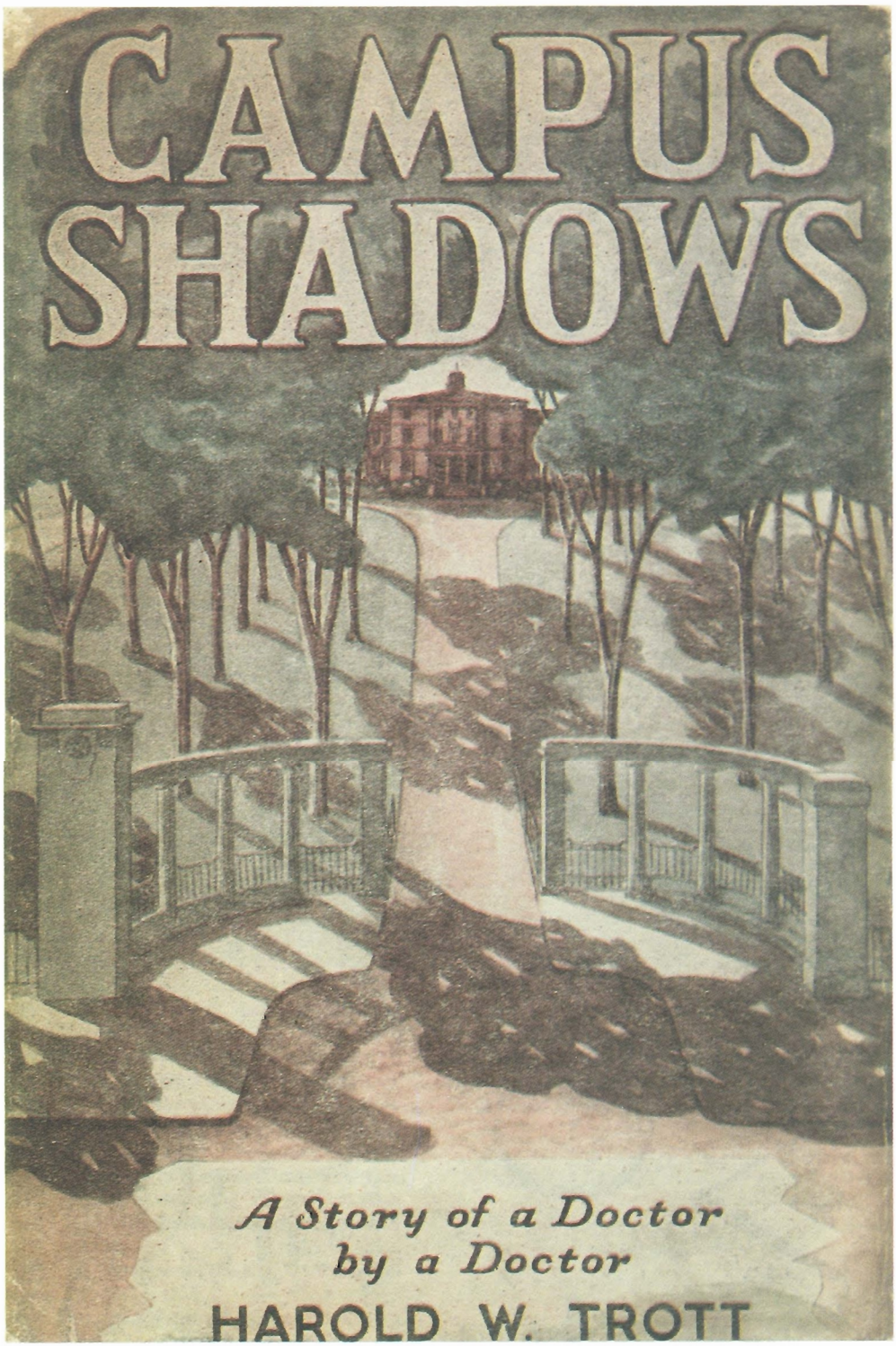
(*Old McGill*, v. 17, 1914, p. 31)



Book jacket of H. W. Scott's *Campus Shadows*, 1946.

Reproduced from a colour print by Percy Nobbs, 1925
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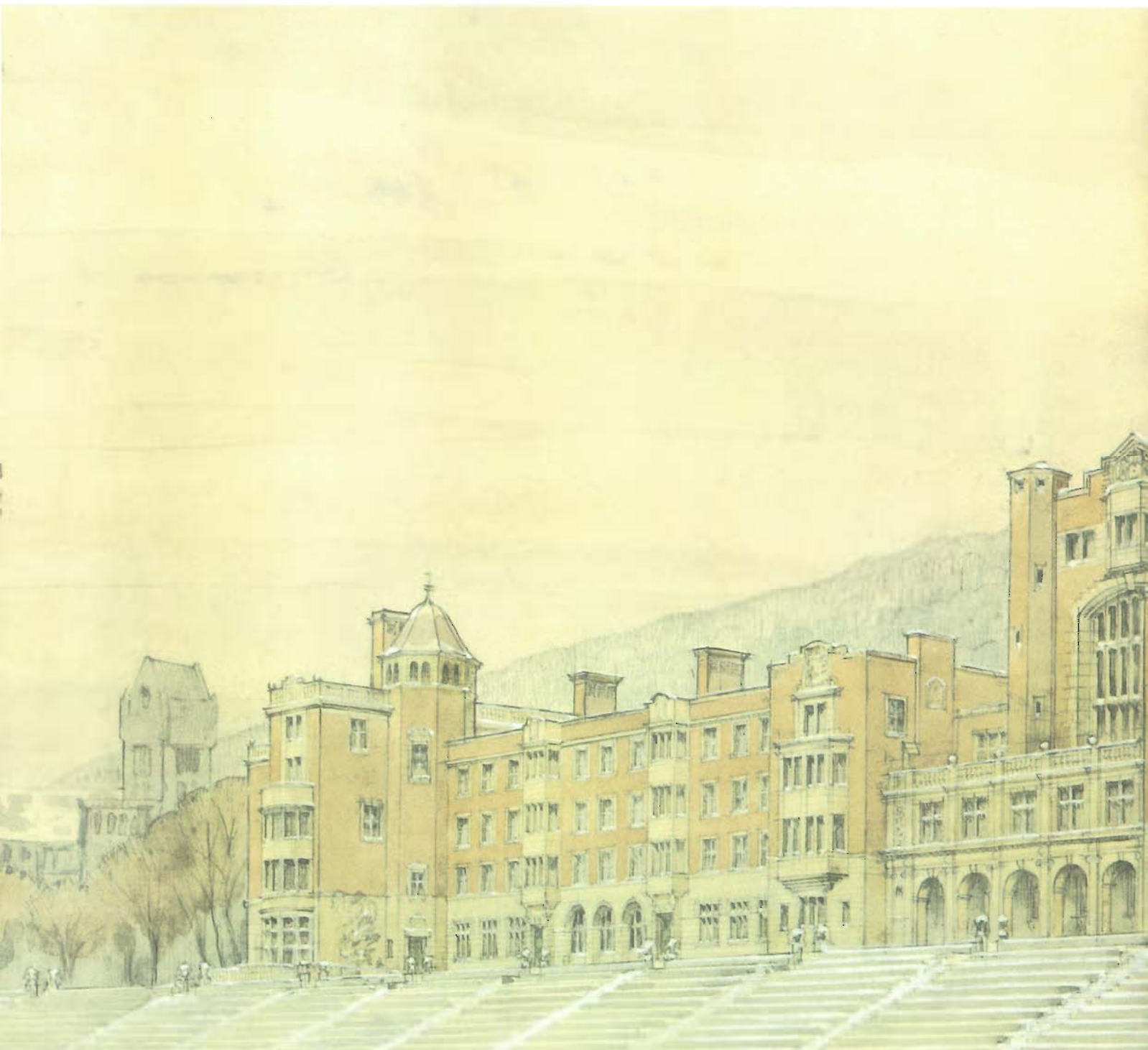
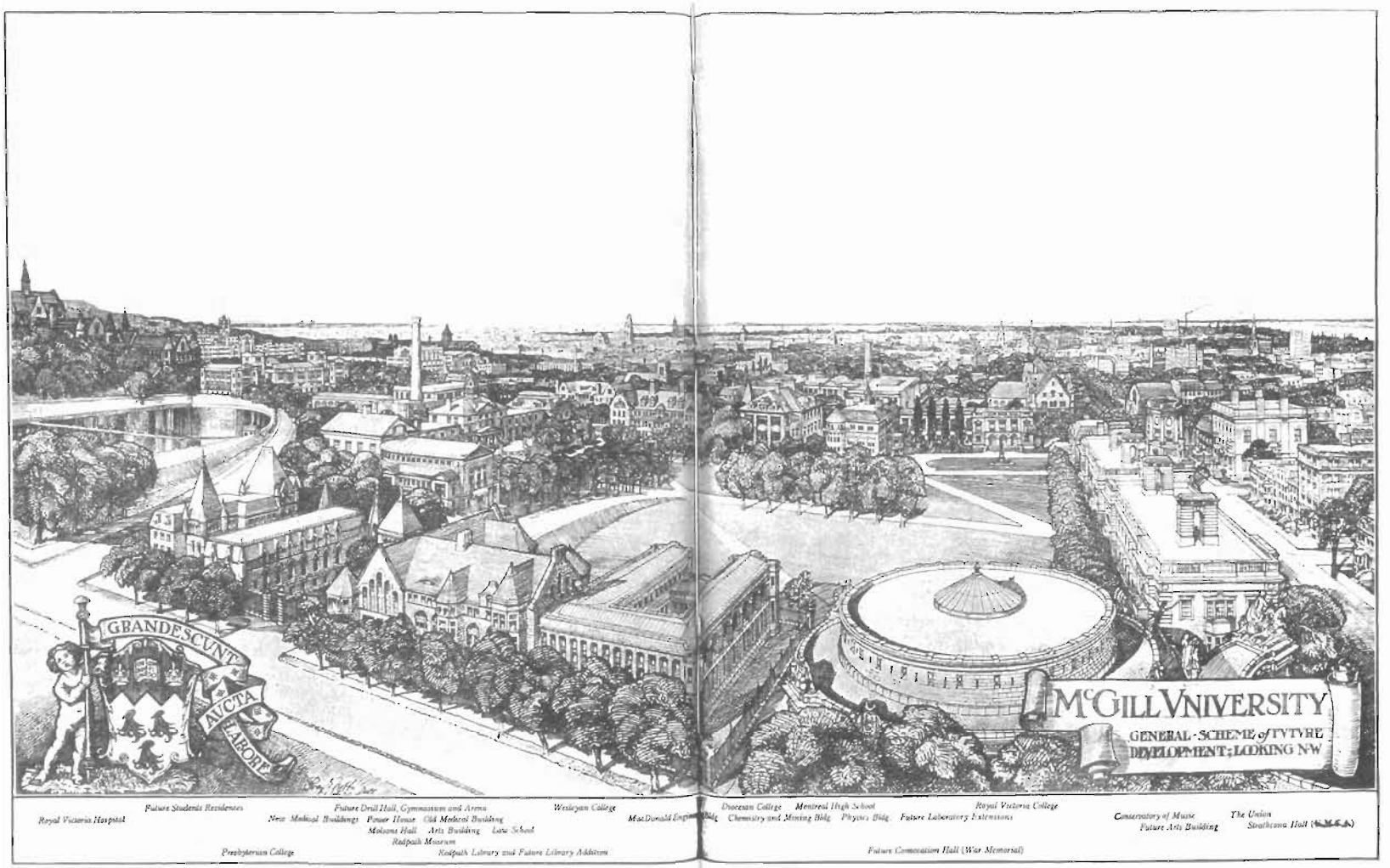
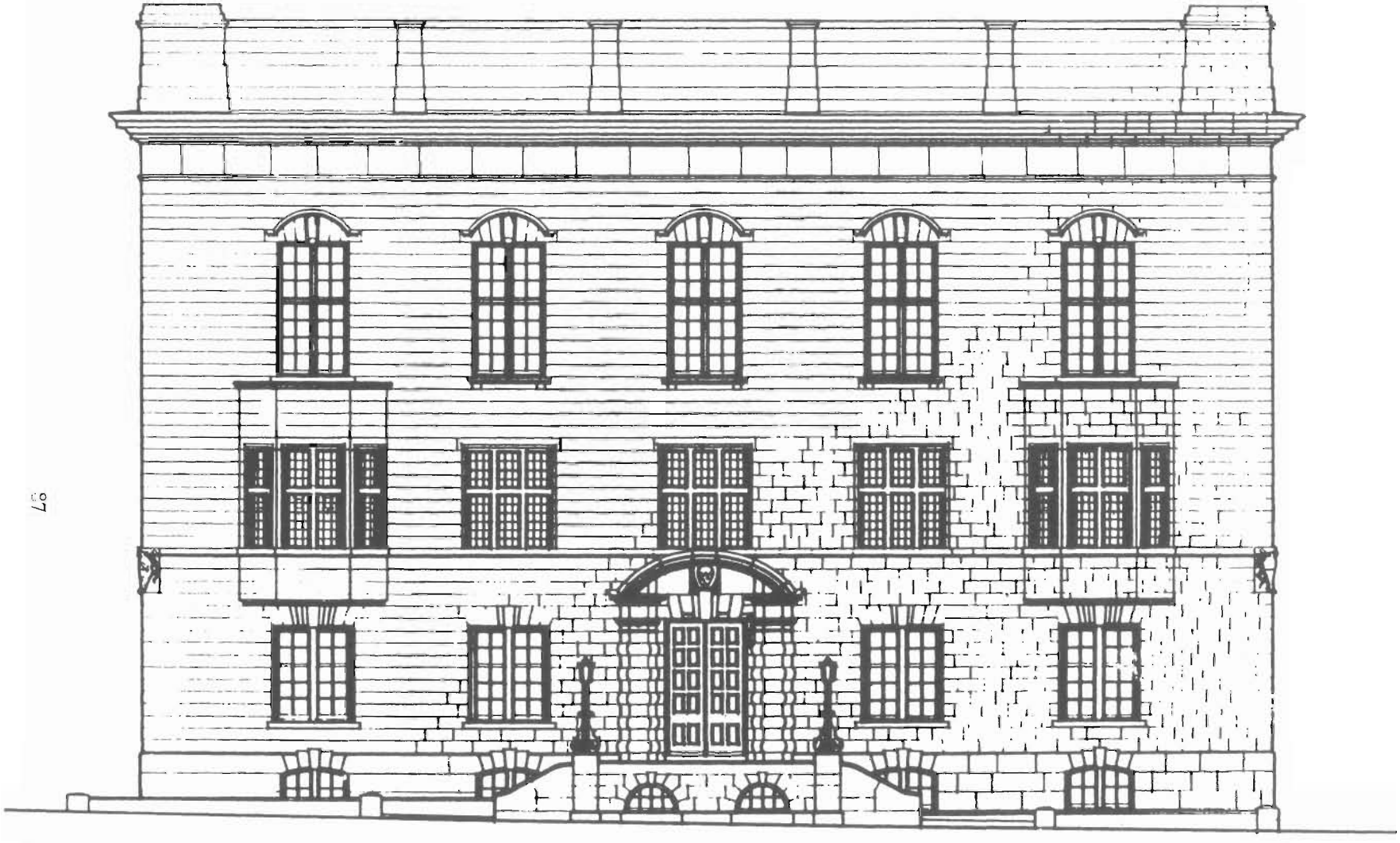


Proposal of Development of Macdonald Park by Percy Nobbs, 1913.
Detail of gymnasium stands, and student residences. Water colour on paper.
(Blackader-Lauterman Library of Architecture and Art. Canadian Architecture Collection)



"GOD BLESS THE QU'ILL OF JAMES McGILL"

Development plan of McGill Campus envisioned by Percy Nobbs, 1920.
(Blackader-Lauterman Library of Architecture and Art. Canadian Architecture Collection)



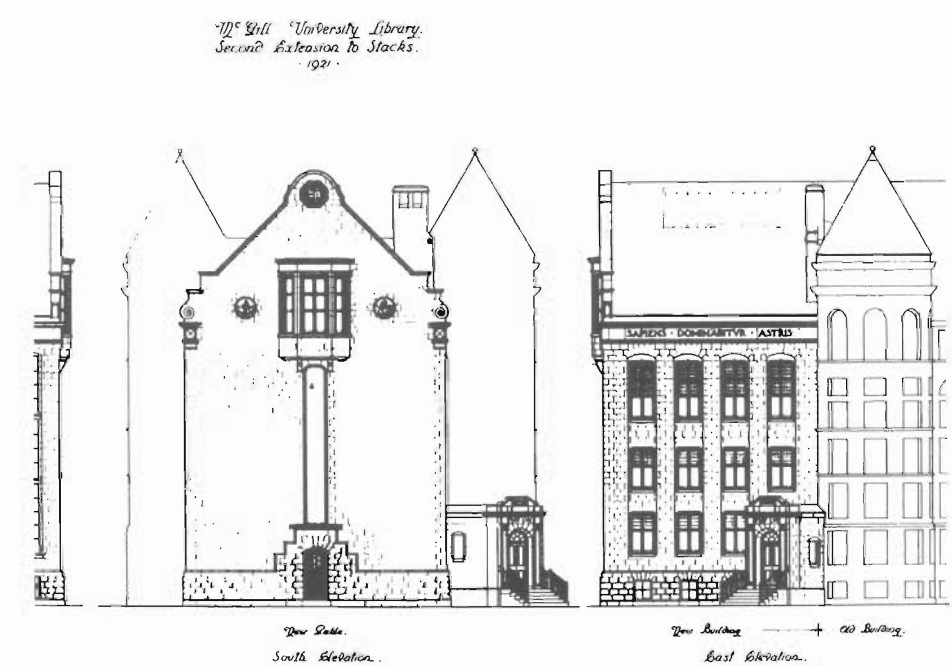
Elevation to Sherbrooke Street

McGill University Union

(Blackader-Lauterman Library of Architecture and Art. Canadian Architecture Collection)

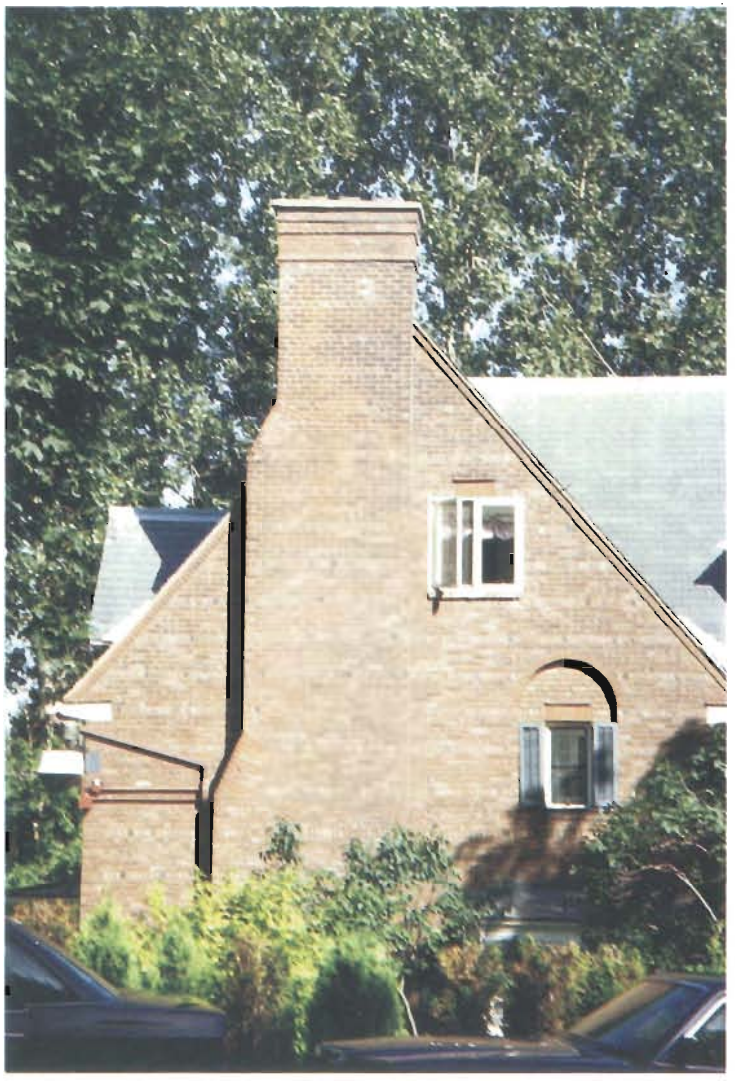
Casts and models in Architectural Department, Macdonald Engineering Building

(Blackader-Lauterman Library of Architecture and Art. Canadian Architecture Collection)



(Blackader-Lauterman Library of Architecture and Art. Canadian Architecture Collection)

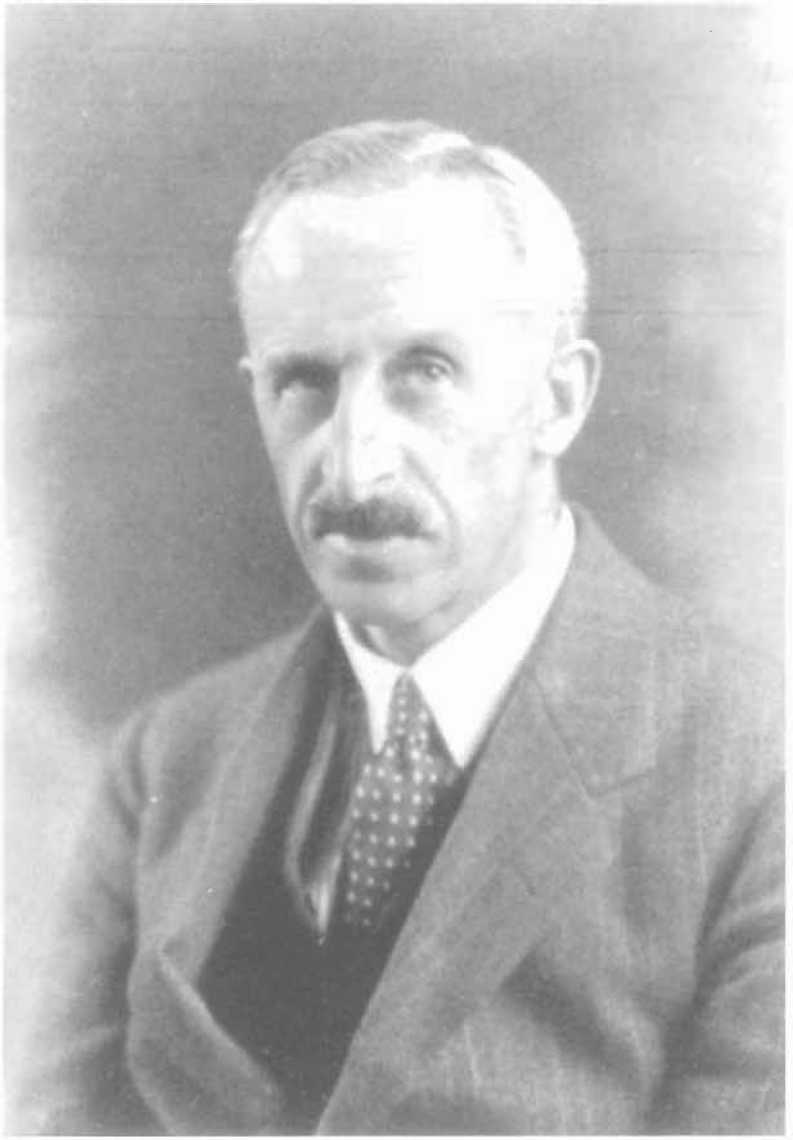
Nobbs Family Residence, 38 Belvedere Road.



