

vol. VII 1994

Fontanus

from
the collections of
McGill University

Sturges Leacock

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volume VII 1994

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Stephen Leacock, ca. 1910. A photograph by Swaine of London.

The Need for Dormitories at McGill

by Stephen Leacock

Reprinted from McGill Students' Residences issued by the Publicity Committee of the McGill Centennial Endowment Campaign, 1920. The cover is reproduced on page 32.

Réimpression de McGill Student's Residences publié par le Comité de la publicité de la campagne de dotation du centenaire, 1920. La couverture est reproduite à la page 32.

When I was a student at the University of Toronto thirty years ago, I lived, from start to finish, — in seventeen different boarding houses. As far as I am aware these houses have not, or not yet, been marked with tablets. But they are all still to be found in the vicinity of McCaul and Darcy, and St. Patrick Streets. Anyone who doubts the truth of what I have to say may go and look at them.

I was not alone in the nomadic life that I led. There were hundreds of us drifting about in this fashion from one melancholy habitation to another. We lived as a rule two or three to a house, sometimes alone. We dined in the basement. We always had beef, done up in some way after it was dead, and there were always soda biscuits on the table. They used to have a brand of soda biscuits in those days in the Toronto boarding houses that I have not seen since. They were better than Dog biscuits but with not so much snap. My contemporaries will all remember them. A great many of the leading barristers and professional men of Toronto were fed on them.

In the life we led we had practically no opportunities for association on a large scale, no common rooms, no reading rooms, nothing. We never saw the magazines, — personally I didn't even know the names of them. The only interchange of ideas we ever got was by going over to the Caer Howell Hotel on University Avenue and interchanging them there.

I mention these melancholy details not for their own sake but merely to emphasize the point that when I speak of students' dormitories, and the larger life which they offer, I speak of what I know.

If we had had at Toronto, when I was a student, the kind of dormitories and dormitory life that they have at Harvard, I don't think I would ever have graduated. I'd have been there still.

The trouble is that the Universities on our Continent are only just waking up to the idea of what a University should mean. They were, very largely, instituted and organized with the idea that a university was a place where young men were sent to absorb the contents of books and to listen to lectures in the classrooms. The student was pictured as a pallid creature, burning what was called the "midnight oil," his wan face bent over his desk. If you wanted to do something for him you gave him a book: if you wanted to do something really large on his behalf you gave him a whole basketful of them. If you wanted to go still further and be a real benefactor to the College at large, you endowed a competitive scholarship and set two or more pallid students working themselves to death to get it.

That, as I see it, was about the idea and theory of the Canadian Universities as they used to be. In the course of time and through the plain teaching of circumstances, we have been getting away from that idea. We are beginning to see that the text book and the class room are but a part of the student's life. If they are taken by themselves, in undiluted doses, they probably do more harm than good. They not only injure the student's health but they impair his mind. True education cannot be achieved after this fashion, by shovelling in information. The most that this can ever give is erudition and pedantry, never capacity and genuine acquirement. The typical product of it is the college pedant possessed of a stomach-full of fact but with a mind the size of a peanut and the outlook of a child.

The Need for Dormitories at McGill

The real process of education consists (as the derivation of the word implies) in bringing out of the mind the inborn capacity that is in it. I think that Horace said something of this sort before. But there is no harm in saying it over again.

Since the melancholy days of which I speak, I have had the experience of nearly a quarter of a century of post graduate work and of university teaching. It is a noble profession, and, with the continued aid of the Governors of McGill University, I hope to have another quarter of a century of it at least before I hang up my mortar board and sink into the arms of the trustees of the Carnegie Pension Fund. But as a college teacher I have long since realized that the most that the teacher, as such, can do for the student is a very limited matter. The real thing for the student is the life and environment that surrounds him. All that he really learns he learns, in a sense, by the active operation of his own intellect and not as the passive recipient of lectures. And for this active operation what he needs most is the continued and intimate contact with his fellows. Students must live together and eat together, talk and smoke together. Experience shows that that is how their minds really grow. And they must live together in a rational and comfortable way. They must eat in a big dining room or hall, with oak beams across the ceiling, and with stained glass in the windows and with a shield or tablet here and there upon the wall, to remind them between times of the men who went before them and left a name worthy of the memory of the college. If a student is to get from his College what it ought to give him, a college dormitory with the life in common that it brings, is his absolute right. A university that fails to give it to him is cheating him.

If I were founding a University,—and I say it with all the seriousness of which I am capable (just think of that!), — I would found first a smoking room; then when I had a little more money in hand I would found a dormitory; then after that, or more properly with that, a decent reading room and a library. After that, if I still had money over that I couldn't use, I would hire a professor and get some text books.

We are conducting a campaign, — just now to raise, or lift five million dollars for McGill University. I have a notion that we are going to get it. And it is the duty of those of us who are in the University to show

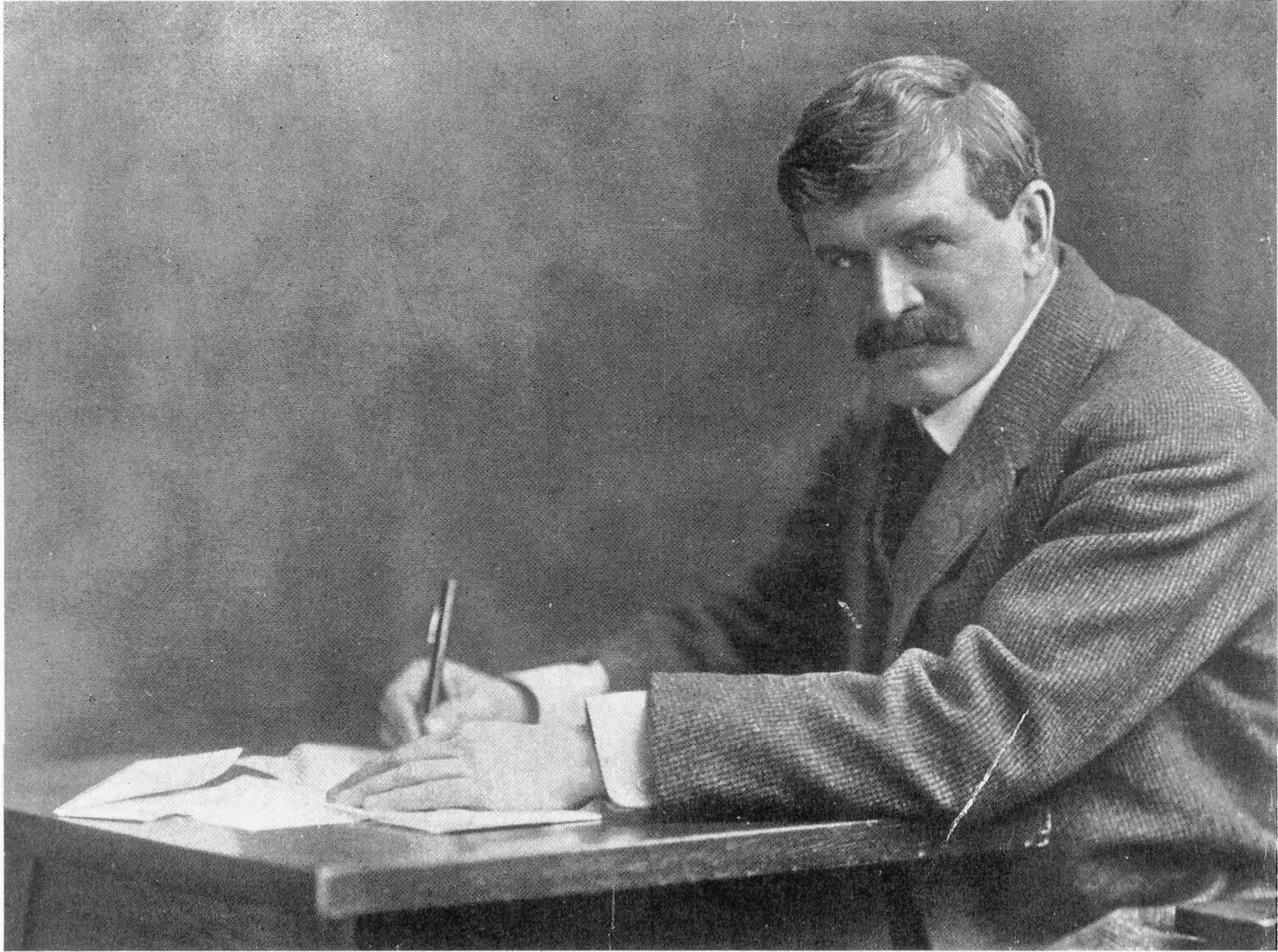
to our generous friends outside what it is that we mean to do with it when we have it.

To my mind the greatest of all our needs is the building of college dormitories to supply to our students a wider college life than we can give them now. There is no nobler object of benefaction than this. There is no better way to perpetuate an honoured name or to cherish the memory of one who is lost than that the name and memory should be inscribed, cut deep in stone, over the gate-way of a College Dormitory at McGill.

The Need for Dormitories at McGill



Stephen Leacock. A pen and ink sketch by John Lewis, 1936.
(Department of Rare Books and Special Collections)



The Need for Dormitories at McGill

Stephen Leacock, ca. 1916. A Notman photograph reproduced from the dust jacket of *Essays and Literary Studies*. London: John Lane, The Bodley Head Ltd., 1916 (1925).

Leacock Remains at McGill

Some Notes on the Stephen Leacock Collection

by Bruce Whiteman

The Department of Rare Books and Special Collections, McGill University Libraries, houses one of Canada's major collections of Stephen Leacock books and manuscripts. This article describes the origins of the collection and the role of Leacock himself, and of his student, the Montreal book collector, Norman H. Friedman, in its foundation.

Le département des livres rares et collections spéciales des bibliothèques de l'Université McGill abrite l'une des plus importantes collections canadiennes d'ouvrages et de manuscrits de Stephen Leacock. Cet article décrit les origines de la collection et le rôle qu'ont joué Leacock lui-même et son étudiant, le collectionneur de livres montréalais Norman H. Friedman, dans sa fondation.

Although we mark this year as the fiftieth anniversary of Stephen Leacock's death on March 28, 1944, it is also worth remarking that it was exactly a century ago, in 1894, that Leacock published his earliest writing, twelve years before his first book. Fifty years of writing produced an enormous quantity of books and magazine pieces, and Leacock's fame meant that most of those books appeared in many editions and translations, both during and after his lifetime. The dedicated Leacock collector will not need an infinitely deep pocketbook, for the majority of the books is not particularly expensive; a great deal of shelf-space, however, is a *sine qua non*.

A single example may stand for many. Leacock's first collection of humour, *Literary Lapses*, was printed for the author by the Gazette Printing Co. and published on April 9, 1910 in an edition of 3,100 copies, after Houghton, Mifflin (who published his *Elements of Political Science* in June of 1906) had rejected it. The book sold "like hot pop corn" and "like hot cakes," as the author remarked later in inscribing two separate copies,¹ and it has never been out of print. In addition to three copies of the first edition, the McGill collection includes copies of the first English edition (John Lane, 1911), an undated Musson edition (with an ownership inscription dated January 7, 1913),² the "seventh edition" with the spine imprint of S.B. Gundy (1915), the first Penguin paperback edition (1939), the first New Canadian Library edition (1957) and a 1965 impression of the same, and the Collins White Circle paperback edition of 1945 (Canadian bibliographer R.E. Watters's copy).

Added to these must be appearances of individual stories in the book — "My Financial Career," for example, in the issue of *Life* for April 11, 1895, or as part of a group of miniature books published during the second World War by the Knights of Columbus — as well as translations into Romanian ("Cariera mea de Financiar") and Russian ("Moia finansovaia ker'era"). These items by no means represent completely the publishing history of *Literary Lapses*, but from them one can get some sense of the multiplicity of editions and forms that Leacock's work has taken over the last century.

The basis of the Leacock collection in the Department of Rare Books and Special Collections was formed by two important gifts. Leacock himself left a large aggregation of manuscripts ("literally barrels of manuscripts" as a Montreal newspaper described the gift at the time)³ in his will, and this gift arrived at the library in August of 1944. Included are partial or complete manuscripts for many of his books, among them *Arcadian Adventures With the Idle Rich* (1914). Leacock had also donated a few manuscripts shortly before his death, most importantly those of *Charles Dickens, His Life and Work* (1933) and *Humour and Humanity* (1937).

The second major donation was the private Leacock collection of Norman H. Friedman which he donated in 1945 and 1946. Friedman (1900-1981) was a student of Leacock's at McGill (his Bachelor of Commerce degree was conferred in 1921) and was one of the library's major donors. His gifts included collections

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of Rudyard Kipling, Robert Louis Stevenson, Christopher Morley, and the Boy Scout Movement, in addition to Leacock and a small collection of general books. A collection of the work of Arthur Szyk was also acquired from him by purchase. He was a successful businessman and manufacturer (candy and clothing), and collecting books was his passion. At the time of the gift, his Leacock collection was certainly the richest in private hands. After graduation he remained in touch with the writer, and indeed Leacock made a visit to his home in 1937 to look at the collection. On that visit he wrote the following in Friedman's guest book:

Looking over your wonderful and flattering collection of my works makes me almost want to hurry up to be dead, so that they can be aired out on exhibition at McGill and draw tears that will almost drown the statue on the campus that holds the tear jug.⁴

Staying in touch with Leacock allowed Friedman to get many of his books signed and inscribed, and indeed a number of them were gifts from Leacock himself.

Friedman kept a list of the collection with notes on the source and cost of each title, as well as the date when he received it. Most of his Leacock books were bought in Montreal, but he also acquired some American editions from the Gotham Book Mart in New York and scarcer items from Dora Hood in Toronto and Bertram Rota in London.⁵ His copy of Leacock's edition of Lahontan's *Voyages*, for example, was acquired (as a gift, according to a pencilled note in the copy) from the Dora Hood Book Room in 1939, seven years after publication. This book was long considered a great rarity, and the following note in Leacock's hand, written on p. [iv] of the Friedman copy, explains why:

I received, through Dr Burpee of Ottawa, a contract with the Graphic Co to do an introduction to Lahontan's journal with notes ... The company failed & paid nothing ... But I found out long afterwards that some copies of the book had gone through the press though it was never on the market. I was never able to get a copy.⁶

Today the book is certainly scarce, but it is not as rare as Leacock thought; presumably at some point after the bankruptcy of Graphic Publishers in 1932, part of the edition was remaindered or otherwise came on the market.

In addition to books and manuscripts, the Friedman Leacock collection includes photographs and other graphic material, clippings and related ephemera (most interestingly a scrapbook about Leacock kept by Friedman in the 1930s and 1940s), some correspondence, and some personal papers, including the book list already cited. It is in all an extensive author collection and formed a broad base on which the McGill Leacock holdings have since ramified and expanded.

In the almost fifty years since Norman Friedman donated his Leacock collection to McGill, a number of important additions have been made both by gift and by purchase. In 1968, Dr. Orville W. Oughtred presented a group of nine letters, mainly to Leacock's mother and his brother Charles. In 1976, the private Leacock collection of John R. Witham was acquired at the Montreal Book Auctions (lot 27 in the sale of October 26). The collection included books, manuscripts, and a few letters, as well as an associated group of typescripts and proofs known as the British and International Press Ltd. Collection.

In 1984, with the help of a grant from the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada, a group of manuscripts and letters was acquired from Mr. J. Robert Janes, whose father was Leacock's godson. The *clou* in the Janes collection is a notebook or diary of his publishing and speaking career that Leacock kept from January 7, 1901 ("First Lecture at McGill") to 1925. This notebook will be of immense importance to anyone brave enough to tackle Leacock's immense bibliography. A few representative entries from 1910 suggest its bibliographical richness:

April 1st Article. The Apology of a Professor [.] University Magazine. Saturday April. 9. Publication of "*Literary Lapses*", A Book of Sketches
May-June 1910. Series of V. Articles in Montreal Standard on Questions of

Leacock Remains at McGill

the Day I. Socialism. II. Germany :
[III] S. Africa [.] IV Imperial Unity
[.] V. The Lords
June. Articles Hudson Bay : Canada &
the World's Wheat Supply : Canadian
Women in the World of Art
Publishers Press Syndicate.
Sunday. June. 19. 1910. Fragoletta. A
Vaudeville Sketch
Friday June 24. Poem: Vanitas. A Song
for Summer Time. Publishers Press.

The notebook also contains notes for two books, "Canada and the Future" and "Government and Industry," the latter a book which Leacock apparently was to write for the "LaSalle Extension University of Chicago."⁷

In 1988 a group of Leacock papers was acquired in London at the Sotheby sale of July 21 and 22 (lot 204). This material had been put together by James Keddie, to whose magazine *Answers* Leacock made several contributions in the period from 1938 to 1942. The lot included twenty-six letters as well as typescripts and proofs, and the final cost of £2430 was enormously pleasing given the fact that the material had been offered to McGill several years earlier (and declined) for \$28,000.00 (U.S.)! A small group of manuscripts and letters was purchased in 1987 from Mr. Gordon Glassco, and the most recent acquisition of any size was a batch of letters, manuscripts and ephemera donated to McGill in 1991 by Mrs. Barbara Whitely, who had received help from Leacock in the 1930s when she was working on a series of radio broadcasts.

Among a number of smaller acquisitions which cannot be described here in detail, mention might be made of the following: two story manuscripts bought by Mr. F.A. Warren at the Sothby (Toronto) sale of October 29, 1969 (lots 86 and 87) and presented to McGill; a letter and a manuscript acquired at the Sotheby (Toronto) sale of November 8, 1988 (lot 254); two letters and a holograph notebook donated in 1989 by Mr. Alfred Pick; and individual Leacock letters bought from antiquarian booksellers Glenn Horowitz (1987 and 1988), Helen R. Kahn (1987), and Robert Shulman (1988).

In addition to the books and manuscripts which

comprise most of the Leacock collection, the Print Collection in the Department of Rare Books and Special Collections contains several likenesses of Leacock, including paintings, drawings, and photographs. A print of one of the Karsh photographs of Leacock (taken in 1941) hangs in the Leacock Room (now the Department Head's office), as does the only moderately successful portrait done by Montreal artist Frederick Taylor in 1940.

Leacock continues to be one of the authors whom the Department of Rare Books and Special Collections collects in depth, and there remains a surprising amount of Leacock material in private hands that continues to come on to the market. The collection will never be complete, but that is the ideal towards which the Department works.

Notes

1. Copies 1 and 3 in the McGill collection have later inscriptions with notes by Leacock on the circumstances in which the book appeared.
2. This edition uses the John Lane sheets with a cancel title-leaf. Musson (a Toronto publisher) seems often to have bought unsold stock, remainders, or foreign books in sheets, and issued them under its own imprint, frequently (and infuriatingly, as in this instance) without a date.
3. *Montreal Star*, February 16, 1945.
4. Quoted in the *Montreal Gazette*, April 6, 1970.
5. "Works of Dr. Stephen B. Leacock," an incomplete holograph list of the Norman Friedman Collection, Friedman Papers, McGill University Libraries, Department of Rare Books and Special Collections, MS 471.
6. Leacock evidently had forgotten that Dora Hood had provided him with a copy from her catalogue No. 15 (1935), as she relates in *The Side Door: Twenty-Six Years in My Book Room* (Toronto: Ryerson Press, 1958), pp. 77-9.
7. "Notebook," McGill University Libraries, Department of Rare Books and Special Collections,

Leacock Remains at McGill

Leacock Papers, Ms. 668, VI, p. [68]. "Canada and the Future" is not the book which Leacock was to publish thirty-two years later as *Canada: The Foundations of Its Future* (Montreal: [s.n.], 1941).

8. The McGill Leacock Collection is one of three important Canadian institutional collections. The Stephen Leacock Museum in Orillia, Ontario, has extensive holdings of Leacock manuscripts and correspondence, as well as his personal library. The National Archives of Canada in Ottawa, Ontario, has Leacock papers mainly acquired from Barbara Nimmo, Leacock's niece.

Stephen Leacock and His Books

by The Editors

Stephen Leacock published during his lifetime a multitude of magazine stories and books. The following pages reproduce the dust jackets or covers of some of these books. Their design and style both evoke another era and present Leacock as he appeared to contemporary readers. All the illustrations are taken from copies in the Leacock Collection in the Department of Rare Books and Special Collections.

De son vivant, Stephen Leacock a publié une foule de livres et de récits pour magazines. Les jaquettes et couvertures de certains de ces ouvrages sont reproduites aux pages suivantes. Leur style et leur conception évoquent une autre époque et présentent Leacock tel qu'il apparaissait à ses lecteurs. Toutes les illustrations proviennent de la collection Leacock du département des livres rares et collections spéciales.

Stephen Leacock and His Books

BEHIND THE BEYOND
By STEPHEN LEACOCK



London: John Lane, The Bodley Head
1914

2021

THE MARIONETTES' CALENDAR 1916.

Nov 14. 1938 Stephen Leacock
*Rhymes by Stephen Leacock.
Drawings by A. H. Fish.*



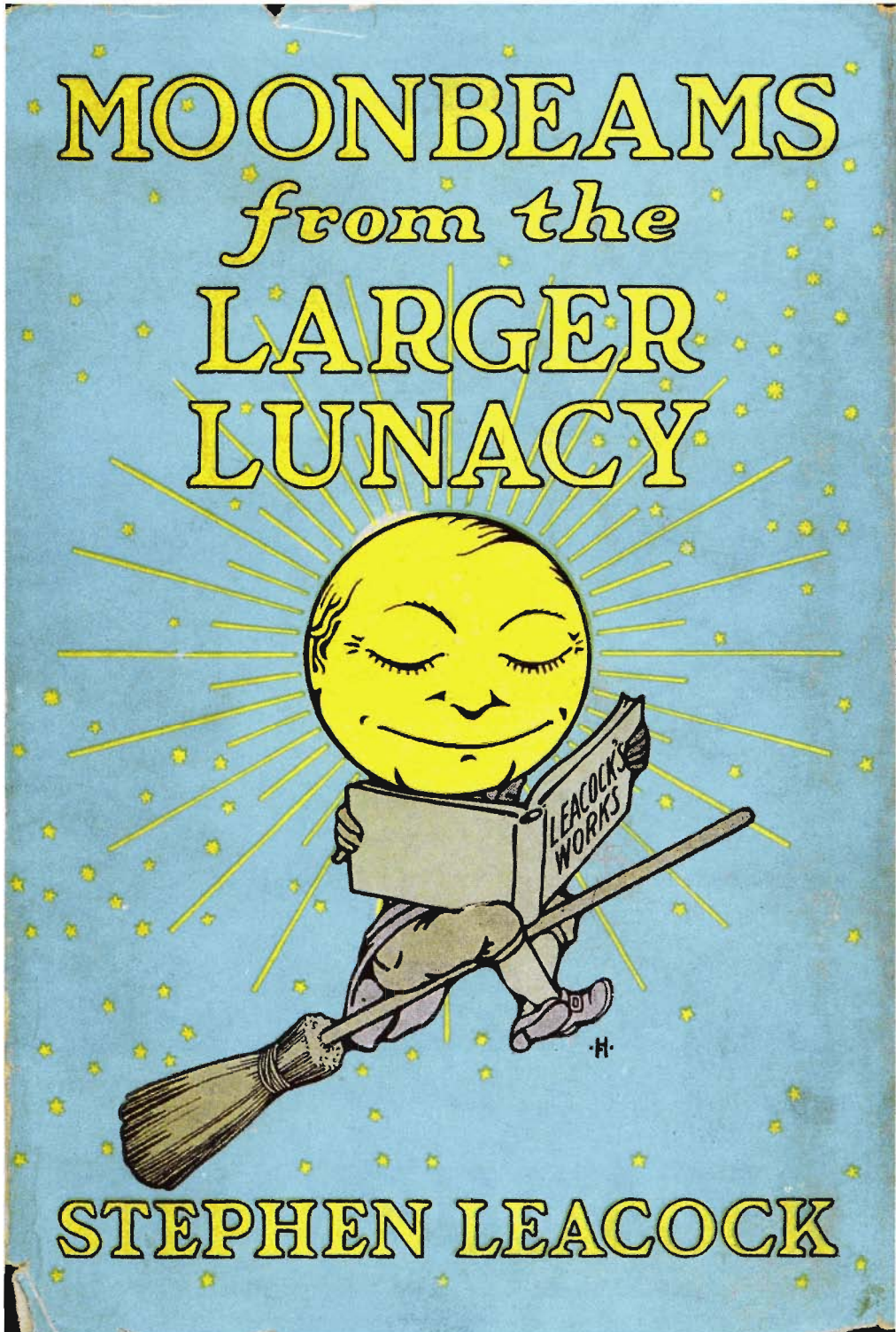
London: John Lane, The Bodley Head
[1916]

THE HOHENZOLLERNS IN
AMERICA AND OTHER IMPOSSIBILITIES
By *Stephen Leacock.*

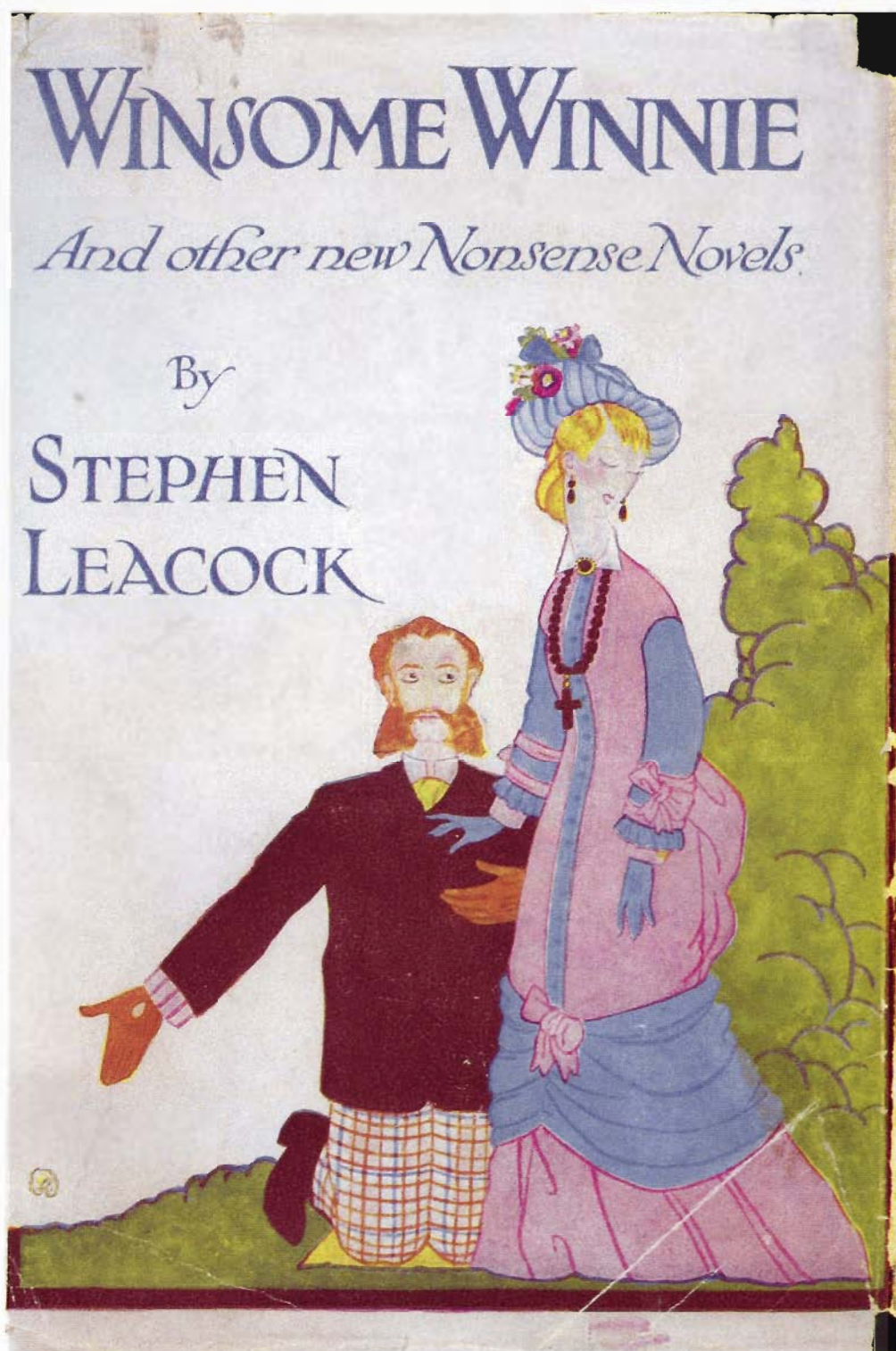


London: John Lane, The Bodley Head
1919

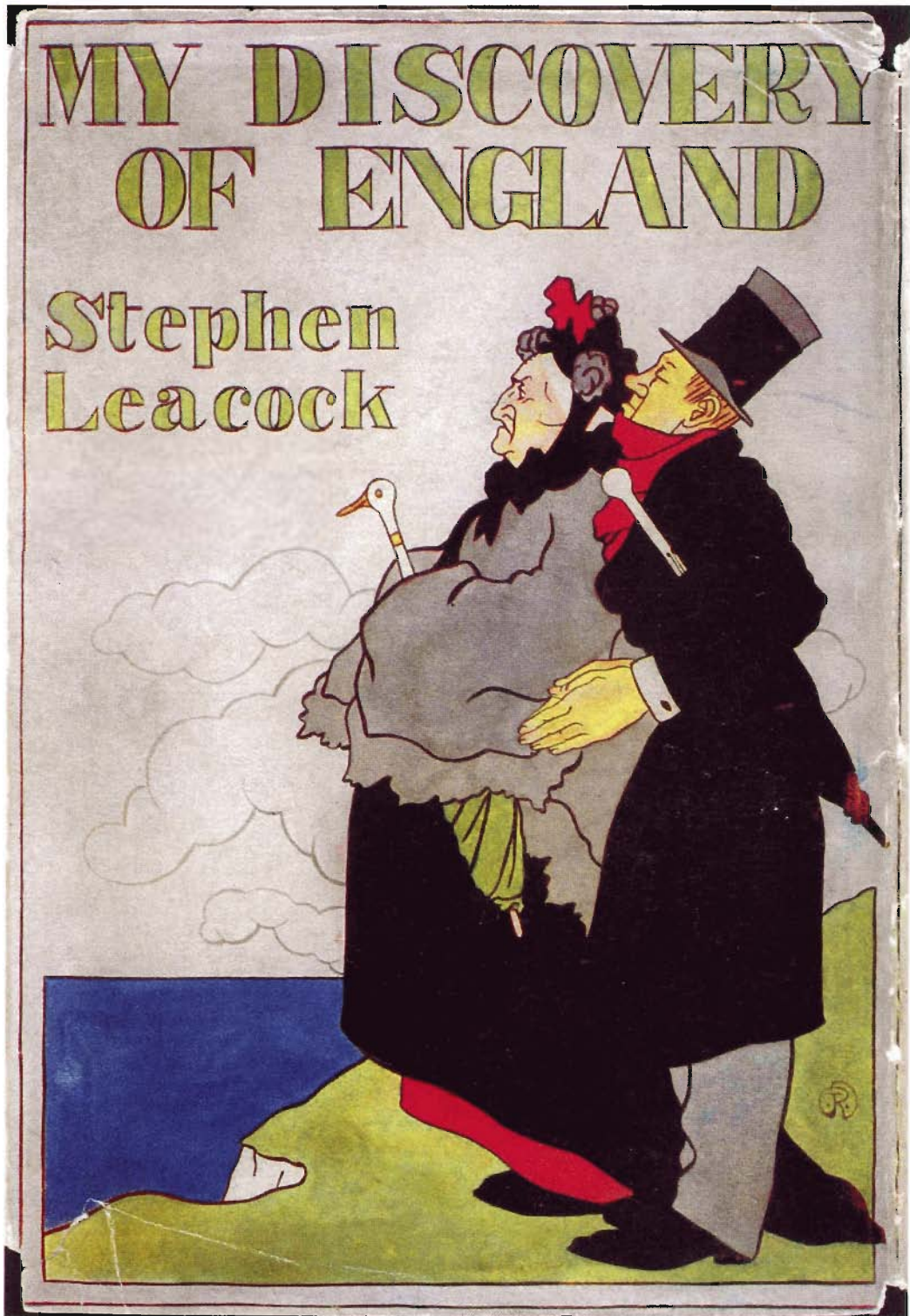
Stephen Leacock and His Books



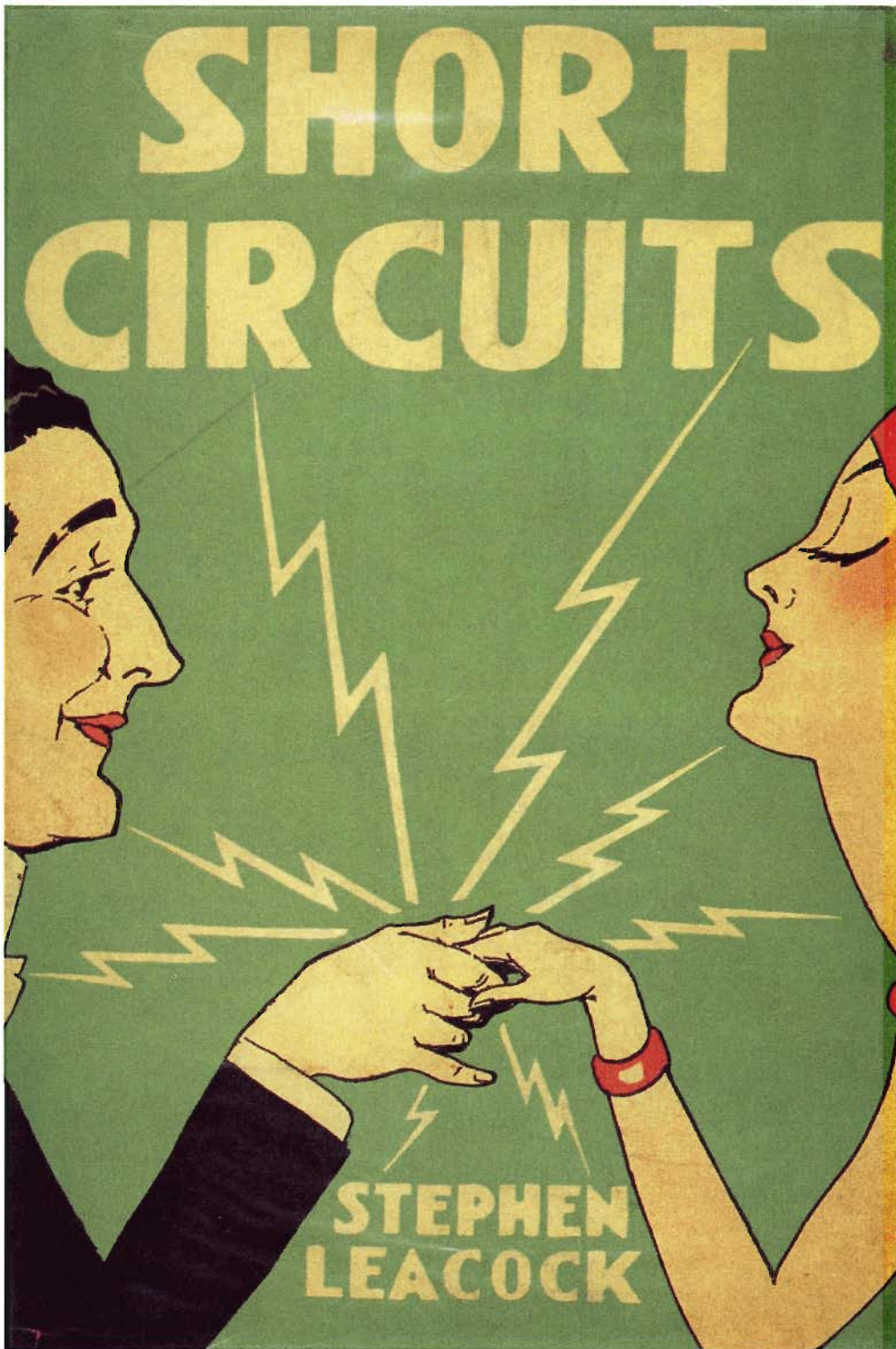
London: John Lane, The Bodley Head
Third Edition [1919]



