

vol. I 1988

Fontanus

from
the collections of
McGill University



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Subscription prices 1988:

Institutions: \$25.00
Individuals: \$15.00

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ISSN 0838-2026

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Cover Illustration: Clymer's Columbian Press, pre 1924, found in 1957 by Richard Pennington, now in the Department of Rare Books and Special Collections. Photo: George Zimbel

Editorial

McGill University is a rich storehouse for rare, precious and unusual materials which have been collected over a century and a half by generous donors, librarians, archivists, curators, faculty and citizens.

This wealth constitutes a veritable treasure trove of manuscripts, books, archives, artifacts, specimens, artwork, and architecture, spread out over a large and diverse campus.

The tradition of keen and talented individuals collecting within their particular area has existed from the early days of McGill to the present time. Many of these collections are known internationally and have been studied, described, catalogued, and displayed. Others are less well known, and still others are virtually unknown or even undiscovered.

Fontanus, the Latin name for a god of springs and sources, was chosen as the title of this journal. *Fontanus* is a new and major effort to draw attention to, encourage study of, expose and exploit the collections in order to stimulate new discoveries within the University and beyond.

In the libraries, there are collections on Renaissance history and philosophy, Islamic culture, classical archaeology, anthropology and history of science. There is an extensive collection of Indian and Inuit Bibles, books related to renowned philosophers such as David Hume and Søren Kierkegaard and writers such as William Blake, Rudyard Kipling, Rainer Maria Rilke and Stephen Leacock. There are special collections of Babylonian and Assyrian seals, medieval manuscripts, incunabulae and fine books related to the history of printing and illustrations. The collections of older books on zoology, botany and the history of medicine are outstanding, and there are rich collections on 18th and 19th century European architecture, the history of Canadian architecture and Byzantine art.

The archives hold not only the official records of the university but also Sir William Dawson's scientific papers, early records of the Royal Institution for the Advancement of Learning, the papers of the Canadian Philosopher John Clarke Murray, the private papers of F. Cyril James and Maude Abbott, films of old football games, and 15,000 photos from the Canada Cement Company (1910-80).

There are many unique treasures in the Redpath Museum such as geological specimens (including Dawsonite), invertebrate and vertebrate fossils, bird specimens, ethnological collections of artifacts from sub-Saharan Africa, and archaeological collections from the classical world (including 1,000 valuable Greek and Roman coins). The McCord Museum of Canadian History holds fine collections on Canada's native peoples, costumes and textiles, paintings and drawings as well as the Notman Photographic Archives.

Fontanus will be published annually and will contain a number of scholarly articles in English or French based on the collections in our libraries, museums and archives. The subjects will vary widely according to the nature of the documents described and analyzed. The contributors will be librarians, curators, archivists and professors of the McGill community and elsewhere.

Fontanus, as it now appears, represents the combined efforts of many people at McGill. I am particularly grateful for the solid support given from the very beginning to the idea of this new McGill journal by David Johnston, Principal and Vice-Chancellor, Dr. Samuel O. Freedman, Vice-Principal (Academic) and Dr. Eric Ormsby, Director of Libraries. I am also very gratified by the general support from all sides of the University, notably librarians, professors, archivists and curators.

I owe thanks to the Management Committee of *Fontanus*, under Dr. Freedman's chairmanship, for enthusiastic and very wise counsel, and to the Editorial Committee which provided help and guidance from the first week of the project. I am particularly indebted to my colleague, librarian Irena Murray, who as Associate Editor has overseen both the design of the journal and the technical aspects of its production. I also thank three other librarians Suzy Slavin, Elaine Yarosky and Marc Richard, who as copy editors proved quick, efficient, tireless and very professional. I am grateful to my assistant Terry Kaluta for her cooperative and helpful efforts in word processing.

The McGill Associates deserve special recognition for providing a generous grant towards the production of *Fontanus*, a grant which came forward at a crucial and very early stage of the project.

Finally, I must thank the twelve contributors to this first issue for their faith in the endeavour and their willingness to put work into their articles without which there would be no first volume.

I wish to close by expressing the hope that *Fontanus* will have a very long life. There are certainly hundreds of topics for articles waiting to be written. Such is the richness of the McGill collections.

Hans Möller
Editor

My Dear Eve...

The Letters of Ernest Rutherford to Arthur Eve, 1907 - 1908

by

Montague Cohen

When Ernest Rutherford moved from McGill to Manchester University in 1907, he began an extensive but irregular correspondence with his colleague and friend Arthur Eve, a physicist who remained at McGill and later wrote the official biography of Rutherford. A collection of 37 hitherto unknown letters from Rutherford to Eve, written during the period 1907-1926, has recently been discovered at McGill. This article contains annotated transcripts of the first seven of these letters, spanning a period of 19 months (June, 1907 - December, 1908). This set includes an important letter (Dec. 22, 1908) in which Rutherford describes his visits to Stockholm (to receive the Nobel Prize) and to institutions in Berlin and Leyden. Annotated summaries of seven interleaving letters from Eve to Rutherford are included; these letters are in the Cambridge University collection.

Lorsqu'Ernest Rutherford quitta l'université McGill pour l'université de Manchester en 1907, il entama une longue correspondance, encore qu'irrégulière, avec son collègue et ami Arthur Eve, physicien demeuré à McGill qui rédigea plus tard la biographie officielle de Rutherford. Un recueil de 37 lettres de Rutherford à Eve inconnues jusqu'ici, écrites entre 1907 et 1926, a récemment été découvert à McGill. Cet article contient des transcriptions annotées des sept premières de ces lettres qui couvrent une période de 19 mois (juin 1907 à décembre 1908). Cette série englobe une lettre importante (22 décembre 1908) dans laquelle Rutherford décrit ses visites à Berlin et à Leyden. On a inclus des résumés annotés de sept lettres de Eve à Rutherford; ces lettres font partie des collections de l'université de Cambridge.

* * * * *

Introduction

In May, 1907 Ernest Rutherford left Montreal to take up the post of Langworthy Professor of Physics at Manchester University in England. He was not yet 36 years of age, but had already accomplished more than most scientists achieve in a lifetime. In less than nine years as Macdonald Professor of Physics at McGill University--he arrived in Montreal in September, 1898--Rutherford had laid the foundations of the science of radioactivity, demonstrated the spontaneous transformation of one element into another and the existence of radioactive series, established the exponential law of radioactive decay, measured the properties of the alpha-particle (although the identity of the particle with the helium atom was not proven until 1908) and initiated studies which later resulted in the nuclear model of the atom. Rutherford's work at McGill earned him a Nobel Prize (in chemistry, not physics) in 1908. In addition, he left McGill as a Fellow of the Royal Society of London (1903) and a recipient of the Society's coveted Rumford Medal (1905).

General accounts of Rutherford's life and work in Montreal and Manchester may be found in the biographies by Eve¹, Feather² and Andrade³. A recent biography by Wilson⁴ is the most comprehensive study of Rutherford so far published, and includes an extensive bibliography. Del Regato⁵ has written a series of short biographies of Rutherford and other pioneers in radiation and atomic physics. Among the numerous specialized studies and essays on Rutherford, the reminiscences of Hahn⁶, articles by Feather⁷ and Shea⁸, and a collection of papers edited by Bunge and Shea⁹ are worthy of special mention.

Arthur Stewart Eve (1862-1948) was born in England and graduated in Physics and Mathematics at Cambridge. Eve's initial career was in teaching at the secondary level, but the published accounts of Rutherford's research inspired him to move to Canada in 1903, at the age of 41, with a view to making a new start as a research scientist. He obtained a post at McGill as a Lecturer in Mathematics and Physics and was made an Assistant Professor in the Physics Department in 1905. A photograph of the staff of the Physics Department of McGill University, taken at this time, includes both Rutherford and Eve (Figure 1).

From about 1904 onwards, Eve worked under Rutherford's guidance, carrying out many experiments in radioactivity, including measurements of the radioactivity of air, water and rocks, and investigations of secondary radiations produced by β - and γ -rays. However, Eve and Rutherford were never joint authors of a paper, unless a note added by Rutherford at the end of one of Eve's early papers (*Phil. Mag.* Ser. 6, Vol. 9, 1905, pp.708-711) is counted.*

Eve's interest in radioactivity continued long after Rutherford's departure from McGill. The two scientists became close personal friends and Rutherford formed a high regard for Eve's abilities. Indeed, Badash¹⁰ [p. 116] noted that "When asked what was his greatest scientific discovery at McGill, Rutherford is reported to have said 'Arthur S. Eve'." Again, Otto Hahn⁶ states: "During my stay in Montreal, A. S. Eve seemed closest to him of all his colleagues." Perhaps this was because Rutherford was instinctively drawn to the maturity of the older man.

In 1905 Eve married Elizabeth Brooks, younger sister of Harriet Brooks¹¹, who was one of Rutherford's brightest graduate students and co-author of papers published in 1901 and 1902. In a letter to his wife, dated February 11, 1905, Rutherford mentioned the "startling news" of Eve's engagement and commented "I don't know how he has managed to see much of her and have not yet seen him to gain particulars. Nobody had the slightest suspicion of the coming event. I feel we are both responsible for the event, as he would not have known the Brooks without our intermediacy." (Letter quoted by Eve¹).

After Rutherford's departure from McGill, Eve became an Associate

*It may be relevant to note that, in the period covered by this article, the great majority of scientific papers had but a single author, the minority two authors, and virtually none at all more than two authors.

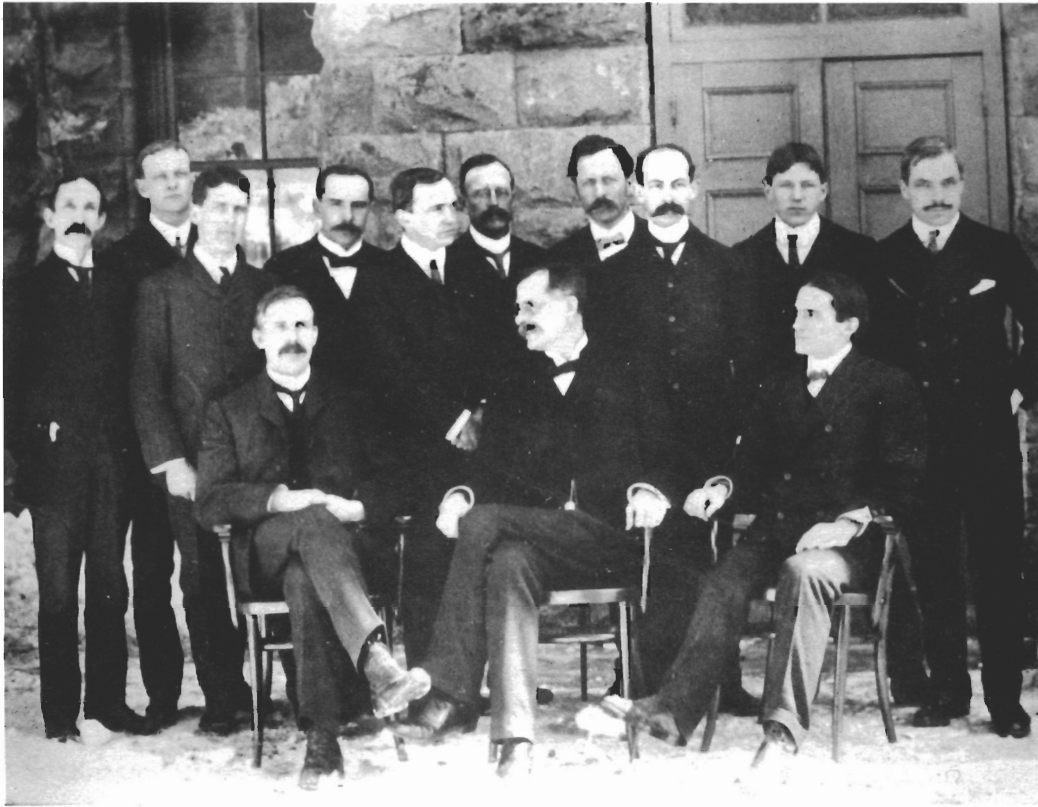


Fig. 1. Group portrait of the staff of the Macdonald Physics Building, 1904-05. Back row (L to R): L. Legrow, G. H. Cole, H. L. Bronson, T. Godlewski, A. W. Sheldon, A. S. Eve, H. M. Tory, R. K. McClung, G. Dunn, J. O. Jost. Front Row (L to R): E. Rutherford, J. Cox, H. T. Barnes. (Courtesy of McGill University Archives)

Professor (1909) and, very quickly, a Full Professor (1910). From 1919 to 1935 Eve was Chairman of the Physics Department at McGill and Dean of the Faculty of Graduate Studies (1930-35). He was elected a Fellow of Royal Society in 1917 and was President of the Royal Society of Canada from 1919 to 1930. Most important of all, for our present purpose, after Rutherford's death in 1937, Eve was asked to write the official biography, which was published in 1939 under the title *Rutherford. Being the Life and Letters of the Rt. Hon. Lord Rutherford, O. M.*¹.

The Rutherford - Eve correspondence

Both Rutherford and Eve were prolific letter writers. Indeed, this is generally true of scientists in the late 19th and early 20th centuries. This was an era of relatively slow communication: there were no air services (although trains were frequent, reliable and fast) and communication by telephone between cities, let alone between countries, was the exception rather than the rule. There was no practical alternative to the mail service for keeping in touch with relations, friends and colleagues. Fortunately, many people were in the habit of keeping private correspondence, much as nowadays we file business correspondence, and there are several collections of letters to and from Rutherford in universities and other institutions. The major collection is undoubtedly that at Cambridge University, given to the University by Mrs. Rutherford after her husband's death.

The Cambridge collection suffers the obvious disadvantage of containing primarily letters *to* rather than *from* Rutherford, the main exception being letters from Rutherford to his wife. Rutherford's own letters naturally became the property of the recipients and many have found their way into the archives of institutions in Britain, Canada, the United States, Germany, Denmark, Holland, Israel and Japan. A Catalog of the known correspondence of Rutherford was compiled by Lawrence Badash on behalf of the Center for History of Physics of the American Institute of Physics, and was published by the Institute in 1974¹². However, it is probable that many letters written by Rutherford, not included in the Catalog, are still extant in various locations and await discovery. The present article concerns a set of such letters from Rutherford to Arthur Eve.

Some justification is needed of the term 'prolific' used above in connection with the letter-writing activities of Rutherford and Eve. The *Rutherford Correspondence Catalog*¹² lists approximately 3450 items in the period October 1895 to October 1937^{**}. A simple calculation, assuming that half of the letters were written *by* Rutherford and the other half *to* him, yields an average of 41 letters a year in each direction, a number which scarcely merits the description 'prolific'. However, the arithmetic can be misleading. A study of the Correspondence Catalog shows that fewer than one in three of the listed letters were written by Rutherford. Furthermore, a

^{**}The Catalog lists about 20 letters dated before October, 1895 or after October, 1937 but none of these were written by Rutherford. In addition, the Catalog includes a few items of correspondence between third parties, i.e. neither from nor to Ernest Rutherford.

breakdown of the figures into five-year periods (Table 1) reveals a marked variation in time both in the total number of letters and in the proportion originating with Rutherford. The volume of correspondence peaks in the period 1905-1920, especially the middle years 1910-1915. This was, in fact, a very important period in Rutherford's scientific career, in which he and his team in Manchester were making major advances relating to the nuclear atom. The 1920's were relatively unproductive, but the volume of correspondence increased again in the 1930's.

In the pre-1900 period, the proportion of the extant correspondence written by Rutherford himself is very high. This was the time when he wrote regularly to his mother and his fiancée, Mary Newton, in New Zealand and they were wise enough to preserve his letters for posterity. After 1900 the "Rutherford fraction" falls drastically, averaging only 25% between 1900 and 1920. After 1920 the proportion rises again, to an average of about 40% for the remainder of Rutherford's life (Table 1). This change in the "Rutherford fraction" calls for some explanation.

The simplest explanation of the low "Rutherford fraction" is that Ernest Rutherford received considerably more letters than he wrote - in other words that he did not reply to a high proportion of the incoming letters and/or did not himself initiate correspondence. However, the available evidence points in the opposite direction. One of Rutherford's most faithful correspondents was the American chemist Bertram Boltwood. An annotated edition of the Rutherford/Boltwood correspondence, covering the period 1904-1933, was prepared by Lawrence Badash and published in 1969¹⁰. This volume contains about 150 letters, 90 of which were written *by* Rutherford. Indeed, at one stage (November 20, 1911) Rutherford was moved to open his letter as follows: "I have come to the conclusion that getting a letter out of you is like pulling your best tooth, for I think I have sent two or three without even the courtesy of a reply."

In the case of the Rutherford/Eve correspondence which is the subject of the present article, the flow seems to have been about the same in each direction, although the Catalog entries are overwhelmingly in favour of Eve.

The clue to the problem of the "missing" Rutherford letters is probably to be found in a comment by Professor Norman Feather¹², who noted that one of Rutherford's characteristics was that he very rarely destroyed any document, however trivial its contents. "From his early days as a research student, to his last years as Cavendish Professor, a great bulk of material has been carefully preserved: almost the whole of his personal correspondence, it must be presumed, and all his notebooks and papers." Feather also stated that (at least in his later years at the Cavendish), Rutherford received many letters from "misguided persons who imagine that they have made some startling discovery or that they have discovered some flaw in commonly-accepted arguments." Feather noted that Rutherford almost always acknowledged these letters briefly but kindly and "occasionally he put himself to considerable trouble to do his best to satisfy these people that he was not treating them as beneath consideration." If this was Rutherford's attitude towards strangers, it is inconceivable that he would neglect his friends and colleagues.

The most probable explanation of the imbalance in the rates of incoming/outgoing letters is that many of Rutherford's correspondents did not share his habit of preserving everything. We must conclude from Table 1 that at least 1000, and possibly up to 1500, letters written by Rutherford have either been destroyed or - knowingly or unknowingly - are in private hands such as the offspring of the original recipients and are unavailable to scholars. The increase in the proportion of extant Rutherford letters in the latter half of his career presumably reflects the fact that a personal letter from someone of Lord Rutherford's stature and fame was too valuable a commodity to be mislaid or destroyed. It is hoped that the present publication of the first seven of a set of 34 hitherto uncatalogued letters from Rutherford will encourage others to search for the "missing" letters - those that have not been destroyed - and to transfer them to the public domain.

It is reasonable to conclude that, throughout his adult life, Rutherford wrote each year between 30 and 150 personal letters, many of which included some discussion of his own and/or his respondent's scientific investigations. This writing was in addition to his published papers, books, popular articles and lectures, as well as routine office correspondence. This output surely merits the description 'prolific.'

The Nature of the Letters

The letters written by Rutherford and Eve are in no sense literary masterpieces and they must not be judged purely on their literary merit. On the other hand, they are readable, by and large grammatical and avoid repetition. The punctuation tends to be erratic, but rarely to the extent of obscuring the meaning. All of this fits a picture of personal letters composed fluently but hastily, with few corrections or afterthoughts. Up to about 1911 Rutherford wrote his letters by hand and his handwriting was not easy to decipher, even for his contemporaries (see, for example, Figure 2). In 1910 Rutherford began to use an 'amanuensis' (a person who writes from dictation or copies manuscripts), probably his wife. In a letter to Boltwood, dated 27 September, 1910, Rutherford comments "You will see how my handwriting has improved. My amanuensis is responsible." Boltwood replied (2 November, 1910), "The effect of your amanuensis on your handwriting is certainly wonderful. It adds a new pleasure to the receipt of your letters, that of being able to read them on the first trial." (See note 10, pp. 228, 231). Evidently Rutherford's amanuensis was not always available, since his letters to Eve of 30 September, 1910 and 20 October, 1910 are in his own handwriting. However, he soon acquired a typewriter and from 14 June, 1911 onwards all of Rutherford's letters to Eve were typewritten, apart from a few handwritten insertions (where the typist was unsure of a word) or additions. Eve's handwriting (Figure 3) was somewhat more legible than Rutherford's, although it varied from letter to letter to a surprising extent, both in style and in size. Eve wrote by hand throughout the period covered by this article (1907-1908) and for several years thereafter.

As already indicated, the letters are a mixture of personal news, news of colleagues and mutual acquaintances (even a little gossip) and science. These ingredients are thrown together in no particular order and the science

17 Kilms Lads R9
Tranchemie
Dec 22, 1908

My dear Eve

My wife & I have
just returned from
Stockholm after having
had a great time
of it. We left here over
a fortnight ago &
attended the Cavendish
dinner in celebration
of "St. Joseph" & St. Anne
J.S. It was a festive
occasion & a special

Thanks very much
for your kind
congratulations. I like
my wife's friends are
not too surprised at
my sudden transformation
into a chemist. I must
confess to considerable
surprise myself. I am
glad I hear of your work
& hope you will manage
to clear up the understanding
of the difficulties of the
conjugation & reduction
of the nitrobenzene.
We are going to visit here
over Christmas. With best
wishes to yourself & Mrs. Eve
from my wife & I
I am a happy & successful
New Year. Yours ever
E. Rutherford.

Fig. 2. First and last pages of letter (R-6) from Rutherford to Eve, dated December 22, 1908.

checking Joly on sea
water. Also I am getting
a little nervous

But there, on side
issue. I really want
to appear my own
siden congratulation,
and to wish you all
success & happiness in
the future.

My wish joins with me
in the good wish to
you & to Mrs Rutherford
& to Ellen.

Yours very sincerely

Eve

167 Hurckiss St. 534
Montreal
29 Nov 1908

My dear Rutherford,

In addition to
our general cablegram
I want to send an
express to you our heart-
congratulation on this
splendid piece which the
Gods have shaken into
your most deserving cap.
You have certainly been
sailing with a full
sail and a booming tide

Fig. 3. First and last pages of letter (E-7) from Eve to Rutherford, dated November 29, 1908. (Courtesy of the Syndics of Cambridge University Library)

component is often embedded, as it were, in other material. What is more important is the relationship between the two men revealed in the letters. At the personal level they were equals; indeed, Rutherford sought Eve's advice on financial matters relating to his investments in Montreal. At the scientific level, however, the discussion does not give the impression of an exchange of views between equals. Although Eve was nine years older than Rutherford, this was not reflected in their scientific careers and Eve seems to have remained, in effect, Rutherford's junior colleague. In their correspondence, Eve reports his results and seeks Rutherford's comments and advice, but not the other way round. Rutherford *tells* Eve about his scientific work, but in a manner which does not invite comment. From the scientific point of view, the correspondence between Rutherford and Boltwood¹⁰ is more enlightening than that between Rutherford and Eve.

One of the minor mysteries of the Rutherford-Eve correspondence is why Eve made so little use of it in his biography of Rutherford¹. The volume includes many extracts, some quite extensive, of letters both to and from Rutherford - indeed, as already noted, the title of the biography specifically refers to Rutherford's letters. However, while there are many indirect references to the letters from Rutherford to Eve, there is only one direct quotation, from a letter written by Rutherford shortly before his death in 1937. The omission was no doubt intentional: thus, although Rutherford's description of the Nobel ceremony in his letter to Eve of December 22, 1908 (letter R-6) was far more graphic than the corresponding account written to other friends and colleagues, Eve chose to quote from Rutherford's letter to Hahn rather than transcribe the description in his own possession. It may be that Eve considered it "ungentlemanly" to take advantage of correspondence addressed directly to himself.

Finally, it is worth mentioning that the two men were never on first-name terms. It was always "My dear Eve" or, occasionally, "Dear Eve" and similarly, "Dear Rutherford". The closing signatures are "E. Rutherford" and "A. S. Eve". The letters usually include family greetings to "Mrs. Eve" or "Mrs. Rutherford," and the spouses are invariably referred to as "my wife" or "Mrs. R", never by name. Rutherford's son-in-law, Ralph Fowler (who was later appointed Plummer Professor of Mathematical Physics at Cambridge) is always simply "Fowler". Only Rutherford's daughter, Eileen (1901-1930) is referred to by her first name. Was this a personal idiosyncrasy or merely a reflection of the times? Almost certainly the latter: the use of the surname between close male friends and colleagues was a peculiarly British custom which persists to this day, albeit in much diluted form. Indeed, the use of the surname alone was considered a sign of friendship, in contrast to the more formal use of a title such as "Mr" or "Professor." Mrs. Rutherford, however, did not follow this male convention. There is no surviving example of a letter from Mary Rutherford to Arthur Eve, but several of her letters to Boltwood are included in the Rutherford-Boltwood correspondence¹⁰. She refers to her husband as "Ern" and signs herself "Mary Rutherford".

Arrangement of Letters in this Article

The McGill collection of correspondence between Rutherford and Eve comprises 34 letters from Rutherford to Eve spanning the period 11 June,

1907 to 11 December, 1915. In addition there are four letters, dated 13 April, 1919, 29 December, 1920, 4 May, 1926 and 6 May, 1933 which have to be considered in isolation. Finally there are two postcards mailed in France in March and April, 1912. The collection is part of the correspondence of Arthur S. Eve (which includes letters to Eve from W. H. Bragg, Frederick Soddy, Otto Hahn and others) found in the Macdonald Physics Building of McGill University when the building was gutted in the 1970's and transformed into a library. The letters are now in the McGill Archives. Only the 1933 letter is listed in the *Rutherford Correspondence Catalog*¹².

Interleaved with the letters from Rutherford to Eve are Eve's letters to Rutherford. The Catalog lists 47 such letters, plus one from Eve to Mrs. Rutherford, dated from 8 July 1907 to 2 June 1930. In the period up to the end of 1915, covered by the set of 34 Rutherford letters mentioned above, there are 35 letters from Eve to Rutherford, pointing to a one-to-one exchange between the two men. The letters from Eve are part of the collection in the Cambridge University Library and quotations from these letters are given here by permission of the Syndics of the Library.

The present article is concerned with only the first seven of the Rutherford letters, covering the period from June 1907 to December, 1908 and designated here as R-1 to R-7 (see Table 2). An appropriate end-point for this sub-set is Rutherford's long letter of 22 December 1908 in which he describes the Nobel ceremony in Stockholm and his subsequent visits to laboratories in Germany and Holland. However, there is a short follow-up letter (27 December 1908) in which Rutherford congratulates the Eves on the birth of their second child. This letter (R-7) is included so that we can bring the story to the end of 1908. These letters are all transcribed in full, with separate explanatory notes.

The interleaving sub-set of seven letters from Eve to Rutherford (designated E-1 to E-7) covers the period 8 July 1907 to 29 November 1908. These letters are not transcribed in full, since they are already in the public domain in the Cambridge collection. However, each letter is summarized with direct quotations as appropriate. The summaries also include comments and explanations corresponding to the notes appended to the Rutherford letters but woven into the texts of the resums. Thus the sub-set of 14 letters constitutes a reasonable complete and coherent series. It should be noted that the numbers of the Eve letters in this article do not correspond to those in the Cambridge University Library where the first letter from Eve (our E-1) is E-26. (E-1 to E-25 in the Cambridge collection refer to letters from other correspondents with surnames beginning with E.)

Annotated transcripts of the remaining letters from Rutherford to Eve in the McGill collection are being prepared for publication at a later date.

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TABLE 1

ANALYSIS OF LETTERS IN RUTHERFORD CORRESPONDENCE CATALOG

Period*	Letters**		
	Total	From E. R.	% from E. R.
1895-1900	102	72	71
1900-1905	181	38	21
1905-1910	627	180	29
1910-1915	853	183	21
1915-1920	533	152	29
1920-1925	296	127	43
1925-1930	232	89	38
1930-1935	367	130	35
(1935-1937)	(207)	(98)	(47)
Total	3389	1069	31

Rutherford Correspondence Catalog, see Introduction, note 12.

* 1 October - 30 September

** Excluding correspondence between 3rd parties, i. e. neither from nor to Ernest Rutherford.

TABLE 2

The McGill Collection of Rutherford - Eve Correspondence

Section I: 11 June, 1907 - 27 December, 1908

Rutherford to Eve		Eve to Rutherford	
R-1	11 June, 1907		
R-2	4 July, 1907		
		E-1	8 July, 1907
R-3	20 July, 1907		
		E-2	21 July, 1907
R-4	5 September, 1907		
		E-3	24 November, 1907
		E-4	10 December, 1907
R-5	21 December, 1907		
		E-5	29 March, 1908
		E-6	4 November, 1908
		E-7	29 November, 1908
R-6	22 December, 1908		
R-7	27 December, 1908		

R-1

Manchester
June 11, 1907

My dear Eve

I was very glad to get your letter¹ and to hear all was going well with you. The amount of thorium² in the air was certainly surprising. It will help to account for the divergence between the amount of emanation³ & amount of ionization in the air⁴. The curves are good enough to leave no doubt that it is thorium but it is certainly extraordinary how much gets up in the atmosphere⁵.

I have been in Manchester since my arrival & have got pretty well settled down in the Lab. I have rigged up the emanation electroscopes⁶ & my actinium solution and hope to get a reading of all of them this week. I found the lab had no reading microscopes suitable for electroscopes, so got a couple at once from Pye⁷ at two days' notice. This is one of the advantages of living in a civilized country. The lab seems pretty good and with the help of a grant of £150 for radioactive apparatus, I think I shall be able to start off in good shape in October. The lab itself has only a small workshop with a few lathes & the janitor does ordinary small work. Just alongside, however, is a regular workshop under the charge of Cook -formerly Dewar's⁸ assistant in the Royal Institution, which has a contract with the University for all work at a moderate price. This, I think, will prove invaluable as not only is he skilled in all pressures and big work but has three or four first class mechanics to turn in work in a hurry. He made me an α -ray electroscopes which has an extraordinarily small natural leak, so I have hopes to avoid all contamination in his shop - I made a γ -ray electroscopes of moderately low leak. Also, by the way, my emanation electroscopes when refitted up gave .16 divs natural leak - it was .15 in Montreal, so you see there is a fate about the numbers. We have a first class glassblower round the corner, also a tinsmith alongside, while the Chem Lab keeps a glass shop where almost anything can be got in a few minutes - so I think I am pretty well fixed for getting things together quickly.

I am starting a piece of work with Petavel⁹ this week. He is an explosion expert. We are going to explode a bomb with cordite with emanation in it. The max temperature reached will be over 2000° C & pressure over 1000 atmospheres. I don't expect any change but it gives us a maximum at one bang. The weather has been pretty wet so far but one or two really fine sunshiny days. I find the atmosphere good to work in and it appears to agree with me pretty well. Everybody seems jolly & anxious to help and I find a most enjoyable absence of convention. In fact, it is better in that respect even than Montreal - I have been out a good deal. I run down to London next week where my wife is at present located with her mother. Schuster¹⁰ has been away on the continent but returns at end of this week. I haven't heard anything definite about the John Harking Fellowship & your sister-in-law¹¹ but think it is alright. I will not know till Schuster returns. There are two Germans in the Lab & one Japanese - the latter came to work with me but came before I arrived. The staff of the Lab

seems pretty efficient & hardworkers. Stansfield's¹² mother is one of the number. He is working on an Echelon grating.¹³

Give my kind regards to Mrs Eve. Let me hear when you intend to publish your results on the charcoal etc.¹⁴

Yours ever

E Rutherford

R-1 Notes

1. The letter from Eve referred to by Rutherford is missing from the Cambridge collection and must be presumed lost.
2. Thorium is a naturally-occurring radioactive element whose disintegration results in a 'chain' of elements known as a 'radioactive series.' The disintegration of each member of the series gives rise to the next element in the chain, until finally a stable form (isotope) of lead is obtained. Other naturally-occurring radioactive series are headed by uranium and actinium.
3. 'Emanation' refers to the inert radioactive gas, now called radon, which is produced by the disintegration of radium. Each of the three natural radioactive series (note 2) includes a different isotopic form of radon. Radon-222, in the uranium series, is the most important.
4. The ionization of the air was measured by observing the discharge of a gold-leaf electroscope (see note 6) and was found to be larger than could be explained by the diffusion of radon (emanation) from radium in the earth's crust. The difference was thought to arise from the penetrating radiation (γ Rays) emitted by radioactive impurities in terrestrial rocks, but the existence of a third component, cosmic radiation from the sun and stars, was unknown at the time.
5. In the absence of Eve's letter, the precise meaning of the whole paragraph is unclear. Eve published this work in the December 1907 issue of the *Philosophical Magazine* (Eve, A. S.: "On the amount of radium emanation in the atmosphere near the earth's surface," *Phil. Mag.*, Ser. 6, 14 (1907): 724-733), but neither in this nor in earlier papers by Eve on the same subject (*Phil. Mag.*, Ser. 6, 12 (1906): 189-200 and 13 (1907): 248-258), nor in a subsequent paper (*Phil. Mag.*, Ser. 6, 16 (1908): 622-632) is thorium even mentioned. However, in a paper on a related topic (Eve, A. S. and McIntosh, D.: "The amount of radium present in typical rocks in the immediate neighbourhood of Montreal," *Phil. Mag.* Ser. 6, 14 (1907): 231-237), Eve and his co-author discuss the fact that the measured radium content of typical rocks is much more than is required to account for the temperature gradient of the earth. They suggest that "radiothorium must be distributed in the earth, both widely and in considerable quantity, for the active deposits of thorium have been found in the atmosphere in most places where an attempt has been made to discover them. The fact is the more remarkable because the thorium emanation decays so rapidly [half-life 58

seconds] that only a minute proportion of it can escape from the soil into the air." However, in a letter dated July 21, 1907 (E-2 in this series), Eve comments that he has been unable to find thorium in rocks, even "likely rock...it ought to be there and measurable."

6. The gold-leaf electroscope was a standard method of measuring ionizing radiation, utilizing the ability of x-rays and the rays emitted by radioactive materials (α , β and γ) to induce a small electric current in air. The electroscope comprises a strip of gold foil fixed at one end to a rod which is mounted in a box (with a window for observation) and isolated from its surroundings by a block of electrically insulating material. When the rod is given an electric charge, by touching it with a piece of ebonite previously rubbed with fur, the charge is shared between the rod and the gold foil and the free end of the foil moves away from the rod by electrostatic repulsion. In a well-constructed instrument the foil remains in the charged (deflected) position for a long time, except for a small natural 'leak', but radiation causes the leaf to fall back to the rod at a steady rate proportional to the intensity of the radiation. This rate is measured by observing the passage of the foil across a scale by means of a microscope.

7. W. G. Pye and Co., of Cambridge, was (and remains) an important British manufacturer of scientific instruments and later of electronic equipment and appliances. Pye-Unicam is now part of the Philips group.

8. James Dewar (1842-1923) held the posts of Jacksonian Professor of Natural Experimental Philosophy in Cambridge (1875) and Fullerman Professor of Chemistry at the Royal Institution in London (1877). His major work was the investigation of the properties of matter at temperatures approaching absolute zero. He liquified oxygen for the first time in 1878 and invented the double-walled vacuum flask ('Dewar flask') in 1892.

9. Joseph E. Petavel was an engineer/physicist at Manchester who investigated the properties of gases at high temperatures and pressures. He became Professor of Electrical Engineering at Manchester in 1908. At question here is the effect, if any, on the rate of radioactive disintegration of changes in the physical and chemical state of the radioactive material. By this time it was reasonably clear - but not yet completely certain - that such changes have *no* effect on radioactive properties. Rutherford now wished to subject emanation (radon) to extremes of pressure and temperature not previously investigated. The (negative) results of the Rutherford/Petavel experiments were presented at the meeting of the British Association at the end of July, 1907 (see also letter R-3. An abstract of the paper presented by Rutherford and Petavel was given in the *British Association Report* of August 1907, pp. 456-7, and is reproduced in *Rutherford's Collected Papers, Vol. II*. (See Introduction, note 7), but the full paper was apparently never published. The reason for the absence of temperature/pressure effects is, of course, that radioactivity is a *nuclear* phenomenon, but the nuclear atom had not yet been postulated.

10. Arthur Schuster (1851-1934) was Rutherford's predecessor as Professor of Physics at Manchester University, a post he held from 1888 to 1907, when he offered to resign on condition that Rutherford would be his successor. Schuster's wide-ranging interests in physics included terrestrial magnetism,

spectroscopy and radioactivity.

11. Eve's sister-in-law was Harriet Brooks, the elder sister of Mrs. Elizabeth Eve and a former research student and co-author of Rutherford. At the time she was working in Paris under Madame Curie and it seems that, later in 1907, she resigned the Harking Fellowship which would have enabled her to work in Manchester under Rutherford. Instead she returned to Montreal and married Frank Pitcher, a former Demonstrator in the Macdonald Physics Building of McGill. Rutherford disapproved of both the resignation and the marriage. Geoffrey Rayner-Canham of Grenfell College, Newfoundland, has informed me that he has seen a copy of Harriet Brooks' marriage certificate which indicates that she and Frank Pitcher were married in London, England, not Montreal.

12. Herbert Stansfield was a Research Fellow (later a Demonstrator and Assistant Professor) at Manchester University. The implication in Rutherford's letter is that Eve also knew Stansfield, presumably because the latter had been a graduate student at McGill, but no proof of this has come to light. (Herbert Stansfield should not be confused with Alfred Stansfield, who was Professor of Metallurgy at McGill from 1901 to 1936. The reference to Stansfield in Rutherford's letter would make good sense if Alfred were meant, since he was known to both Rutherford and Eve, but Alfred Stansfield does not fit the further reference to the echelon grating.)

13. An echelon grating is a device which utilises diffraction to disperse light into its component wavelengths, for spectroscopic purposes. See H. Stansfield, *Phil. Mag.*, Ser. 6, 18 (1909): 371-396.

14. This refers to Eve's experiments in which radon, a radioactive gas (emanation) in the atmosphere, is absorbed in charcoal by drawing air through charcoal-filled tubes. The emanation is subsequently released by heating the tubes (See subsequent correspondence.)

R-2

University
Manchester
July 4 1907

My dear Eve

Just a line to tell you I am forwarding to you as a present one of Phillips' electric chargers for electroscopes to be sent on to you by A. E. Cossor¹ of Farringdon Rd, London. It depends on the electrification of celluloid by flannel², but for details see instructions sent with apparatus. Kindly accept the same from me as a radioactive present. It will, I am sure, delight your heart and will result in the immediate banishment of all sealing wax³. It works like a charm in Manchester weather anyway.

My wife is in London where I spent a week some days ago. I return to London in a few days and then go off to Cornwall and Devon with an interval for the British Ass[ociation]⁴.

We are all well and flourishing and I have got some work well in hand.

This is only a note as I am clearing off areas of correspondence. I hope Mrs Eve and yourself are well and I am expecting to hear good news from you directly.

Yours ever

E Rutherford

R-2 Notes

1. The instrument firm of A. E. Cossor later manufactured radio sets and other electronic equipment. Cossor Electronics Ltd is now part of the Raytheon group.
2. The charging of an electroscope (see R-1, note 6) was a difficult procedure since it depended on the production of an electrostatic charge by manual rubbing of one material by another. The apparatus which Rutherford sent to Eve was still hand operated, by turning a handle, but the pieces of celluloid and flannel were mounted on the machine and the charging procedure could therefore be more readily controlled.
3. It is doubtful if the reference to 'sealing wax' means that Eve employed sealing wax for electrostatic charging. It is more likely that Rutherford was using 'sealing wax' as a term for any makeshift or unreliable procedure carried out with equipment held together by string and sealing wax.
4. The annual meeting of the British Association for the Advancement of Science was held in Leicester at the end of July, 1907 (see letter R-3).

E-1 Eve to Rutherford

167 Hutchison Street, Montreal, 8 July, 1907

In this first surviving letter to Rutherford, Eve announces the birth of his first child, Joan, a "first class baby ... she has a good head of hair, cries lustily, weighs 7-3/4 lbs and seems very vigorous." He continues: "We are glad to think that we shall soon see Harriet (see R-1, note 11) and that she will live in Montreal. I am looking forward to making Pitcher's acquaintance." Harriet Brook's fiancé, Frank Pitcher, was a Demonstrator in the Macdonald Physics Building from about 1897 to 1901, corresponding to Miss Brook's own period of Physics research at McGill. However, Pitcher had left McGill before Eve's arrival in 1903, and it seems that the two men had never met. In 1907 Pitcher was employed by the Montreal Water and Power Company. The marriage must have taken place shortly after Harriet's return to Montreal since, in his letter of September 5, 1907 (letter R-3), Rutherford sent his regards to "Mrs. Pitcher".*

Finally, in this short letter, Eve states "I have my Carbon tubes well calibrated now, so I can swear to them. I shall pull air through for a month or two more I expect. I can only get 5 "run" & "rest" per month, at best." The carbon tubes referred to were iron pipes 37 cm long and 4 cm in diameter, each containing 220 grams of finely divided charcoal prepared from the shells of coconuts. Air was drawn through the tubes at a slow rate for 3 - 4 days (the "run" procedure) and the emanation in the air was trapped in the charcoal. Heating the tube released the emanation, the radioactivity of which could then be measured. The tubes were then allowed to "rest" for 3 days. after which they were re-heated; the radioactivity of the gas released after the resting period provided a baseline measurement. The method was described in Eve, A. S.: "On the amount of radium emanation in the atmosphere near the earth's surface, " *Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada*, 4.3 (1907): 19-23; and subsequently in *Phil. Mag.* (see letter R-1, note 5).

*See, however, "Note added in proof," note 11 of R-1.

R-3

The Victoria
University of Manchester
July 20, 1907

My dear Eve

Congratulations for you both on your accession to the dignity of parentage.¹ You will find a child in the house the most satisfying of all possessions. So speaks one who is old in experience.²

I sent your letter on pressure to Nature where it appears this week with one of Schuster.³ The latter had already been working a year on the subject, so I let him know of your intended publication in time for the letters to appear together. It was only fair under the circumstances. You will see also a letter from Ramsay⁴. He seems quite confident of most of the results but they will certainly want repeating to be sure of them.