3172 The Boulevard, Westmount.

Garden of Nobbs House, Westmount, 1923.
(Nobbs Family Collection)

(*Old McGill*, 1926)



(*Journal of the Royal Architectural Institute of Canada*, v. 1, n. 3, March 1930)

Lord Winchelsea
Engraving reproduced from *The Life of Field Marshall the Duke of Wellington*, by J.H. Stocqueler. 2v. Alden, Beardsley and Company, 1853. v. 2, p. 147.

Lord Wellington. Painting by Sir Thomas Laurence.
Reproduced from *Wellington* By John Fortescue. London: Williams and Norgate, 1925. (Frontispiece)

Lord Hardinge wearing the sword Napoleon carried at Waterloo. The sword was given to Hardinge by Wellington. Collotype reproduced from *Rulers of India: Viscount Hardinge by his son and private secretary in India, Charles Viscount Hardinge*. Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1891 (Frontispiece).

Reproduced from *The Life of Wellington: The Restoration of the Martial Power of Great Britain*, by Sir Herbert Maxwell. Second Edition. London: Sampson Low, Marston and Co., 1900. v.2, pp. 232-233.

Remembering War in Imperial Canada: David Ross McCord and The McCord National Museum

by Donald A. Wright

David Ross McCord (1844-1930) was a man obsessed. Between the 1880s and 1920 the drive to build a national museum constituted an all-consuming obsession. The end result of his efforts is today the internationally renowned McCord Museum of Canadian History/Le Musée McCord d'histoire canadienne. Although he amassed a collection of considerable breadth and depth, this paper focuses on one aspect of his collection: objects relating to the history of war. An ardent imperialist, McCord believed that war served a noble function in that it strengthened both individual manliness and national character. Early museum displays likewise emphasized war as a heroic and gallant affair and adhered very closely to what John Keegan terms the rhetoric of battle history. More significantly, David Ross McCord and the McCord National Museum perpetuated the Myth of the War Experience: to die for one's country is noble and right.

Hanté, David Ross McCord (1844-1930) l'était certainement. Entre les années 1880 et 1920, la volonté d'édifier un musée national devient pour lui une obsession qui consume tout son temps. Ses efforts aboutissent à la création du Musée McCord d'histoire canadienne (McCord Museum of History), dont la renommée mondiale n'est plus à faire. Même si McCord a constitué une collection d'une ampleur considérable, cet article ne s'intéresse qu'aux objets se rapportant à l'histoire de la guerre. Fervent impérialiste, McCord croyait que la guerre servait une fonction très noble puisqu'elle forgeait la virilité individuelle et le caractère de la nation. Les premières expositions du Musée donnaient d'ailleurs de la guerre une image à la fois héroïque et galante, conforme à ce que John Keegan qualifie de rhétorique de l'histoire de la bataille. David Ross McCord et le McCord National Museum ont d'ailleurs perpétué le mythe de la guerre: mourir pour sa patrie est à la fois noble et juste.

Attended by members of the peerage, prominent politicians and prestigious alumni, McGill University's centenary celebrations of 13 October 1921 were a fantastic affair, replete with much pomp and even more circumstance. "Brilliant was the scene in assembly hall at the Royal Victoria College yesterday afternoon," declared the Montreal Gazette, "when two hundred delegates" gathered "to start in procession for St. James Methodist Church" where a special convocation was to take place. "Gowns of solemn black and royal purple alternated with robes of brilliant scarlet, quieter pink and spotless white."[1] Apart from this event, there was Lord Byng of Vimy's unveiling of a memorial tablet in the Arts Building dedicated to the McGill men killed in the Great War. There was also the announcement of a Graduate Endowment Fund designed to provide McGill with an annual income. Still part of the centenary was the formal transfer of the McCord National Museum to McGill University. After ten years of protracted negotiations between David Ross McCord and his alma mater,[2] and after ten months of moving the mammoth collection from Temple Grove to Joseph House,[3] the McCord National Museum found its first permanent home on the corner of Sherbrooke and McTavish. Owing to his failing health, McCord himself could not attend the ceremony.[4] In his place stood William Douw Lighthall, a close personal friend and well known citizen of Montreal.[5] Addressing an intimate group of invited guests, Lighthall spoke briefly about the purpose of the museum in general, and this museum in particular.

> Concerning the nature of such Museums. Many people cannot understand their value off-hand. But while it is true that there do exist collections accumulated without reasonable or serious object, this one is not such; but is intended to consist of pictures and articles properly illustrating Canadian history—or otherwise stimulating the imagination concerning it. The question of what rightly falls under these heads is too wide for discussion here; but the historical

> student gifted with imagination will we believe recognize here at least the foundation of a well-conducted historical museum established on lines of intelligent selection.[6]

The purpose of a museum is to record history; the purpose of the McCord National Museum is to record Canadian history.

In the absence of any criticism of what McCord had collected, there existed an unspoken but shared assumption as to what constituted Canadian history and how it should be recorded. Today, not only is consensus between museums and the public difficult to achieve, but conflict remains a very real possibility, especially when museums attempt to challenge the comforting myths and familiar narratives that constitute national memory, in particular the memory of war. The Smithsonian's National Air and Space Museum recently found itself at the centre of a controversy of national proportions: at issue was the proposed exhibit of the Enola Gay and the dropping of the atomic bomb on Hiroshima. "How should the 'last act' of World War II be recalled and presented to the public?" asked the American cultural historian Michael Kammen.

> As a celebration of the valor of American military personnel who risked their lives in the name of freedom and followed orders from the commander-in-chief to prevent the loss of unknown numbers of Americans? Or, should the use of atomic weapons on large urban sites and civilians be presented in terms of a moral calamity with a complex legacy that suspended the world for decades in what W.H. Auden designated an 'Age of Anxiety'?[7]

Although not associated with a museum, two Canadian film-makers, Brian and Terence McKenna were in 1992 the similar targets of condemnation. Veterans groups charged the three-part television series *The Valour and the Horror* with willful distortion and anti-veteran bias, while the Senate Sub-Committee on Veterans Affairs investigated, among other things, the film's "historical methodology and merit."[8]

The purpose of this paper, then, is to revisit one collector (David Ross McCord, 1844-1930) and one aspect of his collection (objects relating to military history) in an effort to study the construction of national war narratives which George Mosse calls the Myth of the War Experience, and are essential to "constructing a myth which would draw the sting from death in war and emphasize the meaningfulness of the fighting and sacrifice."[9]

I

Why McCord began to collect is not clear. What is clear, however, is that from the mid-1880s to about 1920, his collecting amounted to a compulsive obsession, consuming all of his time and energy, and most of his money.[10] It is also clear that at the cultural level, the fascination with the past constituted part of the Victorian response to modernity, to industrialization, urbanization, anonymity, detachment from the social and economic processes that impacted their lives, to "the break with the past in the form of a continual renewal."[11] Grasping for fixity in an age of relentless change, Victorian England experienced a flowering of museums while history emerged as a scholarly discipline, enjoying authority and prestige. "The Victorians' fascination with the past," writes P.J. Bowler, "was thus the product of an age obsessed with change, desperately hoping that history itself might supply the reassurance that could no longer be derived from ancient beliefs."[12] As a member of an élite Montreal family, and an imperialist, McCord was very much steeped in Victorian culture. Although he certainly believed in material progress, and although he celebrated technological achievements, he remained nevertheless ill at ease with modernity. Indeed, writing in the early 1890s, McCord worried about the "obliterating" forward march of time and the relentless advance of civilization.[13] A few years later he questioned what he perceived to be the misguided, single-minded pursuit of the Anglo-Saxon race—"the mere creation of wealth."[14] By this point, McCord had turned his attention to collecting, to the building of a National Museum.

At the same time that McCord's collecting had a cultural dimension, it was also very much the manifestation of his psychology. Theorizing on the psychological makeup of the collector, psychologist Werner Muensterberger likens collecting to the

behaviour of addicts—as an alcoholic thirsts for another drink, or as a gambler longs to place a bet, "the objects' grip on their owner can be described and understood only in terms of an emotional experience that appears to demand a more or less perpetual supply."[15] It is a behaviour, moreover, whose roots can be traced to a deep, inner insecurity, an insecurity that is eased only through the relentless pursuit of yet another object. Writes Muensterberger,

> the collector, not unlike the religious believer, assigns power and value to these objects because their presence and possession seems to have a modifying—usually pleasure-giving—function in the owner's mental state. From this point of view objects of this kind serve as a powerful help in keeping anxiety or uncertainty under control.[16]

At a personal, psychological level, then, collecting may have eased McCord's anxiety and uncertainty; objects provided him with a physical, tangible connection to the past which he idealized as a time of rootedness, connection and community. Muensterberger also argues that collecting stems from the phallic-narcissistic drive to possess the biggest, most spectacular collection.[17] Certainly McCord displayed symptoms of megalomania. His was a divine calling. Comparing himself to Jacob, he wrote,

> The Lord also found me in a desert land, very desert historically, in the sense that no one had thought of saving the landmarks. He led me about (the whole land). He directed my steps...listened to my voice "crying in the wilderness", with the happy result that more than a solid foundation has been made for a museum which will later in Canada take the place of your great historical museum in the dear old land.[18]

On another occasion he noted that the "historical work, to which I have dedicated my life is on a scale far exceeding anything else in Canada. In fact it is the most important work of the kind in the Empire."[19]

From Temple Grove, the family home situated on a gentle rise of ground off Côte de Neiges Boulevard, above the city below the hill, McCord cast his collector's net throughout Canada and across the Atlantic to Great Britain. Soon every wall, every corner, every room and every table top of Temple Grove was swimming with paintings, prints, maps and objects relating to the history of Canada and the British Empire. Photographs of the interior of Temple Grove intimate a chaotic eclecticism. As "a suitable epitaph" for himself, McCord suggested, "Here lieth one who stole everything historical he could not buy, and bought everything historical he could not steal, and created more than any Canadian who preceded him."[20] Nevertheless, consistent patterns do emerge in McCord's collection: patterns of natural hierarchy, elitism, heroism and Christian piety, for example.[21] But the part of his collection I want now to focus on is that dealing with war, for it tells us much about the culture of Imperial Canada.

II

Much of the writing on the history of war in Canada has been of the "maps and chaps" kind, that is the history of tactics and troop movements, of confrontation and conflagration. When historians move beyond this focus it is to examine national politics, that is French-English relations and the question of conscription, or to write the social history of the men and women who served. It is only very recently that historians have turned their attention to the idea of war in a cultural sense, that is what Canadians felt and thought about war in the abstract, how war was imagined and represented. Here the scholarship of Carl Berger, Carman Miller and Paul Maroney is important.[22] In their respective work, all write that war enjoyed a positive image in Imperial Canada. War was a sport, indeed the ultimate sport; it was part of the Christian civilizing mission; and it reversed the enervating tendencies of modernity. Splendid imperialism, Christian mission and the cult of martial vigour: all coalesced around the idea of war as beneficial, positive and necessary. McCord very much shared this ideal.

In fact, McCord earnestly believed that war served a vital purpose, both at the individual and at the national level. Thus his Historical Notebooks, five volumes of thoughts, anecdotes and observations, burst with stories of military heroism, of brave men dying

noble deaths, their final thoughts of Queen and country. Military men, moreover, necessarily sired "solid offspring" of "superior ancestry."[23] Indeed, McCord traced his family history to the Plains of Abraham, the defence of Quebec, the War of 1812, the Boer War and World War I. "Two members went into the Boer War, and one sleeps in the Veldt," he wrote "In [the Great War] five Officers, all with McCord blood in them and all descendants of Wolfe's Officers, went to France and three of them sleep under the redeemed sod of that land."[24] Desperate to provide his bride, Letitia Chambers McCord, with a genealogy appropriate to her new station in life as the wife of a McCord, he noted that she was related to one Captain Maunsell who served in the 35th Regiment at the Plains of Abraham.[25] Intimately related to individual rejuvenation on the battlefield was national rejuvenation. McCord wrote about war as a "stimulus to bring out valuable qualities, what may be lost by a perpetual peace."[26] And in another note he observed,

> War—its superior aspect entering a country. See Wolfe's letters after the attack of Rochefort—almost the necessity & advantage of losing many lives—"a thousand men" he says—but save the national honour and elevate the national character. Ruskin—Ruskin speaks also of elevating effects of war.[27]

So committed was McCord to the romantic ideal of war that he even renovated the Temple Grove landscape to resemble the Plains of Abraham: the forty yards between the terrace and the road representing the distance between the two armies, the height of the terrace above the lawn representing Montcalm's advantage over Wolfe, and the twelve steps in the path leading to the house representing the twelve regiments of Wolfe's army. "Now listen," McCord instructed a visiting journalist, "can't you hear the conquering volley of that gallant British Army ringing down through the centuries? Can't you see the gallant British Army rushing the position of the equally gallant French?"[28]

Not surprisingly, the romantic ideal of war simultaneously informed and found expression in McCord's collection. Describing himself as the "Humble door-keeper of the Canadian Valhalla,"[29] McCord collected thousands of objects from the Plains of Abraham, the Defence of Quebec, the War of 1812, the Rebellions of 1837, the North West Rebellions, the Boer War and World War I. He repeatedly claimed that he possessed the world's largest collection of Wolfiana. At one point he likened his labours, the building of a national museum, to those of Wolfe: "But one thing is certain—Wolfe had to carry Quebec—and I must carry the museum."[30] Among other items in his possession were a lock of Wolfe's hair (for which he paid £40 in a 1914 Sotheby's auction), several letters bearing the General's signature, a silhouette of his mother and, most importantly, Wolfe's personal diary dated 18 June to 16 August 1759. Major-General Sir Isaac Brock also figured prominently as McCord acquired both Brock's red coat and his sword of honour. Another hero of the War of 1812 was Laura Secord whose cap made its way into McCord's collection.[31] Charles Tupper, meanwhile, donated his son Gordon's "in case" letter.

> If you are reading now, you will know that your youngest son "went under" proud as punch on the most glorious day of his life. I am taking my company over the top... Dad—you can't imagine the wonderful feeling. A man thinks something like this, "well if I am going to die, this is worth it a thousand times."...Mind you, I know what I am up against and that the odds are against me.[32]

Gordon Tupper was killed at Vimy Ridge. In making the donation to McCord, Charles Tupper acknowledged his son's "services to the Empire."

In its early years, from 1921 to 1936, the year it was closed for financial reasons, the McCord National Museum displayed the history of Canada in a roughly chronological fashion, from the pre-contact period through to the early twentieth century. Its display of objects relating to war, and the printed guides accompanying the display, continued the imperial spirit. Moreover, the Museum conformed very closely to what the military historian John Keegan terms the rhetoric of battle history. First, the display of objects and the printed guides expressed an "extreme uniformity of human behaviour." There existed no mention of desertion or dissent within the ranks. Second, there was "a ruthlessly stratified characterization." While the

British always displayed nobility and honour in war, Pontiac, Chief of the Ottawa First Nation, employed the tactics of "treachery" in his attack on Fort Michilimacinac.[33] And during their occupation of Montreal, American soldiers performed an "indignity" upon a statue of King George III, chopping off its head and tossing it into a well.[34] However, both McCord and the McCord National Museum were very careful not to apply this element of battle rhetoric to the Battle of the Plains of Abraham.[35] Conscious not to incite animosity, the Museum noted that the French and the English fought with identical honour and courage. "The third room we designated 'The Companions in Arms'," read an early description.

> [T]he intention being to consecrate it solely to relics of the two great Heroes, Wolfe and Montcalm, who fell on the same day at Quebec in the battle of the Plains of Abraham, both dying nobly in defence of the honour of their respective Kings and Countries.[36]

As the third element in Keegan's rhetoric of battle history, the Museum presented "a highly oversimplified depiction of human behaviour on the battlefield." Wolfe, Montcalm and Brock were all unambiguously heroic, dashing and gallant. And finally, the Museum offered "no explanation of what happened to the dead or wounded."[37]

To note that McCord subscribed to the cultural ideal of war as a positive force, that he amassed a vast collection of objects related to Canada's military history and that these objects were then displayed in a linear, uncritical manner, is to merely note the self-evident. What then did all of this mean? In his monumental study of the American memory, Michael Kammen argues that "traditions are commonly relied upon by those who possess the power to achieve an illusion of social consensus. Such people invoke the legitimacy of an artificially constructed past in order to buttress presentist assumptions and the authority of a regime."[38] Certainly, David Ross McCord and the early McCord National Museum projected the illusion of historical consensus, but what authority did it, in effect, buttress? The work of historian George Mosse is suggestive. In his book *Fallen Soldiers: Reshaping the Memory of the World Wars*, Mosse studies what he identifies as the Myth of the War Experience in European nations. Locating its origins in the French Revolution and the German Wars of Liberation against Napoleon, the Myth of the War Experience, as expressed in public commemorations and national propaganda, stressed glory rather than horror, and meaningful purpose rather than senseless tragedy.

> The Myth of the War Experience was designed to mask war and to legitimize the war experience; it was meant to displace the reality of war. The memory of the war was refashioned into a sacred experience which provided the nation with a new depth of religious feeling, putting at its disposal ever-present saints and martyrs, places of worship, and a heritage to emulate.[39]

According to Mosse, this myth served the important function of mobilizing volunteers for citizen-armies: to die for one's country is both noble and right. Meanwhile, by "collecting, ordering, preserving, and displaying," museums construct meaning, confer authority and grant legitimacy.[40] The McCord National Museum, in its handling of war, thus perpetuated the Myth of the War Experience in the Canadian context. It was a site for the construction of what, in our introduction, were termed comforting myths and familiar narratives—heroism, loyalty and noble sacrifice. None of this is to suggest that McCord was the lackey of a militaristic state or that his museum peddled propaganda disguised as history. However, it is important to note that while cultural history must not be written as the story of élite managed conspiracy, culture was (and is) not neutral. To naively disregard the power in, and of, culture is to miss the complexity of the past.

By the time McCord died in 1930, and by the time the McCord National Museum closed six years later, the Myth of the War Experience was already open to challenge and concomitant controversy. In the early 1920s, veterans in Windsor, Ontario, demanded that the *Detroit Free Press* be banned from Canada for having printed a story on the drunkenness of British soldiers. Later in the decade, Sir Arthur Currie took legal action against a Port Hope newspaper "because he believed that allegations about his conduct of the operations around Mons in November 1918 reflected badly upon

the men who had served under him in the Canadian Corps."[41]

Remembering war is necessarily difficult: how to commemorate the memory of those who died serving their country without simultaneously legitimating war as an acceptable means of arbitration. Reconciliation, the Ottawa monument to Canada's post-1945 role as an international peacekeeper, neither celebrates nor romanticizes war. Rather, it serves as an important reminder of Canada's role in the grim realities of today's international arena. Nevertheless, the Myth of the War Experience has endured. Its resilience is awesome. Despite Canada's role as a peacekeeper, we quickly found ourselves a participant in the Gulf War. Although cultural critics label this the post-national age,[42] the tendency to think in terms of post-this and post-that obscures continuity with the national age. As long as we insist that war is a legitimate arbiter of dispute we will require the Myth of the War Experience: to die for one's country is both noble and right.

Notes

* I would like to thank Hans Möller, David Moorman and the anonymous readers for their comments on an earlier version of this essay. I would especially like to thank Pamela Miller who first proposed the essay and whose thoughtful comments clarified my argument. Of course, I am responsible for any errors of fact and/or interpretation.

1. "Lord Byng of Vimy Headed Procession," Montreal *Gazette*, 14 October 1921, 6.
2. Initially, McCord had planned to give his collection to the Montreal museum, the Chateau Ramezay. Then he turned his sights on McGill. But because the negotiations were taking so long, and proving so frustrating, McCord at one point considered donating his collection to either the City of Toronto or Winnipeg. It was only through the determined efforts of W.D. Lighthall and Charles Gould, McGill's Librarian, that an acceptable agreement was ever reached.
3. "McCord Treasures Being Transferred," Montreal *Gazette*, 16 February 1921, 6. According to the *Gazette*, "the first article to be carried across the threshold of the museum was a copy of Holy Script. A bible belonging to Charles I and given by him to Sir William Douglas of Kenhead—first Duke of Queensberry."
4. Suffering from arteriosclerosis, and prone to fits of rage, McCord spent the final decade of his life institutionalized, punctuated only by occasional—and very violent—visits to Temple Grove.
5. See Richard Virr, "Son of the Great Dominion: W.D. Lighthall and the Lighthall Papers," *Fontanus* 2 (1989): 103-109.
6. McCord Family Papers, McCord Museum of Canadian History, file no. 2052a, Opening 1921.
7. Michael Kammen, "History as Lightning Rod," Organization of American Historians Newsletter 23, 2 (May 1995): 1. See also "An Update on the Enola Gay," *Organization of American Historians Newsletter* 23, 3 (August 1995): 3.
8. The Senate of Canada, The Valour and the Horror: Report of the Standing Senate Committee on Social Affairs, Science and Technology, (Ottawa, 1993): 3. See also David J. Bercuson and S.F. Wise, eds., *The Valour and the Horror Revisited* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's, 1994).
9. George L. Mosse, *Fallen Soldiers: Reshaping the Memory of the World Wars* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1990): 6-7.
10. Upon taking over responsibility for McCord's finances in 1922, W.D. Lighthall and his son, W.S. Lighthall, waded into a confusing morass of debts, credits and mortgages. In 1929 W.D. Lighthall commented on McCord, precariously perched as he was just one rung above his creditors. "David always ran his Estate on debts and borrowed money, and the position was so threatening when we took it over from himself that it was practically insolvent, and a very slight attack by any one of his creditors would have precipitated it into the gulf." Quote in Donald Fyson and Brian Young, "Origins, Wealth, and Work," in Pamela Miller et al., La Famille McCord: Une vision passionnée/The McCord Family: A Passionate Vision (Montreal, 1992): 27.

