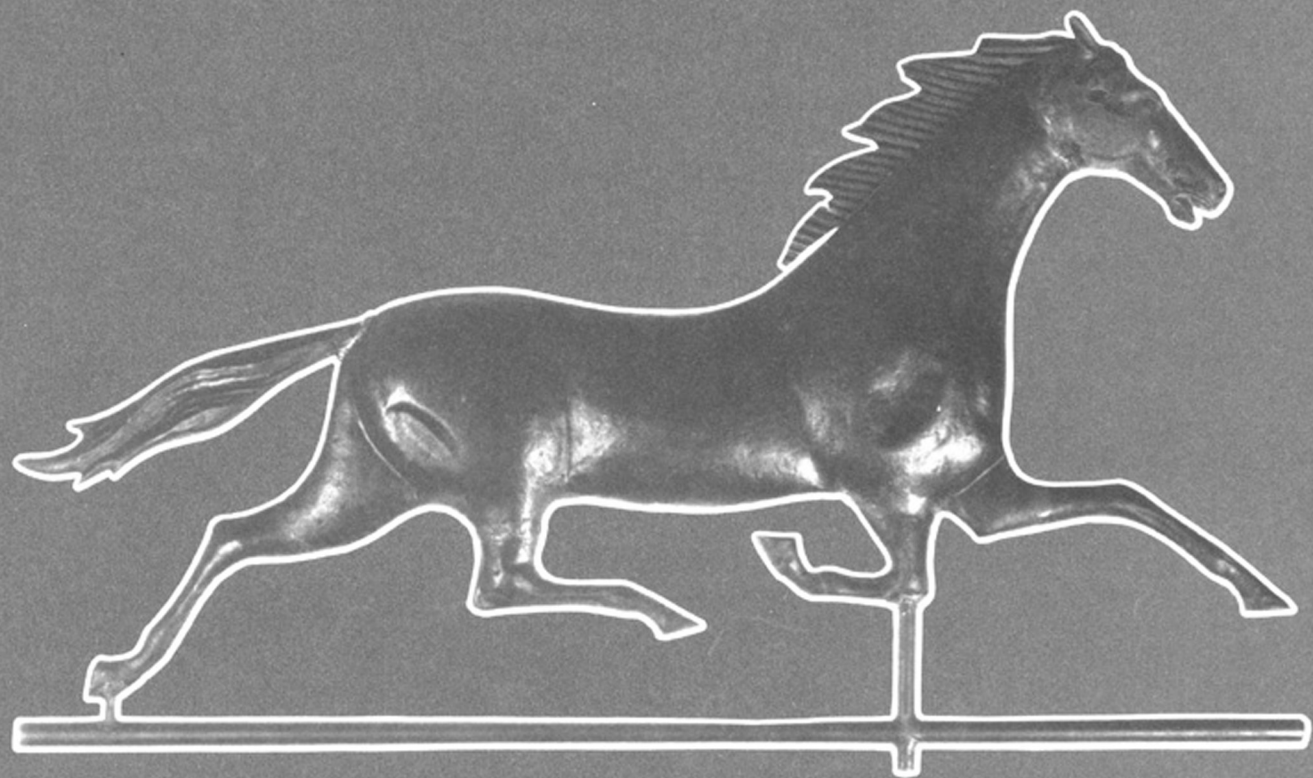


vol. III 1990

# Fontanus

from  
the collections of  
McGill University



**Cover Illustration:** Trotter weathervane of hammered copper with zinc head from Murray Bay, Quebec, late 19th century. (Photograph by Marilyn Aitken, deVolpi Collection, McCord Museum of Canadian History, Montreal.)

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# Frank Scott and the Canadian Literary Renaissance

by Leon Edel

*In this revised text of the first Frank Scott Memorial Lecture established by McGill's libraries, the author deals with the late dean of the Faculty of Law who was a poet, a man of law, and a well-known political activist. Recognizing that no single individual ever created a national renaissance, the author seeks to show the diversity of Scott's attainments and their influence on Canada's present literary flowering. He sees him as one of Flaubert's "triple thinkers"—that is an individual possessed of a creative imagination that fed all his undertakings. His poetry suffused his daily life and his legal wisdom, and these qualities figured in the creation of the background and scaffolding for the fertile literary expression now under way in Canada. As poet, he helped unify writers across Canada; as public figure he served on the Massey Commission out of which the Canada Council was created. As an illuminated legal mind, he undertook the defence of the written word in arguing the Lady Chatterley case before the Supreme Court and in defeating also the destructive "padlock law" which sought to fetter freedom of speech and opinion. These actions, carried out with strength, wit and brilliancy gave new force to the place of the writer within the nation who, Scott argued, is entitled to the free exercise as well as economic recognition of the literary profession.*

*Dans cette version révisée de la première Conférence Frank Scott, cycle institué par les bibliothèques de l'Université McGill, l'auteur parle du dernier doyen de la faculté de droit qui était poète, homme de loi et militant politique connu. Conscient qu'une renaissance nationale n'est jamais le fait d'un seul individu, l'auteur cherche à illustrer la diversité des réalisations de Scott et leur influence sur l'épanouissement actuel de la littérature au Canada. Il le voit comme l'un des « triple penseurs » de Flaubert, c'est-à-dire comme un être doué d'une imagination créatrice présente dans tout ce qu'il fait. La poésie imprégnait sa vie de tous les jours et son savoir d'homme de loi; ces qualités ont d'ailleurs contribué à tisser la toile de fond de l'expression littéraire fertile que connaît actuellement le Canada et à lui donner naissance. En tant que poète, il a contribué à unifier les écrivains d'un océan à l'autre; en sa qualité d'homme public, il a participé aux travaux de la Commission royale d'enquête sur l'avancement des arts, lettres et sciences au Canada (Massey), qui a donné naissance au Conseil des Arts du Canada. Brillant homme de loi, il a défendu l'acte littéraire en plaidant la cause de Lady Chatterly devant la Cour suprême et en faisant débouter la destructrice « loi du cadenas » qui cherchait à restreindre la liberté d'expression et d'opinion. Ses prises de position fermes, intelligentes et brillantes ont contribué à renforcer la place de l'écrivain au Canada. Scott soutenait que celui-ci avait droit à la liberté d'expression et à la reconnaissance économique de la profession d'écrivain.*

I deeply appreciate the invitation from McGill's libraries to deliver the first memorial lecture on the singular figure who was a part of my early life at this university and who became, in a very remarkable way, a part of Canada's national life. Frank Scott was involved during all his years

with Canadian writing and especially poetry. His career as a poet, his need to give cadenced utterance to his daily life, may have seemed marginal to those who observed him because he took up the law and with high distinction served the political life of the nation as well. We know there was a period when he worked

### *Frank Scott and the Canadian Literary Renaissance*

for the United Nations. Later, returning, he became Dean of Law at McGill. During the greater part of this century he fought, by means of the word and with his intellectual power, the continuing struggle for human rights and freedoms in Canada.

Toward the end of his life he assembled his collected poems. The wider public discovered that behind the major role he played in the creation of Canada's third political party, behind his concern for the two cultures in Quebec and his great authority in constitutional law, there existed a man of transcendent imagination who expressed himself most characteristically in his poems. We know that writers have become leaders in the national life of many countries. However, in pragmatic America, a continent where the sense of leisure seems never to have properly existed in the ways of Europe, statesmen and politicians have not been noted for their addiction to literature. Lawyers and judges, when inclined to imitate their bewigged contemporaries in Britain (who have been very literary) tend to indulge in extra-legal expression as a hobby—save for the rare figures whose judicial decisions have themselves become a part of national expression.

In the present flowering of English-Canadian letters, I have come to see that Frank Scott was a core figure, a kind of founding father in diverse movements that made it possible for our novelists to write works that have given them reputations beyond Canadian frontiers, and enabled its poetry to reach high tide. No single figure can make a literary renaissance. There is always a prevailing spirit of the time, an enveloping atmosphere. The Canadian literary renaissance has been brought to its flowering by many individuals and groups during an epoch in which Canada's nationhood was being tested. The population had to wait for certain evolutionary processes, technological as well as spiritual, to come to full term. Canada was too spacious for community, or as Scott put it in one of his poems "everywhere a huge nowhere," a nation concerned with survival. This comes inevitably before the refinements of civilization. They must arrive in their own good time—as we know from other overcrowded lands, for

whom literature, after centuries, became a national collaboration and poetry a national song.

Literature in Canada was lonely. Poets sang to themselves. Fiction had to wait for social density and a longer history. A novel is a narrative of how lives are arranged and lived, and the personal relations that are the tissues of such lives. The hunters and trappers and Indians and Inuit furnished early Canadian themes of the Fenimore Cooper or, say, Ralph Connor, variety. Little use was made of the one-street towns, the russet elevators raising their bulky box-like structures into a wideness of sky, the local churches, and the banks—usually the only buildings constructed of stone—in the small towns. And the lost ladies and lost men living in them starved for existence in the more charged and congregated parishes, spending much of the year amid snowdrifts.

Frank Scott, as I say, could not alone have made a literary renaissance. He was however in the very thick of its making, an Enlightenment man of our time. His intellectual ancestors were the French citizens who made their revolution and proclaimed the Rights of Man two hundred years ago—a bicentenary in process of celebration—and the early Americans who gave birth to the Declaration of Independence. I think history will regard Scott as a figure composed of their kind of fibre and in some respects the fibre and mind of some of the makers of Canada's Confederation of 1867.

What do I mean when I speak of the Canadian literary renaissance? I am thinking for example of the novelists we could count on our fingers in earlier years, the best sellers Mazo de la Roche, or Ralph Connor, or Morley Callaghan in Toronto or Hugh MacLennan in Montreal, or the satire and slapstick of Stephen Leacock's tales of small town life—he was very much with us during my time at McGill. We look around at this hour and start counting in a larger way—Robertson Davies and Margaret Atwood, Mordecai Richler and Mavis Gallant, Margaret Laurence and Alice Munro and Michael Ondaatje and so many others—and we see how numerous our writers have become, how there are new publishers



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**F.R. Scott, ca. 1960. (Photograph by Chris Payne,  
McGill University Archives.)**

## *Frank Scott and the Canadian Literary Renaissance*

to publish them and critics like Northrop Frye to write about them. There was always a stream of poetry, at first a thin stream. It struck certain domestic notes, among colonial imitations of the motherland, the mordant lines of Standish O'Grady, or the humane patois of Drummond, the poetry of Lampman and Carman, Roberts and Pratt, and so on. The present poetic outpouring is phenomenal—some 600 poets have sung in Canada between 1960 and the 1980s. They have brought into being 1100 volumes of verse. The statistics need not alarm us. A renaissance provides always a surplus of poets.

To understand Scott's unique role in this flowering we must glance at other forces that made it possible. Perhaps the old army word "logistics" might describe them. When I said that literature was lonely in Canada I meant that on this vast expanse, this sub-continent, "an arena large as Europe," Scott reminded us, from the Cordilleran region to the Laurentian, in the entire physiography of Canada, there lived, when I was a boy in Saskatchewan, only nine million people. Sir John A. Macdonald led the country in achieving Confederation by threading a railroad from the urban east to the Pacific rim—a railroad that ran through wildernesses. Rails however do not tie people together. They only stitch towns across great spaces. The western population lived in railway towns—every few miles a station bearing names that recalled places in the Old World thousand of miles away. We still carried Europe in our memories.

Canada had to wait for the new technologies: the telegraph and the telephone, the Model T and its flamboyant successors, the cement pourers for the highways, the crystal sets and ultimately the electronic revolution. Not least, the airplane. Planes telescope time and space. The political party Scott helped to found, when it took control in Saskatchewan, could use planes to fly doctors and nurses to remote communities and create modern airborne forms of medical insurance. The planes also made it possible, as they multiplied, for poets to journey and give readings. Suddenly there was national mobility. You could climb out of the snowdrifts and soar through cloud lands. The long train journeys, days on trains

from Vancouver to Halifax, belonged to the past. Other important unifying forces came, such as the Canada Council. We cannot speak of the literary renaissance without sketching this geography of air and sound waves and electronics, in which Scott participated as a poet, as defender of the word, as member of Royal Commissions, and as a prime fighter against censorship of the imagination.

## II

Frank Scott was born in 1899 in Quebec City. His father, Canon Frederick George Scott, a popular padre with the Canadians on the Western Front during the first war, wrote poetry and practiced a muscular Christianity that included support of labor movements and strikes. In other words he was a radical—as radicalism was defined then in Canada's Conservative establishment. His fifth son, christened Frances Reginald Scott, was educated in Bishop's College and went to Oxford as a Rhodes scholar. Even more than with his father, poetry was for him a natural way of expression, an articulation of personal emotion and belief, a kind of continuing biography of the Self. Exposed to British traditions and the European galleries, he was also caught up in the postwar emotions of 1914-1918. He felt it was time to make the world a place of peace and concord. The young Scott's early diaries suggest, according to Sandra Djwa, his biographer, that he returned to Canada with a Camelot vision. He looked for noble acts and for Sir Galahad!

He got a rude shock. He found shrunken horizons. He discovered the deep-rooted, tight-fisted conservatism of the Canadian oligarchy. Quebec was hedged by religious dogma, Ontario by banks and railroads. He taught at Lower Canada College for a while. By his 26<sup>th</sup> year he was restless and champing at the bit. In his diary he mused that Napoleon, at age twenty-six, was ready to wage his Italian campaigns, and William Pitt at the same age had been prime minister of England for two years. Here in Canada Scott hadn't even begun a life's work nor was he sure what that work would be. He had, we can see, distinct dreams of glory. Young intel-

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lectuals in Canada who wanted to remake a world outside business usually embraced medicine or law, science, engineering, sometimes theology: the professions gave them a high status and sometimes public life; theology sought active social betterment and God's way to men, and provided a pulpit. Scott chose the McGill law school.

At the university he met A. J. M. Smith—as he formidably signed his poetry. Smith was working for a science degree. His British immigrant parents felt science was safer than poetry. He partially satisfied them with a Bachelor of Science and promptly enrolled in graduate English, writing a thesis on William Butler Yeats and the symbolist movement. In 1925, he convinced the Students' Council that a literary supplement would enhance the *McGill Daily*. Scott sent in a lively article and some poetry and that was how the two met. Smith's literary supplement was a saucy, high-brow, liberal publication and the university's principal, Sir Arthur Currie, who had led the Canadian army during the war, shuddered. He did not want to tangle with his conservative governing board. The supplement had a short life. The official reason given for its suppression was that the publication was expensive and yielded no advertising. Anyone turning its yellow crumbling pages today would be astonished at the high quality and the power of the sheet's prose and verse, its postwar liberalism, its essays on the future of science, the nature of education, the war poets of England, the future of Canada.

Scott, the political radical, and Smith, the aesthetic radical, joined forces. They decided to publish an independent literary journal. Smith knew that he had created an audience on the campus; Scott was eager to have a medium of literary and political expression. I was then a junior in arts, an immature provincial from Saskatchewan. Smith had met me once or twice when we were reporters downtown and I had contributed a small piece to his supplement. He now invited me to be the new journal's managing editor. Thus began our friendship's which would last all our lives. We easily obtained five hundred one-dollar subscriptions for *The McGill Fortnightly Review*. This paid for ten issues printed on

quality paper, for printing costs were low in those days. We were a success from the start. The McGill establishment, as expected, investigated us for taking the name of McGill for our journal. However the committee it appointed took a liberal view. It decided McGill students were entitled to use the name of their university for a college venture. The principal would have liked us to accept faculty advisers. We declined. One amused member of the committee, who knew Scott's father, poked him in the ribs and said "It's this man who's a dangerous radical." We took the precaution of attaching to our masthead the words "an independent journal of literature and student opinion." That defined us.

For Scott, and indeed for our entire little editorial group, the *Fortnightly* provided a channel for considerable mental and artistic energies, an avenue to poetry and fiction that clamoured to be written and published. It also provided an outlet for Scott's social ideas and his critiques of the Canadian Establishment. His quick and penetrating wit, his philosophical coherence, made him an animating presence at our editorial meetings. He was tall and angular with strong vivid features: like all the young Scotts he had his father's singular beaked nose and he looked out of a single bright questioning eye, having lost the other in a childhood accident. He constantly found Canadian incongruities and ambiguities in the press and used them with fine effect in both his speaking and writing. Above all he had a personal warmth that nourished us as we gathered in a basement apartment in Atwater avenue, whose ground-level windows gave on huge snowdrifts that brought a white glare into the room. Here we assembled our issues, made up our dummy, sorted the contributions and wrote much of the contents ourselves, often under assumed names. Scott in later years, always spoke of Smith's profound influence on us. Smith opened up "a new poetic country.... My ideas about society, about the capitalist system, about international relations and collective security, brought back from Oxford, were considerably to the left of center: it was the poetry that was lagging, and Arthur supplied the new influence and the motive force."

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That force endured and was sufficient later to spark poetry conferences, new journals and a national literary ferment. Above all, in the future, lay Scott's ability to gather around him other questing Canadian writers and provide a community of endeavour. A dozen years after the *Fortnightly* published its final issue, Toronto's E. K. Brown, one of Canada's most sensitive critics in the mid-century, spoke of "the Montreal literary movement." It was "an original group" and its journal "far out of the common run...the most interesting that English-Canadian students have ever developed...they were all experimenters, eager to naturalize in Canada the kind of poetry being written by Eliot and Pound." The poetry of the Montreal group, Brown said, and of its disciples and associates, represented "the core of Canadian verse during the past twenty years," that is, from the mid-twenties to the mid-forties. I think today we might more accurately speak of them as the "Montreal modernists" for there were other modernists elsewhere in Canada. The Montreal strength resided in its having at that time a journal less "collegiate" than it seemed, edited by two sophisticated men in their mid-twenties. The *Fortnightly* was distinctly addicted to the literary "modern," much more than the *Canadian Forum*, the national literary journal, founded in Toronto in 1920 for which we would all write in the coming years.

### III

The *Fortnightly* shut up shop in 1928 when we graduated, Scott in law, while Smith and I received master's degrees. I went off to Paris on a provincial fellowship. Smith received a fellowship in education which took him to Edinburgh. Scott, in Montreal, was a bridge between our original movement and the new journals that began to spring up. He became a part of the *Canadian Mercury* which sought to be national like the *Forum*. It was the brain-child of Lew Schwartz, Arts '27, who had been on the *McGill Daily* with us, and who financed it by taking a job as a social worker and paying most of his salary to the printer. However the 1929 crash and the ensuing depression soon finished it off. Later Scott

accepted a position on the McGill law faculty and when Smith and I returned from Europe we had to leave for the United States in search of a livelihood. Canada exported its humanists; it produced more than it could use. And then it still had certain deep-seated prejudices and categories of ethnic preference. Scott, when I came back from Paris, was busy founding the League for Social Reconstruction, a pondered euphemism to avoid any suggestion of Communism. He moved on with this to the founding of the awkwardly named Co-operative Commonwealth Federation (CCF), now the New Democratic Party (NDP).

It was a bleak time. Newer generations, I believe, can't begin to feel the complexities of our existence in the 1930s—the struggle to find a place in the world during the depression, the coming of Hitler, the Spanish Civil War, the general disarray of the democracies, their inability to challenge the fascist readiness to bomb cities and crush democratic institutions and long-held human rights. Scott experienced considerable conflict between his own evolutionary concepts of politics in the face of international gangsterism. He rebelled also against being drawn into a war that British Canada itself did not formally declare. It led him at first to advocate neutrality. However the reality of the bombings of London and the universal collapse of frontiers led him to shift his views. He and Smith had always been pacifists and I shared their feelings. However when I was drafted into the American army in 1943, I felt that this was a war I wanted to fight. For me it was a war against totalitarian chaos and extinction of all human rights. Scott recognized this in other ways in his search for the spirit of the law, the national binding force of a constitution.

I find among my letters from Scott one which he wrote in answer to condolences I sent him when his father died. I was then in an army camp being readied for the Normandy landings. He urged me to think about returning to Canada after the war "(a) because Canada is moving rapidly ahead, ideologically, while the U.S. isn't (to put it mildly) (b) because we have a group of poets writing here better than anything since the Great Days

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of the *Fortnightly* and (c) because we'd like to have you back." It was only after the war that I caught up with the new literary history in Canada. Scott, in the midst of his other preoccupations, had helped found a little mimeographed journal that called itself *Preview*. It offered poetry in the rough, previews of poems that poets might read to one another. New figures had appeared. A vivid Englishman, Patrick Anderson, joined with P. K. Page and others in new movements. Influences from abroad were now Auden and his group and the silver-throated Welsh poet, Dylan Thomas. The war had also politicized many of the poets—some were socialists, others Trotskyites. There were Stalinists, Leninists, middle-roaders, conservatives. Smith was teaching in Michigan and I was a journalist in Manhattan. However we kept returning to Montreal drawn by our ties and attachments. Irving Layton and Louis Dudek had appeared on the scene and reacted against the earlier modernists. They were influenced by poets south of the border, especially William Carlos Williams. Leonard Cohen emerged first as poet and then as troubadour. Layton made noises like a revolutionary eager for a guillotine. In due course, these energies were absorbed in various fusions: *Preview* and *First Statement* merged into the *Northern Review*. Scott was the conciliator and continued to serve on the boards of these journals. There were strong undercurrents—the Fabianism of Scott inevitably did not suit the impatience of the young. Through this effervescent period he remained on the high ground of inquiry into Canada's place and shape in the world. I remember visiting him and his wife Marian Dale in Clarke Avenue in Westmount and encountering the Laytonian presence in the early fifties. Layton felt that Canadian poetry needed to be unbuttoned, like his own work. He seemed unwilling to allow other poets a different sort of vision. Amid rival schools and animated controversies, Scott launched his first volume of verse called *Overture*.

This is an hour  
Of new beginnings, concepts war-  
ring for power  
Decay of systems—the tissue of art  
is torn

With overtures of an era being  
born.

King Gordon, an old friend of Scott's (son also of the clergyman who had lived in the west and written best-selling adventure novels under the name of Ralph Connor), in later years speculated on the Canadian writers and artists who gathered around the Scotts in Clarke Avenue:

I was trying to discover what single shared idea made them a group. It wasn't literature. It wasn't art. It certainly wasn't socialism. And then it came to me: it was ideas. And the times in which we were living had a lot to do with it. The old orthodoxies were unravelling. The sacred cows were out of their pasture and cluttering the highways. And, as Frank perceived, the *Social Register* had become a marvellous source of mirth. But beyond the drama and absurdities of a world in change there was the common concern for the human condition, the human tragedy, itself the result of outworn orthodoxies enforced by power.

Beyond this, I believe that what brought the younger poets to Scott, even when they attacked his aristocratic stance, or what seemed to them "aristocratic," but was in reality the deeper reaches of his mind, was that they knew they were in the presence of a man of imagination. It unified his activities; it lit up everything he touched. And the literalists, who add their little sparks to art movements, also recognized this.

In his 1967 essay on Scott "and some of his poems," A. J. M. Smith wrote:

There is hardly a poet in Canada who has not, passing through Montreal, made his pilgrimage to Clarke Avenue, Westmount, and been royally entertained and stimulated with wise and witty talk about poetry and poets; and all of them from the early days of Leo Kennedy, Abe Klein and myself, through the time of Patrick Anderson, John

Sutherland, P. K. Page and the rest, to the overlapping and heterogeneous groups that might include Louis Dudek, Ralph Gustafson, Irving Layton, Doug Jones and John Glassco, felt the charm, energy and good sense that animate Frank Scott and make him one of the leaders in every group.

We could easily collect a small anthology of memories and tributes to the salon or "poetry center" of Clarke Avenue where Marian, a distinguished painter, presided with grace and reticence, and Scott exchanged ideas and wit with new talents and the barbarians among them. There was no discrimination. Those who professed Walt Whitman's "barbaric yawp" were welcome along with the traditionalists and the more subtle innovators. Doug Jones was among those who said that at Frank Scott's "one felt very much a part of Canadian poetry" and was made acutely aware of "tradition." They read their poems to one another. They read the older poets. When Scott read some of his newer verse they sometimes tore it to pieces. On one occasion, Scott was on the verge of tears, exclaiming that he had perhaps "spread myself too thin." Certainly there were hours when he felt he would rather be professing poetry than spending days in the politics of the CCF or pursuing the anomalies and ambiguities of constitutional law.

Leonard Cohen was drawn to Scott. He even enrolled in the law school to hear him develop his legal discussions and theories. He compared this experience to a coral reef—it was as if the law evolved and grew and took on beautiful shapes, metaphors for the human intellect. Scott encouraged him to write, and as with many others of the young around him, recommended him for a Canada Council grant. Scott was always writing letters and recommendations for his younger contemporaries. Cohen described the Clarke Avenue gatherings as "warm and wonderful with a very open fluid atmosphere; lots of fun; drinking; and talking of politics and poetry."

It is always difficult to recover party talk, the jests and irrationalities of a salon. Talk has a way of melting into thin air. In the poems of Scott however one can discover certain

illustrations of his capacity for finding high humour in the fatuities of local journalists and editors. He used to make us laugh simply by reading these sentences and giving them proper articulation—an announcement that on Ascension Day elevators in certain buildings would not be ascending; or that there would be no collection of garbage on the day of the Feast of the Immaculate Conception; or that a French restaurant translated deep dish apple pie *Tarte aux pommes profondes*. When Mackenzie King, who had been a perpetual prime minister during our lives, finally died, Scott brushed aside the pious obituaries with a poem reminding us that King "never let his on the one hand/ know what his on the other hand was doing." Scott was an ideal figure, in his grasp of bilingualism, to serve, as he did, on the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism.

### III

There is another side of Frank Scott to consider in our inquiry, the Scott who rendered services to the arts behind the scenes, behind bureaucracies and legislators who constantly feared enlargement of the nation's humanism. He was one of the original members of the Canadian Writers Committee and similar bodies. More importantly, he was a member of the Massey Commission, that is, the Royal Commission on National Development in the Arts, Letters and Sciences. In one of his eloquent briefs he declared that Canada "must adapt her economy somehow so that artists can earn a living from their work." Speaking to the Commission he said that "the work with which we have been entrusted is concerned with nothing less than the spiritual foundation of our national life." It was out of such long and profound deliberations that the Canada Council was born and we know how significant has been its role in the renaissance. It made possible a much greater diffusion of the written word, gave scholarship a wider terrain, saw to the needs of all the art forms. At various stages Scott also obtained grants from foundations in the United States for such gatherings as the Kingston conference on "The Writer, His Media and the Public." He also

helped individual Canadian writers to obtain Rockefeller and Guggenheim grants.

I mention these activities and loyalties, which Scott would dismiss as minor routine elements of his days. They illustrate however the many points at which a pluralistic individual makes himself felt. His activities extended far beyond friendships with poets and novelists. The lists of creative persons Scott knew were long, the coteries he sought out, from the 1920s to the 1970s, represented not only the English and French of Quebec and the old and new schools of Ontario, but the groups of British Columbia, and those that struggled to find a footing in the middle provinces and the Maritimes.

All this was preliminary to the dramatic moment when Scott stepped out of his classroom, borrowed a legal wig, and entered the courts of law to defend the written word. There are always politicians who think of books as objects to be burned, in their compulsion to smother individualism into conformity. Such a man was the dictatorial Maurice Duplessis, provincial premier in Quebec. Behind him stood the hierarchies of the old church, that could not move with the times. Scott fought two historical cases and both reached the Supreme Court of Canada. The first related to the "Padlock Law" of Quebec which Duplessis enacted, a kind of instant device to suppress what he deemed subversion—which meant all activity that did not conform to his curious conception of human rights. It was a morally violent and oppressive act. The province padlocked all premises, personal or organizational, suspected of communist gatherings and unorthodox belief. Tenants were thus summarily shut out of their homes; organizational offices were closed down. The padlock was a symbolic buttoning of the mouths of activists in search of social reconstruction. I will not go into the history of the infamous law—it must be well known to this audience. It took the better part of two decades to break the padlocks, to wipe from the statutes of the province the most naked thought-control legislation ever enacted in Canada. In attacking it Scott was fighting also for the rights of Japanese Canadians and for the sect known as Jehovah's Witnesses—

their right to exercise their religion which Duplessis and the church sought to extinguish. Scott, in these cases, raised before the Supreme Court the significant question "whether our basic freedom of speech, assembly and the press are at the mercy of the provincial legislature." The Duplessis dictatorship in effect sought to muzzle or frighten public figures, writers, journalists, those who voiced opinions deemed subversive by the political and religious establishment. By the one step, individuals were deprived of their right to trial in open court. No persons were arrested. Premises were simply closed. Or a liquor license was dictatorially cancelled. Step by step, Scott carried this case from defeat to victory.

The second case Scott was prevailed upon to undertake involved D. H. Lawrence's novel *Lady Chatterley's Lover*. That too, by now, is ancient history. I find myself tempted simply to quote Scott's own light verse recording his experience:

I went to bat for the Lady Chatte  
Dressed in my bib and gown  
The judges three glared down at me  
The priests patrolled the town.  
My right hand shook as I reached  
for that book  
And rose to play my part.  
For out on the street were the  
marching feet  
Of the League of the Sacred  
Heart.

The reference to "three judges" is to the earlier stages of the case in the provincial courts. Here Scott lost. Ultimately the verdict came from the nine judges of the Supreme Court in Ottawa.

I tried my best with unusual zest,  
To drive my argument through.  
But I soon got stuck on what  
rhymes with "muck"  
And that dubious work "undue."  
So I raised their sights to the Bill of  
Rights  
And cried "Let freedom ring!"  
Showed straight from the text that  
freedom of sex  
Was as clear as anything.

*Frank Scott and the Canadian Literary Renaissance*

Scott's feelings of exultation and triumph are reflected in the lively lucidity of these lines. It is characteristic of his light verse, of which we have a great deal, much of it in the anthology *The Blasted Pine* he compiled with A. J. M. Smith:

Then I plunged into love, the spell  
                                          that it wove,  
And its attributes big and bold  
Till the legal elect all stood erect  
As my rapturous tale was told.

There are other stanzas equally quotable.

These landmark cases led Scott to think his way through to an ever greater enlargement of the ways in which the rights of man are encapsulated in constitutions: and led too to wider definitions of what these rights should be. They were a part of his faith in the idea of economic as well as political democracy. His lectures to Bar Associations and civic bodies again and again reflect such thoughts. If he could have lived another decade actively, he would have been busy answering the new conservatism that seeks to divest government of the very responsibilities for which it was created. To the Bar Association of Ontario in 1960 Scott said:

Certain human rights...can only be realized through government action...government action means the making and enforcing of laws and we are all accustomed to say that without law there is no liberty...without an unemployment insurance law, or without an old age pension law, or law providing for free universal education, there is no liberty...To deprive people of these essentials to the good life...is to take away human rights.

Thus Scott redefined, in the light of his long nourished beliefs, his conception of what human rights are. These would be labelled communistic or socialistic by the conservatives. Scott however could point to nations that had achieved economic democracy in wide degree without having to move to the extreme left, without having to harness literature to the state, and political thought to

Marxist or other dogma. And in espousing his concept of true freedom, he was driving home some of the principles that made possible, in the realm of the arts, the Canadian literary renaissance, the writer's privilege to work in complete freedom.

V

It is clear from what I have said that Scott was not an intellectual theorist or a "parlour socialist" as Sir Arthur Currie called him. He was an activist on the Canadian scene. Let us glance at the activist poet in his *Collected Poems*. He is intensely human. He asks us to laugh with him at fumbling humans faced with designing and building an entire state on one of the world's largest land masses. There is compassion; there is love. The poetry is charged with the imagination of his entire being. We cannot truly divorce the poet from the rest of the man: he used his poetry to illuminate his actions—to try to understand—to articulate—his selfhood and his political and legal ideals. In a lecture during the 1940s to an audience of Canadian artists, Scott said that "the poet can make us aware of life and our place in it...by discovering and expressing the significant and important relationships between man and his heritage." He spoke of art as "the making of something new and true. All life is creation," he said, "and poetry is creation through language." Poetry, he wrote, is unique. "Nothing can take its place," and he added in his punning way, "each verse a universe." It requires "the ability to pull out of the total flow those special elements which are significant." Of course this could be said of the legal and political imagination as well. It is given however to very few men of law or of politics to possess a world-embracing imagination. Scott's volumes of poems that went into the final collection—*Overture, Events and Signals, The Eye of the Needle, Signature, The Dance is One*—are all of a piece, each a landmark in his own development and that of the Canada of his time. We see in the poems how he continued to open himself up wider and wider to free poetic utterance to the modern forms of poetry. He wrote of troubles and disasters; he envisioned victories of the spirit.



*Frank Scott and the Canadian Literary Renaissance*

His eye was quick, his laughter contagious. His journey to the north with the then young Pierre Trudeau, described in "Letters from the Mackenzie River," was a quest to observe and feel the vastness, the extent, of wilderness, its lonely and desolate terrors and beauties. And also to notice the "no trespassing" signs of the oil companies on the lonely expanse. In these poems he reached a still larger dimension of feeling and thought. He now saw archaeology somehow in reverse: not what humans excavate of the past but the unexcavated future. —

Underground  
In the coins of rocks  
Cities sleep like seeds

He sang of all that Canada had been and meant to its struggling people, the bittersweet songs of life and survival, despair and triumph.

This is the poet who quietly and in measured words, helped shape the present literary renaissance. Frank Scott was a singer among singers, a player among players. The public or the private figure, the political Scott or the Dean of the Law School did not conceal the man who told us

In land so bleak and bare  
a single plume of smoke  
is a scroll of history.

It was in this way that he had first seen the more settled and creative part of Canada. The emptiness could be filled with song, his songs and others, and with stories and with his and others' presence. Unplanned, unmapped, the renaissance was long prepared. The buried seeds, in their proper time, sprang to life, into root and branch and stem and bud and flower. He had deep faith and belief in Canada and its people; he had love for all its peoples. Standing there in the northland, he may have repeated his Creed, fashioned out of his national experience. It is in his *Collected Poems*:

The world is my country  
The human race is my race  
The spirit of man is my God  
The future of man is my heaven.

Maker and finders know that it is up to us to make our heavens, and our flowerings.

Frank Scott had an abiding faith in the future of man even when regressions and wars seemed to spell doom. He showed us in his daily life the wholeness that goes into the making of a nation's literature, that is a nation's voice. The artists of Canada knew, and know, that in Frank Scott they had the sort of man Flaubert called a "triple thinker." He was a spokesman, defender, literary kinsman, prophet. It seems proper and admirable that McGill libraries have given me today this forum and this opportunity to express publicly the profound feelings I have for Frank Scott and which I share with all who knew him during his long and remarkable life. The libraries are the custodians of our words, our books, our memories. In these libraries, in the future, it will be possible for generations of Canadians yet unborn to discover the radiance of Scott's twentieth century mind and its deepest loyalties to Canada.



# “When There Is No Vision, the People Perish.” The McCord Family Papers, 1766-1945

by Pamela J. Miller

*This paper identifies and describes the people who created the McCord family papers. It provides a brief biography of the more prominent members along with a description of their records. It focuses upon the Museum's founder, David Ross McCord and places his papers within the context of his collections.*

*Cette article identifie et décrit les personnes qui ont créé le fonds de la famille McCord. Il contient une courte biographie des membres les plus illustres et une description de leurs documents. Il fait une large place à David Ross McCord, fondateur du musée, et situe ses documents dans le cadre des collections de cet établissement.*

**T**he McCord Museum will soon be expanding its facilities thanks to a generous grant from the McConnell Family Foundation. This expansion could not have taken place a minute too soon. Since the Museum reopened its doors in the refurbished McGill University Student's Union in 1971, collections have rapidly outgrown storage space. Moreover, the public has made it clear that it would like to see more than the 1% of the collections which can be exhibited presently at any given time.

The McCord Museum is largely the result of one man's vision, knowledge and energy. That man is David Ross McCord (1844-1930, Figure 1), a member of a prominent Montreal family of merchants and barristers. David Ross McCord's passion for collecting objects devoted to recounting the history of Canada probably stems from his background and upbringing. This paper will try to examine that background briefly in the context of the fourteen metres of archives created and preserved by several members of the McCord family, and now housed in the Museum which bears his name. The criteria for a discussion of a member of this large family in so brief a study are the richness of the holding created

by the family member and the influence of a member on the rest of the family. The members included are: John McCord, 1711-1793, merchant; Thomas McCord, 1750-1824, John's second surviving son, a merchant, politician and police magistrate; Arthur Davidson, 1743-1807, judge and father-in-law of David Ross, 1770-1837, lawyer. Included as well are Anne Ross, 1807-1870, daughter of David Ross, who married John Samuel McCord, 1801-1865, judge, elder son of Thomas, and their son, David Ross McCord, 1844-1930, lawyer and founder of the McCord Museum.

The McCord archives tell the story of the family and they tell a little of the story of a country. To make the contents of the family archives more accessible to scholars, a two-volume inventory to the papers was published in 1986, funded by the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council.<sup>1</sup>

The McCord Museum has only 14 documents pertaining to John McCord 1711-1793, the first McCord to establish himself in Quebec City. Although uncertain of the exact date of his arrival, we know that John McCord paid £135 duty for 5,300 gallons of rum<sup>2</sup>

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imported into Quebec in 1761 and 1762. We also know that in 1756 he leased 207 acres of land in Longfield, County Monaghan, Ireland, for an annual rental of £90.<sup>5</sup> Sometime between those years he arrived in Quebec with his two sons and two daughters. When his first wife died, he remarried and began a new family of whom only one child lived to adulthood. John McCord's chief business in Quebec was to "sell strong Liguors by Retail...in the house he now dwelleth..." and to "suffer no Disorders, or unlawful Games to be used in his said House, or in any Outhouse, Yard or Garden therunto belonging."<sup>6</sup> For economic and perhaps social reasons, McCord like many other merchants, invested in land. In 1767 McCord and fellow-merchant Felix O'Hara, were granted 1300 acres on the South West arm of Gaspé Bay. Along with other Quebec merchants, McCord campaigned actively for an Assembly in 1773 and he was chosen president of the Quebec committee charged with drawing up a petition calling for an assembly. Sir Guy Carleton, Governor-in-Chief of British North America, reporting to the Earl of Shelburne, Secretary of State for the Southern Colonies, described John McCord as a man who:

wants neither Sense nor Honesty, and formerly kept a small Ale House in the poor Suburbs of a little Country Town in the North of Ireland, appearing zealous for the Presbyterian Faith, and having made a little Money, has gained some Credit among People of his Sort; this Person purchased some Spots of Ground, and procured Grants of more, close to the Barracks, where he run up Sheds, and placed poor People to sell his Spirits to the Soldiers, finding that his lucrative Trade has lately been checked, by inclosing the Barracks to prevent the Soldiers getting drunk all Hours of the Day and Night, He has commenced Patriot, and with the Assistance of the late Attorney General, and three or four more, egged on by Letters from Home, are at work again for an Assembly, and purpose having it

signed by all they can influence: On the other Hand the better Sort of Canadians fear nothing more than popular Assemblies, which, they conceive, tend only to render the People refractory and insolent.<sup>5</sup>

During the American rebellion McCord's buildings were burned by the garrison of Quebec in order to prevent them from falling into the hands of the invading American rebels and serving as a base of operations against the British garrison. In 1777 John and his son claimed £409/1/10 in compensation for their loss. They then moved to Montreal where John McCord lived in a home which the family called the Grange not far from the present day Victoria Bridge. (The house later served as offices for the builders of the bridge.) Here McCord died in 1793.

Carleton's unflattering description of John McCord was not shared by later members of his family who came to look upon John as one of the fathers of the Parliamentary system in Canada. During the next century this family grew in size and influence and counted among its members men and women who participated in the social, cultural, economic, military, scientific, philanthropic and judicial life of their adopted land as it moved from colony to nation. By 1922, David Ross McCord, great-grandson of John McCord, had opened the McCord National Museum. In 1919 he wrote to Lady Laurier soon after Sir Wilfrid's death, describing the purpose and character of his new museum which he had presented through McGill to the nation:

Vous connaissez mon œuvre – de Bénédictin – pour Canada auquel j'ai eu l'honneur de dédier ma vie, et que le bon Dieu a béni grandement au dessus de mes humble mérites. J'ai fait et je continue à faire un musée national dans le vrai et plus étendu sens du mot. McGill se lança dans la brèche pour rencontrer cet objet très désirable et jusqu'à présent négligé au Canada. McGill fournit la belle bâtisse que vous connaissez au coin de la rue Sherbrooke et McTavish, et va l'entretenir. Le musée que je ferai n'est

*"When There Is No Vision, the People Perish."*



**Figure 1. David Ross McCord in his library, Temple Grove, Montreal, ca. 1916.  
(Modern print from original dry plate glass negative.  
McCord Museum of Canadian History, Montreal.)**

*"When There Is No Vision, the People Perish."*

pas un Musée McGill, ni un musée protestant, et certainement pas un musée anglais. Chaque objet dans le musée sera désigné et exprimé dans les deux langues. Notre premier roi était François I., le roi de Cartier, et partant de lui, je déroulerai le beau panorama de notre histoire jusqu'aujourd'hui. En lisant cette lettre vous voyez que je tombe absolument dans la ligne, et j'enseigne les principes auxquels votre associé marital dans ce monde a dédié sa vie, – l'union des deux races. Et non seulement Sir Wilfrid, mais vous, Madame, aussi bien que lui dédiez vos talents à ce but qui mérite tous nos efforts. L'objet de cette lettre est de vous prier d'honorer ce Musée National en lui présentant les souvenirs, les objets les plus précieux que vous possédez de Sir Wilfrid à fin de conserver sa mémoire ici au centre du Canada...<sup>6</sup>

To return to the family, Thomas McCord, 1750-1824, the second generation of Canadian McCords, was only a lad when he arrived in Quebec with his father John McCord.<sup>7</sup> He too became a merchant, and established himself in Montreal, forming partnerships at various times with many well-known merchants among them George King, James McGill, John Richardson and Thomas Forsyth. One of his most important enterprises was the fief Nazareth, a sub-fief which he leased from the Hôtel-Dieu for £25 a year. In subsequent years he acquired further leases, and attempted to develop his farm, importing roots and seeds from England. In 1795 he wrote to his London agent and friend Jacques Terroux:

There is also to be had at the same Shop, a Small Pamphlet, entitled – "twenty interesting communications on Gardening and Husbandry, by Jededeah Simmons, price 5/ it is sealed up, and like Matrimony or Masonry, not to be known but by trial – however the Sum is not large, and is unlike them in one respect; the worst is known at once – if it contains *one* new and Valuable

Communication, it is well worth the Money – The Writer is Improving a farm, and Endeavouring in this frozen Climate to make a good Garden, – therefore would be much Oblidged to Mr. Terroux, if he can procure him a few *good* Garden seeds, that may be depended on.<sup>8</sup>

The fief Nazareth was a shrewd investment. Situated close to the site of the future Lachine canal, it proved a valuable asset which Thomas passed on to his sons. Others too were aware of its value. In 1796 McCord left Montreal for Ireland in order to try to sell off property he had inherited. The administration of the fief was left in the hands of Patrick Langan his friend and husband of his niece. Langan and Robert Griffin, (source of the name Griffintown) attempted to defraud McCord of his land. Upon his return, McCord sued. The suit was settled by the Privy Council in McCord's favour. The McCord papers contain 29 files, from 1799 to 1815, pertaining to the legal problems of the Nazareth fief. They also contain much more on the fief including deeds of cession, accounts and rents, rent rolls, leases, suits and correspondence. As this section continues throughout the entire holding, the papers provide a valuable source for the study of the early economic development of this area of Montreal (Figure 2).

Thomas McCord was obliged to remain in Ireland longer than he intended. The outbreak of rebellion in 1798 retarded the sale of his property and while he waited, McCord joined the Yeomanry. His reasons for doing so are explained in the following letter from Dublin to his agent in London, Jacques Terroux.

Upwards of ten Thousand wretched Victims have fallen since the Commencement of this Rebellion, in a cause which truly speaking, they could have no interest in; but blinded by the persuasion of their leaders and Priests, they rushed on without Consideration, to certain destruction. I was one of a part of About

*"When There Is No Vision, the People Perish."*

# **Surprise.**

That well known English HORSE the property of Robert Straker, of Montreal, will cover Mares, this Season, at four Dollars each.

## **SURPRISE,**

will stand at the Farm of the late Thomas McCord, Esquire, Wellington-Street, St. Ann Suburb.

N. B.—Grass for Mares at **THREE** shillings per week. All expenses to be paid before the Mares are taken away.

*Montreal, 1st June, 1825.*

Figure 2. Handbill. (McCord Family Papers. McCord Museum of Canadian History, Montreal).

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800 Yeomanry, which was sent in pursuit of some thousand of the Rebels on Sunday last, — we were out three days in the Mountains, but could not come up with them — they had Escaped from the County Wexford, and had come within about 20 Miles of this City. By this you will perceive that I am a Yeoman almost a Stranger in this Country, I might have avoided it, but having resolved on staying here, I considered it my duty in such times, to give the little help which was in my power, to the Maintenance of order and good Government:....I would (have been) ashamed to be found out of the Ranks of the Defenders of our King & Happy Constitution.<sup>9</sup>

Repression of the rebellion also promised better land markets, and public gratitude, which he was never reluctant to translate into more tangible personal benefits.

During McCord's absence from Montreal between the years 1796 and 1806, he remarried. His second wife Sarah Solomon was the half sister of Jacques Terroux and daughter of the prominent Montreal merchant Levy Solomon. A portrait of Sarah, copied by Louis Dulongpré shows Sarah to have been a rather grand lady with imposing features. A portrait of Thomas, painted by the same artist in 1819 shows the subject seated against a background of weighty volumes, befitting his position as Police Magistrate, Justice of the Peace and joint Chairman of the Court of Quarter Sessions.

The McCord Papers possess forty of Thomas McCord's letters which cover a wide range of his activities. These include ten letters to Jacques Terroux during McCord's stay in Ireland, as well as letters from James McGill about petitions to the House of Assembly, from William McGillivray about shipping drugs and books aboard his ship the "Isaac Todd," and from Judge James Reid about McCord's manuscript index to Provincial ordinances and statutes.

Another sixty-four files of assorted bills and receipts from 1806 to 1824 provide a directory of merchants, businessmen and craftsmen in Montreal at that time. These papers include transportation charges from John Molson, bills for hay, subscriptions, soap, games, musical instruments, blacksmiths and carpenters. They contain Louis Dulongpré's bills for Thomas' and Sarah's portraits which provide useful information to the art historian and important documentation for curators interested in identifying and dating works of art.

There are also bills for the education of his children at the Petit Seminaire, as well as for private tutors John Doty and Alexander Skakel, and Charlotte Berczy daughter of the well-known artist William Berczy who gave drawing lessons to his boys.

Although McCord played an active part in the public life of the city of Montreal, his papers contain very little about this aspect of his life. He sat in the Assembly as a member for Montreal West from 1809 to 1810 and for Bedford from 1816 to 1820. In his capacity as a Police Magistrate he compiled an index to Provincial ordinances and statutes. He worked successfully for the establishment of a paid police force, helped to establish a House of Industry and helped organize a more effective fire prevention service for a very inflammable city.

Three children survived Thomas: Mary the daughter of Elizabeth Ellison, his first wife, and two sons by Sarah Solomon, John Samuel and William King. His daughter Mary remained unmarried and kept house for her unmarried uncle John until his death in 1822. At some point after the death of her uncle, Mary met and worked with Emélie Tavernier Gamelin, who was beginning her work to alleviate the distress of the poor and sick in Montreal. This work eventually led to the foundation of the Soeurs de la Providence in 1844 with Madame Gamelin as the first Mother Superior. By the time Mary died in 1845 she had converted to Roman Catholicism. Unfortunately the extant papers contain little information about Mary, a gap which seems to have had little to do with her conversion. Her father, though a staunch



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Protestant, provided for her in his will and her half-brother John Samuel saw to it that its provisions were honoured.

Although John Samuel McCord (Figure 3) is without a doubt the most talented and cultivated of all the McCords, he was so unknown before the organization of his papers that he merited no biography in the *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*. Frederick Lock's portrait of J. S. McCord suggests a jolly cherubic, benevolent man quite different from the ravaged face and bleary expression of his better known but difficult younger brother William King McCord who stares at us from the pages of Pierre-Georges Roy's *Les Juges de la province de Québec*. Born in Ireland during their parents' lengthy stay, John Samuel, 1801-1865 and William King, 1803-1858 arrived in Quebec in 1806. John Samuel's school reports suggest that he was a good student. In 1816 Daniel Wilkie awarded him first prize for "...Eminence in the Latin and Greek languages & Conic sections in Elocution and the study of Rhetoric and writing and good Behaviour."<sup>10</sup> He entered the law offices of Jean-Roch Rolland and Samuel Gale and was called to the bar in 1823. In 1842 he became a Judge for St. John's and in 1844 he became a Judge of the Circuit Court for the District of Montreal. In 1857 he was appointed to the Superior Court for the District of Montreal.

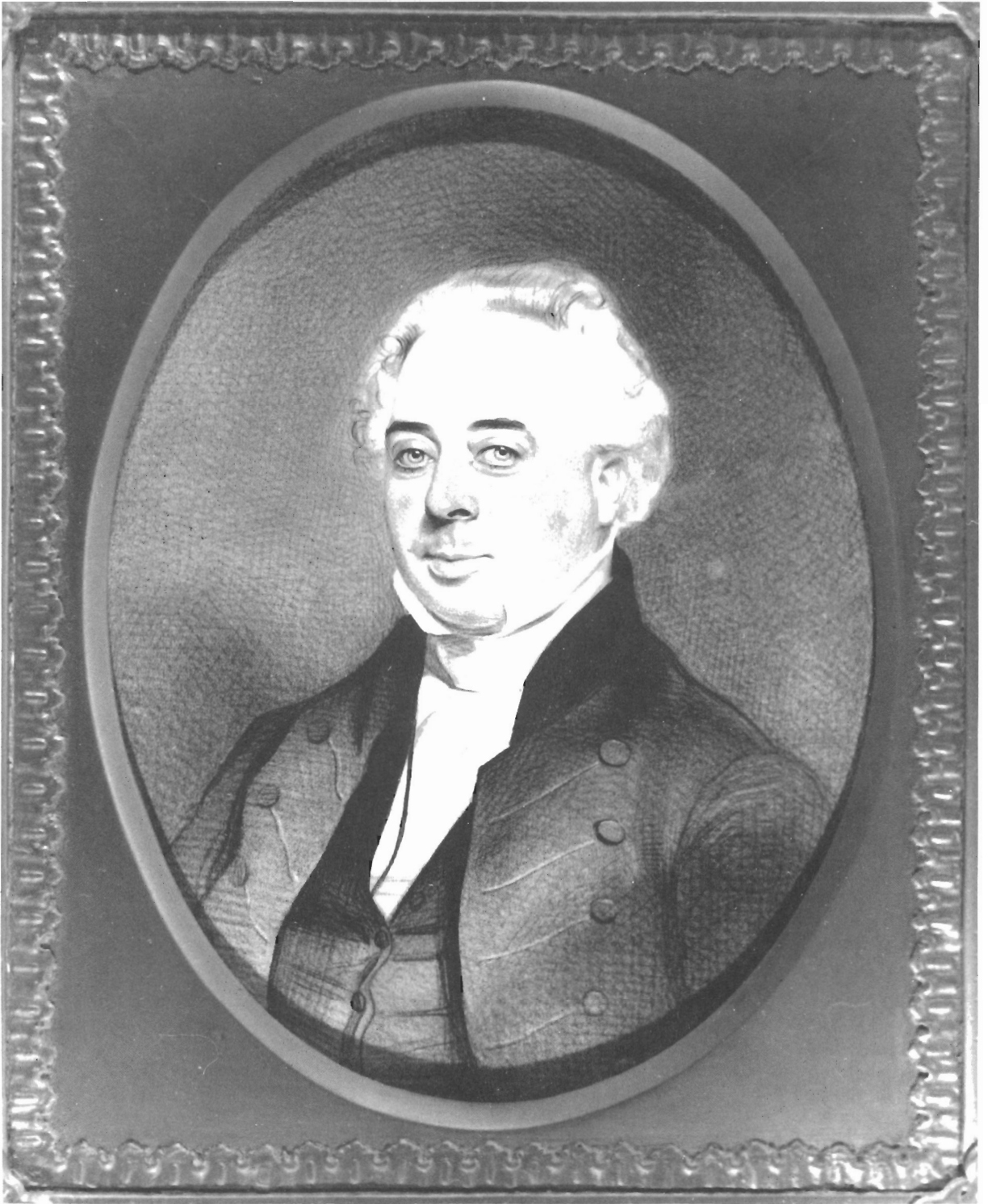
In addition to the notes and correspondence on general legal matters, John Samuel's legal papers contain files on 110 legal cases as well as 51 bench books, McCord's notebooks of trials, for the years 1845 to 1865, all meticulously kept and indexed.

John Samuel McCord had many interests beside the law. An accomplished amateur scientist, he was devoted to the study of both meteorology and botany. During his trips to the Eastern Townships as a Circuit Court Judge, he collected plants which he carried back to Montreal to be transplanted in the carefully planned gardens which surrounded his summer home, Temple Grove, near the site of the present day Montreal General Hospital. He almost certainly designed the house himself, in the form of a Greek temple, in accordance with his classical training. He

felt that had they been able, the Greeks too, would have constructed a temple in such a beautiful setting. At the back of his indexed legal notebooks on authorities and decisions, legal definitions and newspaper reports of trials, can frequently be found notes on the thermometer, the barometer, sun, moon and tide calculations and other entries of meteorological interest. During the 1830s and early 1840s John Samuel carefully observed and recorded meteorological information particularly on the island of Montreal. In his efforts to gather meteorological data on Montreal, he received permission from Sir John Colborne, Commander-in-Chief of the British forces in Canada, to have observations taken on St. Helen's Island where British regulars were garrisoned, during the course of the 1837-1838 uprisings. As a Freemason and a prominent member of the Natural History Society of Montreal, he shared the beliefs of many of his contemporaries in the ability of science to promote economic progress in his country and to overcome some of its social ills. John Samuel McCord's meticulous gathering of meteorological data testify to his faith in science. Doubtlessly, his son's passion for collecting and for meticulous documentation, was nurtured by these ideals.

McCord's archives contain letters from some of the leading scientists of his day, including Sir Charles Lyell, the renowned geologist who reproduced John Samuel's sketch of Montreal Mountain and his observations in his *Travels in North America: with Geological Observations on the United States, Canada, and Nova Scotia*, 2 volumes, London, 1845. He corresponded with Sir John Herschell of the Royal Society; and in September of 1837 Professor Charles Daubeny of Oxford visited him at Temple Grove where they compared actinometers. McCord found his instrument to "correspond within a fractional difference which would not amount to anything worth recording in the mean of several observations..."<sup>11</sup> Besides his own charts McCord collected earlier charts dating back to 1799, including two journals kept by David Thompson, one of Canada's foremost geographers. In 1838 McCord's "Observations on the Solar and Terrestrial Radiation Made at Montreal" was published in *The London*,

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**Figure 3. Portrait of John Samuel McCord by Frederick Lock, 1851.  
(McCord Museum of Canadian History, Montreal.)**

*Edinburgh and Dublin Philosophical Magazine and Journal of Science*. He was the corresponding secretary for the Natural History Society of Montreal. Distinguished surgeon and former Mayor of Montreal, William H. Hingston, inscribed on the fly leaf of his influential work, *The Climate of Canada and its Relation to Life and Health*, Montreal, 1884, "To D. R. McCord Esq, To whose father the writer is indebted for having his attention directed to the subject of this volume. 8 August, 1885." Unfortunately in 1843 John Samuel recorded in one of his notebooks on climate and meteorology, "Having been appointed Distr. Judge for St. John's on the 10 June 1842 my personal metl. observations were suspended from that date, a subject I much regret particularly as the winter of 1842-3 has proved a most extraordinary one, and many Phenomena have of course escaped my observation."<sup>12</sup> In 1844 McCord sold his scientific instruments to McGill University. J. J. C. Abbott (future Prime Minister of Canada) deputy registrar and bursar acknowledged their receipt.