New York: John Lane Company
1920



London: John Lane, The Bodley Head
1922



New York: Dodd Mead and Company
1928

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REPERTORY PLAYS N° 124

BEHIND THE BEYOND

JOYCE DENNY'S

BY
**V. C. CLINTON-BADDELEY
 AND
 STEPHEN LEACOCK**

LONDON & GLASGOW GOWANS & GRAY LTD

43

REPERTORY PLAYS N° 123

WINSOME WINNIE

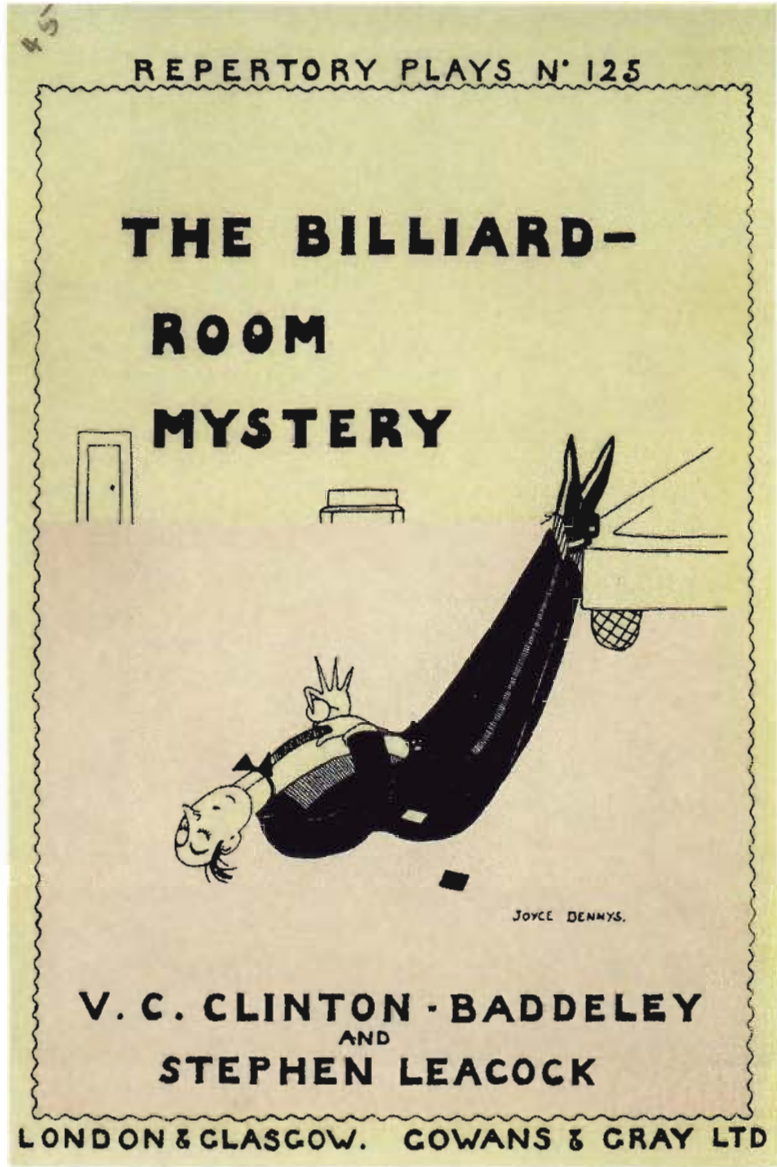
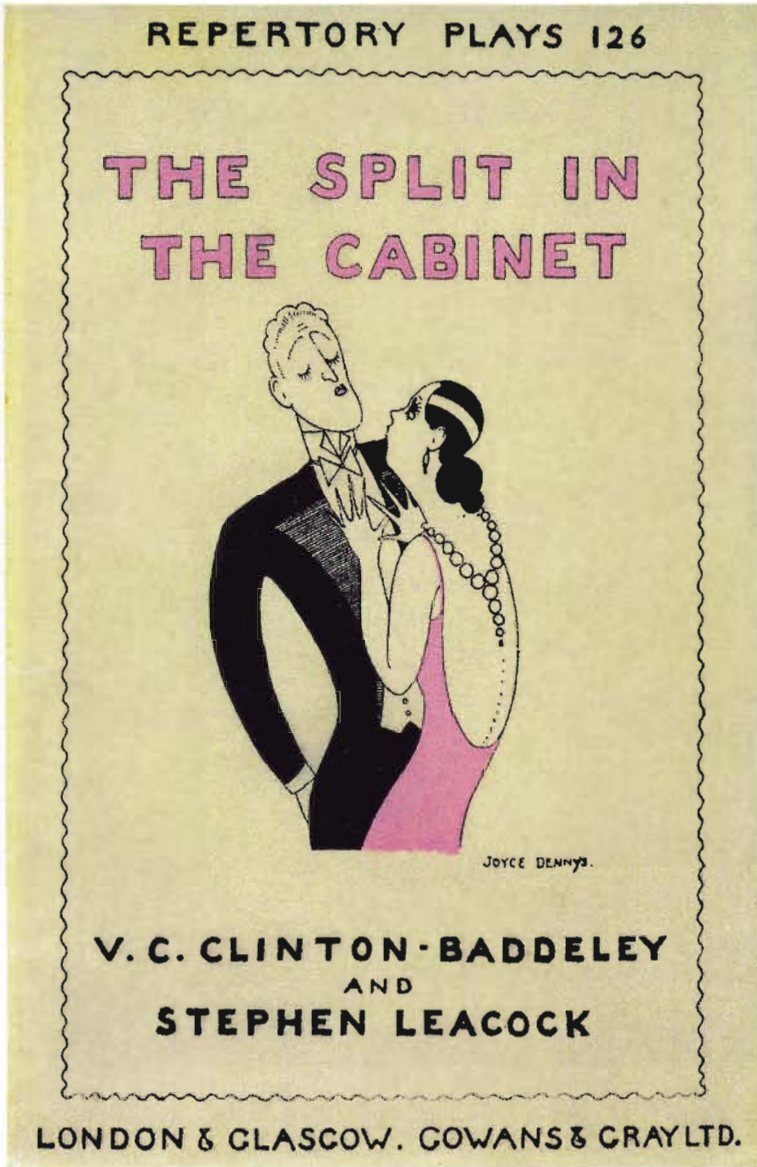
JOYCE DENNY'S

BY
**V. C. CLINTON-BADDELEY
 AND
 STEPHEN LEACOCK**

LONDON & GLASGOW : GOWANS & GRAY LTD

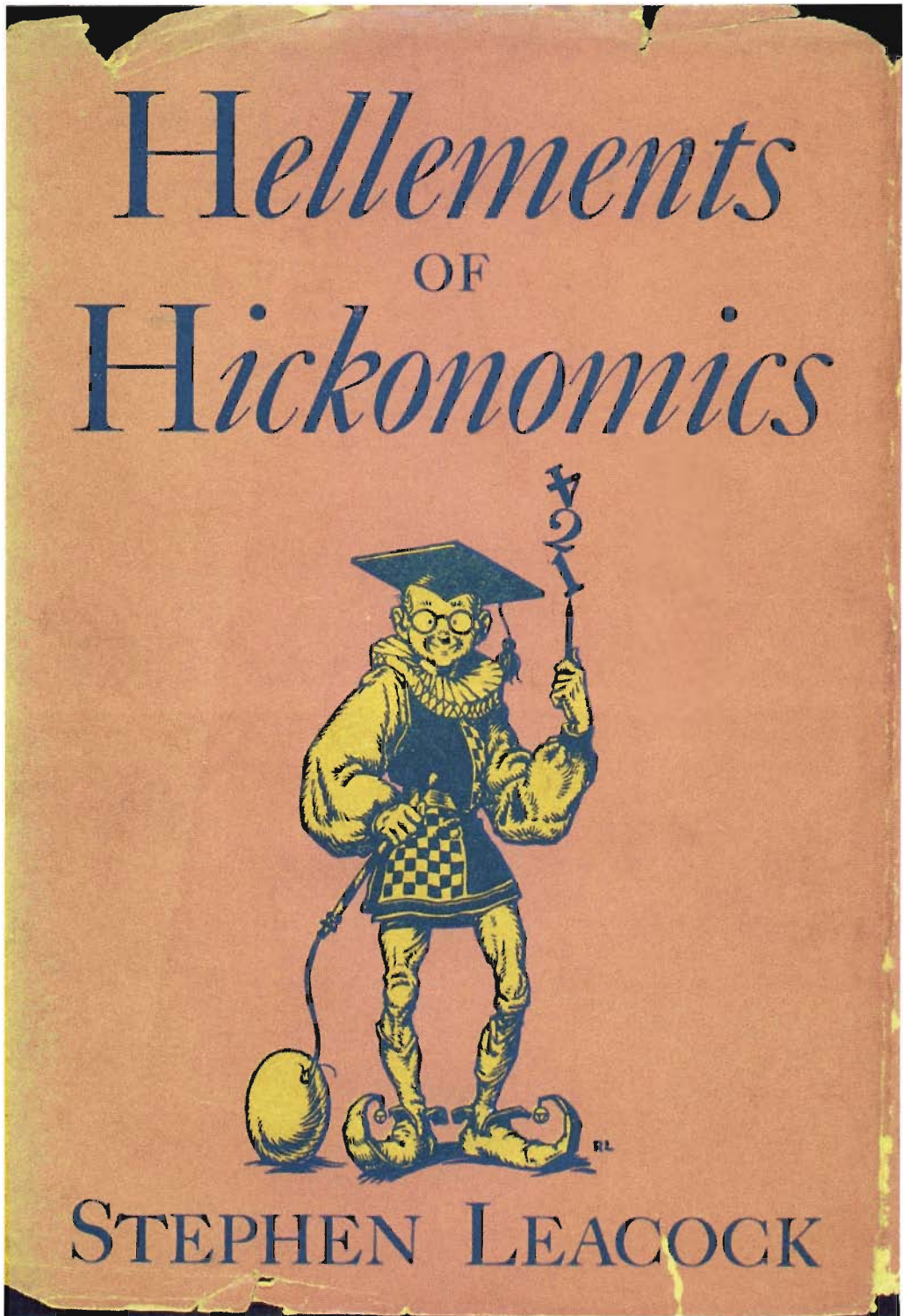
Stephen Leacock and His Books

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Stephen Leacock and His Books



New York: Dodd, Mead & Company
1936

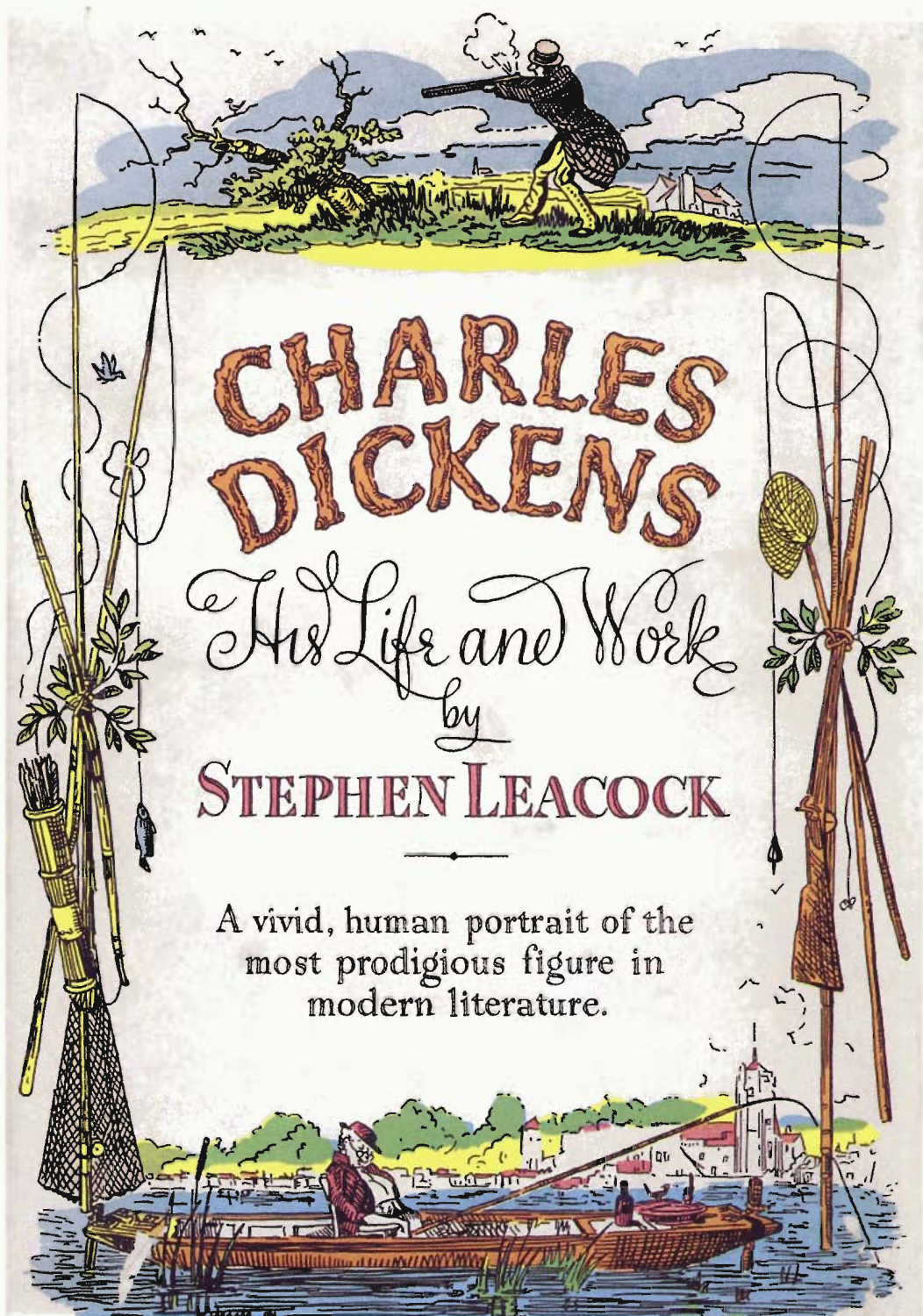
AFTERNOONS IN UTOPIA



BY STEPHEN LEACOCK

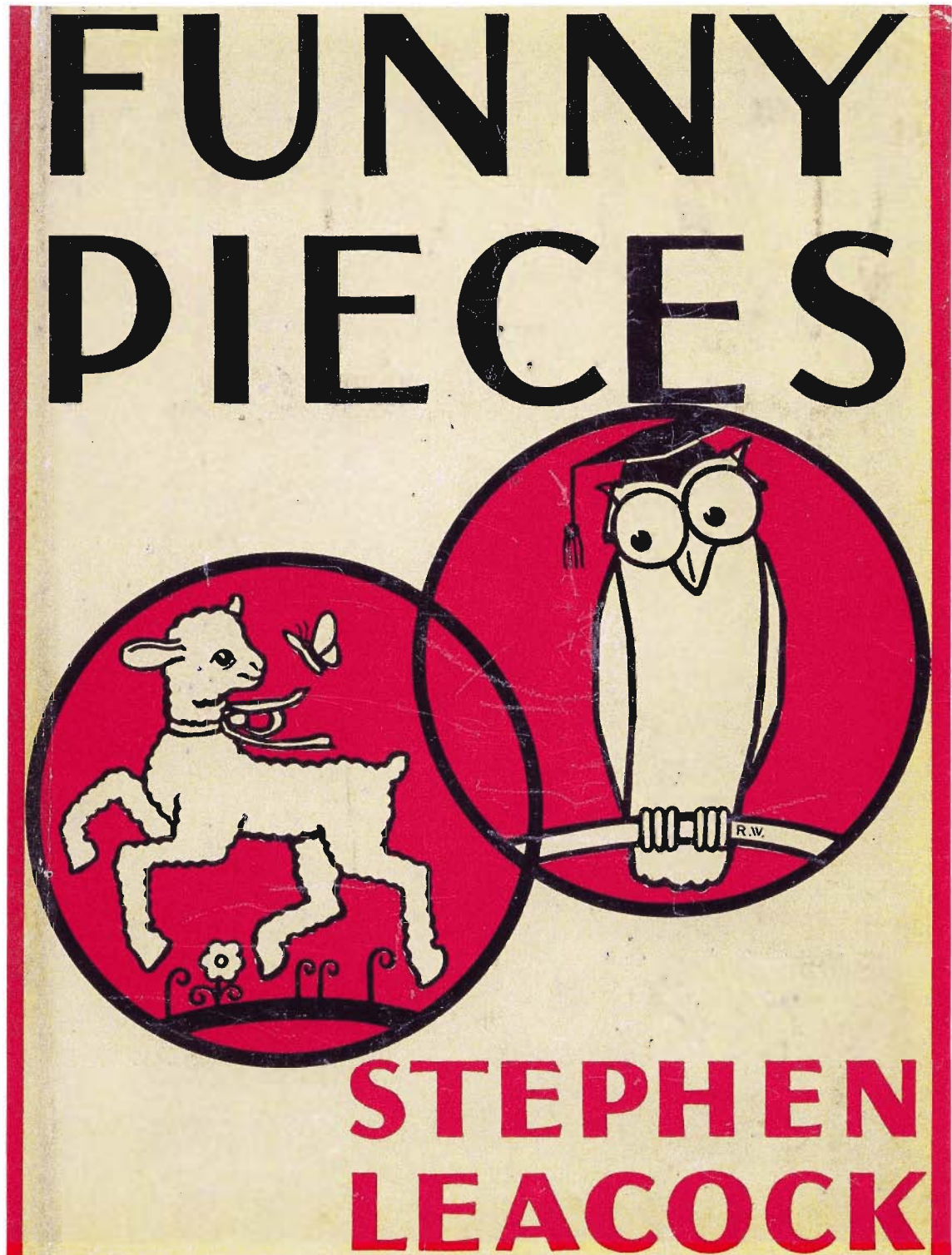
Toronto: The Macmillan Company of Canada Ltd. At St. Martin's House
1932

Stephen Leacock and His Books



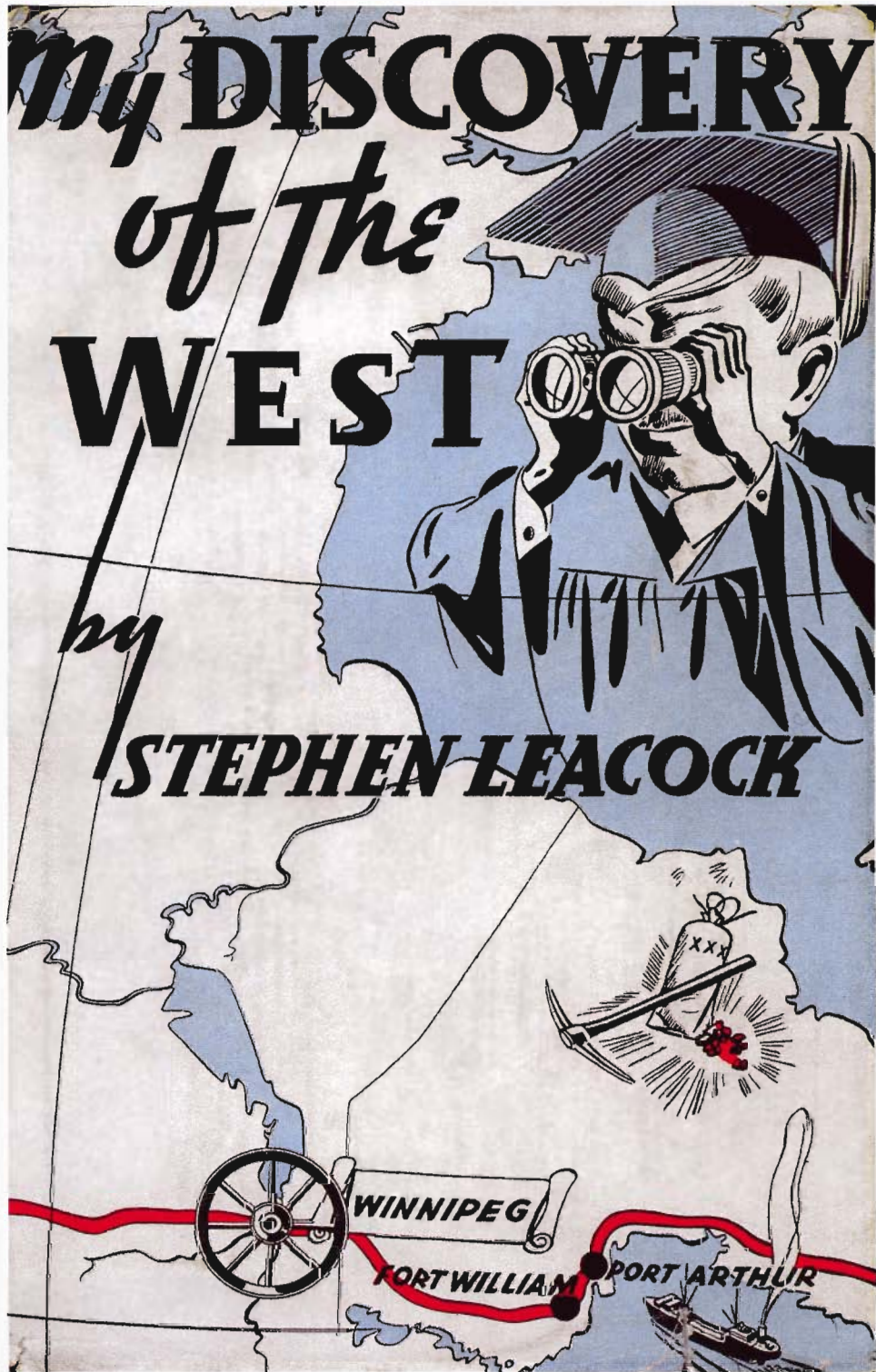
A vivid, human portrait of the
most prodigious figure in
modern literature.

Garden City, New York: Doubleday, Doran and Company, Inc.
1934

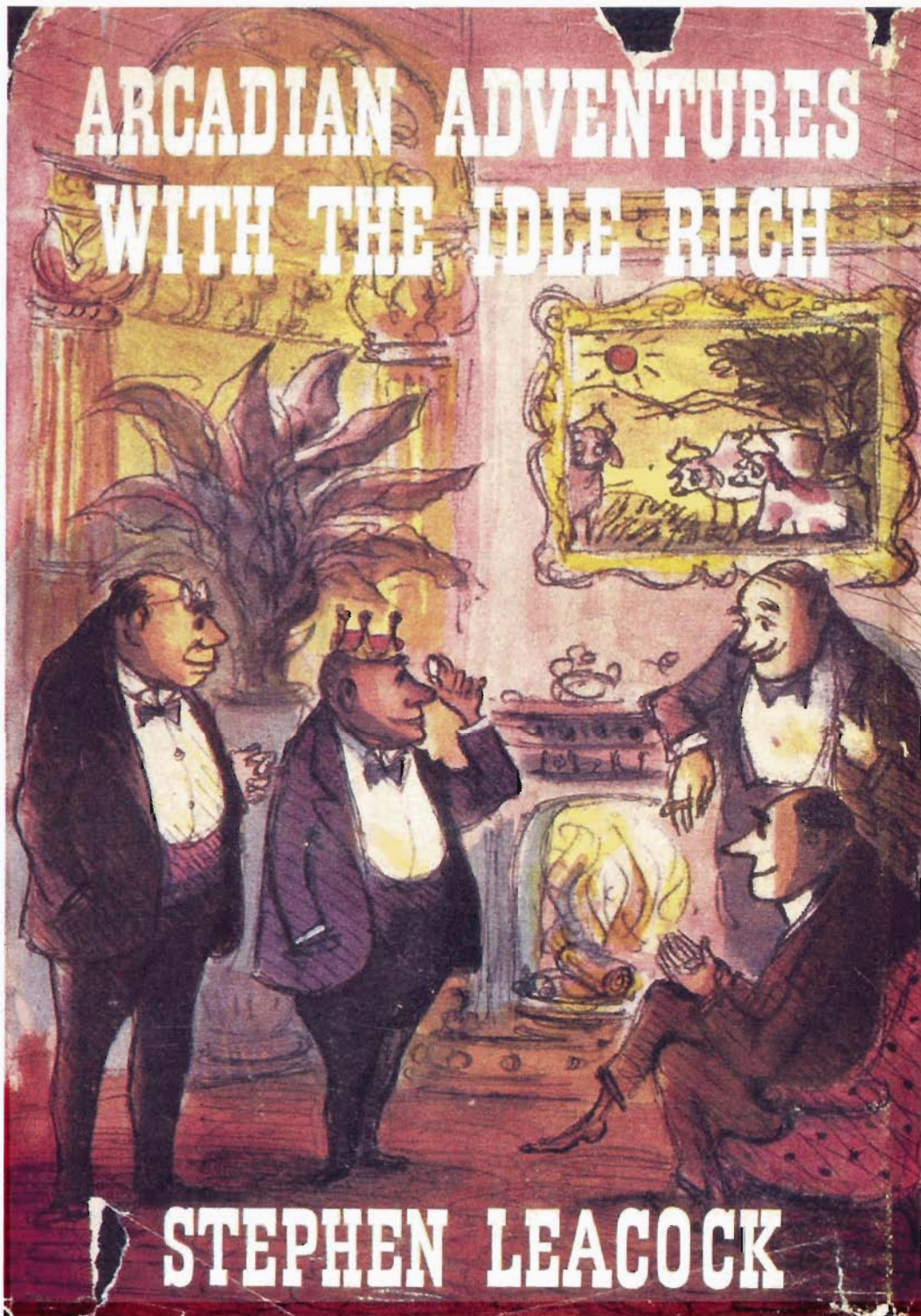


New York: Dodd, Mead & Company
1936

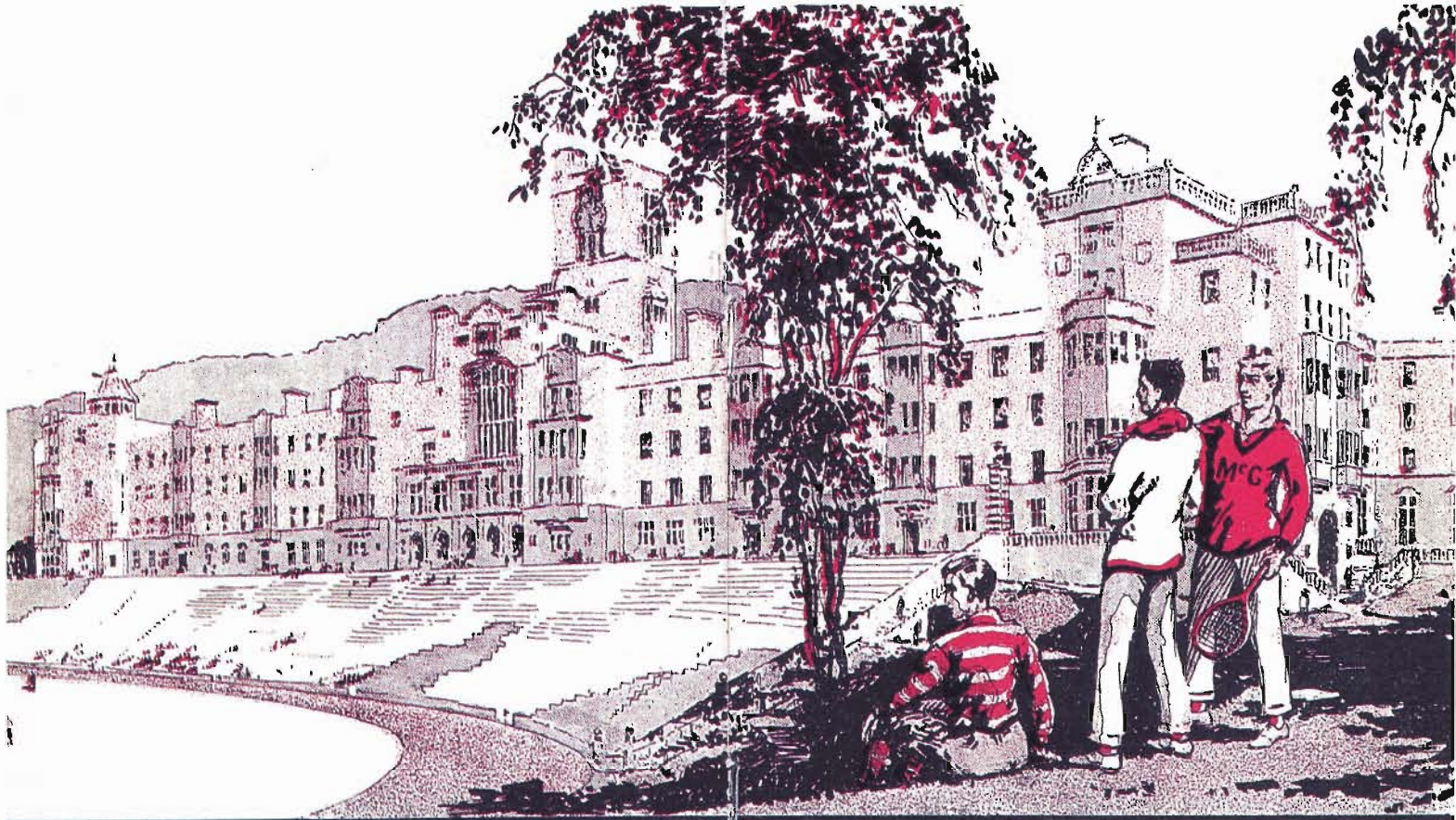
Stephen Leacock and His Books



Toronto: Thomas Allen, Publisher
1937



London: John Lane, The Bodley Head
Cheap Edition, 1930, Reprinted 1952



Stephen Leacock and His Books



MCGILL STUDENTS' RESIDENCES

The Need for Dormitories at McGill
Montreal, McGill Centennial Endowment
1920

The Leacock Mission Statement

by Ian Binnie

This talk was given at the annual Leacock Luncheon of the Graduates' Society of McGill University held in Montreal on Friday, 1 October, 1993.