I want you to do a small job for me. The enclosed P.O.O.⁵ arrived for me from Montreal. I don't see how to collect it personally but would be obliged if you would do so. An enclosed paper gives you power of attorney to do so. Please forward me a cheque for the same to the Univ. Manchester. I hope you will be able to manage it for me.

We are at present at Mullion Cove⁶ in a cottage all to ourselves. The party includes Mrs. Newton⁷, Charlie⁸ & my family and another visitor besides. We are having a jolly time with beautiful weather. I find the golf links are two miles off - much too far for an unenergetic man like me to walk in hot weather.

I go to the B. A.⁹ at Leicester on July 30 & then return to Mortehoe¹⁰ for another three weeks vacation; then on to Manchester for work. By the way J. J.¹¹ has a man working on the amount of emanation in the air by the carbon method! You had better send him a copy of the R. S.¹² paper as a cocktail!! With kind regards to Mrs. Eve.

Yours ever

E. Rutherford.

R-3 Notes

1. Eve had just sent the news of the birth of his first child, Joan (see letter E-1)
2. Rutherford's only child, Eileen, was born in March 1901 and was now six years of age.

3. "The effect of pressure on the radiation from radium," separate letters (under the same title) by Arthur Schuster (see R-1, note 10) and by A. S. Eve and Frank D. Adams. (*Nature* 18 July 1907: 269.) The letters concluded that a pressure of up to 2000 atmospheres (Schuster) or 3.2×10^5 lb/sq. inch (Eve and Adams) had *no* observable effect on the rate of disintegration of radium and its products.
4. Sir William Ramsay (1852-1916), a Professor of Chemistry at University College, London, was the discoverer of the rare noble gases in the atmosphere. He was awarded the Nobel Prize for Chemistry in 1904. A letter from Ramsay, headed "Radium emanation," appeared on the same page of *Nature* as the letters from Schuster and Eve (see note 3 above). In this letter Ramsay claimed that radium emanation, already known to produce helium (the α - particle is the nucleus of the helium atom) could, under some circumstances (e.g. if the emanation is dissolved in water or in a solution of copper sulphate), produce various other elements, including argon and neon, by a "decomposition" process. However, Rutherford and his associates were highly skeptical of Ramsay's work in the field of radioactivity and the subsequent development of the subject showed that their skepticism was justified.
5. Post Office Order. Presumably a Canadian postal order was not negotiable in England; it was not equivalent to a modern International Money Order.
6. Mullion Cove is on the south coast of Cornwall, near the southernmost point (Lizard Point) of England.
7. Rutherford's mother-in-law.
8. Charles Newton, brother of Mrs. Rutherford; a medical student at Edinburgh.
9. British Association for the Advancement of Science.
10. Mortehoe is a village near Ilfracombe on the north coast of Devon. Although Rutherford writes that he will "return" to Mortehoe, this is in fact a different place, in a different region, from his previous holiday location at Mullion Cove.
11. Sir J. J. Thomson, Director of the Cavendish Laboratory at Cambridge. (See R-6, note 2)
12. The initials "R. S." in Rutherford's letters usually stand for the Royal Society (of London). Here, however, Rutherford means the Royal Society of Canada, specifically the paper published in the *Transactions* of the Society in June, 1907 (see letter E-1). These transactions were probably not readily available in Cambridge, and the subsequent paper on the same subject was published by Eve only in the December, 1907 issue of the *Phil. Mag.* (see R-1, note 5). The (up to now) unnamed researcher in the Cavendish Laboratory published his results a year later and revealed that he had not simply copied Eve's technique of absorbing the emanation in charcoal, but had also condensed the gas by means of liquid air. (John Satterley: "The amount of radium emanation in the atmosphere." *Phil. Mag.* Ser. 6, 26 (1908): 584-615.)

E-2 Eve to Rutherford

167 Hutchison Street, Montreal, 21 July 1907

Eve begins by stating that the charger sent by Rutherford (see R-2) has arrived and "works admirably. I am delighted with it. I am going to try & make something of the same sort or a larger scale for charging my wires. The Whimshurst won't work in the summer and the dry piles have not yet come. I thought a water motor and wheel and piston might do well. I am surprised at the amount of charge the little charger can put up."

The phrase "charging my wires" refers to Eve's investigations "On the radioactive matter present in the atmosphere," *Phil. Mag.* Ser. 6, 10 (1905): 98-112. (For references to subsequent papers by Eve on this topic, see R-1, note 5.) Eve collected the emanation from the air of a closed vessel by means of an insulated, negatively-charged wire located in the middle of the vessel. The potential of the wire was about -10,000 volts, obtained by means of a Whimshurst machine driven by an electric motor. The vessels used included an iron tank in the Engineering Building at McGill University and a zinc cylinder placed out-of-doors on the McGill Campus, away from any building. A Whimshurst machine is a device for producing an electric charge by friction and accumulating the charge, so as to build up a high potential, by induction. The machine does not function well in the humid atmosphere of a Montreal summer. "Dry piles" are now called "dry batteries" or simply "batteries," as distinct from the wet batteries (lead-acid rechargeable cells) commonly used in laboratories at the time.

Eve's letter continues: "I am getting such big catches of emanation now. I am bubbling thro' very slowly for 3 days to make dead sure it is not impurity. I am getting more than the big gun on the campus gave. I do not know why there should be more, unless some thunder rains bring up the emanation." (The "big gun" presumably refers to the zinc cylinder discussed above.)

The letter concludes with a discussion of Eve's plans to measure the radioactivity of local rock: "Adams and I are trying to coax McIntosh into testing 20 Laurentian rocks. I am ready to do the electroscope work but the chemical work is rather tedious." (Frank D. Adams was the Logan Professor of Geology and Palaeontology at McGill; A. Douglas McIntosh was the Senior Demonstrator in Chemistry.) This paragraph also contains Eve's complaint that he has been unable find thorium in rocks (see R-1, note 5.)

R-4

17 Wilmslow Rd
Withington
Manchester
Sept 5, 1907

My dear Eve,

The above is our home address where we are now comfortably installed for six months at any rate.¹ We came back from Morteheo about a week ago after a very lazy time interspersed with some golf on a nine hole course at Woolacombe² - equivalent in hard work to 18 ordinary holes. We have a lawn at the back of the house in which I have installed a hole for practice at approach and putting, so I expect to get mild exercise on the cheap. Work does not begin till October but I am getting things into shape. The electroscope I brought over suddenly went wrong and had to be taken to pieces. The trouble was the leaf got a half turn on itself. It was very annoying as I had already calibrated it and used it for my growing radium solutions.³ I am hoping before the year is out to get about half a gram of radium to play with. I hope then to form my own conclusions on Ramsay's experiments.⁴

I saw your paper on spraying in the Phil Mag,⁵ which reads very well. I ought to write up several papers but dislike the work. Have you sent off your emanation-in-atmosphere paper yet?⁶ I hope to have a couple of chemists helping me next year working up the residues I got from the Roy[al] Soc[iety].⁷ We had Walker⁸ along yesterday on his way home and looking well and happy. He will be able to give you a first hand account of our surroundings.

I suppose you now get exercise without golf - I allude to midnight perambulations with the baby. I only did it once but then I am not the model that you are. Give my kind regards to McIntosh⁹ and tell him I don't think it is worth while publishing the helium paper after all. I have started to write it up three times but gave it up each time. Give my best regards to Mrs. Eve - and the baby - also to Mrs. Pitcher.¹⁰

Yours ever

E. Rutherford

P. S. I got the draft alright - many thanks.

R-4 Notes

1. In fact, the Rutherfords remained at this address until they moved to Cambridge in 1919. The house at 17 Wilmslow Road no longer exists.

2. Woolacombe is close to Morteheo (see R-3, note 10), certainly closer than the two miles from Mullion Cove to the golf links, which Rutherford complained of in letter R-3.
3. Radium is produced in all three of the radioactive series. In particular, radium could be 'grown' (i.e. the amount of radium increased) by the decay of solutions of actinium or thorium salts. Actinium produces radium-223 (half-life 11.7 days) and thorium gives radium-228 (half-life 6.7 years), but chemically they are identical with radium-226 (half-life 1600 years), which is the common form of radium derived from uranium. However, the concept of 'isotopes' was not developed until 1913.
4. See R-3, note 4.
5. Eve, A. S.: "Ionization by spraying," *Phil. Mag.*, Ser. 6, 14 (1907): 382-395. A fine mist can be produced by causing air to flow over a small opening or nozzle in a vessel containing a liquid, an effect less familiar at that time than today. Eve showed that the resulting mist is highly ionized, with both the number of ions and the ratio of positive to negative ions depending on the nature of the liquid.
6. The paper was published in the December 1907 issue of *Phil. Mag.* (See letter E-1, and R-1, note 5.).
7. The Royal Society (of London) had received about a ton of residues from the Joachimsthal mines in Bohemia, at that time in Austro-Hungary and one of the two main sources of the world's radium. The residues were distributed by the Royal Society among scientists working in the field of radioactivity. Rutherford received residues of polonium and actinium, the latter in the form of 40 kilograms of hydroxide. In a letter to Dr. Bertram Boltwood dated 28 July, 1907, Rutherford asked Boltwood's advice as to the best method of rapidly concentrating the actinium. Boltwood, who was a chemist, replied in detail on 23 September. (See Introduction, Note 12.)
8. H. Walker was a Professor of Chemistry at McGill University.
9. McIntosh: see letter E-2.
10. Mrs. Pitcher: see R-1, note 11 and letter E-1.

E-3 Eve to Rutherford

167 Hutchison Street, Montreal, 24 November, 1907

The letter begins: "You should have been here a few weeks ago when the [McGill] Chemical Society glorified Ramsay's work, Walker and McIntosh taking a paper each, and lauding them sky high, particularly McIntosh. It was the lion and the lamb lying down together at last, and the lion chewing straw with the ox." (Ramsay: see R-3, n. 4; Walker: see R-4, n. 8; McIntosh: see E-2.)

After complaining that his "beloved and faithful electroscope" had sprung a leak and had to be dismantled, cleaned and re-calibrated, Eve notes that he has not found any difference in radium emanation in water and in a solution of copper sulphate. This is a reference to Ramsay's letter in *Nature* July 18, 1907: see R-3, note 4. Eve continues: "I have done a month's work at Secondary radiation and detected Tertiary and Quaternary radiation from lead. Now I find that Allen was ahead of me in a paper in the *Phys. Review* August 1906, which I missed. Do you know the paper? My results agree with his." The paper referred to was: Allen, S. J.: "The velocity and ratio e/m for the primary and secondary rays of radium," *Physical Review*, 23 (1906): 65-94. This paper, and Eve's own work in the same area (*Phil. Mag.*, Ser. 6, 15 (1908): 720-737), were concerned with the release of secondary electrons from an absorbing material irradiated by β -particles from a radioactive source (β -rays are streams of fast-moving electrons). In earlier work, published in 1904, Eve had also investigated the secondary radiations generated by the γ -rays emitted by radium. He continued to study the properties of the gamma emission and published a further paper in this area soon after his β -ray paper cited above. (Eve, A. S. "The secondary γ -rays due to the γ -rays of radium C." *Phil. Mag.* Ser. 6, 16 (1908): 224-234.)

Eve then refers to the theory of the nature of γ -rays put forward by W. H. Bragg, Professor of Physics at the University of Adelaide in South Australia. In a paper published in the October, 1907 issue of *Phil. Mag.* (Ser. 6, 14: 429-449), Bragg had suggested that γ -rays consisted of "neutral pairs," i.e. a β -particle associated with an α -particle in such a way that "the tubes of induction pass from one particle to the other, and the electric field is greatly contracted." Bragg postulated that, since the electric field of the α -particle was the main cause of its loss of energy when passing through matter, the "neutral pair" would have great penetrating power since "the chief cause of the stopping of the α -particle has been removed." Eve's comment takes the form of a rhetorical question: "Do you believe that an α -particle and a β -particle can join company and fly through a kilometre of air or more? Bragg's latest!" (See also Bragg, W. H., *Nature*, 77 (1908): 270-1.)

The letter now moves away from science to university and personal topics. Eve states that "The U. States financial and commercial outlook is very blue and this will react to some extent on Canada. Our outlook at McGill is not too bright as no new money is coming in and the College has very heavy expenses to face for a building. Some blame the Principal, but I don't see why... I am hoping to be made Assoc. Prof., but they are on the "save", and won't do it before Sept. 1908, if then. The poor beggars have not the money, if they have the will." (Eve was right - he did not receive

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the promotion until 1909.)

Eve gives the news that Tory (H. M. Tory, a Professor of Mathematics) is leaving McGill to become Principal of the new Alberta University at Edmonton - "A good man for a good place" - and the letter ends on a pleasant note: "The new Eve is very bright and lively and adds greatly to the pleasure of life." There is, however, a postscript in which Eve returns to the problem of secondary radiations: "In my secondary radiation paper I was wrong in saying secondary rays were homogeneous. I did not investigate a sufficient range." He adds a sketch showing the absorption curves in aluminum of secondary radiations from brick and lead.

E-4 Eve to Rutherford

167 Hutchison Street, Montreal, 10 December, 1907

This letter is mainly concerned with the growth of radium in a solution of thorium nitrate: see R-4, note 3. Eve reminds Rutherford of the 500 grams of thorium nitrate, free from radium, he had left behind in Montreal. "I could not boil it properly in the vessel so I decanted it October 10th and tested it a week ago. It gave me a max 4.5 Div. a min...." Eve then provides some calculations to show that 100 grams of Rutherford's thorium nitrate now contained 1.15×10^{-9} grams of radium. However, "there is a little to add to this because there was a thin white deposit on the bottom of the original flask. I have got this off and will test it later; I do not expect it will largely add to the result."

Eve continues by comparing his results with those of Hahn on thorium nitrate solutions prepared (i.e. free of radium) in 1900, 1902 and 1906. (Hahn, O.: "Die Muttersubstanz des Radiums," *Chemische Berichte*, 40 (1907): 4415. See also R-5, note 5.) Eve concludes: "Your stuff fits in pretty well, assuming it is about 2 years old. How old is it? I will test the decanted fluid in April 1908 and Nov. 1908, if all is well. I thought this would interest you."

Rutherford replied in detail to this part of Eve's letter (see R-5), but it is very difficult to check the figures 80 years later, because there are too many uncertainties as to the assumptions made in the original calculations, such as the atomic weight of radium. Even Rutherford has to ask Eve (letter R-5) whether Hahn's numbers were for 100 grams of thorium or thorium nitrate.

Eve ends the letter with the news that "Joan Eve has a tooth" and "Dr. Harrington died on Friday and practically the whole University is going to his funeral tomorrow." (Bernard J. Harrington was Macdonald Professor of Chemistry and Mineralogy at McGill. He was 59 when he died on November 29, 1907.)

R-5

17 Wilmslow Rd
Withington
Manchester
Dec 21, 1907

My Dear Eve,

Just a note before I leave for London to attend Kelvin's funeral in the Abbey tomorrow.¹ I rec^d your letter [E-4] re the amount of Ra in the Th solution²

500 grs of Th Nit (* of this) were taken which initially contained (bubbling method) 2×10^{-8} gr RaBr₂ (old standard),³ Barium was pp^d as sulphate in the solution and am^t reduced to (mean of several observations) 8×10^{-10} gr RaBr₂.⁴

I did not detect any certain growth over interval of three months. You say 500 gr gives now 5.76×10^{-9} gr Ra. Increase is therefore $5.76 \times 10^{-9} - .45 \times 10^{-9}$ or 5.3×10^{-9} gr Ra. The age of solution is from April 1904 to Oct 1907 = 3.6 years about

... growth per year = 1.47 gr Ra [$\times 10^{-9}$]

This is less than Hahn⁵ but on the other hand, I should not be surprised if the deposit (which probably contains some Ba and Ra with *) contained a good deal.⁶ Get it into solution and test it some time. There is of course a little uncertainty relative to amount det^d originally by the bubbling method. By the way are Hahn's numbers for 100 grs Th or Th Nit?

I was interested to hear you were working on secondary and tertiary rays. As you say, they appear very popular at present.

You may be interested to hear that I think I have got a method (electrical) for directly counting the α particles.⁷ I am not quite sure yet until I compare the experimental and theoretical numbers.

I cannot do much for a year or more with the Ra as Ramsay has it first. He provides me with emanation occasionally.⁸

Give my kind regards to Mrs Eve. Apart from a bad cold, my wife is well. Eileen and myself are flourishing. I go to the seaside at St. Anne's⁹ for a week for fresh air and golf in a few days.

Yours very sincerely

E. Rutherford.

* Illegible word

R-5 Notes

1. Lord Kelvin (Sir William Thomson, 1824-1907) was Professor of Natural Philosophy at Glasgow University from 1846 to 1898, and President of the Royal Society, 1890-95. He was jointly responsible with Faraday for initiating the theory of the electromagnetic field and he also made major contributions to thermodynamics and hydrodynamics. During his lifetime, Kelvin was the acknowledged leader of the physical sciences in Britain. He was buried in Westminster Abbey.

2. A solution of thorium nitrate, $\text{Th}(\text{NO}_3)_4$

3. The amount of radium in a thorium compound was estimated by measuring the activity of the emanation (radon) produced when the radium disintegrated. The mass of radium was usually expressed in terms of the equivalent mass of radium bromide, RaBr_2 , where 1 mg of Ra was assumed equivalent to 1.72 mg of RaBr_2 (Rutherford and Boltwood, *Phil. Mag.*, Ser. 6, 9 (1905): 599.) The "bubbling method" referred to by Rutherford, involved bubbling dust-free air through a thorium solution in order to sweep up the emanation (radon) produced in the solution by the decay of radium, itself a product of the decay of preceding elements in the series. The air loaded with emanation was then passed into an electroscope or ionization chamber for measurement purposes and the mass of radium in the solution was deduced from the activity of the emanation. Unfortunately, while this method is indirectly referred to in several early papers, no explicit details were published by either Rutherford or Eve. In a letter to Boltwood (see Introduction, note 12), dated November 10, 1906, Rutherford discusses the measurement of radium in a solution of actinium dissolved in nitric acid "by the method of bubbling - about 3 litres of air passed into a big electroscope." In addition, Chapter 7, of the 2nd edition of Rutherford's book, *Radio-Activity* (Cambridge, University Press, 1905) contains a description, with diagram, of the extraction of emanation from a solid thorium compound by passing dust-free air, previously bubbled through sulphuric acid, over the compound in a glass tube. The air current picks up the emanation produced by the thorium and carries it along to a large ionization chamber connected to an electroscope. This method works for thorium and actinium compounds because these radioactive series include isotopes of radium, ^{224}Ra and ^{223}Ra respectively, with short half-lives, 3.6 d and 11.7 d respectively, and radon is constantly produced in measurable amounts. Uranium compounds, on the other hand, produce ^{226}Ra (the most common isotope of radium), whose half-life of 1600 years does not lend itself to this method. A solution containing ^{226}Ra has to be boiled to release its radon.

4. Radium and barium are chemically similar, so the precipitation of barium in a solution also serves to precipitate radium. Rutherford's figures indicated that about 96 percent of the radium was removed from the thorium nitrate solution in this way. The purpose of the exercise was to measure the regrowth of radium in the thorium solution as a result of the decay of thorium and its daughter products.

5. See letter E-4, in which Eve compares the radium contents of Rutherford's and Hahn's thorium solutions. Otto Hahn (1879-1968) was a German radiochemist. Hahn spent a year working with Rutherford in Montreal, 1905-6, and the two men remained life-long friends. (For Hahn's reminiscences of Rutherford at McGill, see Introduction, note 6.) Hahn was mainly responsible for elucidating the decay scheme of the thorium series. He received the Nobel Prize in chemistry in 1944 for his discovery of nuclear fission. In 1907 he was appointed a 'Privatdozent' (lecturer) in Fischer's Institute in Berlin (see R-6, Note 12.)

6. See letter E-4, in which Eve refers to a white deposit on the bottom of the flask.

7. This note in a letter to Eve in December 1907 appears to be Rutherford's first reference to the device subsequently called a "Geiger counter." About a month later (January 31, 1908) Rutherford gave a brief summary of the principles involved in the counter, at the end of a discourse to the Royal Institution on "Recent advances in radioactivity." This lecture was published in *Nature* March 5, 1908: 422-6. A few days after the Royal Institution discourse, Rutherford and Geiger lectured to the Manchester Literary and Philosophical Society on "A method of counting α particles" and this was reported briefly in *Nature* on April 23, 1908. However, the definitive paper on the Geiger counter was presented to the Royal Society on June 18, 1908 and published in July 1908: Rutherford, E. and Geiger, H.: "An electrical method of counting the number of α particles from radioactive substances," *Proc. Roy. Soc. A*, 81 (1908): 141-161.

8. The Austrian Academy in Vienna had loaned about 300 mg of radium bromide jointly to Ramsay and Rutherford. However, the whole consignment was sent to Ramsay in London, and Ramsay refused to divide it, since "it is so infinitely more valuable as a whole." Ramsay proposed to keep the radium for a year, or a year and a half, before passing it to Rutherford and meanwhile offered to provide Rutherford with a regular supply of emanation. Rutherford was very unhappy with this arrangement and in January, 1908 persuaded the Austrian Academy to provide a separate consignment of 500 mg for his own use. Detailed accounts of this episode are given in the biographies of Rutherford by Eve and by Wilson. (See Introduction, notes 1 and 4.)

9. St. Anne's is a resort near Blackpool on the Lancashire coast.

E-5 Eve to Rutherford

167, Hutchison Street, Montreal, 29 March, 1908

Eve begins by stating that he has read Rutherford's (Royal Institution) lecture in *Nature* (see R-5, note 7) "and I am delighted with the splendid method of counting α - particles. It is a great achievement."

After a brief reference to his own lectures on radioactivity - "given to a small but choice audience" - Eve remarks that he has almost completed a year's experiments on emanation in the air" and my results for summer and winter are almost exact."

Eve offers Rutherford his congratulations "on your Turin prize," i.e. the Bressa prize awarded every two or three years by the Turin Academy of Sciences. The award to Rutherford was announced on March 10, 1908: for further details see Eve's biography of Rutherford (Introduction, note 1). Eve then gives the news that Harkness (James Harkness, Professor of Mathematics at McGill) will be married "early in May, then to Italy."

The remainder of this short letter is concerned with the radioactivity of sea water. Eve states that "Joly's results on sea water surprise me." John Joly, Professor of Geology and Mineralogy at Dublin, had carried out extensive measurements on samples of coastal sea water and had obtained a mean value of 2.55×10^{-14} grams of radium per cubic cm of water. This was many times higher than Eve's value for a single sample of mid-Atlantic sea water, 8.6×10^{-16} . Eve comments that "luckily I kept my Atlantic sea water" and he proposed to test it again: "If my results are confirmed I will collect sea water in August on my way back to Canada and try again. However I do not see how Joly can be wrong and I do not set my one experiment against his numerous ones. Have you a student who would try his hand at it?" However, in his paper on this subject (*Phil. Mag.*, Ser. 6, 15 (1908): 385-393), Joly suggests that there is a genuine difference between his own coastal samples and Eve's mid-ocean sample, and that the dynamics of emanation release and travel in an extended fluid medium would "help to explain Eve's difficulty in accounting for the amount of ionization observed over the ocean."

Eve concludes by noting that "we are looking forward to our English holiday" - a holiday which was to include a visit to the Rutherfords in Manchester, although Eve does not say so in this letter.

E-6 Eve to Rutherford

McGill University, Montreal, 4 November, 1908

This letter was written over seven months after the previous one (E-5), and there is no indication of any correspondence in either direction during this period. However, Eve and his family spent the summer months in England, and Manchester was included in their itinerary: "We often think of our very pleasant visit to you and Mrs. Rutherford in May."

The letter opens with thanks to Rutherford "for the galaxy of papers which you sent me. They are a fine group and I congratulate you on them." If Rutherford enclosed a letter with the package, it has not survived. Eve then reports that he has given the (McGill) Physical Society a summary of all the work done in radioactivity since Rutherford's own summary of spring, 1907. "It was quite a task getting everything up to date" - a statement amply confirmed by the scientific journals of the period. Eve mentions specifically the problem of the radioactivity of ocean water, and the work of Hahn (see R-5, note 5) and Strutt. Robert J. Strutt (1875-1947) was the son of Lord Rayleigh. His early research was in radioactivity; he estimated the age of minerals by measuring their helium content. However, he is remembered mainly for his work in atmospheric physics. Strutt was Professor of Physics at Imperial College, London, from 1908 to 1919, when he became the 4th Baron Rayleigh on the death of his father.

The letter continues: "It seems queer to think Cox is leaving us in April. There are so many and swift changes that I do not know where I am!" John Cox (1851-1923) was the first Macdonald Professor of Physics at McGill (1890) and Director of Physics from 1901 until his retirement in 1909. It was Cox who had recruited Rutherford for McGill in 1898.

Finally, a personal note: "Our young woman runs and talks and is great company. Another Evelet is expected to visit Montreal in December. My work and life generally go along about as happily as they possibly can."

E-7 Eve to Rutherford

167 Hutchison Street, Montreal, 29 November, 1908

This letter opens with a reference to Rutherford's Nobel Prize, announced about two weeks earlier: "In addition to our general cablegram I want to write and express to you our hearty congratulations on this splendid prize which the gods have shaken into your most deserving lap. You have certainly been sailing with a full sail and a brimming tide."

Eve continues on a more usual note: "I am glad that you have laid the last of Ramsay's spooks, and I see that Dewar has come as light cavalry to complete the rout." This remark almost certainly refers to a report in *Nature* November 5, 1908: 23 of the meeting of the Mathematical and Physical Science Section of the British Association (Dublin, September 3, 1908). Ramsay read a paper titled "Do the radioactive gases (emanations) belong to the argon series?" (see R-3, note 4). There was an "exchange of views" between Ramsay and Rutherford, since "Professor Rutherford is not convinced of the production of neon in radioactive changes." The debate was renewed the following day (September 4) at the meeting of the Chemistry Section, reported in *Nature* October 8, 1908: 589. Rutherford reported experimental work showing that the amount of neon in 1/15 c.c. of air readily gives the neon spectrum, and he attributed Ramsay's assumed formation of neon to a slight leakage of air during the experiments. Ramsay, in reply, upheld his experiments but agreed that the formation of lithium from copper was less certain than the other transmutations he had observed. Eve's reference to Dewar (see R-1, note 8) was probably a response to the *Nature* report of the September 3 meeting (see above), in which Ramsay's paper was followed by that of Dewar on the rate of production of helium from radium. Dewar reported that, in measurements involving "extreme precautions," he found the rate of production to be about 0.37 cubic mm per gram of radium per day, a number of the same order of magnitude as Rutherford's theory requires.

Next, Eve discusses briefly the still unsolved problem of the amount of "penetrating radiation" giving rise to ionization in the air over areas of sea. "McLennan...finds a great deal over Lake Ontario." (J. C. McLennan was Professor of Physics at Toronto.) Eve states that he has calculated that the γ -rays in earth, air and sea should produce ionization in the ratio 15: 1: 0.2 respectively, but the measured ionization does not fit this prediction. "This then is a dilemma. So I am getting Bates to check McLennan, and I am checking Joly on sea water." (F. W. Bates was a Demonstrator in Physics at McGill.)

The letter concludes as it began: "But these are side issues. I really want to repeat my most sincere congratulations, and to wish you all success and happiness in the future." Rutherford sent his thanks on December 22, 1908, after returning from the Nobel ceremony in Stockholm. (See letter R-6.)

R-6

17 Wilmslow Road
Manchester
Dec 22, 1908

My dear Eve,

My wife & I have just returned from Stockholm after having a great time of it. We left here over a fortnight ago & attended the Cavendish¹ Dinner in celebration of "Sir Joseph" or otherwise J. J.² It was a festive occasion & a special song on the α -rays³ was prepared in my honour. To my prejudiced judgement, it went uncommonly well. We then left for Harwich, Hook,⁴ Hamburg, Copenhagen and Stockholm arriving Wed. morning - the day before the beginning of the official celebrations.⁵ We were met by Arrhenius⁶ & others and put up at the Grand Hotel where all the prize winners were staying. On Thursday the celebrations opened with evening dress at 4 in the Academy of Music with speeches & music interspersed. The names of the prize winners were declaimed & the medals and diplomas presented by the King. We then immediately went to the hotel dinner & had our seats among the royalties. My wife had two princes one on either side⁷ & the Crown Princess (England)⁸ opposite. My health was proposed & I gave a speech which they apparently enjoyed. I joked about my sudden transformation into a chemist. The celebrations were kept up by some till past one o'clock with copious libations of Swedish Punch. We got away at 11 to take some rest after our labours. Next afternoon, I gave a lecture on the nature of the α -particle before the Swedish Academy & in the evening dined with the king and queen at the palace. We got away at 10:30 & a number of us celebrated till 1 pm in a restaurant. Besides this there were a number of dinners & lunches. We stayed 6 days - long enough to see something of the beauties of Stockholm & had a really great time. We then travelled to Berlin where we spent two days. I saw Regener⁹ & Marckwald¹⁰ & most of the physicists there & also Nernst¹¹ and Emil Fischer¹². Hahn¹³ took charge of us & arranged everything for us. I saw the Reichenstalt¹⁴ and Warburg¹⁵. Professor Rubens¹⁶ gave us a farewell supper at which practically all the physicists of Berlin were present. We caught our train by a minute to spare & went by night to Amsterdam and then on to Leyden to see Professor Lorentz¹⁷. We saw something of the University & the apparatus for liquefaction of helium. Onnes¹⁸ was not well enough to be on hand. We sailed the same evening for Harwich & then slowly home on Sunday. We arrived well but needing to rest a little after our labours. Altogether we had the time of our lives. Everybody went out of their way to make our stay pleasant. I saw a good deal of Arrhenius who wished to be remembered to Cox¹⁹ - so transfer this wish to him.

"Dr" Newton²⁰ (he is just through) is now staying with us & sends his kind regards.

Thanks very much for your kind congratulations. I hope my McGill friends are not too surprised at my sudden transformation into a chemist. I must confess to considerable surprise myself. I am glad to hear of your work & hope you will manage to clear up the outstanding difficulties of the ionization and radioactivity of the atmosphere.

We are going to rest here over Xmas. With best wishes to yourself and Mrs. Eve from my wife and I for a happy & successful New Year.

Yours ever

E. Rutherford

R-6 Notes

1. The Cavendish Laboratory in Cambridge University, (founded in 1891). Rutherford was a graduate student in the Cavendish from 1895 to 1898 and returned as Director in 1919.
2. Sir Joseph John Thomson (1856-1940), English physicist. Director of the Cavendish Lab from 1894 to 1919. He measured the ratio of charge to mass of the 'cathode rays' produced in a discharge tube and identified these rays with the hypothetical unit of negative electric charge, for which the name *electron* had earlier been suggested by G. J. Stoney. Thomson received a Nobel Prize in physics (1906) for his investigations of the conduction of electricity through gases. Thomson introduced Rutherford to the study of α -rays in 1896 and radioactivity in 1897, and recommended him for the post at McGill which Rutherford took up in 1898. Thomson was affectionately called 'J. J.' by his colleagues and students.
3. Most of Rutherford's early work on radioactivity involved the study of α -rays, which consist of streams of heavy, positively-charged particles, known by this time to be charged atoms of helium. The "special song," written by Alfred A. Robb, is reproduced in the Rutherford/Boltwood correspondence (Introduction, note 12), pp. 206-207.
4. Harwich, on the east coast of England, and Hook of Holland in the Netherlands, were (and remain) the terminals for one of the main ferry-boat services between England and the Continent, especially for travel to Holland, Germany and Scandinavia.
5. Thursday, December 10, 1908.
6. Svante Arrhenius (1859-1927), Swedish chemist and physicist. In 1903 Arrhenius received the Nobel Prize in chemistry for his work on the dissociation of solute molecules in electrolytic solutions, and in 1905 was appointed Director of the Physical Chemistry Department of the Nobel Institute in Stockholm.
7. The official record gives the names of four princes present at the Nobel ceremony but does not identify them further. I am unable to identify the 'two princes' referred to by Rutherford.
8. Princess Mary, wife of the future King George V. (The term 'Crown Princess' is applied in Europe to the wife of the Heir to the Throne, but is not usually used in Britain. No doubt Rutherford borrowed the term used by his Swedish hosts.)

9. Erich Regener (1881-1955), German physicist. He developed the scintillation method of studying particles (first used by Rutherford and Geiger) into a practical and accurate research technique, and made (1909) the first accurate determination of the charge on the electron.

10. Willy Marckwald, Professor of Chemistry in Berlin at Fischer's Institute. Marckwald worked extensively in the field of radioactivity.

11. Hermann Nernst (1864-1941), German physical chemist. Appointed Professor of Chemistry in Berlin in 1905 and developed the Nernst Heat Theorem, also known as the "3rd Law of Thermodynamics," in 1906. Received the Nobel Prize in chemistry in 1920 for his work in chemical thermodynamics.

12. Emil Fischer (1852-1919), German chemist. Appointed Professor of Chemistry at Berlin in 1892 and received the Nobel Prize in chemistry in 1902 for his work on the synthesis of sugars and purines. He laid the chemical foundations of biochemistry.

13. Otto Hahn: see R-5, note 5.

14. "Reichanstalt" is a mis-spelling for Reichsanstalt, specifically the Physikalisch-Technische Reichsanstalt (State Institute for Physical and Technical Research), in Berlin-Charlottenburg, one of several state research institutes in Germany.

15. Emil Warburg (1846-1931), German physicist. Professor of Experimental Physics in Berlin, 1895-1905 and President of the Physikalisch-Technische Reichsanstalt from 1905. His main work was on the kinetic theory of gases.

16. Heinrich Rubens (1865-1922), German physicist. In 1906 he was appointed Professor of Experimental Physics in Berlin and Director of the Konigliche Physikalische Institut (Royal Institute of Physics). His main work was in the exploration of the far infra-red region of the electromagnetic spectrum.

17. Hendrik Lorentz (1853-1928), Dutch physicist. Professor of Physics at Leiden, 1877-1912. He made major contributions to theoretical physics and shared the Nobel Prize in physics in 1902 for investigations on the influence of magnetism on radiation phenomena.

18. Heike Kamerlingh Onnes (1853-1926), Dutch physicist. As Professor of Physics and Director of the Laboratory at Leiden, 1882-1924, he made Leiden the world centre for low-temperature physics. He succeeded in liquefying helium in 1908 and was awarded a Nobel Prize in physics in 1913 for his investigations of the properties of matter at low temperatures.

19. John Cox: See E-6.

20. Charles Newton, Rutherford's brother-in-law (see R-3, note 8.)

R-7

17 Wilmslow Road
Withington
Manchester
Dec 27, 1908

Dear Eve

Congratulations to you both on your α -particle (He).¹ You keep up with the times. May he turn into a Nobel man in the days to come.

We are having a quiet Xmas. With best wishes to you both from my wife and myself.

Yours ever

E Rutherford

Note added at top of page

I was so tired of writing I addressed this to Montreal, Manchester!!
ER

R-7 Note

1. The reference is to the birth of a son, Richard, to Professor and Mrs. Eve - their second child but first son. Rutherford referred to the sex of the child by punning on the chemical symbol for helium, He, since the α -particle (which was a focus of Rutherford's investigations) had been shown to be identical with the helium atom.

Acknowledgements

I am grateful to Prof. Ferdinand Terroux, the first Curator of the Rutherford Museum at McGill University, for drawing my attention to the existence of the letters discussed in this article; to Mr. A. E. B. Owen, Keeper of Manuscripts at Cambridge University Library, for supplying photocopies of the letters from Eve to Rutherford and to the Syndics of Cambridge University Library for granting permission to quote from these letters; and to Dr. Robert Michel, of the McGill University Archives, for help in locating material. Finally, I wish to thank Professors Leo Yaffe and William Shea for reading the manuscript of this article and making helpful suggestions.

A History and Description of the Burney Project

by

Lars Troide

Dr. Charles Burney (1726-1814) emerged from provincial obscurity to become 18th century England's most noted music historian. His daughter Fanny (1752-1840) also became famous as the author of novels which would later influence the works of Jane Austen. Both figures left behind voluminous memoirs, journals and letters which are being edited for publication by the scholars of McGill's Burney Project. The current Director, Professor Lars Troide, describes the Project's history to date and its present status.

Charles Burney (1726-1814), sorti d'un obscur milieu provincial, devint le plus grand historien de la musique que l'Angleterre connut au XVIII^e siècle. Sa fille Fanny (1752-1840) connut également la notoriété grâce à des romans qui devaient par la suite influencer l'oeuvre de Jane Austen. Tous deux ont laissé de volumineux mémoires, des journaux intimes et des lettres dont les responsable du projet Burney de McGill préparent une édition. L'actuel directeur, le Pr Lars Troide, décrit l'historique du projet jusqu'à ce jour et sa situation actuelle.

* * * * *

The "Burney Project," as it has come to be called over the years, is an internationally known editorial enterprise currently housed in the "Burney Room" on the McTavish Street level of the Redpath Library Building. Both names, the products of custom, are somewhat misleading. The Burney Room is in fact a large working space with two inner offices. One office is the headquarters of ongoing work on the memoirs and letters of the 18th-century music historian, Dr. Charles Burney. The other is headquarters of another, related project, a critical edition of the journals and letters of Fanny Burney (Figure 4), Dr. Burney's daughter and a well-known novelist.

The careers of both these figures are good examples of upward social mobility in 18th-century England.¹ Charles Burney was born in Shrewsbury in 1726, one of the many offspring of James MacBurney, a minor actor and artist. Early displaying strong musical talents, he came to London in 1744 as apprentice to Thomas Arne, composer of the famous "Rule Britannia." Burney performed there as a violinist in the Drury Lane Theatre orchestra and also made at this time the acquaintance of George Frideric Handel, of whom he would later record many valuable anecdotes. He also became acquainted with Fulke Greville, a wealthy aristocrat, who was so charmed with Burney's talents and by his engaging personality that he bought up the remainder of Burney's indenture to Arne and admitted him to his entourage as a full-time musical companion. As Greville's companion in London and Wiltshire, Burney widened significantly the range of his contacts with important and influential social and artistic figures.

In June 1749 Burney married Esther Sleepe, the 23-year-old daughter of a sometime leader of the Lord Mayor's Band. The wedding ceremony was arranged and concluded with some haste, since their first child, Esther, was



Fig. 4. Fanny Burney, 1782, from a painting by her cousin, Edward F. Burney. Frontispiece in *Diary and Letters of Mme. D'Arblay*, London, Macmillan, 1904, vol. 1.

A History and Description of the Burney Project

baptised on the same day as the wedding! In 1751 Burney was forced, for reasons of health, to flee with his young family from the smoky air of London. Released from his service to Greville, he settled in King's Lynn, in Norfolk, where he became organist of St. Margaret's Church and built up a clientele of young music students, children of the Lynn elite. He also charmed his way into the Houghton circle of George Walpole, 3rd Earl of Orford, grandson of the late great prime minister, Sir Robert Walpole.

By 1760 Burney's health had mended enough so that he was able to return to London with his still-growing family. The Burneys settled in Poland Street, then a fashionable neighborhood. Charles built up a new group of students and also instructed the girls at Mrs. Sheeles' Academy in Queen Square. In 1762 he was devastated by the death of his wife, Esther, but within a few years remarried, this time to Mrs. Elizabeth Allen, widow of a wealthy Lynn merchant and an old friend of the family.

For all his devotion to music Burney had long desired to make a name for himself as a man of letters, a distinct step upward on the social ladder. About 1753 he began amassing materials for a comprehensive history of music, ancient and modern, the work that would, he hoped, make his reputation. Along the way he decided it would be useful, both socially and professionally, to obtain a doctor's degree. As a result he arranged to receive a doctorate in music from Oxford University, a degree conferred upon him in June 1769 after the composition and successful performance of a lengthy and complicated anthem. Henceforth and to this day he would be known to the world as "Dr." Burney.

Fame came to Dr. Burney somewhat earlier than he had anticipated. In 1770 and 1772 he undertook tours of the European continent to meet prominent composers there and to gather further materials for his projected history. He kept journals of both trips, publishing them in 1771 and 1773. The first of these publications, on his tour of France and Italy (*The Present State of Music in France and Italy*), met with limited interest because of its confinement to purely musical matters. But his second book (*The Present State of Music in Germany, the Netherlands, and United Provinces*, 2 vols.), in which he retained his well-written and lively accounts of non-musical matters, found a much wider readership and met with the enthusiastic approval of no less a critic than Dr. Samuel Johnson who, shortly after, modelled his *Journey to the Western Islands of Scotland* on it. The notice of the famous Dr. Johnson was enough to insure instant renown to Burney, who became Johnson's close friend and who was soon included in the leading literary circles of the day. The publication in 1776 of the first volume of his authoritative *General History of Music* cemented his reputation. (The fourth and final volume appeared in 1789.)

After his first child, Esther (who became a talented harpsichordist), Dr. Burney would have five more children by his first wife and two by his second (not counting several infant mortalities). The third of his surviving offspring, Frances, better known in our century as Fanny, was born in Lynn on the 13th of June 1752. Fulke Greville's wife, Frances, stood as godmother. As a young child Fanny was characterized by an extreme shyness and even seemed a little backward to her family. In reality, though, she had a keen intelligence and early became an acute observer of the people around

her. She was also a born writer and in 1768 began putting down her observations in a remarkably precocious and literate journal (she was not yet 16). At first written for herself and addressed to "Miss Nobody," her journals soon became known to the family and later were passed around to friends of the family who relished Fanny's lively and perceptive accounts of the people who visited the Burneys in London or whom she met on her excursions elsewhere. After a few years Fanny's journals became journal-letters, addressed mostly to her favorite younger sister, Susan.