Perhaps one of the reasons why John Samuel McCord could approach Sir John Colborne about taking meteorological observations on St-Helen's Island even during the 1837-38 uprisings, a seemingly inopportune time, was that McCord was a prominent member of the militia. By March 1838 he was Lieutenant-Colonel of the Royal Montreal Cavalry and Commanding the 1st Volunteer Brigade. His military papers contain information on the daily administration of the militia. The papers include correspondence with his superior officers, and with the officers under his command in the Montreal Volunteer Rifles, the Montreal Volunteer Artillery, the Montreal Light Infantry and the Royal Montreal Cavalry. His militia papers also contain returns, accounts, petitions, memos, general orders, and lists of equipment.

Among the John Samuel and William King McCord papers are 48 centimetres of material dealing with the administration of the Nazareth Fief which they inherited in 1829. John Samuel inherited more than the fief; he also had inherited the responsibility for an irresponsible brother co-owner, whose debts due to drinking and gambling plagued John

Samuel until William King's death in 1856.<sup>13</sup> Evidence of William King's financial problems begin in 1825. Debtors including William King's wife appealed to John Samuel for relief. William's career took him to England, the United States and Dublin where he became so destitute, he was obliged to pawn his watch. John Samuel repeatedly admonished William King to mend his ways and attempted to find him suitable employment. Finally, William King obtained the positions of police magistrate and justice of the peace, and by 1844 was appointed Judge of the Circuit Court of the district of Quebec. But this was not enough to keep him out of debt. So onerous was the burden that John Samuel considered purchasing William King's part of the Nazareth Fief, worth in total about £27,500 in capital with an income of £1,650. In 1852 on the back of a letter from Benjamin Holmes cashier of the Bank of Montreal, John Samuel endorsed a note to William King for £500. Eventually J. J. Day purchased William King's property for £8,000. John Samuel was also responsible for the management of his wife Anne Ross' considerable estate.

John Samuel McCord played an active role in his community. He was a member of Christ Church Cathedral, a member of Synod, and their legal adviser. He served as Vice-Chancellor and Chancellor of Bishop's University, Lennoxville and helped found what later became Bishop's College School. He was a director of the Montreal General Hospital and served as chairman of the Trustees of the Protestant Burying Grounds. Ten files cover McCord's activities as a Freemason in which he served as Deputy Provincial Grand Master of the Provincial Grand Lodge for the District of Montreal and William Henry. There are five letters from William McGillivray, formerly the principle director of the North West Company, on Masonic matters, written just before McGillivray's death in London. The Museum possesses a Masonic jewel inscribed by McGillivray to McCord. Although little detailed work has been done on J. S. McCord, his diverse interests and the wealth of information in his papers make him a sympathetic subject for study.

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Among the McCord Papers are found a small but revealing section of Davidson Papers, preserved by John Samuel's wife, Anne Ross (Figure 4), his first cousin twice removed. Born in 1807, Anne was the second of eleven children born to David Ross, Q.C. 1770-1837, and Jane Davidson, 1789-1866. Jane Davidson's father Arthur Davidson had emigrated from Scotland to Quebec City in 1766. With an M.A. from King's College, Aberdeen, Arthur was admitted to the bar in 1771. In 1780 he settled in Montreal where he built up a considerable legal practice and held several minor government positions. In 1800 he was appointed to the Court of King's Bench for the District of Montreal. According to historian G. P. Browne, Davidson was "A well-trained, able and conscientious lawyer, unlike so many legal practitioners during the early years of British rule, he was clearly intent on improving both the standards of his profession and the quality, or at least the consistency, of the law."<sup>14</sup> The collection contains accounts as well as one hundred and thirty-four letters between Arthur Davidson, his family, friends, colleagues and merchants both in Canada and Britain. His comments on everything from his family's health to the shabby state of his wig, to the conduct of his colleagues presents us with a view of the daily struggles and concerns of a man building a professional career in a new land during a time when Europe was almost perpetually at war. Little escaped him. In a letter written in 1788 to his brother Walter, who is studying divinity and is considering a career in either the Church of England or the Church of Scotland, Arthur suggests, "there are essential errors which are suffered to prevail in both, it is in my opinion, of but little consequence whether a Clergyman follows them in the one or the other church."<sup>15</sup> A year later he writes that Scotland is "a country where misery, oppression and injustice prevail, and which therefore every one that can (until the constitution and times mend much from what they are) should, in my opinion leave."<sup>16</sup> To another brother about to arrive in Quebec, he advises, "...there is no such thing as doing business in Canada without understanding French."<sup>17</sup> Nineteen letters to John Chalmers, in London, who acts as his tailor, banker, book and news-

paper forwarder, give us an idea of the perils of long distance outfitting in 1778. "The yankeys having been so friendly as to ease me of a good part of the clothes you made for me last winter on their way to this place..."<sup>18</sup> From 1795 to 1805 Davidson and David Ross corresponded regularly on legal matters whenever they were absent from Montreal.

There is a small collection of Ross financial papers, estate papers and correspondence. Advocate General David Ross K.C., 1770-1837, the son of John Ross, studied law and articulated with Arthur Davidson in Montreal. Appointed King's Council in 1811, by 1813 he had begun to build an imposing neo-classical home for his family on the Champs de Mars. This house was, unfortunately, destroyed in the 1950s in order to make room for a parking lot, since replaced by the Palais de Justice. Like many of his contemporaries he served in the militia during the War of 1812.

In 1803 David Ross married Jane Davidson, daughter of Arthur Davidson and Jane Fraser. They had eleven children, nine of whom reached adulthood and received a sound education. Their eldest son Arthur attended Trinity College Cambridge and Lincoln's Inn and for a short period thereafter lived in Paris and Rome. Upon his return to Lower Canada 1827, he became a barrister. Anne, their next child attended school in Montreal and received private tutoring in drawing, painting, French, dancing and riding.

Unfortunately there are relatively few Anne Ross McCord papers except for twelve files covering an assortment of subjects from commonplace books to correspondence, sketches and watercolours. We know from her son David Ross McCord, however, that she exerted a strong influence on his life encouraging especially his love for history. She, like her son, was an avid collector, as is clear in the following letter, dated November 1824 from her brother Arthur at Trinity College.

I have secured for your museum some most rare gems of antiquity! It was but this morning that I purchased them at the sale of the late Dr. Clarke's curiosities; very cheap

*"When There Is No Vision, the People Perish."*



**Figure 4. Portrait of Anne Ross McCord by Frederick Lock, 1851.  
(McCord Museum of Canadian History, Montreal.)**

as it was a very rainy day, & few of the dons ventured out. I was ruminating on the pleasure I should have in describing them to you in my next epistle...I proceed to inform you that I have a tablet on which is depicted in bas-relief, the figure of an Egyptian idol, from a Greek inscription on the forehead of which, Dr. Clarke proves it to be the god Hermes or Mercury, the very idol which the Israelites worshipped under the title of Baal. Also a piece of Rock Crystal from the tombs of the Incas in Peru. Both these Dr. C. has spoken of at large in his works, & of the former indeed there is an engraving; I shall write out extracts from the work, & send them with the curiosities. *Item* a tripod, Lamp, lacrymatories, piece of Mosaic pavement, etc. etc. all which Dr. C. collected himself in Greece; & a number of Cornish & Devonshire minerals; the properties & scientific account of each of which Auldjo has promised to write out for you. I have not expended as yet £4. Do you not wish for the arrival of the box! I can fancy your eyes sparking!<sup>19</sup>

It is easy to discover a further source of her son's passion for collecting. Two letters from her husband, John Samuel McCord whom she married in 1832, suggest a warm, charitable, competent lady. Her all too brief diaries kept for only sixteen months during the years 1821, 1822 give us the best idea of her character and a world viewed through the eyes of a remarkably informed and perceptive thirteen and fourteen year old girl.

Mr. Van der Sluys is pretty well recovered but he has lost his situation which was £500 a year. He attacked Mr. Halkett in the street on the 17<sup>th</sup> October, as Mr. H. was going to dinner at Mr. Auldjo's/ where Papa was to meet him/ and attempted to horsewhip him. Mr. H. had been treated in the same *manner* in the morning by Mr.

McDonald, and was *now* armed with a pistol, which after warning Mr. V. he fired, and the contents entered his body. He is now fortunately almost recovered. Mr. Halkett is a Lawyer, and being the cousin and brother in law, of Lord Selkirk, was employed by him. He received [*sic*] instruction from Lord S. to write a pamphlet in which the N. West were greatly abused particularly Mr. S. MacGillivray, Mr. Van der sluys, and Mr. MacDonald. As he did not know these gentlemen *even by sight*, he *merely abused them* in obedience to the orders he received from Lord S. When the two companies united, all this was *forgotten*, but Mr. McDonald was not allowed to become a partner, and this he resented, as also did Mr. Van der Sluys—this so annoyed the North West that they have taken his situation from him, which was that of Chief Book Keeper. At the time it happened it caused a great deal of disturbance, and revived all the old contentions, which had begun to rest in peace. Mr. Halkett was obliged to remain here till Mr. Van der sluys began to recover, but he is now at Washington where he spends the winter. Mr. W. McGillivray and family, it is thought, will never return to this country—but Mr. S. MacGillivray returns in the spring. Mr. W. McG. had many enemies, but he will be much missed by his friends—he has left his carriage and horses with Mrs. Reid. *Here*, I believe, finishes this *epitome*.<sup>20</sup>

Her sense of humour is evident from her comments on the celebration of the construction of the Lachine Canal. "The Dinner at La Chine yesterday *went off* very well, but there were unfortunately a few broken heads among the Irish workmen, luckily, *Irish* heads can bear breaking two or three times in *one* day. The Commissioners entertained the workmen very handsomely, & altogether at their own expense."<sup>21</sup> If there are more diaries, they have

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unfortunately vanished. In those which survive it is clear that her powers of observation were keen and her wit sharp, and she would have had much to tell us as the wife of a prominent judge.

After her marriage she led a very active life as she was responsible for bringing up six children and for running two residences, one in the heart of the city and their summer home, "Temple Grove." Had she maintained her diaries they would have provided a privileged view of Montreal during a crucial period of its history. Her artistic energy was directed towards her water colour paintings of flowers, which Sir William Dawson declared were not only works of art but accurate enough to be used in teaching his class on botany. She participated in charitable works as a member of Christ Church Cathedral as well as secretary to the Montreal Protestant Orphan Asylum. At her death an account of her work described her contribution to the orphanage, "her wonderful tenacity of memory in regard to the orphans, her gentle manner, combined with the orderly and businesslike way with which she kept our records."<sup>22</sup>

Of her six children, David Ross McCord proved to be the most dynamic. Her elder daughter Eleanor died in childbirth in 1863 at the age of 27 seventeen months after her marriage to George Lewis. Jane and Anne did not marry and lived quietly at Temple Grove with their brother David Ross McCord until his marriage. Two other sons had undistinguished careers in medicine and the army, John dying at the age of 27 and Robert at 36.

A few Montrealers still recall David Ross McCord climbing onto the bus outside his home (Figure 5) on Côte des Neiges and riding downtown to his Museum. Unfortunately by 1922 W. D. Lighthall, his friend, lawyer, and collector, was obliged to seek power of attorney over his client in order to protect the estate. The onset of arterial sclerolosis made him a threat to his family and estate and he was sent to Homewood Sanitorium in Guelph where he remained, except for a few stormy visits to his wife at Temple Grove, until his death in 1930. Most people remembered McCord as an incredible eccentric, obsessed by his museum, a man who went to any length

to obtain artifacts for his collection. Relatives hesitated to leave him alone in their drawing rooms, for fear of losing their prized possessions. Recently the Museum received a gift of three bound volumes of the "Canadian Courant and Montreal Advertiser" for the years 1807-1816. In making this gift the donor, Briton O. Smith of Boston recalled walking as a child with his father and being hailed by McCord from across the street. "When are you going to give me your newspaper?" McCord demanded. Mr. Smith had no intention of parting with his volumes but his son at the end of his life recalled the odd old man and wrote to the McGill Graduates' Society relating the story and asking if there existed a museum at McGill. The papers are now safely stored in the Archives of the McCord Museum. David Ross McCord had the last word, as he so often did.

David Ross McCord's passion for collecting came not only from his mother. Born into a home with a strong sense of the history, his father had commissioned the artist James Duncan to paint scenes of Montreal. In David Ross McCord's own day he commissioned the artist, Henry Bunnet, to record scenes of vanishing Quebec landmarks. John Samuel had firm ideas about his province and worked to insure that David Ross McCord was brought up to appreciate his country. He insisted that his son be fluent in both languages. The parent's teaching fell on fertile ground. McCord was a good student. After graduating from Montreal High School, he attended McGill University where he obtained his Bachelor of Arts in 1863 at the age of 19, having won prizes in his third year in Essay and Moral Philosophy. Four years later he received his Master of Arts and his Bachelor of Civil Law in the same year. He became an advocate in 1868. Although he worked conscientiously at his practice and was named Queen's Counsel in 1895 it is hard to believe that his practice occupied the most creative periods of his life. There are only 27 files about his law practice although this certainly cannot represent his entire work.

Further study is needed in order to establish D. R. McCord's exact financial position. He inherited money from his father, largely based



Figure 5. D.R. McCord's house, Temple Grove, Montreal, 1872. (Modern print from the original collodion glass plate negative taken by Alexander Henderson. McCord Museum of Canadian History, Montreal.)

*"When There Is No Vision, the People Perish."*



*"When There Is No Vision, the People Perish."*

on the proceeds of rents from the Nazareth fief. When the lease expired in 1890, McCord invested to some extent in real estate. Although he obtained many valuable objects as gifts, nevertheless he spent significant amounts purchasing what he could not obtain without charge, so much so that his sister Anne refused to leave money to the Museum in her will. In her opinion, enough had been sacrificed. In 1930 W. D. Lighthall valued the contents of the Museum at \$449,000.

Over one third of the McCord Family Papers were produced by David Ross McCord. Five hundred and fifty-two files contain correspondence about his collection. As early as the 1860s he began writing to collectors, antiquarians and dealers, as well as to the descendants of notables, and by the 1880s he was completely engrossed in his attempts to build a collection of artifacts, documents and books illustrating the history of Canada. McCord shared many of the ideals of the imperialist movement and of its predecessor, Canada First. He believed in their faith in history as a means of defining Canadian character, their romantic view of native people, of New France and of the military and the loyalist contribution to the definition and defence of Canadian culture. It is no coincidence to find in his library a well-annotated copy of G. T. Denison's book *Soldiering in Canada*, published in 1900. Conscious of the importance of his work, McCord wanted his own papers kept so that they "should come back & form part of the record—dossiers of the transactions—so that both correspondents' methods of analysis will be preserved for the future—questions & answers—We are not living for ourselves, thank God, in this work."<sup>23</sup>

One of the Museum's great assets is its possession of these letters, which provide systematic documentation of the collection of artifacts which McCord maintained from the start. As much as possible documents of historical interest accompanied artifacts. Any family which donated a portrait, sword, medal, uniform or anything else was solicited for its archives as well. Although McCord failed to persuade Lady Laurier to donate records, he convinced Hortense Cartier, the daughter of Sir George Etienne Cartier, to

donate to his Museum what remained of his depleted records, which consisted of one metre of heterogeneous material. In McCord's mind no momento of the past was too trivial to retain. Above all he worked to retrieve the material record of his country's past.

The native people of Canada occupied a special place in his collection and the Council of the Six Nations granted him the Mohawk name Ronoshonni, "The Builder." Forty-eight files of his "collecting correspondence" refer to every imaginable feature of native culture, including extensive and detailed correspondence on papooses, wampum, scalps, silver, medals, quillwork, arrowheads, prayerbooks, axes, head dresses, tomahawks, ceremonial objects, paddles, vessels and portraits. Although extremely cautious of his money, McCord kept receipts for about \$2,500 paid to Mrs. M. Roberts of Halifax, from 1912 to 1919 for Mic Mac objects. McCord sketched a few of the objects onto the receipts. In the best nineteenth century collecting tradition, missionaries and public officials were canvassed as well as Sam Steele in his capacity as Superintendent of the North West Mounted Police. In 1920, McGill graduates were pressed into service. During the Paris Peace Conference in 1919, Prime Minister Sir Robert Borden received a letter from McCord suggesting that if Canada received reparations, they take the form of North West Coast Indian artifacts which had been avidly collected by German collectors during the nineteenth century. McCord hoped that his Museum would be the beneficiary of such an arrangement. McCord's records are not confined to his correspondence. He kept detailed accession records and collected books and articles which he annotated extensively in pencil, expanding the author's information or argument, giving further references, or refuting their arguments and listing his sources.

The arrangement of rooms in the McCord Museum when the Museum opened in 1922 reflected McCord's perception of Canadian History. Adopting the biblical quotation, "When there is no vision the people perish," McCord filled twelve rooms and two halls with artifacts grouped into the following subjects: Indians (Abenaki, Mic Mac, Iroquois,

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Plains and West Coast) in Room A; French Régime and Seven Years War, in Room B. The remaining ten rooms were devoted to Wolfe, McCords and related families (having no mean opinion of his family's achievements), Protestant Spiritual Pioneers, Roman Catholic Spiritual Pioneers, the American Revolution, China (porcelain), Quebec Province, Artists, Generals and Poets, Montreal and McGill University and finally the Arctic.

Four files of McCord's correspondence document his struggle to convince McGill University and several other institutions to accept the gift of his Museum. W. D. Lighthall was McCord's chief support and was anxious that McGill accept the collection and endowment. C. H. Gould, the University Librarian, Percy Nobbs, of the School of Architecture, and Sir Frederick Williams-Taylor, General Manager of the Bank of Montreal also put pressure on McGill to accept the collection. Lighthall watched over the progress of the Museum. Even after its opening Lighthall guided its administration especially when he perceived that the University was not living up to its agreement.

Accompanying the collecting correspondence are many other small but significant sections dealing with the rest of David Ross McCord's life, among them his application for the Beit Professorship of Colonial History at Oxford in 1905. Included are complicated estate papers, for McCord administered the Ross estate as well as his own. The collection covers his financial activities, his community activities, as well as the correspondence begun by his father in 1845 with the McCords of South Carolina which provides information on the American Civil War period. A somewhat incredible correspondence of 112 letters between McCord and his future wife, Letitia Caroline Chambers whom he married in Toronto in August of 1878, provide insight into the man's character and pretensions. Letitia Caroline Chambers and David Ross McCord met during the course of his tenure as Chairman of the Board of Health. Letitia, a nurse, emigrated to Montreal from Ireland in the 1870s where she managed the Civic Small-pox Hospital. After leaving the Hospital

in January of 1878, she moved briefly to Toronto where she taught a religious course at the Central Prison and was tutored in general deportment and music by a Mrs. Gordon. Self-improvement seems to have been the object of this sojourn. On the eighth of June, 1878, McCord wrote in a gentle vein:

Do you think I would be pleased with you if you were not ladylike. I am of course naturally anxious because circumstances placed you with people below you and you have acquired the use of expressions which are not elegant, and any one of them would injure you and I therefore requested you to begin at once to keep a close watch on *every word* and act, which I *know* you will do, as it is my wish—The habit of learning is soon acquired when one is in earnest to accomplish anything & to please...<sup>21</sup>

David Ross McCord's sisters Jane and Anne did not approve of the marriage and were probably unhappy about leaving Temple Grove. As well as rehabilitating his fiancée's manners, McCord spent a lot of time rehabilitating her place in the family tree. Discovering that she was descended from the Maunsell family, he quickly entered into correspondence with the more prominent living members and made sure that there was a substantial section on himself and his Museum in the three volume family history of the Maunsells.

On April 12, 1930 David Ross McCord died at the age of eighty-seven. Since his wife and sisters had predeceased him, his tangled estate was left to the Royal Institution for the Advancement of Learning for the purpose of maintaining the McCord National Museum.

McCord's collecting benefitted from Canadians' interest in their historic past which characterized the period from 1880 to 1920. On the 15<sup>th</sup> of January, 1913, McCord was notified of an article in the "Times" about the discovery of a copy of Gray's "Elegy" annotated by General James Wolfe, a book which accompanied him to Quebec. On his way to the Plains of Abraham Wolfe is reputed to have

stated that he would rather have written "The paths of Glory lead but to the grave," than to take Quebec. McCord acted immediately. But twelve days later he received a telegramme from England that the book was "Not at Present for sale."<sup>25</sup> In October of 1988 the Friends of the Thomas Fisher Rare Book Library with financial help from the Federal Cultural Properties Review Board presented this work to the University of Toronto Library, to mark the acquisition of its seven millionth book. McCord would have been delighted to have the book return to Canada. He would have been even happier had the book come to his Museum where he had laid a firm foundation for the establishment of a Museum of Canadian History with strong collections and a rich source of documentation.

\* \* \* \* \*

## Notes

1. In preparing this paper I would like to acknowledge the work of Elaine Holowach Amiot, Richard Vaudry and Tom Wien who worked on the inventory and prepared biographies of each of the more prominent members of the family. I would also like to acknowledge the help of Moira McCaffrey, Donald Fyson, Donald Wright and François Remillard.
2. National Archives of Canada (NAC), microfilm reel C2999-S series, vol. 19, p. 6701. Report of committee of the Governor's Council on refund of duties paid on importation of rum, Quebec, 24 May 1770.
3. Archives nationales du Québec, Montreal, 06, M-CN 601-29/10. Deed of Assignment John McCord Sr. to John McCord Jr. & Thomas McCord, 11 Oct. 1793.
4. NAC, RG 4 B28 v.120 Shop licenses.
5. NAC, MG 11, C.O.42, vol. 28 ff 147-151v. Carleton to Shelburne, Quebec, 20 Jan. 1768.
6. McCord Family Papers, file 5245, D. R. McCord to Lady Laurier, Montreal 1919.
7. For a fuller biography of Thomas McCord please see Elinor Kyte Senior's article in the *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, vol. VI (Toronto, 1987), 432.
8. McCord Family Papers, file 207, Thomas McCord to Jacques Terroux, Montreal, 11 Aug., 1795.
9. *Ibid.*, Dublin, 1 July, 1798, M 4409.
10. McCord Family Papers file 400.
11. McCord Family Papers, file 828, Notebook on climate and meteorology of North America, 1820s & 1830s, (written c. 1836-43) 16 Sept., 1837 M18353.
12. *Ibid.*, 4 Feb. 1843.
13. For a fuller biography of William King McCord, please see Jean-Claude Robert's article in the *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, vol. VIII (Toronto, 1985), 524.
14. *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, vol. V (Toronto, 1983), 226.

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15. McCord Family Papers, file 1437, Arthur Davidson to Walter Davidson, Montreal, 20 Oct. 1788.
16. *Ibid.*, Montreal, 6 Aug. 1789.
17. *Ibid.*, file 1438, Arthur Davidson to John Davidson, London, 25 March, 1780 M1553.17.
18. *Ibid.*, file 1442, Arthur Davidson to John Chalmers, Oct. 1778, (draft, n.d.)
19. Private collection, Arthur Ross to Anne Ross, Trinity College, 17 Nov. 1824.
20. McCord Family Papers, file 1002, Anne Ross Diary, 2 Nov. 1821.
21. *Ibid.*, 18 July 1821.
22. *Ibid.*, file 1000, Newspaper clippings.
23. *McCord Family Papers 1766-1945*, vol. II, (Montreal, 1986), Introduction.
24. McCord Family Papers, file 1852, D. R. McCord to L. C. Chambers, 8 June, 1878.
25. *Ibid.*, file 5487, on behalf of Vicar of Westerham to D. R. McCord, Westerham, 27 Jan. 1913.

# Books on Old Violins and 19th-Century Playing From the Bequest of T. Wesley Mills

by Mary Cyr

*Among the rare materials in the Marvin Duchow Music Library is Jacob Augustus Otto's A Treatise on the Structure and Preservation of the Violin (London, 1860), one of 44 books on music bequeathed to McGill in 1915 after the death of Thomas Wesley Mills, McGill's first professor of physiology. Several of the 44 volumes are concerned with the voice and vocal pedagogy, and 11 books deal specifically with violin playing, construction, and technique. These works can help us to trace an unbroken tradition of violin playing in the 19th century by documenting the changes that took place in the violin's construction around 1800 and by providing information about little-known performing practices.*

*L'une des pièces rares de la bibliothèque Marvin Duchow de musique est l'oeuvre d'Augustus Otto A Treatise on the Structure and Preservation of the Violin (Londres, 1860). Elle fait partie des 44 titres qui ont été légués à l'Université McGill en 1915 après la mort de Thomas Wesley Mills, premier professeur de physiologie de l'université. Plusieurs des 44 livres traitent de l'enseignement du chant et de la technique vocale mais 11 d'entre eux portent précisément sur l'art de jouer du violon, sur la facture de cet instrument et sur la technique violonistique. Ces ouvrages peuvent nous aider à redécouvrir l'art de jouer du violon dans la plus pure tradition du 19<sup>e</sup> siècle, car ils renseignent sur les changements intervenus dans la fabrication de cet instrument vers 1800 et sur des possibilités d'expression peu connues.*

The Marvin Duchow Music Library at McGill possesses a small collection of rare materials, including some 18th- and 19th-century editions and many items relating to musical life in Canada at the end of the 19th and beginning of the 20th centuries.<sup>1</sup> A few pieces of sheet music relate specifically to McGill's history, such as a piano solo by Frances Robinson from 1904 entitled "McGill University Waltz."<sup>2</sup> Although the collection now resides in tidy, well-ordered surroundings within the Strathcona Music Building, until a few decades ago financial restrictions had forced it to lie "scattered about, uncatalogued, in various nooks and crannies of the Faculty building."<sup>3</sup>

It is not surprising, therefore, that a volume on the construction of the violin, Jacob Otto's *A Treatise on the Structure and Preservation of the Violin* (London, 1860), has gone almost unnoticed in the 75 years it has belonged to

that collection (Figure 1).<sup>4</sup> It first came to my attention as a source of information on the care of gut strings. Although gut strings gradually fell out of use during the 20th century, when they were replaced by more stable and durable metal strings, they are still favoured for their mellifluous tone by string players who are reviving pre-1900 playing techniques. They are used today by violin, viola, cello, viola da gamba, violone, and lute players in recordings and performances that feature "original" instruments. The use, care, and construction of gut strings is therefore a topic of considerable interest to many players who perform early music and conduct research into historical performing practices.<sup>5</sup>

Otto's work, along with 43 other books on music, came to the collection as a bequest in 1915 after the death of Thomas Wesley Mills, McGill's first professor of physiology. A renowned scholar in his field, Mills was also

A T R E A T I S E  
O N T H E  
S T R U C T U R E A N D P R E S E R V A T I O N  
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V I O L I N

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T O G E T H E R W I T H A N A C C O U N T O F

T H E M O S T C E L E B R A T E D M A K E R S ,  
A N D O F T H E G E N U I N E C H A R A C T E R I S T I C S O F T H E I R I N S T R U M E N T S ;

B Y

J A C O B A U G U S T U S O T T O ,

I N S T R U M E N T M A K E R T O T H E C O U R T O F T H E G R A N D D U K E O F W E I M A R .

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T R A N S L A T E D F R O M T H E O R I G I N A L , W I T H A D D I T I O N S A N D I L L U S T R A T I O N S ,

B Y

J O H N B I S H O P ,

O F C H E L T E N H A M .

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S E C O N D E D I T I O N : G R E A T L Y E N L A R G E D .  
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L O N D O N :

R O B E R T C O C K S & C O . N E W B U R L I N G T O N S T R E E T ,

M U S I C P U B L I S H E R S , B Y A P P O I N T M E N T , T O H E R M O S T G R A C I O U S M A J E S T Y  
Q U E E N V I C T O R I A , A N D H I S I M P E R I A L M A J E S T Y N A P O L E O N I I I .

S I M P K I N , M A R S H A L L A N D C O . W H I T T A K E R A N D C O .

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M D C C C L X .  
1860

Figure 1. Title page from Otto's treatise on violin construction included in the Mills bequest. (Marvin Duchow Music Library, McGill University).

a passionate devotee of music. Several volumes from his personal library are concerned with the voice and vocal pedagogy, and eleven books deal specifically with violin playing, construction, and technique. Although the 19th-century literature on violin playing has thus far received little attention from either scholars or players, it furnishes a wealth of valuable information that, along with early sound recordings, helps us to trace the as yet unwritten history of violin playing in the 19th century.

As a highly respected builder of violins and cellos, Otto excelled particularly in the restoration of old instruments.<sup>6</sup> According to René Vannes, "his instruments, much prized by collectors, are considered rather like museum pieces; their construction is very fine, but their tone is thin."<sup>7</sup> Born at Gotha in 1762, Otto studied at the court in that city with Frank Anthony Ernst, a well-known performer as well as director of concerts and also a *luthier*.<sup>8</sup> He also became a builder of instruments for the grand duke of Weimar and worked at several other centres including Halle, Leipzig, and Berlin until his death about 1830.<sup>9</sup> In 1817 he published a treatise entitled *Über den Bau der Bogeninstrumente und über die Arbeiten der vorzüglichsten Instrumentenmacher*. Eleven years later he published a revision which included information on builders and instruments. An English translation by Thomas Fardely, printed in London in 1833, failed to achieve critical acclaim.<sup>10</sup> In 1848 the revised edition was newly translated with additions and notes by John Bishop and published in London, and in that form it underwent several printings until the fourth edition in 1891. The copy preserved in McGill's collection is the second edition of Bishop's translation, published in 1860.

Otto's volume was cited in several other 19th-century works, such as Edward Heron-Allen's *Violin-Making as It Was and Is* (2nd ed., London, 1885). Otto's is the earliest of the historical works mentioned by Heron-Allen, and he describes it as "well-known" and especially valuable in the translation by Bishop.<sup>11</sup> Altogether, Heron-Allen characterizes it as "a useful little work, whose value is quadrupled by the translator's valuable and intelligent

notes."<sup>12</sup> With the interest players have shown in instruments restored to their original condition today, Otto's writings are of timely importance to builders and players alike.

It is well-known that the violin underwent many alterations in its construction after about 1780, but details about the period of transition between the Baroque instrument and the 19th-century (or modern) one are lacking. As David Boyden observes, the modern violin "had come into being by about 1800, yet it is very difficult to document exactly when and by whom the changes were accomplished."<sup>13</sup> Much of the difficulty arises because nearly all old instruments were modified in order to suit the greater demands for carrying power and higher pitch. A violin by Antonio Stradivari (1644-1737), for example, would originally have had a shorter neck set straight on the instrument, a flatter, thinner bridge, and a shorter bass bar inside the instrument. Within the past twenty years, some players have had old instruments restored to their original condition, but because of the considerable value of Stradivari's instruments, few owners are willing to risk restoration.<sup>14</sup>

Otto's work contains a valuable little-known account of how the changes were accomplished in the 19th century on old violins. Contrary to the widely-accepted notion that most violins had been altered by 1800, Otto relates that the changes actually came about much more slowly. Nor were the alterations necessarily considered an improvement. A violinist might request that a new, heavier bass bar be added only if the belly of the instrument had begun to sag inward, usually as a result of increased pressure as strings were tuned higher.<sup>15</sup> "Really great artists," he observes, "regard this slight defect as the natural consequence of age, and in no respect detrimental to the tone, but amateurs, desirous of making improvements where none at all are required, have had their violins taken to pieces...and by the insertion of long and heavy bass bars checked the accurately calculated vibrations."<sup>16</sup> In addition to reducing the string's vibration, the longer, thicker bass bar "renders the tone of the G string remarkably weak, as compared with the rest, all of which are deteriorated, though not in so great a

degree. But the chief defect occasioned by too long a bass-bar, is the want of resonance in the tone."<sup>17</sup>

Otto's advice on the care of gut strings is of considerable interest to players today who may be unaccustomed to their susceptibility to changes in temperature and humidity. The life of a gut string (a few days for a violin E string!) may be tripled or quadrupled with proper care, and it is less likely to respond unevenly or produce squeaks. Few sources mention the care of strings, and most players today develop their own methods by experimentation. Although players may no longer wish to store extra strings in a calf's or pig's bladder, the remainder of Otto's advice is eminently practical:

In order to preserve the strings a length of time in good and sonorous condition, it is necessary to keep a small piece of taffeta, moistened with almond-oil, in the bladder containing the spare strings, and, each time after playing, to rub the strings with it, from the bridge to the nut, before putting the instrument away in the case; and when again wanted for use, the oil should be wiped off with a fine linen cloth, particularly at the place where the bow is applied. The advantages resulting from this are—first, that the strings, thereby receiving nourishment, will not become dry, but always retain their smoothness of tone; and, secondly, they will not imbibe the moisture which exudes from the fingers and renders the strings dirty and false, so that they produce a grating or whistling kind of sound when the rosin is freely used; all which will be obviated by the method here proposed.

This treatment of the violin was adopted by the concert-director, Ernst, under whom I studied music; and on my recommending it to the professor and amateurs with whom I have done business, it has met with their unanimous approval. It is especially beneficial

to the G-string, the gut of which dries up during the heat of summer, whatever stretching it may have received before being covered, and the wire then becomes loose. However, by the means here named, this is prevented; for the string absorbs a little of the oil, between the coils of the wire, so that it does not quite dry.

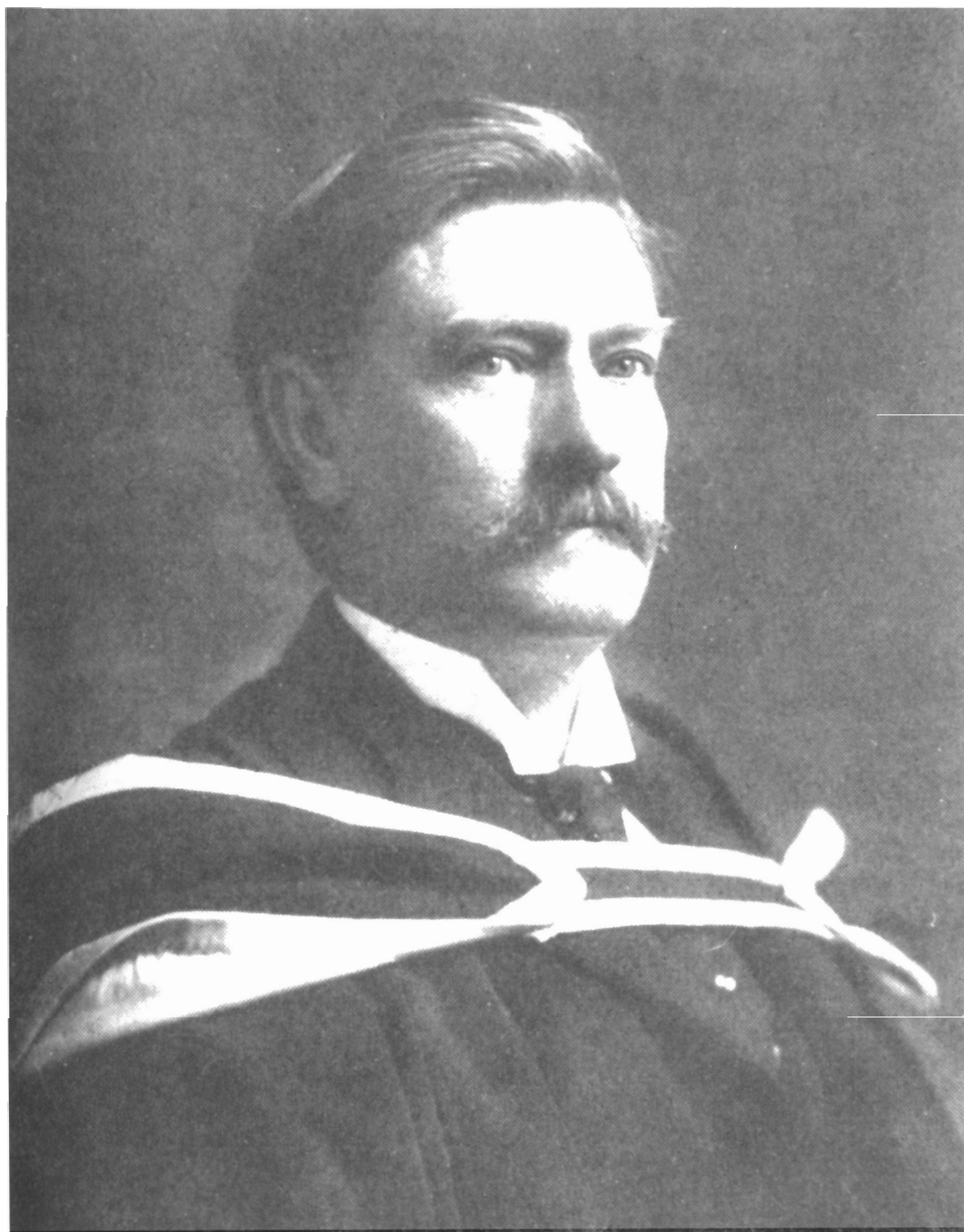
The best method of preserving the spare strings is to moisten them with almond-oil, and then wrap them up in a piece of a calf's or pig's bladder, and enclose them in a tin box.<sup>18</sup>

Of the other volumes dealing with the violin from the Mills bequest, several are pedagogical in nature, such as those by Courvoisier (1894), Althaus (1905), Thistleton (1913), and Ritchie (n.d.). The authors, most of whom were violinists themselves, offer advice about how vibrato can be used intermittently for expressive purposes (not pervasively, as it is in modern playing), and how to adjust intonation by using unequal semitones. Authors are far from unanimous in supporting the use of a chin rest to hold the violin. Although the chin rest had been invented by Louis Spohr around 1820 and is used universally in modern playing, it apparently gained acceptance very gradually during the 19th century.

An early attempt to provide a comprehensive history of the bow is Henry Saint-George's *The Bow, Its History, Manufacture and Use* (London, 1896), in which the author discusses the influence of folk instruments and playing techniques on its development. He includes numerous illustrations, a substantial list of bowmakers, and also relates details about 19th-century experiments with the bow such as a double-curved stick fitted with 150 red horsehairs. Among other unusual inventions were a bow that folded in two for travelling, and a "self-hairing" bow.<sup>19</sup>

The volumes by Mayson (1902) and Broadhouse (n.d.) deal with aspects of violin construction, such as the choice of wood and technique of varnishing. Haweis (1905) includes chapters on violin building in differ-





**Figure 2. Thomas Wesley Mills. (*Old McGill*, 1912.)**

ent countries and a dictionary of violin makers that would be of use for identifying the maker of a violin from information given on a label.

With the revival of interest in performing practices of earlier centuries that has taken place recently, the volumes from Mills' library can help us to trace an unbroken tradition of violin playing through the 19th century. These and other 19th-century sources can serve to document the changes that took place in the violin's construction around 1800 and, along with early recordings, they preserve information about the little-known performing practices of the 19th century.

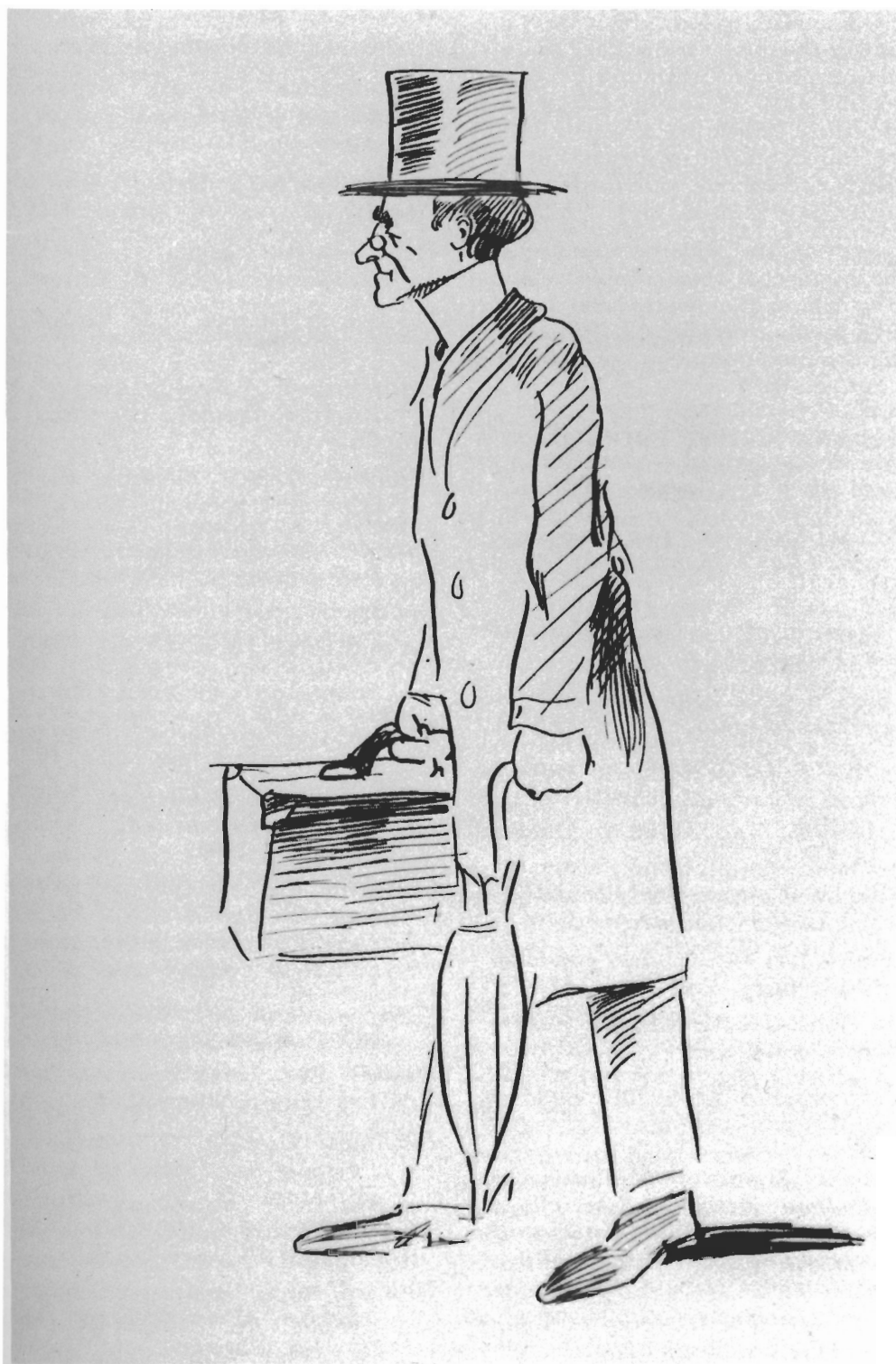
### **WESLEY MILLS AS MUSICIAN AND BENEFACTOR**

There are only a few published references to Mills' interest in music. Most biographical dictionaries omit any mention of it except in connection with his research on the voice.<sup>20</sup> Born in Brockville, Ontario on February 22, 1847, Thomas Wesley Mills (Figures 2 and 3) obtained degrees from the University of Toronto (BA, 1871; MA, 1872) and McGill (MD, 1878 and DVS, 1890), and subsequently studied in England and Germany. He returned to Montreal to take up a position at McGill in 1882, and served as professor of physiology from 1886 until 1910. He published numerous studies based on his research and observations, especially in the areas of animal intelligence, physiology of the voice, and digestion. After the death of his first wife in 1901, he married Kate Samuels of Bendigo, Australia, an opera singer known professionally as Mme Benda. A few other records preserved at McGill provide a glimpse at his personality, as well as his musical and other cultural interests. According to a biographical sketch published in the 1912 yearbook, *Old McGill*, his interest in music began during his school years, and after graduating from the University of Toronto, he taught high school for one year, and then came to Montreal to continue his studies in music. It was the influence of William Osler, whom he had first met in Toronto, that persuaded him instead to resume his study of medicine at McGill. He spoke of Dr. Osler and Dr. Robert Palmer Howard (the latter a professor of medicine and

dean from 1882), as two of his most influential teachers: "No man could listen to such teachers and not be in every way the better for it."<sup>21</sup> Mills also described Osler as "my good friend" and commended him for his continuing support and guidance in a letter written in 1884 to the Montreal publisher William Drysdale.<sup>22</sup>

Mills himself was highly regarded by colleagues and students both for his research and his concern for the advancement of the arts and cultural life. In a valedictory address to the graduates in medicine in 1889, he recalled taking the "bold, perhaps rash step, and certainly unprecedented in this country, of wholly relinquishing medical practice for the teaching and culture of the department of Animal Physiology."<sup>23</sup> His interest in music was never forgotten, however. After the music department was established in 1899 at the Royal Victoria College, Wesley Mills taught a course in the physiology and hygiene of the voice.<sup>24</sup> He is also listed in *The Musical Redbook of Montreal* as a "concert goer."<sup>25</sup> Among the concerts he would have had the opportunity to hear were two violin recitals in 1895 and 1905 by the internationally-acclaimed violinist Eugene Ysaÿe.<sup>26</sup>

After his retirement in 1910, Mills took up residence once again in London. Among his pursuits was the preparation of numerous topical scrapbooks that chronicled opera, theatre, concerts, and political events in London and also included notices from abroad, especially Montreal. A total of 86 bound volumes prepared by Mills between 1910 and 1915 present a fascinating account of cultural life and prominent individuals through press accounts, sometimes with annotations by Mills.<sup>27</sup> Several scrapbooks are devoted to music, featuring concert programs and clippings from London newspapers (*Morning Post* and *Daily Times*) and from the *Montreal Star*. Among items of particular interest are reviews of operas performed in London (including Wagner's *Ring des Nibelungen*, Saint-Saëns' *Déjanire*, and Richard Strauss' *Ariadne auf Naxos*), and reviews of concerts by the internationally acclaimed soprano Nellie Melba and the young Montreal-born soprano Pauline Donalda. Concerning a performance of Verdi's *Rigoletto* on July 12, 1913 in which Nellie Melba sang



**Figure 3. T.W. Mills. (*Old McGill*, 1912.)**

*Books on Old Violins and 19th-Century Playing*

the role of Gilda, Mills added comments of his own, including the observation that "Melba's voice lacked resonance."<sup>28</sup> Among the other scrapbooks in Mills' collection are several devoted to history, education, and politics, in which are found numerous items about McGill. Another scrapbook is devoted to news about women and children.

Taken together, the Mills bequests reveal some of the interests of a remarkable individual, one for whom the observation in *Old McGill* (1912) seems especially apt: "His career and his character are unique in the history of medicine in Canada."<sup>29</sup>

**BOOKS AND SCORES FROM THE  
BEQUEST  
OF T. W. MILLS**

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- \*Dubourg, George. *The Violin*. London: Cocks, 1852.
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- \*York, Francis Lodowick. *Text-Book in Simple Strict Counterpoint; Counterpoint Simplified*. Boston: Ditson, [c. 1907].

\*missing

## Notes

1. I would like to express my gratitude to the staff of the Marvin Duchow Music Library for assistance at various stages of my research. In particular, Head Librarian Cynthia Leive, John Black, and David Curtis contributed in many valuable ways. At the McLennan Library, Michel Morin also provided assistance in tracing old records of acquisitions. A grant from the Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research allowed me to continue my research at the New York Public Library.
2. The piece was printed by W. H. Scroggie of St. Catherine Street, Montreal. The title page, featuring engravings of several McGill buildings, is reproduced in the *Encyclopedia of Music in Canada*, ed. Helmut Kallmann, Gilles Potvin, and Kenneth Winters (Toronto: U of Toronto P, 1981), 574.
3. Marvin Duchow, "Canadian Music Libraries: some observations," *Music Library Association Notes* 18:1 (December, 1960), 34. After the McGill Conservatorium was demolished in the late 1940s, the Faculty of Music occupied several buildings (as many as seven at once) until installed in 1972 in the Strathcona Music Building adjacent to Royal Victoria College.
4. I owe my initial introduction to rare items in the Marvin Duchow Music Library to a former graduate student, Edmund Brownless, who prepared a checklist of the collection in 1984 as a special project under my supervision.
5. Significant recent studies of gut strings and their construction by Ephraim Segerman and Djilda Abbott have been published in the *Catgut Acoustical Society Newsletter*. These and other studies are cited in the comprehensive article by Stephen Bonta, "Catline strings revisited," *Journal of the American Musical Instrument Society* 14 (1988), 38-60. See also Frank Hubbard, "String," in *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, ed. Stanley Sadie, 20 vols. (London: Macmillan, 1980), 18: 274-6.
6. Antoine Vidal, *Les instruments à archet* (London: Holland Press, 1961), I:189. See also

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- François-Joseph Fétis, *Biographie universelle des musiciens et bibliographie générale de la musique*, 2nd ed., 8 vols. (Paris: 1860-1865), 6:389.
7. René Vannes, *Dictionnaire universel des luthiers*, 2nd ed., 2 vols. (Brussels: Les amis de la musique, 1951-59), I:263.
8. According to a translator's note (pp. 26-27), Ernst came to Gotha in 1778. His violins were constructed after the Italian model.
9. The major biographical sources disagree about the place and date of Otto's death. Vidal (I:189) gives "ca. 1830" as Otto's date of death; Vannes (I:263) gives 1829 at Lobeda, as does Willibald von Lütgendorff, *Die Geigen- und Lautenmacher*, 2 vols. (Frankfurt am Main: Schneider, 1922), II:363. Fétis (6:389) places his death at Jena after 1830.
10. Edward Heron-Allen, *Violin-Making as It Was and Is*, 2nd ed. (London: Ward, Lock, and Co., 1885), 330, characterizes Fardely's translation as "greatly inferior" to that of Bishop.
11. Page 20, n1.
12. Page 129.
13. David Boyden, "Violin," *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians* 19:831.
14. A Stradivari violin belonging to the Smithsonian Institution (Washington, DC) has been restored and is in fine original playing condition. No others by this maker are known to have been restored.
15. According to Otto's translator, Bishop (pp. 22n-23n), pitch had risen a semitone since 1734, increasing pressure on the bridge from 63 lbs to 80 lbs, and the strings became thicker as well. Pitch rose a further half-tone after 1830, increasing the pressure to 90 lbs or more.
16. Page 22.
17. Page 32.
18. Page 43f. The G string Otto describes was overspun with metal, a technique that had been used on thicker strings since about 1675.
19. Pages 97ff.
20. Henry James Morgan, ed., *The Canadian Men and Women of the Time: A Hand-Book of Canadian Biography*, 1st ed. (Toronto: Briggs, 1898), 636; also 2nd ed. (Toronto: Briggs, 1912), 808.
21. *Old McGill* (1912), 16.
22. Handwritten letter of T.W. Mills to William Drysdale, from the Institute for Physiological Chemistry, Strassburg-Elsaas, Germany, dated January 27, 1884. [William Drysdale Papers, MS 416, Department of Rare Books and Special Collections].
23. Wesley Mills, "Valedictory Address delivered to the Graduates in Medicine of McGill University, April 1, 1889," 2.
24. Bernard K. Sandwell, ed., *The Musical Redbook of Montreal* (Montreal: Veitch, 1907), 137.
25. Sandwell, 144.
26. Sandwell, 196, 222. Ysaye performed on April 22, 1895 at Monument National Hall and March 15, 1905 at Windsor Hall.
27. The T. W. Mills scrapbooks are presently held in the Department of Rare Books and Special Collections and bear the shelf number Ms. 218, c. 1- c. 14.
28. Ms. 218, c. 1, file 5.
29. Page 16.

# Early Qur'anic Fragments

by Adam Gacek

*The present paper is a description of 21 early Qur'anic leaves preserved at McGill University. Looking at the extant specimens, as well as classical Arabic literature, the author attempts to review our knowledge of the development of some of the Qur'anic hands and to re-examine a number of primary sources.*

*Cette article décrit 21 feuillets anciens du Coran qui sont archivés à l'Université McGill. Par l'étude des spécimens conservés et de la littérature arabe classique, l'auteur tente de dresser l'acquis de nos connaissances sur l'évolution de certaines écritures coraniques et d'étudier sous un jour nouveau de nombreuses sources primaires.*

**A**mong some 200 fragments and calligraphs preserved in the Department of Rare Books and Special Collections of McLennan Library, there are 20 early fragments of the Qur'ân written on parchment and paper. One additional parchment leaf is preserved in the Islamic Studies Library.<sup>1</sup> Most of these fragments were acquired in or around 1938 from two main sources: A. Khan Monif of New York and Kirkor Minassian. Some were in the possession of F. Cleveland Morgan, the great McGill benefactor, who donated them to the University Library. The last item is a gift from the former President of Tunisia, Habib Bourguiba, and presented to the Islamic Studies Library in 1959.

## QUR'ANIC HANDS

This small collection of fragments represents a variety of scripts and styles. Even so, many a scholar, contemporary or not, would term most of them as *Kûfî* or *Kufic*. This tendency resulted from a lack of any satisfactory system for the correct identification of Arabic scripts. Even though many names of these early scripts have survived recorded in various Arabic sources, with perhaps one or two exceptions they do not tell us anything about the real characteristics of these scripts.<sup>2</sup> In this seemingly hopeless situation, a glimmer

of light has been found by using an approach based on a classification which groups these scripts according to a very specific palaeographical method consisting of data which relate to the shape of such letters as *alif*, '*ayn*, *mîm*, *nûn*, *hâ'* and *lâm-alif*. This new approach found its expression in several recent publications by F. Déroche and, in particular, in his catalogue of a large collection of Qur'anic fragments preserved in the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris.<sup>3</sup>

Having said this, however, and with full awareness of the importance of this approach, it seems to me that the palaeographer cannot entirely abandon the written Arabic tradition concerning the development of the Arabic script and its calligraphic manifestations. True, many errors have been committed by relying solely on this classical Arabic tradition, but one still hopes that a discovery of yet another unknown text or even a passage will elucidate an unclear and ambiguous appellation. For after all, it is much more satisfactory and easier to use a concrete label such as *Hijâzî* or '*Irâqî* rather than an invented system of classification consisting of letters and numbers.<sup>4</sup> The label, however, has to be clearly defined.

My observations based on the present collection and other reproduced specimens of

early Qur'anic fragments prompt me to make a few comments which may not be all that novel to some Arabic palaeographers but might encourage further discussion. These comments should not be taken as conclusive.