Describing McCord in the 1920s, Pamela Miller writes, "In the last years of his life, as he slipped in and out of lucidity, he realized that he had sacrificed almost everything for his museum. He fretted that no rents were coming in, that his taxes were unpaid and his wife alone in Temple Grove with no money for coal for the approaching winter." "Conclusion," in Pamela Miller et al., 141.

11. Jürgen Habermas. Quote in Kevin Walsh, *The Representation of the Past: Museums and heritage in the post-modern world* (London: Routledge, 1992): 7.
12. P.J. Bowler, *The Invention of Progress: The Victorians and the Past* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1989): 3. See also Mark Girouard, *The Return to Camelot: Chivalry and the English Gentleman* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1981); and Charles Dellheim, *The Face of the Past: The Preservation of the Medieval Inheritance in Victorian England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982).
13. MCFP, Historical Notebooks, vol. 1, p. 1, c. early 1890s.
14. MCFP, Historical Notebooks, vol. 3, p. 300, c. late 1890s.
15. Werner Muensterberger, *Collecting, An Unruly Passion:*

Psychological Perspectives (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1994): 136.
16. Ibid., 9.
17. Ibid., 13.
18. DRM to Mrs. F.E. Austin-Leigh, 4 September 1919, MCFP, file no. 5007, Arctic Exploration: Franklin, Sir John. McCord was requesting the donation of a portrait of John Franklin.
19. DRM to Mr. James Playfair, 10 July 1920, MCFP, file no. 5287.
20. MCFP, Historical Notebooks, vol. 5, inside cover, n.d., c. 1910.
21. For example, McCord amassed an ethnographic and archaeological collection "remarkable for its scope and documentation." Yet, even through this aspect of his collection, he centred on hierarchy, what he perceived to be the admirable hierarchy of Native society. He repeatedly noted that the object in question had once belonged to a Chief or an Indian princess. As Moira McCaffrey observes, "Being a member of a dominant elite, McCord viewed class structure as imbedded in the natural progression of Canadian society. By invariably linking the objects he collected to chiefs, warriors and princesses, he could reinforce to the public not only the inviolate presence of class structure even in societies considered "primitive", but also increase his own influence by demonstrating his membership in this elite group." Moira T. McCaffrey, "Rononshonni—the Builder: McCord's Collection of Ethnographic Objects," in Pamela Miller et al. La Famille McCord, 117, 107.
22. See Carl Berger, *The Sense of Power: Studies in the Ideas of Canadian Imperialism, 1867-1914* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1970); Carman Miller, *Painting the Map Red: Canada and the South African War, 1899-1902* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's Press and Canadian War Museum, 1993); Paul Maroney, "The Highlanders Stepped Forth as if on a Holiday Parade: Canadian Newspapers and British Imperial Wars, 1884-1907," unpublished paper, presented at IMPERIAL CANADA 1867-1917, University of Edinburgh, Scotland, May 5-7, 1995; and Paul Maroney, "It Has Cost Much, but it is Worth More: Cultural Images of War in Canada, 1884-1914," unpublished paper, presented at Canadian Historical Association ANNUAL MEETING, Université du Québec à Montréal, August 24-27, 1995.
23. MCFP, Historical Notebooks, vol. 3, p. 133, c. late 1890s.
24. MCFP, file no. 2065, First Museum Arrangement, c. 1920.
25. Ibid. Heraldry and genealogy, argues Mark Girouard, were very important to Victorian Britain's new middle class. Together they provided, albeit often invented, impressive family histories. This attitude is evident in McCord's efforts to provide his wife with a family history worthy of her marriage into one of Anglo-Quebec's elite families. See Mark Girouard, *The Return to Camelot: Chivalry and the English Gentleman* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1981): 40.
26. MCFP, Historical Notebooks, vol. 3, p. 44, c. late 1890s.
27. MCFP, Historical Notebooks, vol. 2, p. 286, c. mid 1890s. This was a widely-held belief within the British Empire. "Take away honour, take away imagination from war, and it becomes carnage," Field Marshall Sir Evelyn Wood wrote. "War is always grievous, often terrible, but there is something worse, and that is the decline of enthusiasm of manliness, of the spirit of self-sacrifice. Peace is blessed, and if the price to be paid for is, that wealth accumulates and men decay, then the bloodiest wars are lesser evils." Field Marshall Sir Evelyn Wood to DRM, December 1909, MCFP, file no. 2058, First Museum Arrangement.

In a letter to W.D. Lighthall, K.L. Macpherson agreed that war was a terrible thing but went on to add: "Do you know, though, I think the men who get through this war will be very much more cultivated and interesting then they would have been if nothing had occurred. Everyone was getting too provincial and fond of money and comfort." Lighthall Papers, NAC MG 29 D 93, vol. 1, file 1, 31 March [1915?].
28. C. Lintern Sibley, "An Archipelago of Memories," *Maclean's* 27 (March 1914): 7-8.
29. MCFP, Historical Notebooks, vol. 5, inside cover, n.d., c. 1910.
30. DRM to W.D. Lighthall, 13 December 1909, Lighthall Papers, NAC MG 29 D 93, vol. 1, file 28.
31. For an excellent discussion of Laura Secord as a symbol see Cecilia Morgan, "Of Slender Frame and Delicate Appearance: the Placing of Laura Secord in the Narratives of Canadian Loyalist History," *Journal of the Canadian Historical Association* 5 (1994): 195-212.
32. McCord Museum of Canadian History, accession no. M1393.
33. "Guide to Special Exhibit, C Room. Life in Canada, 1770-1870," MCFP, box Museum, Early Room Guides, List of Contents, 1924; file Guide to "C" Room. It is important to nuance this argument. While the McCord National Museum talked of the treachery of Pontiac, McCord himself romantically idealized Native Peoples at the same time as he observed the cruelty of European warfare. Still, the degree to which the Museum display conformed to Keegan's rhetoric of battle history is striking.
34. Ibid.
35. In the bonne entente tradition, McCord wrote Lady Laurier, "Le musée que je ferai n'est pas un musée McGill, ni un musée protestant, et certainement pas un musée anglais. Chaque objet dans le musée sera designé et exprimé dans les deux langues...et j'enseigne les principes auxquels votre associé marital dans ce monde a dédié sa vie—l'union des deux races." DRM to Lady Laurier, 4 November 1919, MCFP file no. 5245.
36. "The David Ross McCord National Museum," MCFP, box Museum, Early Room Guides, List of Contents, 1924;

file McCord Museum, List of Contents, 1924.

37. See John Keegan, *The Face of Battle* (London: Jonathon Cape, 1976): 39-40. In point of fact, Keegan's rhetoric of battle history contains five elements. However, one element, "the very abrupt, indeed quite discontinuous movement of the piece" applies neither to McCord nor the McCord National Museum.

38. Michael Kammen, *Mystic Chords of Memory: The Transformation of Tradition in American Culture* (New York: Alfred Knopf, 1991): 5.

39. Mosse, 7.

40. Linda Hutcheon, "The Post Always Rings Twice: The Postmodern and the Postcolonial," *Material History Review* 41 (Spring 1995): 5.

41. Jonathan F. Vance, "Custodians of Memory: Great War Veterans and the Image of the Canadian Soldier, 1918-1939," unpublished paper, presented at Canadian Historical Association ANNUAL MEETING, Université du Québec à Montréal, August 24-27, 1995: 22.

42. Writes Anne McClintock, "the almost ritualistic ubiquity of 'post-' words in current culture (post-colonialism, post-modernism, post-structuralism, post-cold war, post-marxism, post-apartheid, post-Soviet, post-Ford, post-feminism, post-national, post-historic, even post-contemporary) signals, I believe, a widespread, epochal crisis in the idea of linear, historical progress." McClintock, "The Angel of Progress: Pitfalls of the Term 'Post-Colonialism'," in Patrick Williams and Laura Chrisman, eds., *Colonial Discourse and Post-Colonial Theory: A Reader* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1994): 292.

A Brief Survey of Science and Scientists at McGill

by M.A. Whitehead

The following paper is a revised version of the Presidential address presented at the meeting of the James McGill Society held at McGill University, 29 February, 1994.

L'article suivant est une version révisée du discours présidentiel prononcé à l'occasion de l'assemblée de la James McGill Society qui a eu lieu à l'Université McGill le 29 février 1994.

"In Nomine Patris et Filii et Spiritus Sancti." A scientist would have used this phrase to open his address in earlier times, admitting that only by the guidance of the Holy Ghost could he understand the creations of God (although he need not have intoned it in Gregorian Chant).

Science is the quest to find immutable and universal laws that govern processes, presuming cause and effect relation. It does, in a sense, leave out humanism; yet at its basic level all the products of science form, influence, and cause the humanistic view of the world.

In 1838 McGill College planned its Chemical Apparatus room; it could have been one small step for science but unfortunately the room was never built. The first science subject taught at McGill was meteorology, introduced in 1833 and entrenched when Smallwood built his observatory in 1846. In 1843 there was an expectation that the Arts Faculty would replace the Medical Faculty in teaching chemistry to medical students, but this did not occur. Nevertheless, Chemistry earned a high profile when in 1846 Thomas Christie won the Chemistry Prize in Medicine.

The development of scientific ideas at McGill reflected the interests of researchers who had been educated in the British Isles where, during the preceding century, the enterprise of science had grown and changed. Natural History had replaced Natural Philosophy and special institutions developed with narrow, specialized interests. Expeditions brought back to England specimens from Australia, India, China and the Americas. There was great curiosity to see if the samples could be grown in places other than their origin: spices, rices, breadfruits, teas and cottons. In cities, discussion groups evolved to debate scientific matters, steam engines, pottery, electricity and chemistry. Business men met with professional men to discuss intellectual matters, finance research and develop Civic Pride. Gradually Chemistry came into its own, no longer the purview of the apothecary and the physician. The Universities of Edinburgh and Glasgow, were at the forefront for the teaching of Chemistry and Science. In Montreal the members of the Natural History Society, founded in 1827, eventually taught science at McGill College.

The Visitation to the Royal Institution during Principal Meredith's tenure, in 1847, specifically recommended the establishment of Chairs in Chemistry, especially of a practical nature using the style of teaching then in use at the Skakel School in the Place d'Armes.

William Sutherland, appointed Lecturer in Chemistry in 1849, and Professor in 1853, replaced Hall in medicine. He was paid £3.15.0 per course. He lectured on organic and inorganic chemistry to all first-year medical and third-year Arts students, except those selecting botany! The lectures were given in the Mechanics Institute on St. James Street. In 1835 he gave a course on "Chemistry of Life." A similar course, given by David Harpp, Joe Schwarz and Ariel Fenster is still offered in the Chemistry Department. It is designed to attract public interest, for everything we are, think and do is chemical. Sutherland gave the University his Philosophical Apparatus, a collection of instruments for performing or demonstrating the principles of physics and chemistry. It was the most modern in the Dominion.

The appointment of William Dawson (Fig. 1) in 1855 as Principal of McGill revitalized the University.

Figure 1. John William Dawson, 1859.
(McCord Museum of Canadian History. Notman Archives)

Figure 2. T. Sterry Hunt
(Leo Yaffe, *History of McGill Department of Chemistry*, p. 5)

Figure 3. Thomas Workman, 1864.
(McCord Museum of Canadian History. Notman Archives)

Figure 4. R.F. Ruttan
(Leo Yaffe, *History of McGill Deparment of Chemistry*, p. 9)

He soon liberalized the Arts courses by introducing more courses in science, natural philosophy, chemistry of life, zoology, heliography and engineering, following the American and not the British tradition. The supporters of McGill University favoured a broad Protestant tradition rather than an Oxbridge tradition. It would be professional and practical, with research independent of its intrinsic charm and value: it would be mechanical, manufacturable, useful to agriculture and to the material welfare of the Nation. A.N. Whitehead had observed that the greatest invention of the nineteenth century was the idea of invention itself; how to invent, not why!

Sutherland did do research. He studied the metallurgical structure of railway lines, built an Observatory where, in 1883, Clement McLeod co-operating with Greenwich, observed the transit of Venus. This allowed him to measure the exact longitude of the observatory. Scientists are always too intelligent to do what Society wants; it is the future which is of interest, not the present. Technology may satisfy the present greed of society and aid in the control of society by those in power, but science will always break free giving each individual the freedom to dream and the responsibility to act on that dream.

When William Molson paid for a new building in 1862 it was to contain "suites" of apartments for a museum, chemical classroom and laboratory. T. Sterry Hunt (Fig. 2) joined the faculty and, like all new members, was loaded with courses to teach! Nevertheless, Hunt did make time for research and, at the request of Thomas Workman (Fig. 3), who was President of the City Bank Montréal, and whose home would later be demolished to make way for the construction of the Otto Maass Chemistry Building, Hunt developed Cr_2O_3, the sesquioxide of chromium, in 1857. It was a permanent dye used on all United States banknotes, many Canadian banknotes, as well as bills in England and Russia. Few students signed up for Hunt's courses and he left for the Geological Survey in 1871. He was given funding of $800 for three years beginning in 1864 by Christopher Dunkin, an MPP. Hunt complained that he needed gas in the laboratory to do his research, and was told it was only to be used to heat the laboratory! In 1868 Girdwood and Blackwell were offered $1200 per year but were expected to do assays in the laboratory to earn money.

At this time Physics supplanted Natural Philosophy. The development of physics as a discipline resulted in the building of a dynamo and the introduction of electric lighting in the new physics building. Electricity emerged as a full-fledged study in 1888. John Cox furthered this research in the new Macdonald Physics Building, focussing on x-ray research.

B.J. Harrington and G.P. Girdwood built their own laboratories and rented them to McGill University, which subsequently purchased the lab tables for $100 in 1882. Harrington joined Hunt in 1871 to lecture in "Assaying and Mining" and then Chemistry. Geologist G.F. Armstrong was appointed in August 1841 to start the Department of Applied Science. In 1880 Harrington needed $150 from the Administration for equipment and, as is the case today, was granted less than needed—$100! It is interesting how scientists do more with less and administrations less with more. Chemistry was changing and the changes would hit McGill suddenly. McGill survived by moving people around like chess pieces, retaining experienced staff where needed—Girdwood was moved to a Chair of Theoretical Chemistry in Medicine (surely an oxymoron or perhaps just too true?), and Craik retired.

A.L. Lavoisier (guillotined during the Revolution) had developed a new Chemical Language in his *Traité Élémentaire de Chimie* (1789). It reformed the nomenclature, changed Chemistry from a qualitative to a quantitative subject, and gave a theoretical structure to the subject. At McGill, these changes in the subject were reflected in the Honours degree in Chemistry. Theoretical Chemistry had come of age. In 1898 the new Macdonald Chemistry Building was opened.

F.C. McIntosh laid the foundation for the study of Physical Chemistry at McGill from 1900 till 1915, and paved the way for R.F. Ruttan, a pre-eminent, ambitious man from Berlin (Fig. 4). Ruttan found the research conditions primitive; he passionately favoured grants-in-aid and scholarships. Ruttan wanted Graduate Students and Research Students—the young, the enthusiastic, the dedicated—so that they could mature and progress from the B.Sc. through the M.Sc. to the Ph.D. and Post-Doctoral positions. Teaching would complement research to strengthen the Department.

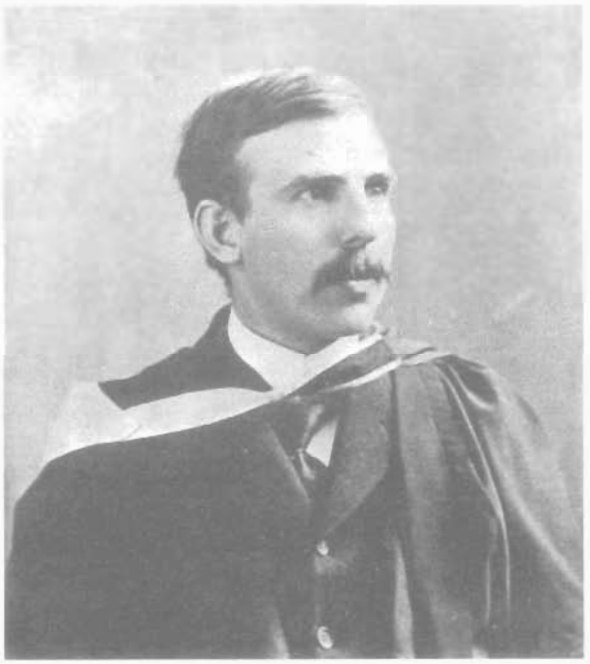


Figure 5. Ernest Rutherford
(Leo Yaffe, *History of McGill Department of Chemistry*, p. 12)

Figure 6. Frederick Soddy.
(Leo Yaffe, *History of McGill Department of Chemistry*, p. 14)

Figure 7. Otto Maass, 1946.
(Reproduced from *Deadly Allies. Canada's Secret War, 1937-1947*, by John Bryden, pp. 128-129)
Photo credit: Frank Royal/NFB/
National Archives of Canada

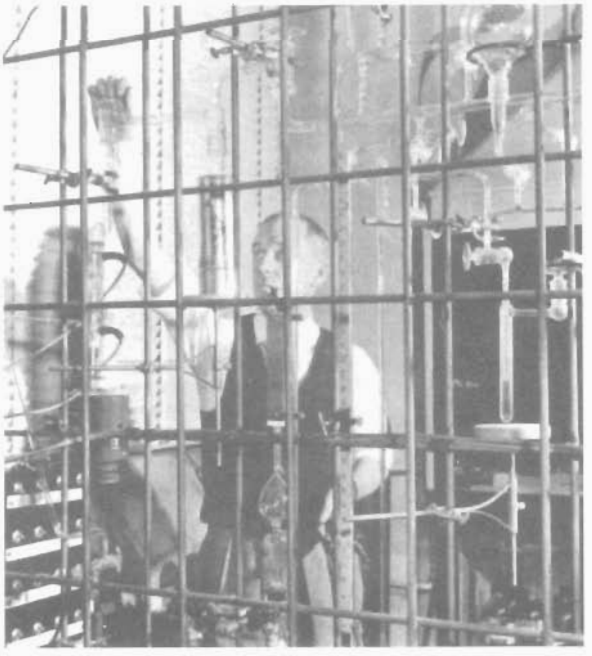


Figure 8. E.W.R. Steacie, 1948.
(Reproduced from *E.W.R. Steacie*, by M. Christine King, p. [xvi])
Photo credit: Public Archives of Canada.
PA-145317.

J.W. Walker was recruited from Leipzig in 1921, and joined with N.N. Evans and T.M. Johnson, who had come from Breslau, where he had studied explosives. John Cox and Hugh Callender produced the first Canadian x-rays in the new Physics Building. Later, in 1894 G.P. Girdwood and N.N. Evans set to work using them in Medicine, applying them to numerous studies at the Montreal General Hospital. The twenty-seven-year-old Ernest Rutherford arrived in 1898 (Fig. 5) to study the physical aspects of radiation as well as subatomic chemistry and transmutation, building on the Curies' isolation of radium in 1898 and their obtaining it as a metal in 1910 by electrolysis. It was ideal to study in a building specially designed for a department dedicated to research in magnetism and electricity. Rutherford caused helium nuclei to shoot out electron streams and penetrating x-rays. Their effects and products were analyzed with the help of F. Soddy (Fig. 6) of the Chemistry Department. Rutherford was mentor to several students who later did research all over the world: H.T. Barnes and R.W. Boyl studied mass energy; Soddy studied atomic disintegration and discovered neutrons; and finally, Otto Hahn discovered U235 fission in 1939. In the long term, Rutherford's intellectual and research legacy helped to establish the Canadian Uranium Ore and foster atomic research from the 1940's to the 1990's.

In 1913 a fundamental change in scientific research at McGill and in Canada would be effected by the arrival of Otto Maass (Fig. 7). A Swiss-German born in New York, he had studied in Berlin under Walter Nernst, who at the advent of war advised him to flee to Switzerland. Biting his cheeks to fake tuberculosis and spitting blood to prevent the border guards getting too interested in him, Maass succeeded in escaping. In Berlin he had worked with Arthur Eddington, whose "Experiment with Time" should have allowed Eddington an insight into relativity.

D.J. Harrington and Ernest Rutherford in 1906 were members of the Graduate Studies Committee overseeing seven Ph.D. students. Annie Macleod (Chemistry) received the first Ph.D. awarded at McGill, and the first Ph.D. in Canada, although she did most of her research work at Bryn Mawr. She later became Dean of Women at Barnard.

World War I caused a sudden increase in scientific research: it became necessary to advance the war effort, to develop means of defense and security, and to develop more efficient weapons of destruction. Dr. Louis King studied the propagation of sound waves, the design of foghorns, the detection of ships at sea, as well as oscillators for signalling between the newly-developed submarines. Dr. Howard Barnes designed a vortex gun fired from ships to flush submarines out of the sea. Dr. C.J. Lynde developed moveable defence shields for vehicles, which resulted in the design of the earliest successful tanks. Dr. A.S. Eve and Dr. R.W. Boyle developed ASDICS (anti-submarine detection) and LeaderGear, a device to guide ships in and out of harbours. LeaderGear could also be used for sound ranging in battlefields. Chemists R.F. Ruttan, F.M. Johnson, V.J. Harding and F.W. Skirrow manufactured acetone from acetylene, studied explosives, and attempted to develop a defence against poison gas, especially phosgene, which the Allies feared the Germans would use. In metallurgy, Dr. A. Stanfield developed the production of metallic zinc, the refining of copper, the production of magnesium and the purification of nickel ores—all needed to produce shells, bullets and equipment including hardened steel. The Shawinigan Company was created to produce the patented products resulting from this research, which included acetone among other solvents and reactants. A new chemical industry was emerging in Canada.