By the age of 15 Fanny had already written a novel, *The History of Caroline Evelyn*, which she dutifully consigned to the flames with all her other early writings (poems, plays, even an epic!) because of the stigma attached to women-writers in the 18th century. The urge to write a novel, however, still proved stronger than the fear of social disapproval. The sequel to *Caroline Evelyn*, about Caroline's daughter, gestated for the next decade in Fanny's mind. Finally, in 1776, with a third of the novel actually written (in secret), Fanny summoned the courage to approach a publisher, which she did anonymously through the mediation of her brother Charles and later her cousin Edward. Her first choice, James Dodsley, refused to consider an anonymous work. The second man approached, however, Thomas Lowndes, did agree to read it, and eventually offered her the niggardly sum of 20 pounds for the finished novel. Fanny, initially offended by the amount, finally capitulated, and *Evelina: or, a Young Lady's Entrance into Life* appeared in January 1778.

Evelina was, in effect, a new kind of novel, a "domestic comedy of manners." This sub-genre would later find its highest expression in the novels of Jane Austen, whose reputation would largely eclipse Fanny's but who owes a direct debt to her predecessor. Fanny's novel became, virtually, an overnight sensation. Readers were enthralled by Fanny's uncanny ear for realistic dialogue and by her ability to capture "types" of character (for example, the crude sailor in Capt. Mirvan or the rakish, devious aristocrat in Sir Clement Willoughby). They loved the uplifting moral messages that Fanny was at pains to embed throughout the narrative. Edmund Burke claimed to have started the novel placed on the mantel-piece of his fireplace and to have stood there reading through the whole night. His enthusiasm was matched throughout London. Everywhere people clamored to know the identity of the author of *Evelina*.

Whereas Dr. Burney had always been unequivocal in his search for fame, Fanny's reaction to celebrity was a mixture of elation and terror: elation that the world approved her book, and terror that it now wanted to place its spotlight on *her*. Inevitably her authorship, at first known only to Susan, Charles, and Edward, was revealed to the rest of her family and to the world at large. To her delight and chagrin Fanny, like her father before her, now found herself sought after by bluestocking hostesses such as Elizabeth Montagu and Elizabeth Vesey. Barely noticed, if noticed at all, by Dr. Johnson on his previous visits to the Burney household, she was now befriended by the great man and praised by him in company to the point of acute embarrassment. Besides admiring her literary gifts, Dr. Johnson seems to have taken a genuine, avuncular liking to the shy Miss Burney, a feeling warmly reciprocated. During the week Johnson habitually stayed with his friends the Thrales at Streatham Place outside of town and Fanny became a

regular visitor there and a close friend of Mrs. Thrale. Relaxing at Streatham, Johnson showed the sportive, playful side of his personality (a side seldom if ever seen by Boswell). This amiable aspect of Johnson Fanny captures inimitably in her journals of that period.

The remaining events of Fanny's life can be summarized briefly. In 1782 she published a second novel, *Cecilia*, also well received by critics and the public. From 1786 to 1791 she was Second Keeper of the Robes to Queen Charlotte, consort of George III, a position which she hated and eventually escaped to keep her health. In 1793, despite her strong anglophilia and Church of England faith she married a handsome and placid French Catholic emigré, General Alexandre d'Arblay, who had fled the Revolution. In 1794 an only child, Alexander, was born. He eventually became a divine and predeceased her. Sales of a third novel, *Camilla* (to which Jane Austen was one of the many subscribers), published in 1796, enabled the d'Arblays to build a country dwelling, *Camilla Cottage*. From 1802 to 1812 the d'Arblays were trapped in France by the Napoleonic Wars. After their return to England Fanny published a last novel, *The Wanderer*, in 1814 (which, though not greeted favorably like her earlier efforts, is receiving increasing critical attention in our day). General d'Arblay died in 1818. Fanny survived him by two decades, occasionally visited by literary figures such as Sir Walter Scott who tended to view her as a relic of another age. She finally died in January 1840, at the age of 87.

Dr. Burney had died in 1814, aged 88. For the last three decades of his life he had been organist of Chelsea Hospital, where he took up permanent residence in 1789. At his death he left behind a voluminous correspondence and memoirs, which it fell to the lot of Fanny to sift through for possible publication. Fanny spent the last 20 years of her life largely going through her own journals and the papers of her family with an eye to posterity. In 1832 she published her last work, *The Memoirs of Doctor Burney*, which is mostly her own narrative interspersed with carefully selected excerpts from Dr. Burney's manuscript memoirs. At her death she bequeathed her own journals and correspondence to her niece, Mrs. Charlotte Barrett, and her father's papers to her nephew, Charles Parr Burney. Mrs. Barrett published an incomplete edition of her aunt's journals and letters in the 1840s (reprinted with notes by Austin Dobson in 1904-5). Mrs. Annie Raine Ellis published the *Early Diary* (of 1768-77) in 1889 (reprinted three times subsequently). Except for some items in the *Memoirs* and occasional pieces in scholarly books and journals, the letters of Dr. Burney have never been published.

Dr. Burney's letters and other papers, bequeathed to Charles Parr Burney, remained in that branch of the family until 1953 when they were released on the market along with other Burney family material that had accrued over the years. The letters (and the rest of the material) were purchased by the American collector James Marshall Osborn and are now in the Osborn Collection in the Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscripts Library, Yale University. Fanny's journals and letters descended through Mrs. Barrett to the Wauchope family. In 1924 a large part of the Wauchope manuscripts was purchased by the American lawyer and industrialist Owen Young, who later transferred them to the Berg Collection in the New York Public Library. The residue of the Wauchope cache remained in the possession of Miss Ann

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Julia Wauchope (1866-1962), who in 1952 authorized its transfer to the British Library.

Enter Joyce Hemlow, the architect of modern Burney studies and founder of the McGill Burney Project. Dr. Hemlow, a native of Nova Scotia who received her undergraduate education at Queen's University, became interested in Fanny Burney while a graduate student at Harvard in the late 1940s. Under the direction of the eminent Pope scholar George Sherburn she wrote her dissertation on *Fanny Burney and the Courtesy Books*. In the meantime the Burney materials in the Berg Collection had become available to scholars. After she came to the McGill English Department in 1948 the Osborn materials surfaced. In addition, Dr. Hemlow was the prime mover in the uncovering of the papers possessed by Miss Wauchope, who responded to a query sent out by Hemlow in 1951 to descendants of the Burney and Barrett families. It was Joyce Hemlow whom Miss Wauchope entrusted with arranging the transfer of the Wauchope materials to the British Library. Equipped with a mass of manuscript materials never before available, Dr. Hemlow now embarked on the writing of a badly needed scholarly biography of Fanny Burney. Dr. Hemlow's work, *The History of Fanny Burney*, was published by the Clarendon Press of Oxford University in 1958. It met with great critical acclaim, winning, among other honors, the James Tait Black Memorial Prize in Britain and, in Canada, the Governor-General's Award for Biography.

It is appropriate that Fanny Burney was a friend of Frances Bowdler, sister of the Thomas Bowdler of "bowdlerizing" fame (or infamy). For Dr. Hemlow's examination of the Burney papers revealed the pains the elderly Fanny had taken to destroy or otherwise suppress "offensive" materials. Fanny was concerned not so much with "indecencies" (though they are there) as with suppressing materials that might portray the Burneys in an unfavorable light or cause offence to the families of other people mentioned. Dr. Burney had begun this process of destruction when, after his second wife's death in 1796, he burned all his correspondence with her. Also fed to the flames were most of the letters of his early patron Fulke Greville, with whom he eventually had suffered a permanent breach. After Dr. Burney's death Fanny went through her own journals as well and destroyed large portions. For example, her journals of 1768 to 1777 amount to some 800 manuscript pages, but (judging by remaining stubs and other evidence) probably at least another 400 pages were burned. In addition, about 20% of the surviving text has been laboriously crossed out, line by line, with heavy black ink.

Fanny's ghost would no doubt be horrified to discover that 95% of these lines, which she thought she had obliterated, have now been deciphered after long, painful scrutiny under a magnifying glass and a strong light. To be sure, these recovered lines indicate that her intentions were not simply of the whitewashing variety. In some cases she merely tried to get rid of material she thought might be boring or repetitious to future readers (such as accounts of business details relating to her books or of concerts attended in London). But in many instances skeletons come rattling out of closets. For instance, a suppressed paragraph reveals that in 1770 Fanny's stepsister Maria Allen was jilted by her suitor Martin Rishton. This fact might seem inconsequential since Rishton later made up with Maria and romantically eloped with her to Ypres. Fanny, however, was unable to bring

herself to destroy Maria's letters to her, since Fanny loved her stepsister, and the letters of 1798 reveal that Rishton had been carrying on a lengthy affair (20 years long, in fact) with Maria's erstwhile best friend Mrs. Dorothy (Dolly) Hogg, whose name, with one accidental exception, is entirely suppressed from Fanny's journals. Rishton's early jilt takes on a new significance in the light of his later philandering.

The consequences for biography of this kind of cloaking are obvious. An example is G. E. Manwaring's biography of Fanny's elder brother James Burney, published in 1931 under the title *My Friend the Admiral: The Life, Letters, and Journals of Rear-Admiral James Burney, F.R.S.* The main title is in fact a quotation from Charles Lamb, whom Burney befriended in his later years. Fanny herself was very proud of referring to him as "my brother, Admiral Burney." This is in spite of the fact that Burney didn't receive his promotion to Rear-Admiral until in his 72nd year, only four months before his death. And despite the fact that he hadn't been allowed an active command in the navy since 1785, 36 years before his demise (this during the period of the Napoleonic Wars!). Manwaring, handicapped by a lack of evidence, fails to address the issue of this forced inactivity, merely dismissing it as an "enigma" (234). Suppressed passages in Fanny's journals, however, and a closer examination of Admiralty records reveal that James Burney had a history of insubordination culminating in his failure to obey a superior's orders while convoying a fleet of merchant vessels to the East Indies in 1782. Small wonder, then, that he was eased out of active service in 1785 and never trusted again with a command. Other suppressed passages and newly surfaced letters in the Burney Papers disclose that as a young officer with Captain Cook James Burney had (not so surprisingly) a "Piece" in Tahiti (letter of Samuel Crisp to Fanny Burney, 22 Aug. 1775, British Library), and, far more damningly to a proto-Victorian like Fanny, that in 1797, though married with two children, he succumbed to an incestuous impulse and ran off with his half-sister Sarah Harriet Burney. (He returned five years later to his wife, who is scarcely dealt with in Manwaring's book.) In the light of these subsequent revelations of Burney's character, Manwaring's biography of "the Admiral", though fairly well-researched, becomes little better than hagiography.

Long before concluding her biography of Fanny, it had therefore become evident to Dr. Hemlow that, for a number of major reasons, a new edition of Fanny's journals and letters was called for. Not only was Mrs. Barrett's seven-volume edition of 1842-6 (*Diary and Letters of Madame d'Arblay*) grossly incomplete, containing, conservatively, less than a third of the extant material, but the depredations by both Fanny and Mrs. Barrett on the surviving text needed to be rectified. (Added to Fanny's obliterations and revisions were Mrs. Barrett's shuffling of the papers out of proper chronological order and her attacks with scissors and glue-pot, whereby she sometimes cut up three different letters and combined parts thereof into a "new" one!) Even Mrs. Ellis's relatively admirable edition of the earliest years was marred by her failure to decipher the 4,000 obliterated lines in the manuscripts. A new edition was needed of (as far as possible) Fanny's *original* text, complete and unexpurgated, with modern, full annotations. (Mrs. Ellis's annotations are full in their way but woefully digressive and inaccurate. Mrs. Barrett's notes are cursory, at best, and little improved on by Dobson.)

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After the publication of her biography, then, Dr. Hemlow began the long and arduous task of preparing the new edition. The University fathers, recognizing her achievement as Fanny's biographer and the importance of the enterprise, gave her as working space the huge octagonal room in Morrice Hall (formerly the reading room of the Presbyterian College). Here she was joined in her labors by colleagues and students from the English Department. (Early colleagues who helped with the Project include Professors Curt Cecil and the recently retired Archie Malloch.) The Department also granted her funds to hire a project secretary, and so she was joined by Mrs. Patricia Hawkins, who would loyally serve as her secretary and editorial assistant for over 20 years.

A major task at the outset was to track down all the surviving correspondence of the Burney family that was not in the three major Burney collections. Casting her net as widely as possible, Dr. Hemlow dispatched queries to some 3,000 libraries and archives around the world. Eventually letters or groups of letters turned up in a hundred collections, public and private, from geographically as far away as Sydney, Australia. The results of her search were published in 1971 by the New York Public Library and the McGill-Queen's University Press as *A Catalogue of the Burney Family Correspondence 1749-1878*, by Joyce Hemlow with Jeanne M. Burgess and Althea Douglas. Listing some 10,000 letters, the catalogue begins with a note (now at Harvard) to Dr. Burney from the poet Christopher Smart, dated 29 July 1749, and concludes with a letter in the Osborn Collection of 24 April 1878 by Mrs. Barrett's son Richard Arthur Francis Barrett. Besides the letters of four generations of Burneys, there are letters by over a thousand people who wrote to them. But the largest correspondences by far are those of Dr. Burney and of Fanny Burney. (Since 1971 additional letters have continued to surface, most recently from a private owner in New York City.)²

A concurrent, major task was to obtain copies of the correspondences of Dr. Burney and of Fanny, to be used for the editing work at McGill. The result is to be found in the Burney Room's fireproof safe, containing over 120 microfilm reels, and in several filing cabinets filled with photocopies. Additional letters had to be transcribed on the spot, since filming was not permitted in certain collections. Letters on film or photocopy then were transcribed in the Burney Room by a succession of typists. Transcription of the 10,000 manuscript pages of Fanny Burney's journals and letters, begun in the early 1960s, was not finally completed until 1983 (see below).

At the outset Dr. Hemlow was faced with the same dilemma that had confronted Mrs. Barrett over a century earlier: how to contend with the sheer magnitude of Fanny's journals. Mrs. Barrett's publisher, Henry Colburn, had quickly made it clear that it would be impossible to publish them all. As a result, Mrs. Barrett skipped over the first ten years (1768-77), beginning her edition with the publication of *Evelina* in 1778. She also chose to concentrate on the period up to 1791 (which includes the so-called "Streatham years" and the years of Fanny's service at Court), besides choosing selectively from that period. Thus she was able to limit her edition to seven volumes, with approximately five devoted to the years of Fanny's greatest fame, when the astonishing success of *Evelina* was still a recent memory.

Given the existence of Mrs. Ellis's edition of the decade 1768-77 and the paucity of space allotted by Mrs. Barrett to the years after 1791, Dr. Hemlow decided to begin her new edition with Fanny's exit from Court in 1791. Thus her edition covers in effect roughly the latter half of Fanny's life, from 1791 to 1840, the years of her marriage to General d'Arblay and of her widowhood. Fanny's constant devotion to her journal-writing is evidenced by the fact that the 10,000 surviving manuscript pages of her journals divide almost equally between the periods 1768-91 and 1791-1840. Starting as she was, therefore, in 1791, Dr. Hemlow initially set her typists the task of transcribing the 5,000 pages of the later period. Their work was considerably slowed down, of course, because of the need to examine concurrently the original manuscripts in order to decipher obliterations and to undo the cutting and pasting work of Mrs. Barrett (accomplished by "float-off" operations in the New York Public Library and the British Library, for a fuller discussion of which see below). Dr. Hemlow also undertook the annotation of the journals, necessitating frequent and lengthy trips to libraries, record offices and archives in the United States and England, where she consulted manuscript materials as well as unique or rare book sources. Work was also necessary in France because of the years Fanny spent there.

Dr. Hemlow's edition of *The Journals and Letters of Fanny Burney (Madame d'Arblay), 1791-1840* began to appear in 1972 with the publication by Clarendon of the first two-volume installment. Like her biography of Fanny, these volumes were greeted with the highest critical praise. Reviewers such as C. P. Snow and Malcolm Muggeridge were "enthralled"³ by the unfolding narrative of Fanny's journals and deeply impressed by the editor's job of restoration and the thoroughness and accuracy of her annotations. Ten more volumes were to follow, some edited by Dr. Hemlow with or without assistance and others by outside scholars whom she had enlisted, including Professors Edward and Lillian Bloom of Brown University and Providence College, Professor Peter Hughes of the University of Zurich, and Mr. Warren Derry, biographer of the classicist Samuel Parr (*Dr. Parr: Portrait of the Whig Dr. Johnson*, Clarendon Press, 1966). The final two volumes, closing out Fanny's life, appeared in 1984, to the same favorable response that had greeted all their predecessors.

In 1972 Professor Slava Klima, Dr. Hemlow's colleague in the McGill English Department and editor of Joseph Spence's *Letters from the Grand Tour* (published by McGill-Queen's in 1975), was invited to join the Project for the purpose of editing the letters of Dr. Burney. Arguably the last major unpublished correspondence of the 18th-century, Dr. Burney's contains a wealth of information about contemporary composers and musicians, besides revealing important aspects of his musical thought not found elsewhere. His letters also afford a major gloss on the genesis of his magnum opus, the *General History of Music*, which remains to this day perhaps the single most important source for music historians of the 18th century. The informal letters he penned to family and friends are written in a lively and entertaining style, punctuated by wit and sallies of imagination. Publication of all the letters has been long overdue.

In 1975 Professor Klima, who as a graduate student at Yale had worked with James Osborn, was joined in his efforts by Alvaro Ribeiro, a doctoral candidate at Oxford who was also an alumnus of the Osborn Collection. Mr.

Ribeiro undertook to edit the earliest letters, of 1749 to 1784. His edition was presented as his dissertation at Oxford, which conferred on him the degree of D.Phil. in 1980. His advisor there was Roger Lonsdale, yet another protégé of Mr. Osborn and author of *Dr. Charles Burney: A Literary Biography* (Clarendon Press, 1965). In the meantime Dr. Klima continued his redaction of the remainder of the letters, from 1784 to Dr. Burney's death in 1814, a task which he is still engaged in. The first volume of the letters, revised from his thesis by Dr. Ribeiro, is scheduled to be published by Oxford this year, with the remaining four or five volumes to follow in due course. A concurrent project, now nearing completion, is an edition of *The Memoirs of Dr. Charles Burney* up to 1769, reconstituted from the autograph fragments left by Fanny and now scattered among the Berg and Osborn Collections and the British Library. This volume, edited by Dr. Klima, Gary Bowers (formerly a McGill Ph.D. candidate), and Dr. Kerry Grant, currently Director of the School of Music at the University of Nebraska, is due to be published by Nebraska, also in 1988.

As work progressed on the 12-volume edition of Fanny's later journals, it became evident to Dr. Hemlow (who "officially" retired from McGill in 1975, though she stayed on in the Burney Room to see her volumes to their conclusion) that another hand would be needed to edit the early years. Accordingly, I was offered an appointment in the English Department in 1976, with the understanding that I would undertake the editing of the 5,000 manuscript pages of 1768 to 1791. This opportunity was given to me because of my background as co-editor of volumes 37-9 of *The Yale Edition of Horace Walpole's Correspondence*, 48 Vols., general editor W. S. Lewis (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1937-83), my volumes having appeared in 1974. I had also edited Walpole's last literary notebook, which I presented as my dissertation at Yale (and which was published by the Yale University Press in 1978 as *Horace Walpole's Miscellany, 1786-1795*). Aided from 1978 by generous annual grants from the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council, I began the transcription and editing of the journals of 1768 to 1791, employing a succession of McGill graduate students as my assistants.

Before this could be started, however, it was first necessary to perform yet another "float-off" operation on the manuscripts in the Berg Collection in New York. As mentioned in passing earlier, this operation had previously been performed on the Burney manuscripts in the British Library and the Berg, but the Berg operation had been limited to the journals from 1791 onwards. This time around, it was necessary to repair the damage inflicted by Mrs. Barrett on the earlier journals in the Berg, from 1768 to 1791. The operation, as its name suggests, involves literally the soaking of manuscript leaves in pans of tepid water until the pieces of paper pasted on them "float off." The leaves and "paste-overs" are then allowed to dry, and microfilmed for later transcription.⁴ The latest (and last) operation was performed by Mrs. Althea Douglas in February and March of 1979. In the 2,500 leaves or 5,000 pages of 1768-91 there were over a thousand paste-overs on some 500 leaves. The paste-overs thus removed consist mostly either of blank pieces of paper used by Mrs. Barrett to cover the text beneath, or of fragments of leaves (usually with writing on both sides) transposed from other places in the run of manuscripts. Once the manuscripts had been floated for this final time, it was at last possible to finish the job of transcribing all the extant text of Fanny's journals. My assistants finished their work in 1983.

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Even with all the pasted-over leaves floated, however, there still remained, in this first phase of my work, the chore of deciphering the 4,000 lines Fanny had attempted to obliterate in the journals of 1768 to 1777. Fanny's "oblits" had proven stubbornly opaque to the methods of modern science, including the use of infrared light and even nuclear activation autoradiography, attempted unsuccessfully on a letter by Fanny in the Osborn which was sent to the Brookhaven Laboratory on Long Island in 1980.⁵ Fortunately, timely help arrived in the person of Dr. James Neil Waddell who had written his dissertation at the University of Leicester on "The Language of Fanny Burney" and who now volunteered to decipher Fanny's oblits. Armed with a magnifying glass, a strong light, and his knowledge of Fanny's idiom, Dr. Waddell was able, over a period of a month, to recover an astounding 95% of the obliterated lines, restoring the 20% of the surviving text of 1768-77 that had been rendered illegible. (The deciphered obliterations amount to perhaps a hundred published pages). As noted above, these recovered passages contain much valuable material that had been effectively "lost" for over 150 years.

In the meantime I had begun my annotations of the early journals. This work necessitated several trips a year to Yale and the New York Public Library to examine the manuscripts there and books not available at McGill. In addition, between 1980 and 1983 I spent a total of four months in England consulting materials in the British and Bodleian Libraries and in numerous other record offices and archives in London and the provinces. My work during this time was greatly facilitated by a Fellowship from the National Endowment for the Humanities in Washington, D. C., which gave me a year off from my teaching duties (in 1981-2). As a result I was able virtually to complete my researches on the journals of 1768 to 1777. The first volume of *The Early Journals and Letters of Fanny Burney*, covering 1768 to 1773, was co-published this year by the Clarendon and the McGill-Queen's Presses. Volume two (1774-77) should follow in 1989.

It is impossible to say with any certainty how many years it will take to complete my edition. There should ultimately be 12 volumes in all, creating an exact symmetry with Dr. Hemlow's (which I substantially follow in style and apparatus). To speed up the process I have enlisted the aid of outside scholars in Canada, the United States, and England who will edit some of the later volumes. The Burney Project (which in 1981 was moved to its present spacious quarters in the Redpath Library Building) has now also entered the computer age, with a pair of PCs joining the sturdy old Recordak microfilm readers that have served us for over 20 years. My hope (not prediction) is that the final volume will be published by the year 2000.

Dr. Hemlow, her edition of the later *Journals* finally completed, retired to Halifax several years ago, but still returns on occasion to visit the Project. Her long-time secretary, Mrs. Hawkins, died in 1986. Currently the work force in the Burney Room consists of myself, Dr. Klima, and my assistants Stewart Cooke, Elsie Wagner, and Andrew Miller. Mr. Cooke and Mr. Miller are both Ph.D. candidates in the McGill English Department. Their presence confirms the ongoing pedagogical value of the Project, which has served as a training ground in 18th-century editorial scholarship for a long succession of McGill students. The Project is also periodically visited by students and scholars from other institutions, who come to utilize its valuable

research materials. Eminent visitors in recent years have included the noted music scholar and conductor Christopher Hogwood, and the 18th-century literary critic and scholar W. B. Carnochan.

Major holdings in the Burney Room include virtually complete microfilm runs of the Burney family manuscripts in the Berg and Osborn Collections and the British Library, and photocopies or microfilms of all the correspondence of Dr. Burney and of Fanny Burney. In addition, there are filing cabinets filled with information gleaned from almost forty years of hunts through wills, parish registers and other unique archival materials, as well as notes, quotations and other data taken from rare published works in the Bodleian and other major research libraries in Britain and the United States. The books in the Burney Room are a mixture of items owned by Dr. Klima and myself and works on loan from the McLennan Library, McGill's research library for the humanities and social sciences. Items in the first category worth mentioning include my complete set of the *Gentleman's Magazine* from 1731 to 1846 (180 volumes) and Dr. Klima's first-edition copies of Dr. Burney's journals of his tours. Works on loan from the McLennan include a complete run of *The Annual Register* from 1758 to 1853, early editions of various peerages (Burke, Debrett, Cokayne), lists of the alumni of Oxford, Cambridge, Eton and Westminster, numerous biographies of 18th-century figures, editions of the letters or correspondences of Swift, Pope, Johnson, Burke, Gibbon and others, an original set of Rees's *Cyclopaedia* (to which Dr. Burney contributed the musical articles), and many other books on virtually all aspects of 18th-century life and culture.

The Project's resources are open to all serious scholars and graduate students and, in general, may be consulted on weekdays between the hours of 10 and 5. As suggested above, they should prove useful to anyone interested in the 18th century (as well as the early 19th century), but will be of particular value to students of 18th-century social, musical and literary history, and, more specifically still, to people wanting to learn more about the Burneys and their circle, which included so many of the major figures of their time. The continuing vitality of the Project is a tribute to the pioneering work of Dr. Joyce Hemlow, Professor Emerita of English Literature at McGill, to whom all students of the 18th century will forever owe a debt.

Notes

1. Biographical information for this article is taken from unpublished research in the Burney Room and from the following published works: Joyce Hemlow, *The History of Fanny Burney* (Oxford, 1958); *The Journals and Letters of Fanny Burney (Madame d'Arblay), 1791-1840*, 12 Vols., ed. Joyce Hemlow and others (Oxford, 1972-84); Roger Lonsdale, *Dr Charles Burney: A Literary Biography* (Oxford, 1965); G. E. Manwaring, *My Friend the Admiral: The Life, Letters, and Journals of Rear-Admiral James Burney, F.R.S.* (London, 1931); Percy A. Scholes, *The Great Dr Burney*, 2 vols., (London, 1948).

2. Fanny Burney to Mrs. Thrale, 9 Sept. 1780. This letter is not included in Margaret M. Smith's article on Burney in her *Index of English Literary Manuscripts Volume III 1700-1800 Part I* (New York and London: Mansell,

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1986), pp. 79-82, which updates the *Catalogue*.

3. The term is Muggeridge's. See his review in *The Observer*, 23 April 1972.
4. This procedure was specifically devised for the Burney manuscripts, and as far as I know it has never been used on any other set of manuscripts. It is feasible only with good-quality rag paper and ink.
5. The latter procedure consists of rendering the manuscript slightly radioactive, and then making a series of photographic exposures of it. It was hoped, in vain, that the inks used by the young and old Fanny would have different half-lives, thus making it possible to separate images of the original writing from the later cross-overs.

The Peter Redpath Museum, An Architectural Analysis

by

Rhodri W. Liscombe

The Redpath Museum enjoys the distinction of having been one of the first Canadian buildings singled out for praise in the international architectural literature. Commissioned in 1880 by that notable benefactor of McGill, Peter Redpath, and marking the 25th anniversary of Sir William Dawson's appointment as Principal, the Museum was designed by A. C. Hutchison and A. D. Steele. They conceived an idiosyncratic expression of eclectic Victorian Classicism, synthesizing ancient and modern as well as European and North American sources to dignify the campus and express the significance of its purpose.

Le musée Redpath a l'honneur insigne d'avoir été l'un des premiers édifices canadiens à mériter les éloges de la littérature architecturale internationale. Commandé en 1880 par le célèbre bienfaiteur de McGill, Peter Redpath, et marquant le 25^e anniversaire de la nomination de Sir William Dawson au poste de principal de l'Université, le musée a été conçu par A. C. Hutchison et A. D. Steele. Ces deux architectes ont opté pour une expression idiosyncratique du classicisme victorien éclectique, conjugant dans cet édifice l'ancien et le moderne ainsi que l'influence européenne et nord-américaine pour donner de la dignité au campus et témoigner de l'importance de sa mission.

* * * * *

The Redpath Museum of McGill University commands attention as an unusual and late example of the Greek Revival in North America (Figure 5).¹ It also possesses an historical significance beyond its stylistic idiosyncrasies as the first specifically designed museum of natural science in Canada as well as being the initial building in a monumental architectural scheme for the University. Furthermore, it was one of only two Canadian buildings singled out for illustration in the third, revised edition of James Fergusson's pioneering if arbitrary international study of post-Renaissance architecture, *The History of the Modern Styles of Architecture*, completed by Robert Kerr in 1891.

The Museum was commissioned early in 1880 by Peter Redpath. The first reference to the project in the Minutes of the Board of Governors of McGill University occurs on 27 March:

The Governors have heard with greatest gratification the announcement by Mr. Peter Redpath of his intention to erect and complete a Museum for the University for the safekeeping of the collections of the University in Geology, Mineralogy, Palaeontology, Zoology, Botany and Archaeology.²

Redpath had amassed a considerable fortune as a sugar refiner in Montreal and expended a significant proportion upon the expansion of the University, establishing a Chair in Mathematics and later financing erection of the University Library, built in a Richardsonian Romanesque style to the designs



THE PETER REDPATH MUSEUM
McGILL UNIVERSITY



Fig. 5. The Peter Redpath Museum, McGill University. (Courtesy of Notman Photographic Archives)

of Taylor and Gordon between 1891 and 1893, as well as providing some \$100,000 for the construction and endowment of the Museum.³

His generosity in regard to the Museum was inspired by admiration for Sir William Dawson, the Principal of the University, who, shared with him a love and knowledge of British culture and learning. In addition, Dawson, along with Dr. Philip Carpenter, had assembled most of the collections to be housed there. Thus it was appropriate that Redpath should have publicly announced his decision to commission the Museum at a banquet held on 2 April 1880 to celebrate the twenty-fifth anniversary of Dawson's appointment⁴ and that Dawson should have been so concerned with the building's design and construction. Construction began a short time after 24 April, when the Estate Committee recommended that "the Museum to be erected by Mr. Redpath be placed in front of the William Molson Hall, and in the space between the line of same and the Presbyterian College and at the head of open space reserved for a Cricket Ground."⁵ The foundation stone was laid on 21 September by the Governor General, the Marquis of Lorne, who anticipated that the building would be "a new temple of the practical science."⁶ That judgement was amplified in the speech delivered by the chancellor, the Honourable Charles Day, upon the occasion of the formal opening of the Museum on 24 August 1882, which coincided with that of the annual meeting of the American Association of the Advancement of Science convoked at McGill:

The architectural beauty of this edifice in which we are assembled -- its classic design -- the elegance and completeness of its finish, make it in itself an education of no small value; while joined to these excellencies, its ample proportions and perfect adaptation to its destined uses indicate the munificence of its founder.⁷

Redpath was closely involved in the commission. He it was who chose the local architects, A. C. Hutchison and A. D. Steele. They had been in partnership since 1875 and were the best qualified of the Montreal architects whom Dawson wished to support. Alexander Cooper Hutchison (1838-1922) was a Canadian of Scottish parentage, which might explain his joining with Steele who, apparently, had emigrated from Scotland in 1875.⁸ The first record of Steele in Montreal is an entry in *Lovell's Montreal Directory* for that year, showing that he was in partnership with Hutchison. Steel retired due to ill-health in 1890 and died in 1891.

Hutchison's career, by contrast, is reasonably well documented. His father was a prominent Montreal contractor to whom Alexander became apprenticed as a stone cutter. In 1858 Alexander was engaged to supervise the stone work on Christ Church Cathedral, Montreal, which was being built to the designs of Frank Wills. Between about 1860 and 1862 he moved to Ottawa to undertake a similar function on the East Block of the new Parliament Buildings. Upon his return to Montreal he entered the office of the architect, Springle, and later went into practice on his own. In 1870 he was invited to prepare designs with H. M. Perrault for the new City Hall, erected in a simplified Second Empire style. This was the earliest of a number of important local commercial and ecclesiastical commissions in which Hutchison displayed a competent eclecticism, ranging from the neo-Renaissance of the Royal Insurance Building, Place d'Armes, begun in 1880

and extended up to 1902 (demolished); the Richardsonian Romanesque of the Erskine Church, Sherbrooke Street, circa 1893; the Beaux-Arts of the London Liverpool and Globe Insurance Building, Place d'Armes, circa 1902 (with Wood) and the Canadian Express Building, McGill Street, circa 1907 (with Wood); and the Italian Romanesque of St. Andrew's Westmount of 1908 (with Wood and Miller, demolished). During the early period of his career he also gave courses on architectural drawing at the Mechanics Institute and for the Montreal Board of Arts and Manufactures; and he later worked for the promotion of professional training and standards as President and Secretary of the Quebec Association of Architects, and was instrumental in the creation of the School of Architecture at McGill. His reputation was such by 1880 that he was appointed a founding member of the Royal Canadian Academy by the Lord Lorne and commissioned by one of the richest Montrealers, Donald A. Smith, later created Baron Strathcona for his services to the Canadian Pacific Railway, to build a large residence, multifarious in stylistic inspiration, on Dorchester Street.

To return to the Redpath Museum, Hutchison in collaboration with Steele produced a design that synthesizes motifs from a remarkably wide range of ancient and modern, European and North American sources, with a licence that borders on solecism. Indeed some of the detailing, and particularly the awkward and anti-classical break between the architraves of the Orders on the main and side facades, rather conflicts with Chancellor Day's encomium.

The least conventional features appear on the entrance front. That is dominated by an antis portico, seldom adopted for monumental structures by Greek Revival architects either in the United States or Europe, although there were examples in Quebec City and Montreal. It comprises two columns flanked by two half-pilasters of an hybrid Corinthian Order recessed behind piers with plaques and banding. The capitals and the foliate and honeysuckle ornament on the lower register of the shafts are as far removed from their ancient Greek origins as the form of the portico is from such precedents as the Treasury of the Athenians at Delphi. Further, the wide inter-columnation and the slender proportions of the columns contrast with the excessively large dimensions of the entablature of the pediment. The disharmonious effect is pointed up by the prominence of the decoration on the shafts, the lumpish paterae upon the frieze, and the positioning of the columns directly, as it appears, on the thin lintel above the doorway.

Some precedent for the upper part of the composition can be found in the coarsely worked rock tombs of Ionia, three of which, including the Lycian Tomb, were illustrated by James Fergusson in the first part of his *History of Ancient and Mediaeval Architecture*, originally published in 1855.⁹ The portico is also raised on an unusually high basement of one and a half storeys and flanked by two anta or pilaster porticoes set at ninety degrees to the facade. The arrangement of the porticoes, aside from their elevation on tall basements, compares with that employed by James Gallier Senior for the City Hall at New Orleans, 1845-1850. This offers a more probable source than the obscure late Roman or Carolingian church, sometimes called the Temple of Clitumnus, located near the hamlet of Pissignano in the region of Spoleto which, nonetheless, has a similar portico composition.¹⁰

The incised ornament of the pilasters and antae of the side and rear facades recalls another American source, namely the 'modern' Greek articulation on designs published by Asher Benjamin in *The Architect: or Practical Home Carpenter* (Boston, 1830). Of particular relevance are the incised quasi-Greek patterns on Benjamin's schemes for a doorway, plate 28, and for a fireplace, plate 50, which Hutchison and Steele, seemingly, have transformed into a kind of substitute fluting on the antae in the side porticoes and semi-circular projection at the rear. Above this motif they have added three small round incisions that are possibly intended to represent a capital and which were, perhaps, suggested by the end sections of the classical guttae; such novel decorations reappear on the internal pilasters of the Museum and on the balusters of the main staircase.

The liberal use of antae on the exterior and the geometrical massing are more reminiscent of British and German Greek Revival architecture. The influence of the European Revival upon the architects is supported by circumstantial evidence, beyond the availability to them of engravings and photographs, not least in the first two editions of Fergusson's *Modern Styles*, 1862 and 1873. It is possible that Steele had visited Glasgow and Edinburgh before emigrating to Canada and had seen Alexander Thomson's United Presbyterian Church, Caledonia Road, Glasgow, 1856-1857, remarkable for its long run of antae on the side facades, and William Playfair's Royal Scottish Academy, Edinburgh, 1822-1835, which comprised a colonnade of Greek Doric columns flanked by two projecting porticoes not unlike the general composition of the side elevations of the Redpath; Playfair's Surgeons Hall, Edinburgh, 1829-1832, also had an elevated Ionic portico framed by two anta porticoes at ninety degrees to it, but of the same height. In that city was also Thomas Hamilton's Royal High School, begun in 1825, the main portico of which was raised on a high basement.

On the other hand, even if Steele were not familiar with these buildings, Dawson and Redpath would have been. Dawson reported that Redpath had encouraged the architects to study the designs of the major European museums, the predominantly Greek style of which could explain Hutchison and Steele's choice of, or a version of, the style at such a late date. Of course, both Dawson and Redpath visited Britain regularly and were familiar with its architecture. One other factor in the selection of the style that should be noticed here is the Neo-Classical style of the Arts Building, replete with a Greek Doric portico, completed before 1875 and situated behind and to the east of the Museum. The semi-circular rear facade of the Redpath suggests that the architects had seen illustrations of August Stüler and Heinrich Strack's National Gallery in Berlin, 1865-1867, although the form had been combined with the Greek Orders in one of the most celebrated English examples of the Revival, Harvey Lonsdale Elmes's St. George's Hall, Liverpool, begun in 1842. Their appreciation of German Neo-Classical architecture is further indicated by the similarities that exist between the Museum and Karl Friedrich Schinkel's Schauspielhaus, Berlin, 1819, whereon the main portico is raised on a tall rusticated basement, flanked by subsidiary porticoes set at right angles to it and the exterior articulated by antae.

The rear facade of the Redpath Museum is the clearest external statement of the architects' attention to the functional requirements of the

commission, affording ample illumination to the exhibition space on the two upper floors and accommodation for a lecture theatre seating two hundred on the first floor. The specifications were related in the retrospective account of the commission given by Dawson in his short biography of Redpath:

It is planned in such a manner as to have the largest possible amount of well lighted space within, and, for its size, is one of the best museum buildings anywhere. It is not intended for a large general collection but for a series of typical specimens for teaching purposes in all departments of Natural Science; and to render these as accessible as possible, both for the use of individual students and for demonstration by professors and lecturers to large classes.¹¹

The provision of good internal lighting almost certainly led the architects to concentrate the exhibition space on the second and third floors, above those assigned to teaching and to the preparation of exhibits. This explains the adoption of a high basement, marked on the exterior by channelled rustication, while the volume of specified accommodation and the confined dimensions of the ground plan -- the main body measures only 133 by some 60 feet -- offer one reason for the elongated vertical proportions of the 'piano nobile' and, in particular, those of the architrave of the main portico.

The semi-circular projection may have been introduced after the acceptance of a preliminary design, since the Canadian Architecture Collection at McGill includes a comparable scheme to that built, but on which the rear facade is flat. The scheme is recorded in two elevations, one inscribed "Front Elevation" (though no entrance door is shown) and the other in a different hand "Redpath Museum Side Elevation," and in one transverse section inscribed only "Redpath Museum." This last corresponds with the internal arrangements of the executed Museum, excepting the absence of a gallery at the upper level. Similarly, the elevations carry the main features of the articulation of the present building, notably the raised Order, the antis form of the main portico, the projection of the porticoes flanking the entrance and the two storey windows and clerestorey on the side facades. They differ, however, in having three less decorated columns in the main portico, rustication on the 'piano nobile' and only one portico on each side capped by an attic rather than by a pediment. Nevertheless, these divergences are less considerable than those which exist between the two elevations and the elevation Hutchison presented to the National Gallery of Canada about 1882 as his diploma piece for the Royal Canadian Academy showing proposed extensions to the University including a Faculty of Applied Science building¹². This unexecuted design, submitted while the Redpath Museum was under construction, has a three tier portico of two columns and antae which produces a somewhat more conventionally proportioned feature on the upper storey. The deep architrave and attic of the preliminary scheme for the Museum and of the facade as built have become a separate floor which is illuminated by single windows rather than by a continuous clerestorey. The fenestration on the side facades also comprises separate openings on each floor and it is noticeable that in this project the internal divisions are more clearly expressed upon the exterior. In addition one minor detail tends to confirm the foregoing chronological analysis, the antifixa which ornaments the apex of the pediment of the main portico of the Museum

recalls those above the corner piers in the preliminary scheme.