Cette conférence a été prononcée à l'occasion du banquet Leacock de l'Association des diplômés de l'Université McGill qui a eu lieu à Montréal le vendredi 1^{er} octobre 1993.

When Stephen Leacock was asked why he continued to smoke and drink into his old age he pointed out that if caught in a medical emergency without nicotine and alcohol he would be like a ship caught in a storm without any excess freight to throw overboard.

Much the same spirit of whimsy and self-parody no doubt moved McGill recently to take aboard something called the *Mission Statement*, a lugubrious document drafted by the University Task Force on Priorities in May 1991, and subsequently endorsed by the Senate and Board of Governors of the University in the Spring of 1991.

This document is the blueprint for Harvard North — or, to put it another way, a repudiation of everything Professor Leacock ever stood for.

McGill's new \$200 million fund raising campaign ("the McGill 21st Century Fund") is apparently to be built around the theme of the *Mission Statement*, namely an unhealthy preoccupation with the pursuit of excellence, and in particular:

- scholastic excellence
- teaching excellence, and
- research excellence.

The self-congratulatory tone of the *Mission Statement* is, I think, quite foreign to the spirit of scepticism that is supposed to animate a centre of learning.

Inflated rhetoric is better left to politicians rather than professors. We have only to remember the great Free Trade Election of 1984. Mr. Mulroney, in each of his stomach-churning appearances, lectured

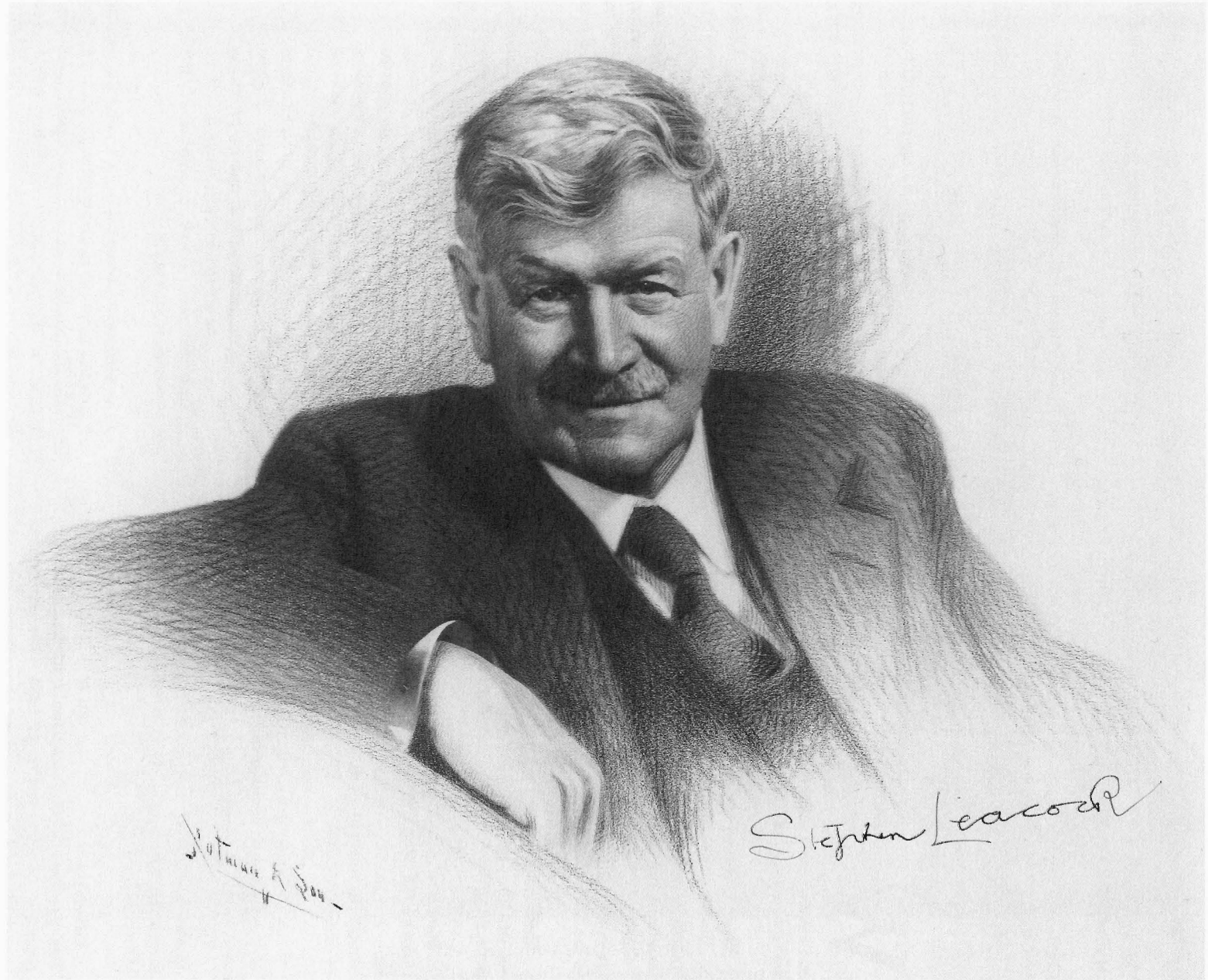
us to pull the finger out and become competitive and "world class." The voters, suitably bewildered by all of the oratory, gave Free Trade their overwhelming support — like turkeys calling for an early Christmas.

In the next few minutes I propose to review with you the text of McGill's *Mission Statement*. I hope to demonstrate that my criticism is, if anything, understated. Lest this lecture be considered a wholly negative exercise, moreover, I will then propose an alternative *Mission Statement* more in tune, I think, with Professor Leacock's philosophy. It will then be for you to choose which of these approaches best represents the enduring values of old McGill.

Here is what the official *McGill Mission Statement* presently says:

The mission of McGill University is the advancement of learning through teaching, scholarship, and service to society: by offering to outstanding undergraduate and graduate students the best education available; by carrying out scholarly activities judged to be excellent when measured against the highest international standards; and by providing service to society in those ways for which we are well suited by virtue of our academic strengths.

The *Mission Statement* is built around the concept of "advancement of learning through teaching," but the McGill teachers of my day would have been appalled at the accusation of being world class intellectuals.



Stephen Leacock, 1942. A Notman photograph.

The Leacock Mission Statement

Leacock himself helped found the University Club of Montreal so that he would have quick access to a smoke and drink between lectures. Things had not changed much by the time I arrived in the late 1950s. My economics professor used to say that so far as he was concerned, the best drink of the day was the second, which was the one he had while he was shaving.

The ambition of undergraduates in the late fifties was not to achieve academic superiority, but to achieve what was called "*effortless* superiority" — with emphasis on the *effortless*. This led to a practically comatose student body.

Graduates who went abroad to study used to write back to those of us still at the College and say that what they missed most about McGill was the apathy.

The *McGill Daily* ran a column entitled "McGill Life." The title was dropped when it was pointed out that the expression "McGill Life" was itself an oxymoron.

The same low energy levels are apparent today. Queen's graduates stage an annual marathon. Western graduates have their jog-a-thon. Even Concordia University graduates hold a walk-a-thon. The McGill Graduates' Society (at least in Toronto) can muster no more than a telethon, and even then complaints of over-exertion are common.

Let us now examine the second pillar of the McGill *Mission Statement* — "scholarship."

An appeal to love of scholarship is not likely to advance the interest of the McGill 21st Century Fund. Certainly, serious thinking was never tolerated in the Arts Faculty in my day.

Professors lecturing in Moyes Hall elicited so little reaction that Professor George Catlin used to say that talking to his political science students was like addressing the centre court at Madam Tussaud's waxworks.

Leacock himself saw only too clearly the marginal role scholarship played at the University in his day. On the death of Sir Arthur Curry, Leacock wrote:

General Sir Arthur Curry, Principal and Vice Chancellor of the University, knew nothing of scholarship in the narrower sense of the term. His dusty shabby professors were always a sort of mystery to him. He never could quite understand whether they were researching or loafing. When he first came to us, he imagined that the professors were always buried in the library, each lecture planned and prepared like Vimy Ridge.

Later on, he was a little disillusioned. "Some of the gentlemen," he said, only that was not the name he used for them; he had a simpler one "don't research at all." They were like hens who wouldn't lay.¹

The third pillar of the *Mission Statement* is "service to society."

In my line of work, I often bump into graduates of the McGill Faculty of Law. I find that they are not especially keen on "service to society." Their clients say that it is as easy to open an oyster without a knife as to open the mouth of a McGill law graduate without a fee.

A former Dean of the Law School reportedly declined an appointment to serve society as a judge of the Supreme Court of Canada on the basis that he would rather talk drivell half the day than to listen to drivell all day as a judge on the nation's highest court.

The *McGill News* recently reported that zoology students were studying the differences between a McGill law graduate and a blowfish — their analysis showed that one is a wide-mouthed, bottom-feeding scavenger, and the other is a fish.

If one cannot find a high-minded dedication to "service to society" even among the lawyers, what can be expected from the more grasping professions such as medicine and engineering? The third pillar collapses under its own weight.

These three pillars of the McGill *Mission Statement* — teaching, scholarship and service to

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society — are set forth in a serious way at page 9 of the *University Task Force on Priorities*, May 1991, where it is said that they

derive from the fact that since its inception nearly two hundred years ago, McGill has been dedicated to the advancement of learning.

This, of course, is historical nonsense. It is refuted by the University's own official history, edited by Hugh MacLennan, published under the auspices of the McGill Graduates Society in 1960.

MacLennan documented the fact that the early years of the University were devoted not to the advancement of learning but to protracted litigation with the heirs of James McGill, who claimed that the old furtrader's dream of founding a university merely demonstrated a lack of testamentary capacity. While McGill's Royal Charter was granted in 1821, the project remained trapped in the courts for years — like the great case of *Jaryndyce v. Jaryndyce* in Dicken's *Bleak House* into which lawyers were born and out of which they died. Eventually the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council put an end to the litigation with an award in favour of the University Trustees. By that time the estate was depleted, and Montreal lawyers rejoiced in a special McGill college grace which they said before meals:

Let strife continue at McGill College,
O Lord, lest these thy servants starve.

MacLennan's history tells us at page 53 that when Sir William Dawson became Principal in 1855, the present campus — the Burnside Estate of James McGill — was devoted not to the advancement of learning but to the pasturing of cattle. Dawson established a School of Engineering but it attracted no community support and had to be suspended amidst widespread public apathy.² In 1871, in assessing progress during the 50 years since the Royal Charter, Sir William Dawson chronicled the rising tide of apathy on and off the campus:

[The Chair of Practical Chemistry] failed to attract our artisans or manufacturers to receive its benefits, and the same fate has

befallen my own efforts to bring the principles of Scientific Agriculture under the notice of our farmers³

This shows, I think, that in the latter part of the nineteenth century the whole scientific side of McGill was almost cancelled for lack of interest.

William Dawson's own devotion to "the advancement of learning" drifted into religious mania. The mid-1870s were consumed with his fight against musical church services, and in particular, the installation of a pipe organ at his beloved Erskine Presbyterian Church. As Sir William warned his fellow parishioners — music may be the food of love but it could become the aperitif of lust.

Lust, and the means of its containment, has been central to the minds of the University authorities for more than a century. It is interesting and significant, I think, that no mention is made of this hitherto paramount objective in the current McGill *Mission Statement*.

No one who lived through it will ever forget the great curfew controversy at Royal Victoria College in 1958. A *McGill Daily* editorial contended that the curfew was ineffective because whatever the students could do after 11:00 p.m. could be done with equal facility before 11:00 p.m. — to which the University replied that all of that was true but without a curfew the students could do "it" again.

Now we come to Sir William Peterson, who was appointed in 1895, after Sir William Osler refused even to consider returning to McGill from his refuge at the University of Pennsylvania. Dr. Peterson was from the Old Country and, according to MacLennan's history, was as little able as Sir William Dawson to get anyone interested in the advancement of learning. A graduate of the class of 1912 described his graduation ceremony, held at Royal Victoria College, as follows:

Dr. Peterson's deep drawling voice was well-known and easily imitated. When he addressed the graduating class these imitations, as well as cat calls and the almost incessant ringing of cowbells, drowned practically everything.⁴

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Accordingly, nobody with any respect for McGill's history is going to contribute \$200 million or any part thereof to the 21st Century Fund on the strength of the fanciful claim in the *Mission Statement* that,

Since its inception nearly 200 years ago, McGill has been dedicated to the advancement of learning.

Leacock himself poked fun at fundraisers who were careless with their delusions.

In the Spring of 1925, his old graduate school, the University of Chicago, launched a major campaign for \$17.5 Million, an amount in those days that is perhaps comparable to \$200 Million today. Leacock responded as follows:

I have just learned that the University of Chicago is asking for \$17.5 million. I regret that I had not known of this sooner, but I hasten at once to enclose my cheque for \$17.5 million with my best wishes for the continued success of my Alma Matter.

In entering this subscription on your list, I would ask you not to mention my name, but just mark it as from "a friend."

The only stipulation or caution I would like to make in regard to this donation is in reference to the cashing of the cheque. It ought to be cashed very carefully....I would like to say that when I was a student at Chicago, they used to cash my cheques at a little delicatessen store on Cottage Grove Avenue, and I am sure if this cheque were taken there, they would cash it without hesitation.

After being cashed, this cheque should be laid in a warm place, not exposed to the damp, and covered up at night.⁵

The fifth component of the McGill *Mission Statement* is to offer "to outstanding undergraduate and graduate students the best education available."

The type of student the University has in mind today was amplified in the Principal's message accompanying the 1991-92 McGill *Annual Report* at page 5 — a message that goes to great lengths to differentiate the students of the 1990s from the academic roadkill (including those of us here today) that preceded them. The Principal asked:

What kind of student attends McGill University in the 1990s?

The Principal answered his own question as follows:

From all parts of the University, deans and department chairs speak eloquently *this year* of exceptional academic performance and steadily *rising* standards.

Rising — evidently — from the low estate in which today's luncheon guests left them. The Principal continued:

Yes, our students are outstanding — but something more. They come to McGill ... because they welcome the prospect of a diverse and complex community, an international University that teaches 35 different languages within the context of a dialogue between two great linguistic cultures.

Students inhabiting the campus in the late 1950s and early 1960s presented a different picture. Most were still suffering severe after-effects from the onslaught of puberty. It was sometimes said that the only thriving culture on campus at that time was the yogurt sold in the Union cafeteria.

The prevailing educational philosophy was that students learned most from each other, and the task of the University was to provide a congenial setting for reflection, friends, youthful indiscretions and the sharing of laughter.

It was an unpretentious environment.

Theatre flourished. No one who saw it will ever forget such campus events as the McGill Dramatic

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Society production of Anthony & Cleopatra. Picture the death scene — Mark Anthony stage left, fallen on his sword — visibly belching from a Ben's smoked meat. Noises off stage right — stage hands banging garbage pails with sticks. Roman legions at the gates of the palace. Trumpets and alarums. Cleopatra makes her speech about immortal longings, clasps the poisonous asp to her bosom, and with a scream falls dead. In the stunned silence that follows, the wife of the Principal F. Cyril James is heard to exclaim under her breath: "How different from the home life of our own dear Queen."

Of course, she spoke of our dear Queen's home life of 30 years ago.

While student preoccupations may have changed in the intervening years, I doubt it. Two of my sons who recently graduated from McGill told me that the ghetto was still a good place to live if you didn't mind being awakened every morning by the sound of five thousand electric hair blowers.

The sixth and final component of the McGill *Mission Statement* is to carry out:

scholarly activities judged to be excellent when measured against the highest international standards.

Everyone will concede that McGill has produced many scholars of world reputation. Sir William Osler, Dr. Wilder Penfield, Professor Ernest Rutherford and Dr. Frank Scott are recognized examples. But these are not the kind of scholars who capture the true genius of McGill.

It is no great achievement for someone endowed with a world class brain to put in a world class performance.

The real challenge is faced by the professors without world class brains.

Any university will bask in the reflected glory of a professor who gets things right.

The true test of a university is what it does when a professor makes a world class fool of himself.

Leacock himself put the University to this test when in the spring of 1930, as the world descended ever deeper into the great depression, he published a tendentious treatise entitled *Economic Prosperity in the British Empire*.

The book was an academic disaster both in Canada and abroad.

One foreign academic commented that, "Leacock is never funnier than when writing seriously about economics."⁶

The *Times* of London attacked Leacock's scholarship in the following terms:

[the book] bristles with questionable epigrams, skates lightly over practical issues and waives aside both economic theory and statistical method. Few economists will be impressed with the shortcuts the author takes "through the jungle of statistics," or with his pieces of "financial magic" in which something is made out of nothing.

According to the precepts of the McGill *Mission Statement* such a negative reaction would probably be fatal to an academic career at McGill today. But in those days the University community rallied around the faltering professor.

Leacock himself, with his usual *panache*, returned to the attack. He wrote:

In dealing with the mass of statistical material that goes with the making of such a volume as the present, it is unavoidable that errors and misprints will find their way in. For these I apologise. For instance, in Chapter III I stated that the number of hogs in the world is 200,000,000. I now believe this is wrong. There seems to be more than that.

The Orillia Board of Trade, showing devotion to its prickly summer resident, bought 1,000 copies of the book and mailed a copy free to every British MP

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and to numerous newspaper editors throughout the United Kingdom.

Who best represents the spirit of McGill? Sir William Osler with his world class brain, showered with accolades from every quarter, or Stephen Leacock, bloody but unbowed, whose only allies in a losing cause were the remnants of his own Department of Political Economy and the despised Chamber of Commerce of the Town of Orillia?

McGill teaches its students the *panache* to sustain humiliating defeat without letting it show. This was a vital part of our education. By and large McGill graduates do not spend their life in the fast lanes. We pass our days in life's little collector lanes and the only fire in our belly is indigestion.

Our heroes are people like the members of the beloved McGill Redmen Marching Band.

Anybody can produce an outstanding marching band if they have people who can march and play musical instruments at the same time.

The genius of McGill was to produce a marching band whose members could do neither — at the same time or sequentially — an extreme example of *panache* in motion.

No doubt, Mr. Chairman, you are asking what conclusions I draw from this loosely reasoned analysis of the McGill *Mission Statement*.

Firstly, I say that McGill should put aside its newly developed world class neurosis about whether or not it is world class.

Secondly, a *Mission Statement* that cannot pass a reality check on *any* of its six major components should be returned to the drawing board.

Thirdly, the McGill 21st Century Campaign Fund should base itself on a *Mission Statement* more in tune with the Leacock way of looking at university life. If he had prepared such a document, he would probably have talked about some of the things that I have tried to describe today as the enduring values of our University:

the pursuit of effortless superiority
panache
laughter
youth
friendship

The Leacock *Mission Statement* wouldn't have to be written out. Generations of undergraduates have imbibed it.

Mr. Chairman, it is these qualities and not pretensions to Harvard North that bring 600 people together each October at this luncheon to celebrate McGill University and recall with affection the life and contribution of Professor Stephen Leacock.

We must not become too tiresomely reverent about an institution that has stood for scepticism and irreverence for nearly 200 years.

We should not demand worshipful deference from a group of graduates who were taught at this university not to be worshipfully deferential about anything or anyone.

We should throw overboard the current McGill *Mission Statement*.

We should embrace the enduring values of Stephen Leacock, and sit back and watch \$200 Million flow in from across the world.

Notes

1. David M. Legate, *Stephen Leacock; a Biography* (Toronto: Doubleday Canada, 1970), 189.
2. Hugh MacLennan, *McGill, The Story of a University* (London: G. Allen & Unwin, 1960), 61.
3. *Ibid.*
4. *Ibid.*, 88.
5. Legate, 145.
6. *Ibid.*, 203.

James McGill and the War of 1812

by Stanley Brice Frost

James McGill was a man of many careers — courageous fur trader, successful Montreal merchant, conscientious city magistrate, influential member of the Legislative Assembly, senior member of the Governor's Executive Council, and finally Colonel and Acting Brigadier-General of Militia. Yet after his death, this outstanding personality quickly lapsed into obscurity. Except for having bequeathed land and endowment for a college, James McGill was forgotten. In the late 1920s, Maysie Steele MacSporran essayed a thesis-biography, but since it was never published her work remained largely unnoticed. In the 1980s S.B. Frost devoted the first chapter of his history of McGill University to its founder and John Cooper wrote a comprehensive entry in the Dictionary of Canadian Biography. Meanwhile, Lawrence Lande had gathered into his Canadiana collections valuable papers relating to McGill and his times, and the University's Rare Book Collections had acquired some survivors of his financial papers and correspondence. The McCord Museum also possesses artefacts, papers and portraits which illuminate the McGill years. The founding of the University Archives in 1962 made accessible many additional items of information. Benefiting from these and other new sources, Dr. Frost has now written a biography, which is to be published by the McGill-Queen's Press in the Spring of 1995. The last chapter has here been reworked to celebrate the 250th anniversary of James McGill's birth, 6 October, 1994.

James McGill a cumulé plusieurs mandats dont celui de courageux négociant en fourrures, de prospère commerçant montréalais, de magistrat consciencieux, de membre influent de l'Assemblée législative, de membre du Conseil exécutif du Gouverneur et enfin de Colonel et de Brigadier-général par intérim de la Milice. Aussi remarquable que fut sa personnalité, son décès l'a très vite plongé dans l'oubli et de son souvenir ne persistèrent que les terres et les fonds qu'il avait légués pour la création d'un collège. À la fin des années 1920, Maysie Steele MacSporran a écrit une thèse biographique sur James McGill mais comme celle-ci n'a jamais été publiée, elle est passée pratiquement inaperçue. Dans les années 1980, S.B. Frost a consacré le premier chapitre de son histoire de l'Université McGill à son fondateur et John Cooper lui a consacré un article complet dans le Dictionary of Canadian Biography. Parallèlement, Lawrence Lande réunissait pour sa collection Canadiana de précieux documents sur McGill et son époque, et la collection de livres rares de l'Université faisait l'acquisition d'un certain nombre de documents financiers et de lettres lui ayant appartenu. Le Musée McCord possède également des artefacts, des documents et des portraits des années McGill. La création des archives de l'Université en 1962 a donné accès à plusieurs documents. Grâce à ces derniers et à de nouvelles sources, S.B. Frost a rédigé une biographie qui sera publiée par les Presses universitaires McGill-Queen's au printemps 1995. Le dernier chapitre qui est publié dans ces pages a été réécrit en vue de célébrer le 250^e anniversaire de la naissance de James McGill, le 6 octobre 1994.

For the Canadians of the early 19th century, and particularly for the merchants of Montreal, the War of 1812 was as unwelcome as it was unnecessary. The immediate causes were straight forward and can be quickly recalled. Great Britain was striving to administer the coup de grace in its long-standing war with France, and had instituted a continental blockade of Europe — which created yet another complication for Montreal's fur trade, but one that had to be endured stoically. The resulting interference with ocean commerce, however, profoundly irritated the Americans, because it hampered

their growing international carrier trade.¹ In enforcing the blockade the Royal Navy assumed the right to stop and search neutral ships for contraband, and in so doing infuriated American captains by also claiming that some of their seamen were British subjects (as indeed they often were) and therefore liable to 'impressment', that is, forcible enrolment in the British Navy. From the American point of view this was nothing other than sheer piracy, and must be resisted at all costs. A belligerent party formed in the Congress, and after much talk the United States finally declared war on Great Britain and its dependencies. But as the

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Americans were not strong enough to challenge the Royal Navy at sea except in their own coastal waters, the only place where they could attack British possessions was on land, that is, along their own northern frontier. Consequently the Canadians suffered this 'War of 1812', even though it was none of their doing, or of their choosing.

The longer term implications of the war were, however, deeply disturbing. Many Americans were by no means unhappy with the turn of events. They had not forgotten the more northerly frontier line they had attempted to secure in the 1783 negotiations which had ended the War of Independence, and still hankered for at least the southern peninsula of Upper Canada to become part of the Union. It had been largely settled by former Americans, including not only zealous United Empire Loyalists but also many others who had come north simply in search of free land and lower taxes. Many politicians in the United States persuaded themselves that these Upper Canadians would warmly welcome a liberating army of their former neighbours and fellow-citizens: President (1800-08) Thomas Jefferson himself had remarked that apart from the citadel of Quebec the capture of Canada was 'a mere matter of marching'. Others were more imperially motivated. Richard Johnson from Kentucky, for example, declared in Congress that 'the waters of the St. Lawrence and the Mississippi interlock in a number of places, and the Great Disposer of Human Events intended these two rivers should belong to the same people', and John Harper of New Hampshire also anticipated the 'Manifest Destiny' doctrine when he said: 'To me, sir, it appears that the Author of Nature has marked our limits in the south by the Gulf of Mexico, and on the north by the regions of eternal frost'. Even Henry Clay, Speaker of the House of Representatives, wrote in 1813: 'It has ever been my opinion that if Canada is conquered it ought never to be surrendered if it can possibly be retained'.² There can be little doubt that if Canada had succumbed to the American attack, the provinces would have been forcibly and permanently incorporated into the Union. If Canada was fighting reluctantly, she was nevertheless fighting for her life.

Because Upper Canada was the primary target, it was probable that the early activity in this war would take place on the Great Lakes and the Niagara

Peninsula. The attack on the St. Lawrence Valley, if and when it came, would equally probably be made as before on the pivotal point of the line — the city of Montreal. So believed James McGill, and mentally and physically he was by no means unprepared for such an assault.

By the year 1812 McGill had attained a position of primary responsibility in Montreal. For over thirty years a magistrate and twelve years a member of the Legislative Assembly, he was now the senior member of the Governor's Executive Council resident in the city, and therefore, in the absence of the Governor General and for lack of an elected mayor, he was *de facto* the head of civil authority. But he was also Colonel and Commanding Officer of the first battalion of the Montreal Militia. With the outbreak of war he was given two more militia companies and made commanding officer of the garrison of Montreal. Consequently, in this time of crisis, he was the head of both civil and military government in the city.

He was particularly well-positioned to have a good grasp of the military situation. Potentially the Americans vastly outnumbered the Canadians, and McGill knew that Sir George Prevost, the new Governor General and Commander in Chief of British forces in North America, watching a frontier that stretched from Halifax to the Great Lakes, would have to husband his resources with extreme care. The maritime provinces would not be in any immediate danger, because of the protection of the Royal Navy and the great difficulties in the way of land access, but the Americans were counting on Britain being so preoccupied with the struggle against Napoleon that she would not have regular army units to spare for the Canadas. In fact, in 1812 Prevost had 10,000 regulars under his command, but McGill knew from his military sources that of these men, approximately 5,000 were in Nova Scotia, 4,000 in Lower Canada, but in the most threatened area, Upper Canada, not more than 1200. These last were under the command of Major General Isaac Brock, who was also the acting Administrator of the upper province.

But from his trading contacts McGill was also well aware that there were allies eager to support the British effort. The Indians on the American western frontiers had been given the 'treaty' of Greenville in 1795,

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James McGill
Canadian Illustrated News, May 29, 1875.
(Department of Rare Books and Special Collections)

which had drawn lines between American and Indian territories, south of Lake Erie. They were told that all lands south and east of the line were to be open to American settlement, but all those to the north and west were to belong to the Indians. But inevitably the pressure of continued white settlement quickly overflowed these boundaries and Indians led by the Shawnee brothers, Tecumseh and Temskwatawa, were anxious for war to break out between the Americans and Great Britain so that they could have British support in their attacks upon the hated American settlements. The Americans, of course, believed that these Indian attacks were not caused by their own relentless encroachment westward, but were the result of deliberate British encouragement. Where did the Indians obtain their muskets, their powder and shot, other than from British traders out of Montreal? 'Who does not know', asked Governor Harrison of the Indiana Territories, 'that the tomahawk and the scalping knife of the savages are always employed as the instruments of British vengeance? At this moment... their agents are organizing a combination amongst the Indians within our limits for the purpose of assassination and murder'.³

There was considerable justice as well as rhetoric in these charges. Because the fur-trading partners of the North West Company, operating out of Montreal, were no more pleased with American settlement in the fur-bearing countries than were the Indians, they had readily sympathized with the natives and vigorously continued the Indian trade on which their fur supplies and the native way of life mutually depended. That commerce had always included weapons and ammunition, and continued to do so, so there was some justification for the American charges. But on the outbreak of war the Nor'Westers went further: they not only urged Prevost to employ Indians against the American invaders but they offered the services of their ships and men on the St. Lawrence and the Great Lakes, and also to provide stores at what they termed 'moderate prices' to the British Indian Department.⁴ These offers to McGill's great satisfaction were readily accepted. Since the incumbency of Governor General James Craig (1807-11) the administration had been quietly following a dual policy, one public and the other private. 'The salient features of both policies were to win the allegiance of the tribes by impressing upon them the wisdom of preserving a friendship with the

British in the face of American westward expansion'.⁵ The secret aspect of the policy was a generous flow of gifts and strong assurances of military support if war was declared. The British were not seeking a conflict but were determined to make full use of Indian allies if Canada were attacked, and the assistance of the fur traders was essential for the implementation of this policy.

The Nor'westers were, of course, James McGill's former associates and continuing friends. Although by 1810 he had himself largely retired from fur trading, and more recently from general trade, McGill continued to make good use of the merchants' information-network. He had been for some years alarmed by the increasing American talk of war. His sympathies were naturally with the fur traders, and the Upper Canadians, but his immediate concern was with the forces of law and security in his own city, Montreal. He had vivid memories of the American occupation of the city in 1775 and he had no desire to repeat that experience. If there was again to be war with the Americans, his contribution to the defence of his country was to be in the preservation of civil peace and good order in the city, and in the organization and training of its garrison, the local militia.

These militia units were the third and largest part of the forces under Prevost's command, and if some were ill-equipped and poorly trained, there were others who were in a reasonable state of preparedness. In particular Prevost had good reason to be grateful to the local leaders in Montreal. To fill the gap left by the extinction of the French colonial obligation laid upon *rentiers* for military service at the call of their seigneurs, the Governor's Council had introduced in 1777 the first Canada Militia Act. By this ordinance, all males between the ages of 16 and 60 were liable for service in the militia of their parish. Failure to enrol invoked fines, and the withdrawal of privileges to keep firearms. Captains in each parish had to submit lists of militiamen, and to 'draw out' their companies on the last two Sundays of June and the first two in July, 'in order to inspect arms, fire at marks, and instruct them in their duties'.⁶ James McGill and other prominent merchants had given leadership in this matter for many years. In 1787 that old gossip Alexander Henry, who had been away from Montreal for some time, wrote to a friend: 'At my return here I found all our friends

Militia Mad, James McGill is a Major and Isaac Todd a Captain and so is old Dobie'.⁷ Because of his mercantile sources of information, McGill was aware more than most of what was afoot in the United States, and because of those memories of 1775 he and his friends knew they had good reason to be serious about the militia. Consequently, they welcomed the Governor General's initiative, and responded readily when in 1790 he issued a call that all officers of the militia should urgently consider 'the proper means for putting the Militia under their Command in the most respectable Condition, that they may be able to defend themselves and the Province against all desultory or piratical attacks'. In 1794 James McGill was invited to address the Grand Jury empanelled at the Court of Quarter Sessions in Montreal and took the opportunity to dispel rumours that the militia would be sent abroad to fight wars in distant countries; but, he argued, to go to the assistance of their friends in Upper Canada, if they were attacked, would be only wise and prudent:

is there among us any men, so weak and inconsiderate as to say, we can defend our country when an enemy shall have entered it and no sooner? Shall we of the town say that when the enemy is at the gates of Montreal it will then be time enough to resort to arms? Or will the inhabitants of a neighbouring parish refuse to assist those, who from local situation may be exposed to inroads from an enemy, until they themselves are attacked in their houses?⁸

A bilingual manual was prepared entitled 'Rules and Regulations for the formation, exercise and movements of the Militia of Lower Canada', and while this compendium of military training was not published until May 1812, it shows the seriousness and thoroughness which had characterised militia training for many years. James McGill and his fellow officers, because of their long participation in the organization of the militia, were to prove an important part of Canada's resources when the war finally erupted.