Otto Maass studied physical laws, and chemical and critical phenomena, and changes of state; he had a status in North America that equalled that of Wilhelm Ostwald, the father of Physical Chemistry, in Europe. In 1926 the eccentric E.W.R. Steacie (Fig. 8) graduated (Ph.D.) wearing a dentist's hood because they had run out of Ph.D. hoods. Steacie stayed on at McGill to do research and teach on a Sterry Hunt Fellowship, financed by money left by Hunt at his death in 1892.

Steacie won a Royal Society of Canada award, and elected himself Director of Research. Since he was already a Fellow of the Royal Society he also awarded research money to himself, wrote reports to himself, answered and criticized the reports himself, wrote and thanked himself for the reports, and presented all this correspondence as evidence of the correct use of the funds! Today, accountants and administrators would discredit him on such practices and destroy a great scientific mind. What did Steacie do with the money he

gave himself? Scientists try to use research money carefully and frugally; it is the research and science which count: do and get as much per dollar as is possible, is the scientists creed. Steacie produced single crystals of silver, studied the viscosity of liquid halogens, the solubility of oxygen gas in silver, the solubility of hydrogen gas in silver, the osmotic pressure of very dilute solutions, the kinetics of methyl formate decomposition, the design of a gas combustion pipette, the energy change in unimolecular reactions, and the catalytic activities of liquids and solid surfaces.

The Physical Society and Chemical Societies (1902) had educated, enlivened and brought together undergraduates, graduates and Professors in the exuberance of their research. In 1921 a group of the most influential, scientifically alert and prominent scientists founded the McGill chapter of the Society of The Sigma Xi. The scientists were concerned that science was fragmenting into narrow disciplines where researchers were unaware of each other's work. They foresaw the problems, needs and solutions years before bureaucrats and politicians. These scientists agreed with A.N. Whitehead who had been invited to address them: that information is dangerous when it has no place to go, when there is no idea to which it applies, no pattern that it conforms to and no purpose that it serves. Information without regulation can be lethal. But only those who understand the source of the information can evaluate and regulate it.

Consequently the Sigma Xi Honour Society was founded. Undergraduates, postgraduates, research scientists and professors were elected to the Society based on their research achievements. The meetings were traditional: a cheese and wine reception, a lecture, discussion and dinner. In 1936 it was reported that the Society was very important to the scientific life of McGill. Yet in 1996 it is struggling for existence, despite the importance most scientists give to interdisciplinary research.

In 1922 McGill set up the Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research, the culmination of a study done in 1902 which suggested that a decrease in the English-speaking population of Montreal would require the University to cull a larger area for graduate students, including the United States and the United Kingdom. While 90% of the graduate students came from outside Quebec, there were two National Research Council Scholars from Quebec. Former graduates were very good at sending their students to McGill to earn their research degrees.

In 1927 the Pulp and Paper Institute was created. Lack of Government interest in both industry and research had forced the paper companies to join together to finance an organization to do research into one of Canada's natural and national treasures. Harold Hibbert joined the Institute in 1925 to investigate the aromatic bases of lignin. He developed the process of alkaline oxidation of wood pulp and he extracted the flavour vanillin from wood pulp using ethylene glycol. Hibbert retained ownership of all the patents. This artificial production of vanillin almost destroyed the market for natural vanillin produced from the vanilla bean in South America.

J.S. Foster came to the Physics Department from Niels Bohr's Laboratory in Copenhagen and taught quantum physics. His contemporary W.H. Watson developed aspects of quantum theory, and made the dream of a cyclotron at McGill a reality. Watson also designed and studied radar antennae. G.S. Whitby developed a process for the vulcanization of rubber and did research in organic reaction accelerators before leaving McGill to head the National Research Council.

One of the most important breakthroughs in modern polymer chemistry occurred in the Chemistry Department when Plexiglass was created by the research student Bill Chalmers (Ph.D. 1930) through the polymerization of methyl methylacrylate and its substituted derivatives, as well as its chlorinated and brominated substituted compounds. It lead to the foundation of Rohm and Haas Inc.

Steacie went to the National Research Council in 1939. Formerly apolitical, his stint of research between 1934 and 1936, first with K.F. Bonhoeffer in Germany and later with Arthur Allmond in England, caused Steacie to turn pro-Hitler. This created not a ripple of comment, neither from McGill nor from Otto Maass, who was staunchly anti-Hitler.

Steacie studied atoms, molecules, and free radicals, searching for a way to test Moses Gomberg's theory of the existence of stable free radicals. Steacie

developed a beautiful reaction

$$RONO \text{ ----} > RO + NO$$

and studied its rate increase with changing R, where R is organic, CH_3- methyl, C_2H_5- ethyl etc.

At the National Research Council Steacie fought for research monies and grants for research students, professors and faculty.

Otto Maass built his own equipment to study critical state phenomena, the equations of state, sound propagation, specific heats, sulphite treatment of wood chips and the first production of truly pure hydrogen peroxide, which proved to be explosive, and to be a perfect rocket fuel.

Haber in 1919 got the Nobel Prize for the syntheses of ammonia, which lead to diphosgene, chloropicrin, and dichloro-diethyl sulphide—mustard gas, which blisters skin, blinds, rots lungs and is lethal. Luckily it was impure; when made pure in Canada it was dreadful, as the tests on Canadian soldiers showed. It is also one of the most widely used anti-cancer drugs.

The High Command, in 1940, was interested in casualty efficiency: bombs or chemicals. What was the ratio of casualties for high explosives to that of gas and what was the relative cost? Maass supported Sir Frederick Banting (Nobel Prize 1923 for insulin) who was overly modest but favoured chemical warfare right up to the time of his death in a plane crash in February 1941. He worked on wartime medicine at Porton Down in 1916 and knew that the Germans had the lead in chemical warfare. The government was not interested in research for the war ahead but three private individuals agreed with Banting, that it was "a war of scientist against scientist".

John David Gaton, Sir Edward Beatty of the CPR and Sam Bronfman of Seagrams organised a fund-raising campaign to help finance scientific research, each pledging $250,000 to the War Research Project. The fund reached $1,300,000. The government paid back the money when the research proved successful! Maass and Banting dedicated their efforts to Canada and were supported by General A.G.L. McNaughton, a graduate of McGill Physics and Engineering, who headed the National Research Council. He set aside, at Suffield, Alberta, a 50 x 50 mile test area for explosives and chemical testing.

At McGill, Bob McIntosh took over running Otto Maass' research after Maass was appointed Director of Chemical Warfare, in charge of chemical and biological warfare research for Canada. McIntosh with two young graduates, Richard Mungen and Templeton Hugell, tried to reproduce the chemical warfare research they thought Otto Ruff was doing in Germany—replacing phosgene as a chemical warfare gas. They burned sulphur in fluorine gas to give an expected non-toxic product, but the gas promptly killed a rat; compound Z (S_2F_6) had been discovered. This gas was four times more toxic and lethal than phosgene and the only new lethal gas discovered in WWII. It was odourless and emitted no early-warning smell. It was a well-kept secret until 1989, and is still talked of discreetly. It put Canadian science research on the world map. At McGill labs, no one except authorized personnel were admitted, not even the custodians who regularly cleaned the laboratories.

At McGill compound Z was so secret that the formula was never reproduced in any document. There was no admittance to laboratory 401, where the sun, filtered by dirt through opaque windows, glinted on mercury in floor cracks so large that any determined spy could crawl through them! When Ottawa finally demanded to see the result of the research, government officials requested 100 grams of the gas to test the efficiency of their gas masks. The gas was transported to Ottawa by train by Fred Lossing. He carried it in a sealed glass container which was further sealed in a Dewar containing dry ice. The train was filled with business men sitting all around, blissfully reading newspapers, yet there was enough gas on board to kill everybody on the train and for several thousand feet around it.

Lossing awoke in the Hotel that night, sweating and unable to breathe. There was a dreadful smell—Z was loose! He rushed to the window, threw it up, and gasping looked out: they were tarring the road! In 1940 when Fred Lossing joined McGill from Western University, which had good laboratories, he found the scientists fabulous and the laboratories utterly awful. There was no alternating current, no hot and cold water, no steam, no compressed air, and the fume hoods had no suction!

On one occasion Alison Flood, who worked for Maass, nearly got sacked for stopping an experiment. Maass, in trying to prove he could resist a gas attack with sheer German resolve and the strength of mind over matter, began turning purple.

At Macdonald College Dr. W.D. MacFarlane directed research in food production, storage, anti-rancid agents, and the toxicity of the new insecticide DDT; Dr. J.G. Armstrong and Alair Lips studied the nutritional value of food in the Arctic, and assaying the value of vitamin C in food. The Pulp and Paper Institute conducted research into durable paper for shoe insoles and soles, chewable paper for documents so spies could swallow them, impervious paper for prisoner-of-war letters, water-resilient paper for sandbags and electrical conducting.

Dr. R.L. Noble used a sea-sickness swing to test the Army's V-12 ethyl B-methyl allyl thiobarbituric acid and the Navy's Pink Pill anti-sea sickness remedies, as well as various other concoctions of belladona and barbituates.

Physicists under the direction of Dr. H. Watson, F.R. Terroux and Dr. J.S. Foster developed an antenna for finding aircraft height. The most important achievement was the development of slotted waveguides, and the development of an accurate theory of radar.

The Physics Department also took over the unopened Université de Montréal laboratories. Thirty percent of the McGill Physics faculty moved to the alternate laboratories. There, J.P. Cockcroft, under Steacie's direction, not only developed a successful energy pile reactor, assembled at Chalk River, but also designed a heavy water reactor and did research into the atomic bomb.

Explosives research greatly interested the chemists, and James Ross and his student Robert Schlessler developed an efficient way to make the super explosive RDX which replaced TNT in the Allies repertory of bombs. On one occasion they had to take a 20 lb sample for testing to Woolwich outside London, England. RDX is stable if not dry: it is initiated with mercury fulminate. They had to keep a sample of RDX under water and in sawdust on the roof of the Biology

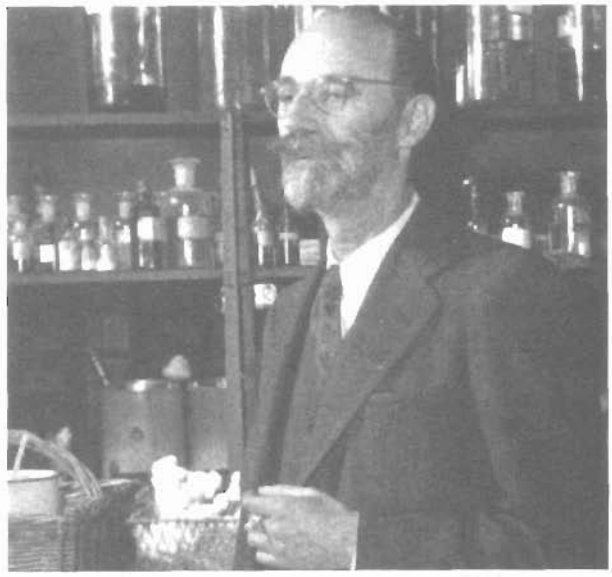


Figure 9. E.G. D. Murray, 1946.
(Reproduced from *Deadly Allies: Canada's Secret War, 1937-1947*, by John Bryden, pp. 128-129)
Photo credit: Frank Royal/NFB/
National Archives of Canada)

building for two days because the plane taking them to England was delayed. They then flew in an unheated fuselage for low altitude flying, holding the sample in their laps! However, they insisted on being inside the relatively warm section of the plane for high altitude flying, arguing that the container might shatter if the water froze! At Woolwich Arsenal the RDX test passed the British specifications.

Another type of bomb was to carry biological agents. Research was conducted under the direction of E.D.G. Murray, a bacteriologist at McGill (Fig. 9). He believed that the enemy could be defeated with poisoned paper, mosquitoes, rats and other carriers spreading anthrax, plague, murin typhus or botulinus toxin. All were being developed at Grosse Île, a small island downstream from Quebec City. At one time during the War there were rows of trays of anthrax laid out to fill bombs. The security fence around the facility was full of holes and the doors to the laboratories unlocked! Maass rapidly reorganized safety and security practices.

R.V.V. Nicholls, a McGill chemist, developed plastic explosives and the efficient production of toluene from the cyclodehydrogenation of petroleum fractions.

He studied the nitration of p-cymene, the use of betonites as polymeric catalysts, and improved the synthesis of 1.1-diphenyl ethanes making the process resulting in synthetic rubber and DDT cheaper and more efficient.

When peace broke out all the research monies and all the extra-ordinary employment ceased. McGill, generously and with great foresight, gave $5,000 to returning Faculty to start up individual research. In geography George Kimble and Kenneth Hare began research in meteorology, climate and biogeography in the Canadian North, building on the work of James Gill who in 1920 discovered Iron Ore on the Quebec-Labrador border. In the 1950's the mining of this iron ore deposit required the building of a railway to the Canadian North, which opened up the area to research in glaciology and geomorphology and led to co-operative research with the Arctic Institute whose library was at McGill. In warmer climes, the Bellaire Institute in Barbados was created to conduct research into coral reefs, irrigation and land reclamation.

Physicists in the Foster Radiation Laboratory used the cyclotron (now in a modern form used in the Montreal Neurological Institute) to create a proton beam to study radioactive emissions from atomic bombardments, the reactions of nuclei, and delayed proton events. From an extracted proton beam, they studied nuclear reactions, and proton-proton collisions. In the Eaton Laboratory the physicists studied microwave optics, microwave spectroscopy, and atomic clocks, which later lead to masers and magnetic insulators.

The chemist Leo Yaffe used the cyclotron to study β-radiation, neutron-induced reactions, nuclear fission and isomer ratios, and applied it to analyzing archeological artefacts from the ancient trade routes in Turkey, Greece and the Ottawa valley.

At McGill the first "gene machine" was developed by Kevin Ogilvie. It formed the basis of a burgeoning industry as well as fundamental medical and biochemical research. Stanley Mason investigated blood and wood pulp flow and Bernard Belleau developed a morphine analogue which was non-narcotic, non-addictive and with no side effects called buturphanol. He also developed 3TC used to fight AIDS. This work led to the founding of Bio Chem Pharma Inc.

I have presented a bird's eye view of one hundred and fifty years of research at McGill and I have touched on only about 5% of it!

The future of Science in Society and at McGill may look bleak. The scientists are overworked, underpaid, and scrambling for money. The province may seem alien to their interests, and the country disinterested in science. However this survey proves that scientists will always continue to do science because they believe that only science will lead to an understanding of the natural world, the betterment of mankind, and a glimpse into the mind of God.

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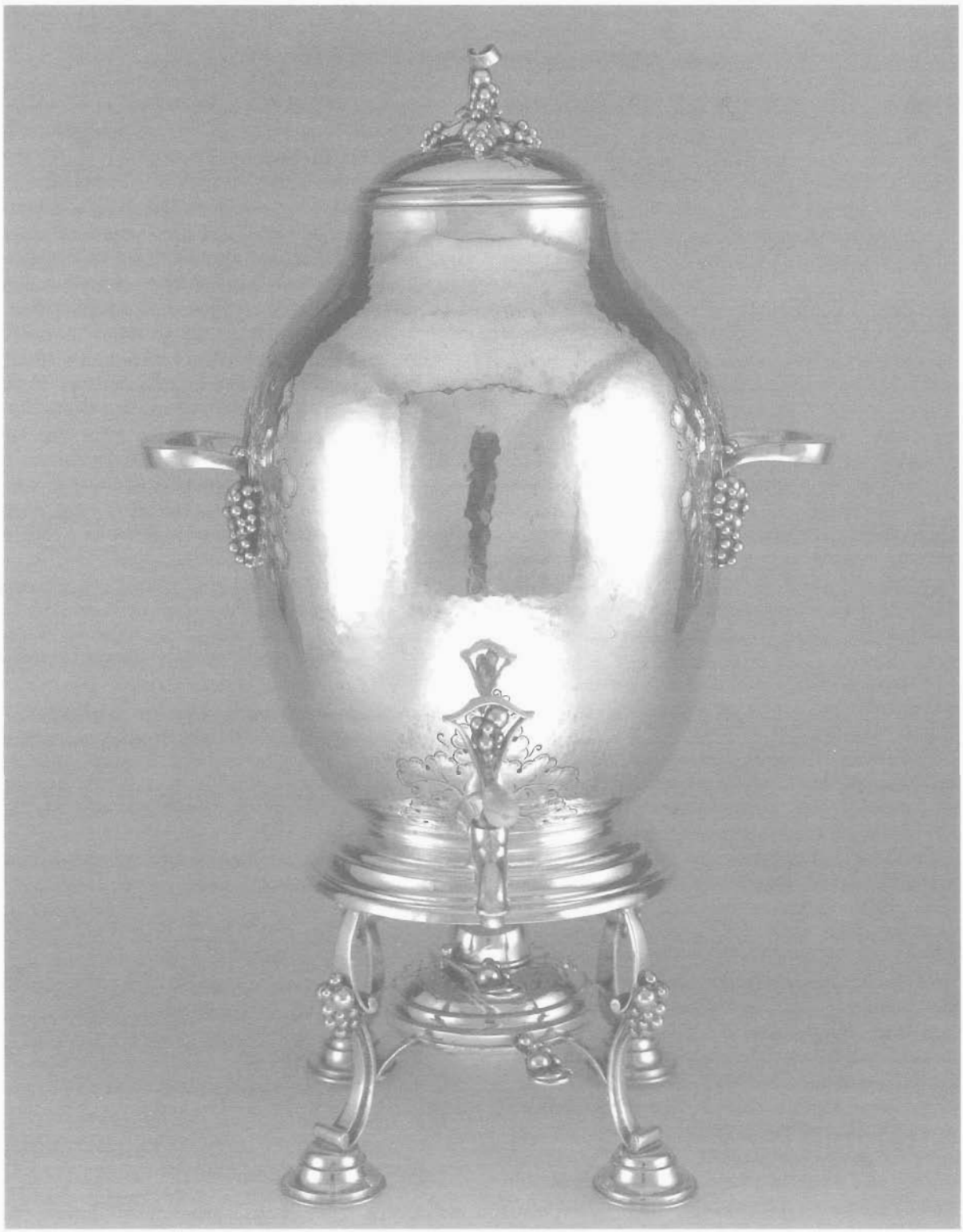

Figure 1. Samovar.
Hand-hammered sterling silver.
Weight: 94 troy ozs.
Gift of the estate of Mrs. Samuel Bronfman
(McCord Museum of Canadian History)

Notes and Comments

Silverware Crafted by Carl Poul Petersen: Recent Donation in the Decorative Arts Collection, McCord Museum of Canadian History

By Conrad Graham
Curator of Decorative Arts, McCord Museum of Canadian History

In September 1995 the McCord Museum of Canadian History became the recipient of a major donation of Canadian silver. Ninety pieces of silver from the workshop of C. Poul Petersen[1], a Canadian Dane, were donated to the permanent collection.

Carl Poul Petersen was born in Copenhagen on November 28, 1895 and died in Montreal on April 6, 1977.[2] Petersen immigrated to Montreal in 1929 and came as a master goldsmith. He had learned his trade as a silversmith under the internationally famous Danish silversmith Georg Jensen (1866-1935) and the "Jensen style" with it fluid modern lines can be seen in Petersen's work. Jensen opened his studio in 1904 and about 1908 Petersen began his apprenticeship which lasted the usual five years. On his arrival in Montreal, Petersen was able to find employment with the firm of Henry Birks and Sons and by 1931 he was able to bring his wife and three sons to Canada.[3]

A fellow Canadian Dane was the chauffeur to Samuel Bronfman and introduced Petersen to Bronfman who proceeded to commission him to produce a tea and coffee service. This set, illustrated here by the silver samovar (Fig. 1), was made before Petersen had registered a Canadian hallmark and is stamped P.P. Sterling Danmark, although it was made on McGill College Avenue. This became the first commissioned work executed by him in Montreal. This commission enabled him to open a shop at 2024 McGill College and according to *Lovell's Montreal Directory* he worked there from 1939 until 1944 where upon he moved his studio to 1221 Mackay Street where they stayed until the firm's demise in 1979.

Petersen operated his studio with his three sons and by the late 1940's employed over twenty assistants to aid in the manufacture of hand wrought flatware, hollowware, tableware and jewelry.[4] Petersen created all his own designs and did not allow his assistants to vary from them.[5] From advertising flyers it is possible to identify eleven patterns of flatware with three of the most popular illustrated here. These are from left to right "Dolphin, Wild Berrie, and Corn." The Dolphin pattern was the least expensive and Corn the most expensive, being double the price.

Petersen silver was very popular in the 1950's and 60's for gift giving purposes and the footed condiment dish illustrated here was one shape that has been seen in many Montreal households.

The firm of C.P. Petersen & Sons may best be known for their version of the Stanley Cup. In the late 1940's they received the contract for engraving the cup and making any necessary repairs. In 1962, then NHL president Clarence Campbell commissioned a traveling version of the cup which is the one still presented today and kept in the home town of the winning team.[6]

Mrs. Bronfman was a patron of Petersen for many years and the wide range of serving pieces represented in the recent donation (Figs. 2, 3) illustrate the complexity of the silversmith's craft and rightly places Petersen as one of the finest silversmiths to work in Canada in the twentieth century.