The internal arrangements of the upper floors of the Museum as originally constructed have remained largely intact. The second floor consists of an open hall behind the landing of the staircase. The hall contains show cases disposed centrally and between the windows and the wood-sheathed square columns that support the third floor and its gallery, a device to secure further space without excessive loss of light. The core of the columns is of cast iron, the material employed for the beams of the upper storey, while the main structure is built of limestone from the Trenton formation near Montreal and erected on a rubble foundation. At the opening of the Museum the collections of Archaeology, Fossils, Minerals, Rocks and Palaeontology were displayed on the second floor, and those of Zoology, Molluscae and Ornithology on the third. Both floors are reached by the main staircase which rises from the basement through the subsidiary portico on the east side and passes through the vestibule behind the entrance. Typical of the architects' untrammelled attitude towards Classical architecture, the capitals of the two columns in the vestibule invert the usual pattern of the Ionic Order, having their volutes pointed upwards. As well as the lecture theatre, the first floor at first accommodated a professor's office, a classroom, an herbarium and a reference library, while the basement, situated just below the true ground level, housed storage and preparation rooms, a residence for the janitor and two furnaces "with a special arrangement of hot air chambers for ventilation."¹³

Beyond serving an immediate educational purpose, Redpath and Dawson hoped that the building of the Museum would mark the first phase in a major expansion of the University. The architecture of McGill then comprised the present Arts Building, completed by the amalgamation of earlier structures in 1862, an Observatory, begun in 1863, and the first Medical Building, constructed in 1872.¹⁴ Dawson told the distinguished assembly gathered to watch the laying of the foundation stone:

I could wish to see a building similar to this for our Faculty of Applied Science, on the other side of our grounds; I could wish to see a Senate House and Dining Hall of still more stately proportions; I could wish to see our physical apparatus and class rooms as well provided for as our natural sciences collection;.... We cannot hope to secure all these things at once, but may venture to anticipate that the foundation of the Peter Redpath Museum may stimulate other friends of education to provide like liberal aids for all these and other portions of education work.... In connection with this I have pleasure in stating that A. C. Hutchison, Esq., one of the architects of the Peter Redpath Museum, proposes to prepare a plan and elevation showing how the buildings required in the future for the above and other University purposes may be erected in due relation to the present building, and in harmony with the plan of the new Museum.¹⁵

Part of his address was a reference to Hutchison's R. C. A. diploma elevation inscribed *The McGill University*. Sadly the "liberal aids" were not forthcoming to realise Hutchison's project; but he later collaborated in the design and construction of the McGill University Union, 1905 (now the

McCord Museum) and Macdonald College, Ste. Anne de Bellevue, 1906.¹⁶

Hutchison's diploma design continues the themes first developed for the Redpath Museum. The antis portico is now articulated with both round and square columns and grouped in two and three storey compositions. The antae are used to unify the whole ensemble and the more complex facades of the imposing central structure. The convocation Hall and what might have been intended for a library in the east wing of that building are articulated with semi-circular projections. The proposed buildings are also liberally provided with incised decoration. The novel constituent is the square pavilions which lend to the main building a sense of Palladian tripartite facade composition. However, the sharply defined massing and severe articulation of the pavilions again suggest the influence of the German Greek Revivalists and especially that of Schinkel whose Schloss Tegel built near Berlin in 1822 had comparable corner pavilions. The result of the aggrandizement of the vocabulary of the Museum is to inflate its uncertainties of syntax, particularly in the centre section of the main building. Its pavilions and porticoes compress motifs from the framing architecture and thus display the same mixture of academism and licence.

The presence of such contrasting aesthetic characteristics in the design of the Redpath Museum was recognised by Kerr, who, in 1891, substantially revised the text of Fergusson's *Modern Styles*. Kerr selected the Museum and Thomas Fuller's Neo-Gothic Parliamentary Library, Ottawa, 1859-1877, as the best examples of the "good modern work" that had been erected in Canada in the second half of the century. Of the former he wrote, it "represents very fairly a sufficiently graceful treatment of the Classic -- indeed of the Neo-Grec, although scarcely French in form [a passing reference to the Gallic culture of Quebec] -- on somewhat academical ground. The reader will find several indications in this design of that kind of independent thought which is characteristically American."¹⁷ The critique is one of many instances of Kerr's condoning historicist architecture and expressing admiration for contemporary North American design which differed markedly from the views Fergusson had given in the first and second editions of his book. For Kerr not only brought the text up to date by adding a quantity of new material, but also questioned Fergusson's radical and critical analysis of nineteenth century architecture in Europe and North America.¹⁸ The future of North American architecture was then, in his opinion, assured. By way of proof, he summoned no less a personage than the British Liberal Prime Minister, William Ewart Gladstone, who had pronounced that North America would supplant Europe in the "march of civilization".¹⁹

The Redpath Museum, independent in style, practical in plan, and a synthesis of North American and European sources, was evidence of that prophetic statement.

Notes

1. The author wishes to thank Professors John Bland and Peter Collins (deceased) of the Department of Architecture and Dr. Faith Wallis formerly of the Archives of McGill University for their help and advice during the

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preparation of this article.

A brief history of the Museum appears in R. Traquair, *The Buildings of McGill University* (Montreal, 1925) not paginated. The identification of the style of the Museum as Neo-Greek first occurred in Sir J. W. Dawson, *In Memoriam: Peter Redpath* (Montreal, 1894); in the Montreal Society of Architecture's guide book *Exploring Montreal* (Montreal, 1974) 118 it is described as Egyptian Revival.

2. The Board of Governors [of the Royal Institution for the Advancement of Learning] had no part in the commission other than the selection of the site, as quoted in the text.

3. The most useful biography is Dawson, *In Memoriam: Peter Redpath* (see note 1), which also contains a history of the building of the Museum, pp. 17-26. Further personal information appears in *The Canadian Album. Men of Canada* (Montreal, 1893) III: 301, with photograph. Redpath's endowment for the Museum is recorded in the Special Donation and Endowment Ledger (Record Group 100/5/3/2) and includes the following: "this small building erected on the College Grounds was presented to the University by Peter Redpath Esq., as per deed passed before Wm. B. S. Reddy, N. P., dated 24th August 1882," together with notice of a payment of \$100,000. The Dawson Papers at McGill include correspondence between himself and Redpath which confirms the fact that the benefactor paid the bills personally, though no details of payments are accounted.

4. Dawson, *In Memoriam: Peter Redpath*. 20 (see note 1).

5. The Reports of the Estate Committee are given in the Minutes of the Board of Governors.

6. Dawson, *In Memoriam: Peter Redpath*. 26 (see note 1).

7. *Report on the Peter Redpath Museum of McGill University* (Montreal, 1883) II: 3.

8. Biographical information on Steele kindly supplied by Professor Bland; Hutchison's career is described in the obituary printed in the *Montreal Gazette*, 2 June 1922, which adds two buildings not listed in the text: Crescent Street Presbyterian Church, 1878 (demolished) and extensions to the Birks Building, Union Street, 1907 and 1909 (with Wood). A shorter biography appears in the *Canadian Album* (Montreal, 1893) II: 172, with a poor photograph. Hutchison expressed some of his views on architecture in a speech delivered to the Quebec Association of Architects, which is quoted in part in the *Canadian Architect and Builder*, VI (1893): 104.

9. Reprinted in 1893 as the first volume of *A History of Architecture in all Countries from the Earliest Times to the Present* (London) 237, illus. 121.

10. For this curious structure, probably unknown to the architects, though it was drawn by Palladio, among others, see M. Salvi, *La Basilica di San Salvatore di Spoleto* (Florence, 1951) 40 ff. and plate 39-41.

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11. Dawson, *In Memoriam: Peter Redpath*. 17 (see note 1).
12. National Gallery of Canada, no. 235, the drawing measures 24 7/8" x 59".
13. Dawson, *In Memoriam: Peter Redpath*. 17 (see note 1).
14. Traquair, *Buildings of McGill University* (see note 1).
15. Dawson, *In Memoriam: Peter Redpath*. 23 (see note 1). In a footnote to page 21 he stated that Redpath had asked the "architects" to prepare a design for a "facade of buildings in line with the Museum, so that its position might work in with any future extension, whether by a corresponding building on the east side or by a great central block and two wings."
16. Traquair, *Buildings of McGill University* (see note 1). Hutchison was a consultant in the former and partnered by Wood in the latter.
17. J. Fergusson, *The History of the Modern Styles of Architecture*, ed. R. Kerr (London, 1891) II: 170, illus. 219s. Canadian architecture was reviewed with that of Australia in a chapter entitled "British Colonial Architecture," 170-177. On page 171 Kerr wrote, "Numerous interesting examples might of course be given of good modern work in Canada, but these two will suffice to satisfy the reader of the superior quality of the best of it."
18. Fergusson's views are examined in Sir N. Pevsner, *Some Architectural Writers of the Nineteenth Century* (Oxford, 1972) 238-251 and those of Kerr on pages 217-221. This also contains biographical material, supplemented in the case of Fergusson by W. H. White in an essay titled "James Fergusson: A Sketch of his Life" published as a preface to the 1891 edition of the *Modern Styles* xxvii-xxxvii (see note 17). Fergusson (1808-1886) was a gifted amateur architectural historian, more given to philosophical generalization than was Kerr (1823-1904) who taught from 1861 as Professor of the Arts of Construction at King's College, London, and practiced as architect of Bear Wood, Berkshire, 1865-1871, notable for its eclectic style. For this house and a short biography see M. Girouard, *The Victorian Country House* (Oxford, 1971) 121-124 and 199.
19. Fergusson, *Modern Styles*, II: 373 (see note 17), from a chapter entitled "The Future of American Architecture" wherein he predicted that architecture in the United States would follow the English manner for "ages to come" excepting the influence of "the extensive use of Timber; the unsophisticated character of the landscape and environment; the natural ingenuity, self sufficiency and desire for invention of the American people; their haste of business and the influence of traditions other than English."

Sources for Tudor and Stuart History:

The William Clarke Papers

by

A. J. Hobbins

This paper describes the Tudor and Stuart British history collection at McGill University. After some general consideration of the historic and contemporary strengths, it focuses on the microform collection of the papers of Sir William Clarke. In describing Clarke's life and career, of which not a tremendous amount is known for certain, some assumptions made by a variety of historians are challenged. The description of the papers themselves includes a discussion of the scholarly use already made of them and notes which parts have been transcribed and published. Clarke's shorthand is considered with especial reference to the solution or key.

Cet article décrit la collection d'histoire de Grande-Bretagne sous les Tudor et les Stuart que possède l'université McGill. Après quelques généralités sur la valeur historique et contemporaine des meilleurs éléments de cette collection, l'auteur s'intéresse à la collection sur micro-fiches des écrits de Sir William Clarke. Dans sa description de la vie et de la carrière de Clarke, dont on ne connaît pas grand chose, l'auteur conteste certaines des hypothèses émises par divers historiens. La description des écrits proprement dits comporte un exposé de l'usage érudit qui en a été fait et mentionne les parties qui ont déjà été transcrites et publiées. La sténo de Clarke est analysée par rapport à la solution ou clé.

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Sources for the Tudor and Stuart periods of British history have always been an area of especial strength in the McGill University Libraries. Impetus for this interest was most often spurred by ownership of a collection of some 20,000 political and religious pamphlets known as the Redpath Tracts, which were donated by Peter Redpath¹ in 1884 and also by his widow in 1901. The core of the collection was gathered by Sir John Bramston² during the Civil War and Restoration periods, but much has been added since. The collection now covers 1561-1900, with its greatest emphasis on the Stuart period.

For over a century the Redpath Tracts were recognized by scholars and in library surveys³ as a uniquely valuable resource for the study of British history. However, with the passing of time, the value to researchers of this and similar collections tends to diminish as ever greater proportions of the titles are made available in microform. Short title catalogue based collections,⁴ covering English language titles published 1475-1900, are at various stages of completion. Smaller projects of great utility, such as the Thomason Tracts⁵ or the Goldsmith-Kress library,⁶ have also been made available. The Redpath Tracts remain, of course, of very great value for the unique titles not yet microfilmed and for occasions when the scholar must use an original edition.

The microform revolution has created a situation where most titles

printed in Tudor and Stuart times are or will be soon readily available. Some microform publishers are moving beyond the printed word to manuscript sources. Of particular interest to Tudor and Stuart scholars is the work being done by Harvester Microform, who have published large quantities of papers and manuscripts in public and private hands. The drawback to these exciting projects from the library perspective is the great cost involved in acquiring the sets. Few libraries, especially in Canada in the 1980's, could purchase anything other than a tiny fraction of what is available without outside financial help.

In 1984 McGill University Libraries made an application to the Social Science and Humanities Research Council of Canada "Support to Specialized Collections" Program. The application was based on the known existing strength of the general and special collections for the study of Tudor and Stuart History. It successfully sought financial aid in the purchase of Harvester Microform materials.⁷ With the help of these grants, McGill University has been able to acquire, catalogue and make available for scholarly use the following collections:⁸

Politics and Statecraft in Early Modern England: The Main Papers of the House of Lords, 1509-1715.

The Complete State Papers Domestic. Series I, 1547-1625. Series II, 1625-1702.

Unpublished State Papers of the English Civil War and Interregnum.

Social and Political Affairs in the Age of the Tudors: The Talbot Papers from the Lambeth Palace Library, London.

The Uncalendared State Papers Foreign of Elizabeth I, [May 1592 - March, 1603].

Not yet acquired but highly desirable are the manuscripts from the Harleian, Rawlinson, Ballard, Tanner, Hastings and Lansdowne Collections.⁹

Almost lost in these other long and important sets is one of only seventeen reels acquired in 1987. It is entitled by Harvester *Parliament, The Civil War, The Conquest and Administration of Scotland, 1640-1664*. It consists of the papers of Sir William Clarke, the vast majority of which are in Worcester College, Oxford. The greater part of these had been left to the College by Clarke's son, Dr. George Clarke, 1661-1736. Most of the rest, which had gone, probably in error, to an heir of his executor, were later acquired by Worcester College. The final reels deal with other Clarke papers in locations such as the National Library of Scotland, Library of Chequers Court, etc.

Sir William Clarke's Career

Clarke's early life is very obscure. Nothing is known of his parents,¹⁰ but he is thought to have been born in or near London in or around 1623.

He is alleged to have been admitted to the Inner Temple in 1646 and called to the bar in 1653.¹¹ He was certainly a member of the Army Secretariat in 1646 and 1647, serving under John Rushworth,¹² and may have been on the parliamentary clerical staff from as early as 1640.

Clarke was a Secretary to the General Officers of the Parliamentary Army, with a specific responsibility for the Army council from 1647 to 1649. In this latter role he took down in shorthand the discussions which later became known as the Army Debates and threw so much light on the split between Army and Parliament.¹³ He did not transcribe these notes into longhand until after the Restoration, probably in 1662.¹⁴ He was also secretary to various commissioners, such as those who negotiated the surrender of Oxford in 1646 and those who attempted to arrange terms between Parliament and Army in 1647.¹⁵ There is a possibility he was present on the scaffold in 1649, taking down the King's last words, but this is by no means certain.¹⁶ At this time he was Lord General Fairfax's co-secretary,¹⁷ and had been present at the King's trial.¹⁸

With Fairfax's resignation in 1650, the Scottish phase of Clark's career began. Cromwell, returning from Ireland, succeeded to the post of Lord General and led a preemptive strike against the Scots. Clarke went to Scotland with Cromwell, serving in various capacities. His applications to serve as the Secretary to the Committee of the Army in October, 1650, and Keeper of the Scottish Records in August, 1651, were unsuccessful. Clarke's official gains, however, were sufficient to allow him to purchase a large estate in St. John's Wood.¹⁹ Cromwell pursued Charles II into England after the fall of Perth in August 1651, while Clarke remained in Scotland as Secretary to Lieutenant-General George Monck, the acting Commander-in-chief. Although Monck retired for health reasons later that year and was followed by several commanders in rapid succession, he did return in 1654. For the next twelve years Clarke served Monck, who viewed him as a "faithful and indefatigable servant,"²⁰ and his fortunes rose as a result.

In January 1660, Monck marched his army into England. In the ensuing months and with the aid of Fairfax, he gained sole control of the army as Captain-General. It is uncertain when he began to favour the restoration of the monarchy, perhaps as early as July 1659. Regardless of when his conversion occurred, he, the most influential individual in the kingdom, was in favour of restoration when the question came before Parliament in May 1660. Under the restored monarchy he was elevated to the peerage and obtained the King's favour for a number of his friends and followers.

Clarke was knighted and made Secretary-at-War. In addition he was given a lodge and sixty acres of land in Marylebone Park.²¹ In October 1660, he appeared as a witness in the trials of the regicides Thomas Harrison, Adrian Scroop, John Carew, Thomas Scot, and John Jones.²² He testified as to whether each one was present on the final day of Charles I's trial in the High Court of Justice on January 27, 1649.²³ After this task, he busied himself with affairs of state. His son, George, was born in 1661.

In the spring of 1666, Monck put to sea in the "Royal Charles" to sail against the Dutch. Clarke went with him and was wounded in battle on June 2, dying two days later. Lady Clarke was married again very shortly to

Samuel Barrow, an old friend of her husband. Barrow provided a fine home and education for George Clarke, who became Secretary-at-War in his turn. When George retired from public life to Oxford, several colleges benefitted from his philanthropy. Thus his father's papers were deposited and preserved in a place where their importance would be discovered in a century and a half.

The Clarke Papers

The actual papers are, as one might suspect, an amorphous mixture of private and public documents from all periods of Clarke's career. Most are in longhand (Figure 6), many in shorthand (Figure 7), and some are in both. Harvester Microform have divided the papers into four series which do not correspond with the Worcester College Library arrangement. These are:

1. Letters and papers relating to the Army and Army matters in Scotland, 1640-1664.
2. Letters and other papers dealing with the Army, its relations with Parliament and military proceedings, including the Putney, Reading and Whitehall debates, 1640-1660.
3. Letter-books, abstracts of orders, warrants and passes and other materials dealing with the Army in Scotland and General Monck as Commander-in-Chief, 1652-1665.
4. Miscellaneous items, including unbound documents and volumes containing papers relating closely to, though not of, William Clarke.

The first historian to make extensive use of the papers was Sir Charles Firth towards the end of the 19th century. Since then they have become an indispensable source for most studies of the period, especially regarding military history. Some portions of the papers have been published, the most extensive of which are the following:

Firth, C. H. *The Clarke Papers*. 4 vols. London, 1891-1901. (Camden Society. Publications. New Series. Vols. 49, 54, 61-62).

Firth, C. H. *Scotland and the Commonwealth*. Edinburgh, 1895. (Scottish History Society. Publications. Vol. 18).

Firth, C. H. *Scotland and the Protectorate*. Edinburgh, 1899. (Scottish History Society. Publications. Vol. 31).

Woodhouse, A. S. P. *Puritanism and Liberty*. 2nd ed. London, 1951.

This represents a different analysis of the Army Debates, 1647-9, first appearing in Firth's *The Clarke Papers*.

Great Britain Historical Manuscripts Commission. *Report on the Manuscripts of F. W. Leyborne-Popham, Esq., of Littlecote, Co.*

Darthaill.
23 Aug.
1656.

There hath bin great stirring about Elmore's opend
 for the dot at which meeting moore so have received
 Tho' Curroll being betwaxen ye getty off one Chale ye
 Lanier who is said to be as fairly chosen by his Master
 & one of ye firstest that was ye chosen one
 of members with other ye said Barkestead, & 4 or 5
 Roberts. For London & chosen Eldern. Cooke, Davy
 Major & other ye said Browne, Jap, & ye other
 a Litchman. For Westmead Col. Frothing, & one of ye
 had above 4000 ready money. One Elmer, Kinnich, and
 Church & one Hubbard, Mr. J. Hubbard & Ralph
 Hare, & Gen. Tompkins, & Mr. Doyly, & T. Clewwood
 Tho. Southerton, Do: Wood, & one Buckleson, & ye
 Goffe, & Robert Wallage, and Cole, and ye Prudley, and
 Cole. Yearty Eate of Salisburie & Rich. Ivey, & ye
 & ye one and Littleton, Kent, and Dr. Dismay, and
 Godfrey, and Dr. Weldon, and Beall, and S. Silliam, and
 Mardeth. Major ye said Kelfay is chosen for ye
 for ye Comore of Leester, & Art. Heffington, and Dr. Goodwin
 for ye frigate in Surrey, and Martin Kwell for Suffolk. Ye
 frigate was yesterday departed & noble performance
 very rich. And ye said frigate was yesterday
 was sent away yesterday. & Gen. Vane's order is
 give good. Brimble by Thursday went to art nothing -
 ye said in all by Highwellet, & ye sent Government
 to be in command.

Jeil.

Fig. 6. A newsletter dated 23 August, 1656, from Gilbert Mabbott. (Courtesy of the Provost and Fellows of Worcester College, Oxford, and Harvester Microforms, see Note 36)

Dalkeith. 100

25th August 1656
to the Honorable the
Council of the
City of London
I have the honor to
acknowledge the
receipt of your
letter of the 13th
inst. and in answer
to inform you that
the same has been
sent to the
proper authorities
for their consideration
I am Sir your
Obedient Servant
Wm Clarke

Glasgow 25th Aug.

1656
Sunday

to the Honorable the
Council of the
City of London
I have the honor to
acknowledge the
receipt of your
letter of the 13th
inst. and in answer
to inform you that
the same has been
sent to the
proper authorities
for their consideration
I am Sir your
Obedient Servant
Wm Clarke

Fig. 7. A shorthand entry by Sir William Clarke, dated Dalkeith, 25 August, 1656. (Courtesy of the Provost and Fellows of Worcester College, Oxford, and Harvester Microforms, see Note 36)

Wilts. Norwich, 1899, Cmd. 9471.

The Clarke portion of the papers cited above became separated from the main body by Dr. George Clarke's executor, Dr. Shippen, but were subsequently acquired by Worcester College.²⁴

Clarke's Shorthand

In its preface, the booklet accompanying the microform collection states that it contains "a guide to Clarke's 'secret writing' system by the distinguished cryptanalyst, Dr. Eric Sams."²⁵ Clarke used shorthand for convenience and speed most of the time. The secrecy achieved was usually incidental although shorthand was sometimes employed for this purpose.²⁶

Dr. Sams' guide²⁷ describes the method he employed to decrypt the shorthand, but does not provide the solution. There are basically two methods of decryptment: counting the frequency of sounds of letters, and discovering the source on which the cipher is based. Sams used the frequency count approach, determining that Clarke used a spelling rather than a sound based shorthand. It is well known, for example, that 'e' is the most commonly occurring letter in English, French and German, and, as is wryly noted elsewhere, this is even more true for Olde Englishe.²⁸ His analysis of fifteen pages of Clarke's shorthand allowed him to discover some 300 equivalents (i.e. letters, letter combinations, words, etc.), sufficient to identify the source-book. The source-book in turn yielded many more equivalents. Sams concluded that Clarke's shorthand manuscripts can now be deciphered where legible, but that there was no evidence "that any of them had ever been transcribed or read by anyone other than Clarke himself until I did so in 1973."²⁹

Sams describes the source-book as one of the many editions of Shelton's *Tachygraphy* published in the 1640s.³⁰ His solution to the shorthand was deposited in Worcester College in 1974, although this fact is not mentioned in the guide.³¹ Disappointingly, the solution does not appear to be made available to scholars either through independent publication or as part of the microform set.³²

Conclusions

While the microform set includes the large majority of Clarke papers, some are omitted. He kept a diary³³ while at sea with Monck from April 23 - June 1, 1666, which is in the British Library, along with some other papers.³⁴ The collection does, however, include Firth's manuscript notebook (one apparently of several) on the Putney debates.

In summary Clarke's longhand manuscripts have been used extensively by historians for the last century. Some have been published, although experts disagree on how the texts should be interpreted and transcribed. Others have never been used. The shorthand notes seem scarcely to have been examined.

The papers, therefore, whether previously published or not, remain of great value and potential to historians.³⁵ They may even provide answers to the suppositions and enigmas surrounding Clarke's life.

Notes

1. Peter Redpath (1812-1894) was one of seventeen children of John Redpath, founder of Montreal's first sugar refinery. His wife, Grace, shared his philanthropic enthusiasms until her death in 1907. Together they were among McGill's greatest benefactors, giving amongst other things, a museum, a library, endowments for chairs and book funds, and the historical collection, which included the Tracts. Some of the Tracts are catalogued in S. J. Reid's *Catalogue of a Collection of Historical Tracts, 1561-1800* (London, 1901) and machine-readable records for others are being made available through the UTLAS and/or the RLIN databases.

2. John Bramston (1611-1700) of Roxwell, Essex, was a lawyer during the Civil War, in which his family remained neutral. He became an active member of the Cavalier Parliament in 1661, serving on 373 committees. The Tracts formed his personal library. A recent biographical sketch appears in Basil D. Henning's *House of Commons, 1660-1690* (London, 1983, vol. 1), while his autobiography was published in the Camden Society *Publications*, vol. XXXII, 1845.

3. The Tracts were, for example, referred to in Robert B. Downs' *Resources of Canadian Academic and Research Libraries* (Ottawa, 1967) 232, Lee Ash's *Subject Collections*, 6th ed. (1985) 1: 813, and Edwin E. Williams' *Resources of Canadian University Libraries* (Ottawa, 1962) 29.

4. University Microforms International (UMI) plans to complete the collection based on Pollard and Redgrave's *Short-title Catalogue, 1475-1640* (STC I) within two years. UMI also published the collection based on Donald Wing's *Short-Title Catalogue, 1641-1700* (STC II), which is currently some two-thirds complete.

5. The Thomason Tracts, an immensely valuable collection of Civil War period tracts housed in the British Library, have been published by UMI. Suzanne Dodson, in her *Microform Research Collections: A Guide*. 2nd ed. (Westport, 1984) 187, said of this collection:

Those libraries already subscribing to Early English Books: Series II, 1641-1700 would incur total duplication by subscribing to the Thomason Tracts as well.

This assessment appears to be erroneous. Although Unit I of Thomason and Unit VII of Early English Books, Series II, are identical, this represents a duplication of only 20% of Thomason. UMI will not include any further Thomason titles in STC II until the ultimate units of the project. These final units will also be duplicates, although libraries with Thomason need not purchase them. What Dodson overlooks is the titles in Thomason which are out of the scope of STC II and will not be duplicated at all.

These would include over 7000 periodical issues, foreign language materials and manuscripts, totalling some 30% of the items in the collection (*Catalogue of the Thomason Tracts*, I: xxi).

6. Research Publications published the Goldsmith-Kress Library of Economic Literature. This set is based on the holdings of two outstanding collections of early publications on the topic: the Goldsmith's Library in London and the Kress Library at Harvard.

7. To date three grants have been received totalling almost \$100,000.

8. Harvester's titles for these collections have been used here. A full description of each one can be found in the Harvester Catalogue.

9. Although the Lansdowne Collection is of greater importance than some of the others, the microforms are held elsewhere in Canada. For this reason it holds a lower acquisitions priority at McGill University. [Editor's note: since this article was accepted, the Harleian, Tanner and Balland Collections have been acquired.]

10. Historical Manuscripts Commission *Report on the Manuscripts of F. W. Leyborne-Popham* (Norwich, 1899) contains several items which shed some light on Clarke's family. A letter (106) is signed by "thy humble servant and mother, Elizabeth Mosse." This lady, who lived with Clarke's wife and was familiar with his family, is almost certainly a foster mother. Clarke himself referred to her as "Mother Mosse." Clarke also had a younger brother, Jacob, still at school in 1652 (102-103), and a sister, Betty, who married the same year. His remaining relatives mentioned in the papers, with the possible exception of John Collins, a Chief Butler and Steward of the Inner Temple, seemed to be through his marriage to Dorothy Hilliard (Hyliard) in 1648.

11. In a booklet accompanying the microform set entitled *Sir William Clarke Manuscripts 1640-1664*, there is an "Introduction" by G. E. Aylmer, Master of St. Peter's College and general editor of the publication, in which this educational background is given. The evidence for this seems to be nothing more than the coincidence of a rather common name. In fact Clarke's career is wholly inconsistent with entering the Inner Temple and being called to the bar at the dates listed. The *DNB* (1887) also listed the same educational background (as did C. H. Firth, the first scholar to use Clarke's papers) but in the *Corrections and Additions* to the *DNB* (1966) it is acknowledged there is no satisfactory ground for the identification. Other historians have confused the various William Clarkes of the period. For example, on August 4th, 1654, Oliver Cromwell signed a warrant for payment to William Clarke, Doctor of Laws, of £66 13s. 4d. salary for four months as Advocate of the Commonwealth (Rawlinson Manuscripts, A: 328, 108-9). W. C. Abbott, who cited this manuscript in his *Writing and Speeches of Oliver Cromwell* (Cambridge, Mass., 1945) III: 390-1, wrongly describes this Clarke as "...for many years Monck's Secretary, now Doctor of Law..." Sir William Clarke's long service with Monck only began with the General's return to Scotland in January, 1654. Dr. William Clarke (Clerk in the *DNB*) was an Admiralty Judge, who in 1653-54 took on the extra responsibility of Judge

Advocate to the Admiralty for £200 per year (Calendar of State Papers Domestic, 1652-53 xxxiv: 245).

Another instance occurs in Maurice Ashley's *General Monck* (London, 1977), in which he cited a letter, dated 1646, to Monck from his sister mentioning she received documents brought by 'Captain Clearke' (p.268). Ashley contends the date is wrong because the "Captain Clearke referred to in the letter did not become Monck's secretary until 1654." While Ashley is almost certainly correct about the misdating, it is equally sure that William Clarke was not a Captain and his secretarial duties did not include carrying the General's mail from Scotland to Devon.

12. Other assistants at this time were Richard Hatter, Thomas Wragg, Thomas Margetts, Robert Spavin (Cromwell's Secretary) and Gilbert Mabbott (who later married Clarke's wife's sister and became editor of *The Moderate*). It is clear that some, probably all, of these secretaries learned the same shorthand, for Rushworth wrote to Clarke "send often but write very cautiously unless you write in shorthand..." (HMC *Leyborne-Popham* 79)

13. C. H. Firth's *The Clarke Papers* (London, 1891), I: ix. (Camden Society. Publications. New Series 49)

14. *Ibid.* lxxvi.

15. *Ibid.* vii-viii.

16. Aylmer, in the "Introduction" noted in footnote 11, finds evidence for this in a tract on the King's speech from the scaffold published in 1649 and once owned by Clarke. In this there is a handwritten asterisk next to an unidentified "Gentleman" on the scaffold. Against a corresponding asterisk in the margin there are the initials W. C. This Aylmer regards as "morally, although doubtless not legally, certain proof" of Clarke's presence there (23).

17. Fairfax disapproved of the regicide and refused the republican loyalty oath (Aylmer, "Introduction," (noted in footnote 11) 10). He was not present on the scaffold and it has been suggested that he was kept unaware of the time of the execution. It therefore seems unlikely his secretary, Clarke, would have been there. If Aylmer is partially correct and that there was an individual with the initials W. C. on the scaffold, there are other likely candidates. Sir William Constable and William Cawley were both MP's, commissioned to sit in judgement on the King and were both committed regicides who signed the death sentence. Constable may be a favourite in that he was also charged with guarding the King in his captivity in the Isle of Wight from January 4th, 1648, under Colonel Robert Hammond (John Rushworth, *Historical Collections*, 2nd ed., London, 1721, VII 955).

18. The fullest account of the King's trial was published by Gilbert Mabbott, then Censor and Licensor of the press, under the title *A Perfect Narrative of the Proceedings of the High Court of Justice in the Tryall of the King*. C. V. Wedgwood in her book *The Trial of Charles I.* (London, 1964) mentions the *Perfect Narrative* is based on a shorthand account by 'C. W.'. She states in the 'Bibliographical Note' (p.227) "this shadowy figure does not seem to be otherwise identifiable." Clarke was not only present at the

trial but also, on his own evidence in the 1660 trial of Thomas Harrison, "took notice of it in a book" (Cobbett's complete *State Trials*, V 1018). Since he was Mabbott's friend and brother-in-law, it seems highly likely that he was the shadowy and unidentified 'C. W.', utilizing the transparent device of initial transposition. Oddly, the U. S. edition of Wedgwood's work, reset and published under the title *A Coffin for King Charles*, has an abbreviated 'Bibliographical Note' in which mention of 'C. W.' is omitted.

19. Noted in Firth, *The Clarke Papers*, II, ix. This purchase involved Clarke in a legal dispute with his uncle, John Collins, mentioned in note 10. In 1674, Collins wrote *Mysteria Revelata* in which he claimed to have been introduced to Monck by Clarke and that it was he who persuaded Monck to support the restoration of the monarchy. Little credence can be given to this latter claim, penned after both Clarke and Monck were dead.

20. Monck's assessment is found in his dispatch from aboard the "Royal Charles" at the Nore on June 28th, 1666, to Charles II (*Calendar of State Papers Domestic 1665-66*, CLX 471).

21. Part or all of this land was the St. John's Wood purchase in 1651 granted or regranted after the Restoration.

22. *Cobbett's Complete State Trials*. V, 1018 - 1074.

23. It is interesting to note that in other trials of regicides where testimony was required as to whether an individual was on the scaffold, Clarke was not called although he was in court - a further indication that he may not have been present at the execution.

24. HMC. *Leyborne-Popham* x-xi.

25. *Sir William Clarke Manuscripts* 29-32.

26. See note 12 for evidence of this.

27. *Sir William Clarke Manuscripts* "preface" 7.

28. E. Sams and J. Moore 'Cryptanalysis and Historical Research' *Times Literary Supplement* March 4th, 1977: 253.

29. *Sir William Clarke Manuscripts*, 29. It is clear, however, from note 12, that some of Clarke's contemporaries could read his shorthand. C. H. Firth also indicated that he knew the substance of some shorthand entries (*Ibid* 37).

30. Thomas Shelton, 1601?-1650, produced many editions of his shorthand texts. Between 1626 and 1649, when Shelton radically altered his system, there were at least fifteen editions. Two of those, *A Tutor to Tachygraphy, or Short-writing* (1642) and *Tachygraphy* (1647) were reprinted in 1970 by the Augustan Reprint Society. Samuel Pepys used Shelton's system for almost all his diary. Interestingly, Pepys knew Clarke fairly well and refers to him several times in the diary. On March 28th, 1666, he described Clarke as "mighty" and a "brisk blade." The entry for July 12, 1666, conveys Sir

William Coventry's opinion that Clarke was one of the "sorry instruments" by which Monck did great things.

31. *TLS*. loc. cit.

32. A puzzled enquiry to Harvester Microform did not shed light on this curious omission. Publication would normally be standard policy for Harvester, who did ascertain that the solution is in the Worcester College Library with no restriction as to copying. Its exclusion from the microform set remains something of a mystery.

33. British Museum. Additional Manuscript 14286.

34. Aylmer "Introduction" (noted in footnote 11) 26, note 23 provides a good listing of Clarke materials which are not part of the microform set.

35. The microfilming is of generally excellent quality, with high contrast between text and background. Historians should have no difficulty with legibility. Deciphering the shorthand entries will, however, prove a laborious task until a measure of expertise in Shelton's system and Clarke's idiosyncrasies has been gained.

36. Figures 6 and 7 were taken from a photocopy of the microfilm of the Clarke Papers, volume XXVIII. They are reproduced here with the kind permission of the Provost and Fellows of Worcester College, Oxford, and Harvester Microforms.

Les documents et artefacts Molson à l'Université McGill

par

Alfred Dubuc

L'auteur propose un court inventaire des documents et des artefacts de la famille Molson qui se trouvent dans les diverses bibliothèques, dépôts d'archives et musées de l'Université McGill. Il distingue trois catégories de documents: 1^e les documents de l'Université McGill concernant les Molson, leurs nombreuses donations et la participation de plusieurs membres de la famille au bureau des gouverneurs de l'Université; ces documents se trouvent aux Archives de McGill; 2^e des documents et des artefacts provenant de la famille Molson et conservés au musée Redpath, au musée McCord d'histoire canadienne et au département des livres rares et des collections spéciales situé dans la bibliothèque McLennan; 3^e des documents concernant les Molson, donnés à l'Université McGill par d'autres personnes; il s'agit principalement de photographies conservées dans la collection Notman du musée McCord. L'auteur décrit, en outre, l'origine du nom Molson donné à trois édifices du campus.

This article gives a brief listing of Molson family documents which are kept in McGill University libraries, archives and museums. Three categories are identified: 1) documents in the archives related to numerous donations to the university and to the participation by Molson family members in the administration of the university. 2) Molson documents and artefacts kept in the McGill museums and libraries (Redpath Museum, McCord Museum and McLennan Library). 3) Documents concerning the Molson family, mainly photographs in the Nottman Collection (McCord Museum). This article also briefly describes three buildings on McGill campus named after Molson family members.

* * * * *

Toute communauté d'hommes d'affaires se dote d'institutions sociales, culturelles, religieuses et de bienfaisance ayant pour but de répondre à ses responsabilités envers la collectivité, de satisfaire le besoin d'étendre les ramifications de son influence sur la société et de reproduire, pour sa postérité, les conditions d'exercice de son activité économique et de son pouvoir. Celle de Montréal¹ n'échappe pas à cette règle et l'Université McGill, depuis le fameux testament de James McGill, décédé en 1813, pourvoyant au don du domaine *Burnside* à la *Royal Institution for the Advancement of Learning*, fut un des bénéficiaires les plus grassement dotés de cette philanthropie.² Certes, les hommes d'affaires ne sont pas tous également généreux et peu le furent autant que les Molson envers McGill.³ Un dicton l'exprime à sa façon: "C'est la bière Molson et les cigarettes Macdonald qui font vivre McGill"; comme bien des dictons, toutefois, celui-ci déforme légèrement la réalité car ce fut tout autant à titre de banquiers que les Molson exprimèrent leur générosité, depuis l'époque où les trois frères, John l'Aîné, William et Thomas, à l'occasion de la campagne de souscription, lancée par le principal Sir John William Dawson,⁴ en 1856, pour la première fondation de McGill, offraient £5,000 (\$20,000) sur un total de £15,000 (\$60,000) souscrits par 50 personnes; l'année précédente, leur banque,

Molson's Bank, fondée en 1853 suivant les dispositions de la loi des banques privées, était devenue une banque à charte.⁵

On trouve à l'Université McGill des traces nombreuses de cette sollicitude souvent répétée. J'appelle "documents Molson", pour les fins de cet article, trois groupes de matériaux: le premier est constitué des édifices du campus qui portent le nom Molson et qui témoignent matériellement, aux yeux de tous, de certaines donations majeures des membres de la famille; le deuxième groupe est conservé aux archives de McGill et exprime la participation des Molson au financement et à la vie de l'Université; le troisième, enfin, est constitué de documents et d'artefacts issus de la famille Molson et conservés dans trois dépôts de l'université McGill: le musée Redpath, le musée McCord d'histoire canadienne et la section "Manuscripts" du fonds des "Rare Books" dans la bibliothèque McLennan.⁶

1. Les pavillons "Molson" sur le campus

La présence des Molson à McGill est évidente, elle est matérielle: 1. le *William Molson Hall* à l'extrémité occidentale du pavillon des Arts, inauguré le 10 octobre 1862, en présence du Gouverneur général de la Province unie du Canada, Sir Charles Stanley Monk, et dont l'étage inférieur servit de bibliothèque universitaire durant 30 ans, jusqu'en 1893, quand elle déménagea dans le nouvel édifice de la bibliothèque Redpath; 2. le *Percival Molson Memorial Stadium*, construit au flanc du Mont Royal et inauguré à l'automne 1919, dont le nom commémore celui qui, tué au combat le 5 juillet 1917, à Avion, près de Arras, en France, avait légué la somme de \$75,000 pour l'achèvement de ce projet dont il s'était fait le champion depuis déjà bien avant la guerre; 3. la *Molson Residence*, elle aussi sur le flanc de la montagne, au-dessus du stade, nommée à la suite d'un don évalué à \$600,000, en 1958, de la Fondation Molson; cette fondation avait été établie la même année par les deux fils du colonel Herbert Molson, le sénateur Hartland de Montarville et Thomas Henry Pentland; elle s'est étendue depuis cette époque et s'appelle aujourd'hui *The Molson Family Foundation*.

Ainsi la présence des Molson s'exprime matériellement à tous les niveaux de la topographie du campus.

2. Les archives de McGill

La présence physique des Molson s'est manifestée parfois, de façon plus ou moins évidente aux yeux de ceux qui oeuvraient à McGill, par la participation au Bureau des Gouverneurs de l'un ou de l'autre des membres de la famille, génération après génération, depuis l'époque où William, président de la *Molson's Bank*, y avait accédé le premier. Mais l'on pourrait remonter encore plus loin dans le temps, jusqu'en 1819, lorsque, à la fondation de la *Montreal General Hospital*,⁷ John Molson l'Ancien souscrivit généreusement, avec ses trois fils John l'Aîné, Thomas et William, à la construction du nouvel édifice, inauguré en 1824, participa au bureau des gouverneurs et contribua à établir la *Montreal Medical Institution* qui devint, en 1829, la Faculté de médecine du *McGill College*. Un demi-siècle plus tard, son petit fils, John Henry Robinson, à qui il avait légué la brasserie, lui-même président de la *Molson's Bank* à partir de 1889, s'intéressera particulièrement

à cette faculté en défrayant le coût d'érection d'un amphithéâtre de démonstration en annexe de l'ancien pavillon de médecine et, en 1895, en souscrivant \$62,000 pour la construction d'une nouvelle aile de l'édifice de la même faculté, sans compter le don du terrain, le long de la rue McTavish, destiné au bâtiment de la bibliothèque Redpath, construit en 1893, et sa participation de \$50,000, en 1894, au fonds de pension des employés de l'université McGill.

On retrouve également les Molson dans le débat qui précéda l'admission des femmes à McGill en 1884; à l'automne de 1871, quelques dames s'étaient réunies à la résidence de Anne Molson (1824-1899) (Figure 8), fille de William et épouse de John Molson III⁸ et avaient fondé la *Ladies Educational Association of Montreal*, dans le but de recevoir l'enseignement d'un groupe de professeurs de McGill, consentant à donner des cours à celles à qui l'Université ne voulait conférer de diplômes; les cours commencèrent en octobre, le premier professeur, dit-on, étant le principal Dawson, lui-même un physicien. Cet enseignement se poursuivit à l'extérieur de l'Université pendant treize ans.