I. There seems to be no doubt that the early development of the Arabic script followed two somewhat different paths. The simultaneous existence of curvilinear and rectilinear *ducti* had been primarily caused by two major needs of the Arabic state and society, namely, the need to issue state documents and conduct correspondence, on the one hand, and the need to copy the Holy Writ, on the other. The divine message, in the eyes of Muslims, could not be copied in just any script. It deserved something more hieratic and majestic. This, however, does not mean that the Qur'ân was not copied in scripts which exhibited curvilinear features. On the contrary, we find that some of these early Qur'anic scripts were not as "angular" as they are often portrayed and that they were influenced by Syriac. This influence has already been pointed out by Nabia Abbott, among others.<sup>5</sup> That this influence must have been quite considerable is attested by the fact that in the time of Muhammad, copies of the Qur'ân were not infrequently produced by Christians. 'Abd Allâh ibn Abî Dâ'ûd (d. 275/889), for example, mentions that 'Abd al-Rahmân ibn Abî 'Awf (d. 32/653) paid sixty dirhams to a Christian from al-Hîrah for a copy of the Qur'ân and 'Abd al-Rahmân ibn Abî Laylâ (d. 40/661) paid seventy dirhams. A copy of the Qur'ân was also made by a Christian for a certain 'Alqamah.<sup>6</sup> The Syriac influence is traceable not only to the *estrangelo*, but also to the Jacobite (*serto*) and Nestorian varieties. In this short overview, I will concentrate on one letter in particular, the *alif*. The characteristic *alif* in *serto* with a wavy shaft and a left-sloping barbed (or knobbed, hooked) head (known in Mamluk literature as *tarwîs*) is recognizable in one entire group of Arabic scripts which François Déroche classifies as NS and proposes to call "broken cursive" (*la cursive brisée*).<sup>7</sup>

We read in *Kitâb al-kuttâb* of Abd Allâh al-Baghdâdî (fl. 3/9th cent.) that the people of al-Hîrah used a script called *al-Jazm*, which

was then learned by the people of al-Kûfah.<sup>8</sup> If Abbott's proposed explanation of *jazm* as coming from the Syriac *gezme* and meaning "cut rods" (a possible reference to the straight upstrokes in *estrangelo*) is true (and there is no reason not to accept it), then the *Kûfî* proper (i.e. the script used by the people of al-Kûfah) must have been heavily influenced by the somewhat stiff appearance of this script.<sup>9</sup> Al-Baghdâdî also tells us that the people of al-Anbâr used a script called *al-Mashq* and explains that it was characterised by lightness (*fibi kbaffab*). He goes on to say that *masbq* in the phrase *masbaqubu bi-al-rumh* means "he pierced him with a spear in a nimble and uninterrupted stroke" (*ta'anahu ta'nan kbafifan mutatâbi'an*).<sup>10</sup> Moreover, Ibn Abî Dâ'ûd in his *Kitâb al-mašâhif* tells us that to write in *masbq*, characterised as *zâd al-masîb* ("extra flowing"), was disliked and when Ibn Sîrîn was asked why, he answered "there is in it imperfection (*naqs*); do you not see how the *alif* is plunging (drowning), it should be brought (thrown) back (restored)" (*a lâ tarâ al-alif kayfa yugharriqubâ yanbaghî an turadd*).<sup>11</sup>

The definitions of *al-Mashq* as given by al-Baghdâdî and Ibn Abî Dâ'ûd appear to be substantially different from the features attributed to it by Nabia Abbott. The fact that we are told that writing in *masbq* was disliked is significant, for it implies that this script was not considered worthy of the Qur'ân. One could, therefore, assume that it was not deemed as hieratical as the other scripts. The recommendation was to copy the Qur'ân in large formats and a large format would require a script of an appropriate size. Nabia Abbott even though recognizing the fact that using *masbq* was disliked, says "Yet it is not at all impossible to eliminate the evident faults of hasty writing and to produce a boldly extended yet carefully written script".<sup>12</sup> The *Mashq* as characterised by N. Abbott is an elegant script, using large and bold letters!

The above description of the *alif* is also of significance. For if *al-Mashq* was the script used by the people of al-Anbâr and if it was a light script, with the "plunging" *alif* it is likely to have been heavily influenced by *serto*



and Nestorian. If this is the case, should we not expect to find in it the characteristic hooked *alif*? Furthermore, if these influences existed simultaneously one should be able to see the characteristics of *serto* and Nestorian in the specimens of this early period. One such early specimen can be found in al-Munajjid's *Dirâsât*, featuring a copy of the Qur'ân transcribed by Ḥudayj ibn Mu'âwiyah ibn Maslamah al-Anṣârî for 'Uqbah ibn Nâfi' al-Fahrî (the founder of the city of Qayrawân) and dated 49 A.H./669 A.D.<sup>13</sup> If the date of this copy is authentic (and there is no reason to believe otherwise), it is very likely that the NS category is much earlier than hitherto recognized, and that this NS category is directly linked to the *serto* and Nestorian scripts.

II. We are told by 'Abd Allâh al-Baghdâdî that after the calligrapher Yûsuf Laqwah "invented" from *al-Jalîl* a much lighter (*akbaff*) and more slender (*abzal*) script, it so pleased the vizier Dhû al-Ri'âsatayn al-Faḍl ibn Sahl (d. 202/817-8) that he ordered his secretaries to use it as the script of his chancery. The script consequently acquired the name *al-Ri'âsî*.<sup>14</sup> Furthermore, Ibn al-Nadîm informs us that a smaller version of this script called *al-Mudawwar al-Ṣagbîr* (as opposed to *al-Mudawwar al-Kabîr*, being *al-Ri'âsî*) was used for writing in registers (*dafâtir*) and for the copying of *ḥadîth* and poetry.<sup>15</sup> If this "small round script" was a bookhand of the day we should look for it in the extant non-Qur'anic codices of this early period. It is interesting to note here that most of these codices were written in scripts which share several common features, including the characteristic Syriac *alif*.<sup>16</sup> During my work on Mamluk texts on calligraphy I found a specimen of the *Ri'âsî* script in the work of al-Tîbî and the first thing which struck me was that, unlike other scripts, its *alif* has a *tarwîs* protruding to the left.<sup>17</sup> This important feature makes it stand out from among the other scripts. Naturally, the *Ri'âsî* of this late Mamluk period must have been quite different from the *Ri'âsî* of the late second/eighth century. However, it seems to me that such an important element as *tarwîs* would have been the characteristic of all *Ri'âsî*-type scripts. If this indeed is the case, we have here a direct connection between

the *Ri'âsî* family and the Syriac *serto* and Nestorian scripts. What a coincidence, therefore, that the name *Ri'âsî* should be derived from the same root as *tarwîs*, its main characteristic!

III. We know that Dhû al-Ri'âsatayn was a Persian and that the NS category, which is often called "Eastern Kufic", is associated with Persia.<sup>18</sup> It would be quite natural, therefore, to see in a truly Persian script such as *Ta'liq* some influence of the NS category. This we find in none other than the *tarwîs*. The left-sloping *tarwîs* in the *Ta'liq* is indeed its main feature.<sup>19</sup> The *Ta'liq* was a chancery hand and it is for this reason that when it was adopted for the Ottoman chancery (*dîwân*) it was given the name of *Dîwânî*. The *Dîwânî* not only preserved the left-sloping *tarwîs*, but made it even longer than its "ancestor" *Ta'liq*.

But, according to our sources, *al-Ri'âsî* was primarily a chancery and "secular" (non-Qur'anic) hand. However, this does not mean that this script, being already an established bookhand used for the transcription of prophetic sayings, could not have been used for the copying of the Qur'ân for more private purposes. Ibn al-Nadîm informs us that one of the scripts used for the copying of the Qur'ân (presumably in his time) was *al-Qî-râmûz* (read *Pîrâmûz* or *Fîrâmûz?*), from which is derived *al-'Ajam*, with its *al-Mudawwar* (round) and *al-Nâṣirî* varieties. These scripts are usually associated with Persia. Is it not likely that these Qur'anic hands are "dressed up" and/or later versions of the *Mashq-Ri'âsî* family?<sup>20</sup>

IV. Most Arabic palaeographers and historians of Islamic art divide the so-called "Kufic" scripts into two categories: Eastern and Western. As pointed out earlier, the Eastern category is the group NS of Déroche or, if we accept the above argument, the *Mashq-Ri'âsî* family. They assert that the *Magbribî* script developed from "Western Kufic". As an example of this type of script they give our specimens nos. 5 and 13.<sup>21</sup> True, the slender descender of the *mîm* and a nicely rounded *nûn* are common to the nos. 5 and 7. However, looking at our specimen no. 7

we cannot fail to recognize in the first place the existence of, among other common elements, our Syriac-type *alif*. The *Maghribî* (to use a generic form) is most likely a hybrid of several classical scripts, with a very heavy admixture of the NS category.<sup>22</sup> The influence of the NS category is clearly visible in the *Andalusian* (or *Andalusian-style*) *Maghribî*. On the other hand, the *Sûdânî* (also known as *Ifriqî*) script, as recently pointed out by Adrian Brockett, could well have been derived from a script represented by *muṣḥaf al-Hâḍinab* (no. 13).<sup>23</sup>

### POINTING AND VOCALIZATION

The early Arabic script was a very defective medium of communication. It was devoid not only of vocalization but also lacked diacritical marks to distinguish its various identical letter shapes. Arabic tradition is not unanimous as to who introduced the system of pointing and vocalization (*naql*). Abû al-Aswad al-Du'âlî (d. 69/688) is usually credited with the introduction of vocalization by means of red dots based on the system used in Syriac. Naṣr ibn 'Âṣim al-Laythî and Yaḥyâ ibn Ya'mur al-'Adwânî (the pupils of al-Du'âlî) are said to have been involved in the introduction of diacritics (*i'jâm*) using dots of the colour of the main script. The system of al-Du'âlî consisted of the use of one or two red dots (depending on whether the word was defined or not). Thus *fathah* was represented by one dot placed above a letter, *kasrah* by a dot below a letter, *dammah* by a dot before the letter and *tanwîn* by two dots. The system in use in the present day is credited to Khalîl ibn Aḥmad al-Farâhîdî (d. 175/791). The vocalization of the text of the Qur'ân was originally disapproved of but later accepted, even in the mosque copies (*ummahât*).<sup>24</sup>

Reflections of the various systems for pointing and vocalization of the Arabic script mentioned above are clearly visible in our specimens. Of special interest here are nos. 5, 6, 10, 11 and 12 where oblique strokes are used as diacritical marks (as opposed to black round dots as in no. 8) and for the separation of verses. No. 8 uses a mixed system of dots and oblique strokes, the former being most

probably a later addition. Item no. 3 uses the system of al-Du'âlî and Aḥmad ibn Khalîl, as well as oblique strokes for pointing. Nos. 2 and 9 are pointed by means of black dots and vocalized with red dots. Nos. 1 and 4 are vocalized by means of red dots but unpointed. The orthographic signs such as *hamzah*, *shaddah*, *maddah* and *sukûn* are less frequently used in our fragments. Only the nos. 6, 7, 9, 12 and 13 have any of these represented. The colours used are green (nos. 6, 9, 12 and 13), yellow (no. 7) and blue (nos. 7 and 13).<sup>25</sup>

### WRITING SURFACES AND FORMATS

This small collection of 21 fragments, which consists of 13 parchment and 8 paper leaves, comes from 13 different copies of the Qur'ân. Among the extant leaves there are two parchment and one paper bi-folios (conjugate leaves). It is interesting to note that the numbers 2, 3, 6, 7, 9 and 13 have vertical formats – that is, the height is greater than the width – and all the other leaves have horizontal formats, often referred to as *safînah* (boat-like). At the same time, all the vertical format leaves are executed in scripts of the NS or NS-linked category. Moreover, the *Maghribî* (Andalusian) specimen has a vertical format not far removed from a square. Nos. 2, 6 and 9 (all vertical formats) are written on paper.

### INKS AND DECORATION

The main letter shapes (excluding chapter headings) of most of the fragments are written in brown or dark brown ink. Nos. 2, 6 and 9, however, are mainly in a black or almost black ink. The other pigments used are red, yellow, green and blue. These pigments are mainly used for vocalization, although yellow gouache is used for decoration (including *sûrah*-headings) (see nos. 6, 9, 10 and 13), red for a *sûrah*-heading (no. 10) and blue can be seen as part of the medallion or palmette (nos. 11 and 13). The gold ink is entirely associated with *sûrah*-headings, ornaments (discs, roundels, rosettes etc.) indicating verse divisions, marginal medallions and palmettes.



Figure 1. Fragment 10, AC 193. (Photograph by Robert Rohonczy.)



AC175

485

ج ١٢

ا فستاهو ز مر تا كرم النبو تا طالسو  
الله مر تا كرم النبو تا طالسو  
سم الله الود حمرا لو حيو سا فو فبب لنا بر حسا  
هم و هم في حمله طو كرو زفا ناظم مر د  
كي مر د بهم عهد فبب الود سامتو ه و هم  
لبسو ز لفة طو بهم و نا سو و نا الود و الود  
كلهوا هل هك با الود سو ملكه ما فا بو ز الود  
لسو و نا سو سو و زو فو و سو سما لود زو ف  
ا سما و الود و ضر و هو سما لود لود  
فا لود الود الود الود الود الود الود الود  
هو فلنا نا با سو كرم الود الود الود الود الود  
فلهم مر هو نا ملكه نا فوه بو هو زو ما نا  
سما فلنا الود الود الود الود الود الود الود  
هل الود الود الود الود الود الود الود الود

Figure 2. Fragment 4, AC 175. (Photograph by Robert Rohonczy.)

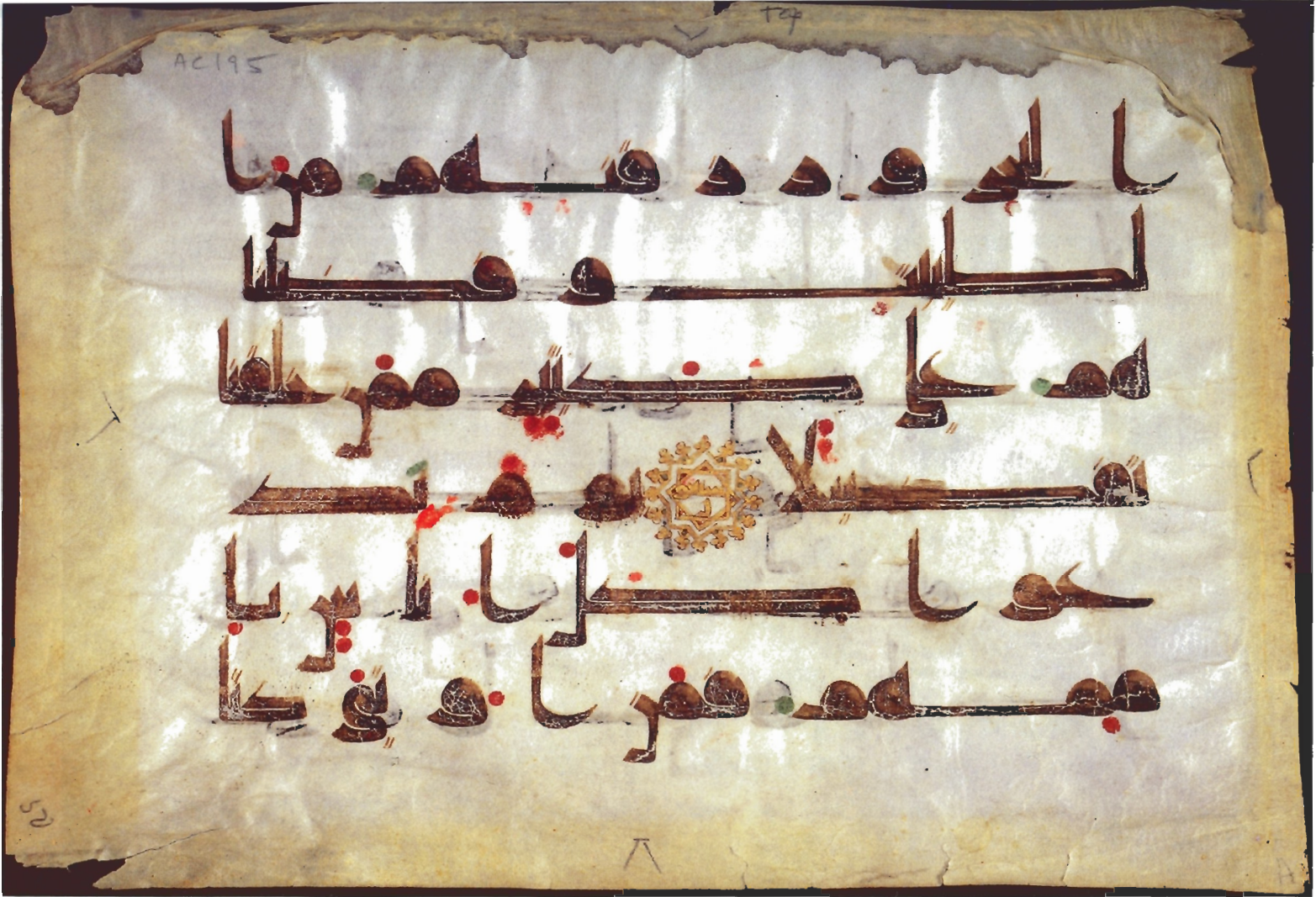


Figure 3. Fragment 12, AC 195. (Photograph by Robert Rohonczy.)



*Early Qur'anic Fragments*

Figure 4. Fragment 8, AC 184. (Photograph by Robert Rohonczy.)

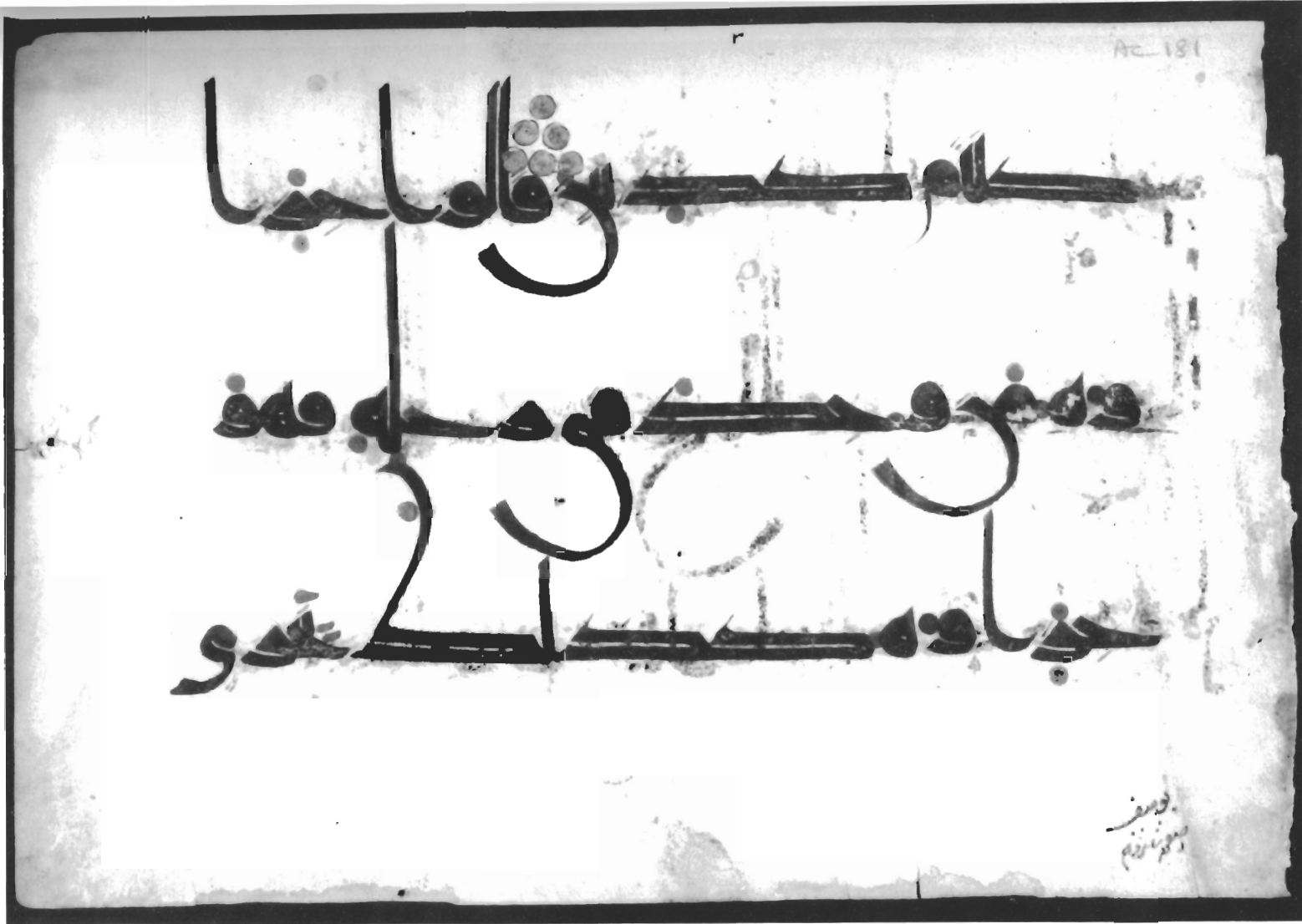


Figure 5. Fragment 5, AC 181. (Photograph by Robert Rohonczy.)

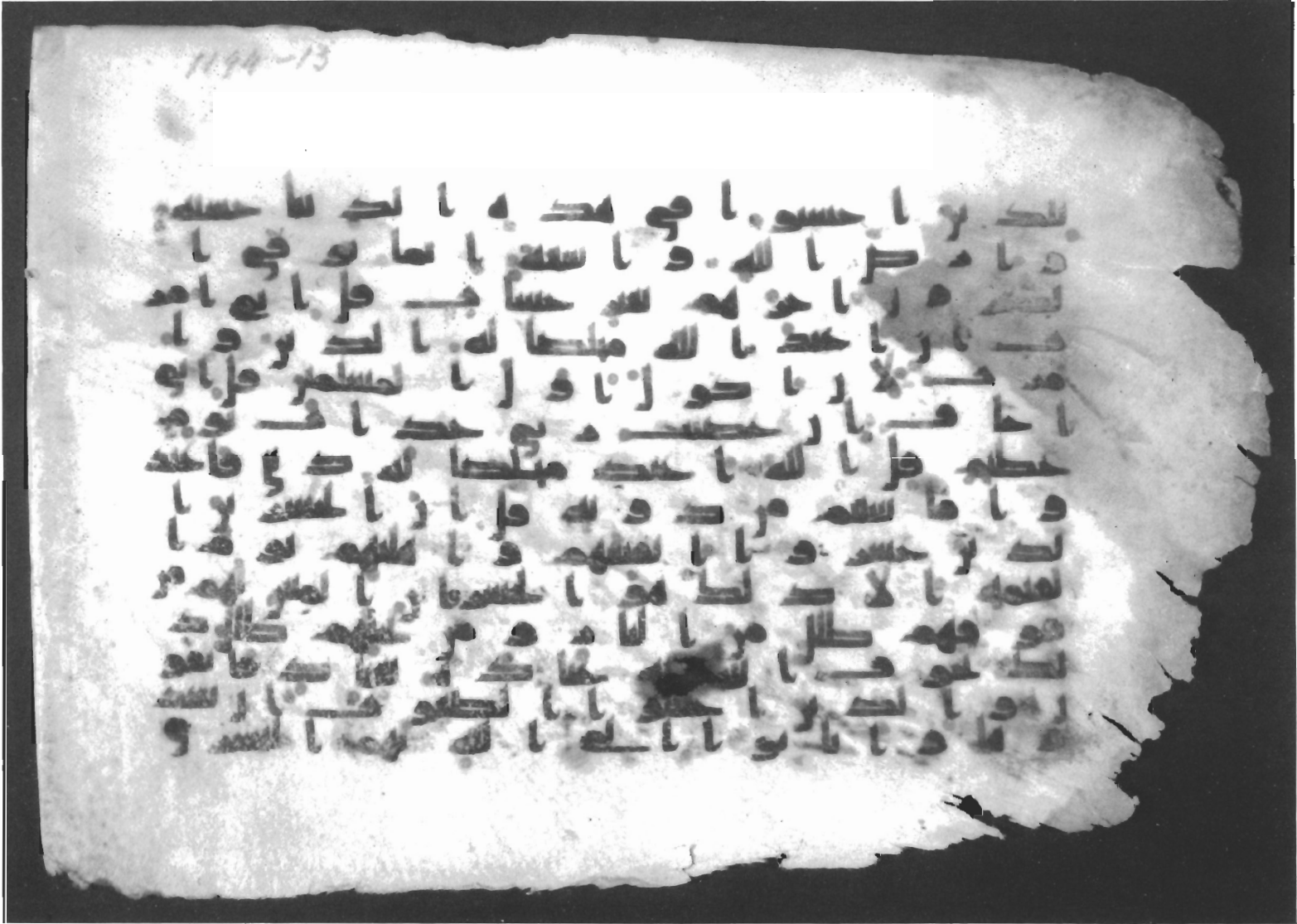


Figure 6. Fragment 1, AC 151. (Photograph by Robert Rohonczy.)

Early Quranic Fragments





Figure 7. Fragment 11, AC 194. (Photograph by Robert Rohonczy.)

AC 166

بغير علم. لئن نظرته الله ما را الله لغوا  
غفوا لئن بنا را الله يولج البلا في  
التعادي و يولج التقاد في البلا  
وا را الله سمع بصوت لئن بنا را  
الله فوال الموتوا في ما يدحوز من  
دونه فوال لنا كل و ا را الله  
فوال لينا لينا لورا را الله  
ا را الله ما فصح الاسب  
منظرة ا را الله كيف خير  
له ما في السموات وما في  
الارض و ا را الله لورا الف  
الميمنا لورا را الله سوا من ما  
في الارض و ا فلف

AC 192

وايسر له من حده منه اوليا اوليا في فضل من اولم  
يروا ان الله الذي خلق السموات والارض ولم يخلق من  
بفاه بعد ان جعل الموتى على كل شي قد يركبهم  
بعوض الذنوب كفروا على النار اليسر هذا بالحق فالوا  
بلي و رينا قال فذو فهو العذاب بما كنتم تكفرون  
فا صبر كما صبر اولو العزم من الرسل ولا تستعجل  
لهم كما أنهم يوم يرون ما يوعدون لم يلبثوا الا ساعة  
من نهار بلاخ فقلن هذا الا القوم الا سقنوز  
**سورة مائدة**  
بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم  
الذين كفروا و اوصتوا لئن سبيل الله اكل اعمالهم والذين  
امنوا و عملوا الصالحات و امنوا بما نزل على محمد وهو  
الحق من ربهم كفروا عنهم فيما يقع و ا صلوا بالصبر  
على ان الذين كفروا اتبعوا الباطل و ان الذين امنوا  
اتبعوا الحق من ربهم كذا كذا يضرب الله للذي هو  
امثالهم فاذا الفتن الذين كفروا فاضرب الرقاب  
على ان الذين كفروا مع فتنهم و الوفاقا من ما بعد  
واذا فدا عن نكح المرء او زارا ما دخله وله سب الله  
في خصوصهم و اكن ليلوا بعضهم ببعض و الذين  
قتلوا في سبيل الله فلو نزل اعمالهم سيدهم بهم

Early Qur'anic Fragments

Figure 8. Fragment 9, AC 192 and Fragment 3, AC 166. (Photographs by Robert Rohonczy.)

فيما نفختم من اذانهم وجعلنا ظواهرهم  
 فاسية عرفوا الكلام عن مواضعه ونسوا خطا  
 مما ذكره واياه ولا يزال تطلع على عابثه منهم  
 الا قليلا منهم فاعرف نعمه واكفر ان الله  
 العسير ومن الذين قالوا اننا نصاب احبنا مننا فم  
 فسوا عطا مما ذكره واياه فاعرف بنا منكم العداوة  
 والبغضاء التي يوم القيامة وسوف يتبعهم الله بما  
 كانوا يصنعون يا اهل الكتاب قد جاءكم رسولنا  
 بين يديكم كتابا مما كنتم تخفون من الكتاب  
 ويعرفوا عن كتابي قد جاءكم من الله نور وكتاب  
 مبين بعدد به الله من اتبع وكذاتمه سبيل السلام  
 وتخرجهم من الظلمات الى النور باذنه وامره به  
 الى صراط مستقيم لقد كفر الذين قالوا ان الله  
 هو المسيح ابن مريم قل فمن يملأ من الله شيئا او اد  
 ان يملأ المسيح ابن مريم وامه ومن في الارض عبيدا  
 والله ملا السموات والارض وما بينهما خلق  
 ما يشاء والله علم كل شيء قد بره قالت اليهود  
 والنجار ان ابننا هو المسيح ابن مريم قل فمن يملأ  
 من الله شيئا او اد ان يملأ المسيح ابن مريم  
 يدنو كما بل اسمهم يسمون خلق يعقرون من يمشوا  
 من يمشوا والله ملا السموات والارض وما بينهما  
 والله المدعيون يا اهل الكتاب قد جاءكم رسولنا  
 مبين لكم ما كنتم تخفون من الكتاب فاعرفوا ان الله  
 قد جاءكم بالبرهان والحق والهدى والرحمة  
 والهدى والرحمة والهدى والرحمة والهدى والرحمة

لست عليكم بوكيل  
 لكل نبي مشفق رؤوف  
 تعلمون واذا رايت  
 الذين يخوضون في  
 الدنيا فاعرض عنهم  
 حتى يخوضوا في حديث  
 غيرهم واما ينسيت

Early Qur'anic Fragments

Figure 9. Fragment 6, AC 182 and Fragment 7, AC 183 (Photographs by Robert Rohonczy.)

AC 153

مولى ان الو عضا  
فاذا ه نفا فها  
يا فكون فوق البق  
وبكل ما كانوا  
يعملون فخلبوا منالك  
وانقلبوا صاخرين



Early Qur'anic Fragments

Figure 10. Fragment 2, AC 153 and Fragment 13, ISL 167.  
(Photographs by Robert Rohoczky.)

## DATING

None of the extant leaves is dated or bears any external evidence such as a bequest note (*waqfiyah*) to allow us to date them with any degree of confidence. One thing which can be said, however, is that the fragments on paper cannot go back to the period earlier than the middle of the second/eighth century, as the traditional date for the introduction of paper to the Arab world via Samarqand is 133/751. And it was not until the end of the second/eighth century that it was used in any large quantity in the Arabic chancery. Qur'âns began to be written on paper much later, most probably as late as the third/ninth century. Also, the pointing and vocalization are not always reliable factors as these were often added by later hands. As far as the red dot system is concerned, it was in use long after the system of Khalîl ibn Aḥmad was introduced. Finally, parchment, even though in common use before the introduction of paper, continued to be used in the Eastern Lands of the Islamic Empire for Qur'anic production as late as the fourth/tenth century, and in the West (Maghrib) well into the eighth/fourteenth century.<sup>26</sup> Thus we can only say that our specimens nos. 2, 6 and 9 are not earlier than the third (less likely) or fourth (more likely), i.e. ninth or tenth century.

In the circumstances, the only satisfactory way to estimate a date would be by comparison with similar dated specimens. Since our corpus of dated early Qur'âns is very limited, an attempt at dating this collection of fragments is bound to be very approximate, perhaps even misleading, and therefore, unsatisfactory.<sup>27</sup>

## DESCRIPTION OF THE FRAGMENTS

### 1. AC 151 (Figure 6)

One leaf; 125 × 170 / 84 × 135 mm., 14 lines per page. Written on parchment in dark brown ink, unpointed but vocalized by means of red dots. The leaf is damaged at the outer edge; upper corner water-stained and one small area oxidized. The text begins on the flesh side. No verse division.

S. 39 (*al-Zumar*), v.6-17 (incipit: *llâ huwa fa-annâ tusrafûna* {6} in *takfurû...* explicit: *ilâ Allâb labum al-bushrâ fa*).

Déroche BII (pl.XI).<sup>28</sup>

### 2. AC 153 (Figure 10)

Bi-folio; 164 × 110 / 105 × 65 mm., 6 lines per page. Written on laid paper, with laid lines clearly visible, in a script derived from the NS category (without *tarwîs*), in deep-brown ink. Khâlîd ibn Aḥmad's system of pointing; vocalized by means of red dots. No verse division.

S. 7 (*al-A'râf*), v.115-119 and 133-135 (incipit: *yâ-Mûsâ immâ an tulqiya...* {115}... explicit: *wa-inqalabû sâghirîna* and incipit: *dî'a wa-al-dama ...* {133}... explicit: *idbâ hum yankathûna fa-i*).

The first leaf bears the name F.C. Morgan impressed with a die stamp.

### 3. AC 166 (Figure 8)

One leaf; 152 × 106 / 100 × 68 mm., 13 lines per page. Written on parchment in a script of the NS category (with *tarwîs* and "tail" on the *alif* of prolongation), in brown ink. Pointed by means of short oblique strokes and vocalised with red dots and on occasion using the system of Khalîl ibn Aḥmad. Small golden rosettes are used for verse division. Other verse divisions include the letter *hâ'* to mark the end of v. 68 and a golden medallion with the inscription *sittûn* to mark the end of v. 63 !

S. 22 (*al-Hajj*), v. 60-70 (incipit: *bughiya 'alaybi...* {60}...explicit: *fî kitâbin inna*).

Déroche NSI (pl.XXI).— Purchased from A. Khan Monif in 1938 with the funds provided by the Friends of the Library.

### 4. AC 175 (Figure 2)

One leaf, 185 × 263 / 125 × 264 mm., 15 lines per page. Written on parchment in dark-brown ink. Unpointed, vocalized by means of red dots. *Sûrab*-heading on the hair side in gold outlined in black. Next to it is the letter *jîm* (for *juz'*) with the number 17

to indicate the beginning of the 17th part (later addition). The letter *hâ'* in gold is used to mark the end of a group of five verses. A larger medallion is used at the end of v. 133 (S. 20) to mark the end of a group of ten verses.

S. 20 (*Tâhâ*), v. 128-135 through S. 21 (*al-Anbiyâ'*), v. 1-8 (incipit: *yâtin li-ûli al-nubâ* {128}... explicit: *lâ ta'lamûna* {7} *wa-mâ ja'alnâ*).

Déroche DIV (pl. XVIII). – Compare *Ma-şâhif Şan'â'* (Kuwait: National Museum, 1985): 70 – henceforth referred to as Kuwait. Purchased from Kirkor Minassian in 1938 with the funds provided by the Friends of the Library.

5. AC 181 (Figure 5)

One leaf; 204 × 295 / 150 × 230 mm., 3 lines per page. Written on parchment in dark-brown ink. Pointed by means of oblique strokes and vocalized with red dots. Six golden dots arranged in the shape of a triangle are placed at the end of v. 74. On the flesh side at the end of v. 75 there is a golden medallion with the inscription *kbams* indicating the end of a group of five verses. At the bottom of both sides of the leaf is written in Persian in a later hand: *Yûsuf şafhab-i şhânzdabum* (i.e. *Sûrat Yûsuf* p. 16) and *Yûsuf şafhab-i haf-dabum* (*Sûrat Yûsuf* p. 17).

S. 12 (*Yûsuf*), v. 74-76 (incipit: *kuntum kâdhîbîna* {74}... explicit: *akhîbî kadhâlika kid*).

Déroche DVc (pl. XX). – Purchased from Kirkor Minassian 1938 from the funds provided by the Friends of the Library.

6. AC 182 (Figure 9)

Four leaves; 283 × 187 / 247 × 150 mm., 22 lines per page. Written on laid, thick, brown paper, in a script of the NS category (characterised by a *tarwîs* and "tail" on the *alif* of prolongation), in dark-brown (almost black) ink. Pointed by means of oblique strokes and vocalized with red dots. *Tasbdîd*, *maddab* and *sukûn* in green. Small yellow circles (occasionally with three oblique strokes

underneath) separate one verse from another and yellow medallions with red and green dots on the circumference to indicate a group of ten verses. *Sûrab*-headings are executed in yellow and outlined in black.

1) S. 5 (*al-Mâ'idab*), v. 13-29 (incipit: *fa-bimâ naqđihim*... explicit: *wa-dhâlika jaza'û al-zâlimîna*).

2) Last word of S. 14 (*Ibrâhîm*) and S. 15 (*al-Hijr*), v. 1-49 (incipit: *al-albâb* {52}... explicit: *nabbî' 'ibâdî*).

3) S. 19 (*Maryam*), v. 7-43 (incipit: *yâ Zakariyâ*... explicit: *'auka sbay'an* {42} *yâ abatî*).

4) S. 41 (*Hâ-Mîm*), v. 50-end and S. 42 (*al-Shûrâ*), v. 1-17 (incipit: *bâdhâ li wa-mâ azzunnu* ... explicit: *al-mîzân wa-mâ*).

Another leaf from the same codex is preserved in Boston Museum of Fine Arts (see Eric Schroeder, "What was the *badî'* script. Manuscripts in the Boston Museum of Fine Arts," *Ars Islamica* 4, 1937, pl. 5). Leaf no. 1 bears the name F.C. Morgan (die-stamped).

7. AC 183 (Figure 9)

Bi-folio; 163 × 154 / 120 × 90 mm., 7 lines per page. Written on parchment in Andalusian script, in dark-brown ink. Pointed and vocalized (using Khalîl ibn Aḥmad's system). The final *nûn* and *fâ'* are pointed. *Hamzab* indicated by a yellow dot (often oxidised). *Tasbdîd* and *sukûn* in blue. The text is divided by means of golden rosettes and three-petalled florettes.

S. 6 (*al-An'âm*), v. 39-43 and 66-70 (incipit: *man yashâ'i Allâhu*... explicit: *fa-law lâ idb jâ'abum* and incipit: *llastu 'alaykum bi-wakîlin*... explicit: *wa-dhari alladhîna ittakhadhû*).

Acquired from Kirkor Minassian in 1938.

8. AC 184 (Figure 4)

Two leaves; 156 × 197 / 115-120 × 165 mm., 15 and 16 (no. 1 recto) lines per page. Written on parchment in brown ink. Pointed by means of oblique strokes and black dots (later addition) and vocalized by means of red

dots. Three oblique strokes are used for verse division. In addition, the letter *ba'* marks the end of a group of five verses (S. 2, v. 215 and S. 10, v. 35) and a rosette is used to mark the end of v. 30 in S. 10. In both leaves the text begins on the flesh side.

1) S. 2 (*al-Baqarab*), v. 214-221 (incipit: *llâhû qarîbun* {214} *yas'alûnaka*... explicit: *hakîm* {220} *wa-lâ tankihû*).

2) S. 10 (*Yûnus*), v. 29-38 (incipit: [*dan*] *baynanâ wa-baynakum* ... {29}... explicit: *ista'tum min du*).

Déroche DIV (pl. XVIII).

9. AC 192 (Figure 8)

Two leaves; 150 × 100 / 125 × 80 mm., 20 lines per page. Written on laid, brown paper (thick laid lines clearly visible), in black ink, in a script of the NS category (with *tarwîs* and "tail" on the *alif* of prolongation). Pointed by means of black dots and vocalized with red dots. *Tasbîd* and overlinings in yellowish green. Small circles coloured in yellow indicate verse and half-verse divisions. Groups of ten verses are indicated by means of medallions placed in the margins. *Sûrab*-headings are executed in yellow and outlined in black.

1) S. 11 (*Hûd*), v. 101-114 through S. 12 (*Yûsuf*), v. 1-5 (incipit: *alihatubumu allatî yad'ûna* ... explicit: *qâla yâ bunayya lâ taqṣuṣ*).

2) S. 46 (*al-Aḥqâf*), v. 32-35 through S. 47 (*Muḥammad*), v. 1-16 (incipit: *wa-laysa labu min dûnîbi*... explicit: *wa-ittaba'û abwâ'abum*).

Donated by F. Cleveland Morgan in 1938.

10. AC 193 (Figure 1)

Bi-folio (disjoined); 345 × 250 / 184 × 28 mm., 16 lines per page. Written on parchment in dark-brown ink. Pointed by means of oblique strokes and vocalized with red dots. *Sûrab*-heading (leaf 2, hair side) in red. Verse division indicated by means of three oblique strokes. The end of v. 50 (S. 33) indicated by two discs with four semi circles in green and red inside. Similar ornaments can be seen at the end of v. 60 and 70. Damaged by acidic

ink, borders uneven resulting from damage. The rule of Gregory applied (verso of the first leaf and recto of the second leaf are both flesh side).

1) S. 33 (*al-Aḥzâb*), v. 50-59 (incipit: *kbâliṣatan laka* ... explicit: *yâ ayyuhâ al-nabî qul*).

2) S. 33 (*al-Aḥzâb*), v. 59-73 through S. 34 (*al-Sabâ*), v. 1 (incipit: [*li-azwâjika wa-banâtika*] ... explicit: *al-ḥakîmû al-khabîru*).

Déroche CII (pl. XIV).

11. AC 194 (Figure 7)

One leaf; 154 × 213 / 115 × 160 mm., 5 lines per page. Written on parchment in dark brown ink. Pointed by means of oblique strokes and vocalized with red dots. Small gold rosettes are used for verse division. Additionally, v. 90 is marked with an elegant medallion inscribed with the word *tis'ûn*.

S. 17 (*al-Isrâ'*), v. 89-91 (incipit: *bâdbâ al-Qur'âni min kulli* ... explicit: *nakhîlin wa-'inabin*).

Déroche DIII (pl. XVIIIA). Compare *Kuwait*, 62; Lings, *Qur'ân*, no. 8. Purchased from H. Khan Monif in 1938.

12. AC 195 (Figure 3)

One leaf; 210 × 300 / 220 × 155 mm., 6 lines per page. Written on parchment in dark-brown ink. Pointed by means of oblique strokes and vocalized with red dots. *Sukûn* represented by a green dot. The end of v. 70 (hair side) indicated by means of a golden medallion with an octagon inside and the word *sab'ûn*. A small rosette is placed at the end of v. 71 (flesh side).

S. 17 (*al-Isrâ'*), v. 70-72 (incipit: *al-babri wa-razaqnâbum* ... explicit: *a'mâ wa-aḍallu*).

Déroche DI (pl. XVI). – Purchased from H. Khan Monif and presented by F.C. Morgan.

13. ISL 167 (Figure 10)

One leaf; 440 × 290 / 350 × 190 mm., 5 lines per page. Written on parchment in a

large script derived from the NS category (without *tarwîs*), in dark-brown ink. Unpointed, but vocalized using the system of Khalîl ibn Aḥmad. Vowels indicated in red. *Tashdîd* and *sukûn* in blue, *hamzab* and *maddab* in green. *Sûrab*-heading on the verso in a gold-decorated panel with a palmette on the right-hand side. No verse division.

S. 41 (*Hâ-Mîm*), v. 53-54 through S. 42 (*al-Shûrâ*), v. 1-3 (incipit: *al-ḥaqq aw lam yakfi* ... explicit: *yûḥî ilayka wa-ilâ*).

Donated to the Islamic Studies Library by the former President of Tunisia Habib Bourguiba during his visit in 1959. Attached to this leaf there is a note in Arabic and French: "Feuille de parchemin provenant d'un coran calligraphié par le célèbre Ali Ibn Ahmad al Warraq, à l'attention de la princesse Ziride de Qairawan (Fatima) en date du 10 ramadan 410 de l'hégire correspondant au 9 janvier l'an 1020. Écriture koufique de qairawan (Tunisie)." The above label does not seem to be accurate. This conclusion has been drawn from comparison with illustrations reproduced from the famous Qayrawan codex, generally known as *Muṣḥaf al-Hâdînah* (i.e. the Nurse's Qur'ân), because it was executed for the former nurse of the Zirid prince al-Mu'izz ibn Bâdîs. What we have here is most probably a poor copy of the original. For reproductions from this codex see Martin Lings, *The Quranic art of calligraphy and illumination*. (London: World of Islam Festival Trust, 1976), pl. 10; Martin Lings and Yasin Hamid Safadi, *The Qur'ân, catalogue of an exhibition of Qur'ân manuscripts at the British Library 3 April-15-August 1976* (London: World of Islam Festival Publishing Co., 1976), p. 31; Yasin Hamid Safadi, *Islamic calligraphy* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1978), p. 78; Ṣalâḥ al-Dîn al-Munajjid, *al-Kitâb al-'Arabî al-makḥṭûṭ ilâ al-qarn al-'âshir al-hijrî* (Cairo: Jâmi'at al-Duwal al-'Arabîyah, Ma'had al-Makḥṭûṭât al-'Arabîyah, 1960), v. 1, pl. 7; Nâjî Zayn al-Dîn, *Muṣawwar al-kbatṭ al-'Arabî* (Baghdad: Maṭba'at al-Ḥukûmah, 1968), p. [4] and 28.

## Notes

I am grateful to Dr. Eric Ormsby, Director of McGill University Libraries, for his valuable suggestions.

1. For a description of the Arabic collections at McGill University see my "Arabic calligraphy and the "Herbal" of al-Ghâfiqî. A survey of Arabic manuscripts at McGill University," *Fontanus* 2 (1989), 37-53.

2. One of the earliest accounts of the various Arabic scripts can be found in the *Fibrîst* of Ibn al-Nadîm (d. 380/990) (see e.g. the Cairo edition of 1348 A.H., 8). The only scripts in any way characterised are *al-Makkî* and *al-Madanî*. They are described as having an *alif* with a slant to the right and elongated ascenders (*fa-fi alifâtibi ta'wîj ilâ yamanat al-yad wa-a'lâ al-aṣâbi' wa-fi sbaklibi indijâ' ya-sîr*). This has been understood as a script whose more extreme version is *al-Mâ'il*. The whole *Makkî/Madanî* family is conveniently termed *al-Hijâzî* (see in particular F. Déroche, *Les manuscrits du Coran*. Paris: Bibliothèque Nationale, 1983, I: 35-36, pl. V-VII). It has to be noted, however, that the *Makkî/Madanî* script as illustrated in the oldest surviving manuscript of the *Fibrîst* of Ibn al-Nadîm and apparently collated with the holograph has all the characteristics of the so-called "Eastern Kufic" or "broken cursive" (!): see *The fibrîst of al-Nadîm*, ed. and translated by Bayard Dodge (New York/London: Columbia Univ. Press, 1970), I: xxiv-xxvii, 10. For an argument against such a possibility see N. Abbott, "Arabic paleography," *Ars Islamica* 8 (1941), 70-71.

3. Déroche, *Les manuscrits du Coran*, I: 15-53.

4. For an excellent critique of the research on Qur'anic calligraphy see François Déroche, "Les écritures coraniques anciennes: bilan et perspectives," *Revue des études islamiques* XLVIII/2 (1980), 207-224.

5. *The rise of the North Arabic script and its Kur'anic development with a full description of the Kur'ân manuscripts in the Oriental Ins-*



titute. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1939), 17-21.

6. 'Abd Allâh ibn Abî Dâ'ûd al-Sijistânî, *Kitâb al-maṣâḥif* (Beirut: Dâr al-Kutub al-'Ilmiyah, 1405/1985): 9-10, 148-149. For more information on the influence of Christian scribes on early Islamic society see, for example, Louis Massignon, "La politique islamo-chrétienne des scribes nestoriens de Deir Qunna à la cour de Bagdad au IX<sup>e</sup> siècle de nôtre ère", in his *Opera minora*, textes recueillis, classés... par Y. Moubarac (Beirut, 1963), I: 250-257.

7. F. Déroche, "Collections de manuscrits anciens du Coran à Istanbul, rapport préliminaire," *Études médiévales et patrimoine Turc* (Paris: Éditions du Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, 1983), 158-160 and idem, *Manuscrits du Coran*, I: 45-47.

8. 'Abd Allâh ibn 'Abd al-'Azîz al-Baghdâdî (fl. 3/9th cent.), "Kitâb al-kuttâb wa-ṣifat al-dawâh wa-al-qalam wa-taṣrifuhâ," ed. Hilâl Nâjî, *al-Mawrid* 2, no. 2 (1973), 48.

9. Abbott, *Rise*, 7-8.

10. Al-Baghdâdî, "Kitâb al-kuttâb", 48.

11. Ibn Abî Dâ'ûd, *Kitâb al-maṣâḥif*, 149-150. To Ibn Sîrîn is also ascribed the following saying: "copying the Qur'ân in *mashq* was disliked because there is in it *ta'ajruf* (coarseness, awkwardness) and *kburq* (clumsiness) or *kbarq* ? (tearing, disruption, violation): see Abû Ḥayyân al-Tawḥîdî (d. after 400/1009), "Risâlah fi 'ilm al-kitâbah," *Tthalâth rasâ'il*, ed. Ibrâhîm al-Kaylânî (Damascus, 1951), 46. It is interesting to note here that the word *mashq* is very often used in manuscripts as a synonym of *naskh* (i.e. transcription, copying) and in the Persian context it is employed by students of calligraphy for signing their practice sheets.

12. Abbott, *Rise*: 24-28. See also Déroche, "Ecritures", 216-217.

13. Salâh al-Dîn al-Munajjid, *Dirâsât fi ta'rîkh al-khatt al-'Arabî mundhu bidâyatihî ilâ nihâyat al-'aṣr al-umawî* (Beirut: Dâr al-Kitâb al-Jadîd, 1972), 85-86. There is a remarkable similarity between this copy of the Qur'ân

and the Chester Beatty codex dated Sh'bân 292/905; see, David James, *Qur'âns and bindings from the Chester Beatty Library* (London: World of Islam Festival Trust, 1980), 26. Compare also the codex attributed to Ḥasan al-Baṣrî and dated 97 A.H./715 A.D.: see, Nâjî Zayn al-Dîn, *Muṣawwar al-khatt al-'Arabî* (Baghdad: Maṭba'at al-Ḥukûmah, 1388/1968), 21.

14. Al-Baghdâdî, "Kitâb al-kuttâb", 47.

15. Ibn al-Nadîm, *Fibrîst*, 12.

16. See e.g. Şalâh al-Dîn al-Munajjid, *al-Kitâb al-'Arabî al-Makhtûṭ ilâ al-qarn al-'âshir al-bijrî* (Cairo: Jâmi'at al-Duwal al-'Arabîyah, Ma'had al-Makhtûṭât al-'Arabîyah, 1960), pl. 14-24. See also Nabia Abbott, *Studies in Arabic literary papyri* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1957), I: 4-5 and II: 89.

17. Muḥammad ibn Ḥasan al-Tibî (d. after 908-1502-03), *Jâmi' maḥâsin kitâbat al-kuttâb*, ed. Şalâh al-Dîn al-Munajjid (Beirut: Dâr al-Kitâb al-Jadîd, 1962): 82-84. See also my "Arabic scripts and their characteristics as seen through the eyes of Mamluk authors," *Manuscripts of the Middle East* 4 (1989 – forthcoming).

18. See "Al-Faḍl ibn Sahl ibn Zadhânfarûkh," *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, new ed., vol. 2.; Y.H. Safadi, *Islamic calligraphy* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1978), 10-13; Martin Lings, *The Quranic art of calligraphy and illumination* (London: World of Islam Festival Trust, 1976), 15-19.

19. A good example of *al-Ta'liq* can be found in *The Encyclopaedia of Islam*, new ed., vol. 4, pl. XXXVII.

20. Ibn al-Nadîm, *al-Fibrîst*: 9. Eric Schroeder, "What was the badî' script? Manuscripts in the Boston Museum of Fine Arts," *Ars Islamica* 4 (1937), 239. Nabia Abbott, "The contribution of Ibn Muklah to the North-Arabic script," *American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures* 56 (1939), 72-73, 79-80. Compare also the statement made by Y. Safadi (*Islamic calligraphy*, 27) "The Ta'liq (hanging) script, according to some Arabic sources was developed by the Persians from

an early and little known Arabic script called *Fîrâmûz* (sic), an unpretentious cursive script which was apparently in use until the early ninth century. The general opinion, however, is that Ta'liq only became established as a defined script after the invention of Riyâsî (sic) in the ninth century". For examples of the script labelled as *Pîrâmûz* see Badrî Atâbây, *Fibrîst Qur'ânihâ-yi khattî Kitâbkhânabî Saltanatî* (Tehran, 1351 A.H.), 299-300 and Fakhr al-Dîn Naşîrî Amînî Fakhrî, *Ganjînah-i khatût-i 'ulamâ-i a'lâm va-dânishmandânî kirâm...* (s.l., 1409 A.H.), 2: 1510-11, 1516-19, 1521, 1525, 1528, 1530-31, 1539-40, 1545. Another name which seems to be associated with the *Rî'âsî* family is *al-Rayhânî* apparently named after 'Alî ibn 'Ubaydah al-Rayhânî (d. 219/834). This name is mentioned by Abû Ḥayyân al-Tawḥîdî in his "Risâlah fî 'ilm al-kitâbah" (p. 30) as one of the so-called "*Kûfî*" scripts: see also F. Rosenthal's translation "Abû Ḥayyân at-Tawḥîdî on penmanship," *Four essays on art and literature in Islam* (Leiden: Brill, 1971), 24. It is interesting to note that Muḥammad Tâhir al-Kurdî links it with *al-Dîwânî*: see his *Ta'rikh al-khatt al-'Arabî wa-adâbuhu* (Cairo, 1358/1939), 121. See also my "The ancient *sijill* of Qayrawan", *MELA Notes* 46 (1989), 27.

21. See e.g. Lings, *Qur'anic art*, 15-19. Safadî, *Islamic calligraphy*, 10-13.

22. This apparent similarity has already been pointed out by F. Déroche in his "Collections de manuscrits anciens", 160. For an overview of Maghribi scripts see O. Houdas, "Essai sur l'écriture maghrebine," *Nouveaux mélanges orientaux* (Paris, 1886), 88-95. Houdas uses, as a point of departure for his analysis, a copy of Ibn Saḥnûn's *al-Mudawwanah* going back to the early fourth/tenth century and written in what he calls a "cursive *Kûfî*" (coufique cursif).

23. See his "Aspects of the physical transmission of the Qur'ân in the 19th-century Sudan: script, decoration, binding and paper", *Manuscripts of the Middle East*, 2 (1987), 45-46. See also A. D. H. Bivar, "The Arabic calligraphy of West Africa", *African Language Review*, 7 (1968), 3-15, plates.

24. For a concise account of various practices relating to pointing and vocalization see Fawzî Sâlim 'Afifî, *Nash'ah wa-tatawwur al-kitâbah al-khattîyah al-'Arabîyah wa-dawrubâ al-thaqâfî wa-al-ijtimâ'î* (Kuwait: Wakâlat al-Maṭbû'ât, 1980), 90-101. See also al-Munajjid, *Dirâsât*, 125-128.

25. Compare with the findings of Déroche in his *Manuscrits du Coran*. I: 19-33.

26. For a survey of writing materials see e.g. Muhammad Faris Jamil, *Islamic wiraqah "stationery" during the early Middle Ages*. Ph.D., University of Michigan, 1985 (UMI, 1988), 70-147.