Figure 2. Condiment or Bonbon dish.
Hand-hammered sterling silver.
Gift of the estate of Mrs. Samuel Bronfman
(McCord Museum of Canadian History)

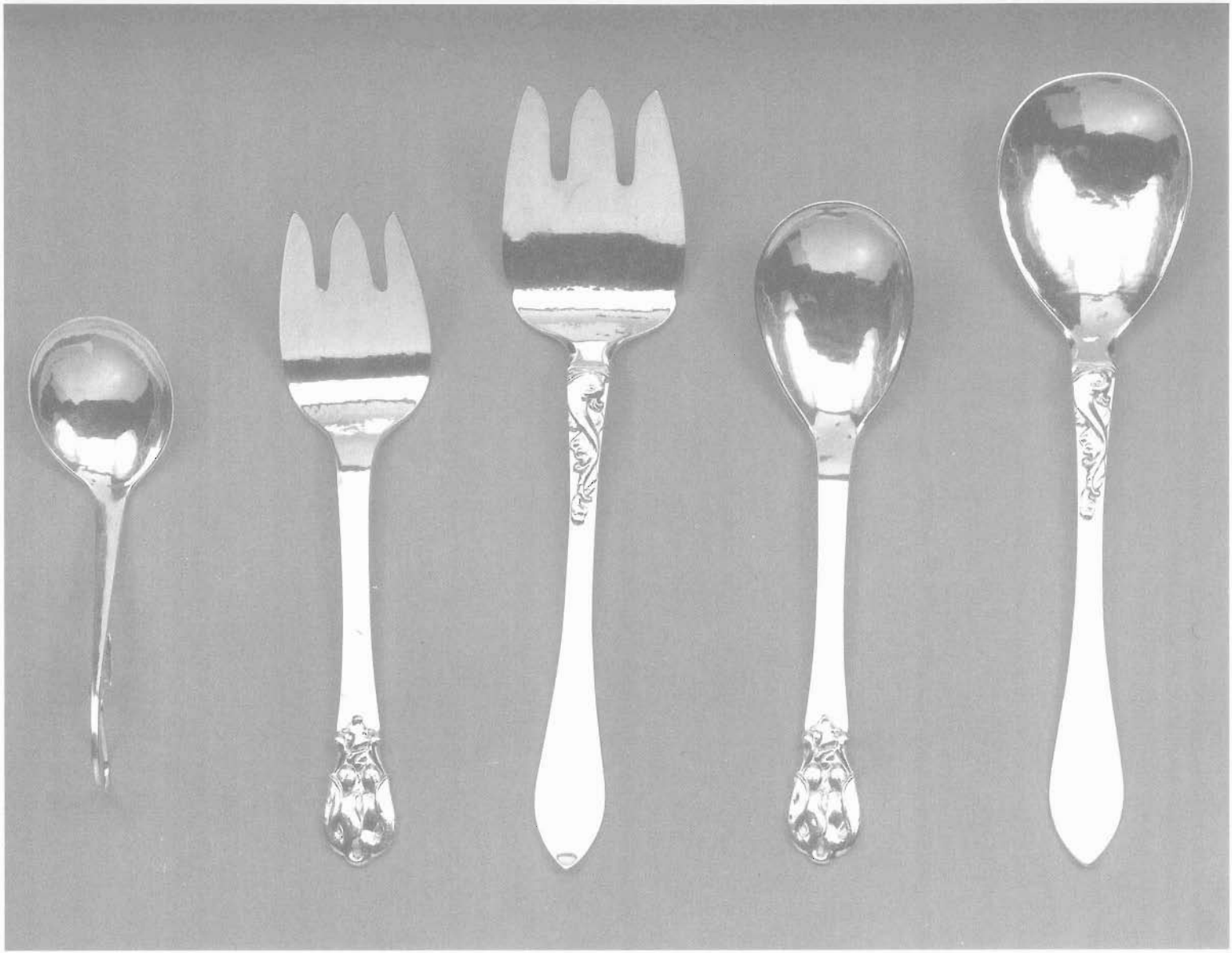

Figure 3. Serving Spoons and Forks
Hand-hammered sterling silver.
Gift of the estate of Mrs. Samuel Bronfman
(McCord Museum of Canadian History)

Notes

1. C. Paul Petersen is the form of listing found for all his entries in *Lovell's Montreal Directory*.
2. Biographical information supplied by his son Ole Petersen from an interview on February 13, 1996.
3. *Idem.*
4. Information supplied by former Vice-Principal (Academic) Eigil Pedersen, October 15, 1995.
5. *Idem.*
6. Montreal *Gazette*, July 5, 1994.

In Their Own Write: An Exhibition Celebrating 175 Years of McGill Authorship

By David McKnight
Reference Librarian, McLennan Library

In her 1991 essay "A Torch for All Time" Carol Martin remarks: "Study, analysis, and research—the desire to push back, bit by bit, the frontiers of knowledge. These are the forces that lie at the heart of every great university."[1] Although it was not apparent 175 years ago that McGill would, in time, evolve into a great university, history has judged otherwise.

Indeed, as the 19th century drew to a close, McGill had emerged as an institution with great promise due to the efforts of the "Three Williams:" William Dawson, Sir William Osler, and Sir William Peterson. Each in their own way played key roles in laying the foundation of McGill as a world-class university. As the second Millennium draws to a close the record of scholarly achievement is now secure. And yet, one thing is constant since James McGill set in motion the founding of the Royal Institution for the Advancement of Learning in 1821, then as now, the institution now know as McGill University is beset with new challenges which strike to the very core of its existence.

One of the current key issues is how McGill will adapt to the global information revolution which is manifestly changing the essence of scholarly communication. Scholarly communication is, of course, the matrix of print documents—learned journals, proceedings, and the books, which have served as the primary media of expression for researchers and scholars since the rise of the modern research university at the end of the last century.

Certainly it is too early to judge what the long term effects of electronic publishing will have upon the university community. Just as the spread of printing throughout Europe at the end of the 15th century gradually replaced hand-lettered books, electronic books and journals may in time become the primary medium for the transmission of knowledge rendering the printed word rarefied or quaintly antique. As for the immediate future, it is doubtful that scholars and researchers will soon abandon the ritual and necessity of scholarly publishing which is integral not only to the creation of new knowledge, but also the means of measuring and advancing academic careers.

This latter concern, the advancement of an academic career, is today commonly referred to as the 'publish or perish' syndrome. Since mid-century scholarly publication has been a major component in the tenure granting system and has been the proliferation of scholarly journals and monographs despite the appearance of counter-trends which include the high cost of journals and monographs, and the shrinkage of public funding for academic presses. The impact has been felt in the arts as well as the sciences.

On the occasion of McGill's 175th anniversary the Humanities and Social Sciences Library is going to celebrate the printed book. Drawing from its various collections, an exhibition will be held to highlight some of the great, enduring and curious books published by McGill professors, scholars and graduates during the university's long and distinguished history. The number and variety of works published by McGill authors is such that works of poetry

and fiction have been included in the exhibition.

In honour of the 175th anniversary, McGill's Osler Library of the History of Medicine will also mount an exhibition. The Humanities and Social Sciences Library exhibition conscientiously displays both authorial creativity and the book as objet d'art. In keeping with the spirit of the University the exhibition is decidedly multidisciplinary. Works from the sciences, medicine, law, humanities and social sciences are represented. They represent in their totality the forces which define two of the intellectual cornerstones of this university: research and publication.

The exhibits are divided into three groupings: 1) Advancement of Learning, 2) Researches, 3) The Pattern of Research. The first section examines books published between 1845 and 1900, the second includes works published from 1901 to 1971, and the third section covers works which have appeared since 1972. The titles of the second and third sections are derived from a list of published "researches" by McGill professors and librarians which appeared at the turn of the century in an appendix to the McGill University *Annual Report*. By 1971 the number of scholarly publications had grown to such an extent that it was decided to issue the listing of McGill authored publications under a separate title: *The Pattern of Research*. The first volume appeared in 1972.

Over 40 authors are represented in the exhibition, among whom are names most often associated with McGill—Sir William Osler, Ernest Rutherford and Stephen Leacock. Indeed, given the rich holdings of Osler and Leacock material one could devote an entire exhibition to these individuals alone. Other notables include McGill principals: William Dawson, Sir William Peterson, and F. Cyril James. Well-represented are the members of the influential McGill Movement, consisting of A.J.M. Smith, F.R. Scott, Leon Edel, and John Glassco. Of the four, Scott was the only member who remained at McGill to pursue a distinguished career in the Law Faculty. The others are no less remarkable for their contributions to literary scholarship and letters. Another notable McGill author is Hugh MacLennan who began his 30-year association with McGill in 1951.

The earliest book on display is Joseph Abbott's *Philip Musgrave* published in 1845, the most recent work is Yvan Lamonde's biography of 19th century liberal and anti-clerical seigneur, Louis-Antoine Dessaules. Among the more unusual works in the exhibition is that written by R.M. Bucke. Bucke graduated from McGill's medical school in 1862. In 1877, he fell under the influence of the American poet Walt Whitman. The result of this meeting was an enduring friendship between Bucke and Whitman and the publication in 1901 of Bucke's *Cosmic Consciousness*. The book remains in print today.

A book with an unusual publishing history is John Clark Murray's *The Industrial Kingdom of God*. Although the work was completed in manuscript in 1887 it was not published until 1981. Born in Scotland, Murray was appointed professor of logic at McGill in 1872. Murray remains little-known today and his major philosophical work was published almost a century after its completion. Within the context of McGill, he is best remembered for engaging Principal Dawson in an emotional and vituperous debate concerning the education of women at McGill. Dawson held the view that women should be educated in a separate college; Murray, in contrast, believed in co-education. Dawson's view prevailed. Of course, McGill has produced a number of notable women authors, among them Maud Abbott, Margaret Gillett and Anne Carson.

In another 175 years, no doubt, this note will appear in digital format and praise the electronic words written by McGill scholars, with faint mention of the printed books which have played an important role in advancing the careers of the many McGill authors during its first 175 years. It also pays homage to the printed objects which serve as the artifacts of record which reveal the human mind and imagination as expressed in the works written by men and women associated with McGill University 'in their own write.'

Notes

1. Martin, Carol. "A Torch for All Time." In *McGill: A Celebration*. Montreal: McGill-Queen's Press, 1991, p. 103.

The McGill University Library Catalogue of 1876: A Preliminary Statistical Analysis

By Peter F. McNally
Associate Professor, Graduate School of Library and Information Studies
and
Kevin Gunn
Library, Catholic University of America, Washington, D.C.

Determining the early history of the McGill Libraries poses certain difficulties. Only with the appointment of Charles H. Gould as University Librarian in 1892 and the opening of Redpath Library the following year were detailed administrative records maintained. For the preceding fifty years or so, our knowledge of library development is vague and sketchy, due to incomplete documentation.[1]

Although vestigial remains can be found of a library dating back to the 1840s, Sir John William Dawson was convinced that on his arrival at McGill in 1855 there was no library. One of his first undertakings as principal was to serve also as librarian from 1855 to 1857. Indeed, he went so far as to have the library located in his own office from 1860 to 1862. Over the succeeding decades, the library improved slowly but steadily: in 1862 it found a tranquil home in the newly built west wing of the Arts Building (Molson Hall) where it remained until the opening of Redpath Library in 1893; from 1857 to 1882, Charles F. A. Markgraf, a professor of German, provided consistent and dedicated service as librarian; largely through the support of benefactors the collection grew constantly larger and stronger.

For this period a primary document, which has been largely overlooked, is the *Catalogue of Authors* published in 1876.[2] It provides a permanent record of the collection as it was in the mid-1870s and permits its assessment in a way that is both unique and convincing. In addition, the catalogue permits the collection to be evaluated in relation to the University's teaching and research activities. The fact of the catalogue being only an author listing, plans for a subject catalogue having been cancelled through lack of funds, limits its usefulness only somewhat.

The publication of library catalogues in book form enjoyed great popularity in the nineteenth-century, because they permitted simultaneous perusal by many people in a wide variety of locations. Of course, they were also unpopular in some quarters because they could become voluminous and expensive for larger collections and because they resisted quick and cheap updating, except through supplementary volumes that broke continuity with the original volume(s).

It is ironic that the McGill catalogue should have been published in 1876, just as the popularity of book catalogues was beginning to wane. In that year, the American Library Association and *Library Journal* were founded, the first editions of Dewey's classification scheme and Cutter's cataloguing rules were published, and the Library Bureau started issuing standardized cataloguing cards.[3] As McGill would switch to a card catalogue in 1877, students of this period are justifiably grateful that the printed catalogue had already appeared.

That said, there are both favourable and unfavourable things to say about the 1876 catalogue. On the one hand, its lack of subject access is a problem as are such things as the entries being very brief; there are inconsistencies on whether continuing publications, like government yearbooks, should be given separate entries for each year or one single entry encompassing a range of years. On the other hand, the catalogue was carefully compiled by

Professor Markgraf in an exact and reasonably coherent manner. A bonus for researchers is the inclusion with the entries of classification/shelving numbers which, despite some problems, provide helpful insights into the subject orientation of the collection.

Although it is hoped, in time, to provide a more detailed and comprehensive evaluation of the catalogue, the authors of this article are pleased at having an opportunity to present their preliminary results. The number of entries in the catalogue is 5,385. If one subtracts the 184 'see' references directing readers from unused to used headings, such as 'Canada. Geological Survey of' to 'Geological Survey' one can identify 5,201 titles. The number of monographic titles is 5,098; the number of journal/serial titles is 103. For an academic library collection to have only 1.98% of its collection as journals seems quite low by twentieth-century standards. Whether this proportion is equally low by nineteenth-century standards is less clear. With 11,021 volumes in the collection, McGill was typical in having significantly more volumes than titles. Of the titles, 3,669 or 70.54% were in single volumes or copies.

Country and language of publication can provide important insights into the nature of a collection. The 1876 collection reflects the importance of overseas—particularly British—publications, and the relatively weak state of Canadian publishing:

	TITLE	%
United Kingdom	3,023	58.12
United States	486	9.34
Germany	414	7.96
France	358	6.88
Canada	341	6.56
Italy	39	.75
Austria	9	.17
Belgium	6	.12
Greece	3	.06
Sweden	2	.04
Other	368	7.08
Unknown	152	2.92
TOTAL	5,201	100

Of the 3,023 titles published in Britain, 194 were Scottish or 6.4% of the British total and 3.73% of the overall total. Considering the reputedly Scottish orientation of McGill at this time, the proportion seems rather low. The overwhelming presence of American publications in Canadian academic libraries would be a twentieth-century phenomenon. In all, publications from twenty-six countries were identified.

Publications in 70 languages were noted, a high proportion of these being represented in editions of the Bible. The major languages are as follows:

	TITLES	%
English	3,722	71.56
Latin	693	13.32
French	330	6.34
German	95	1.83
English and French	43	.83
Italian	40	.77
Greek	5	.10
Spanish	4	.08
Other	254	4.88
Unknown	15	.29
TOTAL	5,201	100

That English language publications should be overwhelmingly predominant seems less surprising than that Latin should be the second most represented language, albeit a poor second. This reflects, no doubt, the strongly classical nature of the McGill curriculum that would continue into the 1890s; the bulk of these titles was published in Germany. Of the 330 French language titles, 282 were published in France, twenty-three in Canada, and thirteen in Britain. All of the bilingual English-French titles were published in Canada.

Date of publication is also of great relevance and provides valuable insight to the collection. As some multivolume titles were published over many years, thereby fitting into more than one time period, the number of entries for this section rose to 5,254. Date groupings are as follows:

	TITLES	%
1450-1799	818	15.57
1800-1849	1,491	28.38
1850-	2,945	56.05
TOTAL	5,254	100

It is clear that with Dawson's arrival as principal in 1855, a concerted effort was made to acquire current publications for the library. At the same time, the large number of older books reflects the influence of benefactors, such as Peter Redpath, who laid the foundation for the University's outstanding historical rare book collections.

The last, and possibly most important, topic to be considered is also the most difficult: subject content. As no explanation has been found of the classification system used in the catalogue, the description of its six categories is based upon an analysis carried out by the authors on the titles in each category. It is clear that more work will have to be done on this topic. Although certain inconsistencies appear to have crept into Professor Markgraf's application of the classification system, they are probably no worse than the inconsistencies found in the application of any system. The real problem with this system is that the categories are much too broad:

	TITLES	%	
A	1,459	28.05	History, Biography, Geography, Travel, and Politics
A_2	118	2.27	Fine and Applied Arts
B	560	10.77	Classical Literature, Philosophy, and Culture
C	937	18.02	Science, Technology and Medicine
D	1,175	22.59	Literature, Philosophy, and Religion
E	944	18.15	Encyclopaedias, Dictionaries, Atlases, Directories, Bibles, Bibliography, Collections of Essays and Sermons, Statutes, Law, and Education
Unknown	8	.15	
TOTAL	5,201	100	

For the purposes of comparison, the much more detailed subject classification system used in the library catalogue (4) of the University of Toronto (published in 1857) along with the number of volumes, not titles, in each category is provided below:

	VOLUMES	%	
1	135	1.95	Archaeology
2	143	2.06	Bibliography & Literary History
3	229	3.30	Biography
4	178	2.57	Chemistry & Chemical Physics
5	469	6.76	Divinity
6	234	3.37	Encycl. & Dict. of Science & Art
7	296	4.27	English Literature
8	266	3.88	Fine & Useful Arts
9	345	4.98	French, German & etc. Literature
10	141	2.03	Geography, Voyages, & Travel
11	202	2.91	Grammar, Lexicons, & etc.
12	632	9.11	Greek & Latin Classics
13	654	9.43	History, Chronology, Ethnology
14	167	2.41	Law, Political Economy & etc.
15	380	5.48	Mathematics, Pure & Mixed
16	734	10.59	Medicine
17	130	1.87	Metaphysics, Ethics, Logic & Rhetoric
18	87	1.25	Mineralogy & Geology
19	382	5.51	Natural History
20	20	.29	Oriental Literature
21	1,110	16.01	Transactions & Periodicals
	6,934	100	TOTAL

Although it is difficult to make direct comparisons between the McGill and Toronto collections--given their different dates of publication, counting methods, and classification systems--one comparison is possible. Science, technology, and medicine in section C of the McGill catalogue and in sections 4, 15, 16, 18, and 19 of the Toronto catalogue are roughly comparable in coverage:

McGill (1876)	937	Titles	18.02%
Toronto (1857)	1761	Volumes	25.40%

As McGill had, however, a separate medical library and therefore relatively few medical books in the main collection, whereas Toronto housed its medical collection in the main library, somewhat different results occur by removing section 16 'Medicine' from the Toronto list:

McGill (1876)	937	Titles	18.02%
Toronto (1857)	1027	Volumes	14.81%

These results suggest that scientific books may account for approximately 15% of mid-nineteenth- century Canadian academic library collections. Otherwise, the collections of both universities were overwhelmingly weighted in favour of historical, humanistic, political, and legal studies.

In conclusion, this preliminary statistical analysis of the 1876 catalogue is meant to contribute to a larger study of cultural life, reading, and information habits at McGill in the Victorian era. Links between collections, teaching, and research may also be studied. In addition, it is hoped to study further the role played by benefactors in the development of the collections. Finally, this analysis may permit comparison with the collections of other nineteenth-century Canadian academic libraries.

Notes

1. Peter F. McNally, "The McGill University Libraries." *Encyclopedia of Library and Information Science*. N.Y. Dekker, 1976, v. 17, p. 311-320.
2. McGill University. Montreal. Library. *Catalogue of Authors*. Montreal, Lovell, 1876. 322 p.
3. Robert E. Kingery, *Book Catalogues*. N.Y. Scarecrow, 1963. viii, 330 p. James Ranz, *The Printed Book Catalogue in American Libraries, 1723-1900*. Chic. ALA, 1964. vii, 144 p.
4. Robert H. Blackburn, *Evolution of the Heart: a History of the University of Toronto Library up to 1981*. Toronto, University of Toronto Library, 1989. p. 37-38, 319.

An Archival Testament: the Papers of Sir William Dawson

By Robert H. Michel
Project Archivist, Canadian Centre for Architecture

A Biography at Last

Coinciding fortunately with McGill's celebration of its 175th year, McGill-Queen's University Press has published the first, full scale, scholarly biography of Sir William Dawson (1820-1899), McGill's chief architect and Principal from 1855 to 1893: *John William Dawson: Faith, Hope and Science* by Professor Susan Sheets-Pyenson. Historians of McGill, Stanley Frost and Margaret Gillett and historians of science such as Suzanne Zeller, Charles O'Brien and many others have described Dawson's critical role in the development of McGill, geology, museums, and scientific networks but Sheets-Pyenson's book is the first since the publication of Dawson's autobiography in 1901 to bring us back to the man himself—Canada's eminent Victorian, driven as her subtitle suggests by "faith, hope and science." Dawson combined several careers into one: scientist, religious controversialist, University Principal, advocate of Protestant English education in Quebec, and tireless paterfamilias as well. Sheets-Pyenson offers a thorough, inspired, scientific and personal biography of the Principal who built McGill up from the little college with a Medical Faculty he found in 1855 to Canada's premier university by the time he retired in 1893. She portrays a researcher forced to become an administrator who performed both functions well but never achieved quite what he wanted—especially the reconciliation of Scripture with geology and palaeontology.

The author draws attention to how much her biography depends on archives—from bills and scribbles to letters from other scientists, pointing out that while Dawson's thought may be studied through his publications, knowledge of the man himself depends on the thousands of letters and writings he and his wife and children carefully preserved. She declares that the richness of Dawson's archive allowed her to expand her originally-intended scientific biography into a full one covering personal and family life. Confirming to some extent the theories of biography advanced by Leon Edel and others, she notes that biographers bring their own lives and concerns to bear on their accounts of their subjects' lives; she observes that she became more interested in Dawson's family and economic concerns as she herself changed and brought up her children over the decade she worked on the book. While she occasionally speculates as to Dawson's motives (though never wildly), she mainly holds to the hard core of Victorian facts.[1]

This fine biography also provides an occasion to examine how personal papers advance knowledge. Unlike institutional records, private papers need not be kept permanently for legal or administrative reasons. Yet they can become their creator's intellectual testament and contribution to the future.[2] By preserving his papers Dawson made his biography possible. And the preservation of the papers of Dawson's wife and children lets us study Dawson and other family members in greater depth and in relation to one another.

Constant Writer and Record Keeper

Dawson carefully kept his papers for the future, arranged them, and mounted some of them in albums intended for his own reference and his family's enjoyment and edification. They contain such things as his letter of appointment to McGill, wedding memorabilia, and sketches of the Nova Scotia countryside where he grew up. He probably referred back to his papers and albums when writing his autobiography. At first one is surprised that this introspective Victorian did not keep a diary to take stock of his life and to record events. It seems likely that he simply did not have the time. Always busy, he published several hundred articles and nearly two dozen books; he preferred to devote his writing energy to getting into print.