Ce ne sont là que quelques exemples, tirés d'une période que je connais davantage par les recherches que j'ai effectuées sur l'histoire des premiers Molson.⁹ Les archives de McGill foisonnent de documents de toutes natures témoignant de cette activité des membres d'une famille qui, génération après génération, à travers le XXe siècle tout autant qu'à travers le XIXe, ont pourvu McGill de plusieurs de ses richesses et, à titre de gouverneurs, ont contribué à orienter son évolution.

3. Le musée Redpath

Le musée a reçu de quelques membres de la famille Molson des artefacts qui ressemblent davantage à des souvenirs de voyages qu'à des objets ayant quelque valeur ethnologique. Toutefois, par leur ancienneté et par leur origine, certains d'entre eux présentent un certain intérêt. Ils sont rassemblés en cinq groupes, selon les noms des donateurs:

1. Velina Pauline Nesmith, originaire de Portland, Oregon, deuxième épouse de William Markland Molson (1833-1873).
2. Mabel Molson (1879-1973), fille de John Thomas et soeur du colonel Herbert Molson.
3. John Henry Robinson Molson (1826-1897), fils aîné de Thomas Molson.
4. John Thomas Molson (1837-1910), fils benjamin de Thomas Molson.
5. Mary A. Kingman, épouse de Walter Molson (1883-1953), fils de John Thomas.



Fig. 8. Mme. John Molson (1824-1899). (Courtesy of Notman Photographic Archives)

4. Le musée McCord d'histoire canadienne

Ce musée est un lieu polyvalent de conservation et d'exposition où l'on retrouve des collections de plusieurs catégories et un centre d'archives historiques. En ce qui concerne l'histoire des Molson, quatre collections suscitent l'intérêt: la collection des costumes anciens, la collection ethnologique, celle des photographies Notman et, enfin, le fonds de manuscrits.

4.1 La collection de costumes anciens

Le musée McCord est reconnue pour la richesse de sa collection de costumes anciens; plusieurs expositions ont rendu celle-ci célèbre et ont contribué à diffuser le nom de McCord. Madame Beatrice Stewart, épouse de Thomas Henry Pentland Molson, a donné au musée, en 1972, cinq robes de bal datant des années 1927, 1928, 1950 et 1954.

4.2 La collection ethnologique

En ce qui concerne les Molson, cette collection comporte deux séries d'artefacts: celle de la vannerie de Madame Mabel Molson et l'ensemble désigné sous le nom de "Molson collection".

4.2.1 La collection de vannerie de Madame Mabel Molson

En 1928, Madame Mabel Molson, (1879-1973) fille de John Thomas et de Jenny B. Butler, soeur du colonel Herbert et de Percival Molson, fit don au musée McCord d'une centaine d'artefacts de vannerie provenant des Inuits et des Amérindiens de la côte du Pacifique, depuis l'archipel des Aléoutiennes jusqu'à l'Etat de Washington, des régions du fleuve Mackenzie et du Grand lac de l'Esclave; la collection contient surtout des paniers utilisés dans la vie courante ou dans les rites de funérailles; elle contient aussi quelques chapeaux de vannerie. A cette collection de Mabel Molson, le musée McCord a ajouté quelques spécimens d'autres provenances. Le catalogue de la collection présente, en première partie, une description ethnographique des techniques de la vannerie, fort utile pour l'appréciation de ces artefacts.

4.2.2 La collection d'artefacts Molson

Plus de dix membres de la famille Molson ont donné au musée, durant une période s'étendant de 1924 à nos jours, une quantité considérable d'artefacts présentant un intérêt ethnologique certain; des photographies, des dessins, des peintures, des vêtements, des poupées, des objets de la vie courante, des bijoux, de la vaisselle, des meubles, etc.. L'ensemble le plus considérable et, de loin, le plus intéressant, est celui que Madame Mabel Molson a donné, en plus de sa collection de vannerie.

4.3 La collection de photographies Notman

Le musée McCord détient une collection inestimable de

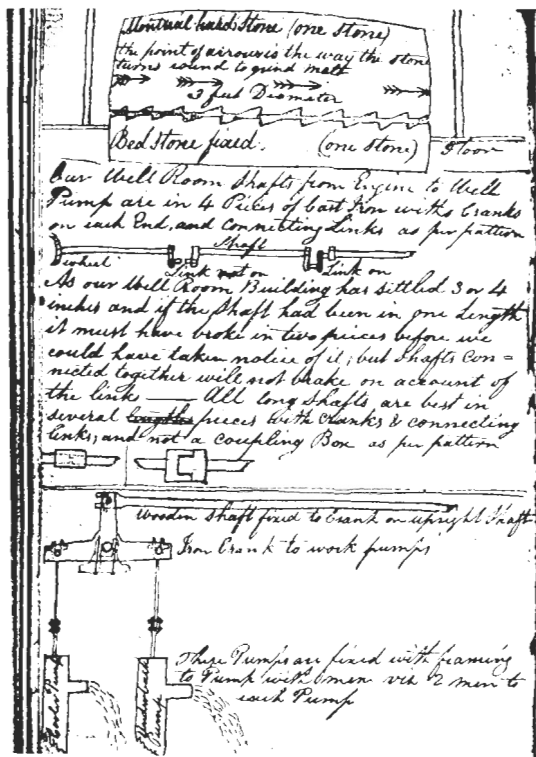
photographies des XIXe et XXe siècles, dont le fonds principal est constitué des photographies prises par le photographe William (le père),¹⁰ décédé en 1891, son fils William McFarland, décédé en 1913 et le benjamin des fils, Charles F. Notman, qui vendit l'entreprise en 1935 à la firme *Associated Screen News*. Le fonds Notman contient plus de 400,000 photographies (et près de 200,000 négatifs) prises entre 1858 et 1935; il fut donné au musée McCord en 1956 grâce à une donation conjointe de la *Maxwell Cummings Family Foundation*, de M. Paul Nathanson, de la maison *Empire Universal Film* et de *Maclean's Magazine*. A ce fonds principal, le musée McCord a ajouté des photographies données par des familles et des individus de Montréal.

En ce qui concerne les Molson, on trouve des photographies dans le fonds Notman et dans d'autres fonds donnés, l'un par Madame Thomas Henry Pentland Molson (Celia Frances Cantlie) et l'autre par Madame Hartland de M. Molson (Helen K. S. Hogg). Ces photographies peuvent être regroupées selon ce qu'elles représentent: de très nombreux portraits (plus d'une centaine pour la seule période 1858-1874) dans le fonds Notman; les demeures de plusieurs membres de la famille (y compris *Belmont Hall*, acquise par John Molson l'Ancien en 1825, au carrefour des rues Sherbrooke et St-Laurent); finalement, des photographies d'intérêts variés, représentant des familles, des lieux et des événements divers.

Les photographies ajoutent beaucoup à la qualité de la connaissance que nous pouvons avoir de l'histoire des Molson.

4.4 Le fonds de manuscrits de McCord

Plusieurs personnes ont donné des documents personnels au musée McCord. Certains membres de la famille Molson ont fait de même. Les documents Molson sont gardés dans trois boîtes, les deux premières portant la cote commune M 21228 et contenant 17 chemises, les chemises I à X dans la première, XI à XVII dans la seconde; la troisième boîte contient des documents variés portant chacun une cote séparée; ce sont en majorité des carnets de notes. Les documents les plus nombreux concernent John Thomas Molson (1837-1910), tant dans le premier groupe que dans le deuxième. D'autres documents me sont apparus particulièrement précieux parce qu'ils complètent une série de documents semblables contenus dans le fonds Molson des Archives nationales du Canada: ce sont les carnets de notes de Thomas Molson (1791-1863) (Figure 9). Comme son père, John l'Ancien (1763-1836) et comme son fils John Thomas, mais de façon plus continue et avec davantage de persévérance, Thomas gardait sur lui des petits carnets dans lesquels il inscrivait des informations de toute nature: parmi les plus intéressantes, les unes concernent sa biographie, d'autres, ses entreprises, d'autres, encore - peut-être les plus précieuses - décrivent les techniques de la brasserie, de la distillerie, de la meunerie, du moteur à vapeur, de la navigation, etc.. Les Archives nationales du Canada conservent 12 de ces carnets; le musée McCord en possède 8, portant sur les années 1815-16, 1820, 1823-24, 1828-32, 1835-36, 1856, 1858 et 1861 (le catalogue en attribue quelques-uns à John Thomas, mais l'écriture ne peut tromper, ils sont bien de Thomas).



- a. Brass Chamber
 - b. Cast Iron Cap screwed on with 2 bolts to form lower valve or box.
 - c. Hole in cast Iron Cap to draw out wort so as not to freeze in winter.
 - d. Cast Iron Flange to screw down to Framing.
 - e. 4 Bolts to screw Cast Iron Flange to Framing.
 - f. Suction pipe of Coghlin.
 - g. Brass Cock at top of Cylinder to empty or draw wort out to keep it from freezing.
 - h. Coghlin Pipe above working Barrel or Cylinder.
 - i. Hole where worts are pumped out into Boilers.
 - v. Small Cocks to stop the pump from pumping when requisite, as I only want one pump sometimes, viz have pumped sufficient into Boilers & not all pumped in boiler & the 2 pumps connected together by a crank therefore open the small cock of Boiler pump & it wont raise any wort as it draws air.
2. Brass pipe screwed on cast Iron Flange & suction pipe soldered on Brass pipe
 3. Screws

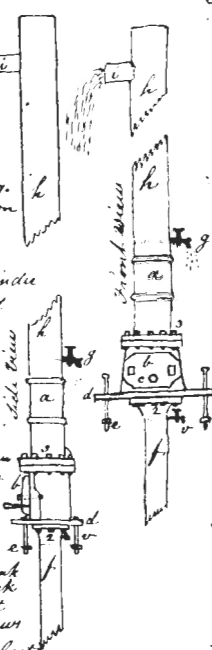


Fig. 9. Carnet de notes de Thomas Molson (1791-1863), Fonds Molson, M19113. (Courtesy of McCord Museum of Canadian History)

5. Les manuscrits conservés à la bibliothèque McLennan

Selon Mrs. Mabel Good, l'ancienne archiviste des Molson, avant que ceux-ci ne fissent don de leur fonds aux Archives nationales du Canada, c'est le Colonel Herbert Molson (1875-1938) qui aurait donné à l'Université McGill une collection de plus de 80 volumes provenant des navires et des entreprises de navigation des Molson depuis 1819 jusqu'en 1838. John Molson l'Ancien avait lancé à Montréal, en 1809, le premier bateau à vapeur de l'histoire du Canada, le *Accomodation*, à peine deux ans après que John Fulton eut lancé le *Claremont* sur l'Hudson.¹¹ Il détiendra pendant quelques années le monopole de la navigation à vapeur sur le St. Laurent lançant quatre bateaux de 1812 à 1816, puis affrontera, durant les années suivantes, la compétition de concurrents de plus en plus nombreux; en 1822, il formera, avec ses trois fils et les propriétaires de trois bateaux concurrents, la *St. Lawrence Steamboat Company*, dans laquelle les quatre Molson détiendront 26 de 44 actions et de la gestion de laquelle l'entreprise familiale, la *John Molson & Sons*, prendra la responsabilité. Dorénavant, la concurrence se fera à deux, la *Saint-Lawrence Steam Tow Boat Company* (connue aussi sous le nom de *Montreal Tow Boat Company* qui prendra plus tard le nom de *Montreal and Quebec Steamboat Company*) des frères Torrance¹² ayant relevé le gant; mais cette concurrence sera atténuée, les deux compagnies passant des ententes de cartel comprenant même, parfois, la propriété en commun de certains bateaux.

Il n'est pas nécessaire de décrire le contenu de chaque volume pour convaincre de l'importance de cette documentation; on y trouve de l'information sur les passagers et les cargaisons de 15 navires et de 2 barges ayant navigué entre Montréal et Québec de 1819 à 1838. Tous ces volumes n'ont pas le même contenu, et l'information n'y est pas d'égale qualité, mais l'on peut trouver, outre le nom des vaisseaux, le nom des membres des équipages, la quantité de combustible (bois/charbon), le nombre de descentes et de remontées du fleuve durant la saison de navigation (de mai à novembre); la liste de passagers des cabines et du pont, le fret maritime destiné à Montréal et à Québec, mais aussi aux ports d'escales le long des deux rives du fleuve (Sorel, Trois-Rivières, etc.) et sur le Richelieu (Chambly); le nom et l'adresse des expéditeurs et des consignataires des marchandises. D'autres volumes portent sur des sujets plus particuliers qui soulèvent beaucoup d'intérêt pour les chercheurs, comme les cahiers des salaires du vapeur *Québec* pour l'année 1826 et ceux de l'ensemble des vapeurs et des barges pour les années 1832-1835.

Ici, encore, comme au musée McCord, on trouve des carnets de notes de Thomas Molson (attribués à son frère William), trois en tout. Ajoutés à ceux du musée McCord, l'ensemble des 11 carnets conservés à McGill forme donc près de la moitié des 23 carnets de Thomas Molson qui sont parvenus jusqu'à nous. L'intérêt pour ces carnets ne peut sans doute pas être partagé par tous, mais pour celui qui s'est attardé longuement à la biographie de cet homme¹³, cette documentation présente beaucoup de richesses.

.....

Voilà une description sommaire des documents et des artefacts que l'on

trouve dans les divers musées et dépôts d'archives de l'Université McGill et qui contribuent à notre connaissance de la famille Molson. Certes, il s'agit d'une documentation accessoire, car le fonds principal des archives Molson a été donné aux Archives nationales du Canada. Tout accessoire qu'il soit, cependant, il ajoute des éléments de connaissance parfois indispensables, particulièrement en ce qui concerne l'activité incessante de cette famille en regard de ses responsabilités envers la grande maison d'enseignement qu'elle a soutenue depuis les tout débuts de son existence.

Notes

1. Sur la communauté des hommes d'affaires de Montréal au XIX^e siècle: Creighton, Donald G., *The Empire of the St. Lawrence*, Toronto, Macmillan, 1956; Ryerson, Stanley B., *Le Capitalisme et la Confédération; aux sources du conflit Canada-Québec (1760-1873)*, traduction de André D'Allemagne, Montréal, Parti-Pris, 1972; Tulchinsky, Gerald, *The River Barons: Montreal Businessmen and the Growth of Industry and Transportation, 1837-1853*, Toronto, University of Toronto Press, 1977. Chacun de ces ouvrages fait une place importante aux Molson.

2. Sur l'histoire de l'Université McGill: Frost, Stanley B., *McGill University, for the Advancement of Learning*, 2 vol., McGill-Queen's University Press, 1980, 1984; sur James McGill: Cooper, John Irwin, "McGill, James," *Dictionnaire biographique du Canada*, V, 579-583; sur les difficultés concernant l'application du testament de James McGill: Frost, Stanley B., "Desrivieres (Trottier Desrivières) François," *Dictionnaire biographique du Canada*, VI, 223-225.

3. Sur l'histoire des Molson: Sandwell, Bernard K., *The Molson Family*, Montréal, édition privée, 1933; Denison, Merrill, *Au Pied du Courant, l'histoire Molson*, traduction de Alain Grandbois, Montréal, Beauchemin, 1955; Woods, Shirley E., Jr., *La Saga des Molson, 1763-1983*, traduction de Marie-Catherine Laduré, Montréal, Editions de l'Homme, 1983; Dubuc, Alfred, *Les premiers Molson*, Montréal, Boréal, à paraître.

4. Eakins, Peter & Jean, "Dawson, John William," *Dictionnaire biographique du Canada*, XII, à paraître.

5. Shortt, Adam, "Currency and Banking, 1840-1867," in Neufeld, Edward Peter, ed., *Money and Banking in Canada; Historical Documents and Commentary*, Carleton Library Series 17, Toronto, McClelland & Stewart, 1964, 132-148; Breckenridge, R. M., *The Canadian Banking System, 1817-1890*, Toronto, 1894.

6. Je tiens à souligner l'aide précieuse que les personnes suivantes m'ont apportée pour la préparation de ce texte: Madame Phebe Chartrand, des Archives de McGill, Madame Barbara Lawson du musée Redpath; au musée McCord, Madame Pamela Miller, de la section "Manuscripts", Monsieur Conrad Graham de la collection d'ethnologie, Madame Jacqueline Beaudoin Ross, de la section des costumes anciens, et Madame Nora Hague de la collection Notman; M. Richard Virr, de la collection de manuscrits du fonds des "Rare Books"; je

les en remercie vivement.

7. MacDermot, H. E., *A History of the Montreal General Hospital*, Montréal, 1950; la participation des Molson à la fondation de l'hôpital est mentionnée aux pages IV, 2, 4, 12, 34, 41, 42, 110; sur la participation des Molson aux premières étapes de l'histoire de Montréal au XIX^e siècle: Doige, Thomas, *An Alphabetical List of Merchants, Traders and Housekeepers Residing in Montreal*, Montréal, 1819, 2^e edit. 1820, 20-1, 23, 26, 30, 108; Berthelot, Hector, *Montréal, Le bon vieux temps*, compilé, revu et corrigé par E. Z. Massicotte, Montréal, Beauchemin, 1916, partie I, 23-4, 25; partie II, 11, 18, 53; Atherton, W. H., *Montreal, 1534-1914*, 3 vol., Montréal, 1914, v. II, 138, 271, 275-9, 283, 435, 527, 556, 575-6, 607-8; Borthwick, J., *History and Biographical Gazetteer for Montreal to the Year 1892*, Montréal, Lovell, 1892, Part I, 34-5, 37-8, 44, 50-1, 53; Bosworth, Newton, *Hochelaga Depicta...*, Montréal, William Greig, 1839, 100, 109, 124, 127, 152-3; Sandham, Alfred, *Ville-Marie or Sketches of Montreal Past and Present*, Montréal, George Bishop, 1870, 91-2, 93.

8. Bradbury, Bettina, "Molson, Anne," *Dictionnaire biographique du Canada*, XII, à paraître.

9. Dubuc, Alfred, "Molson, John (l'Ancien)," *Dictionnaire biographique du Canada*, VII, à paraître; "Molson, John (l'Aîné)", (avec Robert Tremblay), *ibid.*, VIII, 698-703; "Molson, Thomas", *ibid.*, IX, 615-617; "Molson, William", *ibid.*, X, 567-576.

10. Triggs, Stanley G., "Notman, William," *Dictionnaire biographique du Canada*, XII, à paraître.

11. Wilson, G. H., "The Application of Steam to the St-Lawrence Valley Navigation, 1809-1840," thèse M. A. (Histoire), Université McGill, 1961; Flexner, James T., *Steamboats Come True; American Inventors in Action*, New York, Viking, 1944.

12. Armstrong, Frederick H., "Torrance, John," *Dictionnaire biographique du Canada*, IX, 875-876; "Torrance, David," *ibid.*, X, 747-749.

13. Dubuc, Alfred, "Thomas Molson, entrepreneur canadien, 1791-1863" Doctorat ès Lettres (Histoire), Université de Paris (Sorbonne), 1969.

Sources of Civil Law: The Wainwright Collection

by

M. L. Renshawe and J. E. C. Brierley

The "Wainwright Collection" of books relating to the history and sources of French private law is housed in McGill University's Law Area Library. The collection is an unique, valuable and useful resource for Civil Law jurists, scholars and historians. This essay examines briefly the scope and importance of the collection and relates how the core collection was acquired from Olivier-Martin for the McGill Faculty of Law through the generosity of the late Mr. Arnold Wainwright, Q. C.

La "Collection Wainwright" d'ouvrages se rapportant à l'histoire et aux sources du droit privé français se trouve à la bibliothèque de droit de l'université McGill. Cette collection est un instrument unique et inestimable pour les juristes, érudits et historiens du droit civil. L'auteur de cet article analyse brièvement la portée et l'importance de cette collection et relate comment la faculté de droit de McGill s'est portée acquéreur de la collection principale auprès d'Olivier-Martin grâce à la générosité de feu Arnold Wainwright, C. R.

* * * * *

Bound in worn, cracked, rubbed and dirty leather, the book measures approximately 22.5 cm wide by 28 cm in height. It would be described by bibliographers and booksellers as a quarto.

The spine is peeling and the hinges are split from use and dryness. The gilt stamped lettering and designs on the spine have faded almost to obliteration and the title can only be read with difficulty.

The inside covers are lined with fading and worn marbled paper in red, blue and green abstractions.

The volume contains 726 pages that, while stained slightly in places, are generally as clean and supple as those of a book published yesterday. None of the brittleness or decomposition associated with the cheaper, acidic paper of the mid-nineteenth century is to be found here despite the devastation of the binding.

The title page, in red and black print, gives the title in full:

"L'ART
DE VERIFIER LES DATES
DES FAITS HISTORIQUES,
DES CHARTES, DES CHRONIQUES,
ET AUTRES

ANCIENS MONUMENS

Depuis la Naissance de Notre-Seigneur;

PAR LE MOYEN

D'UNE TABLE CHRONOLOGIQUE,

où l'on trouve les années de JESUS-CHRIST, & de l'Ere

d'Espagne, les Indictions, le Cycle Pafcal, Les Pâques

de chaque année, les Cycles Solaires & Lunaires, etc."

The title page also indicates that the volume contains "UN CALENDRIER PERPETUEL, L'HISTOIRE ABREGÉE DES CONCILES, DES PAPES, DES EMPEREURS ROMAINS..." and so on.

Finally, the title page notes that the volume was the work of "des Religieux Benedictins de la Congrégation de S. Maur" and published in Paris by Desprez and Cavelier, "avec approbation et privilege du roi."

The date of the publication is "M. D C C. L."

The book is an 18th century reference book. It has obviously been well used at some point but is otherwise unremarkable either in its content or binding. However, the book is a survivor. It has escaped the ravages of time and man, the terrors of the French Revolution, the destruction of two world wars, and safely made its modern odyssey by sea from Paris to Montreal where it rests on the library shelves of the Wainwright Collection housed in McGill's Law Area Library. Indeed, on the inside of the front cover is a bookplate that reads:

"Ancienne Collection

OLIVIER-MARTIN

presented by

ARNOLD WAINWRIGHT, Q. C."

Another bookplate indicates that the work is the property of the McGill University Law Library.

The book was acquired by French scholar François Olivier-Martin in 1902, as indicated by his signature and notation found on one of the inside pages. 1902 was also the year Arnold Wainwright graduated from the McGill Faculty of Law.

While the book is unremarkable, except perhaps for its durability, the story of how the book arrived at McGill and became a part of the Wainwright Collection is unusual and interesting.

This short essay is the story of this book and many others that eventually became the "Wainwright Collection" of the Faculty of Law. The main characters of the story are the French professor of Law, François Olivier-Martin and Montreal lawyer Arnold Wainwright, exact contemporaries but unknown to each other. Others who played important roles include Marianne Scott, then Law Librarian of the Faculty of Law and now National Librarian of Canada, and J. G. Castel, then Professor of Law at McGill and now Professor of Law at Osgoode Hall Law School, York University.

The Wainwright Gift

On Saturday, February 8, 1958, a small ceremony was held in the Faculty of Law, 3644 Peel Street, to mark the formal presentation of the Olivier-Martin collection to the Faculty by Mr. Wainwright. Present were the Honorable W. B. Scott, Chief Justice of the Quebec Superior Court; French Ambassador to Canada, His Excellency Francis Lacoste; Bâtonnier General of the Quebec Bar Hugh O'Donnell and W. C. J. Meredith, Dean of McGill Faculty of Law. Also present was Arnold Wainwright, Q. C., who had purchased the private library of the late Professor Olivier-Martin of the University of Paris (Figure 10).

The Olivier-Martin collection of approximately 1200 volumes dealing primarily with the history and sources of French private law was considered at that time to be one of the most comprehensive private law libraries in France. Dean Meredith told those assembled at the ceremony that the collection "will enable Quebec lawyers, students, historians and others to probe the sources from which our civil law springs."¹ Dean Meredith also noted that the late Professor Olivier-Martin had expressed his desire that a Quebec university acquire his collection.

Mr. Wainwright was quoted as saying that "he was fascinated by our [Quebec] civil law" and that it was his hope that the collection would encourage graduate and undergraduate research into the Quebec Civil Code.²

Ambassador Lacoste, in his brief address, said that he was proud that the collection had found a place in "this famous and venerable university" to which he, himself, had come years ago as a visiting student.³

Arnold Wainwright

Arnold Wainwright Q. C. (1879-1967), a member of the Quebec Bar and prominent Montreal practitioner, was a graduate of McGill and a long-time associate and friend of the Faculty of Law. He received his B.A. in 1899 and his B.C.L. in 1902. After graduating, the Faculty awarded him the Macdonald Travelling Scholarship which enabled him to continue his studies in Paris.

In 1909 he joined the teaching staff of McGill as a part-time lecturer in Civil Law which he taught at McGill for the next twenty-five years. He was named professor emeritus in 1934 and was awarded an honorary degree of Doctor of Civil Law by McGill in 1963.



Fig. 10. Presentation of the Olivier Martin Collection, February 8, 1958. (L to R): W. B. Scott, Arnold Wainwright, Francis Lacoste, Hugh O'Donnell and W. C. J. Meredith. (Courtesy of the Gazette. Montreal)

As the time of his retirement from the practice of law, he was the senior partner in the firm of Wainwright, Elder, Laidley, Leslie, Bourgeois and Doheny in Montreal. After retirement he continued to act as senior counsel for the firm and as director of several companies including Fry-Cadbury Ltd.

In addition to his teaching and practice of the Civil Law, Arnold Wainwright was a gifted pianist and collector of fine art. He donated his art collection, including many Kriehoff oils depicting 19th century life in Quebec, to the University. This collection is now housed in the McCord Museum.

Upon his death in 1967, Arnold Wainwright bequeathed the residue of his estate to McGill University for the benefit of the Faculty of Law. The legacy has enabled the Faculty to set up the Wainwright Trust which ever since has funded a generous scholarship programme, the Wainwright Lecture Series, the Wainwright Student Essay Prize, the invitation residence of Junior and Senior Wainwright Fellows. It has also provided for continuing financial support to the Law Library in the field of modern French private law and the history of French Law.

François Olivier-Martin

François Olivier-Martin (1879-1952) was a prominent historian of French Law in the tradition of the late 19th century French historians such as C. Lefebvre (1847-1922), P. F. Girard (1852-1926), Émile Chénon (1857-1927) and J. Brissaud (1854-1904). He taught at the University of Paris from 1921 to 1951 where he had the reputation of being a gifted professor.

He was a prolific writer. His three major publications were *Histoire de la coutume de la prévôté et vicomté de Paris*, 2 vols. in 3 (1922, 1926, 1930), a magisterial study of the preponderant body of French customary law; *Organisation corporative de la France d'Ancien Régime* (1938), and *Histoire du droit français des origines à la Révolution* (1948). He was a founder, with others, of "La Société Jean Bodin pour L'histoire comparative des institutions."⁴ He was also a collector of books on French legal history, customary law, church law and history, political science and other matters of personal scholarly interest, and it was his personal collection, including *L'Art de Vérifier les Dates...*, acquired over many years and from various sources, that became the core of the Wainwright Collection.

The original Olivier-Martin library contained approximately 1200 volumes or 850 titles. Prof. J. G. Castel formerly of the Faculty of Law had travelled to Paris, negotiated the purchase from Madame Olivier-Martin and arranged for the books to be packed in six crates, sent from Paris to Le Havre, and then shipped to Montreal on board the "S. S. Montreal."

After the books arrived in Montreal and were delivered to the Faculty of Law, Marianne Scott, the Law Librarian, took charge. Under her supervision the books were sorted and shelved alphabetically by author in a special, third floor room of Old Chancellor Day Hall, apart from the main law library which was, at that time, also located in Old Chancellor Day Hall.

New shelving had been especially installed for the collection and a special plaque made to identify the room as the "Wainwright Room."⁵ Books of a similar nature, already held by the main law library were then added to the Olivier-Martin library to form the "Wainwright Collection".

In 1960, Denis de Boronkay, Assistant Librarian and cataloguer in the law library, trained in Hungarian law and a graduate of McGill's Library School, completed a two part bibliographical study of the Olivier-Martin collection.⁶ This study was prepared in several typescript copies but never formally published. Bound in red buckram, it still serves as a useful and interesting entrée to the original Olivier-Martin library.

Part I (Volume 1) of the study provides a detailed bibliographical description of each item with "authentic sentences" of the authors or editors selectively used to show the scope of each work.

Part II (Volume 2) contains seven indexes: I. Index of Authors; II. Index of Titles; III. Index of Series in which many items are published; IV. Index of Theses; V. Index of Place Names, VI. Subject Index (in English); VII. Analytical Index (in French). The study did not include the folio volumes that were a part of the Olivier-Martin library.

In addition to his bibliographic analysis, Boronkay catalogued the Olivier-Martin titles so that scholars would have easy access to the collection using the Law Library card catalogue.

Scope Of The Olivier-Martin Library

In the tradition of the now classic historians who wrote in the late 19th and early 20th centuries, there are five commonly accepted (although only approximative) chronological divisions of French law preceding the "modern" period which began in 1804:

1. Gallo-Roman, 50 B. C. - 476 A. D.
2. Frankish Period, 6th - 10th centuries
3. Feudal Period (Middle Ages), 11th - 15th centuries
4. Administrative Monarchy, 16th century - 1789
5. Revolutionary (or "Intermediate") Period, 1789-1804

The historical sources of law vary within each period and according to the geographical region of France and the field of law in question. Roman law, Canon law, customary law (*droit coutumier*), royal edicts and ordinances, judicial decisions of the French *parlements* and inferior courts and doctrinal comment are all elements that combine, in a variety of patterns, to constitute the legal "system." The documentary sources of French law therefore exhibit great complexity.

The Olivier-Martin library was especially rich in original materials from the fourth period (1500-1789) when a multitude of doctrinal commentators began the work of synthesizing these various elements of French private law. Their works paved the way for the Napoleonic codifications of the early 19th

century that, in turn, laid the foundations of the modern French legal order.

The draftsmen of the great French *Code civil* of 1804 drew their inspiration particularly from the work of Robert-Joseph Pothier (1699-1772) and Jean Domat (1625-1695), as well as from the compiled works of the best known Roman jurists found in Justinian's *Corpus Juris Civilis*. The Olivier-Martin library contained editions of the *Oeuvres* of both Pothier and Domat, as well as the important and preferred 1776 edition of Pothier's *Coutumes...d'Orléans* and an excellent late 19th century three volume edition in Latin and Greek of the *Corpus Juris Civilis*.

The Wainwright Collection Today

While the Olivier-Martin library of 1200 volumes was the core collection, the Wainwright Collection today consists of over 3000 volumes, (approximately 1700 titles), all of which are fully catalogued and classified. The generosity of Arnold Wainwright, continued through the Wainwright Trust, has enabled the Faculty of Law to purchase in the antiquarian book market many additional titles of interest to add to the original bequest of 1958. Some volumes have also been added to it over the years by other donors. The records for this collection appear at the present time only in the McGill Law Library card catalogue and not as yet in the McGill University Automated Catalogue (MUSE). Adding those records to MUSE will be a special project for the near future, as will adding temperature and humidity controls to the Wainwright Room of New Chancellor Day Hall to protect the collection from the fluctuations of environmental change.

Today the "Wainwright Room" is located on the fifth floor of New Chancellor Day Hall, built in 1968 adjoining Old Chancellor Day Hall. The collection is still shelved apart from the main law library collection and its use is restricted to scholars having legitimate research interests.

Significance of the Collection To Canadian Legal Research

The collection is of particular relevance to the historical development and contemporary operation of a large portion of Quebec law. Important parts of the legal system of metropolitan France were extended to the colony of New France in the 17th and 18th centuries, prior to its cession to the British Crown in 1763. Those elements relating to "private law" or *droit civil*, that is to say to "property and civil rights" of citizens as private individuals (as that term was understood at the time) were reaffirmed as the "law of Canada" by the enactment of the United Kingdom known as the "Quebec Act" of 1774.⁷ Many of the distinctive institutions of contemporary Quebec private law therefore draw their origins from the "old French law" (*ancien droit français*) as expounded in the works forming a significant part of the Olivier-Martin collection.

When Quebec enacted its first Civil Code, in 1866, it was based upon these same sources, even though in form and style the *Civil Code of Lower Canada* was closely patterned upon the French *Code civil* of 1804. But the

Sources of Civil Law: The Wainwright Collection

Quebec and French codes differ in their treatment of their largely similar historical sources. A leading difference between them is that in France, where the Napoleonic codes were envisaged as ushering in a new social order, the law as it had previously existed, i.e. prior to 1804, was abrogated. In Quebec, on the other hand, the "old French law" as it had survived in Quebec down to 1866, was expressly maintained in those instances where the Civil Code did not contain any specific provision. The French "historical" sources of Quebec Civil Law thus remain a truly living source of contemporary law.⁸

The gift by Arnold Wainwright of the Olivier-Martin collection thus has a particular importance for Quebec lawyers over and above its general value for students of French legal history and civilization.

Notes

1. *Montreal Star*, Tuesday, February 4, 1958.
2. *Montreal Star*, Monday, February 10, 1958, 8.
3. *Ibid.*
4. For details of his life and career, see G. Lepointe. "François Olivier-Martin." *Revue historique de droit français et étranger*. 30 (1953): 1-29.
5. McGill Law Library, *Annual Report for 1957-58*, submitted by Marianne Scott, Law Librarian and available in the McGill University Archives. We are indebted to Mrs. Phebe Chartrand of the McGill Archives for locating this report. See also Marianne Scott. "The Wainwright Collection." *McGill Law Journal* 8 (1961): 57-60.
6. *Olivier-Martin's Collection of Books on French Legal History, History, Church History, Canon Law, Political Science, Public Finance: Analytical Bibliography*. 2 vols. Montreal, 1960.
7. Stats. U. K., 14 Geo. III, c. 83.
8. The codification of Quebec Civil Law in 1866 in relation to its historical sources is analyzed in J. E. C. Brierley. "Quebec's Civil Law Codification: Viewed and Reviewed." *McGill Law Journal* 14 (1968) 514.

Moses Maimonides: His Works and the McGill Collection

by

Goldie Sigal

Philosopher, rabbinic authority and royal physician, Moses Maimonides (1138-1204) was one of the most illustrious figures in the history of Judaism and played an important role in the history of ideas. This paper provides an outline of his life, then briefly considers his major works and influence in the fields of philosophy, rabbinics and medicine. It describes McGill's rounded collection on Maimonides and mentions some of its rare and unusual holdings.

Philosophe, théologien et médecin juif, Moïse Maimonide (1138-1204) est l'un des personnages les plus illustres de toute l'histoire du judaïsme et il a joué un rôle capital dans l'histoire des idées. Cet article donne un aperçu de sa vie avant d'analyser brièvement ses oeuvres majeures et leur influence dans les domaines de la philosophie, des études rabbiniques et de la médecine. L'auteur y décrit la collection des oeuvres de Maimonide que possède l'université McGill et mentionne certains articles rares et inhabituels de cette collection.

* * * * *

Some 850 years after his birth, the figure of Moses Maimonides (1138¹-1204) still towers over the history of Judaism, a history not lacking in luminaries of learning. Philosopher and royal physician as well as rabbinic authority, he was not only a giant of Jewish thought, but he played a significant role in the history of ideas in the western world. This paper will consider the man, his works and his influence, and will conclude with a brief discussion of McGill's library resources on Maimonides.

LIFE

Maimonides, or "the RAMBAM"², was born in Cordoba, Spain, in 1138. His first instruction was at the hands of his father, Rabbi Maimon ben Joseph, the *dayyan* of Cordoba, who was a biblical and talmudic scholar and mathematician. Moses's thorough grounding in rabbinics was supplemented by the wealth of Greco-Arabic learning accessible in Islamic Spain and North Africa.

The Maimon family was forced to leave Cordoba in 1148 when the city was conquered by the Almohads, an intolerant Muslim sect. After about a decade of wandering, the family settled at Fez in Morocco. They were uprooted once more, six years later, because of religious persecution. Around the year 1166, after a visit to the Holy Land, the family moved to Egypt and took up residence in Fustat (old Cairo), where Maimonides married and had a son.

During those early, difficult years, Maimonides wrote a treatise on logic (*Maqālah fī Ṣinā'at al-Manṭiq*), completed a work on the computation of the

Jewish calendar (*Ma'amar ha-Ibur*), and worked on drafts of some of his later manuscripts. In 1168 he produced his first major work, the *Kitāb al-Sirāj* (*Commentary on the Mishnah*) and about ten years later he completed the monumental *Mishneh Torah* - a codification of the entirety of rabbinic law. *Dalālat al-Ḥā'irīn* (*Guide of the Perplexed*) appeared around the year 1190, establishing his importance as a philosopher of the first rank.

Maimonides turned to medicine as a means of livelihood after the tragic death of his brother, David, and the loss of the family fortune in a shipwreck in 1169. His reputation as a physician spread rapidly and in 1185 he was appointed court physician to al-Qāḍī al-Fāḍil, vizier of Saladin. The majority of his medical works were translated from Arabic into Hebrew and Latin and this helped to spread his fame in the West.

During this period, Maimonides was also religious and lay leader of the large Jewish community in Cairo and carried on an extensive, warm correspondence with members of other Jewish communities, answering questions of law and strengthening their morale and resolve during times of persecution. The many facets of his career put a tremendous strain on Maimonides, as he described in his famous letter of 1199 to his disciple and translator, Samuel Ibn Tibbon, who lived in Provence:

I dwell in Fustat, and the Sultan resides at Cairo [originally a suburb of the older Fustat]; these two places are two Sabbath days' journey distant from each other. [A Sabbath day's journey is two thousand paces.] My duties to the ruler are very heavy. I am obliged to visit him every day, early in the morning; and when he or any of his children, or any of the inmates of his harem, is indisposed, I dare not quit Cairo, but must stay during the greater part of the day in the palace.

It also frequently happens that one or two of the royal officers fall sick, and I must attend to their healing the entire day. Hence, as a rule, I repair to Cairo very early in the day, and even if nothing unusual happens, I do not return to Fustat until the afternoon. Under no circumstances do I return earlier. Then I am almost dying with hunger. I find the antechambers filled with people, both Jews and Gentiles, important and unimportant people, theologians and bailiffs, friends and foes - a mixed multitude, who await the time of my return.

I dismount from my animal, wash my hands, go forth to my patients, and beg and entreat them to bear with me while I partake of some slight refreshment, the only meal I take in the twenty-four hours. Then I go forth to attend my patients, write prescriptions and directions for their several ailments. Patients go in and out until nightfall, and sometimes even, I solemnly assure you, until two hours in the night [eight o'clock] or even later. I converse with, and prescribe for them while lying down on my back from sheer fatigue; and when night falls, I am so exhausted, I can scarcely speak.

In consequence of this, no Israelite can speak with me or have any private interview with me, except on the Sabbath. On that day, the whole congregation, or at least, the majority of the members, come to me after the morning service, when I instruct

them as to their proceedings during the whole week; we study together a little until noon, when they depart. Some of them return, and read with me after the afternoon service until evening prayers. In this manner I spend that day. I have here related to you only a part of what you would see, if by God's aid you were to visit me.³

When Maimonides died in 1204, expressions of grief were voiced all over the Jewish world. Jews and Muslims alike observed three days of public mourning at Fustat. His body was taken to Tiberias in Galilee, and his grave is still an object of pilgrimage.

- "From Moses to Moses", goes the popular Jewish saying, "there has been no one like Moses."

WORKS AND INFLUENCE

Maimonides as Philosopher

Maimonides's disciplined, scientific approach to the acquisition of knowledge is articulated in his letter of 1194 to the rabbis of Marseilles: -

Know my masters that no man should believe anything unless attested by one of three principles. First, rational proof as in mathematical sciences; secondly, the perception by one of the five senses ... and thirdly, tradition as derived from the prophets and the righteous.⁴

In the same letter he strongly denounces astrology as a pseudo-science of legitimate astronomy, asserting that the "assumptions of the astrologers ... are irrational superstitions devoid of any scientific basis None of the Greek thinkers, who were surely authentic scientists, ever engaged in such notions."⁵ This was a view rarely expressed by Jewish (or other) scholars in medieval times.

Excerpts of a letter to Samuel ibn Tibbon reveal Maimonides's primary indebtedness to Aristotle as well as his attitude toward other philosophers:

- The writings [literally: words] of Aristotle's teacher Plato are in parables and hard to understand. One can dispense with them, for the writings of Aristotle suffice, and we need not occupy [our attention] with the writings of earlier [philosophers]. Aristotle's intellect [represents] the extreme of human intellect, if we except those who have received divine inspiration.

- The works of Aristotle are the roots and foundations of all works on the sciences. But they cannot be understood except with the help of commentaries, those of Themistius, and those of Averroes.

- I tell you: as for works on logic, one should only study the writings of Abū Naṣr al-Fārābī. All his writings are faultlessly excellent. One ought to study and understand them. For he is a

great man.

- Though the work of Avicenna may give rise to objections and are not as [good] as those of Abū Naṣr [al-Fārābī]⁶, Abū Bakr al-Ṣā'igh [Ibn Bajja] was also a great philosopher, and all his writings are of a high standard.⁷

Dalālat al-Ḥā'irīn (Guide of the Perplexed)

It is generally agreed that the *Guide of the Perplexed* is the most important and influential work produced within the Jewish philosophical tradition. The *Guide*, written in Judeo-Arabic in the form of a letter to Maimonides's pupil, Joseph ben Judah, was intended for those who were perplexed by the apparently conflicting claims of the Jewish faith and Greek philosophy. Through its translations, first into Hebrew (*Moreh Nevukhim*) and then into Latin (*Doctor Perplexorum [etc.]*), the *Guide* had a great influence both on subsequent Jewish and non-Jewish thought.