McGill had shown his strong support for the imperial government in other and more direct ways. France declared war on Britain in 1793 and a year later, he was chairman of the Montreal Association, the purpose of which was to support British rule in Canada. In 1799 he joined a committee to receive and remit

voluntary subscriptions to aid Britain in the prosecution of the war in Europe.⁹ The peace of 1801-3 brought some temporary respite, but with renewal of the conflict the news of Nelson's great victory at Trafalgar in 1805 was good news indeed: for Canada, Britain's command of the oceans was essential. The relieved and grateful merchants of Montreal raised in 1809 a monument to the fallen hero at the top of Jacques Cartier Square, a few yards from McGill's home, and he was a generous contributor.

But if Britain ruled the seas, the land war was by no means won, and the irritation to the Americans was if anything only increased. It was rather ironic that President Madison should sign in Philadelphia the declaration of war against Great Britain on the 18th of June, 1812, when Lord Castlereagh the new British foreign secretary had announced only two days earlier in London that the offending naval 'stop and search' Orders in Council were to be revoked. But the two men were thousands of miles apart, and were ignorant of each other's actions; it would be weeks and months before the news of either decision reached the ships on the high seas and the more distant frontiers.¹⁰ In Lower Canada, James McGill, alerted by his private sources, was the first to receive and send to the Governor General reliable information that the Provinces were at war. His letter was dated 24 June, 8 a.m. and was brief:

May it please your Excellency

I have just been informed by Mr. Richardson that he has learnt by an Express from Albany that war has been declared against Great Britain by the American States, and as an Express is going from this [city] to Quebec I hold it to be my duty to give you this Information.

I shall immediately call a meeting of the Executive Councillors ...¹¹

McGill signed himself 'Chairman of a Committee of the Executive Council', and it is clear that he was acting in accordance with earlier planning. The immediate tasks were to mobilize the militia, to decide what to do about United States citizens who were currently present in Montreal, whether immediately to impose martial law, and finally what to do about trading relations with the enemy. McGill's correspondence over the next few days and weeks

reveal him and his colleagues grappling with the practicalities of the situation. His fellow councillors in these anxious days were old collaborators in public affairs, Chief Justice James Monk and Judge Pierre Louis Panet, and it is obvious that there was unanimity among them; all three were well known as strong supporters of the Crown. The order for mobilisation of the militia was straightway promulgated in the city, and dispatched to the captains of units in the surrounding parishes. Proclamations were also posted that all American citizens must depart the city within a week 'on pain of arrest'. It was decided that for the present it was not necessary to proclaim martial law. When a few weeks later, it was decided that this step had become prudent, the Committee nevertheless recommended that the civil courts should continue until further notice to deal with cases of a purely civil nature.

The question of trade was a more difficult matter. An embargo was placed on the export of articles likely to be of use to the enemy forces, such as arms, ammunition, horse harnesses, blankets, woollens and scalping knives; and a customs check-point was established at the half-way house on the road between La Prairie and St. John on the Richelieu River to enforce these regulations. But merchant that he was, McGill saw no reason for Americans who wanted to continue honest commerce with Canada to be prevented from doing so, especially those bringing in food supplies or valuable export commodities such as lumber or potash. Trade of this kind was to be allowed, but regulated by the granting of licences. Also, the petitions of those Americans who asked to be permitted to continue their residence in Montreal were to be scrutinized leniently: 'in all doubtful cases', McGill reported to Prevost, 'we are inclined to Indulgence rather than Rigour, being of opinion that such are the Intentions of the Governor in Chief'. They were further encouraged in this practice, McGill remarks, because, if newspaper reports were to be believed, the United States authorities were behaving with reciprocal 'indulgence'.

The fact was that enthusiasm for this war was not widespread among the general American population, especially in those States which normally traded freely with the Canadas. Many Vermont and New York farmers saw lucrative opportunities in the need of the

British forces to be supplied with grain and cattle. A clerk in the Army commissariat was assigned particularly to oversee the busy trade in beef from Vermont; at Ogdensburg, New York, a constant flow of supplies, mostly cattle and sheep, moved across the St. Lawrence to Fort Wellington. When the American commander stationed at Ogdensburg raided Gananoque across the river, and provoked a retaliatory raid by 'Red George' Macdonell and the Glengarry Light Infantry, compelling the American forces to retreat to Sackets Harbor, the citizens of Ogdensburg petitioned that their troops should not return — military activities were obviously not good for business.¹² However, once war had been declared, raids, skirmishes, even set battles could take place; men could be killed, homes could be burned, farms destroyed, women and children massacred. All these tragedies did indeed take place.

Nevertheless, one of the decisions McGill found less difficult concerned the trader named Robert Dickson. He was probably the most influential trader amongst the western Indians of the upper Mississippi region.¹³ In the past, McGill had been one of his chief suppliers, and indeed had encountered much difficulty in collecting payments from him. Recently Dickson had been busy on his own initiative distributing presents among the Indians, in the name of their Great Father, the King of England, in order to consolidate their allegiance. Now he was putting in a claim to the Army paymaster for reimbursement. This was clearly a military matter, and was referred as a matter of course to General de Rottenburg, who in mid-July had been assigned over-all command of the Montreal district. But Dickson's activities had been, at least ostensibly, in accord with the fur trade's normal patterns and Rottenburg had been instructed to consult on all commercial matters with McGill. McGill had, in fact, already written to Prevost the previous month, urging the full use of the traders' services. It is not surprising then that it was decided that Dickson's services were of 'enormous value' and that he should be both reimbursed and strongly encouraged in his activities.

McGill's greatest concern, however, continued to be the preparation of the Montreal militia. MacSporran has transcribed his military correspondence for the years 1812-1813; the letters show that he worked continuously to keep his forces officered, disciplined and equipped. Shortly before the declaration of war, de

Rottenburg, at that time also acting Administrator of Lower Canada, ordered the militia officers of the province to consider the best means of mobilizing the contingents. In Montreal, McGill was chairman of the officers' conference and was responsible for drafting its report. On 14 June he presented a scheme for dividing the men on the parish rolls into four groups by age: 16-18, 18-30, 30-40, 40-60. For the present, drill for six hours weekly should at once be arranged for the second and third groups, and the men readied to march at short notice; these would be the 'embodied' militia. The other two groups could remain in reserve, and form the 'sedentary' militia. Arms should be stored in each parish, possibly in the presbyteries — a central, recognized location, yet not profaning the sanctuaries themselves.

As soon as the American declaration of war became known, McGill sought, in accordance with this planning, to assemble the 'embodied' militia, more closely defined as the unmarried men, aged 18-25. They were to be enrolled for ninety days, or in the event of armed invasion for one year. Their companies would be attached to and work with the regular forces, but militia men were not to be forced to enrol in regular British army units. The Legislative Assembly of Lower Canada had enacted these terms in February, 1812, so McGill had full authority for his call to arms. Mobilization went smoothly enough, he reported to the Governor General, except for resistance 'by a great number of the Inhabitants of this Island from the West End of the Parish of LaChine up to the End [of the Island].' Fifty nine men were called from the area, of whom only twenty eight responded by crossing over to Laprairie, where the troops were being assembled, and of these, four later changed their minds and returned home. In a report dated 1 July, McGill reported these matters to the Governor General and added that the revolt had spread to 'St. Geneviève behind Pointe Claire', where 'One of the unlawful assembly declared that they [were] determined upon and prepared for Civil War'. The Committee decided that the situation called for prompt action. A force was assembled for despatch the next morning. It consisted of 100 regulars, 200 militia and a detachment of artillery with two field guns. Clearly, McGill was taking no chances. Under the command of Captain John Richardson, 'about 350 men marched this morning before 7 o'clock consisting of English and Canadians nearly equal in number'.

The report of this incident was signed by James McGill, James Monk and Pierre Louis Panet, but MacSporran notes that the document is in McGill's handwriting. Evidently the language is also his own, and we notice its strong terms: those who oppose the constituted authorities are 'mad people' and are animated by a 'Spirit of disobedience and outrage'. McGill learns 'with astonishment' that they had confronted the King's troops. In response he was not prepared to be lenient or to appear indecisive. This was a war situation, with an enemy attack imminent. However, he was able to finish his report on a more positive note:

In communicating this unpleasant occurrence, we have much satisfaction in being able to assure your Excellency that the Militia went off [this morning] with great cheerfulness, and that from every Report we obtain there is Reason to believe that, except in the Parishes of Pointe Claire, Ste. Geneviève, and Ste. Anne, the greatest zeal prevails, and we are of opinion that the prompt measures which have been accepted, will put a stop to further disturbances.¹⁴

James McGill seems to have gauged the situation rightly,¹⁵ for three months later Alexander Henry wrote from Montreal to his friend John Askin, who lived in Sandwich, Upper Canada, in a most cheerful vein:

We are all soldiers here — I expect preferment [before] the Battle, being the oldest captain in the British Militia. The Americans on the opposite side of the river are continually attacking our Boats going up to Kingston, I think it is their intention (if they can) to stop the communication, which they will find a difficult matter to perform. We have near ten thousand men in arms here and can with ease raise twenty thousand more, in ten days in case they come over our lines — but we do not intend attacking them on their side — I hope the Cold weather will disperse them for the Winter, and before the Spring they may have a change in their Government, which will produce a peace...

Henry also mentioned that McGill's partner, Isaac Todd, was in the city and intending to stay the winter, so there was obviously no atmosphere of panic: 'we

are hourly expecting Genr. Dearboon [sic] with about Ten thousand of his troops to attack us, but we are not afeared of them, as our Canadians are in high Spirits'.¹⁶

One reason for the general mood of optimism at the time Henry was writing was the unusual event which had recently taken place in the city. Following General Brock's successful assault on Detroit, the American general William Hull and his army had surrendered and had been sent to Montreal as prisoners of war. This victory greatly boosted Canadian morale generally, and the carefully staged pageantry with which the Americans were received worked wonders for the local population. *The Montreal Herald* (for the city now had three newspapers¹⁷) gave a lively description of the reception given to the captured general and his troops:

Montreal, September 12th.[1812]

...General Hull and suite, accompanied by about twenty-five officers and three hundred and fifty solders, left Kingston under an escort of 130 men... At Lachine Captains Richardson and Ogilvie, with their companies of Montreal militia and a company of the King's [Regiment] commanded by Captain Blackmore, formed the escort till they were met by Colonel Auldjo with the remainder of the flank companies of the militia, upon which Captain Blackmore's Company fell out ... leaving the prisoners to be guarded [as they marched through the illuminated streets] by the Montreal militia alone...¹⁸

This initial success was indeed heartening, but it was only that — an initial success. Everyone in Montreal knew that this was not going to be the end of the war and that probably hard fighting lay ahead. Largely owing to the bravery of Tecumseh and his warriors, the Upper Canadians won another important but costly victory in the battle of Queenston Heights on 13 October, 1812; they suffered many casualties and lost their outstanding leader, General Isaac Brock. But the enemy suffered even greater losses and was forced to retreat across the river to their own side of the frontier. So the first attack on Upper Canada failed, but for the next twelve months American attacks and Canadian repulses continued. York (Toronto) was burned, but the invaders were cleared from the Niagara peninsula; the British lost an important naval engagement in Put-in-Bay on Lake Erie, and the Upper Canadians were

defeated in an engagement at Moraviantown on the banks of the Thames River. But the Americans could not capitalize on their successes because their troops wanted to return home in time for the harvest.

Altogether, from one summer to the next, 1812-13 was an indecisive year, but from Montreal's point of view, it was an opportunity for de Rottenburg and his regulars, and McGill and his militia, to prepare themselves even more thoroughly for the impending assault upon the city. It was a matter of considerable satisfaction to McGill at this anxious time that the defenders of the city were truly representative of the whole population, both Canadian and British. There were regiments like the Canadian Fencibles which were mainly English speaking and others like the Voltigeurs mostly French-speaking, and there were the embodied and sedentary militia units drawn from both communities, and officered by Canadian or British citizens without distinction. McGill could echo Henry with fervour: 'We are all soldiers here'.

The Americans did not begin their approach to the city until the fall of 1813. Their plan was to employ a two-fold strategy. General Wade Hampton would follow the Lake Champlain-Richelieu route and attack from the south, and General James Wilkinson would advance down the St. Lawrence to attack the city from the west. Fortunately for the Canadians, the two commanders were mutually jealous and each suspected that in the event of failure the other would attempt to make him the scapegoat. The two invading forces, their every move reported by Indian scouts, slowly and cautiously manoeuvred into position. Hampton, making his way north following the Richelieu river, crossed into Canada as far as LaColle, but then changed his mind, retreated to Chazy and started out again by way of Four Corners, and from there proceeded down the Chateauguay River. He finally reached Chateauguay itself to the southwest of Montreal on 25 October. Wilkinson was even more tardy. His army and its boats had not left Sackets Harbor on Lake Ontario until 13 October, and he was still making his way down the St. Lawrence, the northern bank of which remained in Canadian hands.

Montreal readied itself to resist the attack. There would be no bloodless surrender as in 1775. Church bells were rung, and beacons lighted to spread the news

of the impending danger; all sedentary militia were to report to their captains, even if only armed with axes and spades. James McGill was raised to the acting rank of Brigadier General and given command of all the militia forces of the city, a striking confirmation of the respect he had won from de Rottenburg and Sir George Prevost. To borrow Milton's phrase, he was now in Montreal 'our Chief of Men'.

When news reached Montreal that Wilkinson's boats had successfully passed Prescott, Lt. Colonel Hercules Scott and the 103rd regiment of regulars were sent with Indian support from Caughnawaga (Kahnawake) to strengthen Lt. Colonel Louis-Joseph Deschambault and the Beauharnois militia at Coteau du Lac, and regular troops under Major General de Watteville were sent to reinforce Lt. Colonel de Salaberry's militia companies at Chateauguay, facing Hampton's invasion. De Salaberry's other forces included two companies of his own Voltigeurs, a light company of the Canadian Fencibles, a company of militia from Boucherville and 'a handful of Indians'. The speed and efficiency with which the militias moved into their positions were especially commendable. William Dunlop, who served as an Asst. Surgeon in the British 89th regiment, and later became a noted Canadian author, wrote in his *Recollections*: 'We came up with several regiments of militia on their line of march. They had all a serviceable, effective appearance — had been pretty well drilled, and their arms, being direct from the Tower [of London], were in perfectly good order...' ¹⁹ Colonel Duguid, in his *History of the Canadian Grenadier Guards*, made a comparable comment: 'The obvious ease with which [militia] companies moved and acted in this campaign calls for explanation. There can be no doubt that this resulted from 15 months of consistent training...' ²⁰

As Acting Brigadier General in command of Montreal's militia defence forces, McGill was kept closely informed on all this military planning, and was called upon to supply local knowledge of the city and its environs, as well as of the qualities of the various militia units and their leaders. Once de Rottenburg and his staff had formulated their plans, McGill passed many anxious days, keeping his men alert while waiting for news of the enemy's approach. He had the satisfaction of knowing that the morale of the population continued to be very high.

For the men of the Chateauguay and Boucherville militias, their day of testing was to be 26 October, 1813. That was when Hampton finally mounted his attack on their positions on the banks of the Chateauguay River. The Canadiens were happy to be commanded by one of their own, Charles-Michel de Salaberry, who made expert use of his familiarity with the terrain. He had chosen and prepared his ground with great care, and his main lines stood firm behind hidden wooden barricades, and stoutly repelled the American attack. The skilful deployment of flanking militia, to harass the enemy's advance, their expertise in woods-warfare, and de Salaberry's example of personal bravery — he stood exposed on a tree-stump, so that he might be seen by all, encouraging his men — were further major advantages favouring the Canadians. Hampton, mired in the swamp into which he had been decoyed, was unable to maintain his communications. In mud and forest the Americans suffered considerable losses and were forced to retreat, first to Four Corners, and from there to Plattsburg. It has been reliably reported that on the Canadian side only some 350 men were actively engaged in this battle which stopped the march of Hampton's 5,000 regulars, but the forward units were supported in depth by many times their own number, had they been needed. Nevertheless, the victory was truly a Canadian rather than a British achievement. It was warmly celebrated in Montreal and by none more unreservedly than James McGill.

But three weeks later, Wilkinson was still coming down the St. Lawrence. To better negotiate the Long Sault rapids, he crossed to the Canadian bank of the river. He was pursued and attacked by British and Canadian forces at Crysler's Farm near Morrisburg. His rearguard was so severely mauled that his main army had to move hastily down river to Cornwall. Fearing further costly attacks, the Americans decided to recross the river, and regroup on their own side at Fort Covington on the Salmon River. Here they learned of Hampton's withdrawal to Plattsburg, and this was enough to persuade them to abandon any further plans for the attack on Montreal. The excellent coordination of efforts in Lower and Upper Canada had proved effective. As George Stanley commented: 'What gave Crysler's Farm the appearance of a decisive battle was Hampton's inability to brush de Salaberry's militia aside at Chateauguay'. ²¹ The grand assault on the central pivot of the long St Lawrence valley had been defeated before it could be properly mounted.

James McGill and the War of 1812

When the early rumours were confirmed that Hampton was back in Plattsburg and Wilkinson in Fort Covington, Montreal could relax. For this city, the 'War of 1812' was as good as over. Reverting to his substantive rank, Colonel James McGill received a signal from de Rottenburg to stand his militia down and to send his well-deserving patriots back to their homes. He and his men could look back with great satisfaction on a job well done; he himself could rest assured he had discharged in full his responsibility for his beloved city. He gave the order for demobilization on 20th November. Four weeks later he fell sick and after a short illness died on the nineteenth day of December, 1813.

The fallen leader was escorted to his resting-place by an honour guard of his own militia, and despite inclement weather the cortege was followed 'by an immense concourse of citizens of all classes'. The *Gazette* published his obituary recalling his many services to city and province, and a handsome monument was erected over his grave. Yet within a few years his achievements and even his name were almost wholly forgotten: McGill Street was only one more place name among many. He was not alone in this. The Frobishers, William McGillivray, Alexander Henry, Simon McTavish (who clung for a while to remembrance as a ghostly legend), Alexander McKenzie, McGill's partner, Isaac Todd, are even now known only to the few as anything more than vague names.

That perhaps is not altogether surprising. The early fur traders as a group contributed little to the Montreal community; they either fared poorly and died in obscurity, or made their money and like Alexander McKenzie departed — in his case to Scotland to become a laird. A visitor to Montreal in the late 1830s remarked that 'those who made their fortunes in the fur trade have nearly, if not all, passed away from the theatre of action, and their money seems to have vanished with them'.²² But James McGill was different. During his lifetime he gave richly by personal service to his city and province, and when he died he left his large fortune, including one very generous bequest to education, within the city he had chosen as his own. The only other fur trader to make a comparable contribution was John Richardson, the father of Canadian banking and the moving spirit in the

founding of the Montreal General Hospital. But he was of a younger generation, he had McGill's example to inspire him, and he aroused as much antagonism as support for his efforts by his frankly partisan attitudes: he constantly urged *les canadiens* to 'become British'. One can understand why not everyone wanted to perpetuate his memory. McGill on the other hand had always a great respect for his francophone colleagues and neighbours. He spoke their language, married into one of their prominent families, shared many of Governor General Carleton's tolerant attitudes, was generous in his will to French Catholics and English Protestants alike, and left by far the greater part of his fortune to his Canadian heirs.

Ironically, it was this last generosity which contributed most to his speedy historical demise. The Desrivières family not only inherited the bulk of his fortune but they also inherited his personal possessions — his furniture, books and papers. But they contested the educational bequest, and for over twenty years conducted a bitter legal battle which took the supporters of McGill College through the law courts right up to the Privy Council in England, not once but twice. It was 1835 before the Desrivières handed over the last of the College endowment. Mrs. McGill and her two sons had long died, and in the animosity of the legal battle with the anglophone community, any kindly feelings remaining in the rest of the family for their Scottish Protestant benefactor had long since evaporated. The name McGill was not perpetuated in family baptisms after 1832. Within another generation the family had moved out to East Stansted and built the chateau Malmaison on the extensive lands they had inherited; later generations moved into Quebec City and became a much respected family of lawyers and bureaucrats. What McGill furniture, books and papers still remained were dispersed by the move, and all recollection of James McGill was effectively lost to the family memory.²³

Similarly, in anglophone Montreal, there were no close friends left after McGill's passing to keep his memory green. None of the three McGill brothers had any children and James, although the eldest, outlived all his own generation. Had his adopted daughter, Charlotte Porteous, not died of consumption a year before his own passing, we might well have had a source of kindly reminiscence. Isaac Todd retired to

Bath, England, and left no written memoirs — he had no legitimate offspring and his nephew Andrew Todd had predeceased him. Those who contended for the College — Archdeacon G.J. Mountain, lawyer Stephen Sewell, physician John Stephenson — had no personal memories of the man who had made their fight possible. So as a personality James McGill quickly passed out of memory; he remained only as a name.

But as we have seen in this account of his role in the War of 1812, he was in his day a man of great importance in the affairs of his chosen city, and the story of his life, as fully as it can now be recovered, is an essential part of an extremely important period in Canadian history. If no one else remembers, we who are the richest inheritors of his foresight, patriotism and beneficence should recall with gratitude the achievements of this good, effective and generous man, and take great pride in our first benefactor and only founder, James McGill.

* * * * *

Notes

1. Because of the blockade, 'almost the whole of the carrying trade of Europe passed to American ships': G.F. Stanley, *The War of 1812* (Ottawa: Canadian War Museum, 1983), 16.
2. Stanley, 31-32.
3. Cited R.S. Allen, *His Majesty's Indian Allies, British Policy in the Defence of Canada, 1774-1815* (Toronto: Dundurn Press, 1992), 110.
4. Stanley, 65.
5. Allen, 112
6. A. Fortescue Duguid, *History of the Canadian Grenadier Guards, 1760-1964* (Montreal: Gazette Printing Co., 1965), 7.
7. Maysie S. MacSporran, "James McGill, A Critical Biographical Study", M.A. Thesis (McGill University, 1930), 209; citing 'Letters and Accounts of the North West Company', Toronto Public Library; 81.
8. *Quebec Gazette*, 24 July, 1794.
9. Myron Momryk, "Gray, Edward William", DCB V, 384.
10. News of Madison's declaration of war did not reach the American trading post Astoria on the Pacific coast until 15 January, 1813. Stanley, 162. McGill's own information, it should be noted, took a week to get from Philadelphia to Montreal and a further two days to reach Quebec City.
11. MacSporran, 214.
12. Stanley, 68, 228-230.
13. Allen, 125-164. It is noteworthy how far the activities of Montreal traders were reaching, far beyond the west bank of the Mississippi.
14. MacSporran, 215-220.

James McGill and the War of 1812

15. This is further confirmed by a letter, dated 4 July 1812, from E.B. Brennan, a secretary at 'Government House, Montreal' to the Chief Justice of Montreal, reporting that the militia had 'returned to a sense of their duty' and had promised full compliance with future orders, and adding that the 'the Magistrates' had consigned only two of their ringleaders to prison. PAC, RG 4, A1, Vol. 121.

16. M.M. Quaife, *The John Askin Papers, II, 1796-1820* (Detroit: Detroit Library Commission, 1931), 734. Henry Dearborn was the American General in command at this time of the north-eastern front.

17. The *Herald* was first published less than a year earlier, 19 October 1811. It had been preceded by *The Gazette* and in 1807 by the *Canadian Courant*.

18. *Montreal Herald*, 12 Sept. 1812. See also W.H. Atherton, *Montreal 1535-1914*, (Montreal: S.J. Clarke Co., 1914), I, 117-8.

19. William Dunlop, *Recollections of the American War of 1812-14*, ed. A.H.U. Colquhoun. Toronto: Historical Publishing, 1905.

20. Duguid, 10.

21. Stanley, 265.

22. John McGregor, *British America*, 1839, a reference kindly supplied by Dr. E.A. Collard.

23. See especially W.D. Lighthall, "The newly-discovered James and Andrew McGill Journal, 1797", *Trans. Royal Society of Canada*, Third Series, Section II, XXIX (1935), 43-50.

Excavating Collections: Archaeological Finds at the Redpath Museum

by Michael Bisson, Barbara Lawson, and Bruce Trigger

Two research projects relating to the Redpath Museum's archaeology collections are described as part of a general discussion of the value and future role of such collections. One project involved the discovery at the Museum of an important piece of Meroitic art dating from the first century A.D. and of the cast of a companion piece, both of which had been lost track of after they were displayed in Liverpool in 1914. The second project concerned the use of stone tools and bones in the Redpath Museum to help date and confirm the original place of discovery of a number of European Palaeolithic figurines purchased in a Montreal antique shop in 1990. These discoveries illustrate the research potential of these long neglected and little known collections. It is argued that, as ever more archaeological sites are destroyed as a result of population growth and economic development, museum collections will become an increasingly important source of information about the past.

Deux projets de recherche sur les collections archéologiques du Musée Redpath sont décrits dans le cadre d'un débat plus vaste sur la valeur et le futur rôle de ces collections. L'un des projets porte sur la découverte au Musée d'un important artefact méroïtique datant du 1^{er} siècle après J.-C. et du moule d'une pièce semblable qui avaient disparu après qu'ils eurent été exposés à Liverpool en 1914. Le deuxième projet porte sur l'utilisation d'os et d'outils en pierre du Musée Redpath pour dater et confirmer l'origine de plusieurs figurines européennes du Paléolithique achetées chez un antiquaire montréalais en 1990. Ces découvertes illustrent le potentiel de recherche de ces collections à la fois négligées et méconnues. Les auteurs prétendent que dans la mesure où de plus en plus de sites archéologiques sont détruits par la croissance démographique et les collections du musée deviendront une source de plus en plus précieuse de renseignements sur le passé.

Archaeologists face a dilemma. Material excavated in the past was recovered at a time when archaeological theory and methods were less developed and when excavation and recording standards generally were inferior to what they are today. The precise context in which artifacts were discovered frequently went unrecorded and material that was not thought to be of interest was discarded. As a result, much information that today would be considered invaluable for radiocarbon dating, identifying plants, animals, and palaeoclimatic conditions, and studying ancient technologies and social life was lost forever. Even the artifacts that were saved often were allotted to a number of different museums and material from the same site became disaggregated in museum cataloguing and storage systems. For all these reasons archaeologists generally do not regard old archaeological collections as being a significant source of information about the past.¹

Today, however, archaeologists are witnessing the massive destruction of the archaeological record in most

parts of the world as the result of rapid population growth and the increasingly intensive exploitation of the environment. Despite extensive and often well-funded efforts to locate, preserve, and if necessary excavate archaeological sites that are being threatened by development, in most regions archaeological sites are being destroyed more quickly than archaeologists can study them.² Given the rapid escalation of technological development, it is possible to envisage a future when archaeological techniques will have advanced far beyond their present standards, but when few, if any, archaeological sites will survive to be excavated. Under these circumstances, the most exciting and important archaeological discoveries may be made in museums rather than in excavations.

In recent years, holdings in the Redpath Museum have shed light on archaeological matters of international importance. Compared to those in many other museums, the archaeological holdings at the Redpath Museum are small and do not embrace numerous objects of major aesthetic or historical

PETER REDPATH MUSEUM OF MCGILL UNIVERSITY.

GUIDE TO VISITORS.

MAIN FLOOR OF MUSEUM.

[This consists of the ante-chamber at the head of the first flight of stairs which is devoted to Archaeological and Palaeontological specimens, and the principal Museum Hall, in which are the collections in Palaeontology, Lithology and Mineralogy.]

I. ARCHAEOLOGICAL AND MISCELLANEOUS COLLECTIONS
IN THE ANTE-CHAMBER AT HEAD OF THE STAIR.

Cases on left-hand side and opposite stairway. These contain the following collections:—

Objects from the Queen Charlotte Islands and British Columbia—(loan collection of Dr. G. M. Dawson and Dr. R. Dawson)—including many interesting carvings and articles of domestic use and ornament of the West Coast Indians.

Collection of Antiquities from the site of Hochelaga, the predecessor of Montreal, visited by Cartier in his second voyage. (A. D. 1492*)

Stone Implements and other objects from pre-historic sites in Canada and elsewhere.

Collection of Skulls representing the principal races of men.

Objects collected by Rev. Hugh Robertson in the New Hebrides Islands.

Collections from Pre-historic caves in the Lebanon and stone implements from Egypt (A. D.). The oldest of these collections belong to Palaeolithic men, contemporary with the woolly Rhinoceros and other extinct animals whose bones and teeth are found among the debris of the remains of this primitive people.

Collections to illustrate the various rocks and useful ornamental stones employed by the ancient Egyptians, and their modes of working these materials. (A. D.)

Miscellaneous Archaeological specimens from England, the Canary Islands and elsewhere.

* In the following pages the collections of Sir Wm. Dawson, presented by him to the museum, will usually be indicated by these initials.

Wall on right-hand side. Casts of footprints of *Sauropus unguifer*, a large batrachian from the coal-formation of Nova Scotia, and of great interest as representing one of the oldest known reptilian animals:— Presented by the Geological Survey. *Orthoceras titan*, a gigantic shell allied to Nautilus, from the lower Silurian. Footprints of gigantic biped reptiles (*Broniazoussa* etc.) from the Trias of Massachusetts.

In this room are also some casts of Greek and Assyrian Antiques presented by the late Mr. Blackwell, and a cast of the famous Rosetta stone which gave the key to the interpretation of Egyptian hieroglyphics; also a large model illustrating the topography of Jerusalem.

Figure 1. *Guide to Visitors to the Peter Redpath Museum* (1885), pages 3 and 4, lists the archaeological and ethnographic materials on display in the museum.

importance, such as are regularly displayed in large public museums, even if its mummies and mummy cases have long been among the Museum's major attractions for Montrealers. The Redpath archaeological collections are, however, a valuable teaching aid and have been used as such by the Anthropology, Classics, and Art History departments and by the Faculty of Religious Studies ever since the Ethnology department was established in the Redpath Museum in the early 1970s.

The two discoveries discussed in this paper illustrate different strengths of the Redpath Museum's archaeological collections. The first is the identification of a long-lost major work of ancient African art. The second is the use of the Redpath's collections of Palaeolithic artifacts to confirm the source and dating of several extraordinarily important pieces of European Upper Palaeolithic art purchased in a Montreal antique store in 1990. The announcement of the results of this study received extensive coverage in the international press. Before describing these two discoveries, we will review briefly the complex history of the archaeological collections currently preserved in the Redpath Museum.