Figure 1. J.W. Dawson, from Daguerrotype, c. 1846.
(J.W. Dawson's album of drawings. McGill University Archives)

A bon Hygeiana
Height above Bene-Hama
from drawing by Miss Brooks

Figure 2. J.W. Dawson, pencil sketch by Miss Brooks, 1885.
Verso annotated: "To the father of stones with compliments of M. Brooks." (McGill University Archives)

Dawson's papers reveal that, whatever his activity, he was an obsessive note taker. He wrote quickly and illegibly, often in pocket sized booklets; he made sketches of specimens, strata, Egyptian antiquities and fossils (some developed by engravers into illustrations for his books). He scribbled and kept for reference firsts drafts or copies of correspondence—he was his own camera and xerox machine. He was always writing, according to his grand-daughter, Clare Harrington.[3]

The immense amount of writing that Dawson did helped him keep his busy life and innumerable projects under control. His surviving papers are a witness to his concern for details and effective "time management." His daughter Anna remembered how he kept lists of things to be done:

> He always was an early riser, usually downstairs by 7 [o'clock] & doing a great deal of his daily correspondence before 8 [o'clock] breakfast...he was very systematic & regular in his habits & never seemed to put off anything. It was the secret of his never neglecting little things, that he always attended to them at once.... He always kept a memo book & every engagement was noted in it that he had. if this book was missing it was a calamity, and we all flew to assist in the search for it. [4]

The Autobiography

Dawson wrote his autobiography (perhaps long planned) in the last years of his life. Published as *Fifty Years of Work in Canada* (1901), it was his tally of achievements and failures; a summing up. The Dawson archive exemplifies how the accumulation of private papers (less compulsory than the creation and keeping of institutional records) gains a new life and purpose as a research source. While most people save their letters and bills for their own reference, with no larger purpose in mind, one suspects that Dawson with his faith in the progress of discoverable knowledge knew his letters and scientific and educational notes (like his publications) would have value in the future—for his own autobiography perhaps and for his family and others. He may have had the same motive for keeping his papers as for writing his autobiography:

> It has been truly said, that the story of any human being, has its lessons either of encouragement or of warning. I make no apology therefore for preparing the sketches that follow,—more especially as many of them refer to persons and events of much more importance than what pertains to myself individually.... They, will, in any case, I trust, be of some interest to my children and grandchildren, and perhaps to others who may have been influenced by my teaching.[5]

It is surprising that after Dawson died in 1899 no biography appeared, except in obituaries. Dawson had completed his autobiography, however. Though it contained moving phrases about his life here and there, it lacked drama and failed to convey Dawson's great achievements. Much of it bogged down into detail about research and congresses or quoted previously published addresses. Lady Dawson, and the children Anna, George and Rankine wrangled for months over what use to make of the autobiography and whether it would be preferable to publish instead a biography by a historian; they mentioned McGill Professor Charles Colby as a possibility. Finally, Rankine, opposed by George, fulfilled his father's charge to look after the autobiography and published it in 1901.[6]

The Archival Stage

Sir William Dawson's private papers (including papers of other family members such as geologist George Mercer Dawson and son-in-law Bernard Harrington) came to McGill in two major phases: the Harrington children gave a large collection of Dawson's scientific and family correspondence to the McGill Library in the 1920s and Lois Winslow-Spragge, a grand-daughter, gave the McGill University Archives more of Dawson's and other family

papers in the 1960s and 1970s. The concern of the Dawson and Harrington families for preserving their papers and making them available to scholars at McGill has shaped the way we see nineteenth-century Canadian science. Concurrent with the boom in Canadian history in the 1970s and 1980s, the papers were heavily consulted for a multitude of projects —to cite just two: Suzanne Zeller's *Inventing Canada* and Cynthia Fish's doctoral thesis on Montreal fatherhood.[7] Judging by their usage, the Dawson Papers are probably McGill's most important holding of unpublished private papers—certainly the most important for Canadian scientific history.[8]

From about 1970 to the mid-1980s, the McGill Archives described and indexed Dawson's papers against a background of rapidly changing descriptive standards and technology. As well the papers, which originally came in dozens of accessions, were physically arranged into a unified archival *fonds*. The McGill Department of Rare Books and Special Collections cooperated in the effort to describe the papers globally and make them available at one site by turning its Dawson papers over to the Archives. In a series of projects, the 1970s multilith item-level listings of isolated groups of letters were superseded in the 1980s by computer-assisted indexes to virtually all the Dawson family papers.[9] Though earlier finding aids became outdated, each generation of them helped guide researchers to what they needed in the ten linear metres of Dawson's papers.

Undiscovered Dawson

Dawson's written testament started early in his life, in his native Pictou, Nova Scotia. Except for Stanley Frost's article on Dawson's courtship letters to his future wife Margaret Mercer, his youthful writing, before 1845, has rarely been examined.[10] Dawson studied at renowned Pictou Academy, spent a year at Edinburgh and then ran his father's book and stationary business. His writings at this time reflect his reading and his study of the rocks, wild life and flora around Pictou. The seed of all that would follow is evident in the papers that survive from this period. Dawson collected and wrote compulsively from the age of fifteen or so; the Archives contain notes and essays which he may have done while a student at Pictou Academy, or perhaps served as the basis of lectures to the Pictou Literary Society and to Pictou Academy in his late teens and twenties. By 1836, when he was sixteen, Dawson's handwriting had sped to illegibility. He probably kept his early essays for their continuing usefulness and may have recycled some for lectures and teaching in Montreal. Subjects included: snow crystals (with folded paper geometric examples); caterpillars; moths and spiders; Indian antiquities; "speculations on the limits of science"; "Notes on Some of the Birds of Nova Scotia"; "Zoological Changes Produced by Cultivation"; linguistics; entomology; and local coal mining. He had the awe of nature found in romantic landscapes of the time. He absorbed advanced ideas on the preservation of the earth's ecology. Although he became in many ways a scientific and social conservative in his later years, the young Dawson of Pictou had a creative concern for nature that was as poetic as it was scientific. In an essay on "The Forest" (perhaps aged 16, ca. 1836?), referring to the clearing of Nova Scotia for farming and timber sales, he wrote about the land as a living thing, threatened far more by man than by natural catastrophes:

> The wild chaos of barren rocks and mountains, shining in the summer's sun, or wreathed with the clouds and battered with the storms of winter, ... display nature in her sterner forms, grandly but terribly. ....Such and more is the forest but man the great spoiler of nature's beauty...wars against the woods. The noble trees the growth of centuries, are destined to fall before the puny arms of a being that seems but a reptile at their feet. And faster and more surely do they rush to destruction before the desolating fire that, his carelessness creates and his feeble efforts cannot arrest—flames that hiss and crackle as they curl around the lofty trees that seem to writhe in agony beneath them, and rush insatiably forward converting luxuriant beauty into the blackness of desolation and leaving the bare scathed trunks stretching their gnarled and blasted branches to the sky—the ruins of the forest.[11]

Dawson's early writing was relatively free of reference to scripture; his love of nature became all the more formidable once fortified by his rather fundamentalist religion. At all ages, he investigated everything that interested him, took notes and kept them, for publication or contemplation. He wrote his modest autobiography as his last work and in the fullness of time received, in Sheets-Pyenson, the biographer he may have hoped for. Shown here are two drawings which convey the long journey that his papers document—one of the thin young man, about to marry at twenty-six and run a book store in Pictou (1846); the other as Canada's premier scientist and university Principal, aged sixty-five (1885), worrying that he was losing his battle against Darwinism and Catholic obscuranticism but proud of his publications, his family, and his university, McGill. As the University takes stock of itself after 175 years, it can be proud of its guardianship of these and many other records of Canada's heritage, given to it in trust, for the advancement of learning.

Notes

1. Susan Sheets-Pyenson, *John William Dawson: Faith, Hope, and Science*, McGill-Queen's University Press, Montreal, 1996, pp. 9-11.
2. Dawson's administrative records as Principal (as opposed to his private papers) were found by University Archivist John Andreassen in the late 1960s, in the Arts Building, in tin boxes, folded up into bundles. Part of the official administrative records of McGill, they reveal Dawson's involvement in every level of University administration. Like Dawson's private papers, these records have been extensively mined: by Stanley Frost and Margaret Gillett and their assistants for histories of McGill, and by hundreds of others, including McGill students studying the history of Montreal institutions under Prof. Brian Young.
3. Sheets-Pyenson, *John William Dawson*, p. 11.
4. Anna Dawson Harrington, biographical notes on Sir William Dawson (probably prepared to assist George or Rankine Dawson, ca. 1900, pp. 4-5. McGill University Archives, Dawson Papers, MG 1022, C 64 (punctuation and cross-outs edited).
5. John William Dawson, *Fifty Years of Work in Canada*, London, 1901, vii-viii.
6. See Sheets-Pyenson, *John William Dawson*, pp. 207-211. The published autobiography, as Sheets-Pyenson notes, differs from the incomplete MSS draft in the McGill Archives (Dawson Papers, MG 1022, C 22). The extent to which Rankine rephrased it is unclear.
7. Suzanne Zeller, *Inventing Canada*, Toronto, 1987; Cynthia Fish, "Images and Reality of Fatherhood: a Case Study of Montreal's Protestant Middle Class 1870-1914", Ph.D., McGill, 1991.
8. When I applied in 1974 for a job as archivist in the McGill Archives, I had just returned from doing research in England on marriage in the seventeenth century for my (eventual) McGill Ph.D. The then University Archivist, John Andreassen, blew cigar smoke at me and growled: "Why does the History Department send a guy like you to England when we have something like the Dawson Papers right here in McGill's Archives?" He was at the high point of collecting and issuing near-print listings of Dawson's letters as Principal, as well as some of the family and scientific correspondence, and could not understand how historians could pass them by in favour of the overworked archives and thesis topics of Europe. He need not have worried; the study of Canadian history was surging forward and by the mid-1970s, Dawson's papers began to be used extensively.
9. In the 1980s, the McGill Archives produced an in-house computer-assisted author/recipient/date index to its holdings of the scientific and family correspondence and papers of J.W. Dawson and various family members (R. Craig, editor). In the later 1970s, a computer-assisted index to Dawson's records as Principal (with subject fields) was produced with the help of Stanley Frost's History of McGill Project (L. Vardi and J. King, editors). Published in 1992 was Susan Sheets-Pyenson, ed., *Index to the Scientific Correspondence of John William Dawson* (BSHS Monograph 7), British Society for the History of Science, 1992; while this index does not cover Dawson's correspondence with family and the papers of other family members, it includes J.W. Dawson letters held outside McGill.
10. Stanley Frost, "A Transatlantic Wooing," *Dalhousie Review* 58 (1978), pp. 458-470.
11. "The Forest", Dawson Papers, MG 1022, C 25, folder 3.

THESES,

DISSERTATIONI DANICÆ DE NOTIONE IRONIÆ

ANNEXÆ

QUAS

AD JURA MAGISTRI ARTIUM

IN UNIVERSITATE HAFNIENSI RITE OBTINENDA

die Septemb.

PUBLICO COLLOQUIO DEFENDERE CONABITUR.

Severinus Aabye Kierkegaard,
theol. cand.

MDCCCLXI.

Om

Begrebet Ironi

med ſtadigt Henſyn til Socrates.

Udgivet for Magiſtergraden

af

S. A. Kierkegaard,
theologiſk Candidat.

Kjobenhavn.
Paa Boghandler P. G. Philipſens Forlag.
Trykt i BiancoLunos Bogtrykkeri.
1841.

Figure 1. *On the Concept of Irony.*
Kierkegaard's disseratation for a Master's degree, University of Copenhagen, 1841. By special dispensation from the King, Kierkegaard was permitted to submit the thesis in Danish rather than in Latin. Only the title page is in both Latin and Danish.
(Malantschuk-Kierkegaard Collection. Department of Rare Books and Special Collections)

A Danish Collection at McGill

By Hans Möller
Research and Development Librarian

McGill Library Collections include many unique and special collections rich in early materials not found elsewhere. In fact, the collections, are among the oldest in Canada. While ours is no longer the biggest book collection in Canada, it does have depth since it was started back in the 19th century. McGill has outstanding collections in biology and ornithology, art and architecture, Islamic studies, the history of medicine, British history and government documents, and it also supports a fine rare book collection. These are only some of McGill's unique collections of great quality.

The richness of these collections is easily overlooked in the daily struggle to accommodate budget restrictions, deal with the rising cost of books and sift through the proliferation of printed materials from all over the world. One interesting and little known collection at McGill is that of Scandinavian literature, in particular Danish literature. Although not large, it is significant even though McGill has no Department of Scandinavian Studies. However, the study of Scandinavian culture is included as a part of study and research in many faculties, such as Arts, Music, Medicine, Education, Law, Architecture and Science. The Scandinavian material in these areas are collected in both English and French and in the Scandinavian languages as well, since most scholars who have an interest in Nordic topics know enough of the languages to orient themselves when consulting this literature. The fact is that publications from Denmark, Norway, Sweden, Finland and Iceland are numerous and typically of very high quality. It has been said for instance, that in Finland and Iceland almost everybody with respect for him—or herself has written and published a book of poetry! Literacy in all Scandinavian countries is very high and the publication of books is simply staggering considering the modest size of these countries.

During the last 15 years McGill's Department of German Studies has been offering courses in the learning of the Danish language. As a result more and more students have a knowledge of Danish. This goes hand in hand with new efforts to enrich the Scandinavian library collections, especially the Danish collections, in the humanities and social sciences fields. Traditionally, McGill concentrated its collections development in English translations of Ibsen, Strindberg, Kierkegaard and a few other major authors. Other authors were only collected at random and hardly ever in any of the five Scandinavian languages. Topics such as linguistics, architecture, fine arts and history were very poorly represented. This changed dramatically during the 1980's and 1990's. Many works are now acquired in Swedish, Norwegian and especially Danish. In fact, the Scandinavian collections are now quite respectable and, probably, the best in Canada.

The unique Kierkegaard Collection acquired in 1980 from Dr. Gregor Malantschuk, a Kierkegaard expert in Copenhagen, was a major acquisition. This is a remarkable collection of first editions of all Kierkegaard's works published during his lifetime (Fig. 1) in addition to a complete reconstruction of his private library of books in exactly the very editions he owned himself at the time of his death 1855. Over 20 of these are in fact the original copies from his library with his own signature or dedications to him from the authors. A detailed analysis of this McGill collection remains to be done. The Malantschuk-Kierkegaard Collection with its 1000 volumes represents one of the best and most valuable in the world outside of Denmark. A printed catalogue has been published and is still available from the Office of the Director of Libraries.[1]

The collection of Danish literature classics has been greatly enriched during the last 15 years with the addition of hundreds of titles by authors such as Ludvig Holberg (1684-1754), Hans Christian Andersen (1805-1875), Georg Brandes (1842-1927), Herman Bang (1857-1912), Johannes V. Jensen (1873-1950), Karen Blixen, (alias Isak Dinesen) (1885-1962), Piet Hein (Gruk) (1905-1996), Benny Andersen (1929-), Peter Høegh and many

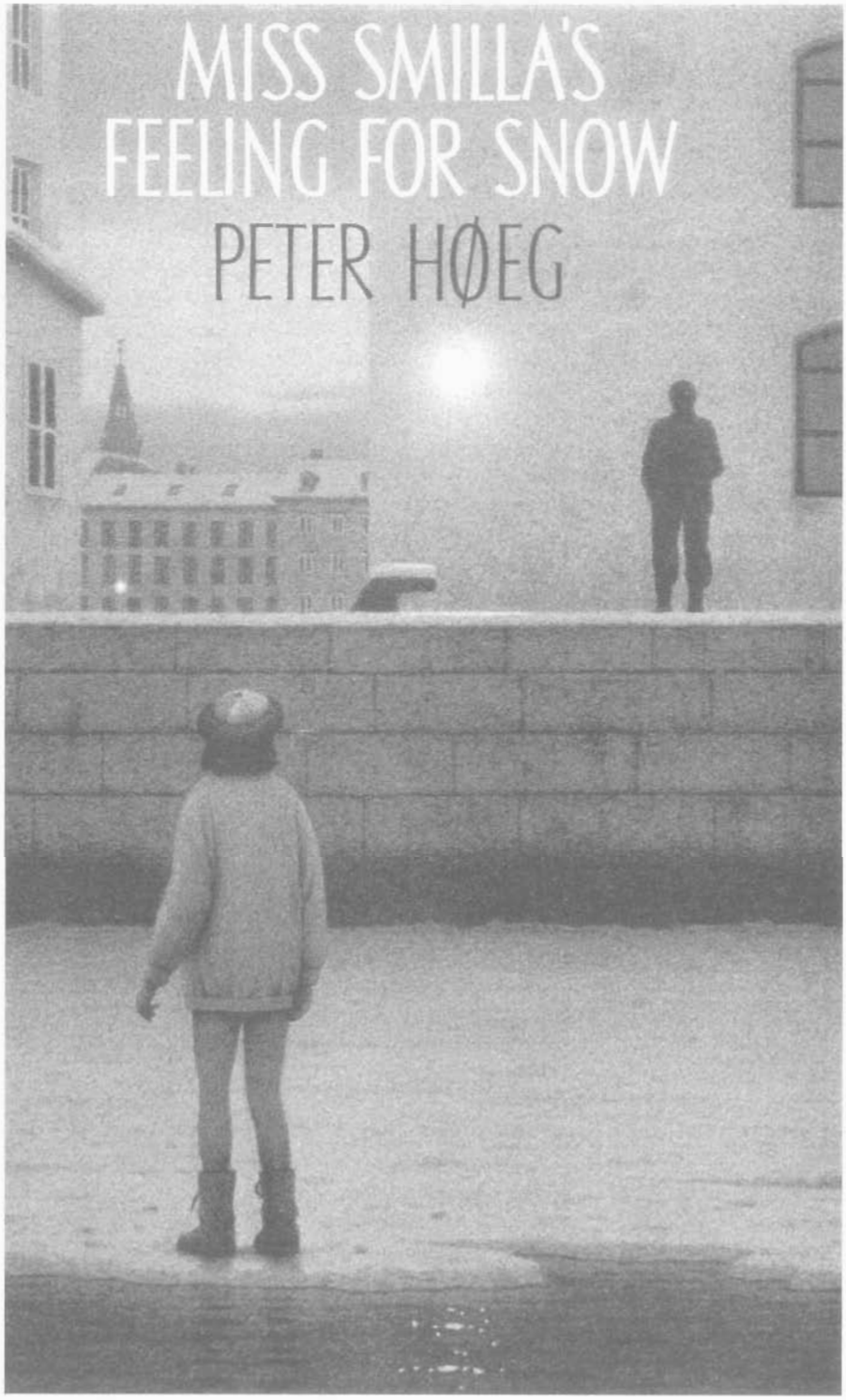

Figure 2. Cover illustration by Quint Buchholtz. A best-seller translated into several languages.

contemporary novelists and poets (Fig. 2). The McLennan collection also contains numerous editions of Ludwig Holberg, father of Norwegian and Danish literature, including the four-volume *Holberg Dictionary*. Hans Christian Andersen, is collected extensively in several editions including the recently acquired, complete and critical edition of his *Eventyr* in seven volumes.

Old Norse literature including the Older and Younger Edda as well as the famous Icelandic Family Sagas are well represented in both scholarly and popular editions. A remarkable item within this collection is the complete full-size photo reproduction in folio of the unique Icelandic medieval manuscripts, Corpus Codicum Islandicorum Mediiaevi (20 volumes) published in Copenhagen from 1930 to 1956 by Einar Munksgaard. These are kept in the Department of Rare Books and Special Collections while three additional editions are held in the McLennan open stacks.

Major works on the History of Scandinavian Literature by well-known contemporary scholars such as F. Billeskov Jansen, P.M. Mitchell, Erik Dal and Svend Rossel are kept in the McLennan Library. Works on art and architecture are found in the Blackader-Lauterman Library of Architecture and Art. Among these are *Trap Kongeriget Danmark* (10 volumes), a complete topographical description of Denmark (1920), and *Danske Slotte og Herregaarde* (Castles and Manor Houses in Denmark) (20 volumes) by Aage Roussell.

Major Danish reference works are now part of the McGill collections, namely *Ordbog over det Danske Sprog* (28 volumes), a scholarly dictionary of the Danish Language *Det Danske Sprogs Historie* (History of the Danish Language) (4 volumes) by Peter Skantrup, *Dansk Biografisk Leksikon* (16 volumes) a dictionary of Danish biography. These reference works are complemented by the annual Danish Who's Who, *Kraks Blå Bog*, and several specialized Danish bibliographies. These titles are found in the McLennan Reference collection of the McLennan Library. Of historical interest are complete sets of late 19th century Danish encyclopedias and general reference works, in addition to multi-volume works dealing with inventions and technology from the turn of the century. Other materials may be found in the collections of other McGill libraries, especially those within the subject areas of music, marine biology, glaciology, geology (notably related to Greenland and the Arctic), and the health sciences.

One special collection, recently donated to the Department of Rare Books and Special Collections, concentrates on the Danish Resistance during World War II including the 1943 Rescue of Danish Jews, a topic now much discussed and researched by social scientists in Canada and the USA. This collection also includes samples of underground illegal newspapers distributed during the Nazi occupation of Denmark (1940-45) as well as books and photographs.

Another unique acquisition, that of silverware crafted by Danish craftsman Carl Poul Petersen, is described in the above note by Conrad Graham.

The Danish collection is housed in several libraries and is not concentrated in one location. Consequently, it serves students and scholars in diverse faculties, not only the Scandinavian Studies courses given by the Department of German. A solid foundation has been secured. Most recent materials have been acquired through generous donations rather than from the McGill book budget. Such donations have come from the Royal Library in Copenhagen, the Royal Danish Embassy in Ottawa and from many generous individuals and Danish family estates in Canada.

Notes

1. *Catalogue of the Gregor Malantschuk-Søren Kierkegaard Collection in the Department of Rare Books and Special Collections.* Montreal: McGill University Libraries, 1984. 112 pp.

Chronicle

Library acquisitions are made possible by funds from many and varied sources, first of all the University book and serials budget, which these years enjoy vigorous support from the McGill administration and the entire academic community. In addition, endowed funds from many sources and special grants from foundations and other agencies represent an essential and substantial portion of the entire acquisitions budget.

The following list represents merely a selection of significant and unusual items acquired by McGill libraries, archives and museums, mostly during 1995-96.

Friends of the Library Purchases

$500 for Henry Lapauze, *Ingres: sa vie et son oeuvre*. Paris: George Petit, 1911
Blackader-Lauterman Library

$725 for Print Measurement Bureau, *Readership Demographic Data*. Toronto: PMB, 1995
Howard Ross Library

$500 for J. Botrie, *Religio jurisconsulti*. London: Hood, 1649
Osler Library

$500 for Paul Samuelson, *A Critical Assessment*. 4v. NY: Routledge, 1989
(Economics)

$250 for Michel Foucault, *Dits et écrits 1954-1988*. Paris: Gallimard, 1994
(French)

$580 for J.S. Roskell, *The History of Parliament: The House of Commons 1386-1421*. London?: Alan Sutton, 1994
(History)

$235 for I. Bernard Cohen, ed. *Natural Sciences and the Social Sciences: Some Critical and Historical Perspectives*. Dordrecht: Kluwer, 1994
(Interdisciplinary)

$762 for *Sefer ha-Zohar shel Gershom Shalom*, 6v. Jerusalem: Magnes Press, 1992
(Jewish Studies)

$1000 for Ovid, *Metamorphoses*. Venice: Aldus Manutius and Andreus Soceus, 1516
(Rare Books and Special Collections)

$225 for Kurt Hassert, *Reise durch Montenegro nebst Bemerkungen...* Vienna: 1892
(Russian)

$3165 for Alexander Pushkin, *The Complete Working Notebooks*
(Russian)

Blackader-Lauterman Library of Architecture and Art

Acquisitions by purchase

Mayakovsky, Vladimir, *Vladimir Maiakovskii*. Moscow: Gosudarstvennoe, 1932.