Many commentaries were written on this work during the period after Maimonides' death by Jewish scholars like Shem-Tov Falaquera, Joseph ibn Kaspi, Moses of Narbonne, Isaac Abravanel and others, and its theses were discussed at length by the noted Jewish philosophers, Gersonides and Hasdai Crescas. Modern Jewish thinkers influenced by Maimonides include men like Moses Mendelssohn, Solomon Maimon, Nahman Krochmal, Samuel David Luzatto (who opposed his rationalism), S. L. Steinheim, Hermann Cohen and Ahad Ha-Am.

Maimonides exercised an extensive influence on Christian scholastic thinkers like Alexander of Hales, William of Auvergne, Albertus Magnus, Thomas Aquinas and Duns Scotus, and the Christian mystic, Meister Eckhart. Nicholas of Cusa, in the 15th century, was indebted to him, and in early modern times, so were Benedict Spinoza and Gottfried Wilhelm Leibniz.

Maimonides as Rabbinic Authority

Kitāb al-Sirāj (Commentary on the Mishnah)

The *Mishnah* is the compendium of Jewish oral law (traditional interpretation of biblical law and later rabbinic legislation) prepared around the year 200. It formed the basis of study for all students of the law from its inception, and around it were constructed both the Babylonian and Jerusalem Talmuds. Maimonides' *Commentary on the Mishnah* was his earliest major work in Jewish law.

Kitāb al-Farā'id (Book of the Commandments)

In this work, known in Hebrew as the *Sefer ha-Mitsvot*. Maimonides gives his own enumeration of the 248 positive and 365 negative commandments of the Hebrew Bible, grouped according to fourteen principles.⁸ This work was generally accepted by Jewish scholars, and formed the foundation of the majority of subsequent lists on this subject in

rabbinic literature. It serves as an introduction to his *Mishneh Torah*.

Mishneh Torah

The *Mishneh Torah* (literally, "Repetition of the Law") is Maimonides's monumental code of Jewish law, written in a beautiful, lucid Hebrew. In his Introduction, Maimonides states that he wrote it "in plain language and terse style, so that thus the entire Oral Law might become systematically known to all."⁹

The scope of this work is staggering. To write it, an encyclopedic knowledge of the vast talmudic and post-talmudic literature, as well as of the Scriptures, was required. Maimonides divided this "sea" of law by subject, into fourteen books. Because the Hebrew letters for the number 14 in Hebrew also spell out the word "yad," or "hand," the Code is often referred to as "Ha-yad Ha-ḥazakah" ("The Strong Hand"), evoking "the strong hand" of the biblical Moses in the concluding verse of Deuteronomy. It continues to be a basic text of study in rabbinical academies to this day.

"Ha-yad Ha-ḥazakah" was aptly named. Maimonides's approach to, and formulation of, Jewish law was both daring and original. He was the first codifier to integrate his philosophy with Jewish legal writings, and for the sake of clarity and brevity he omitted the mention of sources or of divergent views. This bold approach was both admired and censured by his contemporaries. The Code was to be the focus of controversy for several centuries, largely because of the absence of cited sources, and because of the fear that the *Mishneh Torah* might replace the creative process of Talmud study itself.

A well known excerpt from the *Mishneh Torah* is Maimonides' description of the "Eight Degrees of Charity": -

There are eight degrees of charity, one higher than the other.

The highest degree is to aid a man in want by offering him a gift or a loan, by entering into partnership with him, or by providing work for him, so that he may become self-supporting.

The next highest degree is where the one who gives and the one who receives are not aware of each other.

The third, inferior degree is where the giver knows the recipient, but the recipient does not know the giver.

The fourth, still lower degree is where the recipient knows the giver, but the giver does not know the recipient.

The fifth degree is where the giver puts the alms into the hands of the poor without being asked.

The sixth degree is where he puts the money into the hands of the poor after being asked.

The seventh degree is where he gives less than he should, but does so cheerfully.

The eighth degree is where he gives resentfully.

- *Mishneh Torah*,
"Matnot 'Aniyim", 10:8-14¹⁰

Maimonides as Physician

Galen's art heals only the body
But Abū 'Amrān's [Maimonides'] the body and soul.
His knowledge made him the physician of the century.
He could heal with his wisdom the sickness of ignorance.

- A song of praise written by a patient, Sa'īd ibn
Ṣanā' al-Mulk.¹¹

Sir William Osler called Maimonides "the prince among Jewish physicians"¹² The medieval Jewish physician is surprisingly modern in some of his pronouncements and attitudes. He treated disease by the scientific method, and responded to the psychological and spiritual needs of his patients.

Except for part of his Galen compendium, all of Maimonides' medical writings have been preserved.¹³ They demonstrate a knowledge both of Greek and Arabic medical writings: Hippocrates, Aristotle, Galen, Rhazes of Persia, Farābī of Turkestan and Ibn Zuhr of Spain.

Perhaps the most popular of his ten major medical treatises is the work, *The Medical Aphorisms of Moses* (*Pirke Mosheh* in Hebrew), which is a collection of some 1,500 aphorisms compiled from Greek medical writers, especially Galen. The final section is a lengthy criticism of the inconsistencies in the philosophy and medicine of Galen. Two other treatises demonstrating Greek influence on Maimonides are his *Extracts from Galen* and *Commentary on the Aphorisms of Hippocrates*.

The *Guide to Good Health*, popular in its Latin translation as *De Regimine Sanitatis*, was written in 1198 for the Egyptian sultan, Afḍal Nūr al-Dīn 'Alī, who suffered from attacks of depression accompanied by physical symptoms. In it, Maimonides taught that physical convalescence is dependent on psychological well-being and rest. His *Treatise on Poisons and their Antidotes* is considered to be as applicable today as it was 800 years ago. Maimonides was the first to distinguish various types of snake venoms and suggested the establishment of collections of antidotes in state pharmacies. Also well known are his treatises *On Hemorrhoids*, *On Sexual Intercourse*, *On Asthma*, and *On the Explanation of Accidents*. His treatise entitled *Explanation of Drug Names*, discovered in 1932 in the Aya Sofya Library in Istanbul, Turkey, served for centuries as a major textbook of pharmacology throughout Europe and the Middle East.

Whether considered as philosopher, rabbinic authority or physician, most scholars today seem to agree that each facet of Maimonides' personality was an expression of the whole man.¹⁴ As David Hartman convincingly argues, for Maimonides, the philosopher and the rabbinical authority were not in conflict with each other.¹⁵ Furthermore, Maimonides the physician was also an expression of the whole man. As Dr. Fred Rosner comments, "His attitude towards the practice of medicine came from his deep religious background, which made the preservation of health and life a divine commandment."¹⁶

McGILL'S COLLECTION

The literature on Maimonides is voluminous, having multiplied exponentially in the last century. A comprehensive bibliography covering all languages has yet to be published. The great Judaica libraries in Israel, the United States and elsewhere have extensive holdings on Maimonides, particularly in rabbinics. McGill's holdings on Maimonides are certainly less extensive, but they are rounded and diverse in nature. They offer the student a core of over 125 primary and 100 secondary sources in monograph form, including a fair number of rare and unusual works, and several incunabula. This collection, located mainly at the McLennan Library, but also at other libraries in the system, such as Osler, Religious Studies, and Islamic Studies, reflects the multi-faceted nature of the man. At the same time, the diversity of material provided is characteristic of an institution that includes the study of many disciplines and traditions.

Editions of the "Guide"

The *Guide of the Perplexed* was originally written in Judeo-Arabic (Arabic in Hebrew characters). A calligraphic rendering of the Judeo-Arabic *Dalālat al Ḥā'irīn*, reproduced from the cover of Pines' 1963 English translation of the *Guide*, mentioned later in this article, is shown below.



A sampling of McGill's editions of *Dalālat al Ḥā'irīn* (*Guide of the Perplexed*), and its translations, reflects the interdependence of different cultures in the history of ideas:

The Judeo-Arabic is represented by the three volume edition, at the McLennan Library, edited by Joseph Kafaḥ (Jerusalem: Mosad Ha-Rav Kuk, 1972). This edition also contains the Hebrew translation by Kafaḥ in facing columns.

The first Arabic edition in Arabic characters was published in Ankara (Ankara Üniversitesi Basimevi, 1974) and is housed at the Islamic Studies Library.

The two historic Hebrew translations (*Moreh Nevukhim*) were made by Samuel Ibn Tibbon and Judah al-Ḥarīzī. Yehudah Even-Shemuel (Kaufmann) edited part of the Ibn Tibbon text, with introductions and commentary. The first two volumes of this set (Tel Aviv: Shevil, 1935-38) are a gift of the late Rabbi Harry J. Stern.¹⁷ Volumes 3 and 4 (Jerusalem: Mosad ha-Rav Kuk, 1959-1987) complete the set at the McLennan Library.¹⁸ The al-Ḥarīzī translation is represented at the McLennan Library by the Vilna, 1913 edition, with notes by Simon B. Scheyer.

The Latin translations of both these Hebrew versions are available at McGill. *Dux seu Director Dubitatum aut Perplexorum* (Paris: Ab Iodoco Badio Ascensio, [1520]), derived from the al-Ḥarīzī version, is edited by A. Justinianus with a Latin translation ascribed to Jacob Mantino (Figure 11). It is a particularly beautiful specimen and is housed in the Department of Rare Books and Special Collections in the McLennan Library. Photostat and microform copies are also available.

The Ibn Tibbon version, translated into Latin by Johann Buxtorf (*Doctor Perplexorum*, Basel, 1629) is available at the McLennan Library in a reprint edition (Farnborough: Gregg, 1969). It includes the *Observationes* of Leibniz on the *Guide*. The 1629 edition was most important in extending Maimonides' influence to the scholars and philosophers of Europe, including Leibniz.¹⁹

The standard English version used today is the *Guide of the Perplexed*, translated and edited by Shlomo Pines, with an introduction by Leo Strauss (University of Chicago Press, 1963). The standard French translation, *Le Guide des Égarés*, is by Salomon Munk (Paris: G. P. Maisonneuve, 1970). Both texts are at the McLennan Library, with added copies elsewhere.

An unusual work, which is of particular interest to the McGill community, is Muhammad Tabrīzī's *Sharh-i Bīst va panj muqaddimah dar isbat-i Bārī-i Ta'ālā az kitāb-i Dalālat al-ḥā'irīn* (*Tabrizi's Commentary on the Twenty-Five Premises from the "Guide"*), edited by M. Mohaghegh and translated into Persian by S. J. Sajjādī (Tehran, 1981). This work is co-published by McGill University, Institute of Islamic Studies, and Tehran University.

Other Rare Works

McGill has a number of other rare books by Maimonides. The incunabulum, *De Regimine Sanitatis ad Soldanum Babyloniae* (Florence: Jacobus de Ripoli, ca. 1481) is housed at the Osler Library, as is the *Praefatio Rabi Moysis* (Bologna: H. de Benedictis, 1526). The latter is the Latin translation, by Jacob Mantino, of the Introduction to the tractate "Avot" of Maimonides' *Commentary on the Mishnah*. Known in Hebrew as the *Shemonah Perakim* (*Eight Chapters*), it is a philosophical and ethical treatise in which the author seeks to harmonize Aristotle's ethics with

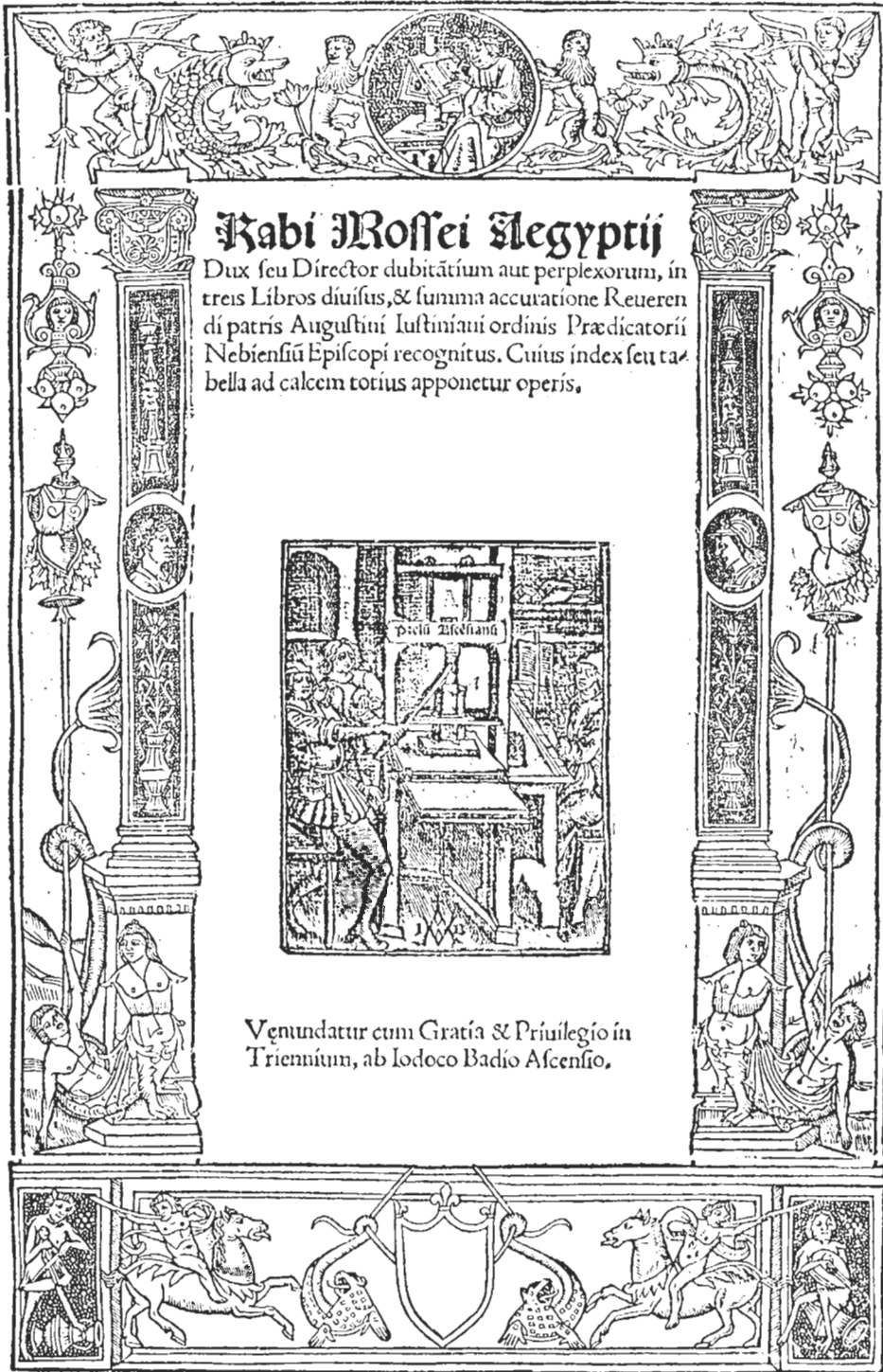


Fig. 11. Title page of *Dux seu Director dubitantium aut perplexorum*, Paris, J. Badius Ascensius, 1520. (Courtesy of Department of Rare Books and Special Collections)

rabbinical teachings.

Another interesting work in the Osler Library is Maimonides' *Livre des Préceptes [Kitāb al-Farā'id]* (Paris, 1888). Published for the first time in the original Judeo-Arabic, it is accompanied by an introduction and notes by M. Bloch.

The Lewin Collection in the Department of Rare Books and Special Collections at the McLennan Library contains some 18th century editions of works by Maimonides. One of these is the *Mishneh Torah* (Venice: Stamparia Bragadina/Vendramina, 1703). The other is a collection of Maimonides' Responsa (written replies to questions about the application of Jewish law), *Sefer Pe'er ha-Dor* (Amsterdam: Girard Johan Janson, in the house of Israel Mondvi, 1765), translated from the Judeo-Arabic and edited by Mordecai b. Isaac Tama. McGill's copy of this latter work contains an autograph dedication of the editor to David ben Raphael Meldola (1797-1853), presiding rabbi of the Sephardic Jews in London, England, and uncle of Abraham De Sola, prominent Montreal rabbi and Professor of Hebrew and Oriental literature at McGill University from 1848 to 1882 (LL.D 1858).²⁰

A recent acquisition in the Department of Rare Books and Special Collections at the McLennan Library is the *Codex Maimuni* (Budapest: Corvina, c1984), a beautiful facsimile edition featuring the illuminated pages of the Kaufmann *Mishneh Torah*.

The works cited above are some of the rare or unusual editions to be found within the McGill Maimonides collection. They are buttressed by a rounded core of several hundred primary and secondary sources.²¹ From the basic to the esoteric, McGill has something to offer to both the student and the scholar of Maimonides.

Notes

1. I am indebted to Professor Lawrence Kaplan, of the McGill Jewish Studies Department, for pointing out, in a personal communication, that leading scholars today agree with Havlin's conclusion that Maimonides was born in the year 1138, and not 1135, as is commonly believed. See S. Z. Havlin "Le-toldot ha-Rambam." *Daat* 15 (summer 1985): 67-80.

2. "RAMBAM" is the acronym in Hebrew for Rabi Mosheh ben Maimon. Most of the biographical material in this paper is based on the article, "Maimonides, Moses," in the *Encyclopaedia Judaica*. For a good review of his works, see also "Moses ben Maimon," *The Jewish Encyclopaedia*.

3. Letter translated by Jacob R. Marcus, *The Jew in the Medieval World* (New York: Atheneum, 1969) 308-309. Words in square brackets have been inserted by Marcus.

4. Moses Maimonides, "Maimonides' Letter to the Jews of Marseilles", *Letters of Maimonides*, ed. and trans. Leon D. Stitskin (New York: Yeshiva University Press, 1977) 119.

5. "Maimonides' Letter to the Jews of Marseilles" 120. Maimonides' competence in medieval astronomy as well as in mathematics is illustrated by a number of passages in the *Guide of the Perplexed* and by the section on the calendar in the *Mishneh Torah*: "Hilkhot Kidush ha-Hodesh" ("Laws of the Sanctification of the New Moon"). See Moses Maimonides, *The Code of Maimonides*, Book 3 Treatise 8, Yale Judaica Series 11 (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1956).
6. Another version of this passage reads: "Though the works of [Abū] 'Alī Ibn Sīnā [Avicenna] manifest great accuracy and subtle study, they are not as [good] as the work of Abū Naṣr al-Fārābī." Shlomo Pines "Translator's Introduction." *Guide of the Perplexed*, by Moses Maimonides (Chicago University Press, 1963) lx.
7. Pines lix-lx. Words in square brackets have been inserted by Pines. For a full discussion of Maimonides' philosophic sources, see Pines lvii-cxxxiv.
8. For a description of these principles, see Moses Maimonides, *The Commandments*, trans. and ed. Charles B. Chavel (London: Soncino, 1967) 2: 367-368.
9. Moses Maimonides. "Introduction." *Maimonides' "Mishneh Torah"*, ed. Philip Birnbaum (New York: Hebrew Publishing Co., 1985, c1967) 3. Translation is from *Encyclopedia Judaica*, 11: 767.
10. Translated by Philip Birnbaum, in his edition of *Sidur le-Shabat ve-Yom Tov* (New York: Hebrew Publishing Co., c1950) 470.
11. In Benjamin Lee Gordon, *Medieval and Renaissance Medicine* (New York: Philosophical Library, 1959) 235.
12. Sir William Osler. "Men and Books." *Canadian Medical Association Journal* (Aug. 1914) 727.
13. For a listing of Maimonides' medical works in Arabic, and their description, see *Encyclopedia Judaica*, v. 11, 778-779. Cf. Fred Rosner. "Moses Maimonides." *Annals of Internal Medicine* 62.2 (Feb. 1965): 372-375. See also Jacob I. Dienstag. "Translators and Editors of Maimonides' Medical Works: a Bio-Bibliographical Survey." *Memorial Volume in Honor of Professor S. Muntner*, ed. Joshua O. Leibowitz (Jerusalem: Israel Institute of the History of Medicine, 1983) 95-135.
14. This view, however, is not universally held. There is a respected school of thought, represented by scholars such as Leo Strauss, which claims that the statements Maimonides addressed to the ordinary Jewish man of faith differed essentially from his "true" views which he shared only with people of intellect.
15. See David Hartman, *Maimonides: Torah and Philosophic Quest* (Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society of America, 1976). Hartman was a lecturer in the Philosophy Department at McGill in the early seventies, and this book is based on the Ph.D. thesis he submitted to that University in 1973.

16. Rosner 374.
17. The Stern bequest at the McLennan Library also includes a fine edition of the *Mishneh Torah* in five volumes (Vilna: A. Ts. Rozenkrants & M. M. Shriftzetter, 1900).
18. A one volume edition of this work, without commentary, is also at the McLennan Library (Jerusalem: Mosad ha-Rav Kuk, c1981).
19. Spinoza, however, used the Hebrew translation of the *Guide*. A copy of the Venice edition of the *Moreh Nevukhim* is listed in the Inventory of his library. See Jean Préposiet. "Inventaire de la Bibliothèque personnelle de Spinoza." *Bibliographie Spinoziste* (Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 1973) [339] item 19.
20. Personal communication, Brad Sabin Hill, Curator, Jacob M. Lowy Collection of Rare Judaica, National Library, Ottawa. Cf. Arthur Daniel Hart, ed. *The Jew in Canada* (Toronto: Jewish Publications Ltd., c1926) 86. See also the genealogical tree of the Meldola family in the *Jewish Encyclopaedia*, 8: 45.
21. A list of McGill's holdings by and about Maimonides was compiled in 1985 in connection with the International Colloquium on Maimonides held in Montreal, October 23-25, 1985. That list was further co-ordinated with similar ones for the other participating institutions in Montreal (Concordia University, Jewish Public Library, Université de Montréal, and Université de Québec à Montréal) and may be consulted by contacting the Jewish Studies bibliographer at the McLennan Library.

Scholar Librarians: Gould, Lomer and Pennington

by

Peter F. McNally

Between 1893 and 1964 the McGill University Libraries were dominated by the University Librarians Charles Gould, Gerhard Lomer, and Richard Pennington. This paper evaluates their effectiveness in transforming the libraries from a small teaching collection into a major research resource. Each man is considered as a bookman, scholar, and administrator with the conclusion that in composite the three men became the ideal scholar librarian.

Entre 1893 et 1964, les bibliothèques de l'Université McGill ont été dominées par Charles Gould, Gerhard Lomer et Richard Pennington, bibliothécaires de l'Université. Cet article évalue avec quelle efficacité ils ont transformé les bibliothèques de l'Université et comment, à partir d'une petite collection d'enseignement, ils ont constitué un fonds de recherche d'importance majeure. Chaque homme est considéré sous l'angle du bibliophile, de l'érudit et de l'administrateur; l'auteur en arrive à la conclusion qu'ensemble, les trois hommes constituent le bibliothécaire érudit idéal.

* * * * *

No understanding of the McGill University libraries and their collections is possible without an appreciation of the three men who dominated them between 1893 and 1964, a total of 71 years. Through their length of tenure, their vision, and their force of personality, they imposed a point of view and left an imprint which characterize the libraries to the present day. The documentary evidence of their accomplishments can be seen in their administrative records housed in the University Archives,¹ in the buildings whose construction they oversaw, in their publications, and perhaps most importantly in the outstanding collections they developed. Yet strangely enough, there is little appreciation today of their accomplishments, partly because their surviving records are so immense as to hinder easy assimilation, and partly because only a few minor studies based upon the records have ever been published.² An additional problem is that, with one major exception, these records tell us more about the Librarians than the men and their personalities.

By comparison, the surviving records are most incomplete for the period before 1893 when the University acquired books which only hesitantly coalesced into collections. The main and medical libraries perambulated on and off the campus; between 1845 and 1893 there were six librarians of the main library, of whom two were honorary. By 1893, despite acquisition of some outstanding works like the elephant folio edition of Audubon's *Birds of America* and the beginnings of the Redpath British history collection, the main library was not much more than an undergraduate study collection of around 35,000 volumes.

Two factors emerged in the 1890's which set the McGill libraries along the path of becoming the major teaching and research collection we know to-

day. The first was money from major benefactors, among them Peter Redpath who in 1891 undertook to build and endow a library building capable of holding 150,000 volumes, which was opened in 1893. The second was the introduction to McGill University by Sir William Peterson, Principal from 1895 to 1919, of the German-American approach to higher education whereby graduate and professional programmes were grafted on to a strong liberal arts undergraduate programme. Adoption of this model, first seen at Johns Hopkins University in the United States, demanded excellent library resources. As well, the prevailing thinking of the day demanded that university libraries be headed by scholar librarians who could combine the qualities of bookmen, scholars and administrators. The ability to function as a bookman was ranked very highly, for the head librarian had to ensure that the library become an integral part of the University's teaching and research mission through the development of appropriate collections. Knowledge, love, and concern for books, combined with an understanding of their scholarly use, together with the administrative ability to marshal resources - these were the hallmarks of successful scholar librarians. The question is, how successfully did Gould, Lomer and Pennington fulfill this definition? Were they able to fulfill the three aspects of the role -- as bookmen, scholars, and administrators -- with equal ease or did one or the other aspect tend to predominate, perhaps to the detriment of the others? To what extent did they determine the way in which the library would develop; to what extent did circumstances help or hinder them?

Charles H. Gould (1855 - 1919)

As the first University Librarian, Gould set the pattern to be followed by his two successors. Little is known of his background and personality. He was born in Montreal of a family associated with the city's business and cultural life.³ After graduating in classics from McGill in 1877 he followed a business career before being appointed, for reasons which remain unclear, to the newly created position of University Librarian in 1892. After spending a year studying librarianship and visiting libraries he assumed the post upon the Redpath Library being opened by the Governor General, Lord Aberdeen, in October 1893.

Contemporary accounts speak of him as being kindly -- but with a firm character -- stable, neither austere nor easy going, and extremely modest and self-effacing. He loved reading and was an accomplished musician. His portrait suggests someone who was acute, sympathetic, and dignified (Figure 12).

Gould enjoyed advantages not shared by his successors and put them to good use. He was in possession of a new, commodious structure built to the best professional standards of the day and provided with a new stack addition in 1901. He had sufficient staff and sufficient money provided by the Redpath endowments and general university funds. In addition, the library was the recipient of a steady stream of donated books which throughout his period was always greater than the number received through purchase.⁴ Finally, and of equal importance, his tenure coincided almost exactly with that of the Principal, Sir William Peterson, whose commitment to the German-American pattern of higher education demanded a strong library.

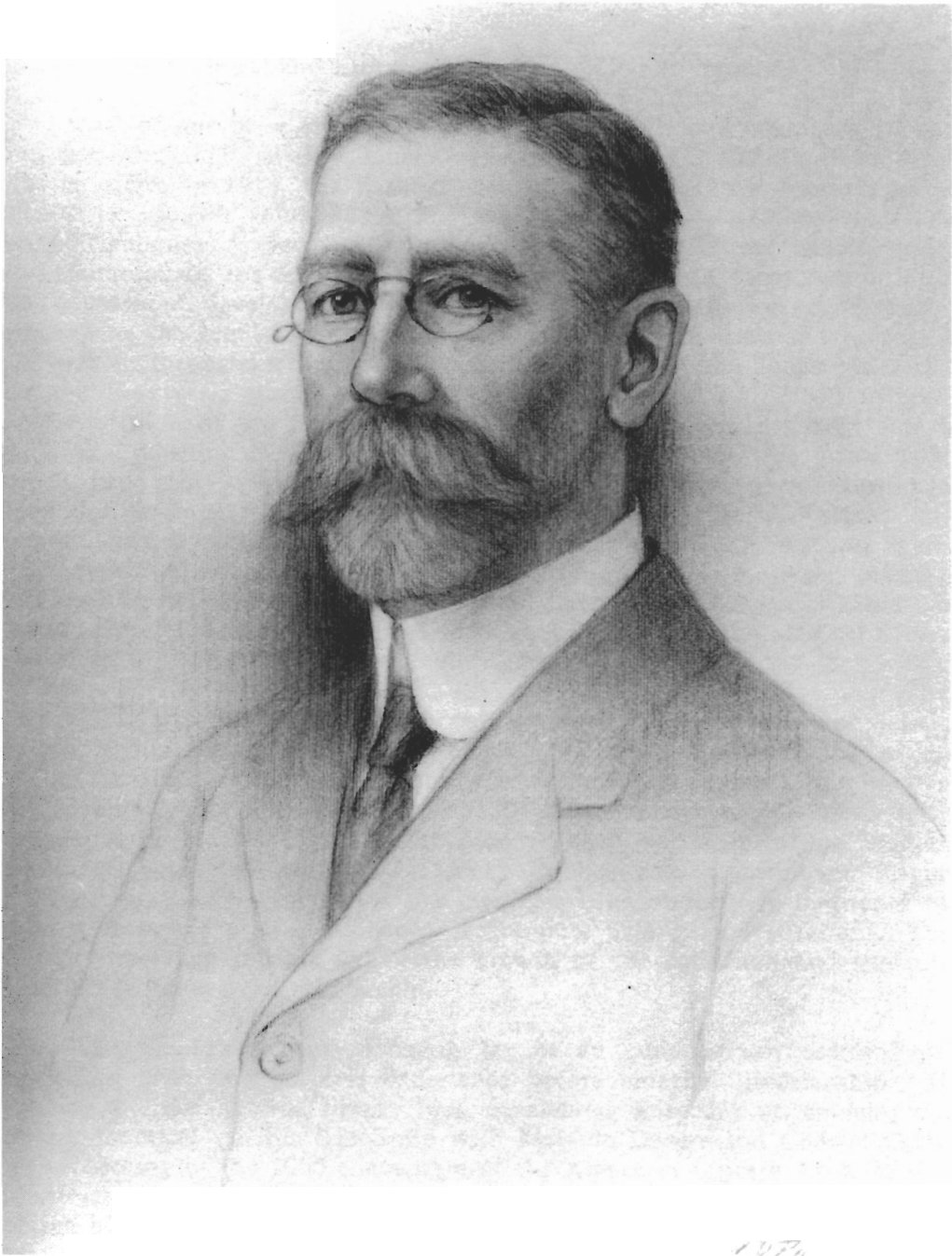


Fig. 12. Charles H. Gould. (Courtesy of Department of Rare Books and Special Collections)

The goals of Principal and Librarian were completely in harmony.

What of our three criteria; how does Gould rank as a bookman, scholar, and administrator? Under Gould's aegis, between 1893 and his death while still in office in 1919, the Redpath Library collection grew four-fold from 35,000 to 146,000 volumes and the total for all the McGill collections to 180,000 volumes⁵ to become Canada's largest academic library system, and a national resource for teaching and research. He took personal responsibility for collection development, doing much of the selection himself and supervising the acquisition procedures. The results of his care and judgement are evident throughout the collection in the strength of the books and serials for the twenty-six years between 1893-1919. While it is difficult to credit the acquisition of any major rare book collections to Gould except for the Ribbeck Collection of Greek and Latin philology and literature, examination shows that many important items were bought by him for the rare book collection and that many others acquired originally for the stacks have subsequently been transferred to the Department of Rare Books and Special Collections. Although Gould was opposed, in principle, to the development of campus libraries,⁶ he did support the development of the Blackader Library of Architecture, 1917, and acquiesced in the continuation of the Medical Library and of some smaller departmental collections.

Gould was not a scholar, although he possessed an obvious appreciation of scholarship and scholarly resources. Aside from a few descriptive articles on the McGill libraries, he did not publish. On the other hand, he did found the McGill School for Librarians in 1904 as a summer school which is the progenitor of today's Graduate School of Library and Information Studies.⁷ He also began the McGill University Publications, a series of original publications and reprints by faculty members issued ultimately in twenty-one subject areas and used in exchange programmes with other institutions. They fulfilled the dual role of aiding the growth of the collection and spreading McGill's reputation for scholarship.

That Gould's primary strength lay as an administrator seems hardly surprising given his business experience before entering librarianship. His running of the McGill library was considered a model of contemporary library practice. In his friendship with Melville Dewey and Charles Cutter, his sponsoring of the 1900 convention of the American Library Association in Montreal, and being elected its President in 1908-9 can be seen tangible proof of the high regard in which his personal qualities and his stewardship of the McGill libraries were held by his professional colleagues.

In summary, Gould was remarkably adept in meeting the demands of a scholar librarian. A combination of good fortune, ability and intelligence made him into one of Canada's leading librarians of the day. If he was more notable as an administrator and bookman than as a scholar, he was still able to show a real understanding for scholarship.

Gerhard R. Lomer (1882 - 1970)

Like Gould, Lomer (Figure 13) was born and raised in Montreal and educated at McGill where he received his B.A. (1903) and M.A. (1904) in

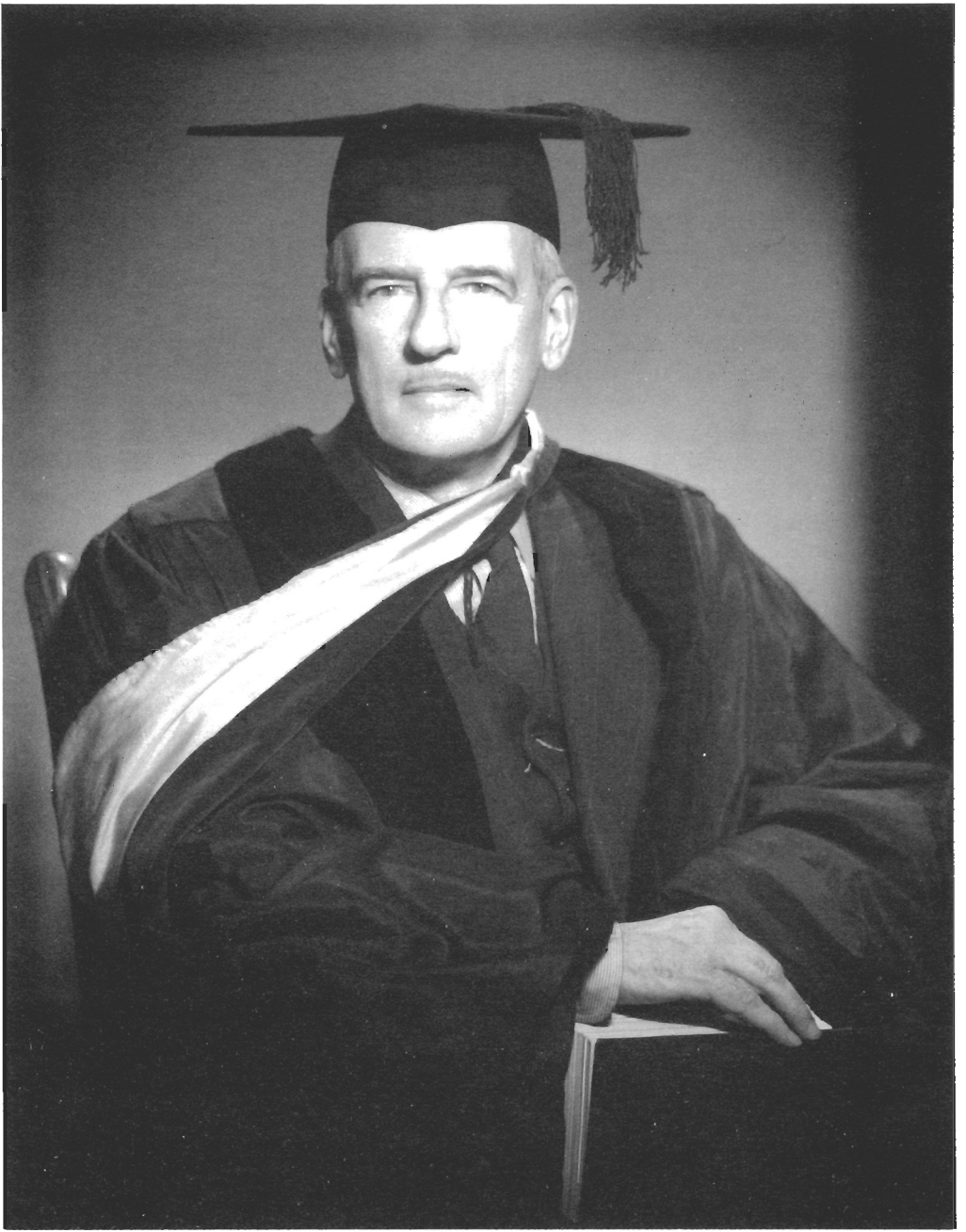


Fig. 13. Gerhard R. Lomer. (Courtesy of Department of Rare Books and Special Collections)

Philosophy. In 1910 he received his Ph. D. in Education from Columbia University, New York. Between 1906 and 1920 he taught at McGill, Columbia and the University of Wisconsin, wrote books, and served as an editor of two major American publishing series "Warner Library of the World's Best Literature" and "Chronicles Of America." In 1920 he returned to McGill to succeed Charles Gould as University Librarian, a position he held until his retirement in 1947.⁸

Lomer's tenure as Librarian was much more difficult than his predecessor's for many reasons, most of which appear to have been beyond his control. One area of difficulty, however, related directly to himself-his personality. Despite the obvious loyalty and friendship he shared with many people, his public personality would not appear to have charmed people. Many contemporaries have referred to his prickly personality and his inability to persuade. On the other hand, his intelligence and ability as a librarian and scholar were universally recognized.

The gravest problems faced by Dr. Lomer relate to the very difficult times faced by the world in general and McGill in particular. To begin with, McGill lacked the consistent direction it had known during the twenty-five years of Peterson. Lomer was required to adapt to the radically different administrative styles of three eras in the office of Principal of the University: Sir Arthur Currie (1920-1933) and his benignly sensible ways; the era of the Chancellor (1930-1939) when Sir Edward Beatty dominated a quick succession of weak principals; and the autocratic centralizing of F. Cyril James (1940-1962). Contemporary opinion held that Lomer's relationship with James was poor and that the Principal's estimation of the Librarian was low. In addition, the depression of the 30's and the shortages of World War II saw McGill passing through an extended period of financial constraint in which endowments and gifts failed to compensate for the lack of consistent government financial support. One indication of the seriousness of the situation, both local and global, is that between 1914 and 1945, a period of some thirty years, there was significantly less new construction at McGill compared with either the previous or succeeding thirty years.

Given these circumstances, how then does one evaluate Lomer as a bookman, scholar and administrator? That Lomer was a bookman is beyond question. He taught a course on the history of the book, and argued that "knowledge of how to use books and the habit of using them effectively are two fundamental aims of higher education,"⁹ and during his tenure McGill received two great research collections, the Osler Library (1929) and the great benefactions in zoology, ornithology, and medicine of Dr. Casey Wood. He was also involved in the development of other collections; in the rare book and general stacks the results of his interest are easily seen. Great difficulty exists in documenting the growth of the collections during Lomer's years due to incomplete information and discrepancies between various sources. By the time of his retirement in 1947, however, the total size of the catalogued collection was approximately 500,000 volumes including 360,000 volumes in Redpath Library which compares favourably with 460,000 catalogued volumes at the University of Toronto.¹⁰ This tripling of the collections is explained in part by the fact that during the 1920's the number of books acquired through purchase was double that acquired by donation although these remained reasonably constant between 1910 and 1950.¹¹ Yet

anyone who consults various university reports and uses the collections will see that there was a sharp divide after 1930 due to a radical decrease in the book budget as a result of which serials were cancelled and important monographs not purchased. In 1936 the Gest Chinese Research Library which during its ten years at McGill had grown to approximately 150,000 volumes was given up by the University. In short, because of circumstances largely beyond his control, Lomer was unable to maintain the quality of the collections despite his undoubted qualifications as a bookman.

It is as a scholar and educator that Lomer will be best appreciated. He had around 100 publications to his name including the first Canadian union catalogue, *Catalogue of Scientific Periodicals in Canadian Libraries*, 1924. He also continued the McGill University Publications series, begun by Gould, until the forces of depression and war brought about its cessation. But it was as an educator that Lomer was truly to distinguish himself; for along with Gould, Lomer deserves the title of co-founder of the McGill library school of which he was both Professor and Director. After continuing Gould's summer programme for a number of years, he began the process of transforming it into a one-year Bachelor of Library Science programme which in 1931 became the first Canadian graduate programme in librarianship to be accredited by the American Library Association. He also organized and taught summer courses in librarianship in Prince Edward Island, British Columbia, and Banff. His 1932 summer course at McGill was probably the first French-language educational programme in librarianship offered in Canada. After his retirement, he taught at and was Assistant Director of the University of Ottawa Library School until his death in 1970. By any standard, Gerhard Lomer must be considered one of the leading Canadian library educators of this century.

As an administrator, Lomer is very difficult to judge. Despite the apparent limitations of his personality, it is hard to believe that anyone else would have been able to do a better job at that time. Adapting to the radical shifts in the McGill administration during the 1920's, 30's, and 40's would have challenged anyone's ability to persuade; depression and war affected most Canadian educational institutions adversely. Despite a small addition to the Redpath Library stacks in 1922 there was insufficient space just as there were insufficient funds and staff. At the same time, between 1920 and 1947, reading room attendance and circulation increased ten-fold; departmental libraries proliferated throughout the university. Another individual would undoubtedly have handled differently the problems and opportunities Lomer faced, yet it is difficult to imagine anyone handling them better overall.