HISTORY OF THE REDPATH'S ARCHAEOLOGY COLLECTIONS

The Redpath's archaeology collections, which embrace material from many Palaeolithic sites as well as artifacts from Egypt, Peru, the classical Mediterranean, Palestine, and Mesopotamia form part of a larger Ethnology collection that has been associated with the Redpath Museum since its founding in 1882.³ The Museum developed from the teaching collections of McGill University and was shaped by the research interests of natural history professor, John William Dawson. It was designed to exhibit a series of typical specimens and render these as accessible as possible to individual students and to professors for demonstrations to large classes.⁴

Archaeological and ethnological materials were intended to be part of the Museum from its inception, although subordinate in number and emphasis to other collections. This was made explicit in September 1880, when Peter Redpath announced during the ceremonies attending the laying of the corner stone, that the new

building was to serve as a "place of deposit and study of specimens in Geology, Mineralogy, Palaeontology, Zoology, Botany *and Archaeology* [italics added].⁵

An early guide to the exhibits of the Museum notes a special area set aside for displays of cultural material adjacent to the Museum Hall on the main (second) floor. (Figure 1) Featured were objects from the Queen Charlotte Islands and British Columbia; antiquities from the site of "Hochelaga"; stone implements and other artifacts from prehistoric sites in Canada, Palestine, and Egypt; a series of skulls representing the "principal races of men"; objects from the New Hebrides; miscellaneous archaeological materials from England, the Canary Islands, and other locales; some casts of Greek and Assyrian "antiques"; a cast of the Rosetta Stone; and a large model illustrating the topography of Jerusalem. A goodly portion of the archaeological and "miscellaneous" collections exhibited in 1885, with the exception of Dawson's "Hochelaga" material, appears to have been lent or donated specifically for the meetings of the American Association for the Advancement of Science and the British Association for the Advancement of Science held in Montreal in 1882 and 1884. Much of this material is still part of the Redpath Museum.⁶

Doctors, missionaries, geologists, and travellers, many of whom had been enlisted to participate in various British imperial or commercial endeavours in different regions of the world, were among the Museum's early donors. These individuals were either affiliated with McGill University or associated in some way with John William Dawson. However, the Redpath's ethnological and archaeological collections, being neither systematic nor the work of professional anthropologists, were not acquired or displayed in a manner that accorded with the museological principles of the emergent discipline of anthropology, which was not represented at McGill until Frederick Voget was hired in 1948.⁷

In 1925 McGill University became a depository for the collections of the disbanded Natural History Society of Montreal, which had been founded in 1827. Specimens, artifacts, and books were allocated to the Redpath Museum, the McCord Museum, and the University Library.⁸ The addition of the Society's natural history collections made heavy demands on the

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Redpath Museum's limited space and precipitated the removal of ethnological and archaeological holdings to the ground floor of McGill's Strathcona Medical Building, where a separate Ethnological Museum was opened to the public in 1926. (Figure 2) The Palaeolithic holdings, including close to one thousand stone tools assembled by the geologist Henry Ami, remained in the Redpath Museum as part of the permanent palaeontological exhibit.⁹

The Ethnological Museum was the recipient of the Natural History Society of Montreal's collection of "miscellanies," including some 700 objects from Egypt, ancient Rome, the South Pacific, and Canada, which had been distributed around the University when the Society's holdings had been dispersed. Various other McGill collections contributed material to the Ethnological Museum, which also added more than 3,000 new donations over the years to its already substantial holdings. Exhibits were arranged geographically and included artifacts manufactured by Canada's indigenous peoples, weapons and implements gathered by the McGill-Congo Expedition of 1938-39, Garstang's Egyptian collection (see below), and miscellaneous Egyptian, Greek, and Carthaginian materials.¹⁰ The University's urgent need for space in support of the war effort closed the Ethnological Museum in 1941, but requests to study or borrow artifacts were still honoured. Although some of the ethnological collections remained in their cases, the Egyptian and Near Eastern materials were removed from the Strathcona Building and displayed in Divinity Hall, while other artifacts were used in temporary exhibits in the Redpath Library and Redpath Museum. Material not accommodated in any of the above locales joined that of the McCord in storage.¹¹

The Ethnological Museum was reopened alongside the Arctic Institute for a brief period between 1947 and 1949. Still laid out by geographical plan with its focus upon "primitive man," the Museum included traditional and modern costumes, household goods, hunting and fishing gear, and modes of transport employed throughout the Canadian Arctic and Greenland; hunting equipment, ceremonial objects, and household goods of North American native peoples; textiles and pottery from Central and South America; Egyptian antiquities from the Garstang collection and three mummies illustrating burial customs; African weapons, household

objects, "fetishes," and musical instruments from the Congo, Nigeria, Angola, and South Africa; and available for study, but not on public view, a "remarkable" group of objects from Polynesia and Melanesia, some assembled prior to 1850.¹²

Following this two-year respite in the fortunes of the beleaguered Ethnological Museum, major portions of its collections were placed in storage, where they remained for over thirty years until their move to the Redpath in the early 1970s.¹³ Budgetary constraints closed the Redpath Museum to the public from 1971 to 1987, during which time it resumed its original mandate of serving McGill's teaching and research needs. In recent years, efforts have once again been directed towards cultivating a public interest in the Museum's activities.

There are now some 17,000 artifacts in the Ethnology Collections of the Redpath Museum, the beginnings of which can be traced to Sir William Dawson's interest in human history and his belief in museums as teaching institutions. The history of the material comprising these collections has been a peripatetic one over the past hundred years, involving moves to various sites affiliated with McGill University, significant expansions and reductions in numbers of artifacts resulting from transfers from a variety of other McGill holdings, and alternating periods in storage and on public view. The most important rationalization in recent years has been the gradual relocation of all materials relating to Canada's indigenous peoples and domestic history in the McCord Museum and the consolidation of all other ethnological and archaeological collections, including Palaeolithic tools and classical coins, in the Redpath. Although the emphasis on various collections has shifted over the years, as have views regarding the delicate balance between public access on the one hand and teaching and research on the other, there has been a steady increase in scholarly interest towards the archaeological and ethnological holdings of the Redpath Museum, which is reflected in a growing number of recent publications.¹⁴

THE MEROITIC CYLINDERS

In the Redpath Museum's Egyptian and Sudanese collections, there are three large, hollow cylinders, each

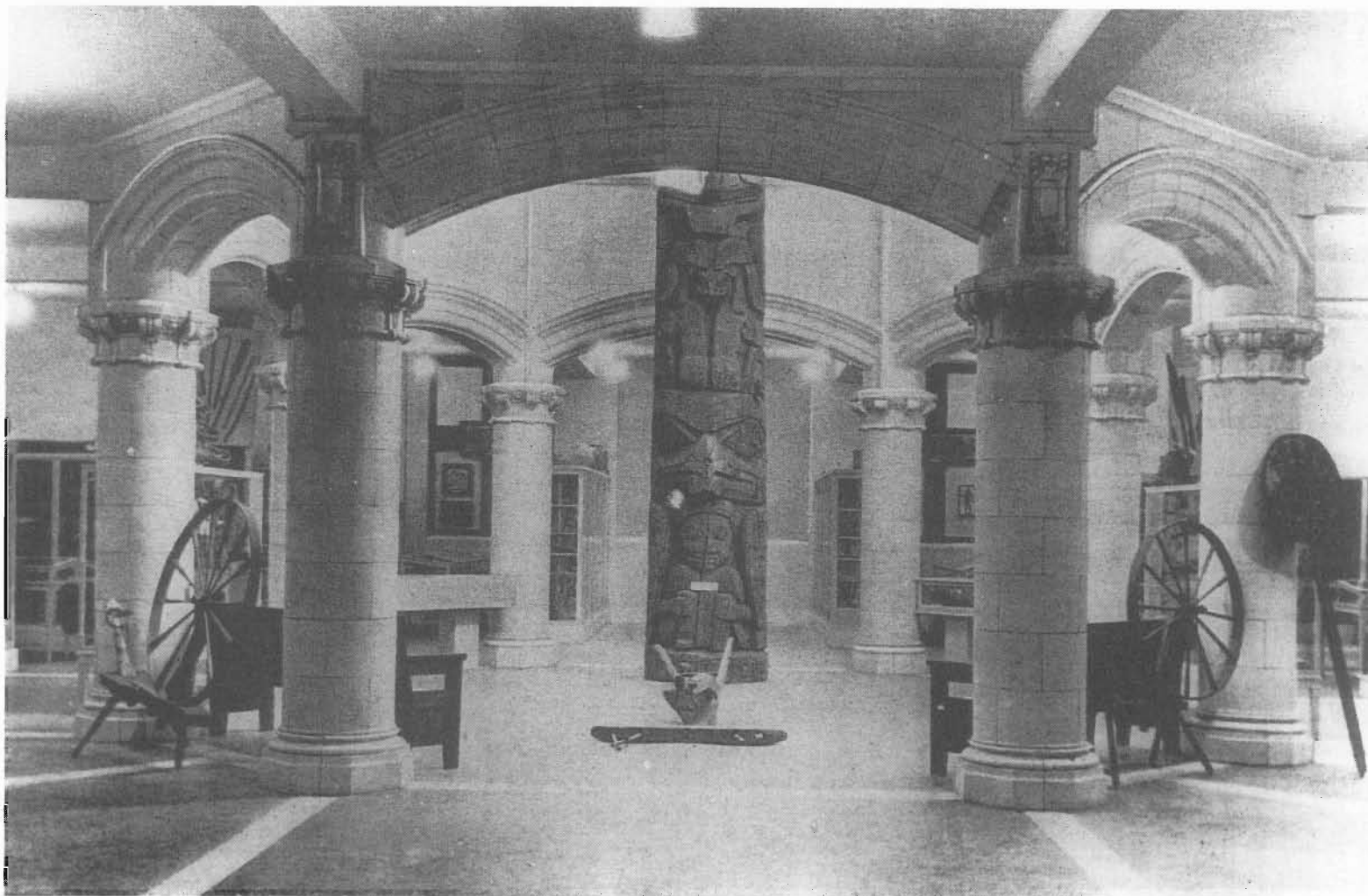


Figure 2. View of the Ethnological Museum showing the totem pole and other artifacts.
(McCord Museum of Canadian History, Notman Photographic Archives)

tapering slightly from bottom to top. Cylinders I and III are plaster casts, but Cylinder II, which is incomplete, is an original work of art consisting of a ceramic fabric covered with lustrous, blue-green, faience glaze; faience being a type of opaque glass that was popular in ancient Egypt. The cylinders average 34 cm in diameter and 40 cm high, and each of them is decorated with four horizontally-arranged panels containing images in low relief. The panels on Cylinder I portray rams and lions; while those on Cylinder II (Figure 3) probably originally showed four, winged, Egyptian goddesses; one of which has been completely lost. Cylinder III (Figure 4) is decorated with dancing scenes executed in a Hellenistic style.

Cylinder II and the originals from which the other two casts were made were excavated at the archaeological site of Meroe. This was the capital of the Kingdom of Kush, which flourished along the banks of the Nile in what is now the Republic of the Sudan from the eighth century B.C. until the fourth century A.D. Kush was the land that the ancient Greeks and Romans and the authors of the New Testament called Ethiopia. Although many aspects of the art and religion of this civilization were based on ancient Egyptian, and later on Hellenistic and Roman, prototypes, Kush had a distinctive culture. Between 730 and 667 B.C., its rulers conquered and held Egypt and for almost another thousand years they controlled the central part of the Nile Valley and adjacent steppes.¹⁵

The cylinders were reconstructed from fragments that John Garstang excavated at Meroe in 1914. Garstang lived from 1876 to 1956 and was Professor of Method and Practice of Archaeology at the University of Liverpool from 1907 to 1941. Despite his title, he was far from being one of the most advanced or methodical excavators of his day. Although, supported by various sponsors, he dug at Meroe for five winters from 1909 to 1914, only the work of the first season was published in any detail in a book titled *Meroe - The City of the Ethiopians*, in 1911.¹⁶ Even this book resembles a modern preliminary account more than it does the definitive report of an excavation. For subsequent seasons, including the final one, when the remains of the cylinders were discovered, only the briefest "Interim Reports" are available.¹⁷

The fragments from which the cylinders were reconstructed were found in the course of a brief

sondage, or trial excavation, carried out at a spot that Garstang labelled M 200. This was located a short distance east of the "Royal City" or "Royal Enclosure", a large, roughly rectangular area surrounded by a sandstone wall that appears to have contained the palaces of the royal family and the nobility and to have been the heart of the city. To the south of M 200 was the main temple of the god Amun, which abutted the east wall of the "Royal City".¹⁸ M 200 was variously described as a "stout building" or a "rectangular enclosure", which Phythian-Adams, one of Garstang's assistants, suggested might have been a garden attached either to the royal palace or to the Amun temple.¹⁹ Not enough work was done at the time or since to clarify the nature of this structure. We are informed only that the faience-covered fragments were found "on or about" the east wall of this structure.

The fragments that were recovered were pieced together to form substantial portions of three cylinders that were exhibited at the University of Liverpool in 1914, at which time they were also photographed. After the photographs were taken, still more pieces were added prior to the surviving casts being made. Following the Liverpool exhibition, Cylinder I went to the Toronto banker, Sir Edmund Walker, as his share of the year's finds. He in turn eventually donated this and other of Garstang's finds from Meroe to the Royal Ontario Museum, where they are now preserved as part of the extensive collections of the Egyptian Department. As far as the University of Liverpool was concerned, all traces of the other two cylinders and of the casts that had been made of them were lost.

As a result of this, when the Austrian Meroitic scholar Inge Hofmann published her study of these cylinders in 1989, she was able to work from excellent photographs of Cylinder I supplied by the Royal Ontario Museum, but for the other two had to rely on old photographs supplied by the archives of the School of Archaeology and Oriental Studies at the University of Liverpool.²⁰ These photographs were not particularly satisfactory; the lighting often failed to reveal details of the decoration clearly and no view was available of one side of Cylinder III. On art historical grounds, Hofmann dated these cylinders to the late first century A.D., essentially the same date currently assigned to them by the Hungarian Meroitist László Török. Earlier, in a catalogue that he had prepared for an exhibition of the arts of ancient Nubia and the Sudan



Figure 3. David Rose's drawing of Meriotic Cylinder II showing winged goddesses. They are from left to right: Satis, Mut (?), Anubis.

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mounted by the Brooklyn Museum in 1978, the East German Egyptologist Steffen Wenig dated them to the second or third centuries A.D., while Garstang had dated them to about 100 B.C.²¹ Wenig also described these cylinders as outstanding examples of the Meroitic "minor arts."²²

These scholars did not know that in 1923 Garstang had sold a "Collection of Egyptian and Meroitic Antiquities" to the Joint Board of the Theological Colleges associated with McGill University for the sum of \$500.²³ The collection included approximately 20 objects from Meroe, mostly heavily restored ceramic vessels. The three faience cylinders were entered under a single number on the list that was sent with the collection to Montreal. There they are described as "Pillar in three sections." No other information accompanied these objects. There is some evidence that the cylinders may have been added to the collection in the course of negotiations in order to counter the Joint Board's objection to the price that Garstang was asking. There is no evidence that the purchasers were aware that two of the cylinders were casts.

Bruce Trigger's involvement with the cylinders began in 1990, when he was invited to contribute a paper to a festschrift honouring the 70th birthday of Jean Leclant, Professor of Egyptology at the Collège de France and Secrétaire Perpétuel of the Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres. Leclant not only is one of the world's most eminent Egyptologists but has made major contributions to understanding the history and archaeology of the Sudan and to Meroitic studies. Trigger therefore decided to publish the John Garstang material from Meroe that was held in the Redpath Museum as his contribution to the festschrift. Yet, when he examined the disparate objects that made up most of the collection, he concluded that these could provide the basis only for a very pedestrian study. Barbara Lawson then drew his attention to the three Meroitic cylinders. Trigger had glimpsed them many years before, covered with dust and piled in a remote and inaccessible corner of the basement of the Redpath Museum. Museum lore recounts that for many years the staff had regarded them as some kind of drain pipes. While Trigger had recognized their Meroitic character, he assumed erroneously that Garstang must have discovered a lot of glazed pottery and that these were only a few unimportant examples.

Although the cylinders had suffered some damage during the years of neglect that preceded the establishment of the Ethnology department within the Redpath Museum, under Lawson's care they had been cleaned and were now kept with the rest of the ethnology collections in a refurbished storage space. Seeing them clean and well lit for the first time, Trigger at once recognized their importance. He rushed to the McLennan Library and searched out volume 7 of the University of Liverpool's *Annals of Archaeology and Anthropology*, which he knew contained the fifth interim report on the excavations at Meroe. There were illustrations of the cylinders and a brief description of them.²⁴ It was clear that Garstang and his assistants had been able to reconstruct only three cylinders, each of which was decorated in a different fashion. The Redpath Museum had all three. The initial excitement was dampened by the realization that two of the cylinders were only plaster casts; however, to have even one piece of Meroitic art that was as important as Cylinder II was a cause for celebration.

Careful examinations of photographs, followed by a visit to the Royal Ontario Museum, revealed that Cylinder I was a cast of the original now in Toronto. Break lines, pitting, and other incidental features excluded the possibility of dealing with multiple examples made in the same mould or copying the same design. A comparison of the Redpath Museum's Cylinder I with the original also demonstrated that the cast, while an old fashioned plaster one, was a reliable reproduction of the original. Comparisons of Cylinders II and III with the photographs from Liverpool published by Hofmann also showed that these were respectively the original and a cast of the other two cylinders that had been displayed in Liverpool in 1914. Inquiries revealed that no one knew what had happened to the original of Cylinder III; various possibilities were investigated without discovering where it had been sent. The Redpath Museum clearly possessed one of the missing cylinders and the only known cast of the second. It was also the only institution known to possess three-dimensional versions of all three cylinders. Recognizing that the details preserved on Cylinders II and III were so much clearer than they had been in the photographs available to Hofmann, Trigger concluded that he now had the basis for a paper that was worthy of Leclant.²⁵



Figure 4. David Rose's drawing of Meroitic Cylinder III. The panels seem to represent the cult of the Greek God Bacchus.

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Because Cylinder I was already well known, the publication concentrated on Cylinder II and the cast of Cylinder III. To circumvent the limitations of even the best photographs, detailed drawings of the individual panels on these cylinders were prepared by artist David Rose with financial support from the Social Sciences Research Grants Subcommittee of McGill University. Rose made these drawings a collective effort, which combined his artistic skills and perceptiveness with Trigger's familiarity with Meroitic art and Lawson's keen eye for detail. Cylinder II was especially challenging, since even the preserved section is fragmentary and the surviving pieces are badly eroded in places. Much of the glaze was missing from the top of panel 2 and the left side of panel 3. In these areas it was possible to see how the relief was modelled in clay appliqué before a thin layer of blue faience glaze was added. Where the appliqué had fallen off, one could see scratched onto the original cylinder the designs that had guided further work.

Having three-dimensional versions of all three cylinders and the originals of two (one in Toronto and the other in Montreal), it was possible to compare the iconography and stylistic detail of these objects in greater detail than could have been done since at least the early 1920s. Cylinder I was decorated with two rams and two lions, one of the lions standing on a large cobra which rears up in front of him. These quadrupeds were in ancient times associated with the two most important gods of the Meroitic state; the ram with the Egyptian god Amun and the lion with the Meroitic deity Apedemak. The cobra appears to have been associated with Jebel Barkal, a site near the fourth cataract of the Nile which the Meroites identified as the spiritual centre of their kingdom. On the edge of the rocky hill at Jebel Barkal is a large natural formation that looks like a rearing cobra.²⁶

On Cylinder II, Hofmann had been able to identify two of the three surviving winged goddesses as Satis and Anukis. These were minor Egyptian deities originally worshipped at Aswan in southern Egypt, but later they also featured prominently on the walls of Meroitic temples. Hofmann had been unable to determine the identity of the intervening goddess because of the poor quality of the photographs from which she had to work. A detailed study of the badly destroyed vulture headdress and double crown worn by this deity suggested that she was probably Mut, the wife

of Amun, who also appears alongside Satis and Anukis on the walls of Meroitic temples. On the cylinder, Anukis is shown wearing around her neck a *menyet* collar, which the Egyptians associated with the goddess Hathor. This suggests that Hathor may have been the missing goddess whom Anukis was facing.

The cast of Cylinder III was far more complete and provided greater detail than the photographs that had been available to Hofmann and it was now possible to understand its symbolism for the first time. What appeared to be the main panel depicted a naked individual gyrating in front of a taller figure with a small beard and his right arm upraised. The other panels were decorated with a dancing satyr and two dancing men. These representations seem to portray the cult of the Greek god Bacchus, who was identified syncretistically with the Egyptian and Meroitic god Osiris. We have no way of knowing to what extent the Meroitic viewer would have read this cylinder as a depiction of Osiris worship, or simply of a Hellenistic cult.

The styles of the cylinders vary. The animals on Cylinder I are rendered in what is essentially a late Egyptian style, while the goddesses on Cylinder II display more of the Hellenistic influences that became common in Egyptian art during the period of Ptolemaic rule. Cylinder III is rendered in an almost completely Hellenistic fashion, with only the beard and hair (or wig) of the figure of Bacchus (or Osiris) displaying Egyptian elements. The simultaneous use of multiple styles was characteristic of late Meroitic art, but in few other instances are the three styles juxtaposed to the extent they are here.

Finally, what were these cylinders used for? Garstang believed that the cylinders, while unable to bear much weight on their own, would have been assembled on top of one another around a thick wooden post to form a faience pillar. A bit of mortar still adhering to the top of Cylinder II may have held such cylinders together. Cylinder I has the broadest diameter and a projection around the bottom; hence it is likely to have been a basal element. Yet careful measurements of Cylinders II and III indicate that, while either could have been set above Cylinder I, they could not have been positioned above one another. This supports Hofmann's contention that Garstang found the remains of more than one pillar.²⁷ Another

large, faience-glazed piece of pottery from Meroe now at the Royal Ontario Museum may have been part of the lotus-shaped capital of such a column. Hofmann suggests that a number of faience-clad columns, each about 2 m high, may have supported a "baldachin" or some other small ceremonial structure at M 200.²⁸

PALAEOLITHIC SCULPTURES

More recently, the collections of the Redpath Museum have played a major role in both authenticating and elucidating the archaeological context of a spectacular set of European Upper Palaeolithic sculptures that were purchased by the artist Pierre Bolduc in a Rue Notre Dame antique shop in Montreal in 1990. While the research is not yet complete, the work that has been done so far has established the source and approximate age of these specimens and unravelled the fascinating history of how they came to be in Montreal. These objects, six human figurines and a stylized animal face, were originally part of the private collection of Louis Jullien, a chemist and antiquities dealer from Marseille who obtained them from the Grimaldi caves in Liguria, Italy, one of the most important centres of Palaeolithic archaeological finds in Europe. These seven caves, located on a prominent cliff projecting into the Mediterranean Sea immediately adjacent to the border with France, contained extensive Middle and Upper Palaeolithic deposits and were exploited by amateur and professional archaeologists, as well as site looters, throughout the last half of the nineteenth century. In November 1883, Jullien rented space in the Barma Grande cave at Grimaldi from a local landowner (a businessman named François Abbo) and began four months of excavations during which he removed over eight metres of archaeological deposits from two trenches along the cave walls and found over 40,000 artifacts²⁹ (Figure 5). The renting of land for archaeological excavation was a not uncommon practice at that period. On February 5, 1884 Jullien discovered a human burial, but a dispute with Abbo erupted over ownership of the bones and Jullien's work terminated shortly thereafter.³⁰ Jullien later requested permission to excavate a nearby cave named the Grotte du Prince, but was refused by the railway authorities who owned the land.³¹ In a letter written many years later, he admitted that he carried out clandestine excavations in the upper levels of the Grotte du Prince at some time after 1884. In the

course of both these excavations, Jullien discovered a total of fifteen sculptures, but for reasons that are as yet unclear he kept their existence secret until 1896.³²

Because of the mysterious circumstances surrounding their discovery, and because their subject matter (stylized nude women with exaggerated sexual characteristics) was previously unknown in Upper Palaeolithic art, the Grimaldi figurines became embroiled in a bitter academic debate. In 1896, Jullien sold one specimen, claimed to be the second that he had discovered in the Barma Grande, to the Musée des Antiquités Nationales near Paris. This specimen was published by Salomon Reinach in 1898, and was immediately denounced as a fraud by Gabriel de Mortillet, then the most influential archaeologist in France, and Emile Rivière, who had previously excavated many of the Grimaldi sites.³³ The vituperative nature of the debate was extreme even by nineteenth century archaeological standards. Mortillet, for example, accused Reinach of being interested in obscene statues of obese nude women because of his own sexual "predilections", and insinuated that scholars who accepted the authenticity of these "fakes" were "amateurs."³⁴

Probably as a result of this debate, Jullien became very cautious in discussing the figurines with professional archaeologists. He sold six other specimens to a friend and fellow collector, Edouard Piette, and emigrated to Montreal around 1900 with the rest of his collection. Prior to this time Jullien frequently had visited Montreal on business and had married Quebec-born Augustine Lebel in 1868. When Piette died in 1906, his collection was bequeathed to the Musée des Antiquités Nationales. The seven Grimaldi figurines were eventually accepted as genuine since they had been found prior to unquestionably authentic female figurines executed in the same style.³⁵ The Musée des Antiquités Nationales also acquired the correspondence between Piette and Jullien, from which Henri Breuil, the celebrated French authority on Palaeolithic cave art, learned of the existence of the eight missing specimens. Breuil was able to obtain information about these pieces in 1913-14 through an intermediary, the Abbé Dupaigne, who taught history at the Grand Séminaire de Montréal. However, Dupaigne was shown only the three least elaborate sculptures that Jullien possessed.³⁶ When Jullien moved to Arthabaska in 1914, Breuil lost contact and the specimens effectively disappeared.

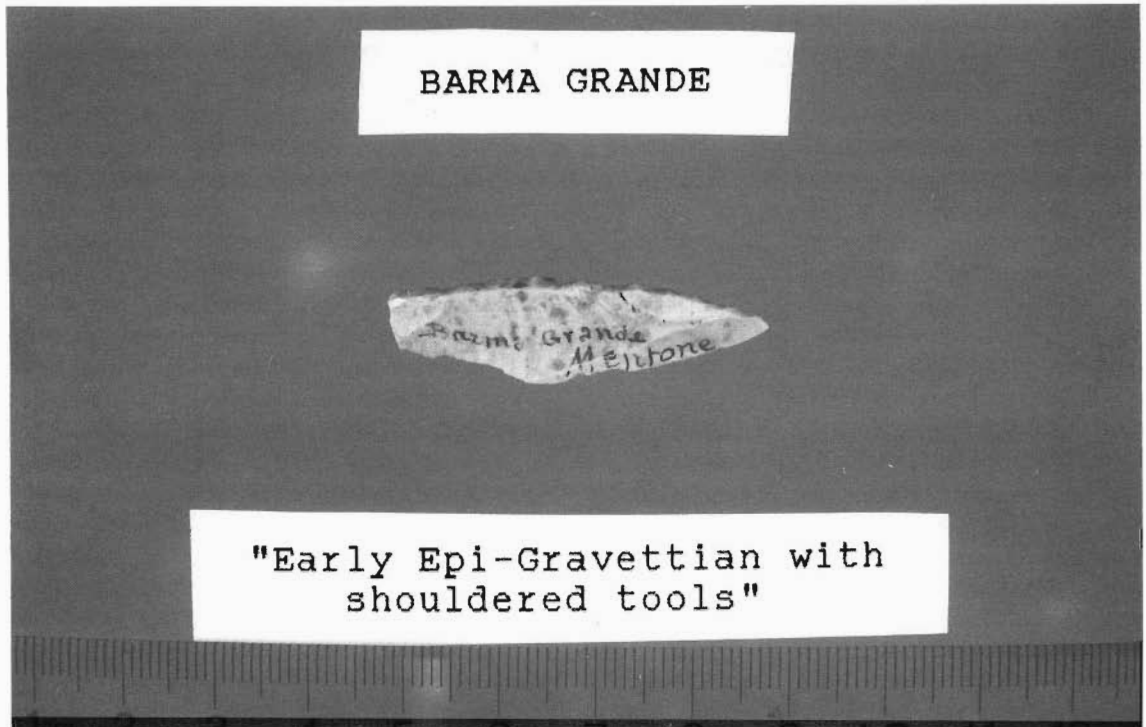


Figure 5. Microgravette from Barma Grande. This variety of small pointed backed blade is a common element in both the Gravettian and Epi-gravettian industries of Italy. The writing on these tools by Jullien was a crucial source of information in reconstructing the Barma Grande archaeological sequence.

Jullien died in 1928. A daughter sold one figurine to the Harvard Peabody Museum in 1944,³⁷ but seven remained in obscurity in Montreal until 1990, when Pierre Bolduc purchased five of them. These specimens, along with about 130 stone tools that were part of the same lot, were brought to McGill for identification in October 1993. They were examined by Michael Bisson, a professor of archaeology in the Anthropology Department of the Faculty of Arts who has long been associated with the Redpath Museum. Immediately recognizing the importance of these objects, Bisson secured Bolduc's permission to coordinate their scientific study. Subsequent investigation by Bolduc located the remaining two figurines and permission was obtained to include them in the study that was already underway. The fact that Jullien was known to have made two donations of archaeological specimens to the Redpath Museum in March and September 1895 was the critical factor in attracting Bolduc to McGill and securing the complete cooperation of the owners of these important pieces for their study.

The seven Grimaldi figurines of the lost Jullien collection are among the best preserved and most elaborate Early Upper Palaeolithic art works known from Western Europe. Before archaeologists could hope to interpret the meaning of these complex symbols, a number of technical issues needed to be resolved. These included establishing the authenticity of the figurines, their date, and the archaeological site and context from which they came. The archaeological collection from Grimaldi that has long been in the Redpath Museum has proved essential in all three of these endeavours.

Bisson recognized that two separate questions had to be answered in order to authenticate the figurines. First, their connection to the original Jullien collection had to be verified and, second, the possibility that they might be nineteenth-century fakes had to be ruled out. The specimens found by Bolduc in the antique store were associated with stone tools mounted for display on red velvet cards, with labels noting the "Mentone" caves as the provenance. The artifacts Jullien donated

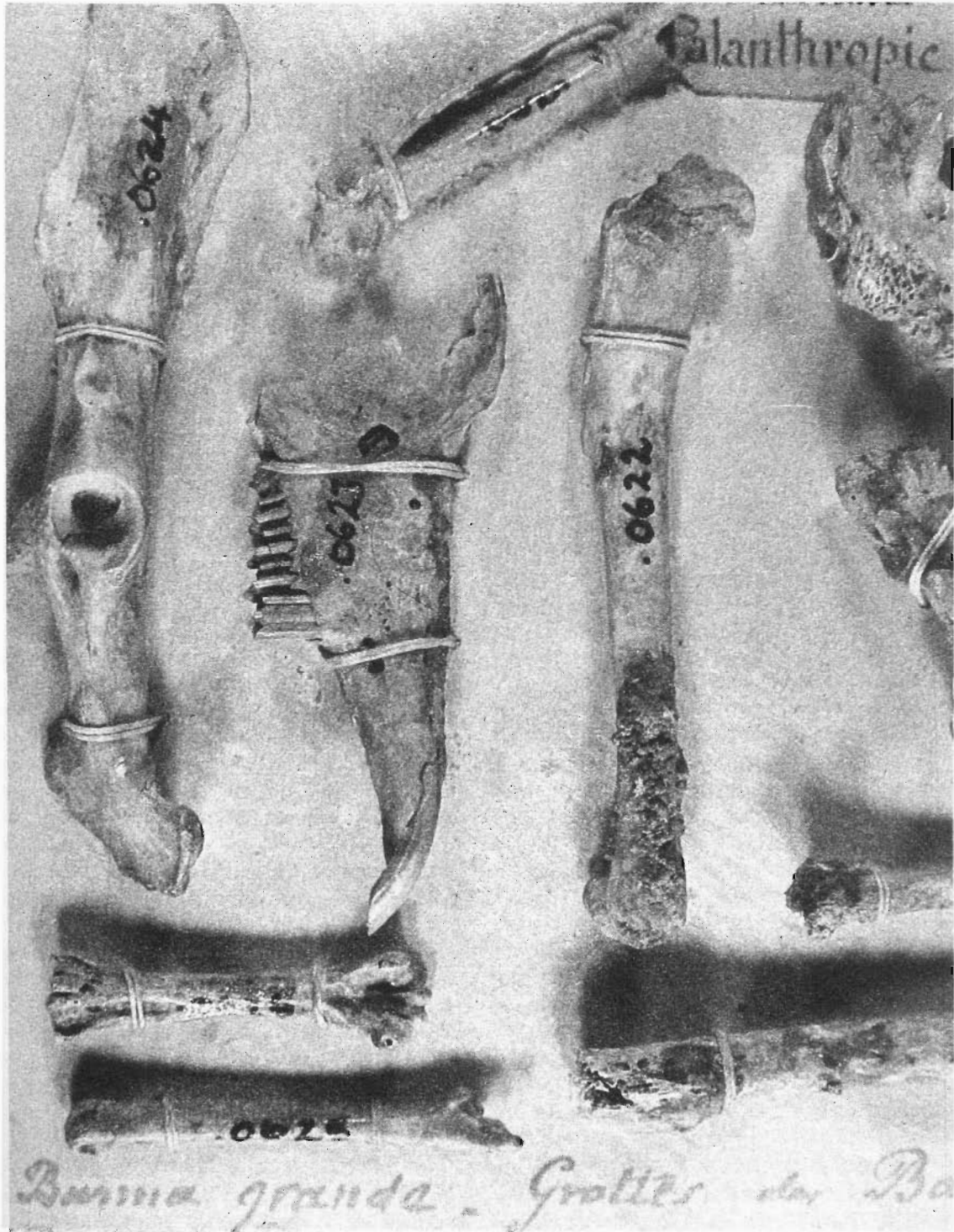


Figure 6. Rodent and bird bones mounted for display by Jullien. Notes on the reverse of the card indicate that they were found in "hearths" at six metres depth. These are some of the specimens presently being subjected to accelerator radiocarbon dating.