Meryman, Richard, *Andrew Wyeth*. Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1968.

Richter, George, *Giorgio da Castelfranco Called Giorgione*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1937.

Vicens, Francese, *Prolégomènes a une Esthéthique Autre de Michel Tapié*. Barcelona: Centre International de recherches Esthétiques, 1960.

Stirling-Maxwell, William, *Annals of the Artists of Spain*. London: J.C. Nimmo, 1891.

Clapp, Frederick Mortimer, *Jacopo Carucci da Pontormo: His Life and Work*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1916.

Westlake, Nat Hubert, *History of Design in Mural Painting From the Earliest Times to the Twelfth Century*. London: J. Parker, 1902-1905.

Hulsker, Jan, *The Complete Van Gogh*. New York: Harrison House, 1989.

Moreau-Nelaton, Étienne, *Manet raconté par lui-même*. Paris: E. Roether, 1976.

Avery, Milton, *Milton Avery: Paintings 1930-1960*. New York: Thomas Yoseloff, 1962.

Straaten, Evert Van, *Theo van Doesburg: peintre et architecte*. Paris: Gallimard/Electa, 1993.

Blondel, Nicole, *Le Vitrail: Vocabulaire typologique et technique*. Paris: Ministère de la Culture de la Francophonie, 1993.

Encyclopedia Universalis, volumes 1-2 *Le grand Atlas de L'Art*. Paris: Encyclopedia Universalis, 1993.

Gassier, Pierre, *Drawings of Goya*. New York: Harper & Row, 1975.
A Catalogue raisonné

La Fontaine, Jean de, *Fables*. Paris: D. de Selliers, 1992. 2 volumes.

La Pauze, Henry, *Ingres, sa vie et son oeuvre*. Paris: Impr. G. Petit, 1911.

La Peinture de Pompeii. Paris: Hazan, 1993.

Le dictionnaire des peintres Belges du XIV^e siècle à nos jours depuis les... Bruxelles: La Renaissance du livre, 1995.

Leonardo da Vinci 1452-1519, *Libro di pittura: edizione in facsimile del Codice Urbinate lat. 1270 nella Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana*. Firenze: Giunti, 1995. 2 volumes.

Meissner, Gunter, *Allgemeines Kunstler-Lexikon Bd 1-10 (index), Bd. 12*. Leipzig: K.G. Saur, 1992.

Olmstead, Frederick Law, *Papers of Frederick Law Olmstead*. 1975. 60 reels of microfilm.

Todisco, Luigi. *Scultura greca del IV secolo: Maestri e scuole di statuaria tra classicita ed ellenismo*. Milano: Longanesi, 1993.

The Union List of Art Names. New York: G.K. Hall, 1994, 4 volumes.

Zampetti, Pietro, *Vittore Carpaccio*. Venezia: Alfieri, 1996.
A Catalogue raisonné

Gifts

Several important collections were donated to the library including the Professor Rigas Bertos Library of 400 titles on European art and the Eugene Reisman collection of architectural works. The estate of the late Gertrude Katz bequeathed a collection of books on art in Germany. A donation of exhibition catalogues was given by the McCord Museum of Canadian History.

The Class of '45 School of Architecture donated 4 books to the Library in honor of their 50th anniversary.

Dr. Hans Möller donated several books on art and architecture in Denmark.

Blacker-Wood Library of Biology

The following titles were added to the rare books collection, all except one as gifts to the library:

Art and the Animal: the Society of Animal Artists: Première 1992 Annual Exhibition. Donated by Eleanor MacLean.

Fabricius, Otto, *Fauna Groenlandica, systematice sistens animalia Groenlandica occidentalis hactenus indigata...* (1780). Donated by Delise Alison.

Forshaw, Joseph Michael, *Kingfishers and Related Birds* (volumes 5 and 6 of copy 763). This may be the last title we can ever afford to add to the special collection on ornithology from the Wood fund. The last two volumes cost $2,800 (each of the first four cost under $500) and took more than 80% of our income from this fund for each of the past two years.

Lank, David, *The Light and the Love: An Introduction to the Art of Leo Paul Robert*. 1995. Computer printout with colour photocopies tipped in. One of 5 copies prepared for the Annual Meeting of the Society of Animal Artists, Lake Muskoka, Ontario, August 19, 1995. Donated by the author.

Lank, David, *The Light and the Love: An Introduction to the Art of Leo Paul Robert*. 1995. Variant text. Computer printout, preliminary draft for a book on Robert. Donated by the author.

Melançon, Calude, *Nos animaux chez eux* (1934, 1st edition). Signed presentation copy to L.A. Richard. Copy of 4 of 50 printed "Hors commerce." Donated by Delise Alison.

Robert, Phillips. *The Painter L. Paul Robert: Remembrances and Appreciations by One of His Sons*. Translated by David Lank, 1995. Donated by the translator.

Ross, Alexander Milton, *Birds of Canada* (1st edition, 1871 for the Rare Books Collection). Purchased from the Director Libraries' funds.

Schmookler, Paul and Ingrid Sils, *The Salmon Flies of Major John Popkin Traherne*. Donated by the authors.

Schmookler, Paul and Ingrid Sils, *Rare and Unusual Fly-tying Materials: A Natural History*, volume 1, *Birds*. Many of the illustration in this work came from the Blacker-Wood collection. Donated by the authors.

Department of Rare Books and Special Collections

Acquisitions by purchase

Beattie, James, *Essays on the Nature and Immutability of Truth in Opposition to Sophistry and Scepticism*. Edinburgh: Printed for William Creech, 1776.

Bonaparte, Louis, King of Holland 1778-1846, *Answer to Sir Walter Scott's History of Napoleon*. London: T. Burton, J. Ridgway..., 1829.

Songs Sung by the Canadian Coloured Concert Co., The Royal Paragon Male Quartette and Imperial Orchestra: Five Years Tour of Great Britain, Three Years Tour of United States. Hamilton, Ont.: Duncan Litho, c. 1900. (An unusual item of black historical interest.)

Carmen [sic], Bliss, *Low Tide on Grand-Pré*. Toronto: Copp, Clark, c. 1890. (This is a legendarily rare piracy of Bliss Carman's first book. It is printed in four colours on the rectos only. There are only seven known copies of this edition.)

Chalmers, George, *An Apology for the Believers in the Shakespeare-papers which were exhibited in Norfolk Street*. [Together with] *A Supplemental Apology...* London: Printed for Thomas Egerton, 1797 and 1799.

Crébillon fils
The Department has acquired over sixty edition of the works by Claude-Prosper Jolyot de Crébillon, fils (1707-1777), a popular French novelist and writer of *contes*. Many of the editions are scarce and do not presently exist at the Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal nor at the Bibliothèque Nationale de France, nor at the Taylorian Institution at Oxford. The purchase nicely complements the Department's holdings in eighteenth-century French writers, in particular: Jean-Jacques Rousseau, Louis Sébastien Mercier, Rétif de la Bretonne. Among the rarest of the Crébillon books is an unrecorded 1782 edition of *Le Sopha*, an unrecorded 1786 edition of *La nuit et le moment*, and a first edition of *Les égarements du coeur et de l'esprit*, a complete set in three volumes. This acquisition makes McGill one of the major repositories for this important author and adds significantly to its resources for the study of eighteenth-century French culture.

Cruikshank, George, as caricaturist, illustrator and author:
--. *A Discovery Concerning Ghosts: With a Rap at the "Spirit-Rappers"*. London: Arnold, 1863.
--. *Six Illustrations to Cowper's Diverting History of John Gilpin*. London: Charles Tilt, 1828.
--. *My Sketchbook*. London: The Artist, Sold by Charles Tilt, 1834 [i.e. 1833-36].

De la Mare, Walter, *The Owl...* Paris: [Printed at the Imp. du Trocadero for Frederic Prokosch], 1969. (One of the so-called Butterfly books forged by Frederic Prokosch).

Dewdney, Christopher, *Golders Green: Poems and Crinoid Drawings*. Toronto: Coach House Press, 1971. (The poet's rare, first book.)

Dibdin, Thomas Frognall, *A Bibliographical Antiquarian and Picturesque Tour in the Northern Counties of England and in Scotland*. 3 volumes. London: Printed for the Author by C. Richards,..., 1838. (A magnificent large paper copy in a beautiful binding.)

Divisiones decem nationum totius christanitatis. [Rome: Johann Besicken and Sigismundus Mayer, 1493/94]. (The Gesamtkatalog der Wiegendrucke only records 4 copies of this incunable, to which can be added this copy and another one found at Yale.)

Gay, John, *Wine: A Poem*. London: Printed and sold by H. Hills, 1708. (A pirated edition of Gay's first book.)

Ghesquière, Joseph de, *Réflexions de M. l'abbé Ghesquière sur deux pièces relatives à l'histoire de l'imprimerie*. 2nd. edition. Nivelles: Plon, 1780.

Hamilton, Daniel, *New Pockets Found in the Old Mine, or Love's Last Message to the World Today*. Montreal: s.n., 1888. (A rare Canadian utopian fiction.)

Kirby, William. *Canadian Idylls*. 2nd edition. Welland: Author, 1894. (Inscribed by the Author to Catherine Parr Traill.)

Langton, Anne, *The Story of Our Family*. Manchester: Thomas Sowler & Co., 1881. (An autobiographical work by a Canadian pioneer woman.)

Little Hydrogen: or, the Devil on Two Sticks in London. London: J.J. Stockdale, 1819. (A lovely Regency satire.)

Louis XIV, King of France 1638-1715, *Déclaration du roy... le 2 d'octobre 1701, portant règlement pour les libraires & imprimeurs*. Grenoble: Giroud, 1701. (Legislation relating to the book trade in France.)

MacLeish, Archibald, *New Found Land: Fourteen Poems*. Paris: Black Sun Press, 1930.

Mercier, Louis Sébastien, *Mon bonnet de nuit*. Neuchâtel: Imprim. de la société typographique, 1784.

Moodie, Susannah, *Spartacus*. London: For A.K. Newman, 1822. (An early and uncommon Moodie book.)

Morgan, Henry J., *Collection of letters, scrapbooks, etc., concerning Canadian historical matters relating to and by Henry J. Morgan*.

Powell, William Dummer, *Story of a Refugee*. York [i.e. Toronto]: Patriot Office, 1833. (A rare Upper Canadian piece.)

Rousseau, Jean-Jacques. *Emilius and Sophia, or, A New System of Education*. 4 volumes. London: Printed by H. Baldwin,..., 1783.

The Small Preceptor; or, A New Set of Lessons for Children. Montreal: Starke, 1835. (A rare early children's book published in Montreal.)

Virgil. *P. Vergili Maronis codex antiquissimus...qui nunc Florentiae in bibliotheca Mediceo-Laurentiana...* Florence: Ypis Mannianis, [1714]. (One of the early type facsimiles of a manuscript.)

Gifts

Michel Brisebois donated a group of editions from the well-known Parisian publisher Les Éditions de Minuit, produced during the time of the Nazi Occupation.

Nancy Butchart donated to the Department a collection of 37 Old Master prints and 48 Modern European prints, mainly from the late 19th and early 20th centuries. Among the Old Masters, there is an engraving executed by Boucher after Watteau and a large landscape engraving by Bolswert after Rubens. The modern prints depict architectural and industrial scenes typical of the late 19th and early 20th centuries.

Endre Farkas presented to the Department a group of editions by a Quebec publisher, The Muses' Company.

John Mappin has generously donated a group of Ryerson Poetry Chap Books, published by Ryerson Press in Toronto, along with some of the works by the contemporary Canadian poet, Milton Acorn.

Judy Mappin, in turn, has contributed to the Department's collections in Canadian literature by kindly offering a collection of Canadian poetry.

Eric Wesselow donated an important group of letters by the major Canadian writer Hugh MacLennan.

Humanities and Social Sciences Library

Major Donations

Professor Storrs McCall donated $1,300 earmarked for selected titles from Oxford and Cambridge University Presses.

Goldie Sigal and her husband have created a $10,000 endowment fund for purchases in Jewish Studies.

Canadian Imperial Bank of Commerce

The following is a list of the highlights of the year's acquisitions in each language:

Spanish

Biblioteca Castro. Turner. [The eight titles published this year in an important series of critical edition of Spanish authors.]

Spanish Drama of the Golden Age. Primary source. [86 reels of microfilm containing the University of Pennsylvania's collection of original printings of 17th century Spanish plays—the world's largest collection of this material.]

German

Akten der Parteikanzlei der NSDAP, volumes 1-6. Oldenburgh-Verlag. [Proceedings of Nazi Party chancery.]

Aloni, Jenny, *Gesammelte Werke in Einzelbänden*, volumes 1-7. Schöningh. [The first definitive edition of this important German-Jewish novelist.]

Biel, Gabriel, *Collectorium circa quattuor libros Sententiarum*, volumes 1-5. J.C.B. Mohr. [Edition of a Renaissance philosophical text.]

Fragmente zur Dialecktik der Stoiker, volumes 1-4. Frommann-Holzboog. [Edition of the remaining texts by the group of ancient Greek philosophers known as the Stoics.]

Frege-Kolloquium, 1993. De Gruyter. [Proceedings of a conference devoted to this important philosopher.]

Russian

Pribylovskii, V., *Russkie natsionalisteicheskie i pravo-radikalnye organizatsii 1989-95*, 2 volumes. Panorama. [An encyclopedia devoted to right-wing organizations in Russia after the Soviet period.]

Ridley, Mark, *Dictionary of the Vulgar Russe Tongue*. Böhlau. [The first effort at a systematic dictionary of spoken Russian, compiled by an early 17th-century English traveller.]

Trudy otdela drevenerusskoi literatury, volumes 1-8, 12, 26, 28-29. [Back run of an important journal devoted to early Russian literature, already held in part by McGill.]

French

George Sand et son temps. Slatkine. [A large-scale collection of biographical and critical studies dealing with the 19th-century novelist.]

English

Papers on French Seventeenth Century Literature, 1973-. [Back run of one of the most important journals in this area.]

Italian

Fortini, Pietro, *Le piacevole et amorose notti dei novizi*. Salerno. [A 16th-century collection of scandalous anecdotes about nuns (!) written in the manner of Boccaccio.]

Jutting Family Endowment

German

Beicken, Peter U., *Franz Kafka, Der Process: Interpretation*. 1 aufl. Munchen: Oldenbourg, 1995.

Bentle, Eric, *Erinnerungen an Bertolt Brecht*. --s.l: Alexander, 1995.

Berlau, Ruth, *Jedes Tier Kann es*. --s.l: Persona, 1989.

Bricken, Sigmund von, <Works> *Werke und Korrespondenz*/herausgegeben von Klaus Garber..., <et al>. Tubingen: M. Niemeyer, <1988- >.

Buono, Franco, *Bertolt Brecht, 1917-1922: Jugend, Mythos, Poesie*. Gottingen, West Germany: Steidl, 1988.

Cohen, Robert, *Peter Weiss in siener Zeit: Leben und Werk*. Stuttgart: J.B. Metzler, c. 1992.

Drescher, Karl-Heinz, *Plakate fur das Berliner Ensemble*. Koln: Rheinland-Verlag; Bonn: Habelt, 1988.

Feuchtwagner, Lion, *Romane*. Berlin: Aufban Verlag, 1995.

Funke, Christoph, *Theater am Schiffbauerdamm: die Geschichte einer Berliner Buhne*. 1 aufl. Berlin: Ch. Links, 1992.

Hakkaranien, Marja-L., *Das Turnier der Texte: Stellenwert und Funktion der Interextualitat im Werk Bertolt Brechts*. Frankfurt am Main; New York: P. Lang, 1994.

Hasce, Christa. *Theater in der DDR: Chronik und Positionen*. 1 aufl. Berlin: Henschel, 1994.

Hesse, Herman, *Kindheit des Zauberers*. Frankfurt: Insel Verlag, 1967.

Hinck, Walter, *Magie und Tagtraum: das Selbstbild des Dichters in der deutschen Lyrik*. 1 aufl. Leipzig: Insel, 1994.

Jesse, Horst, *Spaziergang mit Bertolt Brecht durch Augsburg*. Augsburg: Brigg, c. 1985.

Koch, Gerd, *Lernen mit Brecht: Bertolt Brechts politisch-kulturelle Padagogik*. Frankfurt <am Main>: Brandes & Apsel, c. 1988.

Lattmann, Dieter, *Kennen Sie Brecht? Stationen seines Lebens*. Stuttgart: Reclam, 1988.

Messerschmidt, G., *Brissonetus, 1559* / herausgegeben von Joahim Knappe. Tubingen: M. Niemeyer, 1988.

Mittenzwei, Werner, *Leben Bertolt Brecht oder der umgang mit den Weltratseln*. Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp, 1989.

Peter Weiss, 2., vollig veranderte Aufl. Munchen: Edition Text und Kritik, 1982.

Richter, Hans, *Kopfe und Hinterkopfe*. Zurich: Verlag der Arche, <1967>.

Schlicher, Susanne, *TanzTheater: Traditionen und Freiheiten: Pina Bausch, Gerhard Bohner, Reinhild Hoffmann, Hans Kresnik, Susanne Linke*. Reinbeck bei Hamburg: Rewohlt, c. 1987.

Schmitt, Maria, *Peter Weiss, die Asthetik des Widerstands: Studien zu Kontext, Struktur und Kunstverstandnis*. St. Ingbert: W.J. Rohrig, c. 1986.

Schnell, Axel, *"Virtuelle Revolutionare" und "Verkommene Gotter": Brechts "Baal" und die Menschwerdung des Widersachers*. Bielefeld: Aisthesis, 1993.

Schone, Lothar, *Neuigkeiten vom Mittlepunkt der Welt: der Kampf ums Theater in der Weimarer Republik*. Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesselschaft, C. 1994.

Sinclair, *Fremde*. Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp, 1980.

Vassen, Florian, *Alles neue ist schmerz hafter als das alte.* Hannover: Vassen floprian, 1987.

Vogt, Jochen, *Peter Weiss: mit Selbstzeugnissen und Bilddokumenten.* Reinbeck bei Hamburg: Rowohlt, c. 1987.

Weiss, Peter, *Stuke I, II.* Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp, 1976.

Weiss, Peter, *Briefe an Hermann Levin Goldschmidt und Robert Jungk, 1938-1980.* 1. Aufl. <Leipzig>: Reclam-Verlag Leipzig, 1992.

Weiss, Peter, *Rapporte 2.* 1 Aufl. Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp, c. 1971.

Weiss, Peter, <Avantgardefilm. German> *Avantgardfilm* / aus dem Schwedicschen uberstetzt und herausgegeben von Beat Mazenauer. 1 Aufl. Deutsche Erstausg. Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp, c. 1995.

Die Widerkehr des Korpers/ herausgegeben von Dietmar Kamper und Christoph Wulfe. 1 Aufl. Frankfurt am Mien: Suhrkamp, c. 1982.

Wir verreisen: in die Vernichtung: Briefe 1937-1944 / Hanne Hiob, Gerd Koller (Hg.); eingeleitet und mit Erlauterungen von Kurt Patzold und Erika Schwarz. Hamburg: Konkret Literatur Verlag, c. 1993.

Polish

Bojarska, Maria, *Krol Lear nie zyie.* Warszawa: PDW, 1994.

Cabanowski, Marek, *Tajemnice Mandzurii: Polacy w Harbine.* Warszawa: Muzeum Niepodleglosci, 1993.

Glos Polski <microform>. S. 1: s.n, n.d. (1938-1987).

Historical dictionary of Poland, 966-1954 / George J. Lerski; with special editing and emendations by Piotr Wrobel and Richard Koziki; forward by Aleksander Gieysztor. Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1996.

Jablonski, Kryzsztof. *Belweder.* Warszawa: Fundacja Buchnera: Wydawn. Split Trading, 1993.

Kapuscinski, Rysard, *Lapidarium II.* Warszawa: Czytelnik, 1996.

Kotarbinski, Tadeusz, *Elementy teorii poznania, logiki formalneji metodologii nauk.* Wroclaw: Zaklad Narodowy im. Ossolinskich; Wydawn. Polskiej Academii Nauk, 1990.

Kotarbinski, Tadeusz, *Historia filozofii.* Wroclaw: Polskiej Academii Nauk, 1995.

Lesmian, Boleslaw. *Poezje zebrane.* Wyd. 2, popr. i usup. Torun: Algo, 1995.

Michnik, Adam, *Miedzy Panem a plebanem.* Wyd. 1 Karkow: Znak, 1995.

Polacy wobec przemocy, 1944-1945 / pod redakcja Barbary Otwinowskiej i Jana Zaryna. Warszawa: Editions Spotkania, 1996.

Poland <videorecording> : *1000 years of history and culture* / produced and directed by Roger Conant. Rochester, NY: Roger Conant Presentations, 1989.

Rudniewska, Alicja, *Swiatynie polskie w drzeworytach tygodnikow warszawskich XIX wieku*. Warszawa: Wydawn. Archidiecezji Warszawskiej, 1993.

Sciba-Lickel, Aldona, *Sad bozy 1920 roku*. <Warszawa>: Swiat Ksiazki, 1995.

Stanislawski, Jan, *Wielki slownik polsko-angielski*. Wyd. 17. Warszawa: P. Wilson, 1995.

Taras, Ray, *Consolidating democracy in Poland*. Boulder, Co.: Westview Press, 1995.

Warmia i Mazury: przewodnik / <tekst Stanislaw Achremczyk ... et al.> Olsztin: Agencja Fotograficzno-Wydawnicza "Mazury", 1993.

Winklowa, Barbara, *Karol Irzykowski: zycie i tworczosc*. Wyd. 1. Krakow: Wydawn. Literackie, 1987-1994.

Wyspianski, Stanislaw, *Listy Stanislawa Wyspianskiego do Jozefa Mehoffera, Heryka Opienskiego i Tadeusza Stryjenskiego*. Krakow: Wydawn. Literackie, 1994.