Richard Pennington (1904 -)

The third and last of the University Librarians (1947-1964), Richard Pennington (Figure 14) is undeniably the most controversial. An Englishman, he received his B.A. from the University of Birmingham in 1924 and his Library Diploma from the University of London in 1932.¹² After spending the 1930's in London, England as a librarian and participant in a wide range of social and political activities he went to Australia in early 1939 to become head librarian of the University of Queensland. In 1946 he was appointed by

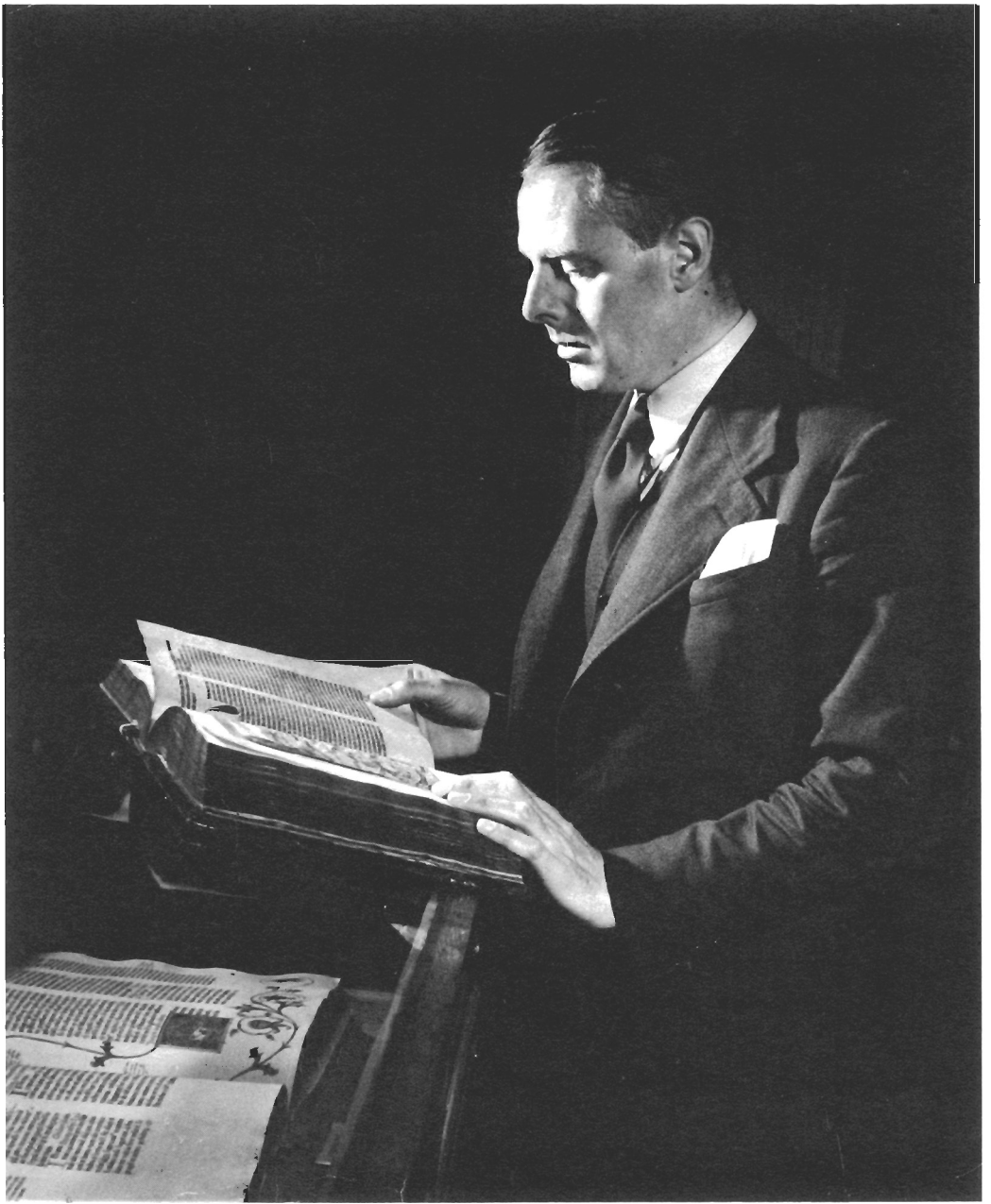


Fig. 14. Richard Pennington. (Courtesy of Department of Rare Books and Special Collections)

the Principal, Dr. F. Cyril James, as Assistant University Librarian and succeeded Dr. Lomer the next year as University Librarian. Two years after the retirement of Dr. James, Pennington stepped down as University Librarian and retired the following year, 1965.

Of all three men, Pennington's personality is the most public, largely because of a slim book which he published and quickly removed from sale in 1960 and which has subsequently been reissued in four other editions: *Peterley Harvest, Being the Private Diary of David Peterley*. The book is a thinly disguised autobiography of Pennington's life in London during the 1930's presented as extracts from the diary of an individual who does not exist and whose papers are not deposited in the McGill University Library, despite the claims of the book's Forward.¹³ The controversy surrounding the book cannot have helped but contribute to undermining Pennington's credibility and effectiveness as University Librarian.

When he arrived at McGill in 1946, Pennington was part of an expatriate British elite which ran the University in a very autocratic manner. While McGill's finances were still shaky, they were much better than they had been in the 1930's and a large-scale post-war construction programme was initiated. With the passing of Dr. James from the scene the British hegemony over the administration was ended as was the autocratic administrative style to be replaced by a Canadian administration and collegial, democratic procedures.

Of Richard Pennington's personality both *Peterley Harvest* and his contemporaries testify to a man of dazzling complexity and great charisma who could be charming or disdainful with equal ease. Highly cultivated and urbane he had definite opinions on people and things which he articulated with irony and a sardonic wit. It is frequently said of him that he was difficult to deal with and not straightforward. His inability to suffer fools gladly was legendary. Yet he could also be surprisingly generous with his time and energy in imparting knowledge. Many of his views on library practice were not in line with contemporary Canadian and American thinking.

In the light of these various factors, therefore, it is not surprising that controversy and questions surround Richard Pennington's performance in all three areas of activity for a scholar librarian: bookman, scholar, and administrator. Pennington enjoyed a highly personalized approach to collection development which resulted in his becoming the most important bookman of our three protagonists and also the most controversial. Contemporaries speak of his lack of interest in textbooks and other materials designed to support the teaching programme, particularly in the social sciences. He would regularly and informally, it seems, deaccession material he considered inappropriate to an academic library, particularly contemporary novels. His major interest was in the development of research collections particularly in the humanities and in rare book collections of which the Napoleon, Hume, Colgate Printing, and Stern Puppet collections are four he began. He was also responsible for cultivating benefactors, notably Lawrence M. Lande.

Determining the size and growth rate of the collections during Pennington's era is no easier than it was during Lomer's, due once again to

inadequate information and discrepancies between various sources. Unfortunately for Pennington, the 1962 Williams Report, the first separately published study of Canadian academic libraries, presented statistics which made the growth of the McGill collection over the previous thirty years appear rather worse than it was in fact. Williams argued that between 1931 and 1961 McGill was the only Canadian university, aside from Dalhousie, in Halifax, not to double the size of its collection.¹⁴ The report then went on in a statistical table to indicate that whereas in 1931 both McGill and the University of Toronto had 450,000 volumes, by 1956 Toronto's 1,211,772 volumes were nearly double McGill's 671,253 and by 1961 Toronto's 1,670,337 volumes were more than double McGill's 775,900.¹⁵ These statistics taken in conjunction with Pennington's well known attitudes towards collection development made him the inevitable, if not entirely deserved, target of much criticism.

While there is no doubt that the growth rate of the McGill collections did fall behind that of the University of Toronto and some other Canadian universities during the 1950's and early 60's, some contradictory facts must also be taken into consideration. First, the figure of 450,000 volumes for the McGill and Toronto collections in 1931 does not accord with other sources which indicate that they possessed, respectively, 285,000 and 241,429 volumes in 1930.¹⁶ Second, the Dominion Bureau of Statistics in both 1953¹⁷ and 1957-58¹⁸ gave the size of the McGill collections at 800,000 volumes which is rather more than Williams reported for 1961. This question of collection size and growth rate among Canadian university libraries is clearly in need of further investigation. What is known is that by 1961 the University of Toronto was devoting 7.41%¹⁹ of its operating budget to the library as opposed to about 3% at McGill which ranked last among Canadian universities in this category. While failure to support the library adequately reflects badly upon the entire university, particularly its senior administration, it must also reflect badly upon the Librarian, Richard Pennington, whose tenure began shortly after the conclusion of the War when financial support of universities began to improve, and whose primary function as head librarian was to ensure adequate funding.

Pennington's scholarly reputation rests primarily upon his bibliographical work. Although he lectured annually in the library school on the history of books and printing he did not follow in the footsteps of his two predecessors by becoming either a professor or the school's Director. *Peterley Harvest*, regardless of its intent and qualities is not a work of scholarship. The bibliographies, however, do have lasting scholarly value and that on Wenceslaus Hollar stands as a monument to Pennington's undoubted ability as a bibliographical researcher.²⁰ Concerning his appreciation of scholarship, one can argue that even if the rare book collections he developed reveal an appreciation for research in the humanities, there were still serious reservations within the University concerning his general understanding of the requirements of academic scholarship.

Pennington's administrative ability has elicited many harsh criticisms both during his tenure and since -- not all of which are deserved. His personal, one-man style was entirely in keeping with the prevailing McGill style of the James era. The difficulty was that Pennington, unlike James, was a very unstructured administrator who lacked an interest and adeptness

in day-to-day administrative detail. Also, he worked without an effective assistant in whom he was prepared to place his trust to handle such details. His relationship with his very able and intelligent Assistant University Librarian, Miss Beatrice Simon, was very awkward, partly because she had been appointed by the Principal rather than by himself. That said, however, Pennington's early years as University Librarian showed him to be both competent and effective. He was able to marshal the necessary support and resources needed to build the 1953 addition to Redpath Library which more than doubled its size; he was also sufficiently *au courant* of contemporary developments to introduce one of the first undergraduate libraries on the continent, patterned after Harvard University's Lamont Library; he was a consultant on the building of the new Fraser-Hickson Library in Montreal; and in 1953 he was elected President of the Faculty Club which reflects his positive standing within the University. In retrospect, 1962 must be considered his year of administrative crisis: F. Cyril James retired and was replaced by the collegially-minded H. Rocke Robertson as Principal; David Thompson was succeeded as Dean of the Faculty of Graduate Studies by Stanley Frost who revived the University Library Committee which had long been moribund and whose members now began earnest questioning; the Williams report was published with its critical statistics and comments on McGill:

At McGill it is becoming evident to more and more members of the faculty that improved library services and competent administration are not unrealizable dreams but ought to be demanded.²¹

The next year, 1963, saw the publication of the McCarthy-Logsdon report on the McGill libraries which recommended among other things the development of an integrated library system and the construction of a new main library.²²

That Pennington's contract should not have been renewed in 1964 can only seem inevitable from the perspective of the 1980's. Regardless of his ability, intelligence, and diligence, and regardless also of whether the library's problems were within or beyond his ability to change them, the tenor of the sixties demanded Pennington's removal and a radical change of direction.

Conclusion

In 1964 there occurred not only the end of Richard Pennington's term as University Librarian but the end of the position itself. The justification for replacing the title with that of Director of Libraries was to reflect better the expanded responsibilities of the head librarian over all campus libraries. A suspicion may also be that after 71 years the title of University Librarian had become discredited and needed to be replaced.

What has happened since? Whereas the three University Librarians--Gould, Lomer, Pennington -- had average tenures of twenty-four years, the Directors of Libraries of whom there have been six since 1964 have averaged less than four years in office. The University Librarians were expected to be scholar librarians, the Directors have been chosen primarily as library

administrators, even those with scholarly inclinations and a knowledge of books. Ironically, although their authority has been wider, none of the Directors has remained in office long enough to leave as strong an impact as that of any of the University Librarians. The Directors must be concerned with the system as a whole and not just with development of the main library and its collections. As yet, no consensus has emerged on what the change from scholar librarians to library administrators has meant in terms of effective administration and appreciation for the scholarly mission of the University and to what extent the change has affected our present and future collections.

It is, therefore, all the more intriguing to consider that while the three men who dominated the McGill University Libraries between 1893 and 1964 were undoubtedly at the mercy of circumstances -- both good and bad -- we are today conscious of how they were the authors of so much of the libraries' fortunes and misfortunes as they developed them into a major teaching and research resource. Gould the administrator, Lomer the scholar, and Pennington the bookman may not have succeeded individually in fulfilling all the requirements of a scholar librarian but collectively they more than did so.

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British Parliamentary Papers As Sources For Modern Language Teaching Research

by

Susan Bayley

The nineteenth century British Parliamentary Papers are a fruitful and surprisingly lively source for those interested in the history of modern language teaching in England. The Clarendon (1864), Taunton (1868), and Bryce (1895) Reports are examples of the kind of investigations the Victorians did so well: massive, thorough, replete with detail, elegantly written and brightened with an engaging zeal for social betterment. The result is a vast and so far under-used storehouse of material for the educational researcher. This article focuses on the Clarendon Report and particularly on the evidence in the Report on the teaching of modern languages in the nine Public Schools of the upper class. The conclusion is drawn that the recommendation of the Clarendon Commission to make modern languages an integral part of the curriculum marked their point of entry into the regular school curriculum and reinforced their developing character as liberal subjects for the higher social classes.

Les documents parlementaires britanniques du XIX^e siècle revêtent un intérêt étonnant pour ceux qui s'intéressent à l'histoire de l'enseignement des langues modernes en Grande-Bretagne. Les rapports Clarendon (1864), Taunton (1868) et Bryce (1895) exemplifient le type d'études auxquelles excellaient les Victoriens: il s'agit d'études longues, minutieuses, bourrées de détails, écrites dans un style élégant et illuminées par un vif souci d'amélioration des conditions sociales. Ce sont de véritables mines d'information que les chercheurs en éducation n'ont guère utilisées. Cet article est axé sur le rapport Clarendon et notamment sur ce qu'il révèle de l'enseignement des langues modernes alors dispensé dans les neuf écoles privées fréquentées par l'aristocratie britannique. L'auteur en conclut que c'est la recommandation de la Commission Clarendon voulant que les langues modernes fassent partie intégrante du cursus qui a déterminé leur agrégation au cursus scolaire régulier et a renforcé leur prestige culturel pour les classes sociales supérieures.

* * * * *

The history of second language teaching potentially offers useful insights into current issues in the field of second language instruction. Quebec, and McGill University in particular, are internationally known for developing successful methods of second language instruction. Less well known are the resources which exist at McGill for historical research into modern language teaching. The library system's Government Documents Department houses an important resource for the study of educational history in general and the history of modern language teaching in particular. In 1980 it purchased the 1000 volume Irish University Press Series of nineteenth century British Parliamentary Papers.¹ These primary sources, the raw material of social historiography, have not yet been fully explored by historians and educationists. This paper aims to give some indication of the nature and

extent of this prize holding and to illustrate the way one researcher has used it to investigate the history of modern language teaching in England.

The Series consists of reports of Royal Commissions and Select Committees established by the British government to study problems in all facets of national life: education, agriculture, health, fuel and power, industrial relations, local government, crime and punishment, the electoral system, the diplomatic service, insurance, inventions, legal administration, military and naval matters, marriage and divorce, trade and industry, the press, transport and communications, the poor laws, monetary policy, religion, the stage and theatre, the slave trade, and social ills like drunkenness, gambling, and infringements of Sunday Observance. The range of subject matter ensures a broad appeal; social historians, economists, administrators, business and military historians, as well as educationists, will find in them much material not reproduced elsewhere. The Reports are accompanied by volumes of statistical tables which lend themselves to quantitative as well as the more usual qualitative method of historical research. McGill's Government Documents Department also includes Hansard, a necessary auxiliary tool for the study of the British Parliamentary Papers.

The Irish University Press Series of British Parliamentary Papers has a further advantage to researchers beyond sheer volume and variety of subject: its organization. Unlike microcard editions of the Sessional Papers, which are arranged chronologically, this Series has been grouped by the editors, Percy and Grace Ford, into twenty primary subject areas, thereby making a mass of information on specific subjects readily accessible. This arrangement simplifies the researcher's task of locating material pertinent to his topic. Whereas searching through the chronological Sessional Papers gives a low rate of return for the time and effort involved, and can deter the most diligent researcher, the classified papers make a thorough search of a given subject area a workable proposition.

The extensive section devoted to education comprises 75 volumes, of which 46 document the development of government education policy at a time when the system was in the process of formation. The Education Set is subdivided into six categories: 46 volumes on crucial and controversial issues such as examinations, the modernization of the curriculum, the definition and structure of secondary education, the workings of elementary education, the training of teachers, and the provision and methods of education; nine volumes of Select Committee and Royal Commission Reports on the British Museum; two volumes of similar reports on public libraries; six volumes on the fine arts; and eight volumes of committee reports on scientific and technical education.

The Royal Commission and other official Reports on education are tools for historical research unmatched in scope and detail. Before the formation of a single educational authority in 1899 in the shape of the Board of Education, responsibility for education was diffused among the various bodies concerned with its provision: the Anglican, Roman Catholic and dissenting churches, the Education Department, the Science and Art Department, the Charity Commission, and so on. Their spheres of influence were limited and uncoordinated and can hardly be said to represent a national view or even a fleeting consensus on educational needs. In the second half of the nineteenth

century, however, a series of Royal Commissions² was appointed to inquire into the state of education throughout the country and to make recommendations for its improvement. The reports issued by these Commissions were monumental, minutely-researched, and authoritative. They represented the first expression of a national view of education, one that transcended the various branches -- sectarian, charitable, state, and privately-sponsored -- into which education had splintered. As such they were the first and certainly the weightiest in the long line of educational documents published by central government which helped to set the course of English educational history. The Reports of the Newcastle (1861), Clarendon (1864), Taunton (1868), and Bryce (1895) Commissions excited in their own day no less interest and controversy than the Newsom, Plowden and Robbins Reports³ of more recent years. Animated by the Victorian eye for detail and clarity of expression, the Reports comprise a remarkably comprehensive description of education in the second half of the nineteenth century. Every aspect of education, including modern language instruction, came under official government scrutiny for the first time.

Far from being dry recitals of facts and statistics, the Reports are lively accounts of the actual conditions of education and considered analyses of the problems entailed in establishing a public education system. The Reports usually took the form of a volume or more of summaries, conclusions, and recommendations; a *verbatim* record of the evidence of persons called before the Commissions; written submissions made by groups and individuals interested in the work of the Commissions; and, in the case of the Taunton Report, eyewitness accounts of the schools visited by Assistant Commissioners recruited for the purpose. Efforts were made to canvass every source of informed opinion, from Oxford dons to representatives of the business community. From these voluminous documents (the Taunton Report ran to 24 volumes) emerged a compelling portrait not only of educational practice, but of the ideals and ideas which formed its matrix.

The Commissioners were indefatigable in seeking out opinions on the questions under review. Leading lights of the day like John Stuart Mill, Matthew Arnold, James Kay-Shuttleworth, and Max Müller appeared before the Commissions as witnesses and their evidence, elicited by probing and tenacious questioning on the part of the Commissioners, makes illuminating reading. The exchanges between witnesses and the Commissioners are recorded in full, and this conversational style gives a freshness and immediacy to the evidence which underlines the complexity and the disparity of views on education. The quality of the evidence is high, as the Commissioners, themselves learned and distinguished figures, took their mandate of educational reform seriously and undertook a dialectic with the witnesses in order to piece together a clear and complete picture of the educational controversies of the day. The Commission's hearings were marked by a determination, tempered by urbanity and courtesy, to arrive at an accurate picture of the subject under investigation.

A surprising feature of the Reports is the inclusion of lengthy descriptions of education outside Great Britain. The thoroughness with which the enquiries were conducted led to studies of overseas educational systems: those of Canada and other parts of the Empire, of the United States and of Europe. The statistical reports of the Cross Commission of

1888 contain first-hand descriptions of education in each of the provinces in the Canadian Confederation, as well as similar surveys of the American states and European nations. The Taunton Report is enhanced by elegant and highly literate contributions by Matthew Arnold on the state of education in Prussia and France.

Having garnered the evidence, the Commissioners made recommendations, some of which were fully or partially acted upon, either by passing legislation or by inciting individual schools to introduce their own measures of reform. Therefore, the Royal Commission Reports were more than simply a body of weighty recommendations on the subject of education; they recorded all the evidence on which the Commissioners based their recommendations. For this reason, they are invaluable sources of not only official, but public, comment on the educational system.

An example of the richness of the material found in the Education Set is the 1864 Report of the Clarendon Commission appointed to investigate the nine "great" Public Schools educating the aristocracy, gentry, and, increasingly, the upper middle classes: Eton, Harrow, Rugby, Winchester, Westminster, Shrewsbury, Charterhouse, St. Paul's, and Merchant Taylor's. The evidence on modern European languages, their teaching, and their place in the curriculum gives some insight into the curricular origins and subsequent development of modern language teaching in England.

Before the 1860s, modern languages were considered "accomplishments" rather than serious subjects of study. Because the classics dominated the school curriculum modern languages were relegated to the status of extra-curricular subjects tacked on to the timetable as parental demand and teacher availability allowed. They ranked with fencing and dancing as desirable skills, but not the stuff of sound mental training. As Walter Landor wrote to Robert Southey in 1825, "My children shall be carefully warned against literature. To fence, to swim, to speak French, are the most they shall learn."⁴

By the 1860s, however, the need to introduce modern subjects into the exclusively classical curriculum of the Public Schools had become acute on account of pressure for reform from the rising middle class and realization of the importance of an education relevant to new industrial and economic circumstances. The inclusion of modern subjects in the Public School curriculum was a contentious issue, and the hearings of the Clarendon Commission provided the main arena for debate. Modern subjects had their detractors and supporters. Gladstone, for instance, maligned them as "importunate creditors that take a shilling in the pound to-day because they hope to get another shilling to-morrow." These "competing branches of instruction" posed so great a threat to the classics that they "should be limited and restrained without scruple."⁵ On the other hand, supporters of curriculum modernization criticized the Public Schools for the narrowness of their teaching. One of Eton's harsher critics likened it to "a bear-garden where Latin and Greek and nothing else was tossed down into the pit to be gobbled up by those who had an appetite for it."⁶

The Clarendon Commissioners, entrusted with the investigation of the nine Public Schools, contended with the problem of reconciling the demands

of the modernists with the resistance of the classicists. The members of the Commission were selected not for political or religious affiliations, but for other qualities: Lord Clarendon was described in the Report as "a man of the world;" Lord Devon as "a man of business;" Lord Lyttelton as "a scholar;" Professor Hepworth Thompson as Professor of Greek at Cambridge; Henry Halford Vaughan as Professor of Modern History at Oxford from 1848-58; and Mr. Twistleton as a man "whose learning and high culture are known to all."⁷ Lord Lyttelton's assessment of his colleagues on the Commission was less charitable. He characterized Vaughan and Twistleton as "crotchety on the religious question," Stafford Northcote as "devoured by ambition," and Twistleton as "a queer man who had long fits of silence and torpor alternating with great vivacity."⁸ Professor Thompson was "polished, intellectual, fastidious, but too satirical and indolent."⁹ Lord Clarendon passed an equally severe judgment on his fellow Commissioners. "Devon is weak, Northcote pedantic, Thompson idle, Twistleton quirky, Vaughan mad: yet they all had merits and worked usefully together, except Vaughan, who, though a man of genius, is unmanageable."¹⁰ All were men of high repute as statesmen or scholars. All but two were products of the Public Schools they were investigating.

They spared no pains to conduct a scrupulous inquiry. Printed questionnaires were sent to the schools, private letters were exchanged, 130 witnesses were heard, and 127 sessions were held.¹¹ Opinions were canvassed from those directly involved in the Public Schools, such as head and assistant masters, old boys, and trustees, and from those whose connection was less direct -- from Oxbridge professors, from the Council of Military Education and, for purposes of comparison, from the proprietary schools of Marlborough, Cheltenham, Wellington, and the City of London. The Commissioners were denied their request to observe the teaching in the Public Schools by all but two of the Headmasters.¹² Since they were not invited into the schools, they relied on the evidence, frank and outspoken, of expert witnesses.

The Commissioners recorded meticulously the position of modern languages in each of the Public Schools. French was by far the most common choice, with German a distant second. French and German were normally taught as "extra" subjects, as at Eton, where the French lessons were given during the time assigned to "games," i.e. sports and other forms of recreation. On average, only one-tenth or 75-80 of the Eton boys took French, and even this modest number fell off sharply during the summer months. The Prince Consort had tried to stimulate foreign language study by offering a £50 book prize, but as a rule the prizewinner had not acquired his knowledge of French at Eton, but at home or on the Continent. The charge of an additional fee for foreign language instruction; the omission of modern language results in considering boys for promotion; the lack of support among many Headmasters, all of whom were classically-trained; and the scarcity of efficient teachers had all prevented modern languages from achieving full curricular status.

A number of other factors militated against the extension and improvement of modern language teaching. Despite the prestige of French as a world language, it did not have an untarnished public image and modern languages were sometimes treated contemptuously in the schools by masters

and boys. A passage in Dickens' *Nicholas Nickleby* brings out the association in the public mind between the French language and the French nation as a long standing adversary of England. Nicholas, engaged as tutor to a family, is quizzed by Mr. Lillyvick as to what sort of language French is. Nicholas defends it as a "pretty, sensible and cheerful" language, but Mr. Lillyvick, who has only ever heard it spoken by French prisoners taken in the last war, dismisses it as a dismal language. "I don't think anything of that language -- nothing at all," is his final comment.¹³ Dickens' fiction has the ring of truth in this case. Indeed, France and England had entered into hostilities so often that Lord Raglan, when fighting the Russians in the Crimean War, kept referring to the enemy as the French!

It was also widely believed that contact with French culture and ideas could have dangerous consequences for the moral and political well-being of English youth. Importing continental ideals and practices was courting trouble. Authors warned of dire mischief resulting from close association with the French people. Hannah More spelled out the perils for female education lurking in the pages of foreign literature. She wrote with regret of "the risks that have been run and the sacrifices which have been made, in order to furnish our young ladies with the means of acquiring the French language in the greatest possible purity."¹⁴ Publishers were moved by such admonitions to issue expurgated versions of foreign literature for school use. Goethe's *Hermann und Dorothea* was one classic which suffered treatment at their hands.

Third, teaching methods did not inspire Public School boys to take up modern language study. French and German were taught with the same method but without the same reverence shown to the classics. Since grammar was believed to be "the foundation, gate and source of all the other liberal arts,"¹⁵ modern languages were treated accordingly. The methodology consisted almost wholly of construing, translating, and parsing. In the more advanced classes, literary works were carefully chosen to avoid exposing boys to seditious or immoral views. Classical texts like Fénelon's *Télémaque*, La Fontaine's *Fables*, the plays of Corneille, Racine and Molière, and extracts from the works of Goethe, Schiller and Lessing were frequent choices, as were Voltaire's *Charles XII* and Bossuet's *Oraisons Funèbres*.

Such methods did not yield impressive results. Both the Head of Winchester, the Reverend George Moberly, and the French teacher, M. Angoville, agreed that little progress was made in French.¹⁶ At Rugby, despite the efforts of successive Heads, boys rarely mastered the art of speaking or reading French or German "with facility."¹⁷ Oxford and Cambridge, for which many of the boys were destined, required a knowledge of the classical, not the modern, languages for admission. Hence, to many boys, modern language study appeared to be a waste of time.

Finding suitable teachers was a further obstacle to good modern language teaching. Foreign born masters proved too often to be ineffective disciplinarians. Mr. Carter, Lower Master of Eton, commented on the impossibility of finding foreign masters "who were devoid of peculiarities which would excite the ridicule of the boys."¹⁸ The Commissioners were told of the "not unknown practice" at Winchester of fishing for M. Angoville's wig through the open schoolroom window.¹⁹ At Eton, boys were not even

required to touch their hats to the French master!²⁰ Foreign masters were subjected to more serious slights, too. Their salaries were well below those of the classical masters. At Eton, they were not permitted to wear academic dress or to send complaints directly to the Head. Nor were they entrusted with the teaching of religion or expected to maintain discipline outside the school grounds. The Italian teacher at Eton, signor Girolamo Volpe, laid before the Commissioners a list of complaints which seem well justified. His entire emolument depended on his three pupils. When he came from London twice weekly, a trip he made at his own expense, the school did not even provide him with a classroom or shelter "in bad weather and cold season."²¹

There is ample evidence in the Clarendon Report of the strength of feeling both for and against modern language study. The arguments ranged over a number of issues, with advocates of modern languages meeting the objections of the detractors. The central issue was the educational value of modern languages. Were they equal to the classics in their capacity to cultivate the powers of the mind? Those who argued that modern languages were too easy and too light-weight to offer a severe mental training were answered by those who pointed to the undeniable weight of German scholarship. Faculty psychology, the belief that disciplines of study exercised the cognitive powers and that mastery of one branch of knowledge prepared the mind to acquire another, led modern language advocates to justify their subject in terms of its ability to provide a rigorous training for the mind. Accordingly, supporters of modern languages stressed the complexities of German grammar and the richness of French literature as instruments of mental training. However, a strong argument could be made on the other side that knowledge of classics facilitated the learning of modern languages, which were supposedly less complex and therefore need not be formally taught in schools but could be picked up at the knee of a governess or on a foreign tour.

A story recounted to the Commissioners by J. Walter, an Old Etonian and Member of Parliament, illustrated the prevalence of the belief that French was not sufficiently difficult to warrant status as a school subject. Returning to his old school for a speech day, Mr. Walter heard a boy declaim a passage from Racine with so good an accent that he went to ask the Head, Dr. Hawtrey, how he had taught such flawless French to the boy. Dr. Hawtrey replied that the boy had been brought up in Paris and so had not learned his French at Eton, to which Mr. Walter answered that he was much relieved, because he feared the school had taught him too well. It was no merit to the boy or to the school that he had mastered French, since he had simply acquired it as part of his mother tongue and could have carried off the French prize with no more trouble than a boy brought up by Pericles could win the prize for Greek!²²

When drawing up their recommendations, the ingenuity of the Commissioners was sorely tested by the felt need to tread the fine line between the preservation of the traditional curriculum and the admission of modern subjects. An endorsement of a totally classical curriculum would mean that boys of the aristocracy would continue to receive an increasingly outmoded type of education, thus jeopardizing their future roles as leaders of the country. To permit modern subjects to share the billing equally with the classical would undermine the long association between Public School, classical

education, Oxbridge, and upper class exclusivity. Classics had for so long been a mark of social and intellectual superiority that for social class reasons alone it was difficult to dislodge them from their privileged position. The Commissioners did not even attempt to do so. They roundly endorsed the pre-eminent position of the classics, but acknowledged the importance of modern studies as subsidiary subjects.

The Commissioners argued in their recommendations for a liberal curriculum in which both classical and modern subjects played their part.

If a youth, after four or five years spent at school, quits it at nineteen, unable to construe an easy bit of Latin or Greek without the help of a dictionary, or to write Latin grammatically, almost ignorant of geography and of the history of his own country, unacquainted with any modern language but his own, and hardly competent to write English correctly, to do a simple sum or stumble through an easy proposition of Euclid, a total stranger to the laws which govern the physical world, and to its structure, with an eye and hand unpracticed in drawing and without knowing a note of music, with an uncultivated mind and no taste for reading or observation, his intellectual education must certainly be accounted a failure...²³

Although they singled out French as an important study, "So long as French is...a common channel of communication among educated persons in Europe, a man can hardly be called well educated who is ignorant of French," they agreed that the study of foreign languages should not be allowed to endanger the classics, which should "continue to hold, as they do now, the principal place in public school education...but they ought not to be studied solely and exclusively."²⁴

The Commissioners expatiated on the beauty and value of the classical languages, but were less glowing in their praise of the modern. French and German were less perfect in construction than Latin or Greek and their literatures less noble.²⁵ It was feasible to impart a good grammatical knowledge of French, and for those who entered the school with some knowledge of French, of German too. But conversational fluency could not be taught in a school setting. On the question of employing foreign teachers, the Commissioners showed some inclination to favour English masters, but declined to make any specific recommendations on that point.²⁶

The Commission's general recommendations focussed on the need to recognize and strengthen the position of modern languages in the Public School curriculum. They acknowledged the pre-eminence of French, but advanced the claims of German to a greater share of curricular time, and, to a lesser degree, of Italian. In preferring German to Italian the Commissioners cited its intrinsic character, philological importance, usefulness, influence of its people and literature, and demand.²⁷ They recommended that any boy learning French should also be allowed to take German and vice versa. Italian should be an additional subject and should count for promotion.²⁸ Time for modern languages should be found at the

expense of repetition and composition exercises in classics or another modern subject.²⁹

There seems no doubt that tradition played some role in establishing and maintaining the position of French as first foreign language in schools. Historically, England's linguistic and cultural connection with France dated from the Norman Conquest. After 1066 French became the language of the court, the clerisy, the church, and the professions. England's final loss of Normandy in the fifteenth century loosened the French connection, but French survived as the language of refinement, diplomacy, and culture. As the foremost military power in Europe until the 1870s, France had world wide influence and prestige. The brilliance of the French court, and of her cultural, literary, and philosophical life, added status to her language. From the eighteenth century France figured in the Grand Tour, an obligatory sojourn on the Continent for any young man of good family. Young ladies were usually expected to remain at home, but were entrusted at an early age to the care of governesses, often a French mademoiselle, sometimes a German Fraülein. Geographically, of course, France was most convenient both as a destination and a source of foreign language teachers. The first pressure on the curriculum to introduce modern languages came from schools in the industrial midlands and north of England where commercial and trading ties with Europe were strong. Frequent political disruptions on the Continent, the 1685 Revocation of the Edict of Nantes, the 1789 Revolution in France, and revolutions in France and Germany in 1848 drove many to England to seek refuge, and a considerable number turned to teaching to help restore their depleted resources.

At first glance, German would seem to have had a good claim to fuller recognition as a worthwhile subject. Eminent scholars like Thomas Arnold, Coleridge, and Carlyle had shown an academic and literary interest in the language. From around 1850, German was increasingly studied at English universities, both by reason of its vast literature on all conceivable subjects and its theological importance to both ecclesiastical sides in religious disputes at Oxford. German science, scholarship, and philology gained an enormous international reputation in the late nineteenth century. Her literature gave access to a wealth of knowledge both directly and through translations of foreign writings. In education, Germany set the pace. Its universities, *Technische Hochschulen*, *Gymnasien*, and *Realschulen* were visited by English educationists wishing to reform their own system. Froebel, Pestalozzi, and Herbart were leading educational innovators whose ideas spread to the rest of Europe and to North America.

At the date of the Clarendon Report, however, the full impact of German influence was yet to be felt. German was still mainly seen as a means of gaining access to the classical authors: Goethe, Schiller, and Lessing. The alleged difficulty of learning German may well have contributed to its unpopularity. Cardinal Newman, a mind of no mean quality, laboured to learn German for a dozen years, but was eventually defeated by its complexities. The Gothic script also added to the learner's trials.

Italian and Spanish were never serious contenders for a large share of the modern language curriculum. Italian was too similar to Latin to merit

its inclusion as a separate language. Spanish did not offer a rich literature, and the incentive offered by the considerable trade between the two countries was not sufficient to create much demand for it as a school subject.

In response to the Commission's findings, the government presented the Public Schools Bill to Parliament in 1865. Lengthy debates greeted its reading in both Houses, and the Bill was eventually submitted to a Select Committee for further discussion. Finally, in 1868, the Public Schools Act dealing with the seven Clarendon boarding schools was passed and put into effect the Commission's recommendations regarding school management, specifically the reconstitution of governing bodies and changes in the powers of the Head and governors.³⁰ Under the Act the governors were given extensive control over fees, curriculum and the appointment of the Head.³¹ Owing to an unwillingness to interfere too strongly in the Public Schools in the face of resistance to state intervention by many Heads and supporters of the Nine, the government did not pass stern legislation. In fact, once the Act had assured the diversification of governing bodies to include a wider representation of the community, curricular reform was left to the schools to effect. Stirred into action by the Report and the ensuing legislation, the Public Schools had, for the most part, completed their programs of reform by the early 1870s.³²

Although in the case of many schools the Clarendon Commission's recommendations fell on willing ears, not all the Heads acceded to reform with good grace. Some formed modern departments merely as a means of placating parental demands and as a convenient dumping ground for the dullards.³³ Other Heads obstinately opposed to modern subjects had to be removed from their posts by governing bodies, which replaced them with more progressive thinkers. But despite foot-dragging by some Heads, the Public Schools began to adjust their curricula in accordance with the recommendations. At Eton, a new Head, Dr. Hornby, was appointed on the understanding that he arrange that French, mathematics, and science be taught to every boy. In 1872, French was made compulsory for the entrance examination to Eton.³⁴ In 1906, the Head, Dr. Lyttelton, abolished Greek for entry to Eton and allowed boys who had obtained a school certificate to abandon classics and take up a modern language or other modern subject.³⁵ Harrow replaced its outmoded statutes in 1868 and by 1874 had a well established modern department which taught some Latin, but mostly modern languages, history, mathematics, and natural science. Winchester appointed a modern language master, an Englishman, to its staff in 1869.³⁶

These instances of reform, although significant, cannot be taken as evidence of full compliance by all the schools with the Clarendon recommendations. The Public Schools continued to produce classically-trained graduates unskilled in modern languages. A 1917 article in the *New Statesman* on British Cabinet Ministers took them to task for their poor knowledge of French:

Mr. Balfour speaks no French. Lord Grey speaks a French disgraceful on the lips of a Foreign Secretary. Mr. Asquith's French is excessively bad. Mr. Runciman speaks fair French. Mr. McKenna speaks excellent, fluent, conversational (though not colloquial) French.

But then Mr. McKenna never went to one of our great public schools.³⁷

Nevertheless, the Clarendon Report provoked action by the Public Schools to take modern languages more seriously and acted in the long term as the point of entry of modern languages into the regular Public School curriculum.

Notes

I should like to acknowledge the assistance received in the preparation of this paper from Miss Catherine Kollar, the Government Documents Librarian at McGill University.

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A Remnant of a Gislenian Anthology

by

Leszek Wysocki and Richard Virr

This article discusses the identification of the constituent parts of a manuscript volume held in the Department of Rare Books and Special Collections, McLennan Library. It has the shelf mark "de Ricci 118," and the only published reference to it is in Seymour de Ricci, *Census of Medieval and Renaissance Manuscripts*, II, 2214. The description there is sufficiently brief so as to be misleading when it is not erroneous.

This manuscript volume is a compilation of various hagiographical texts linked with the cult of the VIIth century Belgian saint, Gislenus, and a truncated text of Peter Riga's *Aurora*. In this article, the various Gislenian texts are identified and their history reconstructed. It is upon this basis that the fragments have been identified as the remnants of a codex, Cellensis MMMM, held originally in the library of the monastery of St. Gislenus, then transferred to Mons where finally the library was dispersed and this codex believed to be lost without trace.

Dans cet article, les auteurs parlent de l'identification des parties constituantes d'un manuscrit que se trouve au Département des livres rares et des collections spéciales de la bibliothèque McLennan. Ce volume porte la cote "de Ricci 118" et la seule référence publiée qui existe à son sujet figure dans l'ouvrage de Seymour de Ricci, *Census of Medieval and Renaissance Manuscripts*, II, 2214. La description y est suffisamment brève pour être trompeuse, quand elle n'est pas erronée.

Ce volume est une compilation de divers textes hagiographiques liés au culte d'un Saint belge du VII^e siècle, St-Gislenus, et d'un texte tronqué de l'*Aurora* de Peter Riga. Dans cet article, les divers textes de Gislenus sont identifiés et leur histoire est reconstituées. C'est grâce à cela que les fragments ont été identifiés comme les vestiges d'un manuscrit ancien, Cellensis MMMM, qui se trouvait à l'origine dans la bibliothèque du monastère de St-Gislenus avant d'être transféré à Mons dont la bibliothèque finit par être dispersée, ce qui laissa croire que ce manuscrit ancien avait été perdu sans laisser de trace.

* * * * *

In the mediaeval manuscript collection of the Department of Rare Books and Special Collections, McLennan Library, is a volume (MS 118) in a late nineteenth century binding containing material described as "Commemoratio S. Gilenii," "Metrical abbreviation of the Bible in Latin" and "Vita S. Gilenii."¹ This composite volume of items from the XIIIth and XIVth centuries would appear never to have been examined in any detail. The "metrical abbreviation of the Bible in Latin" is, in fact, a fragment of the third redaction of Peter Riga's famous poem *Aurora*. The two other items bound together with this truncated text are the subject of this paper.

The ten leaves of the "Commemoratio S. Gilenii" and the "Vita S.

Gilenii" are all foliated in Roman numerals by the same hand. One leaf (lxxxxvi) precedes Riga's poem while the remaining nine leaves are bound at the end of the volume after the *Aurora*. These nine leaves are foliated clxxxxvii to ccv. Although the coincidence of decimal and unitary digits between the foliation signs of the first leaf and last nine is striking, the possibility that on the first folio a "c" preceded lxxxxvi as the foliation mark must be excluded absolutely. Therefore, it is clear that of the original codex, one hundred leaves are lost from between the two remaining fragments as well as 95 leaves from the beginning. We will return to this problem in the conclusion of our article.

We may assume fairly safely that these ten leaves, containing several texts primarily concerning St. Gislenus, belonged at some point to an anthology of literature dealing with this obscure VIIIth century Belgian saint.² However, before we present any hypotheses concerning the history of the codex from which the leaves originally came, we should analyse briefly the texts contained in them, especially since these have never been adequately identified or described.

A. The first leaf (f. 1 / lxxxxvi) contains:

1. On the recto, "Prosa de sancto Gisleno." The title in red was probably added later since in the text the saint is referred to as Gillenus. The "prosa" has thirteen lines with musical notation.

Beg.: Exultemus in hac die, sonent dulces melodiae.

Ends: in eorum medio vivit et regnat.