27. For a survey of dated early Qur'âns see Déroche, *Manuscrits du Coran*. I: 50-51.

28. Whenever appropriate references are here given to Déroche's *Manuscrits du Coran*:

# Frank Cyril James: The Principal Years

by Stanley Brice Frost

*The following account of the principalship of Frank Cyril James, the term of which ran from 1940-1962, is based almost entirely on the James Papers in the McGill University Archives. These papers have been fully described by Dr. Faith Wallis for the publication *A Guide to the Archival Resources at McGill University*, Vols. 1-3, 1985. Volume 1, pp. 10-11, lists the records of the Principal's Office 1940-1962, which are generally restricted as to access, though some items include published materials which are available elsewhere, while Volume 2, pp. 40-43, describes the deposit of private papers. In the latter entry, the headings are 'Private and Autobiographical Records, 1905-1971,' 'General, ca. 1925-1970,' 'Research, ca. 1870-1970,' 'Teaching, 1924-1959,' 'Addresses, 1939-1967,' 'Pictorial Materials, ca. 1925-1970' and 'Miscellaneous, 1900-.' There are, in addition, the original manuscript of *The Growth of Chicago Banks*, and two drafts of Dr. James' account of his visit to the USSR in 1959. The extent and complexity of the papers is indicated by the fact that in total they occupy over 100 metres of shelf space. This paper was initially read to the James McGill Society in October, 1989. An earlier paper 'The Cyril James We did not Know' had given the Society an account of Dr. James' family background, his education and his remarkable career in the United States, the manner of his coming to McGill and how he found himself most unexpectedly promoted to principal. The present paper proceeds from that point and attempts to identify and assess James' major achievements during the years he held office. A biography, *The Man in the Ivory Tower: F. Cyril James of McGill* has been completed and publication is expected early in 1991.*

Ce compte rendu du rectorat de Frank Cyril James, dont le mandat a duré de 1940 à 1962, est presque entièrement tiré du fonds James faisant partie des archives de l'Université McGill. Faith Wallis a donné une description complète de ces écrits dans *A guide to the Archival Resources at McGill University*, volumes 1-3, 1985. Le premier volume pp. 10 et 11, dresse la liste des dossiers du rectorat entre 1940 et 1962. L'accès à ces dossiers est généralement restreint quoique certains contiennent des documents publiés disponibles ailleurs; le deuxième volume pp. 40 à 43, décrit la collection de ses écrits personnels. Cette dernière entrée comporte les titres suivants: "Private and Autobiographical Records, 1905-1971", "General, ca. 1925-1970", "Research, ca. 1870-1970", "Teaching, 1924-1959", "Addresses, 1939-1967", "Pictorial Materials, ca. 1925-1970", et "Miscellaneous, 1900-". Elle contient en outre le manuscrit original de *The Growth of Chicago Banks*, et deux versions du récit de James sur sa visite en U.R.S.S. en 1959. L'étendue et la complexité de ces écrits sont attestées par le fait qu'ils occupent plus de 100 mètres de rayonnage. Cette communication a été présentée à l'origine devant la Société James McGill en octobre 1989. Un autre document intitulé "The Cyril James We did not Know" avait permis à la Société de se faire une idée des antécédents familiaux de Cyril James, de son éducation, de sa remarquable carrière aux États-Unis, de son arrivée à McGill et sa nomination très inattendue au poste de principal. C'est le point de départ du présent écrit dont l'objet est de définir et d'évaluer les plus grandes réalisations de James durant son mandat. Il existe maintenant une biographie intitulée "*The Man in the Ivory Tower: F. Cyril James of McGill*" qui devrait être publiée en 1991.

\* \* \* \* \*

*Frank Cyril James The Principal Years*



**F. Cyril James, 1952. (McGill University Archives.)**

**F**ranks Cyril James and his wife Irene arrived in Montreal in 1939 one day after war had been declared between Great Britain and Adolf Hitler's Germany. He had been inveigled rather unwillingly to come to Montreal for two years to reform the McGill School of Commerce, which at that time, was in a very poor condition. The Principal of the University, Lewis Douglas, was an American, brought in by Chancellor Sir Edward Beatty to revive the somewhat tarnished reputation of McGill generally, to counteract some vague socialistic tendencies amongst students and junior staff, and particularly to bolster up the sagging financial fortunes of the private enterprise university. The Great Depression still had the country, indeed the world, in its grip, and McGill at this time, it has to be remembered, still relied on student fees, income from investments, and donations from wealthy benefactors. The university had practically no access to government funds.

Douglas had persuaded James to come to McGill as part of his program to reinvigorate the university. But war had broken out, and now the American principal wanted to return to his own country, which at that time was officially neutral. Within a month Frank Cyril James found himself Principal-Designate of McGill, and was expected to assume his new responsibilities on 1 January 1940. But events continued to move at breakneck speed. Lewis Douglas had planned to leave Montreal at the end of November on a visit to the West Coast, and announced that he would not be returning to McGill after that visit; he was in fact departing for good. James was therefore appointed Acting Principal as from 1 December 1939. Sir Edward Beatty, who had been largely responsible for the direction of the University since Sir Arthur Currie's illness and death, was himself taken seriously ill on 17th December, and early in January left the hospital and city for a long convalescence in the States. The new young principal found himself alone, in a university he did not know, in a country he did not know, and a wartime situation which neither he nor anyone else could foresee or plan for. He was thirty-six years old, and had never held executive office.

Bereft of mentors, Cyril James was alone in another more fundamental sense. His wife Irene had never been much in love with Philadelphia or the United States, having never severed her affections from England, but she quickly took a positive dislike to Montreal and Canada and especially to Cyril's new position. In those days, the Principal was indeed a man apart, as much as any captain on a ship; he was not expected to form close friendships with members of the staff, and his wife was not expected to consort with other faculty wives; her social relationships were expected to be contained within Montreal's upper crust 'square mile,' the social set of the city's merchant princes. These were people with whom Irene had nothing in common and whose background of wealth and education she did not share. Even in October 1939, while James was still Principal Designate, he was lunching everyday with deans and departmental chairmen, and most nights he was attending evening functions of the University or the Graduate Society, or Cyril and Irene would be invited to dinner with one or other of the Governors, and these were formal social occasions which Irene found increasingly hard to take.

A month later in January 1940 James was writing in his diary about a visit back to Philadelphia:

Irene, who came down to spend the weekend with me, is not at all pleased by the prospect of all that the new job entails and has also fallen for Nina's brother in New York, so that she was none too sure that she wanted to come back to Montreal at all. In the end, I persuaded her to come back with me, but I do not think that she is particularly happy here and there is no question at all that she is very worried and highly nervous... I suppose that we shall find some way to straighten things out—but it is going to be an awfully hard job to arouse any enthusiasm in Irene, and hard still to get her to enjoy life. I am in the position of needing to think out the problems of home almost as

Frank Cyril James *The Principal Years*

much as those that arise out of the office, and have more than a suspicion that between the two I shall make a very bad botch of the whole thing.

His hope that 'we shall find some way to straighten things out' was not going to be fulfilled that first year. In April 1940 he wrote:

These latter days have brought a feeling of weariness and disillusionment that I find hard to fight off... For many years I have been an individualist, making few close friends and not leaning on Irene at all. I was proud of my independence, proud of the fact that I could run my own life. False pride discovers its nemesis and I find life desperately lonely now that Irene is far away, spiritually as well as physically, and there is nobody else at hand.

Irene continued to take long holidays in New York, as later she was to spend long summers in England. Left to himself, by the beginning of May, there is little doubt that Cyril James was tottering on the verge of a nervous breakdown. Here is a diary note for 5 May:

Dr. Walter Chipman a member of the Board of Governors gave a very pleasant lunch today, and I spent most of the afternoon with Sir Edward who sets out tonight for his [recuperative] holiday. Both of them, in different contexts, said very nice things about me and the work that I have done—but I must confess that I feel unworthy of the compliments. For several days now I have done nothing but potter, without being able to put my mind to anything. Perhaps the psychologists would say that I had a bad case of nymphomania and, if any of them could read and publish my thoughts, I should certainly be kicked out of Montreal. Everything that wanders through my mind centers around women, and they are not soft sentimental thoughts, but

somehow in the scramble of the years that brought me here I seem to have lost the art of making love either to Irene or to anybody else—so I just go on thinking fiendish thoughts that harm nobody but myself.

It is against that background that James' achievement in this first year has to be measured. He was formally installed as Principal in the Moyse Hall on 12 January. At that installation he likened the ceremony to the initiation of a young man to knighthood, or to the swearing of the oath of fealty: after the ceremony of installation, in his acceptance speech he said: "This Installation Ceremony may be regarded as a descendant of those solemn occasions when men swore fealty, and in like manner, I wish now, publicly, to dedicate myself to the service of McGill. I am resolved that such talents as I have shall be devoted to the University, in the hope that its progress in the years that lie ahead of us may be a worthy continuation of the great story of its past."

Amid the rustle of academic gowns and the soft cadences of *Hail, Alma Mater* that may have sounded a little histrionic or perhaps forgivably romantic; but Cyril James meant those words, in all seriousness, and his life for the next twenty years was to be lived in faithfulness to that vow. It was a splendid dedication; but it did not make life any easier for poor Irene, and although they never separated, relationships between them never improved. During his working life, Irene was never able to give Cyril James more than minimal support or companionship. After he retired, as far as I can judge, she became a burden which he had to carry, and when he was taken from her by the final heart attack, she also collapsed and died some ten days later. It was indeed a tragic story, for both of them. Cyril James deserved a better partner for his life of dedication and single-minded career, Irene deserved more understanding and a much lesser challenge.

But that private tragedy was known to no one except the participants—at least, not here in Montreal. Irene's absences were noted, and politely overlooked; Cyril James for his part

was not the man to utter or to invite confidences. In his public life, he gave the impression of competence, energy, quick decision, immense knowledge, and infallible judgment. The only place where he fell down occasionally was in his judgment of persons. He gave tremendous care and thought to appointments in all departments throughout the whole university; generally he followed sound advice and his choices were good. But once or twice both his advisors and his own judgment failed him with disastrous results. In the middle fifties, for example, he went to England and met a distinguished organist. He was so impressed that he engaged him then and there as Dean of Music at McGill; he came back to Canada to find that the whole faculty of music had resigned en masse, chanting *fortissimo* 'We will not have this man to reign over us!' James had to pay the English organist a year's salary not to come to Montreal. Great men have great faults, and nearly all of James' pratfalls were in the area of personal relationships.

When he was not preoccupied, James could be thoughtful, generous and kindly, as a great many McGill recipients of condolence messages, get-well cards or discretionary grants in time of trouble, could testify. The one who knew him best was Dorothy MacMurray his secretary for twenty years. She characterizes him in her book *Four Principals of McGill* as a tireless worker, utterly devoted to the well-being of the university, and (when he was not absorbed in some scheme or plan for its improvement) capable of many kindly and generous actions. She wrote 'Those who were privileged to see his other side know that he was in fact a very warm and a very human person ... He was not really of a cold temperament, as friends found out, but he did often give the impression of being uncommunicative and withdrawn.' At such times, he could be guilty of major social gaffes—as when, for example, he came into the office unexpectedly one Sunday morning and found Mrs. MacMurray cleaning out her desk. When he expressed surprise, she had to remind him that she had retired the previous day and after thirty-three years as secretary to four principals. James confided the story of his blunder to his diary with a large exclamation mark. He knew his own faults. He certainly was a com-

plex personality—but of his intellectual brilliance and his strength of purpose, there can be no doubt.

His first task was to learn McGill University, and learn it he did. With each of the deans he went through the academic budget line by line, name by name; with the University Librarian, the Director of Physical Plant, the Superintendent of Building Services, he did the same; he followed the same pattern with the heads of the administrative services and all their counterparts at Macdonald College. By the time he came to prepare his first university budget he knew the university in detail better than any other person on campus. Then there were all the other, more unusual items to be coped with. A glance at the twelve closely typed pages which were his personal notes for a meeting of the Executive Committee of the Board of Governors gives us some idea of the complexity of the matters he dealt with on that one afternoon. The Agenda dealt first with the Principal's Report, covering such matters as the University's tax exemption, and the Macdonald College Bill, currently before the Provincial Assembly. The Agenda then goes on to deal *inter alia* with negotiations with the Morgan family relating to McGill's possible acquisition of the Morgan Woods and Farms; necessary changes in the management of both the Royal Victoria College and Douglas Hall; the possibility of McGill taking over the Lachine Rowing Club; the rather vaguer possibility that McGill might set up a School of Marine Engineering and Naval Architecture; a list of persons to receive honorary degrees; a list of academic appointments and reappointments; increases in the board and lodging fees at Macdonald College, with provision for much needed bursaries for the poorer students; the sale of Westmount Mountain Summit to the City of Westmount; the report of the Real Estate Investment Committee, concerning the purchase of houses on University Street; a scheme to cooperate with the Ayerst McKenna and Harrison Company in the manufacture of bacteriological products in great demand by the Government; revised financial estimates for the University's operation in 1940-41; a forecast of the financial situation

for 1941-42; and a list of Gifts, Grants and Bequests.

As if that were not enough, under item 15, "Other Business," several further items were raised, largely as matters of information, but one was particularly significant: someone had had the temerity to nominate a woman for election by the Graduates to the Board! Fortunately the Principal had been equal to the occasion. As he informed the Board, not only had he encouraged "private pressure by the Graduates' Society on the branches" for the election of Mr. Hugh Crombie, but he would also suggest to the Society constitutional amendments to ensure that in future such proposals could be eliminated at an earlier stage. So much for "Women's Rights!"

In the absence of the Chancellor, James as Vice-Chancellor took the chair at the meeting and he guided the Board with masterly competence through the whole complicated maze of business, knowing what he wanted and making sure that the members of the Board were left satisfied that what they had concluded was also what they wanted. Those who saw James in action in such a setting were always immensely impressed; as one governor once remarked: "It was difficult ever to disagree with James; he always knew all the facts."

What then were the main achievements of Cyril James during his twenty two years at McGill? The answer is best summarized, I think, under three heads: coping with university expansion, the business of Federal grants for universities, and putting McGill on the world map.

### **COPING WITH EXPANSION**

James had to provide for an immense enlargement of McGill not once but twice during his principalship. When he came to Montreal in 1939, the University had an enrollment of 3,275. But only a year or two into the war, James realized that the end of hostilities would bring a large increase. The wartime cabinet of William Mackenzie King has promised university bursaries to National Service veterans who could benefit from them. Once the war ended, these men and

women would come knocking on McGill's doors. How were they to be accommodated, who would teach them, how could lecture rooms, laboratories, books and supplies be provided? McGill's financial resources were already strained to the uttermost. How could the university cope if the student body were to be doubled?

One problem was that many of the academic staff remaining at McGill had heard of the war only from afar. They were very slow to respond to the urgent warnings of the young Principal, who was still very much a stranger if not an interloper among them. His relations with the staff were still very strained and formal. Elsewhere, however, he found sympathetic and quick understanding. He took his financial concerns to a member of the Board of Governors who was beginning to fill the gap created by the passing of Sir Edward Beatty. John Wilson McConnell was a very successful businessman of little formal education but great imagination and percipience. He understood James' problem, and privately, among his friends and business associates he raised over \$7 million to enable the university to respond to the challenge of postwar expansion. At that time, that was a very large sum of money. James also went to his colleagues at the National Conference of Canadian Universities (NCCU) and persuaded them to ask the Federal Government for help. It was not enough, he argued, for the Government to give bursaries to veteran students: the institutions which were to receive them must also be given per capitem grants to enable them to provide the teachers, the lecture rooms, the laboratories, the libraries, which they would need. The Government fortunately agreed and with these two sources of funding assured to him, James was ready to receive the vets. The first class enrolled in January 1945; many were still in uniform, and James met them ceremonially on the Arts Building steps. But more arrived in May, a Summer Session was organized, by September the numbers were overwhelming. The enrollment of 3,275 had grown to 6,370, and increase of almost 100%—and still more were yet to come.

James decided on 5 September that the only answer was to find a subsidiary campus where



“instant college” could be conjured up out of (as it then seemed) thin air. He turned to the Government’s War Assets Corporation, and secured the use of a disused RCAF Training School at St. John’s on the Richelieu. With the help of Douglas Abbott, a McGill graduate, who was then Minister of Defense, he obtained the buildings of the school, including dormitories, kitchens, lecture room, laboratories, and from the Minister of Ordnance he secured supplies from Army depots in Montreal, Ottawa, and Toronto. Beds, sheets, blankets, cutlery, kitchen utensils, tables, chairs, bunsen burners, chemical supplies, a library (from McGill) came pouring in. The new administration of Sir William Dawson College moved in on 27 September and the first meal was served that night in the dining hall. Finding teachers was more difficult, but it was done. Classes began the following Monday, the first day of October, twenty six days after the idea had been mooted.

Dawson College, as we all know, went on to be an immense success. Almost as importantly, it forged a new relationship between the young principal and his academic colleagues. Previously they had responded sluggishly to his warnings of a crisis to come. Now that they could see the problem for themselves, and having a large share in the solution of it, they worked enthusiastically under the leadership of one who was boldly imaginative, superbly efficient and apparently tireless.

The second time that McGill coped with expansion came ten years later in 1955. At the NCCU meeting that year, E. F. Sheffield read a paper on “Canadian University and College Enrolment.” He showed with statistics and graphs that the postwar “baby boom” would hit the universities over the next decade. Already, an increasing percentage of college-age young men and women were seeking university education, and the size of the group and the percentage choosing university would continue to increase until by 1965 their numbers in Canada as a whole would have doubled. Cyril James saw that McGill was once again facing an immense expansion.

But this time around conditions had changed. No longer was he alone, seeking to prod a reluctant staff into awareness of the sit-

uation. The McGill Association of University Teachers had been formed and were pressing for a larger role in university administration. Departments and faculties were brimming with ideas for new courses, new teaching methods, new premises, new disciplines. James’ task this time was to provide the means. Where was the new money to come from? The size of the sums required were far in excess of anything university budgets had ever previously provided. McGill not only needed to be enlarged; it needed to be rehabilitated and rebuilt. The first estimates were in the neighbourhood of \$40 million; before the major tasks were completed, in the middle seventies, long after Cyril James had departed, the total expenditures were of the order of \$150 million.

James was not altogether unprepared for this crisis. After McConnell’s magnificent effort to raise new endowment funds in 1944, James went back to the Board in 1948 and persuaded them to launch what was called “McGill’s first public financial campaign,” under the chairmanship of another of the Governors, G. Blair Gordon, and raised a further \$8 million. But in 1956 he moved again and encouraged the Board to appoint another governor, Raymond Edwin Powell, President of Alcan, to head a further campaign, especially for rebuilding and rehabilitation. This time the total raised was \$9 million. In those days there was no McGill Advancement Program office; all the records were handled in the Principal’s Office, a great deal in Cyril James handwriting and the rest hammered out on Mrs. Mac’s manual typewriter. There was also another windfall waiting for McGill of nearly \$6 million which we will talk about a little later. So James was not altogether unprepared for this new challenge: but \$100 million or even \$40 million appeared to be way out of sight.

Significantly, however, a Senate Physical Development Committee was established and Cyril James was not its chairman. With James’ full approval, a professor in the Department of Chemistry, Professor Carl Winkler, was appointed to chair the committee. Other prominent members were Harold Spence-Sales of the School of Architecture, Kenneth

Hare of Geography and Donald Mordell, Dean of Engineering. All these were signs of the times. No longer was James sitting alone in his office, planning far into the night; many others were being drawn into the process. The financial side was the concern of the Principal's Executive Assistant, George Grimson and his remarkably efficient secretary, Dorothy Asch. John Holton, Secretary to the Board of Governors, watched over the receipt and acknowledgement of all donations. A new team spirit was developing at McGill, and James was very ready to encourage this, though he still guarded his prerogatives as Principal very carefully. All operating expenditures had to be sanctioned by him, and all salary increases, promotions or academic leaves of absence depended on his decision. Whether a dean went into his office with a request for a new typewriter or the promotion of a typist to secretary, or the promotion of an assistant professor to the associate rank, the answer, given then and there, was either yes or no. Life was simpler in those days; and on the whole, I think, justice was done. James was a superb administrator because he had full executive powers, he had a very detailed knowledge of all the departments, and he had no personal axes to grind. People have complained that he was a cold fish—but it also meant that he had few if any prejudices, and he had no particular favorites. The well-being of the university was his overriding concern. But there was still that major question where was the money for this second major expansion to come from?

### FEDERAL GRANTS

So we come to the second area of James' major achievements, the securing of Federal Government grants, not only for McGill but for all Canadian universities.

We have seen how when the veterans came flocking into the universities after World War II, James and his colleagues at the NCCU secured federal government grants not only in the form of bursaries for students, but also grants so much per veteran student for the institutions to help them meet the additional costs.

But the time came in the early fifties when the vets began to graduate, and as they departed, these federal grants departed with them. But the expenses remained: buildings to be operated, additional staff to be paid, equipment to be maintained, new disciplines to be financed. Nor were the student places left empty. As we have been reminded, the war had stirred up the whole Canadian population, and more young men and women were choosing university level education. Their fees only paid about one-third of the cost of the services they received. McGill of course was not the only institution to suffer. Most other Canadian universities were in receipt of provincial grants, but as the veterans departed, those provincial grants fell far short of making good the loss of the federal money. In McGill's case, to make matters worse, the university did *not* receive provincial grants. How was the situation to be resolved? Cyril James was elected president of the NCCU for the years 1948-50. He used the opportunity to persuade his colleagues that they must approach the Federal Government again. The coming need, he said, was so great and urgent that only the federal purse was deep enough to provide a resource. Accordingly he led a delegation to interview Prime Minister Louis St. Laurent. The Prime Minister was flanked by his Minister of Finance, the same McGill graduate Douglas Abbott whom we met earlier. St. Laurent was sympathetic but, he said, governments could only support causes which the population at large supports. James and his colleagues must go out and sell to the Canadian public the idea, that the federal government should give grants to Canadian universities. James responded with alacrity. He had university presidents preaching the idea all over Canada, at convocations, at Canadian Club or Rotary, Lions and similar lunches, in articles written for magazines and newspapers. They also made their pitch to the Royal Commission on the Support of the Arts, Letters and Sciences in Canada, the so-called Massey Commission, which St. Laurent had already set up. The Commission submitted its report in late 1950, and recommended direct grants to the universities based on the student population in each degree-granting institution. This recommen-

dition the government, largely as a result of the NCCU campaign, accepted for immediate implementation and so in 1951-52 McGill received a statutory government grant for the first time. It amounted to \$615,270 or about 10% of the total operating budget. It would be used, James explained to a jubilant staff-assembly, for much-needed increases in salaries, not only for academic ranks but also for non-academic staff members. The announcement of that government decision was the occasion of a day of rejoicing; a new era had begun for all universities, and especially for McGill.

But then trouble erupted. James had argued that the Federal Government had a supervisory right to enter the field of education directly, but not everyone was ready to agree. Marcel Faribault, Secretary-General of the University of Montreal, wrote to the NCCU denying it had any legal right to represent all universities and that the federal government had no right to fund universities, since education was a field reserved for provincial jurisdiction. That brought Maurice Duplessis, the nationalist premier of Quebec, into the fray. He forbade Quebec universities to take the federal funds. The funds for the Quebec universities had to be put aside by the federal authorities into a separate account "until such time as the Quebec institutions are able to receive them." This was a very trying time for Cyril James. McGill was desperate for money. He had secured federal funds for all Canadian universities; in particular, McGill's main rivals, Toronto and U.B.C., were receiving them freely. Yet McGill, faced with increasing enrollments and rising costs was forbidden to accept them.

Matters dragged on unhappily until 1956. Up to this point, the practice followed had been that universities had to apply to the federal government, which duly handed over the appropriate amount. Now the government tried a different approach. All the money would be given in one lump sum to the NCCU, and they would distribute it according to the proper norms. The university would not have to apply, the cheque would not come directly from the federal government, but would simply arrive in the mail from the

NCCU. Duplessis responded by letting it be known that the governors of any Quebec institution accepting the cheque could expect retributory taxes to be slapped on their enterprises. Newsprint was specifically mentioned. This measure was particularly aimed at the owner of *The Montreal Star*, J. W. McConnell, McGill's greatest benefactor, and James' particular patron and advocate.

James personal position was now very difficult. The McGill Association of University Teachers, led by F. S. Howes, James Mallory and Maxwell Cohen, were pressing McGill to accept the cheque, now amounting annually to \$1,189,00 or about 16% of the total academic operating budget. When the debate was carried on in Senate, James had to preserve the appearance of neutrality, in order to be loyal to McConnell and the Board; but in the privacy of the Board meeting he strongly urged acceptance of the cheque and defiance of Duplessis.

James confided his unhappiness to his diary:

The arguments within the University on the subject of University grants have been bitter. I have shown to the Board of Governors my strong personal feeling that McGill should accept them—and as a result have lost the confidence of McConnell (who is angry) and some of the other senior governors. With the academic staff I have felt that I should be neutral—since I cannot side openly with them against the Board—and some of them feel I have not been enthusiastic enough about the idealist independence of the University. On both sides I have lost out...

The Board of Governors decided to return the cheque and James had the unhappy task of informing the professors that the long-sought salary increases must be further delayed. As H. H. Walsh, a theology professor, expressed it, McGill was left with the cold consolation: "While there's death, there's hope."

But two years later that hope did indeed prove well-founded. In September 1959, while visiting Northern Quebec, Maurice Duplessis died suddenly of a heart attack. His successor, Jean Sauvé, hastened to come to an accommodation with the new Prime Minister, George Diefenbaker and the federal funds were released to Quebec universities. This not only brought McGill a fresh source of income, but it also meant that from now on McGill would be eligible for all government funds, federal or provincial, just like the other universities, —une université toute comme les autres. It was the beginning of a new era for McGill. It also meant that the nearly \$6 million which had accumulated since 1953, when the Duplessis interdiction began, could now be released to the university and could serve as the beginning of the capital fund out of which the rehabilitation and reconstruction could be financed.

Beyond all the minor and major achievements of his twenty-two years of principalship, the securing of federal funding for the universities of Canada, is Cyril James greatest and most enduring success. The government grant to McGill is now about 80% of the academic operating budget; it comes by way of the Provincial Government, but its source is still the federal government, and that is true for all universities. As James saw so clearly, Canada is one country and can have only one education policy for all its citizens, whether they live in rich provinces or poor ones. Canadian students must be able to move freely from one province to another and attend the university of their choice. That is a privilege we must seek jealously to conserve.

### **PUTTING MCGILL ON THE WORLD MAP**

Cyril James' third major contribution, renewing McGill's place on the postwar world map, was one not so easily visible to the community on campus, for it concerned his activities in the wider world beyond, but it proved extremely important. The first area of influence was the National Conference of Canadian Universities. Before the war this had simply been a meeting place where presidents and their senior staff could exchange ideas. The war situation, however, required that the

Conference should be able to speak for the universities in negotiations with the Government, on such matters, for example, as exemptions of staff and students from the call-up to National Service. James proposed in 1940 that the NCCU should name a small committee to negotiate on the universities' behalf. When the committee met for the first time to speak with the Minister of National Defence and his senior officials, President Henry Cody of Toronto, the current president of the NCCU, asked James, although the youngest and least experienced member of the committee, to be their spokesman. James had done his homework, and quickly shewed that he knew a great deal about the National Service Act and the range of possible exemptions. From that time on, and especially in the campaign to obtain federal grants for universities, Cyril James was a leading member of the NCCU, and McGill's voice was always clearly heard in all the Conference's deliberations. There were three or four leading academic figures who were at that time known nationally across the country: Sidney Smith of Manitoba and later of Toronto, R. C. Wallace of Queen's, Norman Mackenzie of New Brunswick and later of U.B.C. and Cyril James of McGill. They dominated the NCCU in the 1940s and 1950s; James was the new boy in the war years, but he went directly to a position of leadership, and he outlasted all his peers, so that over the years he added longevity to his other qualities. By the middle fifties, there were few attending the NCCU who could remember a time when Cyril James was not a strong and constant influence in its councils. In this way, the role James played in the Conference greatly enhanced McGill's reputation across Canada.

The second area was more remote but came to be extremely important. James visited Britain twice in wartime and each time he made a point of establishing relationships with academic leaders—in London, Oxford, Cambridge, Glasgow, Birmingham, Bristol. When the war ended, he was active in reviving the Association of Universities of the British Commonwealth (AUBC). He was elected Chairman of its Executive Committee, and persuaded that body to meet outside Britain for the first time in Deep Cove, Nova

Scotia, in the beautiful home of Cyrus Eaton, the American tycoon and philanthropist. As Chairman of the AUBC Executive, James visited the Caribbean, India, Pakistan, Australia and New Zealand and nurtured his contacts there. As a result, he was able to propose that the 1958 Congress should meet (also for the first time outside Britain) in Canada, at McGill, which it duly did as some of us well remember. That Congress was an immense success, with the Americans as much as with the Commonwealth, for members of the American Association of Universities, of which McGill and Toronto are full members, were invited to join in the Congress, and they responded by inviting the Executive Heads of institutions to travel by special train to Washington to take tea with the President. All of these activities greatly enhanced McGill's worldwide reputation.

Another of James activities was with the International Association of Universities (IAU). As he said, with the American Association and the Canadian Conference providing for North America, and the AUBC covering the British Commonwealth, the International Association provided the same services for the rest of the world. He served assiduously on its Executive Council and for two years acted as its chairman. He also went off to the USSR in 1959 and spent nearly two months studying Soviet education and institutions. It was not surprising then that when the International Association met in Mexico City in 1960, for the third quinquennial Congress, the man they elected as their president for 1960-65 was Frank Cyril James of McGill.

There is a story that when McGill invited Viscount Montgomery, the World War II General, to Montreal to receive an honorary degree, the reporters at the dock asked him if he was going to visit any other universities while in Canada. He replied 'Are there any other universities in Canada?' The story may be apocryphal, but it testifies to the way in which Cyril James had strengthened and renewed McGill's world-wide reputation. Institutions that are known and respected attract more students than those that are not so well-known, more research funds, more bequests and donations, more ambitious sci-

entists and more outstanding scholars than those that are not well-known. The Book of Proverbs says: 'A good name is to be chosen rather than great riches.' James saw to it that McGill had that good name world wide as well as its due share of the world's riches also! He was indeed a very able Principal.

\* \* \* \* \*

But he was also as we said earlier a very complex character. His unhelpful home life tended to increase his own quirks of character, and few if any of his colleagues knew him at all intimately. In 1957 Bertie Gardner retired as Chancellor and the Board elected in his place the governor whom we have already mentioned, Raymond Edwin Powell, known to his associates as Rip Powell—the name is a combination of his initials and his reputation as an astute, able but ruthless president of Alcan. He and James did not take to one another; they were in some ways too alike. Powell quickly became critical of James. He thought James spent too much time on his extra-curricular activities. Actually, as James had little home life, no hobbies other than a little gardening and a fair amount of reading, he spent practically all his working hours on university work of one kind or another. His travels were his form of vacation. Sidney Dobell, his Executive Assistant for nearly eight years, said that he was an extraordinarily fast worker: 'there can be no doubt,' he wrote, 'that Cyril James did the work, not merely of one average man but of two or even three.' Powell was wrong to think that James neglected McGill for his wider activities, but there is no doubt that his interest in the university was beginning to flag a little. By 1961, he had done this job for more than twenty years. He had more than fulfilled that vow he made in Moyses Hall to devote all his energies to this task to which he had been called. He began to flirt with the idea that perhaps in a year or two, it would be time to think of retiring. Somewhat incautiously, in December 1961 he asked the Board of Governors to appoint a small committee to look into the question of what pension he might expect if and when he should retire. Powell saw his

opportunity. He used the committee to produce an answer, not merely as to what the pension would be *if* James were to retire, but that he should indeed retire forthwith, and that such and such would be his pension. 'If I correctly interpret the views of the Governors' he wrote to James on 24 February 1962, 'they would like to have the resignation presented to them at the next meeting, now scheduled for 16 April.' Actually, there was another meeting hurriedly called for 20 March, at which the James resignation was presented and accepted. The March vote was confirmed at the April meeting, but most governors were still left thinking the initiative had come from James. Rip Powell had engineered a coup d'état without most people even realizing it had been effected. But no public announcement was made.

James called a staff meeting in the Moyses Hall two days later. At that meeting he went over the great improvement which had been achieved in McGill salaries and working conditions since the coming of federal funds into the budget, and expressed the confidence that this progress could be maintained for the future. He also pointed to the great improvement and extension of the physical fabric of the university in the last few years and the existence of the new master plan to provide for the increased numbers of students, the increased staff to teach them, and the increased facilities that they would require. He then added:

In summary then what I am trying to convey to you is a program of planning which has taken shape much more quickly, much more clearly, and much more useful for the university than I anticipated last year—a program in which a substantial number of members of the university are involved and one which I am confident is going to be carried out.

Everyone present realized that this was an historic moment; the university had achieved under Cyril James' leadership unparalleled accomplishments. Now he was pointing them forward to even greater heights, and instilling

a strong confidence that those goals could and would be reached. It was then that he added:

As a last statement today I want to tell you that in view of these developments and of the smoothness with which they are moving forward, I have been discussing with the Board of Governors the appropriate time at which I should vacate my present office and let a younger person come in and carry these plans through to completion. As a result of all the discussions over the last two weeks I shall be vacating that office somewhere around the end of this calendar year; as soon as a successor is appointed.

There were to be many more public appearances, but they were in the nature of curtain-calls—the last dramatic scene of Cyril James' principalship was played out on the Moyses Hall stage on 18 April 1962. The role accepted on that same stage at his installation on 12 January 1940, had been played for twenty-two years with mounting success and authority, and now he had crowned his performance with a dazzling display of targets achieved and successes to come. He had also provided himself with an unbeatable exit-line.

But where was he going to exit to? Irene persuaded him to retire with her to England. He was given a tremendous send-off by the whole McGill community; expressions of admiration, gratitude, and even affection were showered upon him. He was named Principal Emeritus. But his life's vocation had been taken away from him. After he finished his largely ceremonial term of office as president of the International Association of Universities in 1965, he slipped gently into a quiet obscurity. Perhaps it was the right thing to happen; he had achieved mightily in the United States and in Canada for forty years; by 1962, not yet sixty years of age, he was already burned out. But in the years of war, and in the critical postwar years, and in the twenty-two years of his principalship, he laid out the plans and founded the resources with which we are still building today.

# Le mouvement de modernisation des musées scientifiques au XX<sup>e</sup> siècle : le cas du Musée Redpath de l'Université McGill

par Paul Carle, Madeleine Dufresne, Alain Mongeau et Lynne Teather

*L'évolution du musée Redpath au XX<sup>e</sup> siècle est caractéristique de l'histoire de bon nombre de musées scientifiques créés au XIX<sup>e</sup> siècle. Au cours des vingt ans à la jonction des deux siècles, l'activité scientifique a subi une transformation radicale qui a modifié le lieu où elle s'exerce, le musée faisant place au laboratoire. Il a donc fallu redéfinir les objectifs et le rôle des musées scientifiques pour en justifier l'existence. C'est ainsi que certains musées ont mis sur pied des programmes s'adressant à un public non scientifique, lesquels se sont souvent révélés incompatibles avec le rôle universitaire ou scientifique des musées. De plus, le soutien et le financement apportés par l'établissement ont souvent laissé à désirer. L'histoire du musée Redpath sous l'administration de E. Lionel Judah (1925-1941) et de Alice E. Johannsen (1941-1971) illustre fort bien l'évolution difficile des musées scientifiques. À ce titre, le musée Redpath occupe une place de premier plan dans l'histoire des musées scientifiques québécois au XX<sup>e</sup> siècle.*

*The history of the Redpath Museum in the twentieth century is typical of that of many scientific museums established in the nineteenth. In the two decades around the turn of the century, the practice of science was redefined and this entailed a change in the location in which science was done: the museum gave place to the laboratory. As a result, the objective and function of scientific museums had to be redefined in turn, if their existence was to be justified. In some cases, a programme primarily for the non-scientific public was developed for the museum, but this often proved to be irreconcilable with an academic and/or scientific role. Furthermore, both institutional support and funding were frequent problems. The Redpath Museum under its two Curators/Directors, E. Lionel Judah (1925-1941) and Alice E. Johannsen (1941-1971), typifies the struggle of the scientific museum. Its story has a key place in the history of the scientific museum in twentieth-century Quebec.*

L' historiographie des musées au Québec est peu importante et peu connue; ce phénomène est encore plus notable quand on songe aux musées scientifiques et techniques. Autour de chercheurs tels que Raymond Duchesne, Susan Sheets-Pyenson, Paul Carle et quelques autres, ce champ particulier d'étude de la diffusion des sciences et des techniques s'est cependant développé lentement depuis le début des années 1980<sup>1</sup>. Et c'est surtout à travers le cadre général de l'histoire et de la sociologie des sciences et des techniques que ce développement s'est produit. La grande majorité des travaux publiés jusqu'ici a porté sur

le mouvement de création des musées scientifiques au XIX<sup>e</sup> siècle. Avant 1800, hormis quelques cabinets privés ou collections particulières, on ne trouve pas trace d'un mouvement muséologique dans le champ scientifique ou technique québécois. À partir de 1825 cependant, des musées seront créés; certains par des sociétés savantes, d'autres par l'État et par des particuliers, mais la grande majorité par des institutions d'enseignement collégial et universitaire<sup>2</sup>. De tous ces cabinets et musées, quelques-uns seulement ont survécu jusqu'à nos jours, moins d'une demi-douzaine: tous les survivants étaient rattachés à des maisons d'enseignement (Université

McGill, Université Laval, Séminaire de Québec, et quelques collègues francophones). Les débuts du XX<sup>e</sup> siècle constituent une étape difficile que peu de musées sauront franchir; cette époque est marquée par une redéfinition des pratiques de la science et des lieux mêmes où elle se pratique; dans ce contexte, le musée scientifique vit des moments difficiles, notamment à cause de l'inadéquation de ses structures à permettre une redéfinition de ses objectifs et de ses fonctions.

Dans les pages qui vont suivre, nous examinerons l'évolution du Musée Redpath de l'Université McGill (et indirectement des autres musées scientifiques de l'institution), tout au long des 70 premières années de notre siècle. Érigé en 1882, le Musée Redpath fut aussitôt considéré comme le «*nec plus ultra*» de la muséologie scientifique canadienne et même nord-américaine; à cause de ses qualités architecturales, bien sûr, mais surtout par ses aménagements intérieurs fonctionnels et ses équipements adéquats. Les difficultés qu'il commencera à rencontrer, une trentaine d'années plus tard, tout comme les autres musées de l'Université et aux d'autres institutions, nous semblent typiques de l'important mouvement de remise en question qui secoue les musées scientifiques de l'époque; ceci tant au niveau de leurs objectifs scientifiques, pédagogiques et sociaux que de leurs structures organisationnelles internes.

## **LA PÉRIODE 1900-1940<sup>3</sup>**

### ***Naissance et croissance du Musée Redpath***

Les premiers efforts muséologiques de l'Université McGill gravitent autour de John William Dawson<sup>4</sup>. Personnage-clé de l'Université, «*Principal*» de 1855 à 1893, il en fut à la fois le visionnaire et la «*locomotive*»; c'est sous son «*règne*» que McGill prit son essor et acquit une renommée internationale. Dawson est un scientifique de renom international, comme beaucoup d'administrateurs d'institutions supérieures d'enseignement de ce temps.

Dans la tradition des institutions supérieures d'enseignement de l'époque, il était impératif, pour Dawson, que McGill se dote

d'une collection d'histoire naturelle et de cabinets afin d'accéder au rang des institutions sérieuses.

In regard to apparatus for the teaching of Physical and Chemical science, it is not necessary that I should go beyond the limits of Canada for examples worthy of imitation. Let any of our friends who may visit Quebec, examine the magnificent galleries in Laval University, filled with the most varied and costly apparatus, and he will see, that though our comparatively slender collection now embraces all that is absolutely necessary, and though it has been materially improved by the additions recently made through the private liberality of members of the Board of Governors, it is far from having attained a complete condition.... In Natural Science, a Museum sufficient to illustrate our present courses of lectures has been accumulated almost without expense to the University, and we have access to the valuable collections of the Natural History Society, and the museum of the Geological Survey. But in means to facilitate advanced study and original research we are still very deficient<sup>5</sup>.

La présence à Montréal des collections de la Société d'Histoire Naturelle et de la Commission Géologique du Canada ne peut donc satisfaire l'Université que pendant un certain temps. C'est Peter Redpath, homme d'affaires influent et bienfaiteur de l'Université, qui permettra à Dawson de réaliser son rêve en faisant construire, à ses frais, un bâtiment pouvant abriter toutes les collections de McGill et constituant ainsi un musée unique au Canada. L'ouverture du Musée Redpath, en 1882, couronne donc un quart de siècle d'efforts et constitue en quelque sorte le point culminant de la carrière de Dawson: l'inauguration a lieu en grande pompe en août, à l'occasion de la tenue du Congrès annuel de l'American Association for the Advancement of Science qui a élu Dawson président pour



l'année. Deux ans plus tard, inspirée par le succès de cet événement, la British Association for the Advancement of Science tient à son tour son congrès à Montréal.

Les collections scientifiques du XIX<sup>e</sup> siècle, autant d'instruments que de spécimens, ne relèvent cependant pas que du prestige institutionnel, elles tiennent aussi à d'autres enjeux. L'étalage en vitrine des collections « les plus complètes possible », est au XIX<sup>e</sup> siècle, plus qu'un spectacle de la science pour un public averti : la nature et ses manifestations sont perçues comme un témoignage divin, surtout pour un homme profondément religieux comme Dawson<sup>6</sup>; la collection de spécimens d'histoire naturelle constitue ultimement une façon « scientifique » de vouer un culte au Créateur<sup>7</sup>. Prestige institutionnel, prestige divin, prestige scientifique forment l'aspect latent des fonctions du Musée ou de la collection. Concrètement, ils servent surtout à des fins d'illustration pour les cours et comme données essentielles pour des recherches taxonomiques. Si le grand public n'est pas exclu, et demeure d'une certaine façon bienvenu au Musée, celui-ci est clairement et prioritairement destiné au corps professoral et aux étudiants<sup>8</sup>.

Dès sa création, le Musée Redpath sera administré par un Comité du musée répondant directement au « Board of Governors » de l'Université; ce comité sera formé à la fois de professeurs, représentant le milieu scientifique, et de membres éminents de la collectivité montréalaise, dont évidemment Dawson et Redpath. Ce modèle n'est pas unique : il constitue au XIX<sup>e</sup> siècle la structure « habituelle » d'administration des musées scientifiques autant de ce côté de l'Atlantique que de l'autre.

Côté financier, la participation de l'Université est minime. Si l'Université est responsable, par l'entente de donation de Peter Redpath, des frais de réparation et d'amélioration du bâtiment, toutes les autres dépenses (entretien général, salaires de l'assistant-conservateur et des préparateurs, achat de collections et de spécimens, etc.) doivent être couvertes par les revenus du Musée : les frais de laboratoires perçus, la contribution de 25 cents pour les visiteurs, mais surtout les dons

des bienfaiteurs de l'Université et des amis du Musée. Bon an mal an, le Musée est la plupart du temps « dans le rouge »<sup>9</sup>. Encore une fois, cette forme de participation de l'institution, qui se limite surtout au « dégageant » de certaines ressources professorales, est traditionnelle au XIX<sup>e</sup> siècle.

Dawson démissionnera de son poste de « Principal » et de celui de titulaire de la chaire Logan d'enseignement de la géologie en 1893. Il poursuivra jusqu'à sa mort, en 1899, son travail au Musée à titre de conservateur honoraire. Avec sa disparition, les jours de gloire du Redpath tirent à leur fin : à sa suite, toutes les personnes engagées dans la création et dans l'administration du Musée s'éteignent (Redpath, 1894, Molson, 1897, Harrington, 1907, et Penhallow, 1909). Ainsi, un peu plus de 10 ans après le décès de Dawson, il ne reste plus aucun des premiers membres du Comité du musée. Et ce dernier semble continuer à se réunir dans un climat d'indifférence générale.

### ***Une période difficile, 1900-1925***

L'analyse du premier quart du XX<sup>e</sup> siècle au Musée Redpath s'avère plus difficile que celle de la période précédente. L'« indifférence » même de pièces archivistiques moins nombreuses semble bien refléter ce qu'on peut observer à travers leur contenu.

L'université comme maison d'enseignement supérieur, et l'Université McGill en particulier, change rapidement au tournant du siècle<sup>10</sup> : le domaine scientifique particulièrement y prend plus d'ampleur. L'année du départ officiel de Dawson (1893) marque aussi l'ouverture des nouveaux édifices de physique et de génie. En 1898, un nouvel édifice consacré à la chimie viendra se joindre à l'ensemble. Ces édifices abritent des laboratoires ultramodernes pour l'époque; des millions de dollars, recueillis auprès de bienfaiteurs, encore une fois, y sont investis. Des scientifiques de renom international en feront les nouveaux lieux de prestige de la science. Les Callender, Rutherford, et Soddy, par exemple, (les deux derniers obtenant plus tard des prix Nobel) sont des maillons importants dans le déplacement ou l'évolution rapide des

modèles du scientifique, du professeur et de leurs lieux de pratique de la science en cette période.

Cependant, l'aspect majeur des transformations étudiées ici, ce n'est pas que les chercheurs enseignaient moins que leur prédécesseurs, c'est qu'ils ne se définissaient plus d'abord comme des professeurs mais plutôt en fonction de leurs activités de recherche. Comme on l'a dit plus haut, leur regard était maintenant tourné davantage vers le laboratoire que vers la salle de cours<sup>11</sup>.

Dans ce contexte, le musée d'histoire naturelle perd de son prestige institutionnel, tout comme les cabinets de physique ou de chimie. Les investissements et les dons des généreux bienfaiteurs de l'Université suivront tout naturellement les nouvelles avenues de la science moderne. Le musée devra survivre tant bien que mal.

D'importants changements interviennent aussi dans le champ scientifique lui-même. Les sciences naturelles deviennent de plus en plus les «petites sciences», face aux développements importants de la physique, de la chimie et de leurs applications technologiques. À l'intérieur même des sciences naturelles, les approches microscopiques (plutôt que macroscopiques) les approches génétiques (plutôt que taxonomiques) retiennent de plus en plus les chercheurs<sup>12</sup>. Le musée, lieu privilégié des recherches taxonomiques au XIX<sup>e</sup> siècle, se trouve dorénavant marginalisé, relégué au second plan, derrière les laboratoires. De nouveaux outils d'enregistrement et de conservation des données taxonomiques, la photographie par exemple<sup>13</sup>, viennent encore réduire le besoin de la fonction vitrine du musée d'histoire naturelle.

Malgré ces difficultés, la croissance du Musée Redpath se poursuit lentement, bénéficiant probablement de l'élan, de l'impulsion de ses fondateurs, et de sa renommée. Il fait l'acquisition de collections importantes: la collection minéralogique Ferrier (1905), la collection Todd d'ethnologie africaine (1910), puis la collection entomologique Lyman,

accompagnée d'une somme de 40 000 \$ pour sa préservation et son développement (1914). En 1929, le musée acquiert la collection de la Société d'Histoire Naturelle de Montréal, vieille d'un siècle, dont les spécimens dormaient depuis une vingtaine d'années dans un entrepôt de la ville. Mais cette croissance du Redpath se mesure surtout par la quantité de ses spécimens et de ses artefacts; elle se vérifie très peu par sa fréquentation ou ses changements de structure.

La fréquentation publique du Musée pour la période est difficile à reconstituer en entier. Elle se situe en moyenne à 3 000 visiteurs par an, entre 1900 et 1925. Ce chiffre inclut les quelque 500 élèves, qui viennent en visite organisée par leurs écoles respectives. Ces écoles sont généralement des High Schools (niveau secondaire) de la région de Montréal<sup>14</sup>. Ces chiffres sont à mettre en parallèle avec les 2 000 visiteurs par an qu'attirait déjà le Musée en 1884. À partir de 1922, on deviendra muet sur le nombre des visiteurs au Musée. Les administrateurs ne semblent donc pas se doter d'une politique ou d'objectifs précis visant à favoriser la fréquentation du Musée par le public: on ne relève à ce sujet que l'abandon, en 1907-1908, des frais d'entrée:

This fee was instituted in the early days of the Museum, when great difficulty was experienced in properly controlling visitors: but since its object has long since been accomplished, your committee have decided to withdraw it, and hereafter grant free access to all visitors in accordance with the ordinary rules which govern visitation to public museums elsewhere<sup>15</sup>.

Cette simple mesure n'apportera cependant pas à moyen ou à long terme de changement majeur au taux de fréquentation, si ce n'est pour l'année suivante qui deviendra l'année record de ce premier quart de siècle (3 920 visiteurs, incluant les élèves des écoles).

Le Comité du Musée Redpath, quant à lui, ne subit pas non plus de changement important. Toujours présidé par le «Principal» de l'Université, il compte huit membres (le «Principal», quatre professeurs, dont

Harrington et Penhallow, et trois représentants de la collectivité montréalaise). En 1925, le Comité conserve sept membres, mais le nombre des professeurs est passé à cinq et on ne compte plus qu'un seul représentant de la collectivité. Chacun des professeurs membres assume toujours, en plus de ses charges normales d'enseignement, la responsabilité de la conservation d'une des parties de la collection (géologie, paléontologie, botanique, zoologie et autres). Dans la ligne de leurs véritables compétences, les gestionnaires semblent surtout avoir été préoccupés par l'accroissement des collections, l'identification, le classement et l'étiquetage des divers spécimens reçus.

Avec le temps, les rapports annuels du Musée deviennent de plus en plus laconiques. Les rapports de 1905-1906 et de 1906-1907 soulèvent encore le problème d'espace, accentué par l'acquisition récente de la collection Ferrier, et le besoin d'un nouvel édifice devant permettre une restructuration des collections. Après 1908, on ne parle plus de ces questions. Il semble y avoir disparition, absence, de tout débat ou discours sur le Musée, son rôle, ses objectifs, sa place sur le campus et dans le milieu, ses difficultés. Le rapport annuel du Musée, avant de disparaître en 1924, ne sera plus composé que du taux de fréquentation, du nom des écoles visiteuses, de la liste des travaux majeurs de réfection ou d'entretien ayant été effectués, la liste des scientifiques de l'extérieur ayant étudié sur place ou ayant emprunté des spécimens, ainsi que des listes de plus en plus réduites des dons reçus.

Le Musée n'est plus le lieu de grandes rencontres scientifiques : si tout à la fin du XIX<sup>e</sup> siècle, la Société d'Histoire naturelle de Montréal y donne encore ses cours publics, ou si encore la Canadian Medical Association y tient quelques rencontres en 1906, les rapports des années suivantes ne mentionnent que l'Oriental Society, des cours publics sur les sciences sociales et les services sociaux, ou encore une rencontre de la Canadian Authors Association en 1922.

Ce n'est qu'avec le début du second quart du XX<sup>e</sup> siècle qu'une énergie nouvelle, fondée sur une réévaluation du rôle du musée, semble redonner vie au dossier du Redpath.

## 1925-1941 : UN DISCOURS RENOUVELÉ

### *L'émergence de E. L. Judah, «muséologue»*

As a result of our taking over the property of the Natural History Society and the increase from other sources in the number of acquisitions to the various University Museums, a survey of the whole situation was made by Dr. Lomer, the University Librarian. It was decided to establish a committee to exercise general control over all the collections as well as over the buildings or halls where accommodation is provided for the specimens.... The arrangement in no way changes or derogates from the authority of the museum committees and curators previously appointed, but the new committee represents the Governors and Corporation, and is the channel of communication between the University and the various authorities respectively responsible for the several collections<sup>16</sup>.

Cette note, datée de 1925, constitue la première étape visible d'une nouvelle réflexion sur les musées de l'Université McGill. Nous avons jusqu'ici parlé du Musée Redpath; examinons l'ensemble des collections et leur répartition à cette date<sup>17</sup>.

Comme on le remarque, le Musée Redpath n'est plus unique sur le campus, comme lors de sa création en 1882 : si le département de médecine a toujours eu ses musées, même avant la naissance du Redpath, les autres se sont lentement constitués dans divers départements et divers lieux selon des besoins pédagogiques et des besoins d'espace. Mais le Redpath demeure de loin le plus important, avec son nouveau confrère, le McCord; l'acquisition en 1919 de la collection McCord avait immédiatement entraîné l'ouverture d'un musée pour l'abriter et l'exposer, et la création d'un comité pour le gérer. La volonté de l'Université en 1925 semble donc claire : réunir sous une même administration toutes les composantes des collections et même doter l'en-

nom	lieu
Peter Redpath Museum	Redpath Museum
McCord National Museum	McCord Museum
Medical Museum	Medical Building
Museum of Anatomy	Medical Building
Museum of Hygiene	Medical Building
Museum of Botany	Redpath Museum and Biology Dept.
Library Museum	Redpath Library
Natural History Society collection	Pathology Institute
Lyman collection	Redpath Museum
Petrographical Museum	Chemistry and Mining Building
Chemistry Museum	Chemistry and Mining Building
Forest Products Laboratory	Forest Products Laboratory

semble de l'appellation générale de «McGill University Museum».

Un nouveau discours, marquant cette volonté, émerge donc en 1925, sous la plume de G. R. Lomer, bibliothécaire de l'Université: si celui-ci signe un mémoire sur les musées, il semble qu'un personnage, tout à fait discret jusque là, en soit le véritable instigateur: il s'agit de E. Lionel Judah<sup>18</sup> (Figure 1). Au service de l'Université depuis 29 ans déjà, E. L. Judah occupera, à partir de 1925, une place importante dans l'histoire des musées.

C'est en 1896 qu'il arrive à l'Université, non comme professeur, mais comme simple apprenti auprès de Jules Bailly, préparateur au département de médecine et au Musée Redpath. De 1901 à 1907, il sera l'assistant de Bailly, puis son remplaçant de 1907 à 1923, comme ostéologue et préparateur au département de médecine. Pendant cette longue période, Judah publie de nombreux articles, fréquente les congrès internationaux, et les expositions. Sa réputation croît, comme technicien, mais aussi comme spécialiste de la conception d'expositions<sup>19</sup>. Il est très près de l'American Association of Museums – il deviendra président de sa section technique –, et aussi du Museum Association de Grande-Bretagne et de l'International Association of Medical Museums. De simple apprenti en 1896, il sera devenu, œuvrant d'une façon discrète à l'intérieur même de la structure de

l'Université, un spécialiste des musées, un véritable muséologue reconnu nationalement et internationalement. Toujours préparateur en 1925, c'est donc indirectement qu'il prendra la parole et avec précaution: voulant éviter la critique d'opinion, le mémoire de G. R. Lomer sera accompagné d'une bibliographie sélective et d'une note d'introduction:

For those who wish a general view of the museum field or who look upon the problem at McGill from the university, rather than the departmental or personal point of view, a selected bibliography is appended...

Parmi les documents cités en annexe au rapport, notons quelques textes de Goode (du Smithsonian Institution) et de Meyer (du Royal Zoological, Anthropological and Ethnological Museum de Dresden), des articles des revues *Nature et Science*, et *The New Museum* de J. C. Dana, publié en 1917 en quatre volumes. C'est donc autant à une argumentation venant des États-Unis que d'Europe que le nouveau discours sur les musées de McGill est fondé. Mais comme on le remarque aussi, cette note d'introduction au mémoire oppose déjà l'institution universitaire, dans un débat sur la muséologie, à ses départements et à leurs représentants.