Zaborowski, Zbigniew, *Osobowosc Lecha Walesy*. Wyd. 1, Warszawa: Oficyna Naukowa, 1995.

Zbikowski, Andrzej, *Zydzy Krakowscy i ich gmina w latach 1869-1919*. Warszawa: Zydowski Instytut Historyyczny w Polsce, Instytut Naukowo-Badawczy, 1994.

Zwiazkowiec <microfilm>: organ Zwiazku Polakow w Kanadzie. R. 1, nr. 1 (stycz. 1933) Markham, Ont.: Commonwealth Microfilm, <1993> - (jan. 1933 - dec. 1980)

Seagram Fund: Canadiana Acquisitions

Monographs

Approximately 349 monographs were purchased between May 1995 and April 1996; 50 of these in the French language. Although most purchases supported the McLennan Library subject collections, items were purchased for other libraries/collections.

Library	Number of Items
Blackader-Lauterman (Architecture & Art)	34
Blacker-Wood (Biology)	24
Education	38
Hitschfeld (Environmental Earth Sciences)	6
Howard Ross (Management)	14
Marvin Duchow (Music)	5
McLennan Reference	19

Microform Products

Winnipeg Strike Clippings, 10 May, 1919 to 27 September, 1920.
1 reel (newspaper/magazine articles reporting the strike, assembled by the National Archives of Canada)

America and the War of Independence: the Papers and Correspondence of Sir Jeffrey Amherst 1717-1737. 16 reels

Montreal Herald 1 July, 1887 to 31 December 1887. 2 reels

Quebec Gazette 1816 - 1862 21 reels (in Government Documents Department)

Chatelaine 1976 - 1985. 10 reels

CD-ROM Products

Actualité Québec 1992-. Full text of *La Presse, Le Soleil, Le Devoir, L'Actualité, Le Droit* and *Voir*.

Canadian News Disc 1992-. Full text of *Vancouver Sun, Vancouver Province, Calgary Herald, Edmonton Journal, Toronto Star, Halifax Daily News, Montreal Gazette, Financial Post, Toronto Sun, Ottawa Citizen*, and *Hamilton Spectator*. Disc also includes Canadian Speeches and CBC/CTV transcripts.

Amérique-Française: histoire et civilisation. Articles/reports/theses/books on Canadian history published between 1946-1990.

Canadian Encyclopedia Plus 1996. (multi-media version).

Serials Subscriptions

Armed Conflicts Report. 1995- Waterloo Institute of Peace and Conflict Studies.

British Columbia Report, 1989-

Bulletin d'histoire politique. v. 1 (1990)-

Canadian Perspectives, 1992- Council of Canadians.

Choices: Quebec/Canada Series i (1990)-

Collectif interculturelle v. 1 (1995)- Institut de recherche et de Formation Interculturelle de Québec

Education Quarterly Review. 1996- (in Education Library)

Epiloque: Canadian bulletin for the history of books, libraries and archives. 1996-

Energy Studies Review, 1995-

Fraser Forum, 1996- Fraser Institute.

Great Plains Research. 1996-

Historical Studies in Education. v. 1 (1989)- (in Education Library)

Kinema: a journal for film and audiovisual media. 1993-

Musicworks. 1996- (in Marvin Duchow Library)

MewMedia Canada. 1995-

Northern Mariner, 1991-

Northern Review: a multi-disciplinary journal of the arts and social sciences of the North #2 (1989)-

Our Schools Ourselves: a magazine for Canadian education activists. 1996- (in Education Library)

Pacific Northwest Quarterly, 1989-

Ruptures. v. 1 (1993)-

Société Historique Acadienne. *Les Cahiers*. 1995-

Zeitschrift fur Kanada Studien, 1981-

Standing Orders

Canada. Department of Foreign Affairs and International Trade. *Policy Staff Papers*, 1994+

Canadian. Department of National Defence. Maritime Command. *Papers*. 1995+

Canada-Caribbean Central American Policy Alternatives Organization. *Occasional Papers*. 1994+

Canadian Circumpolar Institute. *Northern Reference Series*. #4+

Canadiana Romanica, v.10+

Early American Indian Documents, Treaties and Laws, 1607-1789 vol.1 +

Industry Canada. Microeconomic Policy Analysis. *Occasional Papers*, #10+ and *Working Papers Series*, #3+

Memorial University of Newfoundland. Institute of Social and Economic Research. *Social and Economic Papers*. #22+

Ontario Historical Studies 1996+

Queen's University. Centre for International Relations. *Martello Papers*. #1+

Queen's University. John Deutsche Institute for the Study of Economic Policy. *Policy Forum Series*, 1994+

University of British Columbia. Department of Economics, Centre for Research on Economic and Social Policy. *Discussion Papers*, #21 +

York University. Centre for International and Strategic Studies. *YCISS Occasional Papers*. 1995+

Mr. Eric Trigg made a donation totalling $25,000. The first $5,000 installment was received in autumn 1995 and used to support purchases on our behalf by Dr. Robin Yates in China in December 1995. Among the titles received so far are:

Chi yin kang mu (manuscripts), 8 volumes.
Yuan Mei ch'uan chi (Works of Youan Mei), 8 volumes.
Li Yu ch'uan chi (Works of Li Yu), 20 volumes.
Shintei Genpeil seisuiki, 6 volumes.
Yuan-ho hsing tsuan, 3 volumes.

Individual Gifts

Mrs. Marjorie Close donated 2,760 books to the McLennan Library from her family's collection.

Mr. Calvin Evans donated copies of the Atlantic Provinces Ship Registries: *Miramichi Registry; Richibucto Registry; Halifax Registry; Pictou Registry; Sydney Registry: Windsor Registry; Saint John Registry.*

Professor John Fossey donated *Early Travellers in Eastern Boiotia; Tanagran Studies II: the Prosopography of Tanagre in Boeotia; Ancient Farms Landplots on the Khora of Kersonesos Taurike...*

Professor Philip Longworth donated a number of works relating to East European history including: Bibliotheca Musei Oeconomiale Ruralis Regni Hungariae. *Bibliographia Oeconomica Hungariae*. Budapest: Typis Regiae Universitatis Hungaricae, 1938. 2 volumes; Lelelewel, Joachim. *Bibljograficznych ksiag dwoje*. Warsaw: Nakladem Hieronima Wildera, 1927. 2 volumes; Lelelewel, Joachim. *Polska wiekow srednich*. Poznan: Nakladem N. Kamienskiego i Spolki, 1847. 4 volumes.

Mary-Jo and Brian McCullogh donated *Science Fiction, Fantasy & Horror: A Comprehensive Bibliography...*

Ms. Elise Moser donated a fine collection of 123 new books in the social sciences and humanities area published by American university presses.

Professor Paul Noble donated approximately a year and a half of the *Arab World Weekly*, and a little larger set of the *Arab World Daily*.

Mrs. María Elena Ouimette donated *Tomás Rueda; Notas, and de Trabaho: Epilogo*; and *Diccionario Enciclopédico Hispano - Americano de Literatura, Ciencias, Artes, Etc.* Volumes 1-27.

Dr. Eric Ormsby donated *Einführung in die Georgische Sprache*, Band 1-2; *Pie XII, le pape-roi*; *Zeitgeist und Erziehungskunst*; *Kleine Kunstgeschichte des Deutschen Denkmals*, and a *Handbuch der Römischen Altertümer*, 5 volumes in 3.

Professor Katherine Shaw donated 1,150 books of literature and criticism, mostly Shakespeare.

Professor John Zucchi donated six years of back issues of *Studi Emigrazione*.

Professor F. Sabetti donated *Stato e Mercato*, 1981-1985; *Revista Italiana di Scienza Politica*, 1973-1993; *Storia e Politica*, 1962-1971; and *Journal of Regional Policy* (an English Language edition of a journal concerned with Southern Italy development issues, comparative politics and political economy, 1983-1993.

Mr. Dieter Halbwidl donated *Un Protagonista della Repubblica Romana*; *Die Baumeister des Künftigen Glücks*; *Der Briefwechsel Franz Mikosich's met den Südslaven*; *Osterrieichi*; *Die Monarchie eine Europäische Idee*.

Mrs. S. Krishtalka donated 125 books in Yiddish and Hebrew on the subject of history and literature.

Marie-Paule Montgrain donated a twenty-six title collection of *La Bibliothèque du Nouveau Monde*.

Professor Jerome Rousseau continued his gift of *Asia Week* by adding the year 1995.

Professor William Shea donated issue of *Religione e filosofia*; *Saggi (Universitá di Parma. Istituto di scienze religiose)*; *Filosofia e religione*; and *Il nucleo filosofico della scienza*; *Su Nietzsche*; *L'amore coniugale*; *Voar Também é Com os Homens*; *Ka-Kanata*; *Heidegger: La dottrina delle categore e del significato in Duns Scoto*; *La Communaute Humaine*; *Da Alquimia a Quimica*; *Etica e Medicina*; *Questioni di filosofia della matematica*. *Gli intanti del ricordo*, plus 116 other titles.

Professor Charles Taylor donated a collection of approximately 700 books of primary and secondary academic material on philosophy, political science, economics and psychology in French, German and English.

The German Consulate in Montreal, on behalf of the German Minister of Culture, donated 372 very new titles in German literature of all periods, reference material and Judaica.

Professor Normand Doiron donated his book *L'Art de voyager: le déplacement à l'époque classique*.

Professor Yvan Lamonde donated his books *Québécois et Américains: la culture québécoise aux XIX^e^ et XX^e^ siècles*, and *Écrits. Louis-Antoine Dessaules*, plus a work by another author, *French Studies at the University of Toronto 1953-1993*.

Professor Annick Chapdelaine donated *DOC* (CD-ROM). This includes *Banque de terminologie du Québec*, *Banque documentaire*, *Le français des affaires*.

Le Ministère de la culture et des affaires sociales (Belgique) during the course of the year donated forty-eight titles.

Osler Library of the History of Medicine

Following is a selection of unusual acquisitions made during 1995:

Annals of the Royal College of Physicians, 1518-1915, in 417 microfiches. (This microfiche set is a complete run of the previously unpublished manuscript Annals - a major source for social historians.)

Black Death: Sources Concerning the European Plague, c. 1470-1822, from the Herzog August Bibliothek, Wolfenbüttel, in 34 reels of microfilm, comprising about 230 volumes.

A number of older books on infectious diseases were also purchased:

Levy, I. *Die Choleraheilung mit salpetersaurem Silber*. Breslau, J. Max, 1849.

Nicolas, M. *Histoire des maladies épidémiques qui ont régné dans la Province de Dauphiné depuis 1775*. Grenoble, Imp. Royale, 1780; with Villars, D. *Observations de médecine sur une fièvre épidémique...*, Grenoble, Imp. Royale, 1781.

Baumes, J.B.T. *De la phthisie pulmonaire...* Montpellier, Izar et Ricard, 1794/95.

Brockett, L.P. *Epidemic and contagious diseases... with plates and engravings...* New York, Goodspeed, 1873?

Buchanan, Francis. *De febribus intermittentibus medendo*. Edinburgh, Balfour & Smellie, 1783.

Several interesting gifts were received:

Dr. Emil Seletz presented his life-sized bronze bust of Osler.
Dr. William Feindel presented his framed copy of the last portrait of Osler painted from life (1914).
Dr. Charles Leslie presented his Ayurvedic texts and associated research materials.

The most unusual recent addition to the Osler Library was the second instalment of medical memorabilia which had been willed to McGill by Herbert Stanley Birkett (1864-1942), Dean of Medicine 1914-1921. Dr. Birkett was an otolaryngologist whose second career was in military medicine. He organized and commanded no. 3 Canadian General Hospital (McGill) in France in World War I. Two fine regimental swords, various medals, and no. 3 Hospital's visitors' book (with some familiar signatures—Principal Peterson, Queen Mary, Princess Patricia, and, of course, William Osler) form part of this bequest.

In July 1995 the Osler Library received from the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada a grant $20,000 to be spent over a two-year period on the development of the Library's holdings in tuberculosis. Thanks to Sir William Osler's own keen interest in tuberculosis, the Library already has notable collection in the subject, to which new items are now being steadily added. Most of these date from the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, but we have acquired some earlier works too, amongst which are:

Dillenback, H.P., *Consumption, bronchitis, asthma, catarrh and clergyman's sore throat, successfully treated by medical inhalations...* Boston, 1866.

Robinson, Nicholas, *A new method of treating consumptions where all the decays incident to human bodies are mechanically accounted for*. London, 1727.

A poster advertising the Silliman Lectures delivered by Osler at Yale University in 1913 (his last visit to this continent) was purchased for the Library by Dean Abraham Fuks, in whose office it will hang initially. The story of these lectures is told in the February 1996 issue of the *Osler Library Newsletter*.

The exhibition *One Hundred Books Famous in Medicine* held at the Grolier Club in New York in 1994 included several volumes lent by the Osler Library. The illustrated catalogue based on this exhibition has recently been received as a gift.

Dr. M.H. Friedman of Lansdowne, Pennsylvania, has recently given a collection of papers relating to Boris Babkin (1877-1950), Professor of Physiology at McGill from 1928 to 1942. (Dr. Babkin knew Pavlov and wrote a biography of him in 1949). Dr. Freidman worked with Babkin during the McGill period.

Thanks to a generous contribution from the Friends of the Library, the Osler Library was able to purchase J. Botrie, *Religio Jurisconsulti*. London, H. Hood, 1649. The Osler copy (which had belonged to Sir William) had gone missing, and with the assistance of Quaritch we were able to replace it.

Physical Sciences and Engineering Library

The very generous Webster Foundation grant has made it possible to buy most of the monographs acquired in the 1995/96 year.

A #3,000 grant was received from the Quebec government through CAMAQ (Centre d'Adaptation de la Main-d'Oeuvre Aérospatiale au Québec, Inc.) to buy books in aerospace engineering.

$50,000 donated by Lawrence K.L. Szeto, B. Arch. '63, will be directed to the purchase of monographs in the field of architectural and civil engineering.

A selective list of interesting acquisitions for the Mossman Collection of the History of Science and of Ideas, housed at the Physical Sciences & Engineering (PSE) Library:

- *Quebec Studies in the Philosophy of Science*. Dordrecht: Kluwer Academic, 1995.
- *Trends in the Historiography of Science*. Dordrecht: Kluwer Academic, 1994.
- Hess, David J. *Science and technology in multicultural world*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1995.
- Bedini, Silvio A. *Science and Instruments in Seventeenth Century Italy*. Aldershot: Variorum, 1994.
- *Encyclopedia of Time*. New York: Garland Pub., 1994.
- *The Mass-extinction Debates: How Science Works in a Crisis*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1994.
- *The Attraction of Gravitation: New Studies in the History of General Relativity*. Boston: Birkhauser, 1993.
- Crombie, A.C. *Styles of Scientific Thinking in the European Tradition*. London: Duckworth, 1994.

Several important reference works have been added to the PSE Library collection including:

- *Biographical Encyclopedia of Scientists, 2nd ed.* Philadelphia: Institute of Physics Publ, 1994, 2v.
- *Dictionary of Organometallic Compounds*. New York: Chapman and Hall, 1995, 5 volumes.
- *Encyclopedia of Inorganic Chemistry*. New York: Wiley, 1994, 8 volumes.
- *Handbook of Data on Organic Compounds. 3rd Edition*. Boca Raton, Fla.: CRC Press, 1994, 7 volumes.
- *Magill's Survey of Science. Applied Science Series*. Pasadena, Calif.: Salem Press, 1993, 6 volumes.
- *Notable Twentieth-century Scientists*. Detroit: Gale Research, 1995, 4 volumes.

Redpath Museum

The Ethnology Collections, Redpath Museum, received the following donation from Dr. Huguette Remy:

1 Apulian red-figure bell krater, circa 4th century, B.C. (95.03.01) (Fig. 1)
5 Pilgrim's flasks, circa 5th-6th century A.D. (95.03.02-.06)
2 Coptic bread seals, circa 5th-6th century A.D (95.03.07-.8)
4 oil lamps, circa 3rd century, B.C. - 5th century A.D> (95.03.09-.12)
1 container, Mexico, Colima, circa 4th century A.D. (95.03.13)
13 Ptolemaic shawabti figures, Egypt (95.03.14.-.26)
1 Udjat eye amulet, Egypt, 4th - 1st century B.C. (95.03.27)

Figure 1. Apulian Red-Figure Bell Krater, 400-350 B.C.
h: 28 cm (11 1/4 in.). Rim diameter: 30 cm (11 3/4 in.)
A band of laurel below the lip; meander with saltire squares below; palmettes with flanking scrolls below the handles. A standing woman wearing a flowing chiton with branch in her right hand and holding a cista in her left hand; facing her, approaching her right side is an ephebe carrying a censer in his left hand and a branch in his right. (Donated to Redpath Ethnology Collection by Dr. Huguette Remy). photo credit: R. Kerrigan

Walter Hitschfeld Environmental Earth Sciences Library

The Hitschfeld Library hosted a party to celebrate the 50th anniversary of the McGill Geography Department this year during the Canadian Association of Geographers meetings in Montreal. A number of gifts were given to the library in honour of this occasion, for the purchase of maps, in digital and paper format. Irma Hitschfeld attended the party and cut the cake. She and other members of her family are helping to library to build up its holdings on Africa and Central America.

Most of our digital data comes as a result of the generosity of our donors, McGill's professors being particularly loyal in this respect. Professors Olson, Lewis and Ewing contributed digital datasets on global change, geographic information systems and electronic atlases. The Centre for Climate and Global Change Research gave the library $1,000, matched by the Director of Libraries, to build up the global change component of our collections.

While not strictly an addition to our collections, the library's users have particularly appreciated the very generous donation of two work stations by the Science Undergraduate Society, with matching funding from the Dean of Science. Adam Finklestein, member of SUS's Operation Open Access team explains the significance of the project, "We now have a great system that offers students Internet access and e-mail, but we can also provide the very latest in science software and class notes from professors who are providing us with lots of course material. And it works 40 times faster than most students' home computers."

In Memoriam

Donations to FONTANUS publications
were offered in memory of

Professor Roger Bennett

Annetta Burns

Helgard Heldt (née Gapman)

Elisabeth Langer (née Jepsen)

Professor John Macnamara

Reilly Madsen

Contributors

Miles Blackwell, born in 1945, was educated at Winchester College, Hampshire, at the University of Paris and at New College, Oxford. He joined the bookselling side of his family's business, B.H. Blackwell Ltd, which was founded in 1879, has travelled widely and has visited Canada continually since his first arrival in 1970. In 1983 he was made a Fellow by Special Election of St. Cross College, Oxford and in 1990 he was awarded the degree of Hon.D.Litt. *honoris causa* by Laurentian University, Ontario, Canada. He received Nottingham Trent University's degree of Hon.D.Litt. in Social Administration awarded by the Southampton Institute in 1995. He is a member of the Council of the Navy Records Society and holds the Royal Warrant of Appointment as bookseller to the Queen.

Bruce Dolphin is a Montrealer who has also lived in Winnipeg, in Morrisburg, Ontario, and various places in Britain. Employed by McGill Archives in records processing and finding-aid production, he is currently up-dating the three-volume Guide (first published 1985) to the University's archival resources. Previously, he received a B.A. from Concordia (S.G.W.U.), taught high school in Iroquois, Ontario, and followed a McGill M.A. in History with three years of historical research in England and Wales as part of a Ph.D. programme. (A modicum of the results of the latter research supplement McGill's Hardinge Papers in the present article on the Wellington-Winchilsea duel.) It is the writer's intention to produce a book-length study of the romantic Tories of the Young England movement of the 1840s; and another on the character and course of British Ultra-Toryism from the formation of Wellington's government in 1828 to Peel's resignation over the repeal of the corn laws in 1846.

Stanley Brice Frost joined McGill University is 1956 as Professor of Old Testament Languages and Literature and during the next two decades became intimately concerned with the administration and direction of the University. He was appointed Dean of the Faculty of Divinity in 1957, Dean of the Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research in 1963, and Vice Principal (Administration) in 1970. For ten years, he was chairman of the University Libraries Committee. Named Director of the History of McGill Project in 1974, he has been the moving spirit in the organization of the popular James McGill Society, serving first as its executive secretary and now as Honorary President. His publications include *Old Testament Apocalyptic*, 1952, *Standing and Understanding*, 1969 and the two volumes of the McGill history, 1980 and 1984. A biography of Cyril James was published in 1991 and *James McGill of Montreal* in September 1995.

Robert H. Michel holds a doctorate from McGill University. He worked as archivist for historical records and reference services at the McGill University Archives from 1974 to 1995. He is a contributor to recent issues of *Fontanus*, with articles on diaries at the McGill Archives; a seventeenth century religious romance; military portraits of Sir Arthur Currie; and (with Dr. Stanley Frost) Sir William Macdonald. Current research and writing projects include a study of seventeenth-century marriage theory. Continuing his archival work, he is a project archivist at the Canadian Centre for Architecture, Montreal.

Norbert Schoenauer studied architecture in Budapest and Copenhagen before obtaining his M.Arch degree at McGill in 1959. A year later he joined the faculty of the School of Architecture and has been teaching, writing and practicing architecture ever since. In the early 1960s he won several architectural competitions in association with various colleagues, and in partnership with Maurice Desnoyers built several housing projects, including Fermont, a new town in northern Quebec. Published in New York, his three-volume history book *6000 Years of Housing* (1981) was translated into Spanish and Japanese. His most recent books are: *History of Housing* (1992), *Cities, Suburbs, Dwellings* (1994), and *Arts & Crafts and Art Nouveau Dwellings* (1996). Schoenauer is a Fellow of the Royal Architectural Institute of Canada (FRAIC), member of the Royal Canadian Academy of Arts (RCA), recipient of the "Medaille du Merite 1995" from the Ordre des architectes du Québec, and holds the title of William C. Macdonald Emeritus Professor of Architecture.

Michael A. Whitehead, professor of chemistry, McGill University, 1975- ; Fellow, Royal Institute of Chemistry (UK); Fellow, Chemical Institute of Canada; President, James McGill Society (1993-95); Editor, *Maces Spectrum*, (1993-); author of numerous articles in theoretical and physical chemistry.

Donald A. Wright completed his B.A. at Mount Allison University and his M.A. at McGill University. He is currently a doctoral candidate in history at the University of Ottawa. His dissertation is a study of the professionalization of history in English Canada, 1919-1945.

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