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to McGill in 1895 were mounted on identical cards marked with the same handwriting (Figure 6). Bolduc contacted the previous owners of the figurines, who are descendants of Jullien and provided additional evidence that the specimens were in the possession of their family at the time Jullien moved to Montreal. Two of the specimens match descriptions made by Dupaigne. There is no doubt that these were the pieces missing since the time of Breuil's enquiries in 1913-1914.

Techniques of forensic detection were applied to resolve the suggestion of possible fraud by Jullien. Randall White, a specialist in the study of European Palaeolithic art and professor at New York University, has conducted a comprehensive microscopic examination of the figurines in order to identify tool marks and other evidence of manufacturing techniques. He found no evidence that metal tools or modern abrasives were used in their manufacture. Bisson's microscopic examination of sediment adhering to the figurines identified close matches to the sediment found on Jullien's stone tools in the Redpath Museum (see below). The degree of patination on all the specimens, the intrusion of cave sediment deep into shrinkage cracks on the two ivory figurines, and the presence on some of the specimens of tiny growths of cave breccia, invisible to the naked eye are additional features that could not have been produced by a nineteenth-century artifact faker. Bisson and White therefore concluded that all seven sculptures are ancient and came from the Grimaldi caves.

The precise dates of the sculptures remain uncertain. On stylistic grounds they fall clearly within the range of variation of Gravettian "Venus" figurines, having featureless faces and prominent breasts, abdomens, and buttocks. The consensus today, based on style and a recent analysis of the Barma Grande burial data, is that they are Gravettian or Early Epi-Gravettian in date (c. 20,000-27,000 B.C.).³⁸ Unfortunately, the degree of chronological control is insufficient to allow more precise interpretations to be made. The figurines are highly diverse in form; no two are alike, although they share enough design elements to be clearly part of a single iconographic tradition. Their variation might be the result of change over time; or they might be contemporary and differ for symbolic or technical reasons, such as being made from different materials which had to be worked differently; or they even might

reflect the different personal styles of individual sculptors.

Fortunately, the Redpath Museum collection from Grimaldi offers a unique opportunity to refine the chronology of these objects. The archaeological specimens Jullien donated to McGill include about 800 stone tools and animal bones (Figure 7). Although no notes from Jullien concerning the provenance of these objects have been found in the McGill Archives, an index card catalogue indicates that someone at the Redpath Museum was told at which site each piece had been found. This catalogue probably was prepared by the geologist Henry Ami, who coordinated the display of Palaeolithic materials at the Museum in the early 1930s. The bulk of the collection is from Barma Grande, but a number of animal bones and a few lithic artifacts are attributed to the Grotte du Prince. That information is further corroborated by notations on many tools indicating the site where they were found, and in some cases even the depth below the surface or the month of discovery. It is likely that most of the formal tools in the McGill Grimaldi collection were originally mounted on numbered cards similar to those found in the antique shop. It also seems that like the recently recovered, card-mounted specimens, the McGill ones had been at least partly organized according to the depth at which the specimens had been found. Because the Redpath specimens were not catalogued randomly, the catalogue numbers assigned to individual artifacts may hold clues as to which specimens were found near to one another in the site. This hypothesis is being tested through the analysis of sediment described below.

Fortunately, because Jullien did not clean either his stone or his bone specimens thoroughly, bits of sediment can be found adhering to many of them. Variations in these sediments can provide useful clues concerning the site and levels within sites from which these specimens came. In order to reconstruct and try to date the stratigraphic sequence of these materials, Bisson is presently inspecting each artifact and bone fragment under a binocular dissecting microscope at 50X in order to record the colour, texture, and mineral composition of any adhering sediments. Because a few of the animal bones have labels listing the depth below the surface of the site at which they were found, there are a few fixed reference points showing the sediment

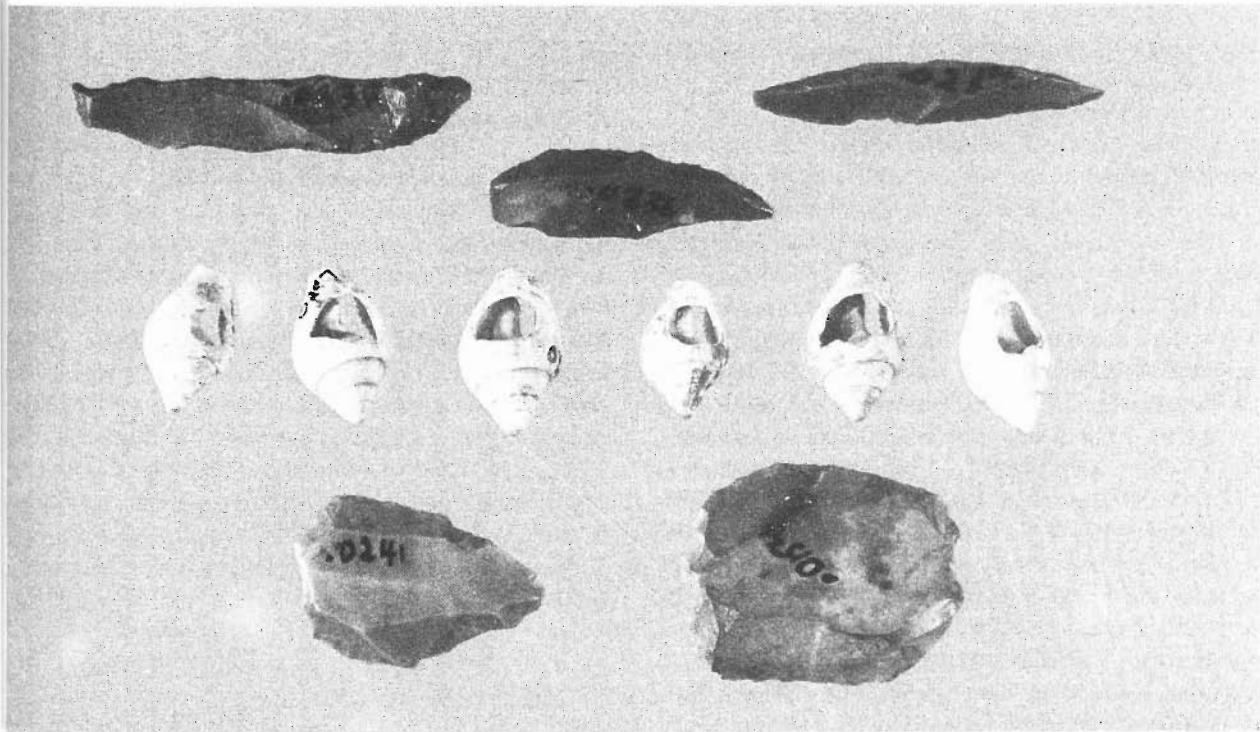


Figure 7. Backed blades, microgravettes, scrapers, and *Columbella rustica* shell beads found by Jullien at between three and five metres depth in the Barma Grande. These are probably later Epi-gravettian in date. At least some of the figurines are certainly associated with these specimens.

characteristics at 3.5 m, 6 m, and 8 m. This encompasses most of the total depth excavated by Jullien, and includes all of the layers in which he claimed to have found statuettes. If a detailed sedimentary sequence can be reconstructed, the sediment on the statuettes can be used to link them to specific levels. Bones from the Barma Grande and the Grotte du Prince, including all those bearing depth labels will be subjected to accelerator radiocarbon dating, which gives highly precise readings and requires only tiny amounts of each specimen to assign calendrical dates to the sequence. Preliminary results of the sediment comparisons indicate that the two figurines made of ivory are from the Grotte du Prince and somewhat older than the five specimens fashioned from chlorite and serpentine, which are all from the Barma Grande. With the addition of absolute dates, these figurines will be better documented than almost any other Gravettian female figurines from Western Europe.³⁹

Placing the figurines within the chronological sequence at the Grimaldi caves will only be the first

step in reconstructing their archaeological and cultural context. With the exception of the Grotte des Enfants, none of the early excavations in Upper Palaeolithic deposits at Grimaldi was adequately published.⁴⁰ This is especially true of the Barma Grande, where even the so-called professional excavations of Rivière failed to produce a stratigraphic cross-section or numerical summary of artifacts.⁴¹ Although the collection in the Redpath Museum was certainly subject to excavator bias, in that Jullien discarded pieces that he did not find interesting, and critical spatial relationships will never be known, important information still can be gained from the typological and technological analysis of the material that is available. For example, interesting techniques appear to have been employed to economize on the amount of stone being used to make implements during the Gravettian and Epi-Gravettian periods. Worn out microblade cores were sometimes reused as burins (gravers), scrapers, and wedges. In addition, many of the tools appear to have organic residues adhering to their cutting edges, which, when identified, may provide important clues concerning the specific activities that were taking place at the site. Through

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these detailed studies of the stone tools and animal bones in the Redpath collection, the cultural context of the figurines will become better known.

CONCLUSION

These case studies illustrate two generally unappreciated aspects of the research potential of the Redpath Museum's long inaccessible and little known archaeological collections. While the teaching value of these collections has been recognized and exploited since the early 1970s, the historical, scientific, and cultural importance of most individual artifacts remains to be determined. Because this must be done one artifact or set of artifacts at a time, it is a slow task that draws upon the knowledge and skills of many different people. The identification of long lost Meroitic art treasures (both an original and casts) has permitted a more detailed study of these pieces and contributed significantly to a better understanding of Meroitic elite culture. Continuing research on the archaeological material in the Redpath Museum by McGill staff and students and by visiting scholars will enhance in many unanticipated and important ways our understanding of these collections and our knowledge of the past. We can expect to learn even more from the larger and richer collections of ethnographic material in the Redpath Museum.

The second project we described illustrates how even apparently mundane objects, such as stone tools and bones, can provide important information relating to major discoveries made outside the Redpath Museum. By helping to date and pinpoint the origin of Jullien's Upper Palaeolithic figurines, artifacts from the Redpath Museum have played a crucial role in interpreting the most important discovery relating to Palaeolithic art made in the last twenty-five years.

In 1970 it was proposed to close the Redpath Museum and dispose of its collections. Had that happened, McGill University would have lost valuable teaching material. In addition, it would have abandoned artifacts before it had any clear sense of their research potential. Such action would have been inimical to research on an international level. Had the Jullien collection still not been in the Redpath Museum in 1993, it might have taken much longer, or even been

impossible, to establish the connection between this material and the figurines. That in turn would have greatly diminished the possibility of interpreting a find that is of world-wide interest.

In the future museums are going to become increasingly important for archaeological research. Archaeologists will devote more of their time to developing the kind of skills required to make effective use of these collections. Small as the Redpath Museum's archaeological collections may be compared to those found in major public museums, their value as sources of information about the past will grow as archaeological sites that can still be excavated become ever rarer. All of this confirms the wisdom and far-sightedness of Stanley Frost, when, as Vice-Principal of McGill University, he decided, in a time of great economic stringency, to preserve the Redpath Museum and restore it, according to Dawson's original plan, as a centre for university teaching and research.

* * * * *

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Notes

1. For examples, see Bruce G. Trigger, *A History of Archaeological Thought* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1989), passim; James R. Sackett, "From de Mortillet to Bordes: A Century of French Palaeolithic Research," in *Towards a History of Archaeology*, ed. by Glyn Daniel (London, Thames and Hudson, 1981), 85-99.
2. Leslie E. Wildesen, "The Study of Impacts on Archaeological Sites," in *Advances in Archaeological Method and Theory*, ed. by Michael B. Schiffer (New York, Academic Press, 1982), v. 5, 51-96; for an early discussion of site conservation, see Lili Kaelas, "Cultural Heritage, Archaeological Museums, and Public Opinion," in *To Illustrate the Monuments*, ed. by J.V.S. Megaw (London, Thames and Hudson, 1976), 13-22.
3. For details regarding the history of the Redpath Museum's Ethnology collections, see Barbara Lawson, *Collected Curios: Missionary Tales from the South Seas* (Fontanus Monograph Series, Montreal, McGill University Libraries, 1994).
4. John William Dawson, *In Memoriam of Peter Redpath* (Montreal, Witness Printing House, 1894), 17. The early development of the Redpath Museum and its natural history collections under Dawson is discussed by Susan Sheets-Pyenson, *Cathedrals of Science* (Montreal, McGill-Queen's University Press, 1988).
5. As reported in the *Montreal Gazette* and cited in Dawson, *In Memoriam of Peter Redpath*, 21. The same statement appears in the official deed of Peter Redpath's donation of the Redpath Museum to McGill, dated 24th August 1882.
6. Redpath Museum, *Guide to Visitors to the Peter Redpath Museum of McGill University* (Montreal, McGill University, 1885), 3-4; Redpath Museum, *Report on the Peter Redpath Museum of McGill University*, nos. 1, 2, 3 (Montreal: McGill University, 1882, 1883, 1884). The archaeological site that Dawson identified as that of "Hochelaga" is now called the Dawson site: see James F. Pendergast and Bruce G. Trigger, *Cartier's Hochelaga and the Dawson Site* (Montreal, McGill-Queen's University Press, 1972).
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8. Stanley Frost, "Science Education in the Nineteenth Century: The Natural History Society of Montreal, 1827-1925," *McGill Journal of Education*, v. 17, n. 1 (1982), 40-41; N.H.S.M. "Natural History Society Inventory." Manuscript dated March 7, 1906, unpaginated [1906-1925]. Addendum titled "Distribution of Material from the Natural History Society of Montreal," entries are dated from March 1925 to October [1925], unpaginated. Blacker-Wood Library, McGill University, Montreal.
9. Cyril Fox, *A Survey of McGill University Museums* (Montreal, McGill University, 1932), 10, 13.
10. Fox, *A Survey of McGill University Museums*, 14-15, 22.
11. The McCord Museum was closed to the public in 1936 because of inadequate funding and recommendations made by an external examiner (Fox,

A Survey of McGill University Museums). Although the closure was intended as a temporary measure, the McCord's status remained the same for more than thirty years.

12. Ethnological Museum. Typescript Guide to Displays of McGill University's Ethnological Museum. Single page, folded in booklet form (1947). On file, Ethnology Collections, Redpath Museum.

13. See T. Clark and A. Turnham [Johannsen], "McGill University Museums: A Report of Progress 1855-1950." Typescript, 18 pp. McGill University Archives, RG 41, C.3 (1950). Although the suggestion in Fox's 1932 survey to amalgamate the prehistoric and historical holdings of McGill into a single museum building was never carried out, several of the collections have since been regrouped.

14. There have been approximately fifty publications citing artifacts or dealing exclusively with ethnological or archaeological material in the Redpath collections since the last century. For examples of recent archaeological studies, see M. Attas, "The Fineness of Tarentine Didrachmas," in *Papers in Greek Archaeology and History in Memory of Colin D. Gordon*, ed. by J.M. Fossey (Amsterdam, J.C. Gieben, 1987), 99-115; M. Attas, J.M. Fossey, and L. Yaffe, "Variations of Ceramic Composition with Time: A Test Case Using Lakonian Pottery," *Archaeometry*, v. 24, n. 2 (1982), 181-191; David Berg, "A Fragmentary Book of the Dead Papyrus Belonging to McGill University," *Journal of the Society for the Study of Egyptian Antiquities*, v. 13, n. 2 (1983), 107-119, pl. i-iv; Berg, "The Archaeological Context of the Egyptian and Nubian Antiquities in the Redpath Museum," *Fontanus*, v. 3 (1990), 117-130; Berg, "Some Ramesside Fragments," in *Studien zur Altägyptischen Kultur*, ed. by Hartwig Altenmüller and Dietrich Wildung (Hamburg, Helmut Buske Verlag, 1990), 75-106, Tafeln 1-4; C. El Mahdy, *Mummies, Myth and Magic in Ancient Egypt* (London, Thames and Hudson, 1989); G. Frame, "A Babylonian Omen Text in the Redpath Museum," *Annual Review of the Royal Inscriptions of Mesopotamia Project*, v. 5 (1987), 7-10; G. Frame, D. Frayne, and G. McEwan, "Cuneiform Texts in the Collections of McGill University, Montreal," *Annual Review of the Royal Inscriptions of Mesopotamia Project*, v. 7 (1989); F.T. Hedgcock, A. Moreau, H.

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The General Portrayed: Sir Arthur Currie and his Painters

by Robert H. Michel

Artists played an important part in propagandizing, documenting, and memorializing the battles and leaders of the First World War. Numerous artists portrayed General Sir Arthur Currie, Commander of the Canadian forces in the First World War and later Principal of McGill University. The portraits, together with related correspondence offer new glimpses of Currie and his wide variety of painters. This study rounds out Currie's visual portraits with a few verbal ones, and touches on the entrepreneurial side of portraiture, the neglect of Canadian war art, the famous, maligned military groups by John Singer Sargent and Emily Warren, the prestige of painting over photography, and Currie's own views on art.

Les artistes ont joué un rôle non négligeable dans la propagande, l'illustration et la commémoration des batailles et héros de la Première Guerre mondiale. De nombreux artistes ont peint le portrait du général Arthur Currie, commandant des Forces canadiennes pendant la Première Guerre mondiale puis principal de l'Université McGill. Les portraits, ainsi que la correspondance qui s'y rapporte, offrent de nouvelles perspectives sur Currie et ses multiples peintres. Cet article complète les portraits visuels de Currie par quelques portraits verbaux puis examine le côté entrepreneur de l'art du portrait, l'état d'abandon de l'art guerrier canadien, les célèbres et pernicieuses peintures militaires de John Singer Sargent et d'Emily Warren, la supériorité de la peinture sur la photographie et les opinions que Currie avait sur l'art.

The military portraits of General Sir Arthur Currie (1875-1933) offer an unusual way to explore Currie's image and character, his relations with his portrait painters and his views on art. The stories of the portraits throw light on the painters' personalities and methods and, generally, on war memorial art. Portraits of Currie in uniform were commissioned during and after the First World War to honour the Canadian Commander and memorialize Canadian war achievements. This article concentrates on documented military portraits by eight painters: Richard Jack, Sir William Orpen, Eric Kennington, Joseph DeCamp, John Singer Sargent, E. Hodgson Smart, Robin Watt, and Emily Warren. Other portraits will be mentioned. In addition, there are doubtless more paintings or sketches in military headquarters, legion halls, and other collections. Currie's correspondence with his portraitists comes from his records as Principal of McGill University in the University Archives, proving that institutional records may illuminate unsuspected topics. Currie's papers at the National Archives of Canada and the records of the National Gallery of Canada also document the portraits and artists.¹

Born in 1875 in Ontario, Currie taught school, sold real estate, and served in the militia. When the First World War broke out eighty years ago, Currie soon rose to command the First Canadian Division. The war helped forge the Canadian identity; the Canadian forces pressed the Germans at the Second Battle of Ypres, at Vimy Ridge, and during the last Hundred Days leading to victory. In June 1917 General Currie became the first Canadian to command the Canadian Corps. A loyal imperialist, Currie fought as a Canadian, and proudly noted in his diary that the Canadian generals "have seen more war in the last three years than the British Army did in its previous 100 years."² His biographers, Urquhart, Dancocks, and Hyatt, argue convincingly that Currie brilliantly mastered the complexities of modern war and, contrary to allegations, fiercely conserved his men's lives.³ After the war, Currie lobbied for veterans' benefits and helped many returned soldiers find jobs. He spoke at hundreds of war remembrances and dedications; he memorialized the war for Canadians. Advanced by war, he tirelessly advocated world disarmament. He declared in 1924: "War is not a means to establish peace. It is a delusion and a lie....we must take up the challenge to contend and sacrifice for the upbuilding of humanity."⁴

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In 1920 while Currie served as Inspector-General of the Canadian forces, McGill University sought a Principal. The outgoing Principal Auckland Geddes and the Master of Balliol both recommended Currie to McGill Governor William Birks. According to General F. Loomis, Lord Shaughnessy also may have influenced Currie's appointment; he was indebted to Currie for assigning his son to his staff during the war.⁵ Long before Eisenhower led Columbia, Currie proved that generals could direct universities. From 1920 until his death in November 1933, he managed McGill with vision in spite of tight finances, winning over both students and staff; Stephen Leacock became a great admirer. Currie had long pushed for a gymnasium. After his death, McGill graduates funded the Currie Memorial Gymnasium-Armoury. It opened in time to drill men for the Second World War — the war Currie had foreseen and dreaded.

CANADIAN WAR MEMORIAL ART

During the First World War, art played a new role as propaganda and documentation — and even as a weapon, through the invention of dazzle painting on ships to confuse enemy gunners. War art has at least three functions: during the war it shows achievements; next it serves as a war memorial and finally as a historical record.⁶ Sir Max Aitken (later Lord Beaverbrook) handled Canadian interests at the front. He admired the propaganda value of photographs and film but he believed that only painting could offer a permanent, prestigious record of Canadian valour. In November 1916 Aitken and Lord Rothermere set up the Canadian War Memorials Fund to produce "suitable Memorials in the form of Tablets, Oil-Paintings etc., to the Canadian Heroes and Heroines in the war." Artists would be given army commissions and paid by the Canadian government. At the war's end the pictures would go to Canada and be housed with war trophies in a memorial hall.⁷ Paul G. Konody (1872-1933), Art Advisor to the Canadian War Memorials Fund, proclaimed that war's purpose was to kill, art's to explain; that war was a boon to artists, and that the War Memorials provided an ideal system of patronizing art.⁸ The Canadian war artists would include M. Cullen, F.H. Varley, J.W. Maurice, and A.Y. Jackson. The war artists painted portraits as well as battle

scenes. As will be seen, Currie sat to Sir William Orpen.

In January 1919 the Royal Academy exhibited over 350 Canadian War Memorial works; a gallery of Canadian photographs was shown at the same time. Currie and Prime Minister Borden spoke at the openings. Art critics noticed that the new styles such as cubism and vorticism suited scenes of battle; modern art and modern war both destroyed tradition.⁹ The pictures toured Canada but war patriotism faded; the planned hall never materialized. As early as 1922, Hector Charlesworth in *Saturday Night* fumed about the pictures' banishment to the National Gallery of Canada's basement.¹⁰ Half a century later, the National Gallery transferred most of the works to the Canadian War Museum, which lacks the facilities to display what are perhaps the finest holdings of war art on earth — a sad fate for a collection that, in Heather Robertson's words, "perfectly expresses the eternal tragedy of war."¹¹

RICHARD JACK, CA. 1917 AND THE MIND/ BODY DICHOTOMY

Major Richard Jack (1866-1952), an Englishman and Canada's first official war artist, painted Currie's first large military portrait (Figure 1). Although the portrait had been privately arranged, its exhibition at the Royal Academy in 1917 encouraged official support for Canadian war art.¹² During the Royal Academy show, the London magazine *Sphere* reproduced the Jack portrait on its cover of 18 January 1919. Currie had become friends with Major Jack; in his diary he mentioned visiting Jack's studio and a dinner party after which Jack sang.¹³ In April 1919, General Loomis and others presented the portrait to Lady Currie who with the children Garner and Marjorie had spent much of the war in England.¹⁴ By 1948 Lady Currie had lent the portrait to McGill. In 1957 she sold it to the University for its insured value of \$6000., assuring Chancellor Gardner that she was glad the portrait would remain at McGill.¹⁵ It hangs in the finely crafted War Memorial Hall of the Currie Gymnasium.

Jack's three-quarter-length portrait shows Currie (in his early forties) as he looked during the war; six feet

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Figure 1. By Richard Jack. Oil on canvas, 170 x 126 cm., 1917. Sir Arthur Currie Memorial Gymnasium - Armoury, McGill University.

The General Portrayed



Figure 2. By Sir William Orpen. Oil on canvas, 91 x 76 cm., 1919. Canadian War Museum, Ottawa (CN#8673, ©CWM1994)

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three inches tall, stout, weighing well over 200 pounds; his face young, rounded and unclouded.¹⁶ Painter and sitter shared impressive size: Jack stood six feet seven inches and weighed nearly 300 pounds.¹⁷ Fellow officers often pointed out the contradiction they found between Currie's big, soft, cherubic appearance and his tough intellectual power and courage. They had to overcome their stereotyped view that weight meant sluggishness. In the 1930s a few officers sent verbal portraits to Currie's biographer Urquhart, which add perspective to those in oil. General E.S. Hoare-Nairne remembered that at first glance Currie looked childlike:

The next impression was of a man, rather reticent in speech, of great physical strength; physically a "strong man" rather than an athlete, with massive sloping shoulders and rather awkward legs, slow in movement. His smooth, almost babyish face, was a puzzle, for one knew, by reputation, that he had proved himself a man of great courage and decision in situations of stress and anxiety and danger, which left their mark on other men's features. Later still, the explanation seemed to me to be that Currie's spirit was of such finely tempered quality that it could not be scarred by the stress of events which left their mark on us lesser men. By the end of the war he did bear some of its strain in his face, but he had in him, I imagine, a faith or quality of spirit which allowed him to be serene when many others were worried, confident when others were doubting. I believe that this intangible spiritual quality was the main basis of Currie's tremendous prestige.¹⁸

Colonel Harry Crerar observed that Currie had a corpulent "unsoldierlike" figure:

He looked the reverse of a great soldier, and a leader, to the superficial glance. His eyes, and the steadiness of them, his observations (not his speeches — which to my mind were generally too studied and flowery) and the directness and sincerity of them, provided the first evidence of his character and ability.

Crerar admired Currie's colossal memory and concern for lives of his men.¹⁹ General Gilbert Frith used Currie's largeness as a metaphor for the kind of biography Urquhart should write:

Currie was a big man in every way and his portrait should be boldly drawn with little detail. The moment one begins to fill in detail the faults, and there were many, begin to appear and it is these the little men will seize on to try and destroy his reputation. A big bold picture gives no grip for their petty minds.²⁰

Though Currie lacked the lean craggy features and carriage of officers like Sir Douglas Haig²¹, he had an engaging, quizzical, businesslike mien that hinted at his ability to size up situations and work well with other generals. Once officers and artists knew Currie, they used his awkward size or immature face as a springboard to discover his inner character and charm. Furthermore, Currie's portraitists after Jack caught a leaner, tougher look; that of the commander who worked seventeen hours a day and won all his objectives. As Currie aged, he grew more distinguished. The man in the retrospective military portraits of the 1920s ran a University, went on speaking tours, advocated veterans' rights, and worked to exhaustion; his face in his later photographs gained a Roman nobility.

WILLIAM ORPEN, 1919 — AN UNSATISFACTORY PORTRAIT

Beaverbrook arranged for the fashionable portraitist, Sir William Orpen (1878-1931), to paint several Canadian generals, in Paris in early 1918. These portraits were to be the basis for a group of the four Canadian Divisional Commanders with Currie.²² Orpen may have dragged his feet; he complained that Beaverbrook's demand for Canadian portraits prevented him from doing battlefield subjects. Strongly supporting war memorial art, Currie wrote to Beaverbrook in January 1918, suggesting that Orpen's group would have more historical value if five more officers of his Headquarters Staff could be added to it. Beaverbrook replied that if Orpen had not yet started he would be told to add the extra five; otherwise he would do a second group of Currie with the five officers.²³ So much for artistic autonomy!

Though Orpen may have already sketched Currie in early 1918, Currie recorded sittings for his full-fledged portrait for the War Memorials in his rooms at the Ritz

The General Portrayed

Hotel in Paris during the opening of the Peace Conference in late February and early March 1919.²⁴ Currie grew to hate the result (Figure 2). He felt it did not look like him; he may also have found the style flashy. Something had spoiled the artistic brew. Lady Currie had been very ill during the sittings. Currie looked glum; perhaps he worried about her as he sat or later disliked the anxieties the portrait rekindled. Or he may not have hit it off with the emotional Orpen, who had little respect for generals and statesmen and preferred to paint his pretty French mistress as a war refuge.²⁵ After the war, the portrait toured Canada with the Canadian War Memorials and then went with the rest to the National Gallery of Canada.

When the Orpen portrait was displayed in a War Memorials exhibition in 1924, Currie requested Sir Edmund Walker, Chairman of the Board of Trustees of the National Gallery, to remove it:

There is in the Gallery a portrait of myself painted by Sir William Orpen. I know that Sir William was frankly dissatisfied with that portrait. In fact he said to me that some time he was coming to Canada to paint another portrait, as he would not care to see the present one remain the permanent record of his effort to paint me. I have never met anyone but who disliked the present portrait, except, of course, my enemies, who may regard it as satisfactory. I cannot imagine that at any time I looked as Orpen has portrayed me, and I think it unfair to future citizens of Canada, to Canada's war effort and to myself, to have that portrait handed down to posterity as a likeness of the Canadian Corps Commander.

I am very much in earnest about this, Sir Edmund, and I would like the Committee to give favourable consideration to my request to remove that portrait from the National Gallery.

Walker replied immediately that the portrait would be withdrawn from the exhibition.²⁶

Irked that the Orpen remained his official portrait, Currie may have lobbied quietly for a replacement. Currie's old comrade, John Arthur Clark, was the Conservative M.P. for Vancouver-Burrard. Clark had commanded the 7th Canadian Infantry Brigade which

had made the controversial last hour capture of Mons on 11 November 1918. In 1928 Currie had won a libel suit in Cobourg, Ontario vindicating him against old rumours of throwing away lives at Mons. When in 1929 Parliament voted \$85,000 for new pictures for the National Gallery, Clark seized the chance to propose to the Gallery's director, that some of the funds go towards a new portrait of Currie:

I have seen the portrait by Orpen, and it does not do him justice. I am strongly of the opinion that a Canadian who has made history, as General Currie has done, should have a place in the country's National Gallery. Such a portrait should be painted by the best artist available and, in my opinion, no time should be lost in securing it.²⁷

The Orpen portrait brought out Currie's concern with his public image. He must have been further frustrated by the fact that it had been copied by T. Loxton Rawbon (1855-1942) for the Sir Arthur Currie Hall at the Royal Military College in Kingston. On 17 May 1922 Currie watched the undraping of his portrait, which officially opened the Hall. Rawbon had copied Orpen's portraits of the other Canadian generals for the Hall so Currie could not really complain. Designed and decorated by Currie's McGill architecture professors, Percy Nobbs and Ramsay Traquair, the Hall is Currie's and the Canadian Corps' greatest war memorial.²⁸

ERIC KENNINGTON, 1919 — A CALM PRESENCE

In January 1919 Eric H. Kennington (1888-1960) sketched Currie in Bonn. A founding member of the New English Art Club, he turned from illustration to portraits. He enlisted as a private in 1914, was invalided out, and returned as a war artist. Unlike A.Y. Jackson, Kennington tended to hero-worship the men and officers he drew.²⁹ While Kennington served in the army occupying Germany, his department (Intelligence) ordered him to do the portrait. As Commander, Currie lived in great style in the Kaiser's suite at Schaumburg Palace; he found it: "the most comfortable place I have yet been in during the war." He noticed with surprise that many of the books were English, "all of our well-known authors being represented", while on the walls hung pictures of England and the British Royal Family.³⁰

Kennington recalled the strong impression Currie made on him:

I was billeted near Cologne with the army of occupation, Jan 1919. My department (Intelligence) ordered me to obtain, at Bonn, a portrait of Currie. I think he was staying at the Kaiser's palace.

He sat as only a soldier can, & I was at the same time dominated by his vast, *Buddistic* [sic], calm presence, & charmed by his deference, & shrewd interest in all my world. He had immense dignity."³¹

Kennington's sketch (Figure 3) wonderfully exaggerates Currie's physiognomy yet conveys the sober dignity and directness which characterized Currie as General and McGill Principal.