Le rapport touche les aspects essentiels de la pratique muséale: l'organisation physique,



**Figure 1.** A. Ayotte (*Le Devoir*), L.O. Renaud et E.L. Judah, lors d'une expédition scientifique à Lanoraie, en août 1932. (Archives de l'Université McGill.)

la distribution du matériel, l'utilisation et la conservation des diverses collections, la politique d'administration. Mais il définit aussi des grands principes, entre autres, la centralisation du pouvoir, une présentation vivante et attrayante (plutôt que les «cirques empailés» ou les «cimetières de bric-à-brac» existants), une politique claire d'acquisition qui permette d'éviter l'accumulation d'objets ou de spécimens sans valeur (en évitant de froisser les donateurs potentiels), un musée qui se permet d'évoluer, un personnel et des moyens techniques appropriés à l'installation des expositions. Les trois fonctions du musée sont aussi définies dans le mémoire : dans l'ordre, fournir un divertissement et un enseignement informel au public local et aux visiteurs (afin de mieux faire connaître et apprécier l'université et de susciter l'intérêt de possibles bienfaiteurs), conserver (selon une politique appropriée) des objets ou spécimens pouvant servir à l'enseignement, et promouvoir les intérêts de la recherche.

Nous sommes en face d'un nouveau projet de musée, renversant les priorités du musée du XIX<sup>e</sup> siècle et établissant le grand public comme son principal utilisateur. La troisième fonction, même si elle mentionne la recherche, ne le fait plus que dans un contexte de promotion et d'intérêt.

Le dépôt du rapport semble avoir été bien orchestré ou, à tout le moins, avoir eu des conséquences rapides : en juin 1925, un mois seulement après le dépôt du rapport, Judah signe déjà ses lettres du titre de «curator of museums». On peut imaginer que sa compétence est enfin reconnue : si cela semble évident à Sir Arthur Currie, alors «Principal» de l'Université, au sein de la structure administrative même des musées, on ne réagit pas aussi rapidement. Dans une lettre à son ancien patron, C. F. Martin, professeur et directeur de la faculté de médecine, Judah reprend clairement l'un de ses arguments de base, celui de la nécessité d'avoir recours à des muséologues pour gérer les musées, laissant aux professeurs un rôle compatible avec leur véritable compétence :

Museum failures, in the United States today, are inevitably traced back to the administration of

museum affairs by non-museum men... The curators of collections (lire ici les professeurs et départements) are responsible for the cataloguing, listing and description of individual museums<sup>20</sup>.

Outre la nomination de Judah, le rapport apporte d'autres changements rapides dont la création du General Museum Committee dès 1926 (si on y trouve Arthur Currie et Lionel Judah, six des sept autres membres font cependant partie des divers départements). L'année 1926 marque aussi la création du Musée d'ethnologie qui sera sous l'entière responsabilité de Judah jusqu'à la retraite de ce dernier en 1941 (ce musée est formé de ce qui reste des collections de la Société d'Histoire Naturelle de Montréal et qui n'a pas encore été confié aux musées Redpath et McCord).

Devant l'inertie des structures, Judah présente, en 1929, un nouveau mémoire sur les musées de l'Université<sup>21</sup>. Plus technique, ce rapport trace les grandes lignes d'un système d'archivistique, de numérotation et de catalogue des collections, en plus d'une politique de prêts, de dons et d'achat. Selon Judah lui-même, les mesures proposées ont été reprises à un manuel de Lawrence Vail Coleman, alors directeur de l'American Association of Museums<sup>22</sup>. Le rapport propose une division des musées de l'Université en trois classes, proposition qui sera reprise pendant plusieurs décennies : les musées de classe A qui conviennent au public en général (le Redpath, le McCord et le Musée d'ethnologie), les musées servant aux fins de l'enseignement universitaire et financés par les départements (architecture, botanique et chimie) et les musées médicaux jugés d'intérêt morbide pour le public. Cette nouvelle tentative pour isoler les «non-museum men», et les départements, des grands musées publics de l'Université, n'aura pas grand succès.

N'apportant pas de réformes immédiates, le rapport de 1929 sera suivi rapidement de deux autres rapports, de portée nationale et même internationale ceux-là : le rapport Miers-Markham et le rapport Fox. Le premier est l'œuvre de Henry Miers et de S. F. Markham, respectivement président et secrétaire de la Museums Association de Grande-Bretagne ; au

début de 1931, ils visitent, au nom de cet organisme et grâce au financement de la Carnegie Corporation de New York, les musées du territoire canadien<sup>23</sup>. À la suite de cette visite, Judah et Sir Arthur Currie, «principal» de l'Université, tentent de se faire référer, par Markham, un spécialiste pouvant effectuer un examen critique des musées de McGill et apporter des recommandations pour le développement futur de ceux-ci. Le nom de Cyril Fox, directeur du Wales National Museum, est ainsi suggéré et accepté. En novembre 1931, Fox vient examiner les collections de l'Université, ainsi que celles du Château Ramesay et de la Montreal Art Association. Déjà en relation suivie avec Markham, Judah possédait très probablement les connaissances et compétences qui lui auraient permis de faire lui-même le travail de relevé et d'analyse des musées de McGill; il semble qu'il y ait là un choix stratégique visant à recourir à des compétences internationales pouvant être jugées plus «crédibles» que celles du muséologue de l'Université. Dans une lettre adressée à Markham, Judah ne disait-il pas :

From what you saw during your visit, you can readily understand that no one here realizes the importance or significance of the modern museum movement, and how it can be used to interest the general public in the activities of the University<sup>24</sup>.

Les objectifs du rapport Miers-Markham étant trop vastes<sup>25</sup>, c'est surtout aux conclusions du rapport Fox que nous nous attarderons (les notes de Fox ont d'ailleurs servi à la rédaction de la section montréalaise du rapport Miers-Markham). L'esprit d'ensemble du rapport Fox est bien traduit dans cet extrait :

The remarkable development of museum technique in recent years in all civilized countries and the realization of the importance of museums in the educational scheme, as providing an avenue to knowledge which cannot be secured by any other means (being taught how to observe, to analyse our impressions; we are learning by seeing), throw into high relief the

backwardness of McGill University public museums and render it imperative that steps should be taken to provide a remedy... It is today more than ever important that McGill University should use every effort... to demonstrate the value and importance of the cultural services it can render to the community, to show that knowledge is an avenue to better, fuller, and happier living, to improve facilities for the self-education of the adult as well as the education of the young<sup>26</sup>.

Le rapport Fox reconnaît la richesse des collections de l'Université McGill et retient certaines initiatives heureuses: les techniques d'exposition du Library Museum et du Musée d'ethnologie, le travail du Museum Laboratory, chargé de la restauration et de la production d'«exhibits,» et les cours de muséologie. Le rôle de Judah est mis en valeur: il est directement responsable de toutes ces initiatives. Les critiques les plus acerbes du rapport touchent en fait le Musée Redpath, aussi bien à la question de l'état de ses collections, de leur classement et de leur exposition<sup>27</sup>, que la question de la pauvre fréquentation par le public et la question de l'absence de publicité, de guide et de catalogue.

Since the Peter Redpath Museum contains all its original casefittings practically unaltered, and since its collections for the most part represent Museum technique as it was in the nineteenth century, it forms a remarkably complete and unusual example of conservation and inertia in this educational field. It would be improper and unfair to blame individuals; the museum is the victim of a vicious circle. No one is paid to manage, and practically no one is paid to work in the museum, and it is therefore no one's business to see that its requirements in staff, material, and money are met. It is starved, cannot develop, and so has passed to a large extent out of the active life of the University<sup>28</sup>.

Cyril Fox revient lui aussi sur le problème des structures administratives et soulève la question de la situation difficile de Judah, comme «conservateur des musées»: dans un des musées, il est entièrement responsable comme conservateur (Musée d'ethnologie); dans d'autres, il est bienvenu, comme conseiller technique; dans d'autres encore, il ne peut oser mettre le pied; «that Mr. Judah should have accomplished what he has done, placed in such an impossible situation, seems to an outside observer to be a tribute to his tact, good temper, and technical competence<sup>29</sup>».

Le rapport Fox propose à l'Université un ambitieux plan de réorganisation des collections, plan qui repose sur la construction d'un nouveau bâtiment de sept étages, constituant une sorte de musée de l'Homme, et particulièrement de son histoire au Canada. Selon ce projet, l'ancien édifice du Redpath datant de 1882, serait mis à la disposition du département d'architecture pour des fins d'enseignement et d'exposition de sa collection. La préface du rapport laisse présager un nouvel élan qui justifie les plus grands espoirs. Arthur Currie y affirme: «McGill cannot, and will not, be content to rest upon her laurels. <McGill had...> and <McGill was...> must give way to <McGill has...> and <McGill is...> and these conditions must only be considered as earnest of continuous progress<sup>30</sup>.» Mais les musées n'évolueront pas dans ce sens, des événements incontrôlables venant s'ajouter aux difficultés administratives.

En novembre 1933, avec le décès de Sir Arthur Currie, «Principal» de l'Université et président du General Museum Committee, le mouvement de renouveau des musées perd un allié important; Judah perd aussi probablement son plus grand supporteur (et ils ne sont pas trop nombreux). Le début des années 1930 est de plus une période de dépression économique grave, à laquelle l'Université McGill n'échappe pas. Coupures dans les salaires, dans les postes, dans les dépenses générales d'entretien et de développement. Le projet ambitieux d'un nouveau musée de l'Homme est en quelque sorte mort-né. La fermeture temporaire en 1936 du McCord et du Musée d'ethnologie demeure la partie la plus visible de l'histoire des deux décennies sui-

vantes: la fermeture «temporaire» du McCord durera plus de 20 ans, celle du Musée d'ethnologie se changera en fermeture définitive en 1941. Les documents couvrant le période 1932-1941 nous montrent un Judah souvent déçu, au statut peu clair, mais toujours à l'œuvre. À la suite des fermetures de 1936, il aura cependant l'impression que «—my many years of general museum effort goes for nothing<sup>31</sup>» mais, véritable homme de musée, Judah continuera à suivre de près les développements de la muséologie en Angleterre et aux États-Unis, à s'engager dans le mouvement. Il donne en 1930 un cours d'été en techniques de muséologie médicale (Figure 2). De 1930 à 1932, 26 étudiants provenant de 22 institutions, du Canada mais surtout des États-Unis, y assisteront (un étudiant viendra même des Indes). En 1933, avec la collaboration de Léon Lortie de l'Université de Montréal, le cours deviendra bilingue et portera sur les techniques générales des musées; ce cours touche diverses facettes du travail muséologique, de l'administration à l'archivistique, en passant par la construction de vitrines et les expositions. Unique au Canada, ce cours retient l'attention de plusieurs, notamment de certains Américains<sup>32</sup>. Judah contribue également à deux tentatives pour former des associations de musées: en 1933, avec l'abbé Olivier Maurault de l'Université de Montréal, il jette les bases d'un regroupement appelé The Museums of the Province of Quebec. En septembre de la même année, avec M. McCurry d'Ottawa, il prépare un projet de charte d'une Canadian Museums Association: ces deux projets n'auront cependant pas de suites immédiates<sup>33</sup>. Même isolé à McGill, parmi beaucoup d'universitaires, Judah demeure un muséologue reconnu et directement engagé dans un vaste mouvement de «professionnalisation» de ses tâches et de ses responsabilités.

On peut se demander ce qu'il serait advenu des plans de Fox et de la carrière de Judah sans la crise économique et le décès de Currie; peut-être rien de plus, si l'on se fie aux luttes internes que semble aussi avoir réveillé ou généré le rapport de 1932.

Comme il fallait s'y attendre, la volonté des «museum-men» de prendre en main la destinée des musées de l'Université ne pouvait en





**Figure 2.** E. Lionel Judah (seconde rangée au centre) et les étudiants de son cours d'été sur les techniques de muséologie médicale. Vers 1930.  
(Archives de l'Université McGill.)

quelque sorte se faire sans résistance. Même si Currie reprend devant le «Board of Governors» son discours enthousiaste sur l'avenir des musées<sup>34</sup>, quelques mois plus tard Judah commence à ressentir durement l'effet qu'il qualifie de «boomerang» du rapport Fox :

I personally have been congratulated by letter, and verbally by many; by organizations such as our Art Association, who have so far refused to let anyone see their survey (three of the officials being on our General Museum Committee at McGill) we have been greatly criticised. In fact so much, that at a General Museum meeting, my curatorship was politely taken from me and the position of Assistant Director, as recommended by the Executive Museum Committee, as per Survey, was ridiculed as giving me too much power. The principal later told me that I had worked myself out of a job... The publishing of the Survey has acted as a boomerang, McGill at present being without museum policy or direction, but with narrow prejudices and petty politics reigning<sup>35</sup>.

Judah est mécontent, il pointe même personnellement du doigt les responsables siégeant au General Museum Committee. Comme souvent nul n'est prophète en son pays, en ce même mois de mai 1932, Judah sera nommé président de la section technique de l'American Association of Museums. Son statut véritable à McGill, pour les années suivantes est peu clair; certains documents le présentent comme secrétaire du General Museum Committee, d'autres comme «Curator of Museums». En 1936, Judah s'informerait auprès de ses amis étrangers de l'ouverture possible de postes où il pourrait utiliser ses compétences<sup>36</sup>. Markham l'informerait d'ouvertures à l'Institute of Jamaica, puis en Nouvelle-Zélande<sup>37</sup>: principalement pour des raisons de santé, Judah choisira de rester à McGill. En 1936, la situation semble s'être sensiblement calmée. Dans une nouvelle lettre à Markham, il décrira ainsi le climat général:

In spite of the fact that the McCord Museum has been closed for three years, museum conditions have improved here. We have applied to the Carnegie people for a grant, and if it goes through I hope it will start things going again. Fox's Survey is the only thing that kept us alive... The Museum Committee has been coming along very nicely under the Chairmanship of T. H. Clark, who, while not a specially trained museum man, is an excellent fighter and has the courage of his convictions<sup>38</sup>.

La maladie de Judah, en 1940, et sa retraite en 1941, marquent la fin d'une époque pour les musées de McGill.

### ***Bilan des 40 premières années du XX<sup>e</sup> siècle***

Le survol de la période 1900-1941 nous a permis de voir émerger lentement un discours sur la modernisation des musées scientifiques à l'Université McGill, notamment celle du Musée Redpath. Nous avons pu y voir le rôle important joué par E. L. Judah, personnage aux compétences et à l'intérêt différent de celui de J. W. Dawson, mais qui marquera de façon définitive l'histoire des musées de McGill. Comme Dawson, il aura servi la cause des musées pendant 45 ans, atteignant lui aussi une reconnaissance nationale et internationale dans sa spécialité. Si Dawson était un brillant esprit scientifique du XIX<sup>e</sup> siècle, Judah possédait l'esprit muséologique des débuts du XX<sup>e</sup> siècle; ce phénomène illustre assez bien l'organisation progressive d'un champ muséologique qui prend peu à peu ses distances par rapport au champ scientifique où il a pris naissance.

Comme on l'a aussi remarqué à l'Université McGill, le mouvement de renouveau muséologique n'est pas un phénomène isolé. Le discours d'un E. L. Judah s'appuie sur d'autres discours, américains ou européens, qui traduisent la généralisation des efforts mondiaux en ce sens. Le musée scientifique cherche et se définit une nouvelle spécificité, autre que celle du cabinet de science, du laboratoire ou de l'entrepôt d'objets et de spécimens.

On peut, à travers l'expérience de McGill, reconnaître certains des traits importants de la redéfinition du rôle du musée scientifique. D'abord la nouvelle priorité donnée au grand public (par opposition à l'élite cultivée ou aux scientifiques du XIX<sup>e</sup> siècle), qui va obliger, dans le contexte des collèges et des universités, à structurer les collections et «exhibits» en classes diverses: musées pour le public en général, musées à l'usage des étudiants des diverses facultés et musées pour les spécialistes. De ce classement découlera des besoins spécifiques de publicité, de guides et de catalogage.

Notons ensuite le besoin de modifier, au moins dans les musées «grand public», les modes anciens de collection et de classement «scientifiques» (grande quantité de spécimens arrangés par ordre, espèces, classes, familles, etc.) par des modes plus synthétiques, plus synoptiques, plus faciles d'accès au néophyte. Les expositions sont maintenant considérées comme des *outils d'enseignement*, pouvant transmettre une idée ou un concept. Les musées «modernes» se font alors *interprètes*. Cette recherche de qualité dans la présentation sera d'autant plus importante pour les musées universitaires qu'ils sont la *vitrine*, le reflet de leur maison d'enseignement au sein de la collectivité. Les composantes de l'exposition sont donc fonction de cette idée ou de cette notion. Dans le même sens, pour rendre plus agréable la visite, les questions d'éclairage, de «circulation» et d'emplacement des «exhibits» prennent de plus en plus d'importance.

Parmi les autres traits caractéristiques de cette modernisation, notons d'autres aspects techniques des opérations muséales: politique d'acquisition (par achat et par dons), conservation et restauration. Ces aspects prennent plus d'ampleur au début du XX<sup>e</sup> siècle à cause de l'accumulation importante, de la duplication sinon de la multiplication d'une foule d'objets ou de spécimens, et du mauvais état général de bien des collections livrées à elles-mêmes. De plus, la difficulté que connaîtront plusieurs musées, pendant cette période, entraînera des fermetures et le regroupement consécutif de collections (par exemple celle de la Société d'Histoire Naturelle de Montréal à McGill): malgré la richesse intrinsèque de tels

regroupements, les problèmes de conservation n'en seront pas moins amplifiés.

## LA PÉRIODE 1940-1970<sup>39</sup>

### *Dans la lignée de E. Lionel Judah: Alice E. Johannsen*

Durant la première moitié du vingtième siècle, au nom d'un nouveau discours, les muséologues «modernes» avaient déjà formulé des revendications qui auraient pu mener à la reconnaissance de leur profession. Nous allons maintenant tenter de montrer à quel point le mouvement de modernisation des musées et la «professionnalisation» des muséologues sont intrinsèquement liés. Nous allons aussi voir jusqu'à quel point, même en cette seconde moitié du XX<sup>e</sup> siècle, il est difficile de renouveler ou de «moderniser» un musée scientifique issu du siècle précédent, tant dans son cadre physique que dans ses objectifs et dans ses structures. Pour ce, nous allons étudier l'évolution du Musée Redpath de 1941 à 1971, en nous attardant tout particulièrement à la carrière de Alice E. Johannsen, muséologue de renommée internationale, conservatrice adjointe des musées de McGill à compter de 1941, assistante directrice en 1949 et directrice de 1950 à 1970. Nous passerons également en revue les réactions des principaux intéressés – personnel du Redpath, membres du Comité des musées de McGill, administrateurs de l'Université et muséologues – face à ce mouvement de modernisation et de «professionnalisation».

En 1934, Alice E. Johannsen fait ses premières armes en muséologie auprès de E. Lionel Judah, alors qu'elle est étudiante en géologie<sup>40</sup> à l'Université McGill. Convaincu de l'immense talent de son «élève», le conservateur des musées de McGill use de ses nombreuses relations pour l'introduire dans le monde de la muséologie. C'est ainsi qu'en 1935, elle fait un stage au Newark Museum (New Jersey); elle porte déjà un intérêt tout particulier au mouvement des «outdoor museums<sup>41</sup>», c'est-à-dire la préservation, restauration ou reconstitution d'édifices ou de sites historiques. En 1935-1936, elle bénéficie de deux bourses d'études de la Carnegie Corporation: la première pour étudier les techniques de musée au

Musée des beaux-arts du Canada, la seconde pour visiter les « outdoor folk museums » scandinaves et présenter un rapport sur les possibilités d'en implanter de semblables en Amérique du Nord. Tout comme E. L. Judah, elle est convaincue que ces derniers, de même que les « trailside » ou « nature-trail museums », sont les musées de l'avenir au Canada. De 1936 à 1939, elle travaille pour le Comité des beaux-arts du Manitoba, en tant que conférencière et secrétaire attachée à une exposition itinérante.

En 1939, elle revient à Montréal où elle est « demonstrator » et secrétaire au département de zoologie de McGill. Elle devient aussi guide bénévole au Musée d'ethnologie. En 1941, E. L. Judah prend sa retraite. En septembre de la même année, Alice E. Johannsen devient conservatrice adjointe du Musée Redpath, tout en continuant de travailler quelques heures par semaine au département de zoologie.

### **1941-1951 : les années de rattrapage**

Lorsque Alice E. Johannsen entre en poste, la situation des musées de McGill n'est guère reluisante : le public n'a plus accès au Musée McCord depuis 1936 ni à celui d'ethnologie depuis 1940<sup>12</sup>. Quant au Redpath, il est on ne peut plus « vieux jeu<sup>13</sup> ». Madame Johannsen s'attaque d'abord au McCord et au Musée d'ethnologie. De 1941 à 1943, elle nettoie le premier de fond en comble, et met à jour la correspondance et le fichier du second acquérant ainsi une bonne connaissance de la collection. La conservatrice adjointe se livre également à maintes autres tâches administratives et routinières.

La remise en état des deux musées terminée, le personnel peut consacrer davantage de temps au travail à long terme. En 1943, dans *Requirements for a Museum Building to House the Collections at Present Scattered among the Peter Redpath, McCord and Ethnological Museums*<sup>14</sup>, document présenté au Committee on University Needs, on trouve quelques énoncés de la politique du Comité des musées de McGill pour cette période : besoin d'un nouvel édifice, car les difficultés des musées modernes tiennent en bonne partie à des ser-

vices et à des locaux inadéquats ; le nouveau musée serait voué aux expositions et à l'enseignement ; les expositions seraient temporaires ou permanentes ; etc. Quelques mois plus tard, craignant les contraintes budgétaires imposées par la guerre, on présente au Committee on University Needs un programme temporaire<sup>15</sup> dont les principaux points rejoignent eux aussi les objectifs du mouvement de modernisation : faire valoir l'étendue et les ressources éducatives des collections ; justifier le besoin d'un nouvel édifice ; donner un aperçu des techniques d'exposition ; organiser au Redpath des expositions d'ordre général en utilisant des objets du McCord et du Musée d'ethnologie ; engager le personnel compétent ; etc.

Dès 1943-1944, certains des objectifs énumérés ci-dessus sont atteints. Ainsi, on présente des expositions temporaires scientifiques, historiques et ethnologiques. En 1944 et en 1945, une « museum artist », Betty Jaques, donne vie et couleurs aux expositions *Pacific in Peace and War* (Figure 3) et *Indians of Canada*. On utilise alors des objets du Musée d'ethnologie et du McCord ; on fait valoir l'étendue des collections ; on tente de rejoindre les étudiants et le grand public ; etc.

En 1947, le Musée d'ethnologie est rouvert. Grâce aux efforts de la directrice adjointe et de Betty Jaques, l'apparence et la valeur éducative de la collection s'améliorent. En 1949, la faculté de médecine reprend l'espace occupé par le Musée dans le Medical Building<sup>16</sup>. Le Musée d'ethnologie doit déménager ; il devient la section ethnologie du Redpath. La collection est toutefois scindée en quatre. Ce qui semble de prime abord une catastrophe se révèle toutefois bénéfique : il faut repenser et améliorer l'entreposage, condenser certaines expositions, en déplacer d'autres, refaire ou modifier des vitrines, améliorer l'installation électrique, redécorer, etc., tâches qui vont toutes dans le sens de la modernisation des musées.

J. D. Cleghorn et F. M. Hutchins, respectivement « Associate in Zoology » et « Associate in Geology » depuis 1948, avaient déjà entrepris ou prévu de condenser les collections, de refaire les vitrines, de repenser leur section, etc. (Figures 4 et 5). Au lendemain du démé-



**Figure 3.** Alice E. Johannsen met la dernière main à l'exposition *Pacific in Peace and War*, présentée à McGill en 1944-1945. Innovation révolutionnaire, les oiseaux sont exposés dans un décor de papier. (Archives de l'Université McGill.)

nagement, il n'est donc pas surprenant de trouver au Redpath des expositions synoptiques, de petites expositions éducatives, une autre conçue tout spécialement pour le département de zoologie, etc., toutes vivantes et colorées. Le Musée s'ouvre de plus en plus au grand public. En 1950, H. G. Ferrabee<sup>17</sup>, qui collabore déjà aux activités éducatives est engagé comme «technical assistant» à la section éducation, dont les visites guidées sont la principale activité. Depuis son entrée en poste, Alice E. Johannsen ne cesse de promouvoir ce service qui attire bon nombre de classes d'écoliers. Les visites guidées passent en effet de 40 en 1942-1943 à 172 en 1948-1949. Plusieurs des membres de la Junior League Volunteers, fondée en 1950, sont guides.

Comme Alice E. Johannsen le dit dans *A Report of Progress 1855-1950*, on remarque des progrès dans toutes les sphères d'activité<sup>18</sup>. Le nombre de visiteurs passe de 3 504 en 1943-1944 à quelque 8 000 en 1949.

Les activités scientifiques du Musée augmentent elles aussi. À compter de 1949, on semble accorder une attention toute spéciale aux recherches sur le terrain. T. H. Clark, conservateur des musées de McGill, président du Comité des musées de McGill et professeur au département de géologie, s'y livre depuis près de dix ans déjà; J. D. Cleghorn depuis quelques mois. En janvier, le Comité des musées de McGill décide de promouvoir cet aspect du travail des muséologues en permettant au personnel de participer à des recherches dépassant le cadre de ses fonctions, ce qui devrait valoir au Redpath spécimens et notoriété. Toujours dans le but d'élargir le rayonnement des musées de McGill et bien sûr de rendre justice aux employés, on revoit les titres et les postes de certains de ces derniers: Clark devient directeur des musées de McGill, Johannsen assistante directrice et conservatrice de la section ethnologie, Cleghorn et Hutchins respectivement conservateurs des sections zoologie et géologie.

En 1950, grâce à un don de L. G. Mickles, malacologiste amateur, on entreprend la reclassification de la collection de mollusques Carpenter. Une spécialiste du Paleontological Research Institute of Ithaca (N. Y.) dirige le

début des travaux. Son adjoint, Vincent Conde, fait quant à lui partie du personnel du Redpath<sup>19</sup>.

Les services du Musée étant de plus en plus en demande, il s'ensuit une augmentation du personnel<sup>20</sup> et une légère hausse de fonds<sup>21</sup>. Les relations avec l'Université semblent donc assez bonnes<sup>22</sup>. Les départements ont davantage recours aux services des musées.<sup>23</sup> La construction du nouvel édifice est sans cesse reportée, mais les autorités prennent au moins le temps d'écouter les nombreuses demandes en ce sens du Comité des musées. Depuis *Requirements for a New Building*, en 1943<sup>24</sup>, on multiplie les démarches<sup>25</sup>. En 1951, on est même prêt à faire des concessions quant à la surface de l'édifice et au nombre d'employés. Rien n'y fait: l'Université a d'autres priorités.

La conservatrice adjointe des musées de McGill est cependant bien loin de se borner aux tâches routinières, organisationnelles et administratives. Son intérêt pour les musées d'interprétation de la nature et les «outdoor museums» ne diminue en rien. Dès son arrivée aux musées de McGill, elle rencontre des organismes qui s'intéressent à l'interprétation de la nature. En 1945, elle donne le cours *Guidance in Nature Study for the Summer*.

Les activités de Alice E. Johannsen témoignent aussi bien souvent de sa participation au mouvement de modernisation des musées scientifiques. En 1943, conformément à l'objectif de former le personnel des musées, elle planifie un cours de trois semaines sur les techniques de musée. Faute d'inscriptions, le cours est annulé. Il n'est pas surprenant non plus qu'elle visite régulièrement des musées canadiens et américains. Ces visites que l'on dit indispensables au bon développement des musées de McGill, s'ils veulent garder la cadence, servent également à jeter les bases d'associations. C'est ainsi que Madame Johannsen est nommée au Canadian National Committee for International Cooperation among Museums, sous l'égide de l'UNESCO, dont le but est de fonder une association des musées canadiennes. En mai 1947, lors de l'assemblée annuelle de l'American Association of Museums (A.A.M.) qui se tient à Québec, Alice E. Johannsen et quelques collègues fondent la Canadian Museums Association

(C.M.A.<sup>56</sup>). En 1951, lorsque T. H. Clark démissionne de son poste de directeur des musées de McGill, il va de soi que Alice E. Johannsen lui succède.

### **1951-1959: les années de revendications**

À lire le *McGill University Museums Annual Report 1952-1953*, on constate que le ton change: Alice E. Johannsen prend le virage de la revendication professionnelle. Fidèle aux grands objectifs du mouvement de modernisation, et forte de sa renommée et des réussites de la décennie précédente, elle réclame que la muséologie soit reconnue comme profession.

In UNESCO, and in the countries represented therein, museology is recognized as a definite profession on a par with teaching and librarianship. The International Council of Museums (ICOM) acting as a committee to further international cooperation among museums under UNESCO, represents thousands of museums in some 49 countries, and it is no small honour that the McGill University Museums should be included in that Council through membership of the Director in the Canadian National Committee of ICOM<sup>57</sup>.

De plus, comme les employés des musées sont des enseignants au sens large du terme, il va de soi qu'on leur accorde un tel statut. « It is to be hoped that sufficient value will be placed upon the *museum as a vital part of the teaching equipment of the University* that the *museologist will be granted academic rank*<sup>58</sup>.

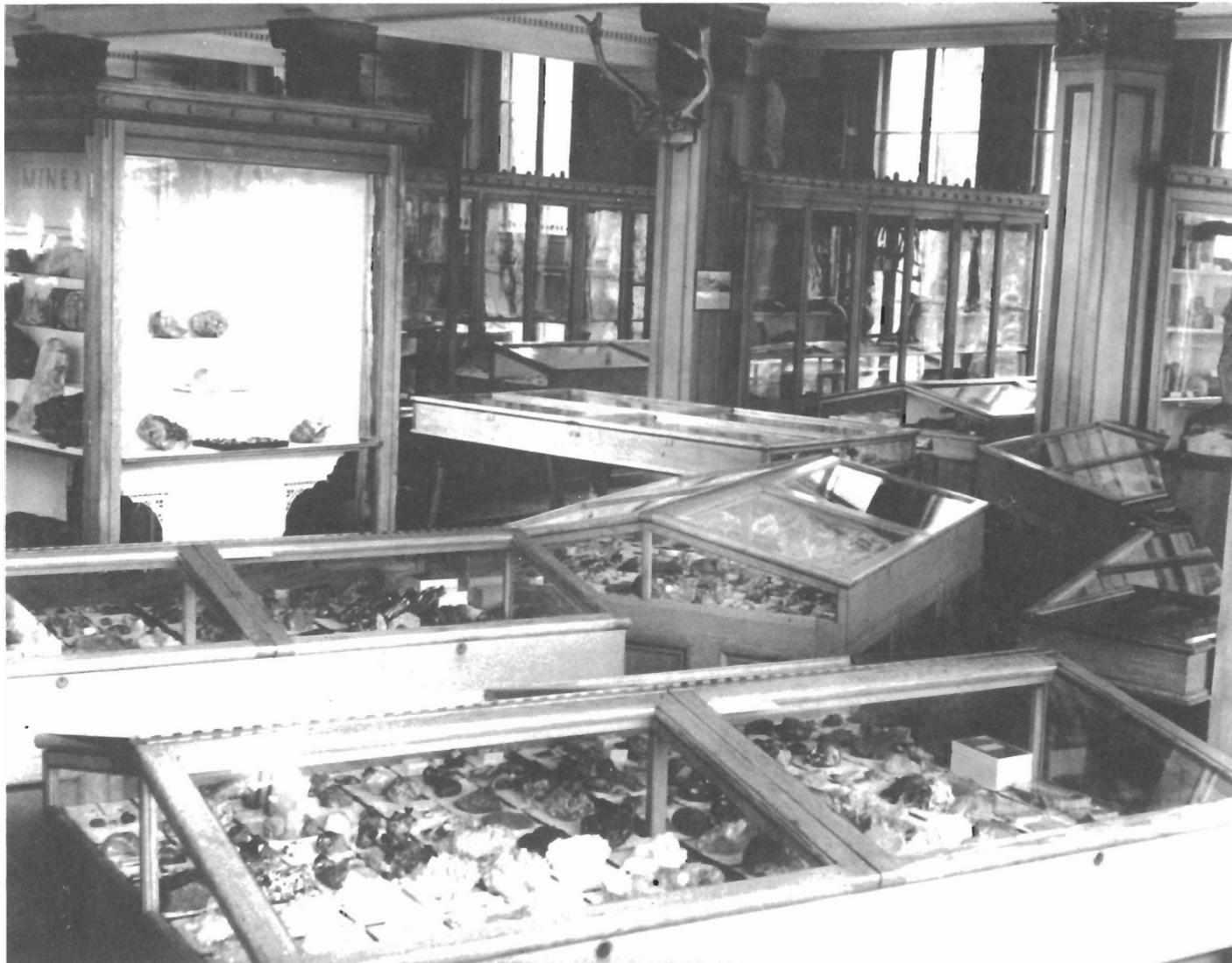
Qui dit « professionnalisation » dit aussi formation professionnelle. Poursuivant ses efforts en ce sens, Alice E. Johannsen fait enquête, en 1954-1955, auprès des membres de la C.M.A. afin de connaître les ressources en formation muséologique au Canada: seulement 4 p. 100 des quelque 500 employés en cause ont reçu une formation adéquate. Dans un deuxième temps, la directrice des musées de McGill cherche à en savoir davantage sur les programmes de formation muséologique en Amérique du Nord et en Grande-Bretagne.

En mai 1955, elle livre les résultats de son premier sondage au congrès annuel de la C.M.A. à Ottawa. Elle est alors nommée présidente du Comité d'éducation, chargé d'approfondir la question de la formation du personnel. Les résultats de sa deuxième enquête paraissent dans *Campus Training for Museum Personnel. Help: One Way to Find It*, document qu'elle présente à la conférence de l'A.A.M., College and University Section, à Washington, en juin 1955. Comme il n'existe aucun programme de la sorte au Canada, McGill devrait s'empresse de l'offrir.

McGill University has an opportunity to take the lead in this country, in a movement of national and international importance, by establishing a full-scale training course for museum workers which would meet the exacting demands of whatever Diploma Scheme is eventually adopted by the Canadian Museums Association<sup>59</sup>.

En 1956, en tant que présidente du Comité d'éducation, Madame Johannsen fait un nouveau sondage auprès des membres de la C.M.A. quant à leurs besoins en formation de personnel. L'année suivante, grâce aux efforts de la directrice des musées de McGill pour trouver des fonds, la C.M.A. engage Carl E. Guthe et Grace M. Guthe pour qu'ils mènent une enquête sur les musées canadiens<sup>60</sup>. Les questionnaires distribués à cette occasion servent à élaborer le premier cours canadien de formation muséologique. Parrainé par la C.M.A., revendiqué et planifié de longue date par Alice E. Johannsen, *Exhibit Design for Museums* se donne à McGill en juin 1959.

Ce cours n'est pas le seul haut fait de la carrière de Madame Johannsen à cette époque. En 1957, elle est présidente de la section College and University Museums de l'A.A.M. et de la Northeast Conference de l'A.A.M., dont le programme porte entre autres sur l'interprétation de l'histoire naturelle dans les parcs nationaux et provinciaux, et sur l'histoire et les sites historiques. Enfin, en 1958, Alice E. Johannsen est membre fondatrice, puis présidente de la Province of Quebec Museums Association (Figure 6).



**Figure 4.** Vitrines de la section géologie du Musée Redpath en 1950. On remarque l'entassement des spécimens et le peu d'espace laissé au visiteur.  
(Archives de l'Université McGill.)



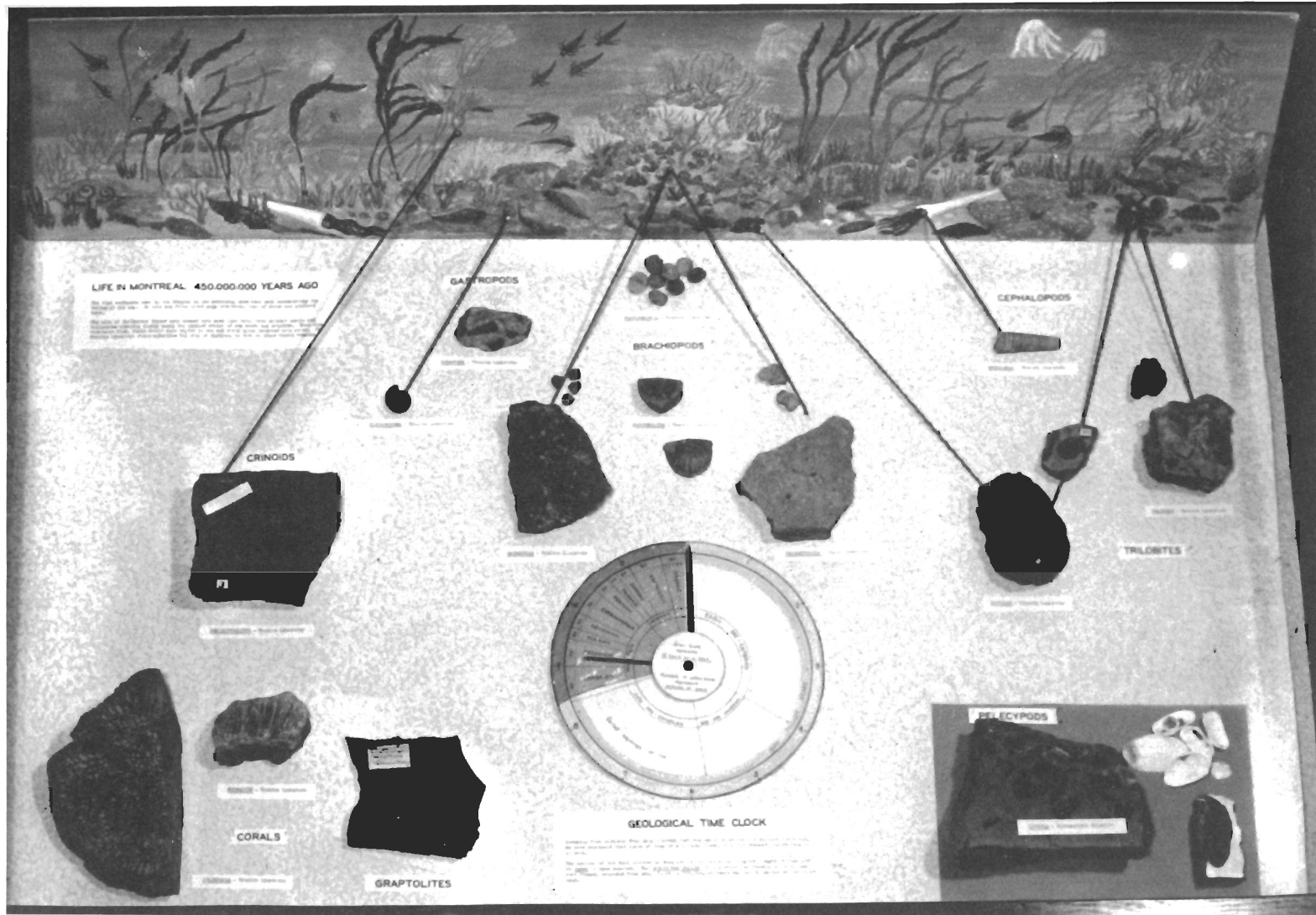


Figure 5. Exemple des nouveaux modes d'exposition dans la section géologie.  
Tiré d'un document photographique accompagnant le *Report of progress*  
1950-1955. (Archives de l'Université McGill.)

Alice E. Johannsen n'en néglige pas pour autant ses tâches. Aux premières heures de son mandat de directrice des musées de McGill, elle tente de respecter des objectifs bien concrets. Conformément aux recommandations du *Report of Progress*, on finit de rafraîchir les murs du Redpath et d'améliorer le système électrique des étages supérieurs<sup>61</sup>. Grâce à ces améliorations, les activités du Redpath ne cesseront de croître. Le grand public est de plus en plus présent : plus le Musée se transforme, plus il est facile d'obtenir des médias francophones et anglophones qu'ils fassent de la publicité. Les visiteurs viennent donc en plus grand nombre : ils passent de 12 000 en 1951-1952 à quelque 18 000 en 1958-1959. La section éducation du Redpath connaît de grands développements. En 1952, H. G. Ferrabee est nommé «Associate in Visual Education» et en 1957, «Teaching Aids Consultant». En 1952, on commence à préparer de petites expositions itinérantes pour les écoles. Cinq ans plus tard, ces «teaching aids» sont au nombre de trente. On compte aussi du matériel audio-visuel et des expositions conçues tout spécialement pour les écoliers. Quant aux visites guidées, elles ne cessent d'augmenter. Vingt-neuf bénévoles prêtent alors main forte au responsable de la section éducation. En 1959, Nancy Wostroff, conservatrice de la section expositions, entre en poste. Avec *Evolution of Evolution*, marquant le centenaire de l'ouvrage de Darwin, les techniques d'exposition s'imposent.

Les activités scientifiques quant à elles continuent de croître, notamment dans les sections géologie et zoologie. L'engagement, en 1951, de Louise S. Stevenson, «Associate in Geology» à temps partiel, et celui d'A. W. Cameron, conservateur de la section zoologie et vertébrés, en 1959, y sont pour beaucoup. Le Comité des musées de McGill continue d'inciter le personnel à faire de la recherche en dehors du strict cadre de ses fonctions et à fréquenter d'autres spécialistes. Il n'est donc pas étonnant qu'il en soit question dans *Present Position and Policy* que le Comité des musées de McGill adopte en 1958.

*Present Position and Policy* est beaucoup plus élaborée que la déclaration de principe de 1952. Bien qu'elle soit toujours valable, cette

dernière s'attarde principalement aux affaires quotidiennes du Musée et aux responsabilités du personnel. Dans la deuxième version, on revendique entre autres la reconnaissance du statut d'enseignant pour le personnel des musées<sup>62</sup>, revendication déjà présente dans le rapport annuel des musées de McGill de 1952-1953. Cette fois, on se fait plus précis : «that the Directorship should be recognized as the equivalent of Associate Professorship, and that Curatorships be recognized as the equivalent of Assistant Professorships, with the salary ranges<sup>63</sup>». La question du salaire est pour sûr fort importante<sup>64</sup>, car le personnel des musées de McGill est sous-payé par rapport aux autres employés de l'Université.

Cette question de la reconnaissance du statut d'enseignant et d'un salaire équivalent – de même que celle du nouveau musée – est au cœur des relations entre le Comité des musées et l'administration de McGill. Pour F. Cyril James, le «Principal» de McGill, statut d'enseignant et statut professionnel ne sauraient être confondus. En 1957-1958, on accorde cependant une augmentation de salaire au personnel des musées. Du côté du nouvel édifice toutefois, rien ne bouge. On ne cesse pourtant de le réclamer<sup>65</sup>. Devant l'inertie des autorités, on décide de repenser les aires d'exposition.

Les relations entre l'Université et les musées ne semblent pourtant pas mauvaises. Les départements ont davantage recours aux musées<sup>66</sup>. De plus, dans *Present Position and Policy*, le Comité des musées remercie le «Board of Governors» et les donateurs de l'avoir soutenu ceux-ci financièrement ces dernières années : sans leur aide, les musées de McGill n'auraient jamais connu pareils progrès. La bonne entente semble régner également au sein du Comité des musées, dont M. J. Dunbar est le président depuis le départ de T. H. Clark en 1951. Conformément aux recommandations du *Report of Progress 1855-1950*, le Comité des musées de McGill est modifié. Il est réduit à 11 membres qui tous participent à des activités pratiques et à l'orientation des musées. À l'exception du «Principal» de l'Université, tous les membres du Comité sont des professeurs ou des connaisseurs en sciences, en histoire ou en ethnologie ; peu d'entre eux ont des compétences en



**Figure 6. Alice E. Johannsen au Musée Redpath en 1959.  
(Archives de l'Université McGill.)**

muséologie cependant. La structure administrative continue donc de représenter quasi uniquement le volet scientifique.

### **1960-1969: les années de dissensions**

Les années 1960-1969 seront marquées par la reprise du débat sur la fonction des musées universitaires<sup>67</sup>. D'après *Present Position and Policy* et divers documents ultérieurs<sup>68</sup>, les musées de McGill, comme tous les musées universitaires, se doivent d'abord d'augmenter, de préserver, d'étudier et d'interpréter les collections qui leur sont confiées. Pour bien jouer ce rôle, ils doivent remplir quatre grandes tâches: se consacrer tout d'abord à l'enseignement, en collaborant avec les différents départements de l'Université; répondre aux besoins de l'Université dans son ensemble; établir des liens entre l'Université et la collectivité; être au service des étudiants et des chercheurs du pays ou de l'étranger.

La façon dont ce rôle doit être rempli, tout particulièrement au chapitre des liens entre l'université et la collectivité, ne fait cependant pas l'unanimité au sein des musées universitaires: sous prétexte de créer des liens entre l'université et le public – et par le fait même d'attirer des groupes d'écoliers – doit-on simplifier les expositions et en diminuer la valeur scientifique? La plupart des musées universitaires acceptent de servir le public; d'autres le tolèrent<sup>69</sup>.

Avec la modernisation des expositions de l'étage de zoologie, la question des relations avec le public se pose à McGill à la fin des années cinquante:

There is still a certain amount of hesitation about the manner in which to approach the exhibit planning because there are those who think that the exhibits should be designed in a way so as to deal with topics which conform with the university teaching needs only, and who disregard the institutions of lower educational level which to a great extent are taking advantage of the community work the university is doing through the museum, by

having schools (...) on tours of the institution in order to see the exhibits and in a general way by having the building open to the public<sup>70</sup>.

En 1961, Louise S. Stevenson soulève une question semblable dans *Special Exhibits in the University Geological Museum*. Les collections destinées à l'étude et à la recherche, comme la collection minéralogique Ferrier, sont-elles intéressantes pour le non-spécialiste? Doit-on les exposer ou les réserver aux chercheurs?

L'Université n'est cependant pas toujours d'accord avec le personnel et le Comité des musées quant au rôle de ces derniers. Dans le célèbre *Report of the Committee Appointed by Senate on 18 March 1959 to Consider the Recommendations on the University Museums Committee*, nous pouvons lire:

should the University endorse a policy making the Redpath Museum an instrument of public relations and a means of providing free education to the public at large, other sections of the University, particularly the Libraries, would soon be urged to give the same free services to all, to the detriment of their academic efficiency. The unanimous conclusion of the Committee was that the University Museums should serve the needs of the University first, and engage in outside service with caution<sup>71</sup>.

Le problème est donc formulé de la même manière qu'en 1893<sup>72</sup>. La question ne fait pas non plus l'unanimité au sein du personnel et de l'administration des musées. Ainsi, lit-on, dans le rapport annuel de 1969-1970 du Musée Redpath:

Certain members see the Museum strictly as an academic and research department within the University. They tolerate members of the non-campus public, but feel no obligation towards them. Others look on a university museum as having a dual role, capable of satisfying the needs of specialists and non-specialists, both on and off the cam-

pus. The difference in these two outlooks is fundamental. (...) For many years the Redpath Museum has taken a middle path<sup>73</sup>.

Au cœur de ce litige, la section éducation. En 1963-1964, 16 p. 100 des 27 000 visiteurs du Redpath sont des écoliers en visites guidées. Malgré ses activités florissantes, elle est remise en cause. Depuis quelques années, le Protestant School Board a cessé de contribuer à son financement. L'Université la priserait sans doute davantage si elle s'autofinçait. Grâce aux 33 bénévoles de la section éducation, le Musée offre pourtant un service gratuit de visites guidées. Au printemps 1970, Stanley B. Frost, «Vice-Principal» et président du Comité de travail consultatif des musées se demande si l'Université, qui suffit à peine à ses besoins, peut se permettre d'offrir un programme public. A-t-elle même les moyens de s'offrir un musée? Ne devrait-on pas faire appel à la ville de Montréal? Pour sa part, D. St.-A. Sewell, «Education Officer», admet que plusieurs des expositions sont trop simplifiées, mais qu'on pourrait les refaire tout en respectant les besoins des divers intéressés.

Si tous ne s'entendent pas sur le rôle des musées universitaires, tous sont d'accord pour dire que le manque de personnel, d'espace, bref de fonds<sup>74</sup> crée des tensions<sup>75</sup>. À la question des fonds s'ajoute celle des effectifs. Malgré l'engagement de conservateurs et d'adjoints, le Musée manque cruellement de personnel de soutien. De plus, la reconnaissance du statut d'enseignant se fait attendre, bien que le Comité spécial du Sénat la recommande dans son rapport de 1960. Dès 1962 pourtant, A. W. Cameron enseigne au département de zoologie et Louise S. Stevenson encadre des étudiants. C'est seulement en 1966-1967 que Cameron et Carroll, qui enseignent à l'Université, sont payés par les départements concernés et par le Musée, et qu'ils ne sont plus considérés comme simples «lecturers<sup>76</sup>». Au printemps 1970, les conservateurs n'ont toujours pas le statut d'enseignant<sup>77</sup>; leurs salaires sont toujours inférieurs à ceux qui sont versés dans de nombreuses autres institutions.

Malgré le succès du cours *Exhibit Design for Museums* en 1959, l'Université ne semble pas non plus favoriser la formation des muséologues. En effet, d'après le rapport du Comité spécial du Sénat en 1960, le personnel des musées de McGill peut, s'il le désire, donner un cours de gestion sommaire des musées. Cet encouragement mitigé explique peut-être pourquoi l'expérience de 1959 ne se répète pas. En 1969, Alice E. Johannsen donne bien à Lévis un cours en français intitulé *Organisation et administration d'un musée*, mais elle le fait au nom de l'A.M.C.

La question du nouveau musée traîne aussi en longueur, bien qu'on le mentionne parmi les édifices à construire, entre 1963 et 1966. Malgré la réouverture du McCord dans l'Union Building en 1967, le Redpath est plein à craquer: on manque d'espace d'entreposage, de travail, d'exposition, etc. Devant le manque de fonds de l'Université, on suggère, dans *Feasibility Study of the Redpath Museum*, en février 1969, que le Musée soit modifié moyennant une modeste somme. La proposition reste lettre morte.

Le rapport du Comité spécial du Sénat de 1960 laissait déjà entrevoir une détérioration des relations entre l'Université et ses musées. Composé de membres qui, à l'exception de T. H. Clark, ne connaissent pas la question des musées et encore moins le mouvement de modernisation, le Comité ne tient pas compte de la situation réelle des musées de McGill et du potentiel de ses activités publiques. Pour le personnel et le Comité des musées, ce rapport est un véritable affront. Ajoutons à cela une apathie des départements envers les musées, ce qui, au dire de M. J. Dunbar, est une véritable croix<sup>78</sup>.

En remaniant la structure administrative des musées, on espère redresser la situation et resserrer les liens entre l'Université et ses musées. À compter de 1967, ces derniers relèvent du «Vice-Principal (Academic)»; le Comité des musées de McGill est remplacé par le Conseil consultatif des musées, lui-même composé de trois comités consultatifs de travail, représentant respectivement les Musées Redpath et McCord, et la collection ethnologie. Le Comité consultatif comprend aussi un

groupe de conseillers «at Large». Les comités de travail ne doivent pas compter plus de six membres; ces derniers doivent s'intéresser à la question des musées, ou représenter des départements ou organismes qui s'y intéressent; les conservateurs et le directeur de chaque musée doivent siéger aux comités de travail. Alice E. Johannsen est membre d'office de chaque comité de travail. Le remaniement de la structure administrative des musées n'aura cependant pas les résultats escomptés.

Malgré les tensions, liées aux contraintes d'espace, de fonds et de personnel, qui règnent entre les différentes sections du Redpath, le Musée n'en continue pas moins de croître. Entre 1958 et 1968, le personnel des musées publie quelque 50 articles. L'association des Dames auxiliaires des musées de McGill, anciennement la Junior League Volunteers, comprend 160 membres. Subventions et recherches sur le terrain ne cessent d'augmenter. Faute d'espace et de moyens à l'intérieur du Redpath même, on doit limiter le nombre d'étudiants de troisième cycle. Depuis 1964, le Redpath est ouvert le dimanche. En 1968-1969, il attire 44 672 visiteurs. Soixante-quinze pour cent des visiteurs de fin de semaine sont francophones. Malgré les dissensions, le programme de modernisation des expositions scientifiques permanentes progresse. Les expositions temporaires témoignent elles aussi d'une nette évolution. En 1965-1966, *From Atom to Cell* est considérée comme la meilleure jamais réalisée par les musées de McGill et l'une des meilleures en Amérique du Nord.

Parmi les activités les plus importantes de la section éducation et de la directrice des musées de McGill à cette époque, mentionnons les programmes voués à l'interprétation de la nature. En 1969, le Redpath devient le premier musée canadien à recevoir une subvention de trois ans du World Wildlife Fund of Canada. La section éducation, avec la collaboration de Alice E. Johannsen, consacre alors énormément d'énergie à élaborer un projet pilote d'interprétation de la nature au domaine Gault, propriété de l'Université McGill, au mont Saint-Hilaire.

Comme nous l'avons dit antérieurement, ces activités vont de pair avec l'intérêt d'Alice E. Johannsen pour l'interprétation de la nature. En 1968-1969, en tant que conseillère de la National Capital Commission qui siège à Ottawa, elle propose *An Outdoor Interpretive Program for Gatineau Park* et dirige une expédition de deux semaines, *Naturalists' Tour to Galapagos and Ecuador*. Elle ne cesse de se perfectionner. Toujours dans le but de former du personnel spécialisé, elle obtient, en 1964, un diplôme de la British Museums Association. Elle participe à des rencontres au pays comme à l'étranger et siège au conseil d'administration de plusieurs organismes. Depuis vingt-cinq ans, Alice E. Johannsen se consacre à l'avancement de la muséologie. C'est pourquoi, en 1969, la C.M.A. lui accorde le titre de «Fellow».

### **1970: l'éclatement de la crise**

«Its taken me close to 30 years to face the fact that it's extremely difficult for university museums to do two things properly – serve the public and the academic community at the same time<sup>79</sup>.» Cette phrase simple de Alice E. Johannsen nous semble la meilleure façon d'aborder la délicate question de la fermeture du Musée Redpath.

En 1970, les tensions et les conflits ne sont toujours pas réglés. Jusqu'ici, nous nous sommes surtout penché sur le fragile équilibre entre les activités publiques et scientifiques du Musée. Signalons que l'Université fait quant à elle face à une crise financière. Depuis 1965 en effet, la politique de rattrapage du gouvernement provincial fait en sorte que les universités francophones reçoivent davantage que les universités anglophones. De plus, le Gouvernement n'entend pas que ses subventions servent à financer les visites guidées. Au cours de l'été, le «Principal» H. R. Robertson demande à une commission – où siège entre autres Stanley B. Frost, «Vice-Principal» et membre du Comité consultatif des musées de McGill – d'étudier la situation. En septembre, au terme de son mandat, la Commission déclare que l'Université fait face à un déficit de huit millions de dollars. Pour réduire ce déficit, la Commission recommande entre

autres la fermeture au public des Musées Redpath et McCord.