2. On the verso, three hymns to the saint. The rubrics were probably written by a later hand, but a different one from that which added the title on the previous page. Musical notation is given only for the first strophe of each hymn since, unlike that in the "prosa," all strophes in each hymn have the same rhythm (Figure 15).

- a. In festo sancti Gilleni hymnus ad vespereos.

Beg.: Nos afflictos aestu vel pluvia,

Ends: Cui laus sit, honor, imperium.

- b. Ad (completorium?): this seems to be the only possible reading of the illegible rubric in our manuscript, although we could expect here as well a hymn "ad nonas" or "ad nocturnum;" the latter rubric would accord best with the third line of the hymn, "sic instare nocturnis cantibus."

Beg.: Pulsis longe sompni vaporibus

Ends: Patri, Nato, Sancto spiritui.

- c. Ad laudes.

os afflictos estis uel pluuia sua dies urget malicia tu spes ma con
Hymnos cantemus uespores au
fessor melite redde munus quietis pome rem prebens graudi miserof
uinctos edue de inter inferos tuos uicem deduc ad supos Sol duru uer
git ad uespum rogamus te semel r uum deprecare commune dnm ur dec
nobis hilecem tinnim. Dic Gillene ubum interpidu ur der nob post ma
re turbidu p dnam plena qere placidum fontem boni uisere lucidum.
fons est pater fons p r s gent. fons uital ambroy spe in quo ma salus est
omnium. cui laus sit honor imperium. Amen. h y m n u s

uliat longe sopm uaporib; pater sume da uigilantib; sonitate noctur
uocel quoy Gillene p uem r p nob u
uis cantib; ut r corda conuordent uocib; dicem conueny mta roga supplex m
tuem supplicib; dignant subueny. In aquay uisantes medio laboram g u
diluuo p r i pr sui naufragio si n tua uiuet oratio. Vr sidond' aq s intumit
cui tunc n te retinuit caru forte sinu apur h; anima cel miserit. I bilu m
durtu m aspicit n m m ta noctem n despicit soli uacat in que r p spicat uatua
nos cura p r iat. Celebimus g uigilaf dem' ita laudet r gr as sit hononf decus

ppetuy patri nato sob spuy. Amen.
dit dies lucidior spnat aura suauior. Nobis celi r a penetrat diem uento
rum impetrat p nob astat iudici
gratiaz luy r ualat nobis Gillene uignat. uiuat p r e nos supplici. Or ac ut
nobis hodie onatur luy gr e pleno cuius meri die plena fruamur re
quie. Patri semper nigente. filio soli gente. spiritui paracletico sit
laus honore debito. Amen.

Fig. 15. Office hymns in honour of St. Gisleus (f. 1v). (Courtesy of Department of Rare Books and Special Collections)

A Remnant of a Gisleian Anthology

Beg.: Adest dies lucidior

Ends: Sit laus honore debito.

A few words should be said about these four texts. "Prosa" is a technical term for a religious lyric. Originally it referred to a prose hagiographical text, but in the XIIth century it came to indicate a poem with a responson of polysyllabic strophes sung antiphonally on the melody of the Alleluia in the Gradual and of the "Ite missa est" at the end of the Mass. Some time later the "prosa" developed into a genre independent of the liturgy. Our "prosa" seems to represent the transitional form and can be dated to the late XIIth or early XIIIth century. Twelve polymorphic strophes can be recognized though the text is written continuously without the colometry.³ The same applies to the three hymns which also have no colometry indicated in the manuscript. These three hymns to St. Gisleus are among the very few hymns in honour of this saint. There is a similar triad of hymns in the codex Cellensis KKKK, later known as Montensis 221 (alias 27 vel 8401), "Officium sancti Gislei,"⁴ together with some other hymns,⁵ of which two, "ad magnificat" and "in 1 vesperis," are also recorded in the codex Coloniensis 28 (f. 202a).⁶

Our "prosa" and hymns were discovered and published by A. Poncelet as an appendix to his annotated *Vitae sancti Gislei* published in 1887.⁷ It would seem that our manuscript is the only surviving codex with these texts except for the one from which they were published by Poncelet. He describes this codex rather ambiguously, saying only that these texts were "in 4^o corio rubro exscripti."⁸ About the dating of these hymns, he is equally imprecise, saying simply "antiquam aetatem redolere videntur." Palaeographical features of our manuscript would suggest that it should be dated at the beginning of the XIIIth century. Finally, we should note that Poncelet's manuscript has one corrupt reading in the penultimate line of the hymn "ad laudes" where "paracletio" appears, while our manuscript has the correct reading "paracrito." However, we should not consider this to be a clue for the relative dating of these two manuscripts, since this word is supposed to rhyme with three other words ending with "ito" and any scribe, even without a great command of Latin, would be able to spot an error here and correct it himself.

B. ff. 60-68 of the complete volume (clxxxxvii-ccv) contain four different texts that in the de Ricci description are treated as one, "Vita sancti Gilleni."

1. f. 60 (clxxxxvii) recto contains twenty lines of "subscriptiones" listing twenty-two names of bishops and archbishops who give their approval to a decree of Pope Stephen, with a marginal note indicating some "error in scriptione" that is unclear. On palaeographical grounds this leaf should be dated as being XIIIth century. The text is in black with the initial in red and the capital letters stroked in red except for line 17 mentioning Bishop Ainardus that was filled in later. In two other places it seems that names of bishops were added in blanks left by the scribe: l.12-Hi(1)duinus and l.19 - Richininus. In addition, the name of Agapitus was written originally without the ending which was added later together with his title, "episcopus." Since, at least on the

surface, there is no direct link between these "subscriptiones episcoporum" and the other material concerning St. Gislenus, we will postpone the discussion of this document to the end of our article (Figure 16).

2. f. 60 verso contains a brief sixteen line diet and other counter measures against the malady of St. Gislenus, "morbus beati Gilleni," which term most probably refers to epilepsy.⁹ This text is written by the same XIVth century hand as the texts on the following leaves.

Beg.: Haec sunt observanda singulis qui in morbo beati Gilleni
incidunt.

Ends: Nihil horum absque thesaurarii licentia aut consilio
relaxare.

This line has been crossed out by a later hand, perhaps the same one that made a marginal remark on the preceding page, and some illegible comment is added at the end of the text.

3. ff. 61-66 (clxxxviii-cciii) contain a versified "Vita sancti Gisleni" and "De miranda re sancti." The text is written in an early XIVth century script with 27/28 lines per page in a single column and every tenth line is marked in the margin by the sign "T," but by the middle of the poem this sign appears less regularly. The text is in the same hand as the recipe and has the superscription, probably by a different hand, "Famulus Jesu Christi nunciavit multa (illa?). The text of the vita proper begins (f. 61r):

Supplex oro veni me, Kyri sancte, iuvare,
Vitam Gilleni propono metrificare.

The vita contains 240 lines and ends (f. 65r):

Pro sancti merita data sit mihi caelica vita.

The poem on "miranda res sancti" starts immediately after on the same leaf.

Beg.: (D)e miranda re sancti volo versificare.
Quidam caecus erat quem iam Bracbantia gignit.

End: It strabo sospes cui iam fuit ex oculo spes.¹⁰

Overall, these two texts contain 335 lines imitating dactylic hexameters, but with little respect for the rules of prosody. The long syllables frequently count as short, e.g., f. 61r, l.18: oraculum, and vice versa, e.g., strabo in ll. 24 and 27 of f. 66v. The hexameters are usually rhymed with additional homoioteleuta in the caesurae; see, e.g., the first two lines: "iuvare"/"metrificare" and "veni/Gilleni." Sometimes the hemistich rhymes with the clausula within the same line, e.g., f. 61r, l.13: "Gillenus *mores*// Petri recolensque *dolores*." Sometimes the hemistich rhymes with the

Ego leo sc̄e romane eccle archieps rogante do
 mino nro Stephano subscripsi amen: Ego ma
 rin ep̄s iubente eodem ep̄o subscripsi amen: Ego ualen
 tian ep̄s subscripsi amen: Ego agapit ip̄o iubente
 subscripsi amen: Ego symphorian ep̄s subscripsi amen
 Ego emerentian ep̄s subscripsi amen: Ego aberius
 ep̄s subscripsi amen: Ego laurentius ep̄s subscripsi
 amen: Ego florentius ep̄s subscripsi amen: Ego grego
 rius ep̄s subscripsi amen: Ego gaudencius ep̄s sub
 scripsi amen: Ego clementianus ep̄s subscripsi amen
 Ego urban ep̄s uisui domni stephani pape scrip̄ ante
 Ego hiduin mediolanensiu archieps subscripsi amen
 Ego vincto placentis ep̄s subscripsi amen
 Ego petrus amelis ep̄s subscripsi amen
 Ego sinardus basile ep̄s subscripsi amen
 Ego richuin traburgis ep̄s subscripsi amen
 Ego rogerus treueris archieps subscripsi amen
 Ego benedict metensis ep̄s subscripsi amen
 Ego richariu leodicensis ep̄s subscripsi amen
 Ego stephanus cameracensis ep̄s subscripsi amen

In anno
 Stephano

In anno Stephano

Fig. 16. Episcopal subscriptions to a papal decree concerning the monastery of St. Gerard at Brogne (f. 60r). (Courtesy of Department of Rare Books and Special Collections)

clausula of the following line while the clausula of the first line rhymes with the hemistich of the following line, e.g., f. 61r, ll.3-4: "Gillenus *natus*// fuit olim sanguine *graeco*/ *atticus*; at *de quo*// sum quid narrare *paratus*." This last example illustrates, as well, some peculiar rules of phonetics followed by the author: "graeco" and "de quo" are made to rhyme.

This *Vita sancti Gisleni* is one of the two known medieval versified lives of this saint; the other one by an anonymous XIIIth century author was published by G. Harster.¹¹ In all, there are ten known medieval "vitae sancti Gisleni" and these have been listed in Potthast's *Bibliotheca Historica Medii Aevi*¹² and published and commented upon by A. Poncelet in the *Analecta Bollandiana*.¹³ Our vita is listed as "vita nona" in both Potthast and Poncelet. The latter's edition and description of the manuscripts¹⁴ is based on the material provided by Baudry and Guesquière.¹⁵ As Poncelet suggests, there existed two manuscripts that contained "vita nona." One of them is Codex Parisiensis 11765 (ff. 75 sqq.); the other one, not clearly identified by Poncelet, is called by him simply the "apographum" or "transcript." This apograph had been analysed by Baudry, who concluded that it was written by the author himself, whom he identified as Stephanus de Warelles, 32nd or 33rd abbot of St. Ghislain, 1317-1366.¹⁶ However, Baudry's identification of the author of the "vita nona," or at least his reasoning, cannot be accepted for various reasons, of which some were presented by Poncelet.¹⁷ One more counter-argument to Baudry's attribution of his manuscript to the author is provided by our manuscript. A comparison of our text with the text published from the apograph, which does not include any readings from Codex Parisiensis, indicates that our manuscript is earlier than the codex Baudry considered to be the archetype. From a study of the *apparatus criticus* to the version of the *vita nona* published by Poncelet, it is clear that the apograph contains several strange readings that could result only from the misinterpretation of the ligatures by an inexperienced scribe. In our manuscript we find the correct ligatures: e.g., f. 64v, l. 11 "9plurib3" is a correct reading, "cum pluribus" while in the apograph we find "compluribus" which makes no sense in the context. Such an error reveals its origin, a wrongly resolved ligature, "cum" or "com-". Hence, the apograph is clearly copied from another manuscript with this ligature and thus is not an original copy. There are other similar examples: on the same folio (64v), l. 13, "9pule," "cum praesule," in our manuscript against "compresule" of the apograph, "2e," "curae," against "certe," etc. Moreover, the correct reading in our manuscript of an unusual word "mainriu" (f. 64v, l. 23) against "mamris" of the apograph, corrected to "mamriu"(?), leaves no doubt that our manuscript preceded the apograph. Thus, if either of the two should be held to be the author's copy, it would be our manuscript, not Baudry's. One more peculiarity of our text, this time of a hagiographical nature, should be mentioned. According to tradition, the saint's feast is on 9 October, supposedly the day of his death. However, our text follows a different tradition, one that appears to be unrecorded, indicating that he died in August: "Augusti mense coeli dedit ad regimen se."¹⁸

4. f. 67r is blank and the volume ends on ff. 67v and 68 with a small collection of short versified moralistic and didactic clichés, written by the same hand as the recipe and the "vita" except probably for the last epigram on the triad of heroes of pagan, biblical and Christian history.

Beg.: T(itulus?): Primum (...?) regnum dei et omnia tibi
adicientur.

Ends: Inter Gentiles, Judaeos et Christicolentes.

Each poem is preceded in the margin by "No^m" (nostrum ?, sc. poëma), and it seems that the authorship of these poems should be attributed to the scribe, though at times they are merely his variations on some medieval *loci communes*. Thus, e.g., the first line of the poem "De divitis insufficientia" (f. 67v) can be found in Walther's collection of medieval Latin proverbs:¹⁹ "Non est in mundo dives qui dicat: 'abundo'," in our manuscript: "...qui dicat habundo." However, the following lines in our manuscript are not listed among the variants recorded by Walther; our manuscript continues: "cum plus ditatur tanto (minus assatia-)tur." The "minus assatia-" was filled in later by the same hand that wrote the superscription preceding the vita (f. 61r) while a third hand, the same that added a marginal remark to the subscriptions (f. 60r), added another variant clause substituting "hoc saturatur" for "assatiatur." The conventional nature of these epigrams makes them irrelevant to our discussion. They clearly have nothing in common with the cult of St. Gislenus, and were surely added to fill out the remaining blank leaves of the volume without respect to its monothematic content.

We can now return to the "subscriptions episcoporum" in order to demonstrate that the original codex really was a monothematic anthology. These subscriptions contain twenty-two names using the formula: "Ego (...) episcopus (v. archiepiscopus) (iussu papae Stephani (...vel sim.)) subscripsi. Amen." It is clear at first sight that we are dealing with a list of witnesses to some papal decree. However, the composition of this list is a bit enigmatic. Its two most striking features are: (1) only the last nine names of the "non-Roman" bishops have the name of the see included, and (2) the text of the subscriptions containing the first thirteen names of the "Roman" bishops is continuous, while the last nine each use one line beginning with "ego."

A simple comparison of the names of the bishops whose sees are given with the indices of bishops and the tabulation of their terms of office²⁰ lead us to date our list to the year 929 and to identify the pope mentioned as Stephen VII, whose brief reign lasted from 929 to 931. Furthermore, comparison of our list with the relevant clauses of papal decrees of this period enables us to identify it as a list of the episcopal witnesses to the privileges granted by Pope Stephen to the monastery at Brogne, Belgium, and presented personally to its founder St. Gerard.²¹ The phrasing used for our subscriptions is so similar to that of the corresponding clause of the full document that this identification seems to be absolutely certain.

However, there are two minor differences between our list and the papal bull and these arouse some suspicion as to the origin of our document. First of all, our list has one more name than the full document, the second on the list, Bishop Marinus.²² Actually, his name fits perfectly into this list, since it is the name of the pope whose reign began in 942, so he may have been a bishop at the time this decree was issued, like two other bishops on our list who were elected pope later: Leo (Leo VII, 936-939), "Romanae ecclesiae archiepiscopus" and Agapitus (Agapitus II, 946-955), "episcopus."

Secondly, in the full version of this document, the subscriptions of the last nine bishops have a different formulation from that of the first twelve; instead of "ego (...) subscripsi," they are phrased in the third person singular "(...) subscripsit." Besides, according to Bormans²³ who analysed the full decree, the names of the last nine bishops in the bull he examined were written by a hand different from that of the first half of the list and all traced by the same pen. However, as we mentioned already, in our manuscript some of these names were filled in later. In order to throw some light on this detail, we should explain the origin of the document. From the *Vita sancti Gerardi* we learn that St. Gerard went to Rome to request papal approval for special privileges for his monastery. These were granted and the suggestion was made that he should ask the bishops of the cities through which he would pass on his return to Brogne to append their signatures to the privilege. This would explain the composition of the list of bishops who signed the document. We can infer that the first thirteen (twelve) bishops signed in Rome in the presence of the pope, while the other nine signed it successively as they were approached by Gerard. On the basis of the second part of the list, we can reconstruct the itinerary of Gerard's return to Brogne. Hence, we can conclude that while the papal bull was signed in the first person by the bishops present at Rome, "subscripsi," the names of the other bishops were simply recorded by the scribe in the third person, "subscripsit." But, how can we explain the fact that in our list all the names are recorded in the first person and why were several names filled in later?

It seems that the only possible explanation is to assume that the privilege to the monastery at Brogne is a forgery. This idea was first proposed by Bormans²⁴ and more recently followed by Smet.²⁵ Our manuscript adds more substance to their arguments. Although Bormans and Smet reject this bull as a complete forgery, we are inclined to suspect that there really existed some papal privilege for the monastery of Brogne which for some reason disappeared or was substantially damaged very early, perhaps only a few decades after it was issued. However, as the *Vita sancti Gerardi*, composed in the XIth century,²⁶ stressed Gerard's visit to Rome and the papal privilege, the bull was reconstructed in order to provide documentation of the visit and of the privilege. It seems that the forger did not succeed in his reconstruction of the bull at the first try. This may explain the existence of two versions of the bull, the one already mentioned and the other much shorter one long known to be a forgery.²⁷ This may also apply to the list of subscriptions. One version would have the names of "Roman" and "non-Roman" bishops differentiated by distinct formulas, while the other, like ours, would not. The use of the third person in the second half of the list may have been intended to add authority to the "vita," while the use of the first person there may have been intended to add authority to the bull itself. The forger's struggle with the reconstruction of the subscriptions could also be the reason behind the inclusion of Marinus in our manuscript. At some point, the forger discovered that he could be included with historical probability and thus Marinus became an extra witness.

It can not be excluded that in our manuscript we have a copy of a working draft of this alleged forger. This would be the most logical explanation of the fact that, as we have mentioned, three names of the bishops were written in later. Of these, two had their titles and sees written in with blanks left for their names. All three were "non-Roman"

bishops. It would be too much of a coincidence that the scribe was unable to decipher three names in this very part of the codex or bull from which he copied. We must assume then that the forger first drew up the list of cities on Gerard's itinerary and only then tried to find the name of the bishop of each see. If he had a name available, he would write it down immediately; if he did not have a name, he left a blank and filled it in later when he discovered the name. Nevertheless, he made some errors: Richininus instead of Richwinus and the inclusion of Hi(1)duinus whose episcopate did not overlap with those of the other bishops.²⁸ However, the assumption that our manuscript was a working draft of the alleged forger would, "eo ipso," alter the dating based on its palaeographical features. Thus, instead of dating our manuscript to the XIIIth century, we would have to attribute it to the XIth century if it were really linked with the "vita Gerardi" of that century. Since this dating is impossible on palaeographical grounds, we are forced to conclude that either there was a second, independent, forgery of the papal bull in the XIIIth century, or that the text used by our copist was so damaged that it was not possible to transcribe it directly.

Thus far we have discussed this document in isolation. Now we should place it in the context of the whole volume and ask what justified its inclusion in the anthology of literature dealing with St. Gislénus. For its inclusion we have two clues, one internal and one external. The internal clue is provided by the text of our versified "vita." Twice in this text there is mentioned "quidam Egǵdus" which should be read as Eggradus. It is possible that here we have a trace of the name Gerardus in a quite distorted form. Our "vita" would then record one of the versions of the legend of St. Gislénus where the ghost of this saint appeared directly to Gerard, and not as in a more popular version to Gislebertus, Duke of Lorraine, in order to ask him to take over his faltering monastery in person. The external clue is provided by the *Vita sancti Gerardi*, in which we learn that Gerard was given the task of reorganizing the Gislénian monastery in Celle by Gislebertus, Duke of Lorraine. In this version of the story, St. Gislénus appeared to the duke in a dream and complained that the monks did not allow him to rest, but carried his body around the countryside in order to collect alms which they used for dishonest purposes. Gerard turned these monks out and replaced them by Benedictines. It is here that we meet historical fact. Gislebertus probably acted under the guidance of Stephen, Bishop of Cambrai, whose name, by the way, appears as the last one in the list of subscriptions, "Stephanus, Cameracensis episcopus." When this all probably happened, we do not know, since this incident in Gerard's life, like his visit to Rome, is obscured by legend. It likely occurred between 931 and 941, but we still do not know for how many years Gerard acted as abbot of the monastery of St. Gislénus.

All the above results of our analysis of this manuscript seem to be sufficient for the reconstruction of its history and at the same time for the correction of some errors committed by scholars who dealt with related topics.

We assume that originally the text which we have discussed belonged to an anthology of literature on St. Gislénus compiled for liturgical and other purposes and similar to the Codex Cellensis KKKK quoted already in reference to the "prosa" and hymns to St. Gislénus. This volume could

include, apart from purely Gislenian literature, some texts dealing indirectly with this saint, as, e.g., the privilege, or forged privilege, granted to St. Gerard. At some point however, probably after the fire that destroyed the monastery in Celle together with its library in 1728,²⁹ this codex became disbound and only a part survived, i.e., the folios which we have preserved together with some other texts on St. Gislenus. Later, these were bound together with fragments from other manuscripts that survived the fire to create a new compilation which was then foliated in Roman numerals. This new codex in our opinion should be identified as the lost Codex Cellensis MMMM. The description of this codex is to be found in the catalogue compiled by Baudry and included in his annals of the monastery of St. Gislenus.³⁰ However, the data provided by Baudry himself, by the continuator of his annals, Durot, and by the publisher of the annals, Poncelet, are so vague and at times contradictory, that we learn nothing about the physical characteristics of this codex and nothing about its fate. We do not even know if, after Baudry, either his continuator or commentator had ever seen this codex; moreover, Baudry is not always reliable and one example of this is especially pertinent here. As the last among eighteen different texts making up this codex Baudry lists a mysterious "Vita sancti Kiri" of which he quotes the incipit: "Supplex oro veni me, Kiri, iuvare." This is obviously an error of transcription and is the initial verse of our "Vita sancti Gisleni" with "sancti" omitted between "Kyri" and "iuvare."

In Baudry's description of the whole codex, just before this "vita," we find the "privilegium Stephani papae concessum monasterio Broniensi, datum quinto calendas maii 913" of which in our manuscript only the subscriptions survive. The dating of this document has been discussed above. Furthermore, in the middle of this codex, item 9, we find "Prosa et hymni de Sancto Gisleno." Thus, we have in this codex all the texts that we found in our volume with exception of the recipe between the subscriptions and "vita" and the epigrams at the end. Owing to their irrelevance, these could easily have been omitted by Baudry. Also contained in this codex, according to Baudry's catalogue, were a commentary of the Cantica Canticorum by Rupert of Deutz (Robertus Tuitiensis), *Sancti Gisleni vita septima*, and several other hagiographical texts, including *Legenda undecim millium virginum scripta a Stephano abbate S. Ghisleni* which Baudry erroneously attributed to Stephanus de Warelles, the same XIVth century abbot of the monastery to whom he ascribed our "vita," the "vita nona." Faider,³¹ who discovered a manuscript, "Reliures 8683," in the library of Mariemont announced triumphantly that this manuscript was beyond doubt the only surviving remnant of Codex MMMM. However, in our opinion it is not the only surviving fragment of Codex MMMM and, indeed, not from this codex at all. First of all, the dimensions of the leaves of Faider's manuscript (188 x 123/150 x 95 mm), much smaller than those of our manuscript (230 x 160/165 x 105 mm), prove that they both could not belong to MMMM. Faider's manuscript has no foliation signs; ours does and they fit perfectly with Baudry's description of MMMM.³² Finally, our manuscript contains four texts identical with the corresponding parts of MMMM, while Faider's identification of his manuscript with this codex is based arbitrarily on the identity of the title of only one work. All these factors favour the assumption that it is our manuscript that preserves portions of Codex Cellensis MMMM and not Faider's. "Eo ipso," we have to reject as well Poncelet's suggestion that his copy of the "vita nona" belonged to MMMM.

The history of the Codex Cellensis MMMM does not end here, but the information that we can discover about it is extremely confusing. Poncellet remarks in passing that A. Wins, who took possession of some of the manuscripts of the monastery of St. Gislenus, wrote in the margin of Baudry's catalogue next to the entry for MMMM the remark "retenu,"³³ indicating that Wins kept this manuscript in his collection. However, this must be erroneous on the part of Poncellet, since no further details usually accompanying identifiable manuscripts are provided. In addition, there is no mention in the catalogue of Win's library of anything resembling this codex.³⁴ We must assume then that this codex, MMMM, shared the fate of many other codices from the monastery which, following the French Revolution, were sold for very low prices after the more interesting leaves had been removed.³⁵ Someone probably considered the folios containing the "prosa" and the hymns especially interesting; it is significant that the only other surviving copy of these texts is also a single leaf. The same reason would explain the survival of the *vita* and the other texts. We suspect that the codex itself disappeared after it was sold, while the leaves that had been removed were still preserved together with other fragments of manuscripts. At some point, probably in the late XIXth century, our ten leaves were bound together with one of these manuscript fragments, namely, the truncated *Aurora* of Peter Riga. We know that the library at Celle had a volume containing the *Aurora* that had also disappeared. This volume, PPPP,³⁶ also contained three other texts: *Tractatus Hugonis de Sancto Victore super Lamentationes Jeremiae*, *Sermo S. Bernardi contra vitium ingratitudeis*, and *De morte quadruplici*, all of which are lost. We have no details concerning the physical description of this volume, so we can not identify our *Aurora* with the corresponding part of manuscript PPPP without some reservations. However, such an identification is highly probable.

It is in the form and with the contents described above that our volume was acquired by the English collector George Dunn in 1904,³⁷ and then by McGill University in 1923. Here the volume ends its tumultuous history: a history that reflects that of the monastery founded by St. Gislenus in the VIIIth century and of its once celebrated library.³⁸

Notes

1. Seymour de Ricci (with the assistance of J. Wilson), *Census of Medieval and Renaissance Manuscripts in the United States and Canada*, (New York, 1937) II: 2214, item 118. The authors gratefully acknowledge the help of Dr. Faith Wallis, Osler Library, with the dating of these fragments on the basis of their palaeography.

2. For the general bibliography on this saint see: E. Reusens, *Biographie Nationale*, VII (1880-1883) 730-732; E. de Moreau, *Lexicon für Theologie und Kirche*, IV (1932) col. 508. For a more recent summary of the literature on St. Gislenus and on the library of his monastery in Celle, see: A. d'Haenens, "Gérard de Brogne à l'abbaye de Saint-Gislain (931-41?)," *Révue Bénédictine*, LXX (1960) 105-6, n.6. The only substantial later contribution to Gislenian studies is D. van Overstraeten, "Notes sur les dévotions populaires à St-Ghislain au Moyen Age," *Valenciennes et les Pays-Bas. Mélanges offerts à*

Paul Lefrancq, IX (Valenciennes, 1976) 217-229.

3. The rudimentary elements of colometry are represented by the capital letters shaded in red at the beginning of each strophe in both the "prosa" and the hymns.

4. Published in *Analecta Hymnica Medii Aevi*, XII, pp. 124-5, nos. 218-220. For the description of the manuscript of Celle (later Mons), see: P. Baudry et A. Durot, "Annales de l'abbaye de St-Ghislain," ed. A. Poncelet, *Annales du cercle archéologique de Mons*, XXVI (Mons, 1897), p. 399. As Baudry suggests (*ibid.*) these hymns were written just after 850 and were copied in this manuscript in the XIth century.

5. Published in *Analecta Hymnica*. XIII: 154-6, no. 58.

6. Referred to, *Analecta Hymnica*. XXVIII: 297, no. 100, but not published.

7. A. Poncelet in *Analecta Bollandiana*, VI (1887) 300-302; reprinted in *Analecta Hymnica*. LV: 172-3, no. 151 (prosa) and *Analecta Hymnica*. XXIII: 183-5, nos. 310-312 (hymns).

8. *Analecta bollandiana* 300.

9. See: G. D. Gordini, "Gisileno," *Bibliotheca Sanctorum* (Rome, 1965) VI, col. 1149.

10. As a matter of fact, the very last line of this text is only a verse omitted in the middle of f. 66v: *Pergens Melbodium fac si potes ut domicellae.*

11. From the Codex Hagensis Z 68(684); G. Harster ed., *Novem vitae sanctorum metricae* (Leipzig, Bibliotheca Teubneriana, 1887) 148-178.

12. A. Potthast, *Bibliotheca Historica Medii Aevi. Wegweiser durch die Geschichtswerke des Europäischen Mittelalters bis 1500* (Berlin, 1896², repr. Graz, 1957) II: 1342. Our *vita* figures also as no. 3561 (other *vitae*: nos. 3552-3560) in *Bibliotheca Hagiographica Latina*, ed. Socii Bollandiani, (Bruxelles, 1898-9, repr. 1949) I. In both cases only *ed. princeps* (see below) is indicated without any mention of manuscript sources.

13. *Potthast*. V (1886): 209-294; VI (1887): 209-302; XII (1893): 414-422.

14. In *Potthast*. VI: 291-300; also discussed on 212, 247-9 and 290-1.

15. In *Analecta Bollandiana*. VI: 211.

16. In "Annales de l'abbaye de St-Ghislain" (ed. de Reiffenberg) in *Monuments pour servir à l'histoire des provinces de Namur, de Hainaut et de Luxembourg*, VIII (1848): 209 in margin and 495.

17. Baudry stated that this *vita* was written by the same hand as another manuscript containing the *Legenda 11000 virginum* traditionally ascribed to *Stephanus*, though actually written about 200 years before his time; cf.

Analecta Bollandiana. VI: 248-9.

18. In our manuscript f. 64v, l.19 and in Poncelet's edition, l. 214.
19. *Carmina medii aevi posterioris latina II/1-5: Proverbia sententiaeque latinitatis medii aevi* (Gottingen, 1963-67), no. 17645.
20. E.g. P. B. Gams, *Series episcoporum ecclesiae catholicae* (Leipzig, 1931²).
21. The earliest editors of this document varied significantly in the dating of the bull and thus different popes named Stephen were believed to have issued it. In the manuscript from which it was published by Miraeus, *Origines Benedictinae* (Cologne, 1614) 42, the date is 27.IV.913 which is obviously wrong since there was no Pope Stephen at that time. He attributes this bull to 942; in this dating, also impossible, he follows Baronius, *Annales Ecclesiastici*, IX (Mayence, 1601) col. 824. This dating was first rejected by P. Pagi, *Critica in Annales Baronii* (Anvers, 1705) IV: 839. The Bollandists fixed the date at 929, *Acta Sanctorum*, L (1768) 245. As a matter of fact, the only problem with dating this bull seems to be caused by the mention of the archbishop of Milan, Hi(1)duinus, whose episcopate began in 932, so he could not have signed this document as archbishop in 929. The bull was also published separately by E. de Marmol, "l'abbaye de Brogne où de Saint Gérard," *Annales de la Société archéologique de Namur*, V (1858) 420-422.
22. In Migne, *Patrologia Latina*, CXXXII, col. 1053 ff. In this edition of the document, one more name, Ainardus, is also omitted, but probably this is due only to an oversight of the editor.
23. S. Bormans, "Une fausse bulle de pape Etienne VIII," *Bulletin de l'Académie Royale des Sciences, des Lettres et des Beaux-Arts de Belgique*, ser. 2, XLVII (1879) 281 and n.2.
24. Bormans 271-296.
25. J. M. de Smet, "Recherches critiques sur la Vita Gerardi abbatis Broniensis," *Révue Bénédictine*, LXX (1960) 5-61, and especially 12-17.
26. Cf.: L. von Heinemann, "Vita Gerardi, abbatis Broniensis," *Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Scriptores*, XV 654-5.
27. Cf. *Acta sanctorum* (ed.nova cur. J. Carnandet), L (octobris t, II), Paris, 1866 246-249.
28. Cf. Gams, for Richininus (Richwinus) see p. 315 and for Hi(1)duinus see 796.
29. Cf. Baudry 357.
30. Baudry 399-401.
31. See P. Faider, "Note sur un manuscrit provenant de l'abbaye de St-Ghislain," *Révue Bénédictine*, XLVIII (1936) 80-83.

32. E.g., the *prosa* and the hymns to St. Gislenus are on folio 96 out of 205 folios, and in Baudry's description these texts are numbered 9 out of 18, i.e. in both cases in the very middle of the whole corpus.
33. See: Baudry 399, n.1.
34. Cf. *Analecta Bollandiana* XII: 409 sqq.
35. Cf. Baudry 360-361: n.1.
36. Cf. Baudry 401. Under sign ZZ (*ibid.*, p. 382) there is a *Biblia metrificata*, but this is dated 1462, so it is definitely not our *Aurora* which was written much earlier.
37. It is possible, as Dunn's agent suggested in a postcard inserted in our volume, that at some point it was in the possession of the library at Mons.
38. For the history of the library of St. Gislenus' monastery see: *Catalogue des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque de Mons* (Gand, 1931) xxiv-xxvii.

Chronicle

McGill collections continue to be enriched thanks to new acquisitions and generous grants from foundations such as the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council in Ottawa and donations from individual donors, many of whom are McGill alumni or faculty members.

The following list gives a brief description in random order of selected items acquired by McGill during the last few years:

A major collection of Lincolniana came to McGill as a gift from Dr. Joseph Nathanson, a 1919 graduate of the Medical Faculty. The collection consists of books by and about Abraham Lincoln, letters, pictures, and artifacts. The "Nathanson Collection of Lincolniana" is housed in a separate room of the McLennan Library. Since the material is not catalogued it is not yet open to scholars or the public.

Dr. Lawrence Lande, a long time benefactor of McGill Libraries, donated three 1759 manuscripts of the French Regime in Canada: a letter written and signed by Marquis de Montcalm shortly before the Battle of the Plains of Abraham and two marriage contracts, whose signatories show the practice, recently revived in Quebec, of wives placing their family name before their married name. The documents are kept and displayed in the Lande Collection of Canadiana, housed on the fourth floor of McLennan Library, a rare collection of Canadian history material donated to McGill University over a long period of time.

Two major acquisitions were made for the Map Collection of the Department of Rare Books and Special Collections:

Dimitri Petri's large wall map of the Russian Empire, dated 1785, was donated by Professor Philip D. Longworth of McGill's Department of History. This splendid map is unique in Canada. One copy is held by the British Library.

The collection of French mapping of New France was supplemented by Nicolas Sanson's very rare and beautiful map of 1650 *Amerique Septentrionale*. It depicts the eastern Great Lakes with reasonable accuracy for the first time.

The State Education Commission of the People's Republic of China donated 1000 books to McGill including dictionaries and art books on fine and applied art. The books are beautifully printed and demonstrate the high quality of current Chinese book production. The Senior Commissioner of the State Education Commission of China, Mr. Huang Xinbai, presented the books personally during a visit to McGill.

From the National Library of Canada we received about 1000 travel books, essentially Victorian accounts of British and American origin. These books were previously held in the Library of Parliament in Ottawa.

Approximately 500 Japanese books, mostly in English and covering a variety of subjects, were donated by the Japanese peace movement, SOKKA GAKKAI.

A Japan Foundation grant allowed McLennan Library to acquire books to support the study of Japanese culture with an emphasis on literary criticism, social science and history.

A fine collection of family papers and books was donated by Bartlett Morgan, son of Cleveland Morgan, a long time library benefactor. The books relate mostly to horticulture and landscape design.

Ten original Thomas Bewick wood-blocks used to illustrate his early works, *British Birds* and *General History of Quadrupeds*, were purchased thanks to a donation from Montreal businessman David Lank combined with a SSHRC grant.

Professor Storrs McCall of the Department of Philosophy donated several hundred books from his family's library. Professor McCall's parents were both eminent members of the medical profession.

Dink Carroll, famous Canadian sports journalist, donated some 300 volumes, including several rare items, on physical education and sports.

A valuable collection of 67 works by C.P. Snow, most of which are first editions, was donated by Brian Coleman of Ottawa.

Regina Slatkin of New York donated a splendid four volume 1755 illustrated edition of Jean de la Fontaine's *Fables choisies, mises en vers*. The illustrations are by renowned artist Jean-Baptiste Ondry (1686-1755).

From William P. Wolfe of Montreal we received an important collection of thirteen contemporary documents concerning the Earl of Selkirk's conflict with the North West Company over his attempt to colonize the Red River area (1816-18).

The Libraries purchased the papers of Dr. Abraham Aaron Roback (1890-1965), a McGill graduate and well known American psychologist and Yiddish scholar.

Professor Leo Yaffe, Department of Chemistry and former Vice-Principal, donated a substantial collection of books, journals and reports related to the study of radiation chemistry.

An endowment donated by Dr. Donald Mossman of California allowed the Libraries to further develop the Mossman Collection on the History of Science and of Ideas.

Mme. Mary Maxwell Rabbani of Haifa, daughter of distinguished Canadian architect W.S. Maxwell, donated her father's collection of architecture and art books. This collection, consisting of over 300 monographs and special periodical issues, complements McGill's existing holdings from the library of Edward Maxwell, brother of W. S. Maxwell. Along with the 20,000 original drawings and photographs of the Maxwells' architectural projects, these two donations make the Blackader-Lauterman Library the most complete repository of works assembled to document the *oeuvre* of a team of prominent Canadian architects.

The Libraries purchased the 900th anniversary facsimile edition of the Domesday Book (1086) which contains details of the census ordered by

William the Conqueror. This was arguably the greatest and most detailed census ever undertaken in England. It even includes a count of livestock.

Another major purchase was British Documents on Foreign Affairs, Reports and Papers from the Foreign Office Confidential Print, 420 volumes covering the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.

With the assistance of grants from the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council (SSHRC), Ottawa, the Marvin Duchow Music Library was able to acquire major microfilm collections of manuscripts of Renaissance music in British collections and, in addition, early printed editions of Renaissance motets held in European and American collections. With this significant acquisition the Music Library becomes the first in North America to have an archive which houses complete inventories of both printed and manuscript sources to Renaissance music.

Senator Carl Goldenberg (C.O.C., O.B.E., Q.C.) former member of the McGill Board of Governors and eminent Canadian mediator of labour disputes, donated his personal memoirs to the libraries. Senator Goldenberg has recently allowed these documents to be accessible for study.

The McCord Museum of Canadian History acquired a fine Swampy Cree costume of circa 1890, from Northern Ontario. This well-preserved costume was donated by Mrs. Betty Firstbrook of Montreal.

A portrait of the Third Baron de Longueil was repatriated to Canada through a grant to the McCord Museum from the Canadian Cultural Property Review Board. The portrait was probably executed in Quebec City, 1753.

Every year the McCord Museum receives several hundred Aislin cartoons from private donors, including the artist himself, Terry Mosher.

The Notman Photographic Archives were enriched by the acquisition of a painted composite photograph of the Caribou Encampment. This photograph by William Notman was donated by Dr. William Baker of Montreal.

The McCord Museum also acquired a complete bedroom suite in neo-renaissance style. The furniture, which is in excellent condition, is unique because it is signed by Owen McGarvey, a leading Montreal cabinet maker in the 1850-70's. It was obtained by the museum as a gift from Mrs. Audrey Smith of the Eastern Townships, Quebec.

The family archives of de Rocheblave-Bouthellier-Routh was acquired by the McCord Museum Archives as a donation from the Routh Family. The members of this old French-Canadian family were active from the early days of New France until the end of the 19th Century in military, business and administrative positions.

Another major addition to the McCord Museum Archives was the correspondence of the renowned Quebec painter, Clarence Gagnon. The letters, donated by the Gagnon family, complements the collection of Gagnon papers already held by the museum.

Through a bequest, McCord Museum received a collection of books and notes from the estate of Marjorie Wilkins Campbell, author of books on the history of the fur trade.

The Libraries and University Archives have in recent years endeavoured to disseminate information on the collections in the form of catalogues and inventories. Following are some of the publications which, apart from the first, were made possible in part by grants from the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council (SSHRC), Ottawa.

Catalogue of the Lawrence Lande William Blake Collection (1983)

Catalogue of the Rodolphe Joubert Collection on French Canada in the Department of Rare Books and Special Collections (1984)

Catalogue of the Gregor Malantschuk Sören Kierkegaard Collection in the Department of Rare Books and Special Collections (1984)

Guide to Archival Resources at McGill University, 3 vols., Montreal, 1985

Catalogues of the Canadian Architecture Collection, McGill University:
Percy Erskine Nobbs (1986)
Edward & W. S. Maxwell (1986)
Ramsay Traquair and his Successors, 2 vols. (1987).

Hans Möller
Editor

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Montague Cohen was born in London, England and obtained his B.Sc. (Physics) and Ph.D. (Medical Physics) from London University. He was appointed Director of McGill's Medical Physics Unit in 1979 and has cross-appointments in Physics and Radiology. He is also Hon. Curator of the Rutherford Museum, Chairman of a Task Group of the International Commission of Radiological Units and Measurements, and a Consultant on radiation safety to the Ontario Government.

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John Hobbins obtained his B.A. (Hons. History 1966) and his M.L.S. (1968) from McGill University. Since then he has worked for McGill University Libraries as a Reference Librarian, Instructional Services Librarian and Head of Interlibrary Loans. He is currently a Senior Librarian and the Head of the Acquisitions Department, Central Technical Services.

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Peter F. McNally. After graduating in 1964 in Honours History from the University of Western Ontario, he came to McGill and earned a Bachelor of Library Science in 1965, a Master of Library Science in 1966 and a Master of Arts in History in 1977. Between 1966 and 1972 he worked in the Reference, Acquisitions and Rare Book Departments of the McGill University Library, serving as the first librarian of the Lande Collection of Canadiana between 1970 and 1972. Since 1972 he has served on the Faculty of the Graduate School of Library and Information Studies, lecturing in reference,

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