JOSEPH DECAMP, 1920-1921 — THE AMERICAN PORTRAIT

For the portraits after 1919, Currie put on his old uniform to become Commander once more. None of the portraits betray that they are reenactments. Joseph R. DeCamp (1858-1923) painted Currie in 1921. Trained in the Royal Academy in Munich, DeCamp settled in Boston in 1884. A member of the Ten American Painters group, he won many medals. He taught at the Massachusetts Normal Art School (1903-1923), stressing drawing, composition and academic training. He married a pupil and had four children. When his studio burned in 1904, he raised money to feed his brood by painting portraits at a discount; he soon excelled at sober portraits of men and lighter, freer portraits of women.³²

In cooperation with the Smithsonian Institution's National Gallery of Art (now the National Museum of American Art), a National Art Committee was formed in 1919 to commission prominent artists to paint the Allied leaders. The Committee hoped sponsors in various American cities would pay for the portraits, estimated to cost about \$8,000 each, including travel expenses. The sponsors would then present them to the Smithsonian's National Gallery of Art in the name of their cities.³³

In September 1919 the Committee asked Currie to sit for Irving Wiles. Currie accepted, congratulating the National Art Committee "on their esprit-de-corps". In May 1920 Currie corresponded with Wiles but illness forced Wiles to withdraw from the project. Currie was informed that he and Robert Borden would be painted instead by DeCamp, "whom no less authority than John Sargent considers the best portrait painter in the United States." Currie, still Inspector-General, arranged for DeCamp to visit his headquarters in Ottawa in mid-June 1920.³⁴

After the sitting, DeCamp wrote three appeals for Currie to send the military ribbons he needed to finish the portrait. Obviously, he was on informal terms with Currie; he chided the General as few others dared. By December 1920, he was desperate. The portrait had to be exhibited in a month.

The ribbons you promised have not yet appeared. I have dictated you several tender epistles upon this subject.... Your portrait is almost finished and I am extremely anxious to get it away. If something doesn't happen about it pretty soon I may be obliged to tell your good wife.

Currie finally replied on 13 December 1920 that he was sending the ribbons: "I am glad to know that the portrait is nearly finished and I hope you are satisfied with it."³⁵

The ribbons came in the nick of time for the opening show of the war portraits at the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York in January 1921; the catalogue pointed out that some of the portraits, Currie's and Borden's among them, were still available for American cities to present to the National Gallery. The portraits visited twenty-six cities before closing in June 1923. Though not sponsored, Currie's portrait went to the Smithsonian's Gallery with the others. As time passed, interest died and the portrait series descended from their own "Peace Room" in the National Gallery of Art to the vaults, a fate similar to that of the Canadian war pictures in Ottawa. Currie seems to have liked the portrait (Figure 4). DeCamp caught the steady gaze noted by Colonel Crerar. Frederick Platt described how Currie appeared: "Against sand and sea and stormy sky, he is erect and alert in this portrait."³⁶

The General Portrayed



Figure 3. By Eric Kennington. Charcoal on paper, 50 x 35 cm., 1919. Faculty Club, McGill University.

The General Portrayed

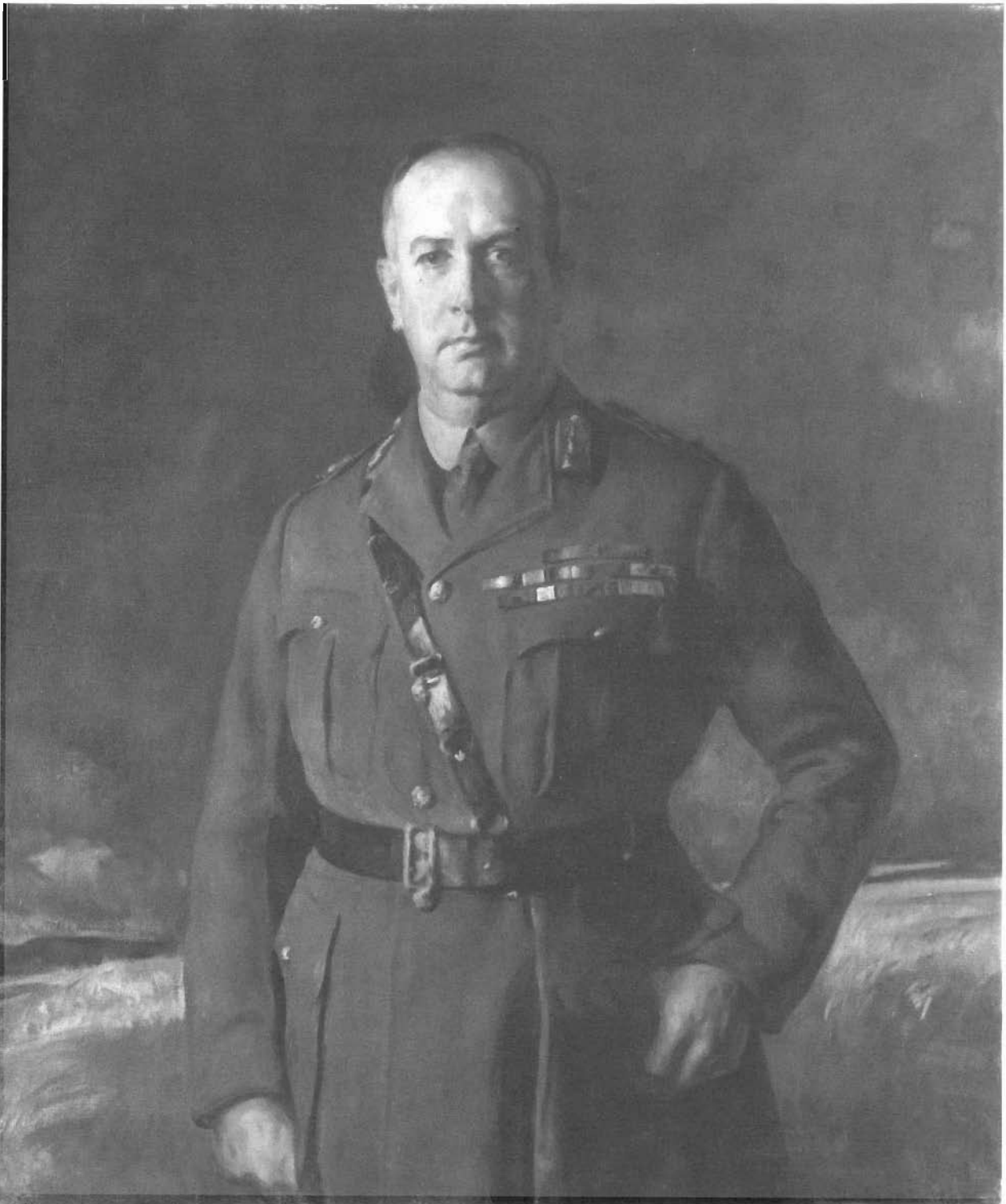


Figure 4. By Joseph DeCamp. Oil on canvas, 112 x 97 cm., 1920. National Museum of American Art, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C.

The General Portrayed

JOHN SINGER SARGENT, 1921 — "IF YOU HAVE YOUR KHAKI UNIFORM"

Currie appears in the monumental group portrait by John Singer Sargent (1856-1925): "Some General Officers of the Great War". Sir Abe Bailey (1864-1940), a South African financier and politician, commissioned three pictures, to consist of the most important political, army, and naval figures of the War, for the National Portrait Gallery in London. Each painter would receive £5000. In January 1919 Sargent reluctantly agreed to do the army group out of duty, to help memorialize the British war effort. He recommended that Sir Arthur Cope and Sir James Guthrie be invited to do the other groups. At this point in his career, Sargent had tired of portraits; he wanted to concentrate on his allegorical mural projects in Boston, on which he pinned his hopes of immortality.³⁷

Sargent hated the project and foresaw failure. He had to track down each general and paint his portrait. Then he had to copy the portraits on to the previously painted bodies — rather like gluing on heads for composite photographs. By September 1920 he had done some of the portrait studies. Pessimistically, he wrote to Sir James Guthrie (who had been assigned the politicians):

I find each of them individually very interesting to do and the tremendous variety of types seems to give a promise of some sort of interest. But I am still merely collecting material and have not yet evolved any scheme of the picture as a whole.³⁸

While he liked his individual sketches, he predicted "united we will fall." He frequently lamented: "How am I going to paint twenty-two pairs of boots?" In worse moods, they became "bloody boots". Orpen too had found military groups boring. Commissioned to paint them at the Peace Conference in 1919, he declared: "a mass of Khaki is a dreadful thing to manage."³⁹

Sargent worked in London and Boston, sailing back and forth once or twice a year. Currie's correspondence with Sargent shows how the painter tracked down one of his dreaded generals. In August 1920 the Director of the National Portrait Gallery,

London, requested Currie to give sittings to Sargent. In September 1920 Currie wrote Sargent that he hoped to be in London in June 1921 and would write later. Sargent replied that he would be in Boston for much of 1921; did Currie plan any trips to Boston? Otherwise he would try to go to Montreal. In May 1921 Sargent decided he should get Currie out of the way:

I find that my work here in Boston [is] likely to detain me all summer.... Would it be possible for you to give me an hour or two on two consecutive days? I should be grateful for any date you could appoint, giving me a few days notice....

Sargent was decorating the rotunda of the Boston Museum of Fine Arts. It is striking how little time he needed for Currie's sitting, given the resulting oil portrait and pencil sketches described later. Currie replied that he would be leaving for England by mid-June but would be available most days until then: "Let me have a day's or so, notice of your coming."

On 19 May 1921 Sargent proposed the mornings of 6 and 7 June for the sittings:

If you have your khaki uniform so much the better, as that is what is required for the picture.

Another requirement is a top-light, rather than a usual window — and a room without sunlight. Perhaps you may know of some rooms in the University, or of some artist's studio, that would afford these conditions, and it would save time to have them discovered beforehand. If I knew anybody in Montreal I would not run the risk of imposing upon your good nature by mentioning these preliminaries."

For harmony and realism, the light source had to be consistent. Sargent needed to avoid dramatic or angular side lighting so that the individual heads would not be at odds when painted on to the prepared bodies. It was most efficient to do all the life sketches with the light coming from above. In the finished group, most of the lighting comes from above.

Currie replied on 20 May 1921:

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Regarding the 6th and 7th of June, I am afraid the mornings of those days are taken up, but I shall be very glad to give you the time you require in the afternoon. On the morning of the 6th there is a meeting of the Board of Governors of the University, and on the morning of the 7th there is a meeting of the Directors of the Bank of Montreal.

I shall make arrangements for the necessary room and let you know later.⁴⁰

There is no further correspondence but the sittings took place as planned. Sargent died in 1925; the works in his studio, including oil sketches of many of the generals, were auctioned at Christie's.⁴¹ Currie's portrait was not among them.

Two surviving sketches of Currie, and reference to a third, show how Sargent painted Currie and put his group together. He painted a life-size head and shoulders in oils and drew a pencil portrait and a rendition of how Currie would stand in the group. In 1927 F.W. Cowie obtained two pencil sketches of Currie from Sargent's sisters. He presented them to Principal Currie, who passed the larger one on to the University Librarian, Gerhard Lomer, to be hung in the Library.⁴² This sketch has not been found. The smaller sketch, which appears here is significant (Figure 5).⁴³ Sargent had told Guthrie in September 1920 that as yet he had no scheme of the group as a whole. The sketch shows that by June 1921 Sargent had decided his overall design; it indicates exactly how Currie stands in the finished painting. It shows as well that Sargent decided to use Currie to break up the monotony by having him hold his coat — one of the few props in the painting. Finally, the sketch shows Sargent's concern that relative heights and body proportions be accurate; he noted on the sketch that Currie was six feet three inches tall and was seven and a half heads high. In a few deft strokes it catches Currie's stance and his features.

The oil sketch, the main basis for the group portrait, also survives (Figure 6). In this striking portrait, larger than the oil sketches of the other generals, Sargent caught his subject dramatically, in an effortless, painterly style. He has discovered a different man from Watt's intense planner or DeCamp's straight-forward

officer; his Currie is relaxed, detached, mysterious.

Exhausted, Sargent finished the group portrait in Spring 1922. It forces fine individual portraits into a strange, disconcertingly static row. Currie appeared third from the right (Figure 7).⁴⁴ Surprised critics regretfully panned the painting. Sir Claude Phillips wrote:

We stand before this immense canvas wholly disconcerted by its pale, anaemic aspect, by the absence of vigour and accent that it betrays. There is nothing here of a living rhythm, no serious attempt at a caesura of the almost unbroken line of great military personages who, impassive — we have almost said disdainful — stand side by side yet isolated from one another, and from the spectator.⁴⁵

Sargent's biographer Charteris declared that the picture had failed because Sargent had refused to take poetic licence:

These soldiers had never been in one room together during the War, therefore it would be a falsification to group them as though they had. His adherence to fact stood between him and a work of art. The background, in his view, had to be neutral, carrying no import of time or place.... The Generals appear to be collected on a stage from which the curtain has just risen, and about to advance as a chorus to the footlights...⁴⁶

Sargent had indeed refused the traditional duty of painters to invent and to improve on reality. He rebelled against 150 years of war art. Simon Schama demonstrated how Benjamin West's painting (1770) of the idealised death of General Wolfe bore no relation to fact but created a myth of heroism and patriotism.⁴⁷ West painted what should have happened, not what had happened. His invention became the most famous scene in Canadian history; to this day it promotes Canadian nationalism and Quebec separatism. This kind of historical painting still dominated the genre in the 1920s and 1930s; painters tried to be novelists not historians. James Guthrie's "Some Statesmen of the Great War" presents a dramatic, active gathering broken up into discussions, with Winston Churchill seated at the centre gazing out at the viewer, dreaming,

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Figure 5. By John Singer Sargent. Pencil on paper, 26 x 18 cm., 1921. Department of Rare Books and Special Collections, McGill University Libraries.

The General Portrayed



Figure 6. By John Singer Sargent. Oil on canvas, approximately 76 x 61 cm., 1921. Private Collection.



The General Portrayed

Figure 7. General Officers of World War I. By John Singer Sargent. Oil on canvas, 300 x 528 cm., 1922. National Portrait Gallery, London.

The General Portrayed

no doubt, of the war to come.⁴⁸ Similarly, Arthur Cope broke his naval officers up into interactive groups in a realistic interior.

Contrarily, Sargent refused to animate his group; he had told Guthrie:

I am handicapped by the idea that they never could have been altogether in any particular place — so I feel debarred from any sort of interesting background and reduced to painting them all standing up in a vacuum.⁴⁹

Sargent had always captured spontaneity, light and abstract design interacting with recognizable forms. He had no trouble reconciling reality and exciting composition in his classical allegorical murals. But the recent war froze his imagination; he could not paint this group which never had gathered.

Against the art critics, it may be argued that the generals are far from being a failure but a triumph yet to be recognised. Sargent deserves credit for avoiding the histrionics of Guthrie and Cope — for his honesty in refusing to invent a dramatic, fictional scene to memorialize a war that had more than enough real scenes, many of them terrifying and ugly. His cold, elegant curtain call uncovered the impersonal, almost surreal face of modern war. As the best portraitist of his day, he refused to stage play a fake conference of the generals who had just won the greatest conflict of all time — a subject which Rembrandt or Van Dyke would have rolled up with glee. Perhaps it was the fault of the khaki uniforms or the loss of faith in war. The generals of 1918 looked worthy but banal; no charging horses or waving swords, no Caesars or Napoleons: only middle-aged spreads and balding heads. They had not led their men into battle; they were masterful planners but not heroic. Disappointed that few McGill boys turned out for a memorial service for Currie in 1937, Stephen Leacock observed that they remembered neither Currie nor the war: "and as modern military history does not run to spectacular victories, total defeats, and individual eminence, there is nothing for them to hear of General Currie that seems vivid to their minds."⁵⁰

If artists found generals uninspiring, they faced a harder problem; they could no longer portray battle scenes adequately. As A.Y. Jackson observed:

Knights in armour, bowmen and spearmen, the clash of arms, men and horses in a swirl of movement, this was the stuff battle paintings were made of in the early days, but with the introduction of gun powder and the increasing range of guns, the space between combatants grew wider in every war. In Napoleonic times a battle could still be visualized and the artist from an imaginary observation post could paint panoramas of moving masses of men in action.... The machine gun had destroyed the old death and glory picture which depended on a mass of cavalry or infantry hurtling forward with the shot riddled flag clutched in the stricken hero's hand.

In modern war, the battlefronts were too huge; the artist could only portray limited groups of soldiers and must "use the incidental to illustrate what is going on in endless repetition beyond his vision."⁵¹

E. HODGSON SMART, 1924 — THE SCATTERED GALLERY

At the end of February 1924, Currie received a request to paint him from Edmund Hodgson Smart (1873-1942), a British-born painter who worked in London and Cleveland. Smart had studied at Julian's in Paris under Bougereau.⁵² From Cleveland, Smart wrote mysteriously:

A Gallery of Oil Portraits of a selected number (not over 25) of celebrated men is being formed. It is of international importance & as your portrait is desired I am writing to ask if you will give the necessary sittings. Directly I see you I will explain all the details, which are for the time being, kept entirely private, except to those whose portraits are for the Gallery. I should explain however that the financial end is already taken care of.

Currie or his secretary underlined the last sentence. Smart appears to have been a clever promoter; the proposed gallery would include most of the leaders already painted for the Smithsonian collection. Like Sargent, Smart worked on both sides of the Atlantic. If Currie could not sit in Montreal in the spring, Smart could paint him that summer in London if he happened

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to be there. Smart sent photographs of portraits he already had done of Marshal Foch, General Pershing and Admiral Sims. These may have helped convince Currie to sit. Smart hoped to visit Currie soon. Like Sargent he needed a temporary studio; unlike Sargent he did not demand top-lights:

I have always to look out for a lofty room, with north lights preferably, to get a good result but expect it won't be difficult in Montreal or Ottawa. In Paris the Director of the Academy lent me one to paint Marshall Foch's portrait; two galleries in Washington offered me Studios to paint the President & General Pershing & the Art Association in Newport lent me their Studio for Admiral Sims, so I am bound to be treated well in Canada.

Smart arrived in Montreal in about mid-March and started Currie's portrait; the sittings took place somewhere at McGill.⁵³ He posed Currie at a rakish angle seldom seen in modern military portraits, knee on some battlefield rock (Figure 8). By June Smart was in England, building up clients. There was something about Currie which drew out confidences; Smart had not known him before the sittings yet afterwards he confided in Currie as a friend:

I have been hunting studios for weeks & have at last got, if not the finest, certainly one of the best in London — the House and Studio belonged to Sir J.J. Shannon R.A. & I have bought the place from his widow.... Well, I have started work, the first portrait being that of Mrs. Annie Besant. Next week or the following I hope to get the background of yours finished & will then send you some photographs.

(The famous theosophist and educationalist Annie Besant (1847-1933) made a good catch; ten years later he would exhibit her portrait at the Royal Academy). Smart thanked Currie for the sittings and for sending him Leacock's recent book, *My discovery of England*, which amused him greatly. Smart believed Sir Robert Borden would be in England that summer and he hoped Currie would encourage him to sit for him (he did). Hoping to convince prominent military men to have their portraits done for the collection, he would entice them by showing them photographs of the men he had already done. He asked Currie to lend his influence:

I think it would help if I had one or two letters from some I have painted. I wonder if you would mind writing me a short letter just to express your view of the portrait & perhaps asking how I am getting on with the others for the collection? The one I think I will have the most bother with will be Clemenceau — I don't think he smiles very patiently upon artists! ...I must tell you that Mrs. Besant spoke very highly of your portrait & the second time she came, it was not on the easel & directly she entered she said "O Where is my General?"

Currie replied on 25 June 1924 with a useful letter wishing him success with his project and asking to be remembered to any of my friends whose portraits he might paint. He was delighted that Smart was set up in England and added: "I sometimes feel that I left you so hurriedly at the last sitting that I did not properly express to you my complete satisfaction with what you had done in my case."⁵⁴ Although Smart's portrait was unconventional, Currie liked it.

Smart's gallery, whoever commissioned it, broke up by the 1930s. Trying to sell the collection piecemeal, he offered the Currie and Borden portraits to the only likely takers: Canadian institutions. From London in March 1934, he wrote to Eric Brown, Director of the National Gallery of Canada, giving the project's history:

Just after the war I was commissioned to paint the portraits of several of the leaders in the Great War; but owing to financial trouble the collection was not completed nor held intact. It was agreed that they might be if necessary individually hung in different Art Galleries or Public Buildings. Marshall Foch's portrait & four others were taken over by the U.S.A. but the Canadian portraits were held back as they ought not to leave the Empire, but should if possible find their permanent home in Canada.

Candidly, Smart added that if he had foreseen Currie's death he would have tried to sell them earlier. He had exhibited the Currie and Borden portraits in about 1924 at the Montreal Museum of Fine Arts before they went to the United States. He thought the National Gallery or the Canadian Archives would be the

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Figure 8. By E. Hodgson Smart. Oil on canvas, dimensions unknown, 1924. Location unknown.
Photograph: McGill University Archives PRO28528.

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most suitable place for them. He asked the National Gallery to exhibit the portraits to "enable them to be seen & then they could be judged upon their merits & some decision arrived at as to their final destination." Brown replied that the Canadian War Memorials collection had portraits of Borden and Currie and suggested McGill might take the Currie and the Dominion Archives the Borden. McGill turned him down. Persistent, Smart approached Brown a year later; in August 1935 Brown repeated that the Orpen portrait of Currie sufficed and that Smart should try McGill or the Dominion Archives. In October 1935 Smart apparently sent photographs of the portraits to both institutions. Neither showed interest. In 1938 Smart made last-ditch efforts to sell the Canadian pair. In February, on Smart's behalf a publicity agent called the National Gallery's attention to the Borden portrait and was rebuffed.⁵⁵ Smart visited Montreal in the fall and got the pair exhibited at the Montreal Museum of Fine Arts. They were reproduced in the *Montreal Daily Star*, 10 October 1938. In spite of his remarkable marketing efforts, his paintings, like Emily Warren's at the time, remained orphans. Recent enquiries to likely repositories have failed to turn up his portrait of Currie.

ROBIN WATT, CA. 1927-1928 — SEEING AROUND CORNERS

Robin Watt, M.C. (1896-1964) was born at Victoria, British Columbia. Currie probably knew the family from his Victoria days and visited Watt's mother in England. Educated in Victoria and at Sandhurst, Watt won the Military Cross and the Croix de Guerre, was mentioned in dispatches, wounded four times, and served as one of Currie's aides. In 1920 Watt began his art studies at the Slade School in London. Watt set up shop in Montreal around 1927. Currie must have preferred this soldier who became an artist to the artificial officer-artists of the war. Realising that portrait painting was a risky business, Currie reassured Mrs. Watt in December 1927 that "We see something of Robin and his wife and I think they are getting some commissions. My wife is, I know, arranging a tea when Robin, will give an exhibition." Soon Currie reported that Robin's exhibition, held in early February 1928 had gone well: "People were loud in their praises and, what is more to the point, the next day brought

orders to keep Robin busy for a month at least. I think that Robin is very much bucked up." Currie added that Robin was not a very good salesman, "although I can well understand his diffidence and modesty."⁵⁶

When Watt finished a portrait he would keep it on his studio wall for a while: "If I get bored with it, then I know there is something wrong, and I try it again."⁵⁷ He argued that the camera could never replace painting: "A camera sees with only one eye, while the artist, with two, can see around corners." Watt must have had excellent rapport with his ex-chief and friend. The portrait proves the value of Watt's two eyes theory; it sees around corners to convey Currie's strong character (Figure 9). Strongly drawn in military colours, with war maps in its background, it makes a fitting tribute to Currie in the United Services Club — where Currie arrived in triumph, escorted by McGill students after winning the Cobourg libel suit in 1928.⁵⁸

GHOSTS AND OTHER PORTRAITS

Other Currie portraits may be mentioned briefly. Some are ghosts — referred to but not found. In September 1917 Currie recorded: "Had picture painted"; in December 1917 he noted: "sit for picture". The artist or artists may have been Emily Warren, sketching for "Canada's Tribute", Orpen sketching for his projected group, Richard Jack or perhaps war artist Charles Sims (1873-1928). Currie definitely saw the latter two at this time. On 15 December 1917 he had "the artist Sims to lunch and dinner"; on 30 December 1917 he visited Jack's studio.⁵⁹ Around 1918 McGill architect Percy Nobbs made an on the spot sketch of Currie being congratulated by General Haig; he gave it to Currie explaining "You are the man in the "Burbury" and Haig is in the middle of the picture."⁶⁰ Inglis Sheldon-Williams sketched Currie and his staff crossing the Rhine at Bonn in December 1918, perhaps for his large work "Canadians Arriving on the Rhine". In 1947 the Sheldon-Williams estate offered and sent a number of works to the National Gallery of Canada; they included a pencil sketch of General Currie crossing the Rhine at Bonn. The National Gallery's trustees decided "we don't need it" [neglected collections seldom need additions] and the works were returned in 1949.⁶¹ In 1921 the publisher John Lane asked Currie to sit for Vernon Hill for a book of drawings and the

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Figure 9. By Robin Watt. Oil on canvas, 91 x 76 cm., ca. 1927-1930. United Services Club, Montreal.

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Raines Company of Canada and England wanted to reproduce his photograph in oils; it is unclear if anything resulted. In 1928, an unemployed Californian sent Currie a portrait, presumably made from a photograph.⁶² All these works, like the Hodgson Smart portrait, remain unlocated.

Some portraits were ephemeral: Arthur Lismer sketched cartoons of McGill's Principals on the plaster walls of Dawson Hall at McGill before they were renovated in 1947. Paul McCullagh photographed them before they were destroyed: Currie stands hands on hips, facing the shells of military or academic battle, wearing an academic gown over his uniform. A cartoon by A.G. Racey of Currie handing out diplomas appeared in the McGill student annual in 1924. When Currie visited India in 1931, a newspaper published a sketch of him; it bears little resemblance to Currie, with its aquiline nose and pointed chin.⁶³

Not all of Currie portraits were in uniform. Kathleen Shackleton sketched his head in charcoal, probably in the late 1920s (location unknown); and an official portrait by B. Gordon in Principal's robes hangs in McGill's Redpath Hall. Principal F.C. James refers to a portrait in academic gown by "MacIntosh" (location unknown).⁶⁴ Currie has continued to inspire portraits. In about 1969 Alison MacNeil sculpted a bust of Currie for the Currie Hall at the Royal Military Academy at Kingston. H.J. Ariss drew a striking pastel that captures Currie's determined look, reminiscent of Currie's favourite photograph by Swaine of London.⁶⁵

EMILY WARREN, CA. 1917-1920 — A FAITHFUL PORTRAYL

What did Currie think about art? He realized the power of images: they formed part of the multifaceted technology of war which he mastered instinctively. He attended the various war pictures exhibitions and even gave a session to a "moving picture artist."⁶⁶ He constantly responded to requests for his photograph (Figure 10).⁶⁷ When the Royal Military College planned its Assembly Hall as a tribute to the Canadian Corps, Principal Currie enlisted McGill architecture professors Nobbs and Traquair to design and decorate it.⁶⁸

Currie's attitudes towards art came out in his defense of Emily Warren's paintings. Emily Warren (1869-1956) grew up in England; at fourteen she found a mentor in John Ruskin. In 1917 she was painting in Westminster Abbey when men from a Canadian regiment deposited their colours at Wolfe's monument before going to the front. Moved by this and the recent death at Vimy Ridge of a Canadian cousin, Major Jack Sweet, she resolved to paint the scene retrospectively. She was encouraged by General Currie (who had been Sweet's friend). The War Office pressed her to expand her subject to include the seventy-seven commanders and fifty-two regimental colours of the Canadian Expeditionary Force. She painted two canvasses (11.5 by 6 feet), of Canadian officers with their colours in the Abbey, called "Canada's Tribute." She sketched the officers from life in short sittings, tracking them down in their camps and London hotels. Warren wrote Currie that her group of Canadian heroes would not be complete without him; she wanted to make a colour sketch of him. If this was impossible, she would need a photograph, in profile. She enclosed a card showing Currie's position in the paintings. An aide attached a memo to her letter: "Remind Corps Commander that he owes this lady a picture".⁶⁹ Currie must have complied; he is the central figure in both canvasses. At war's end the paintings lacked some regimental colours and portraits. Currie (and probably Robert Borden) advised Warren to take them to Canada. She had hopes but no commitment that the Dominion government would buy the paintings.

"Canada's Tribute" epitomized a heroic, romantic view of war unpopular with critics and curators. In a sacramental, patriotic atmosphere, the light comes down through the Abbey's arches to illuminate the upturned faces and draped colours offered at the altar of ancient glory (Figure 11). She painted realistically; the officers are recognisable. To modernists like Paul Konody, art advisor for the Canadian War Memorials, "Canada's Tribute" seemed old-fashioned and sentimental. Warren herself said the paintings were meant to be symbolic works, of historical rather than artistic value.⁷⁰ By late 1920 it seemed evident that they would not be bought for the National Gallery of Canada. Yet they had been exhibited and many war veterans liked them. The Ottawa branch of Great War Veterans Association urged the government to pay Warren's (negotiable) price of \$10,000. It was a classic case of

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Figure 10. Photograph by Swaine of London, ca. 1918.

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public taste versus the art experts.⁷¹ Currie quietly supported Warren; in November 1920, he tried to convince F.B. McCurdy, Minister of Public Works, that the paintings had historical value and should be bought, unlike much "freakish" war art.⁷² He probably felt some responsibility for Warren's plight, having encouraged her to bring the paintings to Canada.

Charles Bowman, editor of the *Ottawa Journal* campaigned for the paintings. He asked Currie to give his views publicly. Currie replied in early December 1920 that he wanted to avoid controversy with the government (Sam Hughes's continuing criticism of his wartime strategy gave him problems enough). On the understanding that his letter would remain personal and unpublished, Currie praised Warren for her accuracy and complained that many of the Canadian War Memorial pictures had been armchair productions:

I may say I know Miss Warren's pictures very well indeed, though my ignorance of painting does not justify me in expressing any opinion as to their artistic value. What I do know is that she was most energetic and conscientious in having a faithful portrayal of the subject. The men, and there are in the pictures a great many, as you know, were painted from life....I do not believe that there is amongst all the Canadian War pictures one which is more exact in detail, and I do know that many of the pictures which Canada has paid for have been painted in their studios by artists who, in the painting, give no evidence of ever seeing the place or the situation or the circumstance which they seek to depict. Many of the pictures which Canada has bought, and I presume paid for, are what the ordinary uneducated person like myself regard as freak pictures. I have seen an exhibition of these pictures and also I spent all the months in France that Canadian troops were there. I never saw anything which by the wildest stretch of the imagination appears to be what some of these artists have painted. I frankly admit that possibly it is my ignorance of Art that leads me to make such a statement, but I submit that these pictures [Warren's] are intended to be of interest to other ignorant people like myself. They are not merely for the so-called artists to view and enjoy.

He added that Warren's portrayals were true to life, that he could not understand "why the Government refused to consider Miss Warren's painting when they have been saddled by some of the freaks I have referred to above." He concluded "The workings of the War Memorial Board and the War Records Organizations would make a very interesting study."⁷³ In short, though disclaiming expertise, Currie liked traditional representational art, accurate in detail, with a strong uplifting message.