Déjà en mai 1970, Alice E. Johannsen envisage la fermeture du Redpath au public. Même si elle croit que c'est à l'Université de décider de l'avenir du Musée, Alice E. Johannsen propose quelques solutions, dont la plus sérieuse a trait à la mise en valeur du Centre de Saint-Hilaire. Le projet pilote d'interprétation de la nature y a été mené à terme avec grand succès et les membres de la section éducation s'y sont engagés à fond. La directrice des musées de McGill croit qu'on pourrait faire de ce centre un véritable laboratoire pour les sciences naturelles de McGill et un lieu privilégié d'éducation populaire. Le centre devrait se trouver un budget indépendant de celui du Redpath et on y transférerait le personnel et les services concernés. Pour le Redpath fermé au public, il pourrait s'en suivre une augmentation du travail scientifique, un resserrement des liens avec l'Université, des possibilités d'avancement pour le personnel, davantage d'aires de travail et une diminution du budget. L'Université quant à elle pourrait continuer d'offrir à la collectivité un important service bilingue. Toutes les parties y trouveraient leur compte.

À la suite de l'annonce officielle par l'Université de la fermeture du Redpath, les réactions ne se font pas attendre. Pour l'éviter, le personnel est prêt à accepter une diminution du budget et à demander au public de soutenir les activités scientifiques et d'interprétation du Musée. Ces dernières se dérouleraient à l'extérieur du Musée, laissant ainsi davantage d'espace pour le travail scientifique.

Le public ne tarde pas non plus à manifester son désaccord. Bon nombre de lettres ouvertes et d'articles paraissent dans les journaux anglophones et francophones. Des élèves signent une pétition. On écrit au « Principal », aux ministères des Affaires culturelles, de l'Éducation, etc. On fait des démarches auprès des gouvernements municipal et provincial, qui se renvoient la balle, pour que le Redpath devienne un musée public d'histoire naturelle. On suggère même de le déménager dans un hôtel désaffecté ou dans un pavillon de Terre des hommes. Le monde de la muséologie ne reste pas non plus indifférent à cette ferme-

ture. Des institutions et des organismes aussi connus que le Smithsonian Institution et l'International Council of Museums font connaître leur désaccord. Rien n'y fait. À compter du 1er juin 1971, le Redpath sera fermé au public.

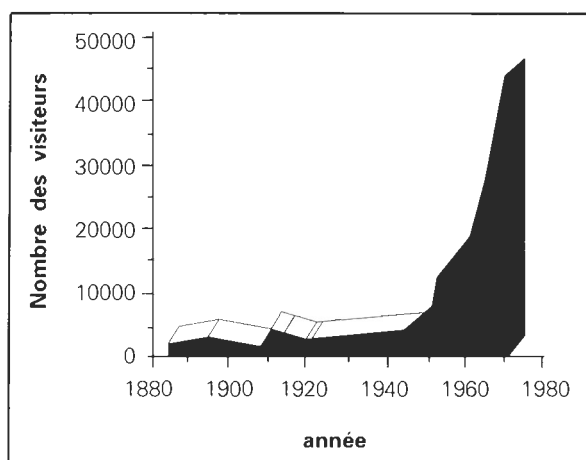
Le Musée McCord échappe toutefois à la guillotine. Grâce à l'intervention de donateurs, ce « joyau » des musées de McGill, au dire de S. B. Frost, sera ouvert au public quelque 15 heures par semaine. Le « Vice-Principal<sup>80</sup> » croit aussi qu'il est grand temps que le public, en collaboration avec la Ville ou le gouvernement provincial, s'occupe de doter Montréal d'un véritable musée d'histoire naturelle. L'Université serait disposée à prêter du matériel.

Toujours porteuse des valeurs profondes de l'éducation populaire en muséologie, Alice E. Johannsen poursuit sa mission. En mars 1971, lors du dîner de fermeture du Musée, elle dit souhaiter que le Redpath devienne plus fort, que Montréal se dote d'un musée d'histoire naturelle et que le Centre d'interprétation de la nature de Saint-Hilaire devienne un haut lieu du savoir et de la connaissance pour les gens de tout âge et de toutes nationalités. Férée de sciences naturelles et promotrice des musées d'interprétation de la nature, Alice E. Johannsen devient en 1971 directrice du Centre de Saint-Hilaire.

### ***Bilan des années 1940-1970***

Pendant les années de service d'Alice E. Johannsen aux musées de McGill, les réalisations ne se comptent plus : les techniques d'exposition s'améliorent, le nombre de visiteurs fait plus que décupler, le personnel spécialisé augmente, la recherche et les publications ne cessent de croître, les spécialistes qui enseignent à l'Université ne sont plus considérés comme de simples « lecteurs », deux associations professionnelles voient le jour, des cours de formation se donnent, etc. Même si les premières années de Madame Johannsen aux musées de McGill sont davantage marquées par des tâches pratiques, les suivantes par des revendications et les dernières par des dissensions, jamais elle ne perd de vue son idéal et ses objectifs.

### Fréquentation publique du Musée Redpath d'après les McGill University Museums Annual Reports



Sous sa direction, le Musée Redpath connaît des années de croissance tant dans ses activités publiques que scientifiques, croissance qui prend même des allures exponentielles dans les années 1960.

La fermeture en 1970 du Musée Redpath, alors même que le nombre d'employés et d'activités atteint des sommets inégalés, soulève diverses questions. Il semble que la réponse ne se trouve pas uniquement dans le climat économique et politique du Québec et du Canada des années 1970. En 1969, la publication par l'American Association of Museums du *Belmont Report* nous montre bien l'ampleur des problèmes auxquels les musées font face, les musées universitaires en particulier.

Les grandes questions soulevées par l'étude du Musée Redpath peuvent se résumer ainsi :

- Un musée soumis à une double contrainte (scientifique et publique) peut-il survivre?
- On encore, peut-il devenir viable avec une structure administrative où le mode de financement et le mode de prise de décision (comités inspirés des modèles du XIX<sup>e</sup> siècle) entraînent une opposition entre fonctions scientifiques et fonctions publiques?
- En d'autres termes, de manière générale, peut-on «moderniser» un équipement

muséologique universitaire issu du XIX<sup>e</sup> siècle?

Pour répondre à ces questions, d'autres études sont nécessaires. Une piste importante à développer : l'évolution du statut du conservateur et de son lien avec l'Université et le Musée tout au long du dix-neuvième siècle.

Comme on le constate à la lecture du *Belmont Report*, la plupart des musées américains manquent de fonds et de personnel qualifié. Les musées universitaires, quant à eux, «have tended to discard their natural history collections because of the present-day emphasis on molecular biology rather than on taxonomic biological training<sup>81</sup>». En 1970, le «Vice-Principal» S. B. Frost écrit lui aussi :

The *Redpath Museum* (...) is composed of extremely important working and research collections in the natural sciences, many of which are internationally known. Over the years, however, with the growing emphasis on the theoretical and experimental approach in university teaching, the Museum has become somewhat divorced from teaching departments and ignored by the academic life on the campus<sup>82</sup>.

Malgré la justesse de ces arguments, force nous est de conclure qu'ils ne justifient pas pourquoi en 1970 le Redpath ferme ses portes au public, tout en ne conservant que sa fonction pédagogique et scientifique.

Tout comme son prédécesseur, E. Lionel Judah, Alice E. Johannsen n'a cessé de s'efforcer de mettre le Redpath en valeur, usant pour cela de sa renommée, de son imagination et des ressources mises à sa disposition. La création du Centre d'interprétation de la nature de Saint-Hilaire et ses succès viennent heureusement atténuer l'impression d'échec qui pourrait se dégager d'une vision rapide du premier siècle d'histoire du Musée Redpath.

En cette année 1988, le débat sur la modernisation des équipements muséologiques universitaires est toujours d'actualité : il est question de rouvrir le Redpath au public.



*Le mouvement de modernisation des musées scientifiques au XX<sup>e</sup> siècle*

**Tableau**  
**Musées de McGill: répartition et localisation des collections**

1941	<b>Musée Redpath</b>	<b>Musée Ethnologie</b>	<b>Musée McCord</b>	
	Géologie Zoologie	Ethnologie	Histoire canadienne (Joseph House)	
1949	<b>Musée Redpath</b>	<b>Musée McCord</b>	<b>Arctic Institute</b>	<b>Divinity Hall</b>
	Géologie Zoologie	Histoire Ethnologie*	Art Eskimo	Antiquités bibliques
1954	<b>Musée Redpath</b>	<b>Musée McCord</b>	<b>Arctic Institute</b>	<b>Divinity Hall</b>
	Géologie Zoologie Ethnologie*	Histoire Ethnologie* (Hodgson House)	Art Eskimo	Antiquités bibliques
1965	<b>Musée Redpath</b>	<b>Musée McCord</b>	<b>Arctic Institute</b>	<b>Divinity Hall</b>
	Géologie Zoologie Ethnologie*	Histoire Ethnologie* (entreposage)	Art Eskimo	Antiquités bibliques
1968	<b>Musée Redpath</b>	<b>Musée McCord</b>	<b>Divinity Hall</b>	
	Géologie Zoologie Ethnologie*	Histoire Ethnologie* (Indiens et Eskimo)	Ethnologie*	
1969	<b>Musée Redpath</b>	<b>Musée McCord</b>	<b>Pillow House</b>	<b>Dept. Anthropologie</b>
	Géologie Zoologie Ethnologie*	Histoire Ethnologie* (Indiens et Eskimo)	Ethnologie* (non-canadienne) (entreposage)	Collection Ami* (paléolithique)

\*Collection répartie en plusieurs lieux différents

\* \* \* \* \*

## Notes

1. On remarquera par exemple :

– Sheets-Pyenson, Susan : «Stones and bones and skeletons, the origins and early development of the Peter Redpath Museum (1882-1912)», *McGill Journal of Education*, xvii (1982), pp. 45-64. Ou encore : «Cathedrals of science: The developments of colonial natural history museums during the late nineteenth century», *History of Science*, part 3, no 69 (sept. 1987), pp. 279-300.

– Duchesne, Raymond : *Science, culture savante et pouvoir politique : le Musée de l'Instruction Publique et l'histoire naturelle au Canada*, thèse de doctorat, Institut d'Histoire et de Sociopolitique des Sciences, Université de Montréal, 1984.

2. Une cinquantaine de cabinets, de collections et de musées scientifiques du XIX<sup>e</sup> siècle ont été répertoriés au Québec, dont la moitié appartient à des institutions d'enseignement. Ces institutions possèdent aussi les collections les plus riches en termes de spécimens et d'objets.

3. Cette première partie de la recherche a été réalisée par Paul Carle et Alain Mongeau, membres du Centre de recherche en évaluation sociale des technologies (CREST) de l'Université du Québec à Montréal (UQAM), ainsi que par Lynne Teather du Museum Studies Program de l'Université de Toronto. Le travail de recherche, dont quelques résultats sont présentés ici, a été rendu possible par une subvention du Conseil de recherche en sciences humaines (CRSH), obtenue par Paul Carle pour les années 1987 et 1988. Les auteurs tiennent à remercier particulièrement Mme Alice E. Johannsen, ainsi que le personnel des Archives de l'Université McGill, notamment Mme Phebe Chartrand.

4. Cette période de l'histoire du Musée Redpath a fait l'objet d'une excellente étude par Susan Sheets-Pyenson («Stones and Bones and ...», *op. cit.*). En ce qui concerne l'histoire de McGill, on remarquera surtout l'excellent travail de Stanley B. Frost, *McGill University for the advancement of learning*, tout particulièrement le volume II (1895-1971), McGill-Queen's University Press, Kingston et

Montréal, 1984. Les auteurs du présent article devraient publier sous peu un texte présentant plus en détail les éléments de cette période.

5. J. W. Dawson, *A plea for the extension of university education in Canada and more especially in connection with the McGill University*, Montreal, Montreal, John C. Becket imprimeur, 1870, p. 14.

6. Pour le cas, par exemple, des instruments et de l'enseignement de la physique en milieu francophone, voir : Paul Carle, *Le cabinet de physique et l'enseignement des sciences au Canada français : le cas du Séminaire de Québec et de l'Université Laval (1663-1920)*, thèse de doctorat, Institut d'Histoire et de Sociopolitique des Sciences, Université de Montréal, 1986.

7. «Nature proclaims the power and divinity of its Author, (...) no human power can ultimately silence this testimony, which is, perhaps, more profoundly impressed upon the mind by well-arranged collections of natural objects than in any other way». (Extrait du discours présenté par Dawson lors du début des travaux de construction du Musée Redpath, le 22 septembre 1880). «We dedicate the Peter Redpath Museum to the study of the varied and wonderful manifestations of God's creation». (Extrait du discours du chancelier Charles Dewey Day, lors de l'ouverture du Redpath, le 24 août 1882). Tiré de J. W. Dawson, *In memoriam: Peter Redpath*, Montréal, University Witness Printing House, 1894, pp. 23 et 34.

8. Le rapport annuel du Musée pour l'année 1893, fait état de 2500 visiteurs pour l'année venant de s'écouler. Ces statistiques sont suivies du commentaire suivant : «The number of these might, no doubt, be increased, if it were deemed desirable, but it must ever be borne in mind that the Museum is primarily intended for the use of instructors and students, and that the introduction of large numbers of outside visitors would necessarily prove distracting and interfere with the works of classes».

9. Voir Susan Sheets-Pyenson, *op. cit.* p. 55.

10. Des changements seront aussi observés dans les universités francophones québécoises, mais avec un décalage de 20 à 40 ans.

11. Voir Yves Gingras, «De l'enseignement à la recherche: l'émergence d'une nouvelle pratique de la physique dans les universités canadiennes,» *Histoire Sociale*, vol. XIX. no 37, mai 1986, p. 73-91.
12. Voir par exemple Susan Sheets-Pyenson, *op. cit.*, p. 60.
13. L. V. Coleman, *The Museum in America*, Washington, 1929, iii, pp. 225-226.
14. Selon les *Report on the Peter Redpath Museum*, inclus dans les *Annual Report* de l'Université McGill.
15. *Annual Report*, 1907-1908
16. Extrait de l'*Annual Report* de l'Université pour l'année 1925-1926, pp. 16-17.
17. Tel que G. R. Lomer le présente dans le *Memorandum on Museums*, Archives de l'Université McGill (AUM), mai 1925.
18. Une source importante d'information sur E. L. Judah est son curriculum vitæ, rédigé en 1932. On y trouve, entre autres, une liste de ses principales publications. Dans une lettre à C. F. Martin, doyen de la faculté de médecine, en 1924, il mentionnait: «In a city like Montreal, where there is no museum worthy of the name, McGill, with her vast amount of material already available, could do much to educate the general public and at the same time give them a living interest in the affairs of the university.» Ajoutant ses recommandations personnelles, il concluait en offrant ses services: «Any further information upon this subject, to which I have given much thought and study, which I have seen applied in both public and scientific museums on this continent and abroad, I would be most happy to give you or any other member of the university staff personally.»
19. Il reçoit, entre autres, une médaille d'or à la Saint-Louis Exhibition en 1904, une autre médaille d'or à l'exposition de l'American Medical Association, à Chicago en 1924. En 1924, alors en congé sans solde, il conçoit le Mayo Clinic Museum à Rochester, Minn.
20. AUM, Lettre de E. L. Judah à C. F. Martin, juin 1925.
21. AUM, *Memorandum on Museums*, février 1929.
22. Il s'agit probablement du *Manual for small museums*, publié à New York, chez Putnam's sons, en 1927. Coleman publiera en 1942 à Washington, un volume intitulé *College and University museums*; l'American Association of Museums agira comme éditeur.
23. *A report on the museums of Canada*, Edinburgh, imprimé par T. et A. Constable Ltd., 1932. La Museum Association et la Carnegie Corporation ont publié plusieurs rapports semblables sur l'empire britannique: les Îles britanniques (1923), le Canada (1932), l'Afrique britannique (1932), la Nouvelle-Zélande (1933), l'Australie (1933), et les Indes (1936).
24. AUM, Lettre de Judah à Markham, 14 avril 1931.
25. Une analyse pertinente du rapport Miers-Markham peut être trouvée dans la thèse de Henry Gilbert Ferrabee, *The Educational Function of Museums in the Vicinity of Montreal with Special Reference to Historical Museums and Sites*, proposée pour l'obtention d'une M. A., Université McGill, 1953.
26. *A survey of McGill University Museums*, Montreal, McGill University, 1932, p. 25.
27. Sauf peut-être pour une innovation récente de T. H. Clark qui avait alors amorcé l'agencement synoptique de certains spécimens de géologie. *Op. cit.*, note 28, p. 20.
28. *Op. cit.*, note 28, p. 20.
29. *Op. cit.*, note 28, p. 17.
30. *Op. cit.*, note 28, p. 4.
31. AUM, Lettre de Judah à Cyril Fox, 23 mai 1936.
32. «There are those, however, who consider my efforts in this course of vital interest, as in Boston, two weeks ago, I was told by Coleman, that they were watching developments of my work minutely and considered it as one of the biggest museum moves launched in the last three years», AUM, lettre de Judah à S. F. Markham, 28 mai 1932.
33. Précurseur ou visionnaire, le travail de Judah ne se concrétisera que bien après sa retraite. Deux organismes verront alors offi-

ciellement le jour: en 1947, l'AMC et en 1958, l'Association des musées de la province de Québec.

34. AUM, Extrait des Minutes of the Board of Governors, 4 avril 1932.

35. AUM, Lettre de Judah à Markham, 28 mai 1932.

36. Dans une lettre à Miers, 19 mai 1936, AUM, entre autres.

37. AUM, Lettres de Markham à Judah, 8 juin et 4 septembre 1936.

38. AUM, Lettre de Judah à Markham, 21 août 1939.

39. Cette seconde partie de la recherche a été réalisée par Paul Carle et Madeleine Dufresne, membres du Centre de recherche en évaluation sociale des technologies (CREST) de l'Université du Québec à Montréal (UQAM), ainsi que par Lynne Teather du Museum Studies Program de l'Université de Toronto. Le travail de recherche, dont quelques résultats sont présentés ici, a été rendu possible par une subvention du Conseil de recherche en sciences humaines (CRSH), obtenue par Paul Carle pour les années 1987 et 1988. Les dossiers suivants, des Archives de l'Université McGill, ont été consultés: RG 41, C. 2, 3, 12-16.

40. Alice E. Johannsen est étudiante en géologie à l'Université McGill de 1930 à 1934.

41. *Outdoor Folk Museums. Summary of Mrs. Turnham\*'s Connections with Outdoor Museums*, AUM, RG 41, C. 13 (\*lire Johannsen). Voir aussi Carl E. Guthe et Grace M. Guthe, *The Canadian Museum Movement*, Canadian Museums Association, 1958, p. 17.

42. Le premier abrite la collection d'histoire, le second celle d'ethnologie. Voir le tableau des collections.

43. «It would take a lifetime for one person to knock the Redpath into some sort of exhibition shape, but I do the best I can and must say I enjoy it.» Alice E. Johannsen à Clifford P. Wilson, 9 novembre 1942.

44. Dans son rapport de 1932, Cyril Fox recommande la construction d'un nouvel édifice qui abriterait les trois collections. Le

nouveau projet ne concerne pas les musées de médecine ni celui du département de zoologie.

45. «At a meeting of the University Museum Committee held on December 6, 1943, the following program and recommendations were thoroughly discussed and unanimously approved, and the chairman was instructed to present the same before the Committee on University Needs.» Presented before the Committee on University Needs, December 9, 1943.

46. Voir le tableau des collections.

47. Henry Gilbert Ferrabee est l'auteur de *The Educational Function of Museums in the Vicinity of Montreal with Special Reference to Historical Museums and Sites*, maîtrise ès arts, McGill University, 1953.

48. *McGill University Museums. A Report of Progress 1855-1950*, p. 7, 8, 12 et *McGill University Museums Annual Report 1948-1949*, p. 1, 2, 4, 6.

49. Le salaire de V. Conde est d'abord versé par L. G. Mickles; l'Université ne prendra la relève qu'en 1954.

50. Alice E. Johannsen est engagée en 1941, Betty Jaques (à temps partiel) en 1944, J. D. Cleghorn en 1948. F. M. Hutchins n'est pas rémunéré. Le salaire de V. Conde est alors versé par L. G. Mickles.

51. «In view of the visible progress of the past session we feel very strongly that our slowly increasing demands for additional staff and additional funds have well been justified. Most especially we wish to thank the authorities for the special appropriations granted this year to cover:

1. Construction of an Office (...)

2. Removal of the Ethnological Museum from the Medical Building. Without these additional funds the year's progress would have been impossible.» (*McGill University Museums Annual Report 1948-1949*, p. 6)

52. «The sympathy of the present administration towards museums needs has noticeably increased in the past ten years and is greatly appreciated. (*McGill University Museums. A Report of Progress. 1855-1950*, p. 8)

53. «Demand for loan material for University classroom use and for participation

of staff members in Seminars conducted by University Departments is increasing.» (*McGill University Museums Annual Report 1948-1949*, p. 4) Au moins 15 départements ont recours aux services du Redpath.

54. Alice E. Johannsen avait alors consulté des experts canadiens et américains.

55. En 1945, Alice E. Johannsen rédige *Proposed Remodelling of Redpath Museum. Analysis of Space*; on engage même un architecte. L'année suivante, on construit une maquette du Redpath agrandi et rénové. En 1951, on présente *Memorandum Museum Requirements at McGill University*, mise à jour du document de 1943.

56. La C.M.A. reprend plusieurs des suggestions du rapport Miers-Markham de 1932: fonder un institut d'enseignement de la muséologie; garder les muséologues au pays; rester en contact avec les musées de l'étranger afin d'être au courant des derniers développements dans le domaine; etc.

57. Alice E. Johannsen, *McGill University Museums Annual Report 1952-1953*, «The McGill Museums in the Larger Scheme», p. 1.

58. *Ibid.*, p. 3.

59. Alice E. Johannsen, *McGill University Museums Annual Report 1954-1955*, p. 16.

60. Il s'agit du premier travail du genre depuis le rapport Miers-Markham, publié en 1932. Carl Guthe est membre de l'American Association of Museums et de l'American Association of State and Local Museums. Voir Carl E. Guthe et Grace M. Guthe, *The Canadian Museum Movement*, Ottawa, Canadian Museums Association, 1958, 48 p.

61. «Tubular fluorescent lights are being installed in all permanent upright cases, together with swivel floodlights in each alcove. This lighting has been designed for maximum flexibility.» (*McGill University Museums Annual Report 1951-1952*, p. 2)

62. Plusieurs universités ont déjà accordé cette reconnaissance au personnel de leurs musées.

63. *McGill University Museums: Present Position and Policy. Summary and Recommendations*, mars 1958, p. 1.

64. «Senate asked whether the request for rank was merely a means of raising salaries, to which Mrs. Turnham\* replied that both were important.» (\*Lire Johannsen), (*University Museums Committee, second Meeting 1958-1959 Session*, March 9, 1959, p. 1).

65. En 1956, Alice E. Johannsen en dessine le plan; en 1957, un comité spécial prépare *Extended McGill Museums Facilities*, que l'on doit présenter au Conseil des arts.

66. «More McGill departments are making use of the Museum than ever before; and it is safe to say that the University as a whole appears to have discovered the Museum as a valuable asset.» (*McGill University Museums. Report of Progress II. 1950-1955*, p. 11)

67. Voir la première partie de cet article.

68. Voir entre autres Alice E. Johannsen, *McGill University Museums, Annual Report 1963-1964*, p. 2.

69. «University museums in other countries have successfully made this transition, accepting their public responsibility as a remarkable opportunity rather than as an added burden. The Ashmolean Museum at Oxford and the Fitzwilliam Museum of Art and the Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology, both at Cambridge, are extending and capitalizing upon their community relations. The Universities of Pennsylvania, Colorado and Michigan make heavy contributions to scientific teaching and research, yet in varying degrees they very effectively serve the general public without jeopardizing any of these interests. In other cases, such as the Peabody Museums of Harvard and Yale, the public is tolerated, but not encouraged. And this is becoming more and more the attitude at McGill in spite of the fact that the Redpath Museum is the only natural science museum in the entire province.» (Alice E. Johannsen, *Statement on New Trends in the Redpath Museum*, mars 1970, p. 5) On pourra consulter les articles, documents ou auteurs suivants:

Reimann, Irving G., «The Role of a University Museum in the Education of Students and the Public», *The Museum News*, novembre 1967, pp. 36-39.

Rodeck, Hugo G., «Education in Action», *The Museum News*, mars 1960, pp. 10-15.

——— «Functions of University and College Museums», *The Museum News*, 1<sup>er</sup> février 1950, p. 7-8.

Rolfe, W. D. Ian, «A university's museum», *Museums Journal*, volume 69, no 1, juin 1969, p. 7-10.

Romer, Alfred S., «Centennial of the <Agassiz Museum>», *The Harvard Foundation for Advanced Study and Research*, 30 septembre 1959, p. 3-6.

s.a., «University Museums», *The University Museum Bulletin*, 1955, p. 24-25.

Williams, Stephen, «The university museum in the modern world», *Harvard Bulletin*, 17 novembre 1969, p. 25-30.

Hall, E. Raymond, *Functions of the Natural History Museum in an Institution of Higher Learning*, avril 1957, 6 p.

Reimann, Irving G., *The Exhibit Program in the University Museum*, s. 1., s.d.

70. Vincent Conde, *An Outline of Considerations Regarding the Plans for the Zoology Floor*, p. 1. À noter qu'Irving Reimann, directeur de la section des expositions au musée de l'Université du Michigan, invité à faire une visite d'une journée au Redpath, C. E. Guthe et J. D. Cleghorn sont aussi appelés à donner leur avis sur cette réorganisation de la section zoologie.

71. *Report of the Committee Appointed on 18 March 1959 to Consider the Recommendations on the University Museums Committee*, 8 février 1960, p. 3.

72. Voir la première partie de cet article.

73. Alice E. Johannsen, *Redpath Museums Annual Report - 1969-1970. Departmental Policy. Report of the Director*, p. 2.

74. La plupart des musées américains manquent de fonds. «The basic reason why museums cannot meet today's demands is that they cannot afford to. (...) Yet museums, almost without exception, are understaffed and their staffs are underpaid. Salaries of professional and technical personnel are not competitive with comparable positions in other

educational institutions. Museum staffs have failed to grow at a rate appropriate to the pace of museum attendance or the growth of their collections.

Some of America's museums occupy buildings which antedate the Twentieth Century. Few are modern. More than half try to use structures never designed as museums. Most, if they are to serve the public adequately, require additions, replacements and extensive modernization of plant and equipment.

Funds to increase staff or to pay staff members competitive salaries, or to modernize museum buildings and facilities, are not at present available to museums.» (*America's Museums: The Belmont Report*, American Association of Museums, 1968, vi).

75. «In the quickening struggle for economic survival at McGill, a new note has begun to creep into the Museum. Rivalry among Divisions for financial support leads to inevitable deprivation for some, which is not always in the best interest of the whole. Herein lie the seeds of self-destruction.» (Alice E. Johannsen, *Statement on New Trends in the Redpath Museum*, 31 mars 1970, p. 5)

76. Alice E. Johannsen, *McGill University Museums Annual Report 1966-1967*, p. 7 et Alice E. Johannsen, *Statement on New Trends in the Redpath Museum*, mars 1970, p. 2.

77. Alice E. Johannsen, *Statement on New Trends in the Redpath Museum*, mars 1970, p. 2-3.

78. M. J. Dunbar, *University Museums Committee. Report of the Chairman, 1965*, p. 6.

79. Betty Shapiro cite Alice E. Johannsen, «Montreal's Redpath Museum not dying, just changing emphasis», *The Gazette*, 18 janvier 1971.

80. *Minutes of University Museums Advisory Committee*, 2 novembre 1970, p. 3, 6 et 8.

81. *America's Museums: The Belmont Report*, p. 14-15.

82. *Minutes of the University Museums Advisory Committee*, 2 novembre 1970, p. 2.

# John Wildman and Rushworth's *Historical Collections*: An Editor Identified?

by Daniel German

*For almost three hundred years the collection of documents relating to the English Civil War known as Rushworth's Historical Collections has been credited to the editorial talents of John Rushworth, a supporter of Parliament in that conflict. A note, found in the margin of a book held by the Department of Rare Books and Special Collections of McLennan Library, suggests that some of the credit for the editorship of these volumes actually belongs to the republican politician, John Wildman. An examination of the information contained in the note reveals an inherent validity to this claim. The fact that a republican, rather than a Parliamentarian, was responsible for part of the selection and preparation of documents should thus be considered in all future use of these documents.*

*Durant près de trois cent ans, la collection de documents traitant de la guerre civile britannique, connue sous le nom de Historical Collections de Rushworth, a été attribuée au talent d'écrivain de John Rushworth, un partisan du Parlement dans le conflit. Une note, rédigée dans la marge d'un livre appartenant au département des livres rares et des collections spéciales de la bibliothèque McLennan, porte à croire qu'une partie de ces volumes serait en fait l'oeuvre de l'homme politique républicain, John Wildman. Un examen du contenu de la note révèle le bien-fondé de cette affirmation. À l'avenir, il ne faudra pas perdre de vue dans l'utilisation de ces ouvrages que leur sélection et leur préparation a été l'oeuvre d'un républicain autant que d'un parlementaire.*

The English Civil War is a matter of great interest to historians, and one of the most important printed resources available for research has been the collection of documents commonly known as Rushworth's *Historical Collections*. This body of papers, generally held to have been edited with a Parliamentary slant,<sup>1</sup> has been the main source of printed documents on the period leading to the war. The accuracy of these volumes has been generally accepted, and the reputation of John Rushworth, the putative editor of the original documents, has increased accordingly.<sup>2</sup> It is suggested though, that some of this credit rightfully belongs to the republican, Sir John Wildman, according to information contained in a note written in the margin of a book held by the Department of Rare Books and Special Collections of McLennan Library. A recent study of the Restoration historians and their treatment of the Civil War explained how this is possible:

The Third and Fourth Parts of the *Historical Collections*, appearing after his [Rushworth's] death, carried on their titlepages the assurance that they had been 'Fitted for the Press in his Life-time,' but Rushworth's prefaces, which had been the most intimate of his contacts with the reader in the previous parts and included his interesting reflections on historical method, were now continued without distinction by some anonymous hand or hands. The absence of Rushworth's own prefaces casts some doubt on whether he really did wholly prepare these volumes for the press...<sup>3</sup>

The marginalia in question is found at the bottom of a page in John Nalson's *An Impartial Collection of the Great Affairs of*

*State* (London, 1682-83) comparing Nalson's version of a document with Rushworth's treatment of the same paper. The note was apparently written to support Nalson's assertion that Rushworth's copy was inaccurate:

Fri<sup>d</sup> 25<sup>o</sup> May 1714. I was in Company with M<sup>r</sup> Sawbridge the bookseller and M<sup>r</sup> Hoskins a printer/ who printed part of Rushworths Collections for M<sup>r</sup> Chiswell [and] who assured me that Mr Rushworths/ Copy was corrected by Major Wildmans hand who in Severall places cancelld [or] crossed out what/ made for the King and in other places altered ['altered' crossed out in original] made such Alterations as reduced them to nonsense/ that the book was printed accordingly and that this manuscript so altered was in his Custody till it/ was unfortunately burnt so that it Seems Rushworth himself was not partial enough [or] how ingeni= / =ously even this first vol: was published appears above

C Hornby<sup>1</sup>

An examination of this note does not show any readily isolated inaccuracies; most of the individuals mentioned in it can be identified, and the facts as stated are not opposed to verifiable history. Such an examination supports the identification of Major Wildman as one of the unknown editors.

The author of the note, C. Hornby, was interested in English history, was a Royalist, and was probably resident in or around London in 1714. In a study of various compilations of biographical material one man was found who fitted these criteria. In 1730 and 1738 Charles Hornby, described as "a sour and ill-natured pedant, secondary of the Pipe Office," published two critical works concerning Sir William Dugdale's *Baronage of England*.<sup>5</sup> Hornby died in 1739 having apparently been a member of the Civil Service for some time and his presence in London in 1714 was therefore possible.<sup>6</sup> The topic of his two publications indicates both his interest in

some aspects of English history and his Royalist sympathies. This tends to support the proposition that Charles Hornby was the man responsible for the marginalia.

The two men with whom Hornby had his conversation, the source of the information, can also be identified to some extent. The first mentioned, Mr. Sawbridge, is called "the bookseller" as if further description is unnecessary. An examination of the pertinent sources does not provide the name of any book seller whose business was extant in 1714, however, a former book seller, if prominent enough to the trade, could be an alternative. If this is accepted, it is probable that the book seller mentioned in the marginalia was George Sawbridge the Younger, who retired from the book trade in 1711 after almost twenty years in Little Britain, the center of the London book trade. Such an important figure to the book trade would need relatively little identification.<sup>7</sup> Although Sawbridge was merely a witness to the information, his presence adds verisimilitude to the account.

Mr. Hoskins, the second man Hornby spoke to, and the actual source of the information, does not appear to have been either as important or as recognizable. He is described as "a printer who printed part of Rushworths Collections for Mr Chiswell"<sup>8</sup> and the identity of Mr. Hoskins revolves around that of Mr. Chiswell, the man for whom he claimed to have worked. Mr. Chiswell also serves as a clue as to the portion of Rushworth's *Historical Collections* referred to in the marginalia.

"Mr. Chiswell" was Richard Chiswell (1639-1711), called by Dunton "the metropolitan bookseller in England, if not of all the world."<sup>9</sup> A famous publisher, Chiswell owned an important book shop in London's St. Paul's Churchyard, and it is a matter of record that he was one of the publishers of the *Historical Collections*. He was not however, the only publisher involved in this undertaking.

Rushworth's *Historical Collections* was published in four parts, in a total of seven volumes, over a period of more than forty years. The first part was printed in 1659 by Thomas Newcomb for George Thomason, and was





NIL ADMIRARI

Portrait of John Wildman by Wenceslaus Hollar. (Hollar Collection, P 1697, Thomas Fisher Rare Book Library, University of Toronto.)

reprinted in another edition in 1682 by J.A. for Robert Boulter. It is obvious that this could not have been the part Wildman is claimed to have edited. The second part was printed in 1680 by J.D. for John Wright and Richard Chiswell, during the lifetime of John Rushworth. The last two parts of the *Historical Collections* were issued following the 1690 death of Rushworth. Two years after his death, the third part of the *Collections* was printed for Richard Chiswell and Thomas Cockerill,<sup>10</sup> while the fourth, and last, part of the *Historical Collections* was printed in 1701, also for Richard Chiswell and Thomas Cockerill.<sup>11</sup>

With the first part of the *Historical Collections* eliminated, the portion mentioned in the note may be further isolated through an identification of Major Wildman, the suggested editor. Sir John Wildman, a noted republican politician of the Restoration period, was usually called Major Wildman, the rank he gained during the Civil War. Wildman was knighted in 1692, the same year the third part appeared, and died in 1693 at the age of seventy-two.<sup>12</sup> Since the fourth part did not appear until eight years after his death, it is probable that Wildman was not its editor. Wildman's editorial possibilities are thus limited to the second and third parts of the *Historical Collections*, both of which were published by Richard Chiswell.

If Major Wildman did edit one of the parts of the *Historical Collections*, it would seem unlikely he worked on a volume while Rushworth himself was alive and able to do so. Rushworth did not die until ten years after the publication of the second part of the *Historical Collections*, and it is known that Rushworth had worked on this material. Records exist which show he consulted with Secretary of State Coventry over papers which have been found in the second part.<sup>13</sup>

It is Royce MacGillivray's assertion that it was with the publication of the third part of the *Historical Collections* that a difference in style became noticeable. MacGillivray assumes Rushworth edited the second part, because, among other reasons it is similar in style to the first part.<sup>14</sup> This would leave the third part to the editorial talents of Major Wildman.

John Rushworth had died in poverty in Southwark on 12 May 1690 following several years in the King's Bench Prison, during which period he is believed to have continued to work on his history.<sup>15</sup> It is probable the arrangement of the papers was not completed at the time of his death, since the third part was not published until 1692. It was at this time, shortly after the death of Rushworth, that Wildman became available to act as the editor.

Between 12 April 1689 and the end of February 1691, Wildman served as the Postmaster-General of England. At the end of that period Wildman was dismissed from his post following complaints that he was using his position to discredit political opponents through the use of fictitious letters he pretended to intercept. From the end of February 1691 until his death on 2 June 1693, Wildman was available to serve as the new editor of the *Historical Collections*.<sup>16</sup>

A plotter of unparalleled ability, Wildman was involved in many of the conspiracies of the Civil War, Interregnum and Restoration. A committed republican, he opposed Charles I, Cromwell, Charles II, James II, and William III, as each became a power in Britain. An experienced writer, with first hand knowledge of the events recorded in the *Historical Collections*, he would have been an excellent replacement for Rushworth. Wildman's last known pamphlets were published in 1688-89 and a biography of Wildman is quite reticent as to his activities during the period following his dismissal from government service. Wildman is known to have become Deputy-Lieutenant of Middlesex in 1692, and his knighthood followed soon on the heels of that appointment.<sup>17</sup> It is possible that Wildman occupied himself during this period as the editor of those papers Rushworth left unarranged.

This possibility is supported by Wildman's need to regain the credibility lost with his dismissal. He had advanced his position by the Revolution of 1688, due partly to the pamphlets he had written in support of William III,<sup>18</sup> and it is plausible that he undertook the editorship of the *Historical Collections* in order to restore this influence. The

*Historical Collections* expressed a bias against the autocratic Stuart rule, the same autocratic form of government which the Glorious Revolution claimed to have ended and the publication of the third part, at this time, tends to indicate the government was not adverse to this message. According to Macgillivray the third part is studiously neutral towards the events recorded, but the suggestion that Wildman was the editor could force a new interpretation of the selection of documents.<sup>19</sup>

The publication of these documents has provided thousands of students of history the materials they have needed to examine the issues which led to the English Civil War and Interregnum. Without these documents our understanding of these events would have been greatly damaged; a large debt is therefore owed to the men responsible for their preparation and publication. However, in order to properly assess the value of these documents, it is necessary to determine the bias of the editor. Knowing that John Wildman may have edited the third part of Rushworth's *Historical Collections* does not deprive the documents contained therein of value, but lacking that knowledge does deprive the historian of an understanding of the methodology employed in their selection and presentation.

As a result of the possibility of Wildman's involvement, the third part must be examined for indications that his republican beliefs influenced his selection. It is possible that the neutrality referred to in MacGillivray is the result of a decision of a republican editor not to include documents selected by, or commentary prepared by, the Parliamentary supporter, Rushworth. It is equally valid to suggest that Wildman may have altered these documents, not only those that "made for the King," but also those which supported his Parliamentary opponents. These possibilities suggest the true importance of this marginalia; the note not only assigns credit for the editorship, it also assigns blame for alterations. All future use of these documents must be made with these suggestions in mind.

## Notes

1. Royce MacGillivray, *Restoration Historians and the English Civil War* (The Hague, 1974), 2.
2. Sir Charles Firth in his biography of Rushworth in the DNB (London, 1959-69), XVII: 421, states that Rushworth owed his fame to this history.
3. MacGillivray, 108.
4. The note is written on the bottom of page vii of the preface to volume I (Acc. no. 748) of McLennan Library's copy of John Nalson's *An Impartial Collection of the Great Affairs of State, From the Beginning of the Scotch Rebellion In the Year MDCXXXIX. To the Murther of King Charles I. Wherein The first Occasions, and the whole Series of the late Troubles in England, Scotland, & Ireland, Are faithfully Represented. Taken from Authentick Records, and Methodically Digested* (London, 1682-83).
5. S.A. Allibone, *A Critical Dictionary of English Literature* (Philadelphia, 1874), I: 887.
6. R. Watt, *Bibliotheca Britannica* (Edinburgh, 1824), II: 515v.
7. This information is found in the entries for George Sawbridge the Younger and Thomas Sawbridge, in Henry Plomer's *A Dictionary of the Printers and Booksellers Who were at Work in England, Scotland and Ireland from 1668 to 1725* (Oxford, 1922), 263. It is an interesting sidenote that Thomas Sawbridge, the father of George Sawbridge the Younger, was one of the publishers of Nalson's *An Impartial Collection of the Great Affairs of State*.
8. See note 3 above.
9. Cited in the entry for Chiswell in the DNB (London, 1959-60), IV: 265. Other information regarding Chiswell may be found in this entry.
10. The above information is taken from the title-pages of the volumes in question, and was confirmed in the entry for John Rushworth in Donald Wing's compilation of

the *Short-Title Catalogue of Books Printed in England, Scotland, Ireland, Wales, and British America and of English Books Printed in Other Countries 1641-1700* (New York, 1951), III: 160.

11. The information for the two volumes which comprise the fourth part is taken from their title-pages, and was confirmed by consulting Edward Arber's *The Term Catalogues, 1668-1709 AD* (London, 1906), III: 132.

12. Charles Firth's entry for Sir John Wildman in the DNB (London, 1959-60), XXI: 232-236, contains this information, as well as a discussion of Wildman's part in the Putney Debates and his later political career. A more complete treatment is found in Maurice Ashley's *John Wildman* (London, 1947).

13. MacGillivray, 105; Firth, "Rushworth," 421.

14. MacGillivray, 108.

15. MacGillivray, 107; Firth, "Rushworth," 421.

16. Firth, "Wildman," 235; Ashley, 298-299.

17. Firth, "Wildman," 235; Ashley, 281-300.

18. Ashley, 277-279.

19. MacGillivray, 108.





**Figure 1. Anthropoid coffin of Tjaoneferamen. Wood covered with gesso and paint. Third Intermediate Period. Thebes. (Photograph courtesy of McGill-Queen's University Press and the Graduates' Society of McGill University, from *McGill: A Celebration*, 1991. Redpath Museum, accession 2717.)**

# The Archaeological Context of the Egyptian and Nubian Antiquities in the Redpath Museum

by David Berg

*Amongst the Egyptian artifacts held by the Redpath Museum, there are but few for which an archaeological context can be documented. These came both from the excavations of the Egypt Exploration Fund and, also, the collection of Prof. John Garstang (University of Liverpool), which was purchased by the Joint Board of the Theological Colleges in 1923. This material is identified along with an in depth discussion of the problems with the information contained in the museum accession book with reference to these antiquities.*

*Parmi les spécimens archéologiques de facture égyptienne qui font partie de la collection du musée Redpath, il y en a peu dont il est possible de déterminer les antécédents archéologiques. Ils proviennent soit des fouilles effectuées par l'Egypt Exploration Fund, soit de la collection du professeur John Garstang (University of Liverpool), dont le Joint Board of the Theological Colleges a fait l'acquisition en 1923. L'auteur donne une description du matériel accompagnée d'un exposé approfondi des problèmes liés à l'information relative à ces pièces dans le catalogue des acquisitions du musée.*

In addition to the two mummies best known to the public, there are approximately twelve hundred artifacts from pharaonic Egypt and contemporaneous Nubia in the Redpath Museum.<sup>1</sup> While most of these are relatively small, anepigraphic 'objects of daily use', there are several very handsome pieces that would grace any museum gallery (e.g., the polychrome Third Intermediate Period sarcophagus (Figure 1) on display with the mummies; a wonderful little wooden model boat with crew members that dates to the Middle Kingdom). This collection, actually the second largest holding of Pharaonic material in Canada, is virtually unknown to scholars and the general public alike. This is partially due to the fact that, save for a small number of objects recently on display in the Anthropology Department and those currently exhibited at the museum itself, the entire collection is in storage. Furthermore, scholarly publication of selected objects from the collection has just begun;<sup>2</sup> there is no general catalogue.

Very little of this material came from excavated contexts. Many of the objects were donated to McGill by individuals<sup>3</sup> or collected by members of the Natural History Society of Montreal (hereafter abbreviated as NHSM), whose museum holdings were donated to McGill in 1925 after the Society's dissolution.<sup>4</sup> In some cases, the site of origin (i.e., provenance) was given by the collector, but usually only in the most general terms (e.g., Karnak). The matter is further complicated by the fact that we are unsure whether a given collector actually picked up a particular piece at the named site or if he in fact merely purchased it from a dealer who had given his wares 'pedigrees'.

A case in point is the large number of artifacts donated to the NHSM in September 1859 by James Ferrier, Senior. Provenances are given for some of the objects in several of the lists of objects comprising the donation.<sup>5</sup> However, in a printed copy of the rough minutes of the NHSM meeting held on June 27,

1859,<sup>6</sup> the list of antiquities is headed by the following statement: "We subjoin a list of Egyptian and oriental curiosities, purchased by the Hon. James Ferrier during his travels in the East...". Thus, in many if not in all cases, it would seem that Ferrier was merely recording the dealer's 'pedigree'.

### EGYPT EXPLORATION FUND

There are, however, two groups of Egyptian and Nubian objects in the Redpath Museum that were excavated by archaeologists from archaeological contexts. The first such group is made up of the artifacts coming from the excavations of the Egypt Exploration Fund (hereafter abbreviated as EEF), now the Egypt Exploration Society, at the sites of Naukratis, Tell Nabasha, Tanis (also referred to in the documentation by its modern name of San [el Hagar]), Tell el Yehudiya, Tikh el Qaramus, and Bubastis (Figure 2). With the exception of this last,<sup>7</sup> these toponyms appear in two lists that are presently in the files of the Redpath Museum. The first is entitled "List of Objects Presented to the Peter Redpath Museum, by the Egypt Exploration Fund, 1887" and bears the stamp-impression of one H. Gosselin. This individual was the part-time clerk of the Royal Archaeological Institute in London, and, beginning in 1886, also dealt with the EEF's business affairs.<sup>8</sup> The second list has no title but is dated January 26, 1926 and consists of fourteen consecutively numbered sheets of Department of Geology or Peter Redpath Museum stationary. Objects listed in several entries beginning on page 5 of this second list are said to come from Naukratis, San, Nebesher (*sic.* For Tell Nabasha), Tell el Yehudiya, and Tikh el Qaramus. It is further stated that these objects were presented by the 'Committee of (*sic.*) Egypt Exploration Fund."

From the descriptions of the objects, it is clear that all the artifacts listed by Gosselin in 1887 appear on the second list; however, this latter records many more EEF objects of Egyptian origin. It would seem, then, that the EEF either made more than one donation to the Redpath Museum, or that some of the material came to the museum from the EEF via another collection. The Redpath Museum

accession book explicitly states for at least one entry (2501) that the object had been a gift from the EEF to the NHSM and this is implied in several other cases (e.g., 2464ff.); these objects seem to include most of those Egyptian antiquities in the second list that are not also on the Gosselin list. Yet a few entries in the second list appear to give the dates of other donations by the EEF: 1884 and 1885. This would suggest a total of at least three donations of artifacts by the EEF to institutions in Montreal: to the NHSM in 1884; to the NHSM again in 1885; and directly to the Redpath Museum in 1887. As was indicated above, the NHSM material was donated to McGill in 1925.

This scenario has been extrapolated from various accession records and related documents at the Redpath Museum. As the data are rather sparse, it would have been helpful if corroborative evidence could have been found amongst the records of the NHSM and/or the EEF. However, this was not to be. The official record of donations to the museum of the NHSM has a gap covering the years 1854 to 1895.<sup>9</sup> A query by E. J. Judah of the University Museums Committee (McGill) to the Egypt Exploration Society in 1934 on precisely this subject resulted in a letter from the Secretary of that society informing him that no record of any antiquities having been given to the NHSM at that time could be found. Furthermore, the writer went on to state that "I doubt whether [the EEF] did present objects anywhere near the time you suggest, at least I do not think it at all likely that they were given direct (*sic.*) to the Montreal Natural History Society."<sup>10</sup> Therefore, the above scenario may have to be expanded as follows: EEF > private collector > NHSM > McGill.

While the EEF material at McGill did come from archaeological provenances, there exists a major problem when attempting to assign archaeological contexts to these objects:<sup>11</sup> the published records for many of the EEF's early excavations are extremely cursory, especially with regards to small objects. Also, if any notes were made at the time of excavation, they are in many cases now lost or inaccessible. Still, there is a small number of Redpath



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Museum objects from two EEF sites for which it may be possible to assign more or less specific archaeological contexts.

The first site is that of the famous ancient city of Naukratis, modern San el Hagar, in the Nile Delta. Two objects (2239.1 and 2239.2) are mentioned in the accession book as having been found in House 39. Another artifact (2253) is said to have been found "N.W. of San" (see the accession book notation), but the 1926 list discussed above has a fuller entry: "Vase from great Stone Well N.W. of San...". Another vase, perhaps to be identified as acc. no. 2254, is referred to in the 1926 list as having been found in House 50; the accession book does not mention the house. Finally, the accession book entry for number 2260 laconically states "San 57", which may be a reference to House 57 at that site. The published record of the EEF excavations at San el Hagar makes no mention of these particular houses but does briefly discuss the well.<sup>12</sup> While Petrie, the excavator does not mention Montreal in his published object distribution lists for this site,<sup>13</sup> he does refer to "...a quantity of small pottery figures, etc.,..." that remained for future distribution.<sup>14</sup> It is possible that the Redpath Museum material from San el Hagar was part of this lot of antiquities.

The second site is that of Tukh el Qaramus, which is also located in the Nile Delta. The Gosselin list has three entries for this site: a "glazed saucer"; five rosettes; and five scarabs.<sup>15</sup> All these objects are said therein to come from the "foundation deposit from the temple site" at Tukh. The published excavation report only mentions the saucer;<sup>16</sup> we will, therefore, treat only this artifact as having definitely come from the foundation deposit. It is listed in the museum accession book as number 2634: "glazed saucer, Egyptian; from Tukh el Qaramus.". The material is actually faience.

The saucer comes from the South-East deposit found along the temple axis. The published report describes the discovery as follows:

"However, a day or two before we closed work we had a wind-fall. The workmen were ordered to cut

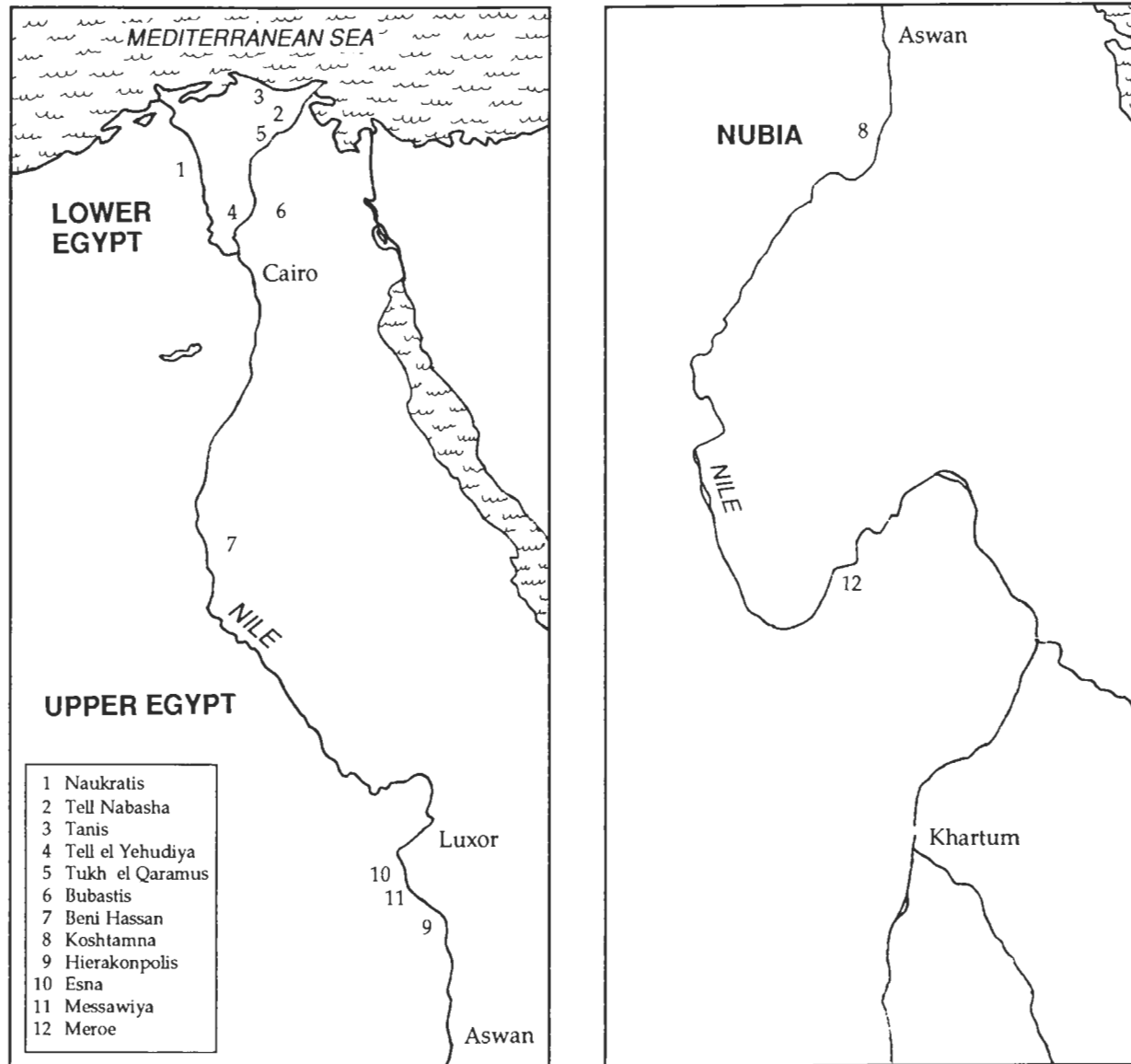
a trench through the rubbish down the axis of the temple, and at a point 37 feet S.E. of the centre and a few inches N.E. of the axis, ...they came upon a deposit. This was so unexpected that both M. Naville and I were away, but fortunately, M. Naville returned in time to see the last of the objects taken out of the deposit."<sup>17</sup>

Four of the thirty-one other saucers found in the deposit are apparently now in the Ashmolean Museum in Oxford.<sup>18</sup>

### THE GARSTANG COLLECTION

The second group of objects with known archaeological provenances came to McGill as a result of the purchase of the Garstang Collection of Egyptian and Meroitic Antiquities in 1923. John Garstang (1876-1956) was a British professor (University of Liverpool) and archaeologist who worked throughout the Near East. At the time of the sale of his collection, he was director of the Department of Antiquities in Palestine (1920-1926), but had already had considerable experience working in Egypt and the Sudan.<sup>19</sup> Individuals at McGill and especially at the Montreal theological colleges had actively been trying to obtain material for a museum of Ancient and Biblical History to be started at the university. Correspondence dating to late 1922 between R. A. Maclean, who had recently left McGill to join the Department of Classics of the University of Rochester,<sup>20</sup> and W. D. Lighthall, K. C.,<sup>21</sup> clearly indicate that it was Garstang who initiated the negotiations that led to the purchase of his collection. A letter dated October 30, 1922, from Maclean to Lighthall reads, in part:

"I am writing to let you know that I have not lost an interest in Montreal nor in the prospect of furthering archaeological interests there. Since coming to Rochester, the question of establishing an Oriental Museum in connection with McGill has been on my mind a good deal, and more particularly since the receipt of a letter from Dr.



**Figure 2. Lower and Upper Egypt, and Nubia showing the locations of excavations.**

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Garstang from Jerusalem a few days ago. In his letter Garstang informs me that he is intending to place upon the market his private collection of Egyptian antiquities which are now stored in Liverpool. He is anxious to keep the collection intact, and as McGill has been a supporter of the School in Jerusalem he would be willing to give her special terms on the purchase of this collection. Here is an opportunity which we should avail ourselves of."

There were apparently further communications with Garstang over the next few months. A letter dated January 16, 1923, from him to an unnamed correspondent discusses the purchase of his collection:

"As for my private collection of prehistoric and other Egyptian antiquities, nothing would be more gratifying to me than that it should be used for the nucleus of a teaching collection, which is what I collected it for. I have withdrawn it from sale and it is at your disposal: it has failed to sell at £650, so I suggest that you offer me a considerably lower price! I mean of course that I am so happy at the prospect of its being kept together and being useful that the matter of cost becomes secondary.

There are also I believe some original antiquities from Meroe (Sudan) at the Society of Antiquaries' rooms in London and that they are available at a relatively small cost. I will inquire next week and let you know."

The following day he wrote again:

"As desired I now enclose to you details and some photographs of my private collection...which I collected over a number of years before the war and am now constrained to sell at the price of £500. I have always wished that it be kept together and be used for educa-

tional purposes, but my continued absence abroad as Director of Antiquities in Palestine leaves the collection unutilized. I shall therefore be more pleased than by the mere sale if it finds its permanent usefulness with you in the new Archg<sup>1</sup> Dept. of the McGill University...I have also a small series of Hittite cuneiform letters and tablets and a selected lot of Meroitic antiquities about which I will send you further details if desired."

Documents now in the files of the Redpath Museum show that matters then moved quickly. On February 22, a letter was sent to Garstang informing him of the desire of the Joint Board of the Montreal Theological Colleges to purchase his collection for the sum of £500 and asking for more information concerning the Hittite and Meroitic objects.<sup>22</sup> The collection was shipped from Liverpool on March 15 and opened to the public at the McGill University Library Museum on June 1.<sup>23</sup> Garstang received his money on July 5.

The exact number of objects in this collection at the time of purchase is unclear. A list entitled "Catalogue of [*sic*] private collection of selected Egyptian prehistoric and other antiquities. Property of Professor John Garstang, University of Liverpool." has 135 entries (no. 85 was deleted). However, another list with the simple heading "Garstang Collection" has 158 entries (no. 85 was also here omitted). The two lists are basically identical for the first 135 entries with the addition of two sub-entries in the second list: G[arstang] 25A and 25B. The second list then adds the following entries: G 137; G 147-165. No explanation is given for the addition of these entries nor for the missing block G 138-146; this gap is especially puzzling as the accession book does not distinguish between the source of G 137 and G 147-165 on the one hand, and that of G 138-146 on the other.

That these additional objects were part of the same purchase seems relatively certain from evidence internal to the two lists. The second list notes the modern accession num-

bers given these objects after their arrival at McGill. G 1-136, the entries common to both lists, were assigned a block of 144 accession numbers from 1864-2007 that is almost a complete sequence; the 9 accession numbers 1993-1995 and 2001-2006 do not appear on the list.<sup>21</sup> These 135 accession numbers (144 minus 9) were assigned to the 135 objects common to both lists: G1-136 minus G 85 (see above) plus G 25A and 25B (see above) minus G 95 and 111 (see below). The entries unique to the second list, G 137 and G 147-165, were assigned accession numbers 2008 and 2018-2038 respectively. Accession numbers 2009-2017, which also do not appear on the list, were assigned to the missing block of Garstang entries, G 138-146. The Redpath Museum accession book states that accession numbers 2009 and 2017 were found at Meroe in the Sudan, as were 2008 (G 137), 2018 (G 147), and 2026 (G 154).<sup>25</sup> Therefore, the fact that this block of numbers is missing from the second list probably reflects some criterion other than source

A further indication that all the objects from the second list were probably part of the Garstang collection as it was sold to Montreal is that G 95 "Two carnelian leg-shaped amulets", an entry that is common to both lists, was given the accession number 2031. The accession number is out of sequence as it appears between accession numbers 1958 (G 94) and 1959 (G 96); its proper place in the sequence of accession numbers would put it between G 158 and G 159, accession numbers 2030 and 2032 respectively. A similar situation exists with respect to accession number 2074 that was assigned to G 111; G 110 bears the accession number 1973 (also, see below the discussion of accession numbers 2039-2075).

It would seem that the best way of explaining the discrepancy between these two lists would be to assume that the first list was not a complete record of the objects in the Garstang collection at the time of its purchase, but, rather, that it had been compiled when the collection was first offered for sale in November 1922. This would seem to be the implication of the heading of this list, since in the margin of the letter dated January 16, 1923, Garstang wrote "The catalogue of my

private collection is forwarded under separate cover by mail." The final purchase by McGill may have included objects that were added to the collection by Garstang after he had offered it to McGill but prior to its arrival in Montreal. There is no evidence for there having been two separate purchases of material from Garstang at that time. Therefore, the first list may be referred to as the 'Liverpool list' and the second as the 'Montreal list'.

Some of these additional objects might have come from the "...original antiquities from Meroe (Sudan) at the Society of Antiquaries' rooms in London..." or the "...selected lot of Meroitic antiquities..." mentioned in Garstang's letters of January 16 and 17, 1923 since approximately one half of the objects G 137-165 are from Meroe. Of course, it is possible that both references are to the same group of objects.

The accession book of the Redpath Museum indicates that numbers 1864-2075 inclusive were dedicated to the Garstang collection. The Montreal (and Liverpool) list accounts for accession numbers 1864-2038. This still leaves thirty-seven accession numbers (2039-2075) unaccounted for. The accession book states that this block of numbers was assigned to a group of artifacts that it erroneously claims was found in Nubia (see page 125f.) below where it is shown that some of these objects came from Upper Egyptian sites; these objects appear to have been excavated by Garstang. Only a few Garstang numbers were apparently assigned to these objects prior to their arrival in Montreal as the highest noted in the accession book or written on an object was G 174 (accession number 2052); the Montreal list stops at G 165.<sup>26</sup> One might expect to find Garstang numbers as high as G 202 (= G 165 + 37). Most of the artifacts without Garstang numbers bear archaeological locus numbers written on the objects themselves. A loose sheet of paper with a list of twenty-one locus numbers entitled "Presented by the Institute of Archaeology" in the museum's files undoubtedly refers to the institute of that name at the University of Liverpool where Garstang was a professor. While there is not total agreement with the locus numbers written on the Redpath

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Museum artifacts, it may be that McGill received this group of objects from Liverpool at the instigation of Garstang. It is unclear whether these objects would have been considered part of the Garstang collection at the time of its purchase by McGill. However, the few Garstang numbers assigned these objects would tend to suggest that this was indeed the case.

Thus the collection of objects as it existed in Liverpool appears to have been somewhat smaller than the 'Garstang Collection' that was sold to McGill as a result of the addition of the Meroitic material referred to in his letters (2008-2038), along with the so-called 'Nubian' objects from the Institute of Archaeology (2039-2075). This scenario does not take into account the material from Beni Hassan that Garstang apparently sent to McGill and the NHSM in 1904 (see note 19); these objects have yet to be identified in the museum's collections.

While Garstang did publish interim reports for his various excavations, he rarely produced a final site publication. In recent years, several scholars have attempted to 're-excavate' some of his sites on paper using his excavation notes, published interim reports, and artifact distribution lists.<sup>27</sup> The distribution lists allow one to track objects from a particular site to the institution where they are presently held. Frequently, these objects allow the 're-excavator' to understand better the history of the site in question, especially in those cases where the objects can be placed in a precise archaeological context (i.e., a locus). However, these loci are generally only known for certain when they are indicated on the objects themselves. The following loci numbers (usually tomb numbers) appear on Garstang objects now in the Redpath Museum:

<i>Locus Number</i>	<i>Accession Number</i>
1).....309.b M.101?	..... 2022
2).....263E'06	..... 2047
3).....138F	..... 2050 <sup>28</sup>
4).....18F	..... 2051
5).....68F	..... 2072

6).....90F	..... 2073
7).....5M'06 a	..... 2053
8).....6K'06?	..... 2055
9).....20K'06 a	..... 2056
10).....14K'06	..... 2057
	(Figure 3)
11).....4K'06 G	..... 2058
12).....51K'06 b	..... 2059
13).....51K'06 d	..... 2060
14).....79K'06 a	..... 2061
15).....51K'06? f?	..... 2062
16).....100K'06 b	..... 2063
17).....88K'06	..... 2064
18).....149K'06 a	..... 2065
19).....158K'06 G	..... 2066
20).....13K'06a	..... 2067
21).....10K'06	..... 2068
22).....171K'06	..... 2069
23).....106K'06 b	..... 2070
24).....220KIVOB	..... 2071
25).....174.27K'06 b	..... 2075

Garstang's loci numbers for specific provenances can usually be recognized due to his use of the formula XYZ, where X is a number representing a tomb or specific find spot, Y is a capital letter indicating the specific site, and Z is a two digit abbreviation giving the year of excavation. In some examples, a (usually) lower case letter is added after or below XYZ; this refers to the object itself in those cases where several artifacts were found in the same locus.<sup>29</sup> Thus 79K'06 means the first (a) artifact registered from tomb/find spot 79 at K[oshtamna] in [19]06.



**Figure 3. Wavy-handled earthenware jar found at Koshtamna in Nubia. Late Predynastic-Early Dynastic Period. Height 25.3 cm., diameter 11.3 cm. (Photograph by Murray Sweet. Redpath Museum, accession 2057.)**

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Of the twenty-five objects listed above, sixteen bear loci numbers that indicate that they had been excavated at the Nubian site of Koshtamna in 1906;<sup>30</sup> these are numbers 8-23 in the above list. The atypical loci numbers that are the twenty-fourth and twenty-fifth entries in the list may also come from that site. Garstang only published a brief report on his work at "...200 graves of primitive character, but ranging possibly from early date as late as the XII<sup>th</sup> dynasty."<sup>31</sup> Nearby, there were also the remains of a fortress that had been used from the Pharaonic down to Byzantine periods. A few Middle and New Kingdom graves were also found.<sup>32</sup> A new treatment of Garstang's work at this site was recently announced by its publisher, however, the author has informed me that the work is but still in preparation.<sup>33</sup> Little more can be said about these objects from Koshtamna at the present time.

Four of the objects in the list (numbers 3-6) bear loci numbers characteristic of Garstang's work at the so-called 'Fort Cemetery' at Hierakonpolis (i.e., Tomb number and F). The accession book at the Redpath Museum erroneously states that these objects came from Nubia; Hierakonpolis is in Upper Egypt. Once again, Garstang's publication of his work at this location is of a cursory nature.<sup>34</sup> Fortunately, his site was recently 're-excavated' by B. Adams using his dig notes, etc.<sup>35</sup> However, McGill is never mentioned in connection with the objects from this site that were distributed to institutions throughout the world. This is obviously due to the fact that, while most of the objects that were distributed were sent out soon after the excavation (1905-06), the artifacts at McGill were kept at the Institute of Archaeology until 1923.

A tentative identification with an object mentioned in Garstang's excavation notes could be made only for accession numbers 2072 and 2073: the former is either Pot g, k, p, or h from Tomb 68,<sup>36</sup> while the latter, from Tomb 90, is perhaps Pot a, b, or c.<sup>36</sup> The pottery drawings for Tomb 138 are incomplete so accession number 2050 could not be matched,<sup>38</sup> while accession number 2051 could not be identified with any of the drawn

pottery for Tomb 18.<sup>39</sup> It is possible that the unpublished photographs of these two tombs taken at the time of excavation, and presently kept at the University of Liverpool, would be of help here.

Accession number 2047, the second entry in the list, bears locus number 263E'06. While the museum accession book again gives the general toponym 'Nubia' as the provenance, this is highly improbable. The capital letter E in the locus number indicates the site of Esna. This site, which is not in Nubia but Upper Egypt, was excavated by Garstang in 1905-06.<sup>40</sup> It was the first of Garstang's digs to undergo armchair 're-excavation'.<sup>41</sup>

Locus 263 at Esna was a multi-chambered tomb, apparently of late Middle Kingdom date, but with subsequent reuse in ancient times.<sup>42</sup> Accession number 2047 appears to be an example of Type 66 from Garstang's 'field pottery corpus'.<sup>43</sup> The inventory of objects from Tomb 263 indicates that ten examples of this pottery type were found in it.<sup>44</sup>

The seventh entry in the list, accession number 2053, has the locus number 5M'06

<sup>a</sup> and was also assigned a Nubian provenance by the compiler of the accession book. It is unlikely that this object came from anywhere in Nubia. The only Garstang site in that region that begins with the letter M was Meroe and the excavations there only began in 1909.<sup>45</sup> While it is possible that Garstang was using a code here that did not reflect the toponym, there are two points that tend to suggest that the object came from another site. First, as we noted above when discussing the material from the Fort Cemetery at Hierakonpolis and Esna, the museum's accession book frequently gives the wrong provenance (i.e., Nubia) for Garstang objects bearing the accession numbers 2039-2075. Secondly, Garstang did excavate the site of Messawiya, probably in 1906;<sup>46</sup> this site is south of Esna in Upper Egypt. His report on this important but badly plundered site is, however, too brief to help us ascertain whether our accession number 2053 was indeed found there.<sup>47</sup>

The last object to be discussed is the first on the list. Accession number 2022, with

locus number 309.b is said by the accession M101?

book to have been found at the site of Meroe. It further notes "see Meroe the city of the Ethiopians pl. XLVI no. 35 FF 71 + G 19 + XL1#5", a reference to plates in the publication of that name by Garstang. However, the cited examples are merely parallels found at the same site, if 2022 is actually from Meroe. It does not appear that this particular object was illustrated in the site publication.

## CONCLUSION

While the main purpose of this article was to discuss the archaeological contexts of some of the antiquities in the Redpath Museum, the unintentional focus has been the problems with the accession book and related documents as they pertain to the Egyptian and Nubian objects in the collection. We have seen how the information on the provenances of many of these objects that is recorded in the accession book is frequently wrong and must be used with caution, especially in those cases where the provenance cannot be confirmed through other sources. It is, therefore, unfortunate that the accession book is our only source for this type of information for most of the Nilotic antiquities in the museum. Only in a very few cases is there further documentation or, even rarer, internal evidence that would allow scholars to assign a provenance with any confidence.

Due to the imperfect sources of information, the foregoing has been a rather convoluted treatment of the topic. However, it is hoped that through this new understanding of the recent history of parts of the collection, better use may be made of the Pharaonic and Nubian artifacts in the museum.

## Notes

1. The author would like to thank Phoebe Chartrand of McGill Archives and Barbara Lawson of the Redpath Museum for their assistance during the researching of this article.
2. See the present writer, *Journal of the Society for the Study of Egyptian Antiquities*, 13 (1983), 107-119; and *Studien zur Altägyptische Kultur*, forthcoming.
3. The donors of approximately one-third of the objects are unknown. Of the remaining two-thirds, four hundred and seventy came from the Natural History Society of Montreal, two hundred were purchased as the Garstang Collection, while another one hundred and seventy objects were donated by various individuals and/or organizations; these numbers are approximations.
4. For this society, see S. B. Frost, *McGill Journal of Education*, 27 (1982), 31ff. Documents related to this donation are held in the McGill Archives (R.G. 41, C. 16). The Society's records are presently kept in the Blacker-Wood Library of McGill University. Note that, unless stated otherwise, copies or originals of all documents referred to in this article are in the possession of the Redpath Museum.
5. The W. D. Lighthall Papers are held in the Department of Rare Books and Special Collections, MS 216. For a general description, see: Richard Virr, "Son of the Great Dominion: W. D. Lighthall and the Lighthall Family Papers," *Fontanus*, II (1989), 103-109.
6. E.g., Anonymous, *The Canadian Naturalist and Geologist*, 4 (1859), 405-6; an anonymous hand-written list entitled "List of Antiquities and Curiosities presented by the Hon. Jas. Ferrier. 1859" inserted in the General Registry Book of Donations belonging to the NHSM (now in the Blacker-Wood Library); a list appended to the minutes of the NHSM's meeting on June 27, 1859 (also in the Blacker-Wood Library).
7. Now in the Blacker-Wood Library.
8. The Bubastite piece is a granite block bearing the praenomen of Ramesses II. It was



definitely found at Tell Basta (see E. Naville, *Bubastis*, [1891] pl. XXXVI, H), but its exact provenance at that site was not recorded (see, now, the present writer, *SAK*, forthcoming).

8. M. S. Drower in T. G. H. James (ed.), *Excavating in Egypt. The Egypt Exploration Society 1882-1982*, (1982), 32.

9. For the Society's records, see note 4. The objects of the Ferrier Donation (see, above, page 116) were listed in the minutes of the society. This was apparently an unique occurrence as other donations are only referred to in the General Registry Book.

10. See, too, W. M. Flinders Petrie, *Tanis I*, (1885), 38-41 where the excavator makes no mention of Montreal in his object distribution list for San el Hagar.

11. By archaeological context, a specific recorded co-ordinate in three dimensional space is meant (i.e., a locus) as well as the material remains found in that space. An archaeological provenance, a site, is typically made up of numerous loci. The artifacts found within a locus are recorded as a discrete unit. It is only after excavation that individual loci are related to each other in a site history.

12. The publications are W. M. Flinders Petrie, *Tanis*, I, and *idem* and F. L. Griffith, *Tanis*, II, (1888). Also relevant here is *Two Hieroglyphic Papyri from Tanis*, (1889), by the same two authors. The well is discussed in *Tanis I*, 20 and especially *Tanis*, II, 13-14 and pl. XII.

13. *Tanis*, I, 27ff.

14. *Ibid.*, 41.

15. On page 8 of the 1926 List, the rosettes are erroneously referred to as having been found at Tell el Yehudiya and this mistake was formalized two years later when it was entered in the museum's accession book (under the entry for 2655). That this was indeed a copyist's mistake is clear when one notes that the Tell el Yehudiya entries immediately precede those for Tikh el Qaramus in the Gosselin List. However, the error may have been made prior to 1926, for there is no sign that the 1926 compiler was aware of the existence of the Gosselin List.

According to the Gosselin List, the EEF donated five rosettes to the Redpath Museum, although only four such objects are mentioned in the published excavation report (E. Naville and F. Ll. Griffith, *The Mound of the Jew and the City of Onias*, [1890], 56). The entry in the accession book under number 2655 is for six rosettes from the NHSM. Of these six, only five are from Tikh el Qaramus. The sixth is of unknown provenance and was probably included with the other five at the time of accessioning due to similarity of appearance; it is not known which of these six rosettes is the one not from Tikh el Qaramus. There is only one other rosette in the collection (accession number 2036). This latter was part of the Garstang Collection (G 163) but no provenance was given in the accession book. It is somewhat different in appearance than the six rosettes of accession number 2655. The current view in some of the museum's documents, that it was from Tell el Yehudiya, should be abandoned, as it appears to have been based on the false provenance posited for the other rosettes. Thus, of the seven rosettes in the collection, five are from Tikh el Qaramus (2655): one, of unknown provenance, came to McGill as part of the NHSM donation along with the five from Tikh el Qaramus; and the seventh (2036), also of unknown provenance, was purchased as part of the Garstang Collection.

The five scarabs are entered in the accession book under the number 2631 while the saucer was given the number 2634.

16. Naville and Griffith, *Mound of the Jew*, 29 and especially 55 and pl. XVII, 9-21. For ancient Egyptian Foundation Deposits in general, see J. Weinstein, "Foundation Deposits in Ancient Egypt", Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Pennsylvania, 1973, where the Tikh el Qaramus material is discussed on pages 374-5. Weinstein notes that the dating of the building where the foundation deposits were found to the reign of Philip Arrhidæus is probably erroneous.

17. Naville and Griffith, *Mound of the Jew*, 55.

18. Weinstein, "Foundation Deposits", 375.

*The Archaeological Context of the Egyptian*

19. See W. R. Dawson and E. P. Uphill, *Who Was Who in Egyptology*, (2<sup>nd</sup> edition, 1972), 113-14. It appears that Garstang had possibly sent artifacts excavated at Beni Hassan to McGill (listed as "Montreal, [University]") as well as to collections in Quebec and Toronto (J. Garstang, *Annales du Service des Antiquités de l'Égypte*, 5 [1904], 227). A letter currently in the files of the School of Archaeology and Oriental Studies of the University of Liverpool, dated March 2, 1904, appears to represent the first contact between Garstang and McGill. It was sent from B.J. Harrington, the Honorary Curator of the Redpath Museum, to the "Director of Excavations, Beni Hassan". Garstang also seems to have sent some artifacts to the NHSM at roughly the same time. Two letters (both also now in Liverpool) from the Honorary Recording Secretary of the NHSM, Frederick W. Richards, to the excavators at Beni Hassan request artifacts for that society as well as "...any small 'phallic' objects or remains..." for Richards' private collection. These objects, save the erotica, would have been given to McGill in 1925 upon the dissolution of the NHSM.

Both the Redpath Museum and the NHSM were responding to an advertisement in the *Times* of London (February 19, 1904) offering antiquities from the excavations at Beni Hassan in return for a donation from any learned institution. My thanks go to Prof A.F. Shore of the School of Archaeology and Oriental Studies of the University of Liverpool for having brought the advertisement and subsequent correspondence to my attention and also for having provided me with copies of same.

The Montreal and Quebec material from these donations has yet to be identified. Nevertheless, it would seem likely that there is Garstang material in the Redpath museum from three separate sources: directly from Beni Hassan in 1904; to the NHSM from Beni Hassan in 1904 and then, subsequently, to the Redpath Museum in 1925; from Garstang in 1923 as the Garstang collection. Ms. Sara Orel of the University of Toronto, to whom go my thanks for this reference, has identified some of the Toronto material during her ongoing research on her doctoral dissertation entitled

"Social Stratification in a Middle Kingdom Cemetery".

20. For a brief biography of this individual, see T. Yetman, *Recueil de travaux et communications a l'occasion du 2<sup>e</sup> anniversaire de l'Association des Études du Proche-Orient Ancien*, (1983), 5ff. and especially page 6.

21. See, too, the letter from Lighthall to E. I. Rexford, the Dean of the Theological Colleges at McGill, dated November 8, 1922.

22. This sale was apparently considered important enough to receive coverage in the British press. Less than three weeks after the letter of offer to purchase, the "President, Theological College, Montreal, Canada" received a letter from the firm of Spink and Son Ltd.:

"Having learnt through the Press that you have purchased the GARSTANG COLLECTION of Egyptian Antiquities to form the nucleus of a Museum which you are founding at the College, may we bring to your notice the fact that we have always here a large and varied collection of such objects?"

Prof. A. R. Gordon of the Presbyterian College wrote back and requested information on any Palestinian antiquities that they might have for sale. In a letter dated April 9, Spink and son Ltd. replied that

"We beg to say that we have only two objects in our large stock at the present time relating to Palestine...[but that possibly] you would also be interested in a copy of St. Matthew and St. Mark written in Cingalese on Talipot leaves."

Mercifully, there does not appear to have been any further correspondence.

23. See, too, D. L. Ritchie, *The McGill News*, IV, no. 4 (1923), 3. The collection has led a peripatetic existence since then, but is now housed in the Redpath Museum.

24. The first gap of three accession numbers was obviously left at the time of accessioning in order to later assign separate numbers to each of the four ceramic vases initially referred

to in both lists as G 128. Thus G 128A-128D were supposed to have been assigned accession numbers 1990, 1993, 1994, and 1995. The following two Garstang entries, G 129 and 130, were assigned accession numbers 1991 and 1992. However, at some point in between the compiling of the second list and the entering of the data into the accession book itself, these accession numbers were re-arranged so as to keep all of the G 128 material (A-D) in a block of consecutive numbers. The accession book lists the following equivalences: G 128A = 1990; G 128B = 1991; G 128C = 1992; G 128D = 1993; G 129 = 1994; and G 130 = 1995.

Precisely the same process was involved for the gap 2001-2006. G 133 (five scarabs) was originally assigned accession number 1998. When these objects were entered in the accession book, each was given a unique number. The gaps can thus all be accounted for.

25. While the accession book makes no reference to a provenance, the object file-cards for 2019-20 (G 148 + 148A), 2022 (G 150), and 2030 (G 158) all refer to Meroe. What this information was based upon is now unclear.

26. G 165 and 166 were assigned accession numbers 2038 and 2040 respectively. Accession number 2039 was recorded in the accession book as having not had a Garstang number, but, rather, the reference number NR 577. The meaning and source of this number is unknown to the present writer. It is quite possible that we are here dealing with an error made by the accessioner. Accession number 2038 (G 165) was the last entry made in the accession book on June 6, 1928. Accession number 2039 was the first entry made on the following day (2040 was the second) and it is just possible that the object NR 577 was recorded out of sequence; possibly it was one of those Garstang objects that had not been assigned a Garstang number. This would mean that NR 577 might refer to an archaeological locus as in the other cases where no Garstang number was assigned (see below).

27. B. Adams, *The Fort Cemetery at Hierakonpolis*, (1987); D. Downes, *The Excavations at Esna 1905-1906*, (1974); S. Orel, "Social Stratification in a Middle

Egyptian Cemetery", Ph. D. Dissertation, University of Toronto, in preparation; A. M. J. Tooley, *Excavations in Nubia 1906: Koshtamna, Dakka and Qubbau*, in preparation. There is, apparently, a thesis being prepared at the University of Liverpool by S. Snape on Garstang's excavations at Abydos.

28. Accession numbers 2048 and 2049 bear the designations F and FA respectively. As these seem to be more general indications than the others in the F series, they have been omitted from the list. The number 66F is recorded in the accession book under 2054 but was not noticed on the object itself.

29. This information comes from an unpublished document entitled "Some Notes on the Labelling of Objects from Garstang's Excavations" compiled in 1963 by B. J. K[emp]. I would like to thank Professor A. F. Shore of the School of Archaeology and Oriental Studies, University of Liverpool, for having sent me a copy.

30. See B.G. Trigger, *History and Settlement in Lower Nubia*, (1965), 37. The site of Koshtamna is located in Lower Nubia on the west bank of the Nile, some five miles north of the better known site of Dakka. It is presently under the waters of Lake Nassar.

For work at this site subsequent to Garstang's excavations, see the references in B. Porter and R.L.B. Moss, *Topographical Bibliography of Ancient Egyptian Hieroglyphic Texts, Reliefs, and Paintings*, VII, (1952), 37. The reference there to C.M. Firth, *The Archaeological Survey of Nubia. Report for 1908-1909*, (1912), should also note the excavations in the cemeteries, not just the fort (*ibid.*, 157ff. (my thanks to Prof B. G. Trigger, Anthropology Department, McGill University, for this reference).

31. *Annales du Service des Antiquités de l'Égypte*, 8 (1907), 133; 139-141; pls. X-XII.

32. *Ibid.*, 133.

33. I.e., Tooley, *Excavations in Nubia 1906: Koshtamna, Dakka and Qubbau*; personal correspondence dated October 17, 1989.

34. *Annales du Service des Antiquités de l'Égypte*, 8 (1907), 136-7; pls. V-VII, fig. 2; *Man*, 5, no. 79 (1905), 145.

35. Adams, *The Fort Cemetery at Hierakonpolis*; for the purposes of the present article, see especially page 5, n. 2 where Adams discusses the locus number formula used at that site by Garstang. Adams points out that pots that were not found within a specific grave were merely marked F; this is relevant in the cases of our numbers 2048 and, perhaps, 2049 (see n. 28 above).
36. Adams, *The Fort Cemetery at Hierakonpolis*, 70.
37. *Ibid.*, 90. Compare the drawings with the photograph of the objects *in situ* on pl. 17 [bottom]. It is unclear to me which of the three pots, a, b, or c, is the one presently in the Royal Institute of South Wales, accession number AX121.11 (*Ibid.*, 229).
38. *Ibid.*, 141.
39. *Ibid.*, 19.
40. *Annales du Service des Antiquités de l'Égypte*, 8 (1907), 132; 141-148; *Man*, 5, no. 79 (1905), 145-6.
41. Downes, *The Excavations at Esna: 1905-1906*. Downes mentions on page xi that there might be Esna material at McGill.
42. *Ibid.*, 8. See, too, page 128 for an inventory of the objects found in this tomb including a Meleagrina shell inscribed with the praenomen of Senwosret I.
43. Downes, *The Excavations at Esna 1905-1906*, 35.
44. *Ibid.*, 128.
45. See J. Garstang *et al.*, *Meroe. The City of the Ethiopians*, (1911).
46. *Annales du Service des Antiquités de l'Égypte*, 8 (1907), 133-134. The article covers his work for the years 1905-1906; he does not specify which year when discussing Messawiya.
47. I have been informed by Prof. A. H. Shore of the School of Archaeology and Oriental Studies at the University of Liverpool, to whom my thanks, that there is but one object in their collection that appears to have come from that site: a ceramic bowl that presently has the accession number E 6133. The Garstang designation M'06 was once evident on it (personal communication dated October 4, 1989).

# Noel Buxton: The 'Trouble-Maker' and His Papers

by Robert Vogel

*The papers of Lord Noel-Buxton represent an essential tool for anyone interested in the formulation of British Foreign Policy from "Agadir to Yalta." Buxton was a member of a distinguished old British family which had been deeply involved in Christian causes from the abolition of slavery to the peace movements in the 20th Century. Noel Buxton was a vigorous advocate of many important causes and his papers reflect activities which brought him into contact and correspondence with a vast range of interesting people from Turkish terrorists (who tried to assassinate him), to Adolf Hitler, Haile Salassie, Neville Chamberlain and Winston Churchill. This is one of the true treasures of the McGill manuscript collections.*

*Le fonds de Lord Noel-Buxton sont un outil précieux pour quiconque s'intéresse à la formulation de la politique étrangère britannique "d'Agadir à Yalta". Buxton appartenait à une vieille famille britannique de la haute société, qui a défendu les causes chrétiennes depuis l'abolition de l'esclavage jusqu'aux mouvements pacifistes du 20<sup>e</sup> siècle. Noel Buxton a été l'ardent défenseur de grandes causes. Ses documents reflètent les activités qui l'ont amené à fréquenter une brochette très variée de personnalités intéressantes avec lesquelles il a échangé une correspondance, comme les terroristes turcs (ceux-là même qui ont tenté de l'assassiner), et d'autres personnages comme Adolf Hitler, Haile Salassie, Neville Chamberlain et Winston Churchill. C'est l'un des plus authentiques trésors des collections manuscrites de l'Université McGill.*

There is a legend which circulates among some of the older graduate students of the History Department that McGill acquired the great collection of Lord Noel-Buxton's papers in the following manner. One fine summer's day, Prof. H. N. Fieldhouse<sup>1</sup> of the History Department wandered into Fernhill, the country residence of the then Lord Noel-Buxton and charmed the son of the first Lord into giving all of his father's papers to McGill University. As so often with good legends there is some truth to this story. Prof. Fieldhouse did go to Fernhill in the summer of 1968 and he did indeed come away from there with some documents which have now been added to the Buxton collection, but the main bulk of that collection was acquired by the University in 1961.

However there does remain an essential truth to the legend, because it was the enthu-

siasm and the academic interests of Prof. Fieldhouse which led to the original acquisition, at a time when he was Dean of McGill College and when Deans still had academic interests. But as befits a good legend, there is also an element of mystery about the papers themselves. When Mosa Anderson wrote her biography of Noel Buxton,<sup>2</sup> which was published in 1952, his papers were clearly still in one place and made available through the good offices of Lady Noel-Buxton. What happened to the collection of papers after that is unclear. The 1974 *Guide to the Papers of British Cabinet Ministers* says that "...Lord Noel-Buxton tells us that he does not know how the papers came to leave his family's possession."<sup>3</sup> Certainly a number were bought by Professor William Hamilton for the William R. Perkins Library of Duke University. Both McGill's and Duke's collections were bought from dealers in England who had apparently obtained them from agents who found them

'at house sales' or 'in old desks'. As recently as 1985 Sotheby's auctioned a series of letters under the heading of 'Papers of Lord Noel-Buxton' which contained items which were quoted in full in the Anderson biography. For instance the letter from Neville Chamberlain dated October 14th 1938 is quoted in the biography on p. 141 and was item 438 of the Sotheby's catalogue.<sup>1</sup> So some mystery remains. What is not a mystery is that in 1968 Lord Noel-Buxton was pleased to give to Fieldhouse some documents which augmented the McGill collection, facilitating the continuing work on his father's career. Prof. Fieldhouse was thus responsible for bringing another major collection to McGill, just as he had previously been instrumental in bringing the papers of Henry Hardinge, Viscount Hardinge. These two of the collections which make the McGill library such an important place for certain aspects of modern British History.

The Buxton collection occupied a very special place in Prof. Fieldhouse's academic life. His interest in British foreign policy was a life-long one; he had made his reputation in the 1930's with a series of articles on Bolingbroke which combined the exploitation of hitherto untapped manuscript sources in relation to Bolingbroke's peace negotiations with France, with an analysis of his political ideas and the major domestic questions in the first half of the eighteenth century. The influence of Lord Noel-Buxton on British foreign policy,<sup>2</sup> which spanned over the whole first half of twentieth century, would fully engage the last part of Prof. Fieldhouse's academic career.

## THE BUXTON FAMILY

Lord Noel-Buxton (Figure 1) was a man of considerable importance and influence. He came from a family which is a genealogist's dream<sup>3</sup>; the Noels had come over with the Conqueror and the Buxtons were well established by Elizabeth's reign in Coggeshall, Essex, one of the chief centers of the cloth-making industry in the 15th and 16th century.<sup>4</sup> There was considerable wealth in the family which came largely from a brewery in Spitalfields, but fame came from a variety of other accomplishments. Almost every gener-

ation in the British past is likely to turn up a number of prominent persons who were closely related to the Buxton family. At the beginning of the nineteenth century, for instance, there was Lord Barham, the First Lord of the Admiralty, who ordered the disposition of the Royal Navy at the time of Trafalgar, Elizabeth Fry, who can need no introduction as the most influential prison reformer of the century and Sir Thomas Fowell Buxton, Elizabeth Fry's brother-in-law, who inherited Wilberforce's<sup>5</sup> leadership of the abolition movement in the British Empire and who was known as the 'the Liberator'. It was his persistent advocacy in the House of Commons that brought about the 1833 Act to abolish slavery in the British Empire. Noel Buxton was extremely proud of his great-grandfather and commissioned a biography of him.<sup>6</sup> These were only the most outstanding of a long line of very influential members of the family. They also exemplify the kinds of concerns which occupied the family throughout the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.

Although the Buxtons had been Independents of the kind that had followed Cromwell in the seventeenth century, they had converted to the Anglican Church in the eighteenth and were thus able to sit in the House of Commons.<sup>7</sup> Their religious inspiration now came from their frequent marriages into prominent Quaker families, whose social conscience seemed to provide the motivation for many of the actions of the Buxtons. In the nineteenth century this religious inspiration was deepened by the evangelical movement in the Anglican Church, which profoundly influenced the members of the Buxton family and certainly Noel Edward Buxton (1869-1948).

There can be no doubt that the motivation for Buxton's actions came from the a deeply felt and clearly articulated Christianity. There was an almost awesome quality in the consistency with which Buxton saw the world and in the way in which he proposed to alleviate its sufferings. It was always done with the same determination and with the same gentle humility which was so terribly disarming to his opponents. Above all whatever cause Buxton took up, he appeared to bear no mal-



**Figure 1.** A portrait, in pencil, of Noel Buxton after he grew his beard to hide the scar from the assassination attempt. (Noel Buxton Papers.)

ice even against those who might legitimately be held responsible for the suffering. The world was indeed as God made it but He had, at the same time, made it virtually mandatory for true Christians, who were more fortunate than other people, to provide charity, but only in the true meaning of that word, that is expressing love for one's fellow human beings by helping them to overcome their difficulties. Many of the causes which he took up were ones which were almost traditional in the family but they were no less important or less worthy for that reason. Some, like the Balkan question, he made uniquely his own and some, as in the case of Great Britain's relations with Germany, were simply part of the reality of the twentieth century. But of course, what was extraordinary was the number of such causes which engaged Buxton's attention and which benefited enormously from that attention.

### BUXTON'S CAREER

One can perhaps usefully divide his 'causes' into three kinds. Those which were essentially concerned with British domestic problems, those which dealt with issues which could be related to British foreign policy and those which were essentially attempts simply to alleviate human suffering everywhere, particularly that of children. Buxton's participation in these 'causes' was always active in two senses, one was that each entailed correspondence with an enormous number of people and the other was that Buxton was a person who wanted to see for himself, a necessity which entailed an almost unbelievable amount of travel. A simple list of Buxton's journeys from 1890 to 1939 alone provide a startling reminder of the enormous energy of the man. He only rarely travelled for pleasure, but there was no part of the world where he did not recognize beauty and poetry as well as human suffering. In 1892 he and a friend sailed around the world and there are, in the papers at McGill, the letters which he wrote virtually every day to either his father or his mother with a full description of what he saw and did. The letters reveal much about Buxton, his interest in people, his abhorrence of injustice, his knowledge of agriculture and his admiration for the new kind of social equality which

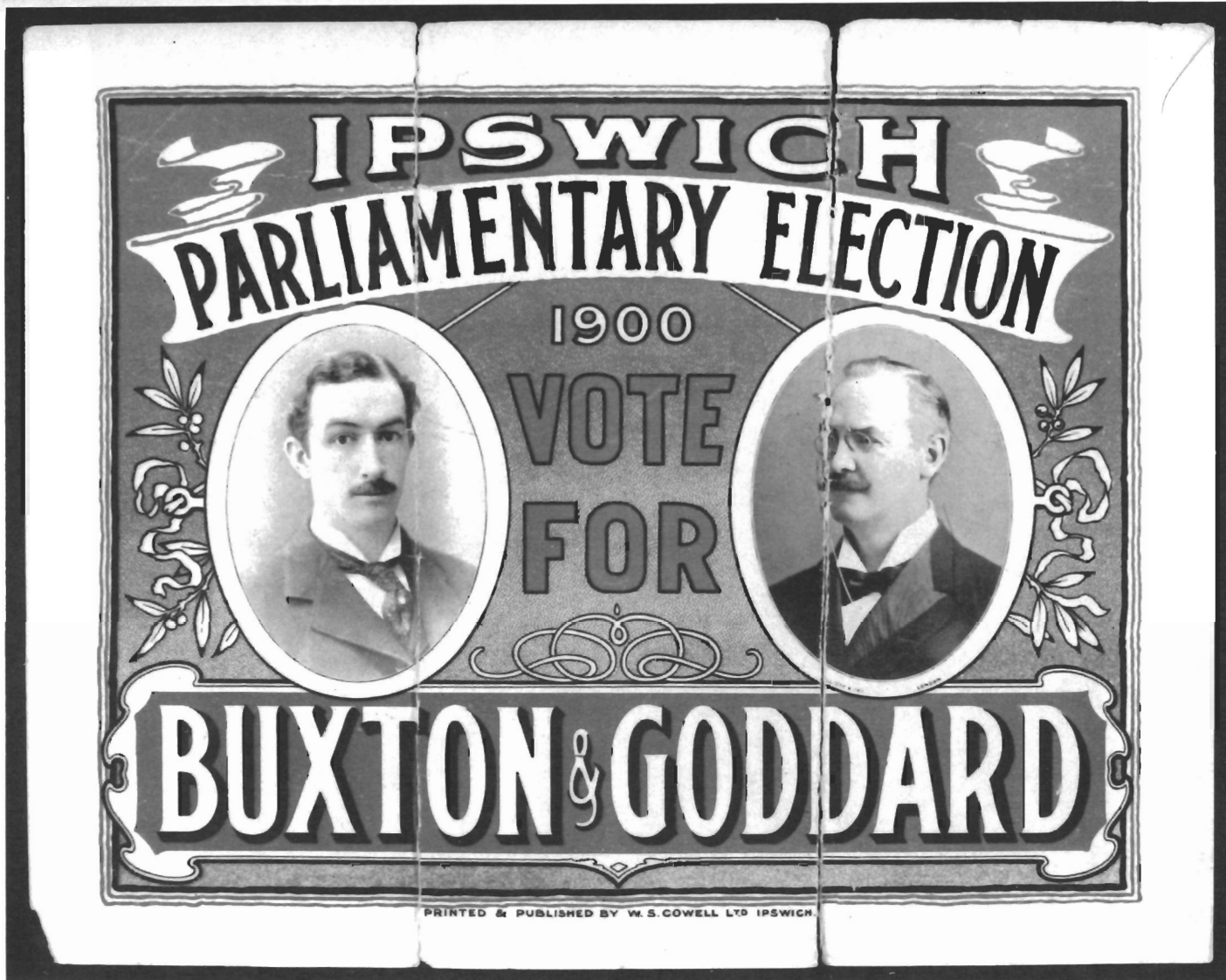
he thought existed in Australia and New Zealand.<sup>11</sup>

But many of Buxton's journeys were to much wilder and more dangerous places than Australia and New Zealand. He describes some of these in his book on *Travels and Reflections* which he published in 1929;<sup>12</sup> he had confronted bands of marauders several times in very wild parts of the world and there was a serious attempt to assassinate him and his brother in 1914, nevertheless he was indefatigable. In 1932, in his sixty-fourth year, he was off in Abyssinia, lecturing and cajoling the Emperor, Haile Selassie, to abolish slavery; in 1938, at seventy, he was in Germany lecturing National Socialists on the virtues of Christianity. Almost every journey involved some issue that he wanted to report on or speak to and therefore entailed much writing in the form of reports, letters and lecture preparation, particularly when they were issues which he felt demanded a change in the current British policy.

The papers at McGill contain several drafts of an autobiography<sup>13</sup> which list some of the domestic causes which engaged Buxton's attention especially in his earlier years. Unfortunately there are not very many other papers relating to these activities. Nevertheless all of the characteristics of the 'activist' in causes taken up later were already present. Beginning with the self-examination. 'Was it right for a Christian to be a brewer at all?' and moving to action in terms of an ambitious scheme of management for public houses in which managers would have no monetary interests in the selling of alcohol. This scheme was known at the time as the Gothenburg system and had been tried in parts of Germany and Scandinavia. Buxton visited Stockholm and Gothenburg, persuaded the famous Charles Booth to write a preface to an anonymous article on the subject, naturally written by Buxton.

Two large scale experiments were attempted later: the People's Refreshment House Association and the Public House Trust Association. His other domestic causes included Poor Law Reform, Town Gardening, a movement in which his wife was also





*Noel Buxton: The 'Trouble-Maker' and His Papers*

**Figure 2.** Buxton was defeated at his first attempt to enter Parliament for Ipswich in 1900 and in his second attempt for Whitby in 1906. (Noel Buxton Papers.)

involved, agricultural co-operation, housing and the humane slaughter of animals. These areas of activity all fitted into the general reforming temper of those who saw themselves and the Liberal Party as the heirs of Gladstone. They also led almost irresistibly to a need for a seat in the House of Commons (Figure 2).

Buxton won a seat as a Liberal in a by-election in Whitby in 1905 but lost it in the general election of 1906. In 1910 he was elected for North Norfolk, a seat which he held until 1918. His differences with the Lloyd George wing of the Liberal Party over the question of the German peace, led him to join the Labour Party and he won back the North Norfolk seat as a Labour candidate in 1922. He became Minister of Agriculture in the first and again in the second Labour Government (Figure 3) and was able to implement some of his ideas, particularly with regard to humane slaughter and agricultural labour. He resigned on the grounds of ill-health in 1930 and was persuaded to take a seat in the House of Lords as one of the few Labour Peers. He had serious doubts about accepting a peerage<sup>14</sup> and took the title of Noel-Buxton rather than a more usual title with a place name.<sup>15</sup> His wife stood for and won the House of Commons seat vacated by him.<sup>16</sup> These domestic activities of Buxton, however, are not as well represented in the McGill collection as are his interests in foreign policy.<sup>17</sup>

These interests can readily be divided into a number of special areas: the Turkish Empire generally but more specifically the problems of Turkish rule in the Balkans and Armenia; the Anti-Slavery Society and in particular the question of the continued existence of slavery in Abyssinia; the whole problem of Britain's relationship with Germany before the Great War, the attempts to find a negotiated peace during the War, particularly in 1916 and 1917, the fierce debate over the Versailles settlement, the crisis of the 1930s and then again the attempt to find a negotiated peace between 1939 and 1942. A common thread binds all of Buxton initiatives in British foreign policy, which places him squarely in the 'radical tradition'<sup>18</sup>. Buxton wanted to bring to the foreign policy of his country the kind

of concern for human freedom which informed his general view of life. This attitude usually led him into opposition with the policy makers, whose concerns naturally were more at home in the world of power politics.

## THE BALKAN QUESTION

The 'Balkan Committee' was typical of Buxton's approach. He was convinced that Great Britain had a special responsibility with regard to Macedonia. Under the provisions of the Treaty of San Stefano (1878) large sections of Macedonia had been assigned to Bulgaria, but Disraeli's policy had forced Russia to agree to the Congress of Berlin (1878) and to the restoration of considerable parts of Macedonia to Turkish rule. Buxton felt that therefore Britain had a special obligation to see that this restored province was properly governed. He visited the Balkans for the first time in 1899 and was appalled by conditions there. In 1902 he founded the Balkan Committee, induced Lord Bryce to become its President, and set about trying to persuade the Foreign Office to take some responsibility for the situation there. The founding of the Committee barely preceded the next major uprising in 1903; an uprising which was clearly the result of continuous Turkish misgovernment and the rise of various nationalist terrorist organizations<sup>19</sup> supported by Greek, Serbian or Bulgarian Governments.

The work of the Balkan Committee takes up much space in the McGill collection. There are twelve boxes and another substantial group of unnumbered files<sup>20</sup> full of speeches and correspondence; documents which reflect both the strengths and weaknesses of Buxton's initiatives and both the limitations and the strength of the commitment which Buxton's character brought to his endeavours. While the main focus in the early years was on the problems of Macedonia, concern over the mistreatment of the Armenian population was also very much in the minds of Committee members. One of the great difficulties of dealing with that question, however, was that Armenia was even more inaccessible than the mountains of Macedonia.

The strength of the Balkan Committee lay from the beginning in the fact that its mem-



Figure 3. Buxton is the bearded figure standing in the middle of the group of three at the rear (arrow). (Noel Buxton Papers.)

bers were very well connected in British political life. The letter-head always contained a judicious mixture of Bishops, politicians, journalists, professors as well as wealthy businessmen. The absolute respectability of the Committee, (as was only proper for any heir to Gladstone's policy) always gave the Chairman ready access to the leaders of the British Government. When members of the Committee travelled on the Continent they were received everywhere first by British Ambassadors, then by Foreign Ministers and, in the Balkan states themselves, by the heads of governments from the Sultan on. Since they were free from any commitments to anyone or any state, they could advocate policies which were untainted by any smell of self-interest. They advocated such policies with righteous indignation about the inactivity of others which naturally made them a source of enormous irritation to foreign ministers generally,<sup>21</sup> including, on occasion, the British one. On the other hand they did advocate generally sensible and moderate policies, rare advice in the Balkan tangle. With a sympathetic British Foreign Secretary, like Lord Lansdowne, they had some successes. After the Macedonian uprising and the horrendous methods employed by the Turkish Government in its suppression, Lansdowne was sympathetic enough to order a 'Naval demonstration', which persuaded the Turkish Government to agree to the demands of the Powers to install an international gendarmery in Macedonia and to make a variety of other concessions. Unfortunately Lansdowne's successor, Sir Edward Grey was not nearly as easily convinced of the correctness of the course advocated by the Balkan Committee.

A particular strength of the Committee was that it could change its mind about its policies without any reference to anyone. For instance Buxton became convinced after 1908 that the Turkish Revolutionary Movement, the Young Turks, could effect reforms and so the Committee, for a short while, supported the Turkish Empire, just at the moment when the British rapprochement with Russia was moving British policy in the opposite direction. When the Young Turks proved as difficult as the old ones, particularly with respect to the Armenians, the Committee once again moved

against continued Turkish rule, but before any new policy could be advocated, the Balkan wars had changed everything again.

The weaknesses of the Committee were in some respects obvious. No one on the Committee wanted to overthrow the Liberal Government which had been elected in 1905 and which after all represented the Party to which Buxton and many members of the Committee belonged. They did of course object to the whole 'imperialist' wing of the Party which was that of Sir Edward Grey and Mr. Asquith, but their main aim was to persuade Grey of the rightness of their policy and they did this without accusing him of wickedness. They were, therefore, entirely dependent on persuading the Foreign Office and ultimately the British Cabinet to act on their behalf. As such actions would have necessitated a major shift in British policy towards the other Powers, most British Foreign Ministers, even when they were Labour Foreign Ministers, were reluctant to undertake them.

Another clear weakness was that the very single-mindedness of the Committee made it difficult for its members to appreciate the enormous complications of the problems faced by the Powers in the Balkans, as well as everywhere else. The very idea that there was a connection between, for example, British policy towards Germany and British policy towards Turkey seemed to men like Buxton inherently wicked. However that made them incapable of fathoming many of the intricacies of foreign policy, even within the relatively narrow boundaries of the Balkan Peninsula. Certainly there was a good deal of unwarranted optimism in the Committee's view of what was likely to happen in the Balkans,<sup>22</sup> and little understanding of the broader issues involved.

Such shortcomings were in many ways inherent in all movements which advocated particular changes in British policy. Nevertheless protest movements which concentrated on a single issue which could be clearly defined had often been successful during the last century in Britain. From the movement to abolish the slave trade to the Congo Reform Association, success had depended on

the clarity with which the cause could be defined and the single-mindedness of the leadership. Buxton, however, was too good a Christian to impose his views unreservedly on others. He rarely followed a single cause to the exclusion of all the others and his views were seldom utopian, never intolerant. That together with his tendency to carry his message by reasoned memoranda rather than at mass meetings made him less of a 'public figure', less of a threat to governments. He did appear on public platforms occasionally but he preferred to work by persuading ministers of the inherent rightness of his policy. Such methods took much time and often by the time the right people had been convinced, the policy needed to be changed.<sup>23</sup> Also it was surely true that while reason and Christianity might persuade a few British statesmen, that particular combination was not likely to influence many of the other leaders of the first part of this century.

On the other hand his personal commitment to the basic humanitarian cause was total. He wanted to see for himself and so he travelled to the Balkans virtually every year in the first ten years of the Committee's existence. These were not always comfortable or pleasant journeys. During the Balkan wars he and his brother found themselves in a Bulgarian hospital in Kirk Kilise where wounded were pouring in and where there was a general shortage of personnel. They began work there, dressing the wounds and preparing the wounded for the operating room. All of this is described very graphically by Buxton in an article which he wrote in the *Contemporary Review* February 1913<sup>24</sup> because he felt that it was vital for people to realize the true facts of the horrors of war and the wounded if they were ever going to be able to diminish suffering and war.<sup>25</sup>

The Christian foundation of his character was even more in evidence in 1914. After the outbreak of war with Germany, there was of course still the question of which side Turkey and Bulgaria would take. Buxton felt that he could persuade the Bulgars not to join the Central Powers, perhaps even to come in on the Allied side. Lloyd-George and Churchill encouraged him in this endeavour but Grey

was somewhat more hesitant. In any case Buxton and his brother Charles rushed off by train to Brindisi, then via British warship to Salonika and from there to Sofia. The diplomacy of the mission and the reasons for Grey's hesitant stance are quite outside the scope of this essay but it is important to realize that the Buxtons arrival in Sofia was a major event and, although the pro-Austrian Government had had little to do with pro-Entente diplomats for some time, they were warmly received by King Ferdinand. Nevertheless they departed empty handed. They went on to Bucharest where a somewhat similar situation had arisen. Here again they were received by the King and Queen who were pleasant enough but not willing to change their ideas. In the early hours of the morning after the Buxtons' visit to the palace King Carol died suddenly which naturally allowed some to whisper that Buxton had poisoned him.

On the day of the King's funeral, a Turk, who had been following them since Sofia, took advantage of the crowded square in front of their Hotel and emptied his revolver at them at close range. Both brothers were wounded, Charles was shot through the lungs and Noel had a bullet in his jaw. They were carried back into the hotel and even before proper medical help arrived the police brought the man who had been captured into their room for identification. They were finally taken to hospital where they spent about a month. Both men recovered well, although Noel would grow a beard to hide the scar which stayed with him for the rest of his life. The brothers visited their would be assassin, whose name was Hassan Taxim, a number of times in the Rumanian prison and discussed his motivation. Hassim was a student who had read philosophy at the Sorbonne and they communicated easily in French. Buxton believed that he established some kind of understanding with his would-be assassin and sent him books and a rug. He also carefully preserved the defense lawyer's summing up. Nevertheless Hassan was convicted by the Rumanian court to five years hard labour in the salt mines, the equivalent of a Rumanian death sentence. However a year later the Germans took Bucharest and Hassan was

freed. Buxton learned, at the end of the war, through a naval officer who had obviously heard of the Bucharest incident that Hassan was killed when the Greeks took Smyrna. The officer had inquired why certain Turks had been executed and was told that one of them was a hero in the Turkish quarter because he once tried to assassinate two Englishmen. Photographs of the bodies, which were laid out on the quay, were sent to Buxton who readily recognized Hassan amongst them.

The documents at McGill readily substantiate this version of the story of the assassination attempt. They also contain some very touching letters of Buxton to his new wife written from the hospital in Bucharest, letters which lay out Buxton's philosophy of life and his reasons for working in the Balkans. But his Christianity and his general forgiving nature could hardly be better illustrated than in the concern for his would-be assassin, the attempts to mitigate his sentence and to make his life in prison more bearable.

Having recovered from their wounds, the Buxtons went back to Sofia and from there to Nish, where the Serbian government had fled after the fall of Belgrade. They were still pursuing the idea of the possible neutrality of Bulgaria and needed some assurances from Serbia about its ambitions in Macedonia. Both in Serbia and in Greece, where they went next, they saw and negotiated with the Prime-Ministers and Kings. The complications of the negotiations belong of course to the history of the Balkans and by and large the mission was not really a success. When they returned to Paris they continued their efforts with long discussions with Delcassé, the French Foreign Minister, Clemenceau and Isvolski, the Russian Ambassador to France. The proposals to satisfy many of the Bulgarian claims to Macedonia, which of course needed the assurances of all the peripheral states and the great Allied Powers seemed to have been obtained but in the end nothing changed Bulgaria's decision to join the Central Powers. The whole expedition does, however, represent the closest that these particular 'trouble-makers' would ever come to conducting their own foreign policy.

Although Buxton continued to pay close attention to events in the Balkans he would never again play such a vital role in the diplomacy of the region. It did not occur to him that he had started his Balkan Committee in an attempt to prevent the continuous violence in the region but that by 1914 he was haggling over bits of territory in a fashion similar to the governments he so readily criticized. And the violence seemed to continue in the 'Christian' states<sup>26</sup> as in the Turkish state, where Armenians continued to be killed in substantial numbers. In the final analysis of course the Balkan Committee could find no real solution to Balkan problems. Throughout the period in which Buxton was first its Chairman and then its President, the Committee advocated Balkan unity and national self-determination, clearly both desirable but also obviously incompatible. Of course this terrible contradiction remains one of the basic dilemmas of the twentieth century for which neither the Balkan Committee nor anyone else has yet found a solution.

#### **ANTI-SLAVERY AND ABORIGINAL PROTECTION SOCIETY**

It is entirely fitting that many documents in this collection relate to the question of slavery. Throughout his active political life Buxton was engaged in the work of the Anti-Slavery and Aboriginal Protection Society of which for many years he was either President or Co-President. The bulk of the material at McGill relating to this society deals with the question of slavery in Abyssinia but there are 3 boxes (26-28) and 19 files concerned with slavery in other areas and the treatment of people generally in various colonies. In 1936 the Society still reckoned that there were more than 5 million people in the world who were slaves. A typical issue of the 'The Anti-Slavery Reporter and Aborigines Friend' in 1936 contained articles on the following subjects: 'The Native Bills in South Africa', which deals with the fact that Native Franchise Bill in the Parliament of the Union of South Africa was disastrous to the representation of native people in that country, two articles about the aborigines of Australia (one being a reply to a previous article by the Commonwealth Prime

Minister), one article on Mui T'sai in Hong Kong, Land in the Kenya Highlands, Slavery in Abyssinia, the Position of Native Women in Africa and Lynching in the United States.<sup>27</sup>

The work of this Society, like that of the Balkan Committee, showed the strengths and weaknesses of this kind of political action. Although its hope was to effect change in many parts of the world, its influence was really confined to the British Government. Nevertheless this influence was particularly useful at this time because the British Government could and did insist on incorporating some of the ideals of the Anti-Slavery Society into the emerging international structure of the League of Nations. As a result anti-slavery clauses were incorporated in the Convention of St. Germain-en-Laye of 1919 and an international Slavery Treaty was concluded in 1926, in which the signatories promised to do their best to wipe out slavery and the slave-trade. In this way the Society was successful, but whether the League could ever enforce its own treaties and regulations was another matter and the record of the League was not a good one as the case of Abyssinia clearly illustrated.

The largest number of documents dealing with slavery relate to the question of Abyssinia.<sup>28</sup> In this single issue all the frustrations and the personal commitment of Buxton come together. It is also an issue which Prof. Fieldhouse explored in considerable detail in his work on Buxton,<sup>29</sup> so that the major outline of the events are well-established. They follow the same pattern, although the dilemma for British policy was even more acute. Abyssinia was a country in which domestic slavery and slave raiding across international boundaries was rife. In the early 1930s there were still large slave markets in Abyssinia, facts that were well known to all of the protagonists in the crisis of 1935-6, although almost invariably ignored in historical accounts of it. The Emperor had made repeated promises to the League to abolish slavery in all its forms. His failure to do so led to the mission of Buxton to Abyssinia in 1932. Despite friendly interviews with the Emperor and a fairly sharp report, nothing very much changed prior to the Italian invasion. That

invasion confronted Buxton, and indeed everyone, with the classic dilemma between the modern dictator and traditional society, between foreign conquest and national self-determination.<sup>30</sup> Buxton could not support the flagrant violation of the rights of independent states which the Italian aggression represented. On the other hand the role of innocent victim for Haile Salassie and his government seemed equally repugnant to the President of the Anti-Slavery Society. It was an insoluble problem for Buxton as it was for everyone else concerned with the issue. At least Buxton did not forget what Abyssinia represented before the Italian aggression.

When the British Army recaptured Addis Ababa in May 1941, Haile Selassie was so much a martyred victim of fascist aggression that the British Government found it impossible to put pressure on him with regard to the question of slavery. Independence was so precious that one must not besmirch it with advice on such unpleasant subjects as slavery! Buxton's attempts to force the British Government in 1942 and again in 1944 to exert pressure on Haile Salassie met with little success in a Britain which had many other problems. Slavery in Abyssinia was not an issue which moved the British Government during the most critical years of the Second World War. "Ironically if the position of slaves in Ethiopia underwent any amelioration, it would seem to have been due not to the efforts of the reformers but to a by-product of the large spending, by the Italians, on road-building and other construction which, substituting paid (if forced) labour for slavery, did something to fulfil Miss Perham's hope of making the institution 'superfluous'."<sup>31</sup>

## ANGLO-GERMAN RELATIONS

In some respects Buxton's interventions with regard to the major issue of British foreign policy in the twentieth century, namely the German issue, had equally few positive results (Figure 4). Documents relating to this issue represent a substantial proportion of the documents deposited at McGill.<sup>32</sup> In a sense that is surely natural in that the two powers that stayed in both World Wars from the beginning to the end (although the Second had

some ragged edges at both ends) were Germany and Great Britain, and the relationship between the two countries also dominated the twenty year peace that separated the two wars. In this situation Noel Buxton and his younger brother, Charles Roden Buxton were 'tireless advocates of Anglo-German reconciliation and friendship'. From the time of the Agadir crisis in 1911, Buxton felt that the Government, wrongly led by Sir Edward Grey, was moving Britain into a confrontation with Germany which was both unnecessary and harmful. The outbreak of war proved to Buxton that he had been right in his fears and he then joined in all the major efforts to bring the war to a negotiated settlement. He felt strongly after the war that there had been many opportunities to end the war on a mutually acceptable basis and that the policy of 'fighting to the finish', for which he blamed Lloyd George, brought with it a Peace Treaty which was a disaster in every respect, moral and diplomatic, one for which Britain would have to pay a very high price.

The feeling of guilt, the belief that Germany had to be appeased, was of course the policy which the Conservative Government adopted in the 1930s but by that time, in Buxton's view, it was already too late and too little. Clearly any serious discussion of this body of opinion, which in fact had a substantial following in Britain would be out of place in this paper dealing with Buxton's papers, but it should be noted that these papers have already been the basis for two works dealing with this aspect of British Foreign policy. The first, published in 1932, is called *Foreign Policy from a Back Bench, 1904 - 1918, A study based on the Papers of Lord Noel-Buxton*. by T. P. Cornwell-Evans, published in London in 1932.<sup>35</sup> The author was a close collaborator of Buxton and a great advocate of Anglo-German friendship. The book is a classic statement of the body of opinion which blamed the war on secret diplomacy and the alliance system, which argued that golden opportunities to make a rational peace had been missed during the war, that the conflict illustrated and underlined the futility of war and that the Peace Treaty had been morally wrong and would lead to further conflict. The way to avoid this new conflict was for foreign policy

to be controlled by democratic institutions, such as the House of Commons, for the relationship between states to be regulated by 'open treaties, openly arrived at', and, above all, by restoring to Germany a sense of equality, essentially by abrogating the Versailles Treaty and restoring her colonies.

There can be no doubt that all of these sentiments are well represented in the Buxton papers and that indeed Buxton was in the forefront in organizing these opinions both in and out of Parliament. And while his own writings carry a less censorious tone than that of Cornwell-Evans, it is true that Buxton's move to the Labour Party was largely a result of his disapproval of Lloyd-George's actions in Paris and his admiration for Ramsay MacDonald<sup>36</sup> as a man of peace.

Buxton's involvement in peace initiatives during the Second World War is dealt with in Fieldhouse's third major essay based on the Buxton papers.<sup>35</sup> Ironically the prospective leader who would replace Churchill in order to make peace with Germany was Lloyd George. But Buxton was in the very center of the group searching for a peaceful solution and his ideas and actions were very representative of the whole movement. As Fieldhouse points out, "his wide acquaintance with the 'political nation' opened nearly all doors to him". Here again are the familiar strengths, the enormous correspondence, the endless memoranda and articles, the close collaboration with his brother, Charles, and the many committees.

The weaknesses also remain largely the same; the belief that somehow a kind of Christian rationality would overcome Britons and Germans alike and allow them to live in peace with each other as they were surely meant to live. It needed only someone to show them a way. There was also the sense that Britain must lead the way because she bore so much of the responsibility for past actions, an idea of course that goes along with the notion that Britain was still the great power in the world. There is a marvelous piece of correspondence from Catchpool, a very prominent Quaker, writing from Germany in 1939 suggesting seriously that the way to end all of this



# HOUSE OF LORDS

WEDNESDAY, 16th MARCH, 1938

[Extract from Official Report]

## SITUATION IN EUROPE

SPEECH BY LORD NOEL-BUXTON

LORD NOEL-BUXTON: My Lords, the events of last week in Austria, though I hope they will not terminate the conversations between our Government and the German Government so happily connected with the name of the noble Viscount the Foreign Secretary, have aroused great anxiety with regard to many questions. The chief of those questions, as the noble Viscount, Lord Astor, has just pointed out, is the Czechoslovakian question, and therefore it is very appropriate that we should discuss it in this debate. The vital fact which gave rise to the events of last week applies to the case of Czechoslovakia—the hunger which is so strong in the German nation to-day for achieving its unity. It applies in a marked degree to the *bloc* of German population in Czechoslovakia. I have some personal knowledge of the facts and of the people on both sides on the spot, and so perhaps I may be excused for saying a word about it. The existence of the so-called Henlein Party—the Party sympathetic with Nazi views—proves the desire of an undoubted majority of the Germans in the Sudetenland for close affinity with the Reich. But the trouble is that, as in the case of Austria, there is no means of ascertaining accurately the wishes of those people, and therefore a danger must remain of violent action—which, after all, accords with pre-War standards, and we cannot suppose that post-War standards of international decency have penetrated as widely in Germany as they have here.

There is a real grievance, as we have just heard, suffered by the Germans in

Czechoslovakia. It is true that minorities in other countries suffer more, but that is no answer to the fact that a real grievance exists which may provoke the most serious trouble. I have ventured before in your Lordships' House to urge that the influence of our own country be used in all its force with the Czech Government at Prague in favour of the fullest practice of the Minority Treaty and the grant of complete rights of citizenship to the Germans in Czechoslovakia. Now, as a result of the events of last week, we have a demand arising in several quarters for the grant of a pledge that, if violence is used against Czechoslovakia, we shall fight, if called upon to do so by France. Mr. Eden said, not so many weeks ago, a very valuable thing on that score when he remarked that we could not assume an automatic obligation except for a vital interest. But it is urged by many that a vital interest enjoins upon us the obligation to fight unconditionally in the event of German aggression against Czechoslovakia. I want to urge that a blank cheque to France would be especially dangerous, in view of the peculiar circumstances of the case.

Our business is certainly to promote legality by every possible means, and I agreed with the noble Marquess, Lord Lothian, when he stated in a recent letter that, now that the major difficulties in regard to Germany are finally removed by the end of the Austrian question, smaller questions, we may hope, can lend themselves to negotiation with greater hope of success than before. I want to suggest going rather further than the noble Viscount suggested just now in regard

48865—125

Figure 4. An offprint of Lord Noel-Buxton's speech in the House of Lords on the situation in Europe. (Noel Buxton Papers.)

conflict was to offer the Germans the opportunity to join the British Empire!<sup>36</sup>

On the other hand there is the same personal commitment, the same urge to travel and be on the spot, the same fearlessness in both the physical and the mental sense.

In 1933 he is off to Germany with his secretary (Cornwell-Evans), with Catchpool and Ben Riley (another M. P.) to see Rosenberg, Papen, Blomberg and Goebbels. They even obtained an interview with Hitler "...but it was a forlorn hope, as I had realized. He declared that everybody loved him, that if he went into the Linden (sic) a hundred thousand people would crowd to acclaim him. He soon took to raving against the Communists, and violently asserted that every Communist was a criminal. He shouted in this strain as if we were a public meeting, and we broke off the talk."<sup>37</sup> Still he was back in Germany virtually every year until the outbreak of war; he gave advice to Neville Henderson, the British Ambassador, to Lord Halifax and to Neville Chamberlain. He visited Czechoslovakia to see for himself how the Sudeten Germans lived. He corresponded with like-minded people like Arnold Toynbee and argued with those who moved further away from appeasement as Hitler's designs seemed to become clearer, like Lord Cecil. He lectured in Stuttgart in 1938 (Figure 5), he saw less possible 'reason' in the National Socialists than his brother but hoped that they would be overthrown and/or that because the German people were so obviously opposed to another war, even Hitler would hesitate to start one.<sup>38</sup>

During the first part of the war, Buxton merely increased his efforts to make peace. However, just as with his later interventions in Abyssinia, there was less patience, with his views. When Buxton wrote to Churchill expressing alarm over the proposal to alter Poland's boundaries by seizing German territory, the Prime Minister's answer showed little patience with the man he had once entrusted with diplomacy in the Balkans "...Your letter gives me the impression that you have not the slightest conception of the perils that lie ahead before we can establish a world peace order.' Fieldhouse suggests that "it was not in this tone Chamberlain and

Halifax or, at an earlier date, Lansdowne and Grey, had been wont to receive Buxton's advice, and one would suggest that the difference lay not only in the personalities of particular Ministers, but also in the great relative decline in British power and safety between Agadir and Yalta."

Churchill's rudeness was not likely to disturb Buxton's equanimity. That correspondence of 1944 was written when he was 75 years old. He was living in London, still involved in large numbers of projects and unintimidated by Prime-Ministers or flying bombs; of them he wrote:<sup>39</sup>

"Robots meant to break our nerve,  
Quite a different purpose serve,  
Serve our purpose of the past  
To live each day as if our last."

Making peace again escaped Buxton's grasp and the Peace Movement of which he had been such an important part still remains a relatively unexplored aspect of the war years. However, like the Balkan questions and Abyssinian slavery, it can be argued that, in the end, Buxton could not persuade enough people to follow his prescriptions for the ills of the world. Clearly he was incapable of bringing any degree of Christian charity to the greater political questions of the first half of the twentieth century. But surely he did make a difference.

## HUMANITARIAN CAUSES

The third group of causes clearly illustrate this. They are among the least well documented aspects of his career in the McGill collection, nevertheless the concerns for the world's displaced persons, for refugees, for the children from areas of fighting or starvation, are increasingly in evidence during the last two decades of his life. He bombarded the relevant departments with memoranda asking for help and funds, he raised money, as always, himself. In 1930 he became the President of the Save the Children Fund in which he had had interests before. His compassion knew no international boundaries or colour bars.<sup>40</sup> One may argue that all of Buxton's greater schemes ended in failure but no one can even begin to assess the number



**Figure 5. Lord Noel-Buxton addressing an audience at Stuttgart in 1938. (Noel Buxton Papers.)**

of individuals who were helped through his intervention. In that sense he was indeed a true Christian, there were no great political solutions but only a way of helping individuals cope with a very uncertain twentieth century life.

### THE BUXTON PAPERS

The papers of a person with such an enormous range of interests stretching over a life of seventy-nine very active years cannot help but be very voluminous. Buxton wrote three books, collaborated in at least half a dozen others, wrote numerous and often lengthy articles for journals like the *Contemporary Review*, many pamphlets, innumerable letters to newspapers and made hundreds of speeches both in and out of Parliament and carried on a private correspondence of vast dimensions. It is likely that all of this material was once properly filed and indexed because Buxton's orderly working methods can dimly be discerned among the profusion of documents and notes scribbled on bits of notepaper. For instance when a letter of some importance came in, he would mark its most important sections in pencil and then apparently pass it to his secretary to type. Presumably the two copies were then filed in different places, which would account for the fact that in the collection there are sometimes original letters<sup>11</sup> in one place and in another there are only typed copies. Moreover it is difficult to know what has failed to survive. The unfortunate history of the disposition of the papers creates some uncertainty with regard to the number of documents missing. Nevertheless the collection at McGill is very substantial; it is housed in 68 box-files, a filing cabinet containing some ninety files, two large tin boxes containing some miscellaneous material and a number of bound folders with type-written notes on books and carbon-copies of correspondence on a variety of unrelated subjects. There are also copies of various journals mostly with articles by Buxton in them.

There is a finding aid which is helpful for everything except that which is still housed in the tin-boxes, papers in these boxes certainly need some further sorting. The file folders,

not numbered, contain type-written notes on books which interested Buxton, and form a good indication of the kind of material which he considered important.

The collection at Duke University appears to be considerably smaller containing only some 1,100 items. A finding aid for this collection may be found in the Department of Rare Books and Special Collections at McLennan Library. Another collection which would no doubt be useful in relation to Noel Buxton's political career is the collection of the papers of Charles Roden Buxton which are housed in Rhodes House Library, Oxford. Noel Buxton was not only fond of his brother and travelled a great deal with him but also looked up to him as a man of considerable intellect. A calendar of the Charles Buxton papers is also to be found in the Department of Rare Books and Special Collections.

The Buxton papers are an important tool for anyone doing research in British Foreign policy over the whole span from 'Agadir to Yalta'. They no doubt reflect the views of a 'trouble-maker', of a dissenter of a rather special kind. But few men could be as representative of the kind of high minded Christian, who found the Liberal Party no longer acceptable for foreign policy reasons and moved to Labour and deeply influenced it in its early years. Indeed as long as people such as Buxton were part of that Party, it represented a broad spectrum of British opinion. Their views, therefore, are indispensable for any understanding of British history in the first half of the twentieth century. Fieldhouse understood this<sup>12</sup>, and understood, as did Taylor<sup>13</sup> that some time would need to pass before these 'dissenters' would find their proper place in that history. The collection at McGill enables us to help in this endeavour, enables us also to come close to a man who, for all his failures, had much to offer us in the way he looked on the world. Whenever he was perplexed, Buxton tells us, he would wander to Westminster Abbey and look at the plaque erected for his great grand-father, Sir Thomas, which read:

'Endowed with a vigorous and capacious mind

Of undaunted courage and untiring  
energy,  
He was early led by the love of God,  
To devote his talent to the good of  
man.'

\* \* \* \* \*

## Notes

1. Prof. Fieldhouse was Kingsford Professor of History, (1945-1966), Chairman of the History Department, (1947-1961), Dean of McGill College, (1948-1961), Vice-Principal (Academic), (1961-1966).
2. Mosa Anderson, *Noel Buxton, A Life*. London: George Allen and Unwin Ltd., 1952.
3. *A Guide to the Papers of British Cabinet Ministers, 1900-1951*. compiled by C. Hazlehurst and C. Woodland (London, 1974), 25-26.
4. I am grateful to Dr. Richard Virr for drawing my attention to Sotheby's catalogue and the *Guide to the Papers of British Cabinet Ministers*. The Sotheby's catalogue is for 22nd and 23rd July 1985.
5. Prof. Fieldhouse laid the foundation of his study of Buxton in *A Century of Conflict 1850-1950: Essays for A. J. P. Taylor*. Edited by M. Gilbert. London, 1966. His essay was entitled 'Noel Buxton and A. J. P. Taylor's Trouble Makers'. Only Taylor would have the audacity to review a book published in his own honour, but in his review, which appeared in *The Observer Review*, 20th Nov. 1966, Taylor, claiming that he is really the only person qualified to review the book, shows much appreciation of the Fieldhouse essay and reminds his readers of the friendship between himself and Fieldhouse 'which has now extended over nearly forty years.'
6. See for instance Paul Bloomfield, "More Pleasures of Genealogy," *The Listener*, 17 July, 1947, an article which is concerned with the Buxton family and which begins as follows: 'It must have been about 1910: an empty train was shunted from a London station into the yards. It wasn't quite empty, for a railway servant who happened to be there (so the story goes, and I believe it's true) saw a man jump down from one of the carriages. The peculiar thing about him, apart from his presence there at all, was that he had no trousers on—instead, he had a newspaper wrapped around his legs. This unexpected person said to the railway man, without embarrassment: 'I'm the President of the Board of Trade. Do

you think you could get me some trousers?' I can't remember whether the answer was 'Ho, yus?' or something more skeptical than that. The point is, it was the President of the Board of Trade: he had lost his trousers while shaking ants out of them in the Micheldever tunnel. You see the details are circumstantial. Sydney Buxton was his name; he was afterwards Governor of South Africa...and he was not the first of his blood to appear unconventionally dressed in a more or less public place. He was the sixth in line of descent from Robert Barclay who in 1672 had walked through the streets of Aberdeen in sackcloth.

7. The purchase and restoration of Paycockes House in Coggeshall was one of the great joys in Noel Buxton's life. It was fully restored to its mediaeval splendour and he lived in it for a short while, then gave it to the National Trust in 1920. Box 19 contains much material relating to this project as well as many photographs. Andrew Noel was knighted by Queen Elizabeth I. Unlike the Buxtons, the Noels fought on the Royalist side in Civil War.

8. Charles Middleton (Lord Barham) apparently was instrumental in interesting Wilberforce in the cause of the Slave Trade. Wilberforce visited Barham Court where he met the Rector of Teston, who had been a Chaplain in the West Indies and who could testify to the horrors of the Trade. See G. W. E. Russell, *Lady Victoria Buxton: a Memoir* (London, 1919), 2-3.

9. There are four file folders dealing with the proposed biography of Sir T. F. Buxton among the Buxton papers.

10. Joseph Pease was the first Quaker to sit in the House of Commons in 1828.

11. His father became the Governor of South Australia in 1895, but no one could foresee this in 1892. His father was not likely to take such an appointment because of the fragile health of his mother. The memoir by G. F. E. Russell on Lady Victoria Buxton deals in considerable detail with the Australian interlude of Buxton's parents.

12. *Travels and Reflections* by the Rt. Hon. Noel Buxton, M. P. London: George Allen and Unwin Ltd., 1929.

13. Boxes 9 to 14.

14. He thought there should only be life peers.

15. Two short notes in the Papers give a good indication of Buxton's attitude towards office and title. On July 17th, 1924, he has a real debate with himself about whether he should pursue reform rather than take office, it concludes: 'I doubted my capacity to do credit to the Party or to my religion or myself, but concluded that if I exercised faith, & as I had not sought office, and was thought capable, I should not fail. I saw that my motive for reluctance was fear & I arrived at a religious conviction that it was right to go ahead.' In 1935 he got a anonymous post-card which berated him for taking the title and which among other things called him a humbug and a hypocrite ('But thank goodness the so called 'Working' classes are beginning to see through the people who, under the cloak of Religion and 'Philanthropy' and 'interest' in the working classes, are simply feathering their own nests and retaining for themselves position and privilege.'). He circulated a copy of this to members of his family and asked for comments. He wondered whether the moral influence of the family had been diminished as a result of his action. A number of hand written replies are attached.

16. There are three boxes (22, 23, 24) containing the correspondence of Lady Lucy Buxton with her constituents on a variety of issues.

17. There are nevertheless several bundles of letters dealing with various matters relating to elections and letters from constituents. Chapter IX of the draft autobiography also deals with Buxton's early years in the House of Commons. It is in Box 11.

18. A. J. P. Taylor, *The Trouble Makers, Dissent over Foreign Policy 1792-1939*, London, 1957. In this brilliant series of lectures, Noel Buxton finds himself in the company of the great dissenters in British Foreign Policy, beginning with Fox.

19. Known naturally as 'National Liberation Movements' of one kind or another, they were also reflections of the interests of the various

Balkan states and Greece, all designed to gain bits of Macedonian land. The Internal Macedonian Revolutionary Organization was the spearhead of the revolt of 1903. It was also this organization which engineered the spectacular kidnapping of an American Missionary, Ellen Stone, in September 1901. The U.S. Government started the twentieth century by paying \$66,000.00 for her release.

20. Boxes 25, 57-65, 1 large unnumbered Box and some 20 files, sorted roughly by time.

21. During the Bosnian Crisis of 1908 Aehrenthal, the Austrian Foreign Minister is particularly unhappy about the 'English travellers', Mr. Buxton in particular. See the Austrian Diplomatic Documents (*Osterreich-Ungarns Aussenpolitik von der Bosnischen Krise 1908 bis zum Kriegsausbruch, 1914*, ed. Pribram, etc. Wien, 1930). e.g. Doc. No. 768, Dec. 17th 1908, see also Doc. 692, Thurn's report from Sofia. The British Ambassador in Vienna, Sir Fairfax Cartwright, passes Aehrenthal's 'bitter complaints' on to Sir Edward Grey, Dec. 24th 1908. British Documents on the Origin of the War, 1898-1914, vol V., ed. by Gooch and Temperley, London, 1927. Both historians were at one time or another members of the Balkan Committee, but Gooch, in particular, was a close friend of Buxton's.

22. For some of the complications of British policy towards Austria-Hungary and the Balkan problems see R. Vogel *The Diplomatic Career of Sir Fairfax Cartwright, 1906-1913*, M.A. Thesis, 1954 McGill; and R. Vogel 'Sir Fairfax Cartwright and the Balkans,' *The New Review*, 1965. And other such items of self-advertisement useful for the citation index.

23. It is a point made by Taylor, *op. cit.* p. 17-18.

24. The *Contemporary Review* was a journal to which Buxton contributed on a fairly regular basis until his death. It is significant that in the U.S. this article was reprinted in a World Peace Foundation Pamphlet, jointly with Mrs. Stobart's article, also from the *Contemporary Review* on 'Women and the War'. Buxton was in charge of the British relief work in the Balkans and had encouraged and paid for the British Women's Convoy

Corps which was organized by Mrs. Stobart. These women's corps were generally active in the Balkans both in these wars and in the Great War. This hospital was in fact entirely staffed by women, as was its famous successor the Scottish Women's Hospital for Foreign Service, run by Dr. Inglis, Chief Surgeon of the Edinburgh Hospital and Dispensary for Women and Children. These organizations were closely associated with the various suffrage movements. They had Buxton's strong support throughout his career.

25. 'What is the distinction between horrors to tell [and] horrors to conceal? It lies surely in the difference between evils removable and irremovable. If war and neglect of wounds are a fixed quantity, the less said the better. Let us leave Zola's "La Debacle" to the prurient and the idle. But, clearly, the diminution of pain in war has been one of the aims most unanimously pursued.....The problem is vital, and for its solution it is essential to the know the facts' Buxton, "The Wounded," *Contemporary Review*, (February 1913), 1.

26. In 1919 Buxton was in Budapest after the occupation of the city by Rumanian troops. He was appalled at the conditions prevailing in that city. [Box 30]. He was in the city to report on the refugee problem.

27. *The Anti-Slavery Reporter and Aborigines Friend*, Series V, Vol 26, No. 2 (July 1936).

28. Boxes 66-68 and 24 files.

29. H. N. Fieldhouse *Noel Edward Buxton, the Anti-Slavery Society and British Policy with respect to Ethiopia, 1932-44*. Canadian Historical Association, *Historical Papers*, 1972.

30. Buxton recognized that Ethiopia was an Empire in which the subject people were often treated as slaves, quite literally. See Fieldhouse, 288 and footnote 6.

31. Fieldhouse, 307-308.

32. Boxes 32-41, 46-49, 51-55 plus 27 files. This includes correspondence on Peace Movements etc. It does not include the correspondence which is in the 'Special Correspondence boxes (Boxes 1-8)—these are arranged in alphabetical order. Much of the

correspondence with Prime-Ministers, Foreign Secretaries etc., is naturally concerned with matters of war and peace.

33. The other work is the biography of Buxton by M. Anderson (see footnote 2). Much of Anderson's book is devoted to Buxton's attempts to reconcile Britain and Germany, and with the Peace Movements in which he participated. It was, of course, published twenty years after Corwell-Evans' book.

34. Buxton went travelling with Ramsay MacDonald in the Sahara, see *Travels and Reflections*, 210.

35. "The Anglo-German War of 1939-1942; some movements to end it by a negotiated Peace." *Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada*, 1971.

36. Box 2—Special Correspondents. Catchpool.

37. Anderson, 127.

38. *Ibid.* p. 142—letter to the *Times*, 5 April, 1939.

39. Box 13: Draft of Autobiography.

40. Boxes 30 and 31 contain material on Refugees and the Save the Children Fund.

41. Part of the time covered by these papers is one in which the Prime-Minister of Great Britain still apologized for replying to a personal letter with a typed rather than a handwritten answer.

42. Prof. Fieldhouse proposed to publish an annotated version of the draft auto-biography which exists in the papers. Unfortunately he died before he could begin this project.

43. See specifically Chapter 1 of *The Trouble-Makers*, e.g. "The Dissenters existed: therefore they deserve to be put on the record. They cannot be passed over by anyone who is studying British foreign policy in its official form; and they appear in all the books if only as 'noises off.'" (p. 15.)



# Notes and Comments

## Un héritage métis

par France Gascon

*Conservatrice en chef, Musée McCord d'histoire canadienne*

En avril 1989, le Musée McCord d'histoire canadienne se portait acquéreur d'un ensemble particulièrement significatif d'objets d'origine métisse, tous fabriqués antérieurement à 1917 et provenant de la région de Fort Good Hope dans les Territoires du Nord-Ouest. Fait exceptionnel pour une collection d'objets ethnographiques, la totalité de ces soixante-trois artefacts pouvait être assez précisément datée et attribuée. De plus, grâce à la qualité de la documentation et des archives que nous transmettait également le propriétaire, monsieur Julien Gaudet, petit-fils de l'artisanne métisse qui a fabriqué la majorité de ces objets, il se révélait possible de suivre presque à la trace l'itinéraire de ces objets, depuis les circonstances qui ont présidé à leur fabrication jusqu'à leur cession récente, par don, au Musée McCord.

Pour un musée possédant une collection d'objets ethnographiques, l'acquisition d'un ensemble d'objets ayant en commun une même source, un même fabricant ou un même utilisateur, revêt déjà en soi un grand intérêt. Un tel ensemble d'objets permet en effet de reconstituer le microcosme dont il est issu. Si, en plus, ces objets sont accompagnés d'une riche documentation, combinant à la fois les sources écrites et orales, l'acquisition ainsi effectuée par le musée offre un important potentiel d'interprétation qui, s'il se réalise, a toutes les chances d'apporter une contribution non négligeable à l'histoire matérielle et sociale du groupe qui a produit ces objets. Puisque le don Gaudet rassemble ces conditions, on comprendra que le Musée McCord le considère comme une acquisition exceptionnelle.

Au-delà du programme d'interprétation et de mise en valeur que cette acquisition récente nous trace, il faut souligner d'autres aspects assez spécifiques sous l'angle desquels ces objets ont été examinés. Les ensembles d'objets métis demeurent relativement rares. Les Métis du nord des Prairies sont connus pour avoir maîtrisé un style de décoration très haut en couleur, où le motif floral joue un rôle central. Les objets ainsi décorés sont principalement des instruments de cuisine, des pièces de vêtement, des objets reliés au transport par traîneau à chiens, ainsi que divers contenants utilisés dans la maison ou à l'extérieur. Les décorations brodées ou perlées y apparaissent comme un témoignage éloquent du contact avec les Européens, et plus particulièrement avec les communautés religieuses qui ont joué un rôle de premier plan dans la diffusion, à l'intérieur du peuple métis, de certains motifs et de certaines techniques de broderie.

L'état de conservation des objets est un autre aspect que ne manquent pas de considérer les musées lorsque vient le moment de prendre une décision d'acquisition. Un objet en mauvais état constitue en effet un moins bon véhicule des caractères d'origine de cet objet, qu'il s'agisse des caractères formel, technique, fonctionnel ou symbolique de cet objet. Tous les spécialistes qui ont examiné la collection Gaudet ont tenu à souligner l'excellent état de ses objets, dont les couleurs notamment, si caractéristiques de la facture métisse ont gardé presque tout leur éclat.

Pour le Musée McCord, le don Gaudet présente un intérêt supplémentaire. On sait que la plupart des objets ethnographiques amérindiens et inuit qui constituent un des cinq volets de notre collection ont été acquis par des Montréalais qui, au début du siècle ou même aupa-



Pochette murale de velours, coton et verroterie, 37,4 × 34,0 cm. Métis, fin 19<sup>e</sup> siècle de Fort Good Hope, Territoires du Nord-Ouest. (Photograph by Marilyn Aitken. Don de Julien Gaudet, Musée McCord d'histoire canadienne, Montréal.)

ravant, se sont intéressés aux cultures autochtones. Une grande majorité d'entre eux se sont rendus dans des régions lointaines où ils ont été en contact direct avec ces cultures. Également, les liens qu'ils avaient avec la Compagnie de la baie d'Hudson expliquent souvent, en dernière analyse, la présence de ces objets à Montréal.

Or on ne peut s'empêcher de remarquer que cet itinéraire-type du collectionneur d'artefacts amérindiens et inuits présente de nombreux points communs avec celui du grand-père de Julien Gaudet, Charles Philippe Gaudet. Ce dernier avait quitté Montréal en 1852 pour gagner les Territoires du Nord-Ouest; il y épousa en 1858 une jeune métisse, Marie Houle Fisher, et y occupa successivement divers postes pour le compte de la Compagnie de la baie d'Hudson, dont celui de «Chief Trader» [chef de poste], jusqu'à sa retraite en 1911. Grâce à son petit-fils, la collection revient donc aujourd'hui à Montréal, et dans un musée qui a lui-même accueilli, par des détours assez semblables, des objets de même origine. En s'enrichissant de cette façon, la collection du Musée McCord contribue à parfaire le double témoignage que notre institution est en mesure d'apporter sur, d'une part, la richesse des cultures autochtones canadiennes et, d'autre part, l'ouverture d'esprit de ces gens qui, au tournant du siècle, ont porté sur ces cultures un regard avide d'embrasser une réalité qui les fascinait.

## **Charles deVolpi – Collector Extraordinary**

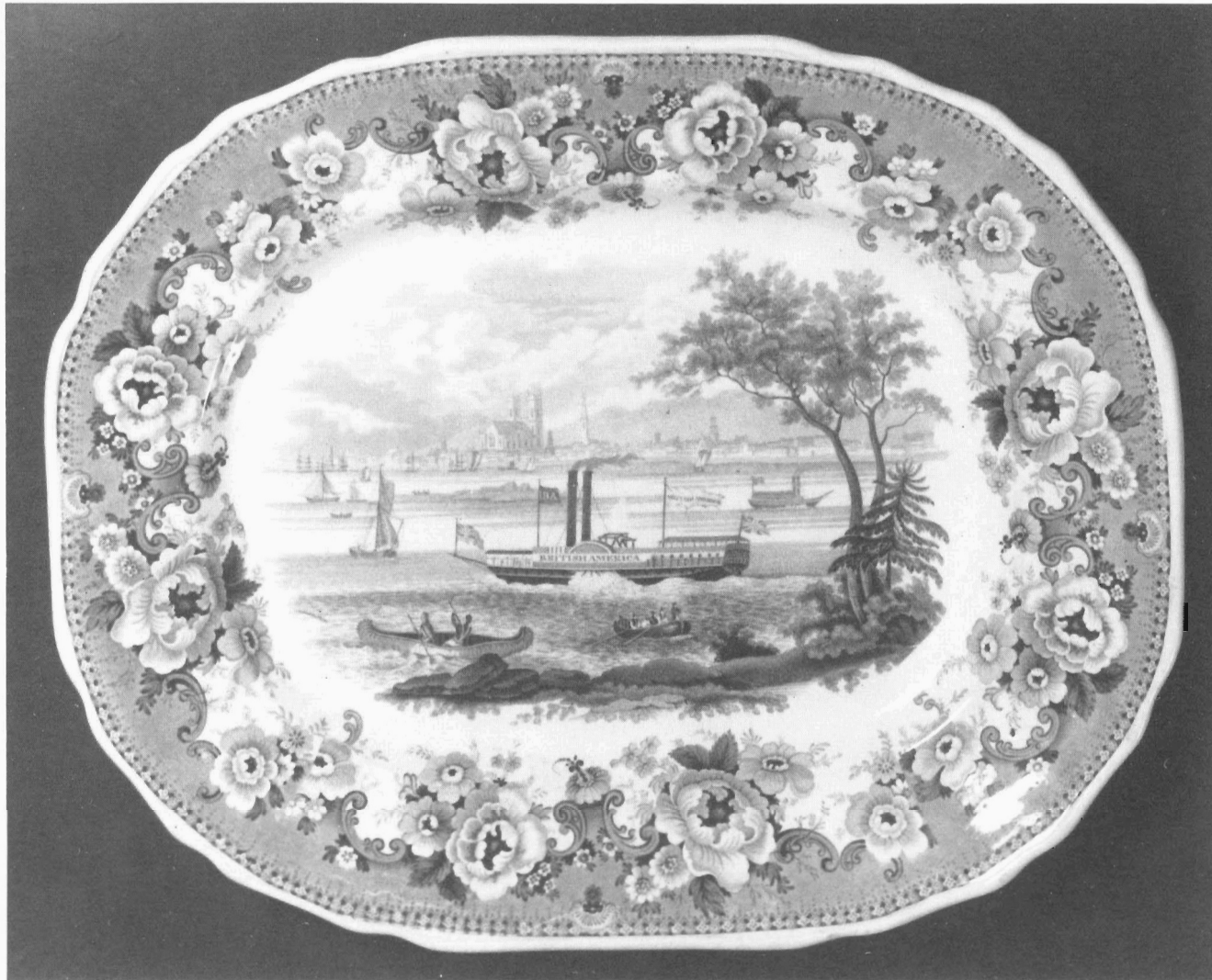
**by Conrad E. W. Graham**

*Registrar, McCord Museum of Canadian History*

1989 proved a significant year for the McCord collections. A number of important additions were made to the Decorative Arts collection; most notably, the acquisition of the deVolpi collection of transfer printed ceramics and weathervanes.

Charles P. deVolpi CM., F.R.P.S.L. (1910-1981) was a Montreal businessman and notable collector of Canadiana. Chairman of the Board of Perkins Papers, he was also Honorary Colonel of the Royal Canadian Hussars. He was married to Margaret Barnhill and they had two sons, David and Thomas. In 1964 they moved from Montreal to St. Sauveur des Monts, Québec, where he had ample space to house his expanding collections. His collecting activities began with philatelics and slowly evolved to many other disciplines including archival documents, prints, ceramics, ethnographic artefacts, folk art, military memorabilia and weathervanes. A methodical collector, deVolpi kept inventories, sales receipts and letters of inquiry for all his purchases. These were given to the Museum in 1981 when his collection of prints and drawings was donated. This valuable source of information helps to document the collections and is a significant research tool for the study of the mid-20th century collector. As an author, Charles deVolpi produced 10 volumes illustrating the earliest prints depicting Canadian views from Montreal, Quebec, Toronto and Niagara to Newfoundland and British Columbia. These have proven to be an essential aid to anyone interested in the visual interpretation of Early Canada.

The transfer printed ceramic collection comprising 444 items illustrates in the main part examples made specifically for the Canadian market during the 19th century by the Staffordshire potteries. However, the fact that much of this pictorial earthenware was widely distributed in its own day, and not made exclusively for the Canadian market, is historical



Earthenware platter, ca. 1835, by Davenport. The view "Montreal" is based on two watercolours by R.A. Sproule, engraved by W.S. Leney and published in 1830 by A. Bourne, Montreal. (Photograph by François Leclair. deVolpi Collection, McCord Museum of Canadian History, Montreal.)

evidence of the way Canadian scenery seized the imagination and interest of the 19th century. The wares reflected changes in taste—not only taste in the wares themselves (their bodies, shapes and colours) but the changing way of looking at things, from the romantic to the literal. The earthenware links the world of artists, printmakers, and photographers to the practical world of potters whose wares were intended for daily use.

The weathervane collection comprises 80 vanes and whirligigs produced in Quebec and eastern Canada in the 19th and early 20th century. As the most comprehensive private collection in Quebec these new additions make the McCord's weathervane collection a major holding which now totals 117 examples.

The study of "folk art" as an expression of material culture has made significant advances in the past decade. Folklorists practice not only analysis of artifacts, but also behavioural observation and ethnoscientific questioning in order to elicit a folk aesthetic. Objects of material culture may embody not only an artist's conception but also a client's desires. Claude Levi-Strauss used the term "bricolage" to describe the mental process in which an artist partially accepts a new idea, fusing the new with the old.<sup>1</sup>

Until now little has been published on Canadian weathervanes and whirligigs which in French Canada followed a separate tradition than that found in the United States of America. With the addition of this collection research can now begin which should result in a better understanding of the craftsmanship and the selection of motifs seen in Eastern Canada during the 19th and early 20th century.

This 1989 acquisition was made possible by a generous grant from the Ministère des Affaires culturelles in Québec.

1. Claude Levi-Strauss, *The Storage Mind* (Chicago, 1969), 16-22.



# Chronicle

The past year was again an important one for McGill in terms of acquisitions. The brief descriptions that follow are of a selected number of the many significant items acquired by McGill libraries, museums, and archives during 1989. Many of these acquisitions were made possible by generous gifts from private donors, alumni, professors, librarians, benefactors; and by special grants from the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada, Ottawa; IMASCOL; the New York Chapter of the Friends of McGill University; and the McGill Associates.

The Blackader-Lauterman Library of Architecture and Art This library acquired a rare volume of *Architectures: recueil publié sous la direction de Louis Sue et André Mare, comprenant un dialogue de Paul Valéry et la présentation d'ouvrages d'architecture, peinture, sculpture, et gravure contribuant depuis mille neuf cent quatorze à former le style français*. Paris, Nouvelle Revue Française, 1921.

Another important acquisition was that of *Fin-de-siècle Architecture*. Tokyo, Kodansha Ltd., 1985. 6 volumes folio. The extensive photographic survey by Keiichi Tahara is accompanied by text by Riichi Miyake and addresses, in separate volumes, the Arts and Crafts and the Garden City Movement, Style Liberty and Orientalism, Art Nouveau, Modernismo, Japonisme and the Influence of the Secessions.

In January 1990, the library received a new donation of personal files, drawings and exhibition boards by Canadian architect W. S. Maxwell. This valuable material, given the library by the architect's daughter, Mme. Mary Maxwell Rabbini of Haifa, Israel, will be added to the Maxwell Archives of the Library's Canadian Architecture Collection. It will also be used in the upcoming exhibition, "The Architecture of Edward and W. S. Maxwell" at the Montreal Museum of Fine Arts.

The Blacker-Wood Library of Biology Mr. Roger Raymond of Sillery, Quebec, donated a collection of 39 Danish titles on fish and marine invertebrates. Included in the collection are a 1781 edition of Otto Frederick Müller's *Hydrachnae* and Ingvald Lieberkind's 12 volume *Dyrenes Verden*, 1937 seq.

The library received presentation copy F of the limited edition of Joseph Wolf's *Pheasant Drawings: reproductions of the original sketches and the coloured plates of Elliot's "A monograph of the phasianidae, or family of pheasants (1872)"*. The original sketches which were reproduced in this publication are part of the Blacker-Wood collection.

Misses Dora and Gwen Mousley donated a manuscript bibliography and photograph album of the works of their father, William Henry Mousley, who was a local naturalist and former librarian of the Blacker-Wood Library.

*The first 20 volumes of the complete Works of Charles Darwin* edited by Paul Barrett and R. B. Freeman were purchased for the library.

Marvin Duchow Music Library The library has received an SSHRC grant in the amount of \$10,000 to build upon its already excellent collection of primary source material for the history of music theory.

Copies of treatises related to music theory from the middle ages to the early twentieth century will be acquired making McGill one of the major centers in music theoretical research in Canada.

Mr. John Black donated 232 LP records to the library.

McLennan Library Following is a selective list of other important purchases made by humanities and social sciences libraries:

- Oxford English Dictionary. 2nd edition
- Periodical indexes on CD-ROM: Humanities Index, Social Sciences Index, Canadian Business and Current Affairs
- The Royal Shakespeare Company's Shakespeare series on videotape
- League of Nations documents on microfilm
- German Reichstag Proceedings 1924-33 on microfiche
- Selective filling in of holdings of newspapers on microfilm: Montreal Star, Journal de Québec, Action Catholique, Nationaliste Ouest Canadien, Shebrooke Gazette and Township Advertiser, Halifax Chronicle, L'Unità, Avanti
- Journal backfiles: Saturday Night (microfilm replacement for worn out originals), Electoral Studies, Political Psychology, Bulletin Monumental, New York Times Theatre Reviews, The Soviet World, Cahiers québécois de démographie, Harvard Ukrainian Studies; Revista de filologia española, Revue des études slaves, Sefarad.
- Concordance to the standard edition of the complete Psychological works of Sigmund Freud
- Facsimile edition of the manuscripts of William Faulkner.
- A generous SSHRC grant was awarded for the purchase of historical publications concerning the Austro-Hungarian Empire.
- An important new endowment was received from IMASCO to improve the McLennan Library's Canadiana holdings.
- Special funds were made available from the New York Chapter of the Friends of McGill University for the replacement of worn-out and deteriorated publications and the replacement of important books declared lost as a result of a recent complete inventory of the McLennan Library's stack collections.
- McGill Associates continued to finance the microfilming of the *McGill Daily* into the 1970s. 29 reels of microfilms covering 1911-1969 have been completed.
- Dr. Henri Bybelezer donated 260 books mainly on France, Britain, Germany, Italy and USA in the World War II period.
- Professor William B. Shaffir gave a collection of ca. 1500 works mostly in Yiddish
- Professor A. Krishtalka gave a gift of ca. 200 Yiddish titles (mostly unbound serial issues)
- Dr. Hans Möller donated a collection of 100 volumes of Scandinavian literature and reference books.
- Professor Myron J. Frankman gave 900 books (many on Spanish literature and Latin American politics and history)
- Mrs. Richard B. Johnston's gift of ca. 3,000 books and periodicals covered topics of anthropology and archaeology
- Dr. Bettina Bradbury's gift of 394 books on political and economic geography, came from the estate of the late Dr. John H. Bradbury.
- Mr. T. J. Vandor donated the *Révai Nagy Lexicon*, Budapest, 1911-1935.
- Pro Helvetica gave a collection of approximately 40 Swiss novels
- Mr. Eric G. Adams donated ca. 790 serials and monographs on music, science, economics and government.
- Gifts of a total of 61 Belgian works came from the Belgian Ministère de la Communauté Française.



Department of Rare Books and Special Collections With the assistance of a repatriation grant of \$99,000 from the Cultural Property Board, we acquired the papers of Leon Edel (b. 1907), biographer, literary historian, and writer. This vast archive contains all of Edel's manuscripts, journals, and correspondence with many important literary figures.

We acquired the literary papers of Sharon Thesen, a Canadian poet who lives in Vancouver and has been nominated twice for the Governor-General's award for poetry. The papers consist of manuscripts, journals and correspondence.

We acquired the literary papers of poet Ken Norris. Norris now lives in Maine, but was very active in the Montreal literary scene in the 1970s and early 80s. He has published many books of poetry, as well as criticism, book reviews, and a history of the little magazine in Canada. His papers include manuscripts, notebooks, correspondence, and other material.

With the assistance of an SSHRC Fleeting Opportunities grant, we bought at auction an 18th-century bound manuscript entitled, "Les fortifications de la France et de l'Amérique." It contains watercolour plans of French fortifications, including several for North America, Montreal among them.

We bought two interesting 19th-century Canadian travel manuscripts, the first kept by John Rutherford Murray of Toronto during a trip made in 1890 to Mackinac, and the second by H. S. Scott of Quebec City during a European trip in 1857.

We bought copies of two of the rarest of the so-called "exile narratives," i.e. accounts by participants in the 1837 Rebellion who were exiled to Tasmania: William Gates' *Recollections of Life in Van Dieman's Land* (Lockport: 1850) and Caleb Lyon's *Narrative and Recollections of Van Dieman's Land* (New York: 1844).

We were awarded a generous grant from SSHRC to develop our David Hume Collection, and have bought several important 18th-century editions of Hume's works, including French and Italian translations.

Valuable gifts were received from private donors, notably:

Dr. Lawrence M. Lande donated a valuable collection of books and manuscripts, including many items relating to Montreal bookwright Frank Wise.

Mrs. Helen Kahn donated a copy of the rare first edition of John Locke's *Two Treatises of Government* (1690).

Mr. Bob Hilderley of Quarry Press, a literary publishing house in Kingston, Ontario, donated the archival records of the press.

Miss Rose Wiselberg donated three 19th-century Balinese rod puppets.

Mr. E. D. Gray-Donald donated a collection of 15 Russian chromolithographs from the turn of the century.

Mrs. Erica Deichmann Greg donated a rare printed genealogy in Danish relating to the family of Sren Kierkegaard.

Mr. Alfred Pick donated a letter and some manuscript material of Stephen Leacock.

Mrs. Sheila Bourke donated a group of 18th and 19th century books.

Health Sciences Library A major endowment in memory of the late Dr. Joseph Murray Baxter (MD '22) was established in 1989, the annual income of which shall be used for the purposes of the Health Sciences Library.

The library received a major donation from the Bibliothèque de l'Assemblée Nationale (BAN) in Québec City. The BAN supplied us with valuable journals to complete gaps for the years

1851-1868. Journal titles received included: *Canada Medical Journal and Monthly Record* and *Medical Chronicle or Montreal Monthly Journal of Medicine and Surgery*.

Dr. Harold Segall donated a valuable collection of antiquarian medical books.

McCord Museum of Canadian History A total of more than 1,400 artifacts were added to the McCord Museum collections during 1989 in spite of the move which temporarily slowed the acquisition process at the beginning of the year. The de Volpi ceramics collection (625 pieces) and weather vane collection (78 pieces) were important additions and were among the Museum's major acquisitions in 1989. The Museum was able to acquire these collections through the financial assistance of the ministère des Affaires culturelles du Québec. Another notable acquisition was the gift of the Julien Gaudet collection consisting of more than 63 métis objects made prior to 1917 and originating in the Fort Good Hope area. Notes on these two acquisitions appear in the current issue of *Fontanns*.

Several of the other acquisitions made by the McCord Museum during 1989 represent significant contributions to the collections. These include, in the Costume and Textiles collection, the so-called "boutonné coverlet" collected by their donor, Mrs. Regina Slatkin, while travelling with M. Marius Barbeau in 1934 on one of his expeditions to Ile-aux-Coudres. Also added to this collection was quite a rare 18th century hatpin which was discovered inside the mechanism of a clock that was being dismantled for the move.

Among the most significant additions to the Notman Photographic Archives were 19 Inuit family portraits dating from 1952 and acquired by Mr. Richard Harrington, and a collection of photographs pertaining to the construction in 1926 of the Jacques-Cartier Bridge.

The Decorative Arts collection acquired a remarkable set of 658 small lead soldiers that were used in Montreal in the twenties, and two chandeliers which once hung in the Monkland house, the governor general's residence. These chandeliers, which date from the middle of the 19th century, were acquired from the Desbarats family.

The most important additions to the Painting, Prints and Drawings collection were two lithographs of Huron Indians created circa 1842 by the artist Coke Smyth. This gift was made possible by Mrs. Gerald Bronfman. The Museum also received again this year a set of original cartoons by the cartoonist Aislin of *The Gazette*.

The year 1989 was one of exceptional growth in the Ethnology collection. In addition to the Gaudet gift already mentioned, a set of 61 Inuit artifacts was donated by Mrs. Helen Austin Shopalovich which will enable the Museum to much more accurately reflect the richness of the artistic traditions of New Québec.

Finally, the Archives also benefited from the generosity of the Museum's friends, having acquired from the Gibb Foundation extensive documentation about this family of tailors and merchants which was at the heart of the city's activities from the first half of the 19th century to the middle of the 20th century. The collection provides the Museum with a unique source for the study of men's costume in Canada, both civilian and military, especially during the 19th century.

University Archives A significant photographic archive was donated by Canada Cement Lafarge to the University Archives. Founded in 1909 by Max Aitken (Lord Beaverbrook), the company's head office was in Montreal. The archive consists of approximately 15,000 photographs of Canada Cement's projects constructed across Canada. Particularly strong for Montreal and Quebec, the photographs record the progress and final results of office buildings, churches, homes, schools, dams, highways and many other structures (including the Company's own Montreal plant), built between 1910 and 1980. The photographs offer a rich resource for the

historians of architecture and building technology, as well providing unique documentation of individual structures and topography. Highlights include Camp Borden (1916), the East End Plant (Montreal), and exteriors and interiors of the show piece head office on Phillips Square (ca. 1920).

The Canada Cement photographs will be rendered doubly valuable to researchers by an effective finding aid. The Archives nationales du Québec, through its programme of financial assistance to archives, has generously awarded a grant for the indexation of a large portion of the photographs on a computer data base.

The University Archives recently received teaching and research papers of Gerhard Lomer, University Librarian (1920-1946) and Director of the McGill Library School. Research notes range from the history of the book to the mythology of mermaids.

The University Archives acquired personal and professional papers of David C. Munroe, Professor of Education (1949-1969). The professional papers consist of lectures and addresses on education; correspondence documenting Munroe's service on the Superior Council of Education and on the Royal (Parent) Commission on Education.

From Susan H. Curtin, the University Archives received writings on cooperative banking and family correspondence (mainly 1910-1940, some in Russian) of Alfred Haemmerle, a Russian-born banker who settled in Montreal in 1920.

To unite a collection previously split, the Department of Rare Books and Special Collections transferred to the University Archives private diaries and correspondence of the geologist and explorer George Mercer Dawson (1849-1901). The diaries are of particular importance for the history and topography of the Canadian West and the activities of the Canadian Geological Survey. ca. 1875-1901 and complement the other papers of Sir William Dawson, George Dawson, and their family in the Archives, which are of particular importance to historians of science.

The Law Library transferred to the University Archives the original drafts by McGill Law Professor John Humphrey of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights written for the United Nations in 1947. The final declaration, very similar to Humphrey's drafts, is endorsed today by over 130 nations.

From the Marvin Duchow Music Library, the University Archives acquired correspondence, compositions and lecture notes of Marvin Duchow, Professor and Dean (1957-1962) of the McGill Faculty of Music.

The University Archives acquired (from the Redpath Museum) notes, drawings, and correspondence, ca. 1840-1880, of Philip Carpenter, an authority on conchology and social reformer. A social reformer and friend of Sir William Dawson, Carpenter gave an extensive shell collection to Redpath Museum, where he was made an honorary curator until his death in 1877.

The Department of Rare Books and Special Collections published *A Guide to the Collections*. McGill University Libraries, Montreal, 1989.



## Contributors

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**Leon Edel**, writer and educator, attended McGill (M.A. '28) and was a Quebec provincial scholar at the Sorbonne (Docteur-ès-lettres 1932). With Frank Scott and A. J. M. Smith he was a founding member of the *McGill Fortnightly Review* (1925-27). His work in biographical theory and literary psychology is reflected in *Literary Biography* (Toronto, The Alexander Lectures, 1957), *Writing Lives* (1984) and *Stuff of Sleep and Dreams* (1982). His Pulitzer Prize life of Henry James in five volumes also won the National Book Award and, as one volume, the National Book Critics award and has just been translated in France. Elected to the American Academy of Arts and Letters, he is also a Fellow of the Royal Society of Literature (GB). He has written much on Canadian subjects for Canadian journals and is preparing a collection of these essays.

**Stanley Brice Frost** joined McGill University in 1956 as Professor of Old Testament Languages and Literature and during the next two decades became intimately and uniquely concerned with the administration and direction of the University. He was appointed Dean of the Faculty of Divinity in 1957, Dean of the Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research in 1963, and Vice-Principal (Administration) in 1970. Named Director of the History of McGill Project in 1974, he has been the moving spirit in the organization of the popular James McGill Society, serving as its executive secretary from the beginning. His publications include *Old Testament Apocalyptic* and *Standing and Understanding*, and the two volumes of the McGill history, 1980 and 1984. A biography of Cyril James is forthcoming.

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# Guidelines for Authors

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