In 1923 Currie had to refuse Warren's offer to sell the paintings to McGill — the University had no funds for such purposes — but he tried to help Warren find them temporary homes. In March 1924 he asked General Macdonell if the Royal Military College could take them for a while:

I feel sorry for the old lady. She has put a wonderful amount of work into the pictures....I am quite sure if she had made Sam Hughes the central figure that the government would have purchased them long ago. I think, Mac, that you might store them somewhere, but in your agreement to do it be very careful not to give Miss Warren any hope that the R.M.C. will become their permanent home.⁷⁴

Oddly enough, the paintings ended up at R.M.C. — in the Currie Memorial Hall no less. They took a long time to get there. They appear to have hung in Moyse Hall, McGill University in the 1930s (the exact dates are uncertain), where they suffered damage from radiators. Warren crossed the Atlantic in 1940 to rescue and restore the paintings. From 1941 to 1948, they hung in the Hall of Fame in Parliament. Then the Department of Defense paid Warren \$5000 for the pair and installed them at R.M.C.⁷⁵

THE CURRIE PORTRAITS AND MCGILL

Since Currie served as Principal, it is not surprising that McGill owns or was offered several of the works mentioned here. McGill was given the Kennington portrait and the little Sargent sketch; the Jack portrait was purchased. After Currie's death, McGill's Governors turned down Smart's offer of his Currie portrait at \$2000. At the same time, in 1934, the

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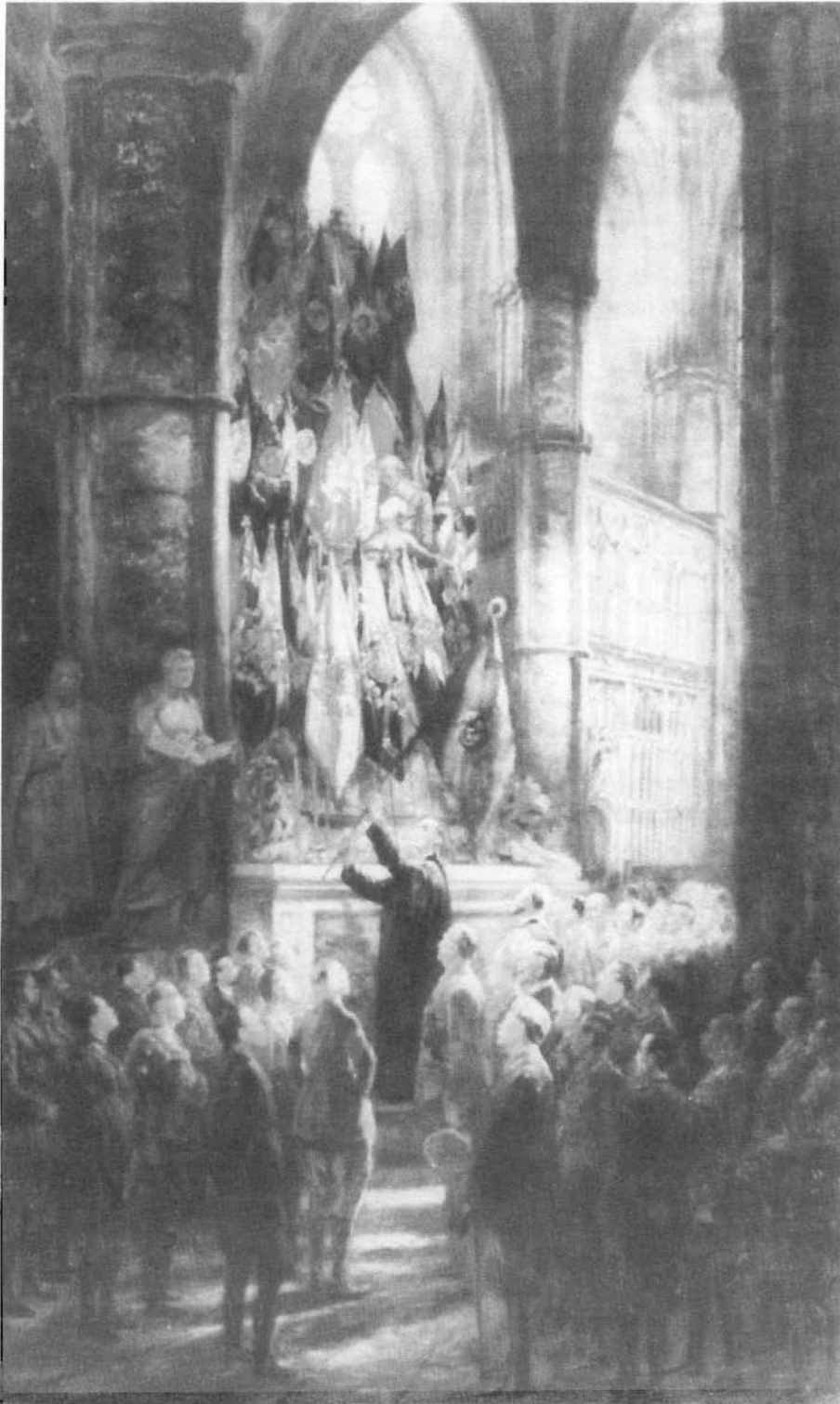


Figure 11. *Canada's Tribute* (one of a pair) by Emily Warren. Oil on canvas, 335 x 183 cm., ca. 1918.
Royal Military College, Kingston, Ontario.

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financially-pressed board tried without success to obtain the Orpen portrait free from the Dominion Government — little knowing how Currie had disliked it. The Governors also refused an offer from Emily Warren to sell one or both of the "Canada's Tribute" groups, which at some point had been lent to McGill. During the Depression, McGill simply could not justify buying portraits.⁷⁶ Indeed, the difficulties which Warren and Smart experienced in selling their portraits of war leaders show that interest in war art declined as time passed.

Currie's military portraits were a microcosm of the effort to memorialize the war and its leaders. In the age of photography, oil portraits and bronze sculptures maintained their aesthetic precedence. War artists tried to surpass the mere reality of photographs to capture higher truths that would interpret the war for all time. Every town had its war memorial monument: obelisks, tablets or angels bearing anonymous soldiers to Valhalla. Generals had portraits. The soldiers' monuments survive in town centres; the portraits hang in museums, often in storage.

Currie gladly allowed himself to be painted — not for vanity but because he symbolized Canada's war effort. Ironically, the only portrait Currie disliked — that by Orpen — now memorializes him at the National War Museum and at the Royal Military College, Kingston. He got on well with his mixed bag of painters. The four who wrote to him or about him after the sittings (Warren, DeCamp, Kennington, and Smart) obviously liked him; Currie understood people and won them over throughout his career. Currie's portraits show subtle differences in mood and physical appearance; taken all together they capture his psychology — blunt, friendly, brave, determined, and intelligent, with something reserved which Sargent caught. This article has examined the art of interpreting appearance. When we look at portraits, we read character from appearance yet search for the character hidden beneath appearance; a true portrait of Arthur Currie needs not only paint but words — such as the pen sketches about his looks and character by his brother officers, quoted earlier. Two McGill friends, Leacock and Currie's secretary Dorothy McMurray,

saw much of him on Saturday, 4 November 1933, the day before his strokes. Their memories of his McGill routine and his last day at work are a kind of portrait.

McMurray recalled that he came to work as usual. He was happy and told her how well he felt: "Surely I have ten good years yet." He had cleared up all his work for the term, including the previous year's annual report. McMurray noted: "Strangely enough the day he left the office for the last time, his desk and work at the University were more completely clear than at any other period I know of." A few weeks before, he had overseen the laying of the cornerstone of the Montreal Neurological Institute, a high point in his Principalship. Currie had used the phrase "His life had come full circle" at a recent memorial service. Now his own life had come full circle as well, wrote McMurray. His work had been completed: "He had fought and conquered in the war. He had studied and mastered the so called "mysteries" of education...he seemed to me to hold in the hollow of his hand all the intricate threads of the University loom...."

Currie left his office and lunched at the University Club with Leacock and others; afterwards they went to the McGill football game. Currie loved football and had recently congratulated coach Frank Shaughnessy on the team's wins. Now he watched McGill beat Queen's, the first home win over this old rival since 1927. The jubilant students raided theatres and invaded the Mount Royal Hotel; fifty constables kept them at bay. Currie went home to work on a Remembrance Day talk. He had a stroke the next day, went to hospital, and slowly recovered, according to doctors' bulletins, until he died on 30 November 1933 and had the most elaborate funeral in Canadian history. Leacock wrote a famous tribute, portraying him in his office:

ready and accessible to us all. Beside him was his pipe with plenty of strong tobacco and plenty of strong language to keep it burning...He thought no more of a plutocrat than of a ninepin....Never was there a man so deeply religious in the real meaning of the word. He lived, in peace as in war, with the consciousness of the imminence of death...His dusty, shabby professors were always a sort of mystery to him... We never had the place in his heart that he kept for his generals.

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Yet to those of his McGill staff experiencing dark hours, he was "beyond words". He had

a tenderness of sympathy, an affection for those in distress that no language can present and that no gratitude can repay.⁷⁷

* * * * *

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

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For permission to reproduce portraits, I am indebted to the United Services Club, Montreal; the National War Museum, Ottawa; the National Portrait Gallery, London; and the Smithsonian Institution, Washington.

Notes

Abbreviations used in endnotes:

C	Container
CP	Sir Arthur Currie Papers, MG30 E100 (at NAC)
MG	Manuscript Group
MUA	McGill University Archives
MUA, RG2	Records of the Principal, MUA.
MUA, RG4	Records of the Board of Governors, MUA.
NAC	National Archives of Canada
NGCA	National Gallery of Canada Archives
RG	Record Group
UP	Hugh Urquhart Papers, MG 4027 (at MUA)

1. Currie's records are interfiled with those of Principals A.E. Morgan (1935-1937) and L.W. Douglas (1937-1939). Currie's records were maintained by his secretary Margaret Chesley and her successor Margaret McMurray. In 1993 the Archives received a federal grant (under the Conservation Plan for Canadian Archival Records) to microfilm Principals' External Correspondence (MUA, RG2, C38-C51) for the years 1919 to 1940, for the purposes of preservation and diffusion. Most of Currie's correspondence with artists comes from MUA, RG2, C38, file 152: "Photographs 1920-1927" (the bulk of the letters in the file are requests for photographs of Currie). Principal Currie corresponded with external organisations and individuals about veterans' causes, world disarmament, imperial conferences, charities, politics and many other topics. People wrote to Currie as former Commander, as McGill Principal, as a father figure, and as the de facto leader of English-speaking Montreal. Politicians, veterans, businessmen, social reformers, inventors, parents and patients in asylums asked his advice or sounded off to him. The MUA also holds some of Currie's private papers and speeches: MG 1030. On Currie as Principal, see Stanley B. Frost, *McGill University* (2 vols. Montreal 1980-1984). In addition to the biographies cited in note 3, works using Currie's records as Principal include Margaret Gillett, *We walked very warily* (Montreal 1981); and Marlene Shore, *The science of social redemption: McGill, the Chicago School, and the origins of social research in*

Canada (Toronto 1987). The Sir Arthur Currie Papers (MG30 E100) at the National Archives of Canada contain diaries, correspondence and much on veterans' affairs; there is considerable subject overlap with the Principal's External Correspondence at McGill.

2. NAC, CP, Private diary, 3 May 1918; a transcript of the diary is in the Urquhart Papers, MUA, UP.

3. A.J.M. Hyatt, *General Sir Arthur Currie: a military biography* (Toronto, 1987) is a definitive military biography. For greater coverage of the McGill years see H.M. Urquhart, *Arthur Currie* (Toronto, 1950) and Daniel G. Dancocks' lively *Sir Arthur Currie* (Agincourt, Ontario, 1985). For the Canadian role in the war, see Desmond Morton and J.L. Granatstein, *Marching to Armageddon: Canadians and the Great War 1914-1919* (Toronto, 1989).

4. Robert Shipley, *To mark our place: a history of Canadian war memorials* (Toronto, 1987), 161.

5. MUA, UP, "Correspondence re Currie biography", Interview with General Loomis, n.d; Herbert Molson to Urquhart, 12 June 1936.

6. Walter Abell, "War records for the Canadian Army", *Canadian Art*, vol. 1, no. 2 (Dec.-Jan., 1943-1944), 43-46, 85.

7. Maria Tippett, *Art at the service of war: Canada, art, and the Great War* (Toronto, 1984), 26. This authoritative book reproduces a selection of war art.

8. Tippett, *Art at the service of war, passim*; P.G. Konody, "Canadian War Memorials Number", *Colour* (Sept. 1918), 25-41. Paul Konody also published *Art and war: Canadian war memorials* (London, 1919), which reproduces numerous works done for the Canadian War Memorials Fund. Canadian and British war art was covered frequently in *The Studio*, 1917-1919.

9. Barker Fairley, "Canadian war pictures", *The Canadian Magazine*, vol. 54, no. 1 (Nov. 1919), 2-11.

10. Hector Charlesworth, "The National Gallery a national reproach", *Saturday Night* (9 Dec. 1922), 3.

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11. H. Robertson, *A terrible Beauty: the art of Canada at war* (Ottawa, 1977), 15. See also Tippet, *Art at the service of war*, 112; R.F. Wodehouse, "The Canadian War Memorials Collection at Ottawa", *Studio International*, vol. 176, no. 906 (Dec. 1968), 234-236; R.F. Wodehouse, *A check list of the war collections of World War I, 1914-1918 and World War II, 1939-1945*, (Ottawa, 1968); Robert Shipley, *To mark our place: a history of Canadian war memorials* (Toronto, 1987).
12. Tippet, *Art at the service of war*, 23-30. See Colin S. Macdonald, comp., *A dictionary of Canadian Artists* (7 vols. 1968-1990), ii. 518-520.
13. MUA, UP, transcript of NAC, CP, Private diary, 30 Dec. 1917; 9 Mar. 1919; 23 Mar. 1919; 9 Apr. 1919.
14. Other donors at a ceremony at British Columbia House, London, were General Clark, Colonel Tudor, and Majors Fiske and Herridge: NAC, CP, Private diary, 9 April 1919. Jack told Currie that after some slight changes he would send it to Currie's mother in Canada. When by March 1920 the portrait had not arrived, Currie wrote to Loomis who promised to look into it: NAC, CP, Currie to Loomis, 2 Mar. 1920; Loomis to Currie, 10 Mar. 1920.
15. MUA, RG2, C228, file 1980: "Lady Currie Donations 1948", Principal Cyril James to Lady Currie, 27 Sept. 1947; MUA, RG4, C191, file 104, "Lady Currie", Lady Currie to Chancellor Bertie Gardner, 11 June 1957.
16. John Singer Sargent's note that he was six feet three may be the most dependable figure. See Hyatt, *General Sir Arthur Currie*, 23; Dancocks, *Sir Arthur Currie*, 143. The latter put Currie's height at 6 feet four inches and his wartime weight at 250 pounds.
17. NGCA, Artist's file: Richard Jack. The file refers to sketches of Currie and others which Jack planned to give to the subjects as souvenirs. Jack also painted Currie's friend Stephen Leacock; see the *Montreal Gazette*, 13 Jan. 1945.
18. MUA, UP, "Correspondence re Currie biography" (copies), "Impressions of A.C. by Brig. Gen. E.S. Hoare-Nairne", p. 16. Currie's first biographer, Urquhart wrote to many officers in the later 1930s to get their first hand impressions of General Currie. Among other things, Urquhart asked for impressions of Currie's appearance. His notes in the University Archives prove the continuing value of biographers' papers as raw material for further investigation of their subjects.
19. MUA, UP, "Correspondence re Currie biography", Colonel Crerar, "Notes on General Sir Arthur Currie" (copy), n.d.
20. MUA, UP, "Correspondence re Currie biography", Frith to Urquhart, 1 Jan. 1937. Frith admired Currie for firmness in upholding a sentence of execution for desertion, despite the clemency pleas of Canon F.G. Scott: Dancocks, *Sir Arthur Currie*, 67.
21. Pointed out by Hyatt, *General Sir Arthur Currie*, 23.
22. Bruce Arnold, *Orpen: mirror to an age* (London, 1982), 330-331. See also P.G. Konody and Sidney Dark, *Sir William Orpen: artist and man* (London, 1932), 253-257 and NGCA, 5.41.0, "Sir Edmund Walker".
23. NAC, CP, "Beaverbrook", Currie to Beaverbrook, 27 Jan. 1918; Beaverbrook to Currie, 6 Feb., 1918.
24. MUA, UP, transcript of NAC, CP, Private diary, 17, 18, 19, and 22, February 1919, 3 March 1919.
25. Arnold, *Orpen*, 333-337; 377-380; Konody and Dark, *Sir William Orpen*, 168-171.
26. MUA, RG2, C38, file 152: "Photographs 1920-1927", Currie to Edmund Walker, 5 Mar. 1924; Walker to Currie, 10 Mar. 1924. The portrait is listed in the exhibition's catalogue: *The National Gallery of Canada, Second exhibition of Canadian war memorials*, January 18th to April 30th, Ottawa, 1924, 12. The portrait had been displayed previously in the 1923 War Memorials Exhibition.
27. NAC, CP, "Bro-By", JAC to Eric Brown, 6 June 1929. A copy sent to Currie was unsigned but the typist's initialled subscription indicated it typed for "JAC": J.A. Clark is the only MP with these initials: *The Canadian Parliamentary Guide* (1929), 59, 127.

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28. Royal Military College of Canada, *Programme for the opening of the Sir Arthur Currie Hall, 1922*. Mitchell Kryzanowski, *Currie Hall: memorial to the Canadian Corps* (Kingston, 1989) gives an illustrated history of the Hall and reproduces the Rawbon copy, 14; NGCA, Artist's file: Rawbon.
29. *Dictionary of National Biography, 1951-1960, 573-574*; Tippet, *Art at the service of war, 67-68*.
30. MUA, UP, transcript of NAC, CP, Private diary, 11 Dec. 1918.
31. The portrait and the note (both framed) are in the Faculty Club, McGill University, the gift of Frederick N. Southam, May 1938.
32. *Who was who in America, vol. 1 (1897-1942), 309*; Trevor J. Fairbrother, *The Bostonians: painters of an elegant age, 1870-1930* (Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, 1986), 205-206; *Ten American painters: a loan exhibition for the benefit of the Fellowship Fund in Art History, City University of New York* (Spanierman Gallery, New York, 1990), 93-97. The name appears as both DeCamp and De Camp; the signature in Currie's papers appears to be DeCamp.
33. Frederick Platt, "The war portraits", *Antiques* (July 1984), 142-153; The National Art Committee, *Exhibition of war portraits: January 18 to February 11, 1921, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, 1921*.
34. NAC, CP, "P-R", Herbert Pratt to Currie, 29 Sept. 1919; Currie to Pratt, 14 Oct. 1919; Pratt to Currie, 18 May 1920; Currie to Pratt, 21 May 1920; Pratt to Currie, 4 June 1920; Currie to Pratt, 7 June 1920. NAC, CP, "S-Z", Currie to Wiles, 7 May 1920; Wiles to Currie, 15 May 1920.
35. MUA, RG2, C38, file 152, "Photographs, 1920-1927", DeCamp to Currie, 2 Dec. 1920, 10 Dec. 1920; Currie to DeCamp, 13 Dec. 1920.
36. Platt, "The war portraits", 143; The National Art Committee, *Exhibition of war portraits*.
37. The project is discussed in William H. Downes, *John S. Sargent* (Boston, 1925), 78-79, 256-257; Evan Charteris, *John Sargent* (New York, 1927), 217-219; Charles M. Mount, *John Singer Sargent: a biography* (New York, 1955), 363-364, 376-377, 388; and Stanley Olson, *John Singer Sargent: his portrait* (London, 1986), 257-267. The painting is reproduced in Carter Ratcliff, *John Singer Sargent* (New York, 1982), 206.
38. Charteris, *Sargent*, 217-218.
39. Mount, *Sargent*, 377; William Watson, *Retrospective: recollections of a Montreal art dealer* (Toronto, 1974), 68; Arnold, *Orpen*, 378.
40. MUA, RG 2, C38, file 152, "Photographs, 1920-1927", James D. Milner to Arthur Currie, 27 Aug. 1920; Currie to Milner, 20 Sept. 1920; Currie to Sargent, 20 Sept. 1920; Sargent to Currie, 2 Oct. 1920; Sargent to Currie, 9 May 1921; Currie to Sargent, 16 May 1921; Sargent to Currie, 19 May 1921. Currie had been appointed a Director of the Bank of Montreal when he became Principal; the remuneration was \$3000-\$4000 a year: Dancocks, *Sir Arthur Currie*, 207.
41. The auctions were on 24 and 27 July 1925: *Catalogue of pictures and water colour drawings by J.S. Sargent*, Christie, Manson and Woods (London, 1925); see H.C. Marillier, "*Christie's*" 1766 to 1925 (London, 1926), 231-233.
42. NAC, CP, "Cap-Cur", Currie to Cowie, 8 April 1927; MUA, RG40 (Records of the University Libraries), C18, "Sir Arthur Currie 1927", Memorandum re sketch of Principal, 11 April 1927.
43. Richard Pennington's catalogue of paintings at McGill (1956) listed a Sargent pencil sketch. Following this clue, the sketch was found by Gary Tynski, Curator, in the prints and drawings of the McGill Rare Book Department. Pennington's catalogue incorporates and amends a catalogue made in 1954 by Sidney and Mary Carter: both are in MUA, RG4, C191, file 76, "Catalogue of paintings 1954-1956".
44. Reproduced in Ratcliff, *John Singer Sargent*, 206.
45. Downes, *John S. Sargent*, 256-257.
46. Charteris, *John Sargent*, 218.
47. Simon Schama, *Dead certainties* (New York, 1991), section I: "The many deaths of General Wolfe".

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48. Reproduced in Sir James Caw, *Sir James Guthrie* (London, 1932), facing 176.
49. Charteris, *Sargent*, 217-218.
50. MUA, UP, "Correspondence" (unsorted), Leacock to Urquhart, 29 Dec. 1937.
51. A.Y. Jackson, "A record of total war", *Canadian Art*, vol. 3, no. 4 (July 1946), 150-151. The heroic theme, although often ridiculed, survived in sculpture more easily than painting. The War Memorial in Ottawa is an example.
52. *Who was who in American art*, ed. H. Falk (1985), 574; *Who was who 1941-1950* (London, 1964), 1064.
53. NGCA, 5.41.0, "Canadian War Art: offer for purchase / presentation of war art", Smart to Brown, 23 March 1934.
54. MUA, RG2, C38, file 152, "Photographs 1920-1927", E. Hodgson Smart to Sir Arthur Currie, 26 Feb. 1924; Smart to Currie, 7 March 1924; Smart to Currie, 11 June 1924; Currie to Smart, 25 June 1924.
55. NGCA, 5.41.0, Canadian War Art: "Offer for purchase / presentation of war art (N-Z)", Smart to Brown, 23 March 1934; Brown to Smart, 7 May 1934; Brown to Smart, 14 August 1935; Smart to Brown, 3 October 1935; F. Don Endress to Brown, 24 Feb. 1938; Brown to Endress, 8 Mar. 1938.
56. MUA, RG2, C51, "Was-Wat, 1922-1928", Currie to M.R. (Mrs. Alfred) Watt, 21 Dec. 1927, 15 Feb. 1928.
57. Obituary, *Montreal Star*, 11 Sept. 1964; *Montreal Gazette*, 27 Dec. 1948. See NGCA, Artist's file, Robin Watt. Watt and his wife Dodie are recalled in George Melly, *Rum, bum and concertina* (London, 1989), 51-55.
58. The portrait was presented to the United Services Club, Montreal by Geoffrey O. Merrill, a Montreal insurance broker and war veteran, in memory of Major P. Stanley, D.S.O., President of the Club, 1925-1926.
59. MUA, UP, transcript NAC, CP, Private diary, 18 Sept. 1917, 15 and 30 Dec. 1917. Sims did a memorial panel in the Parliament of Canada.
60. NAC, CP, General correspondence, 1919. I-P: Nobbs to Currie, 25 Aug. 1919.
61. NGCA, S.41-0, Sir Edmund Walker, "Offers N-Z" (docket: Sheldon-Williams). See Tippett, *Art at the service of war*, 67.
62. The Hill drawings are referred to in MUA, RG2, C55, file 800, "MacMillan, history of McGill", Lane to Currie, 19 Sept. 1921. For Raines company: see NAC, CP, (Vol. 5, file 16) "S-Z". MUA, RG2, c47, file 489: "MAS-MD 1919-1938", letter, J.F. Mathews to Currie, 15 June 1928.
63. The Lismer cartoon is MUA photograph PR024709. The cartoon is in *Old McGill*, 1924, 163. The Far East clipping is in MG30 E100, vol. 25, file 75: "India, 1930-1931, 1933."
64. MUA holds a negative of a sketch by Kathleen Shackleton ca. 1927 (Pictorial Collection, no. 114); the sketch was published in *Old McGill*, 1928, 12. The Currie portrait is not among Shackleton's charcoal portraits in the Blackader-Lauterman rare book collection, folio W10.S524. MUA, RG2, C228, file 1980, "Lady Currie Donations 1948", F.C. James to Lady Currie, 27 Sept. 1948.
65. The bust work is reproduced in Kryanowski, *Currie Hall*, 55, the Ariss portrait in Hyatt, *General Sir Arthur Currie*, xxii.
66. MUA, UP, transcript of NAC, CP, Private diary, 22 Nov. 1917, 24 Jan. 1918.
67. His favourite was probably by Swaine of London, ca. 1918. NAC, CP, (Vol. 5, file 16), General correspondence, "S-Z", contains Currie's order to Swaine's for more prints (Swaine number 31383-G.).
68. Kryzanowski, *Currie Hall*, 5-11.
69. NAC, CP, General Correspondence, "S-Z", letter Warren to Currie 22 Nov. 1917?

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70. Constance McRae, *The light must be perfect: the life and art of Emily Warren* (Toronto, 1981), 38-43, 58-65, 119-124, and *passim*.

71. Constance McRae, "A neglected Canadian artist: Emily Warren", *Canadian Collector* (Nov./Dec. 1977), 45-49. See the voluminous NGCA, Artist's file, Emily Warren.

72. MUA, RG2, C51, file 681, "Warren, Miss Emily, Paintings, 1920-1933", Currie to McCurdy, 22 Nov. 1920; McCurdy to Currie 27 Nov. 1920; Currie to McCurdy, 2 Dec. 1920. Currie's views were passed on to the National Gallery: NGCA, 5.41.0, file: "Sir Edmund Walker": Currie to McCurdy, 22 Nov. 1920 (copy).

73. MUA, RG2, C51, file 681, "Warren, Miss Emily: paintings 1920-33", Currie to Bowman, 2 Dec. 1920.

74. MUA, RG2, C51, file 681, "Warren, Miss Emily, Paintings, 1920-1933", Currie to Warren, 4 July 1923; MUA, RG2, C48, file 549, "Royal Military College, 1919-1936", Currie to Macdonell, 26 Mar. 1924.

75. The two paintings "Canada's Tribute" are reproduced in Kryzanowski, *Currie Hall*, 33. See McRae, *The light must be perfect*, 38-43, 58-65, 119-124. The pair of paintings do not appear in the few available photographs of the interior of Moyse Hall, during the 1930s. Perhaps they hung outside the Hall in the foyer of the Arts Building.

76. MUA, RG4, C10, file 9013, Board of Governors minute book, 9 Aug. 1934, 21 Dec. 1934, 730, 732; MUA, RG4, C22, file 9028, Board of Governors Executive Committee minute book, 6 Nov. 1935, 5. Queries from McGill about the Orpen are documented in NGCA, 5. 41-0, Canadian War Art, "Offers for purchase / presentation of war art (N-Z)", Judah to McCurry, 24 Sept. 1934; McCurry to Judah, 28 Sept. 1934. MUA, RG4 C21, file 9027, Board of Governors Finance Committee minute book, 24 Jan. 1934, 782.

77. MUA, UP, Correspondence, ca. 1930-42 (unsorted), McMurray to Urquhart, n.d.; MUA, Frank Shaughnessy Papers, MG 4141 (consisting of 2 letters), Currie to Shaughnessy, 16 Nov. 1931, 16? Oct. 1933. The student disruptions were reported in the Montreal

Gazette, 6 Nov. 1933. Leacock's tribute appeared in the *Montreal Herald*, 6 Dec. 1933 and is quoted by Dancocks, *Sir Arthur Currie*, 284-285 and Albert and Theresa Moritz, *Leacock: a biography* (Toronto, 1985), 258-260, and see 218. On Currie's last days see Urquhart, *Arthur Currie*, 354-357. Dorothy McMurray included a personal memoir of Currie in her *Four Principals of McGill* (Montreal, 1974).

Witness Testimonies of the Holocaust and the Meaning of Memory

by Yehudi Lindeman

Almost fifty years after the events, the conspiracy of silence on the part of bystanders and victims of the Holocaust, is at last beginning to be lifted and exposed. In its place come re-examination, new historical documentation and, increasingly, eye-witness accounts. Though the former victims are motivated by their last-minute chance to set the historical record straight against what is viewed as the Nazi war against memory, their new eagerness to testify is tempered by an ambivalence caused by their pain and loss. Meanwhile, the policies of indifference, silent abandonment and quiet collaboration on the part of nearly all the occupied European countries as well as the North American powers are now being exposed and re-evaluated. At the same time, the voice of the child survivors, those who were children during WWII, is increasingly being heard. As they break through their previous silence, some of their testimony seems to mark a new perspective. At best, it offers both to society and to them, the last and youngest eye-witnesses of the Shoah, a renewed opportunity for integration, healing and closure.

Près de 50 ans plus tard, la conspiration du silence des témoins et victimes de l'Holocauste commence à être déjouée et à céder la place à un réexamen, à de nouveaux documents historiques et à des témoignages de plus en plus nombreux. Même si les victimes de la Shoah sont motivées par la dernière chance qui leur est offerte de dissiper toute confusion historique possible sur ce qui constitue à leurs yeux une véritable guerre nazie contre la mémoire, ce désir renouvelé de témoigner est tempéré par l'ambivalence que suscitent le drame et le chagrin qu'elles ont vécus. Parallèlement, les politiques d'indifférence, d'abandon silencieux et de collaboration de la part de presque tous les pays européens occupés ainsi que des puissances nord-américaines sont exposées au grand jour et réévaluées. De même, les voix des survivants qui n'étaient que des enfants pendant la Deuxième Guerre mondiale se font de plus en plus entendre. Rompant leurs long silence, leurs témoignages offrent de nouvelles perspectives. Au mieux, ils donnent à la société et aux dernières et plus jeunes victimes de la Shoah l'occasion renouvelée de s'intégrer, de guérir et de clore un chapitre de l'histoire.

"One man will always be left alive to tell the story." —Terrence Des Pres, The Survivor

An earlier article, "Breaking the Silence and Bridging the Gap: Documenting Personal Memories of the Holocaust (*Fontanus V*, 1992), briefly explored the mandate of "Living Testimonies," McGill University's Video Archive for Holocaust Documentation (founded 1989). As the work on this McGill research project continues, the perspective of diminishing time is the most pressing factor on everybody's mind. All those involved in the project have been singularly motivated by the knowledge that today's interviewees are part of a rapidly declining segment of the population.¹

the Holocaust is its most pivotal manifestation. It happened and thus it can happen again, Primo Levi once remarked. For the world *anno* 1994, with its multiple references to "genocide" and "ethnic cleansing," the Shoah (I prefer the specific Hebrew term over the more generic "Holocaust") may plausibly serve as a reference point, or a signal in time of what at our worst we are capable of. It is a kind of "absolute point zero," says scientist and interviewee Jakub Gutenbaum, a Polish survivor of Auschwitz and Maidanek. And it deserves to be remembered because we are, all of us, "at some distance to that pole. Each event has a relation to it. It is very important to have such a reference point."

INTRODUCTION: A SIGNAL IN TIME

With World War II increasingly recognized as the central event of the century, one may well argue that

Others disagree and deplore the undue emphasis on remembering the Holocaust as alien to the spirit of Judaism and alienating to young Jews everywhere. "To

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have the major Jewish museums consecrated to the destruction of Jewry seems to me exceedingly perverse," says Ruth Wisse, formerly of McGill and now a Professor of Jewish literature at Harvard.²

It is likely that this very rational position is going to be around for some time to come. It implies that we should not be overburdened by memory. After all, remembering and commemorating are usually annual activities. Based on ritual events (national defeat or victory, or individual birth), they are celebrated at certain regular intervals only. It could also be argued that each generation has the right to set out with a fresh perspective, i.e., to start unencumbered by the cumulative burden of history. All young people should be able to start life with a clean slate and then create their own, new terms of reference.

The question of memory is a difficult and sensitive one. For so long, the ruling mentality has been to remain blind and deaf to the past. Until today, many countries and nations (the Germans among them) have suffered from individual and collective amnesia. Yet with many people finally willing to tell their stories — one may wonder if this is not a particularly ill-chosen time in history to close the lid on memory.

This article is predicated on the belief that it is important to break the silence. It confronts the issue of silence in relation to the project's underlying function of preserving the message of the survivors and witnesses for a generation to whom the Shoah will have passed into history.³ As such, it analyzes and enlarges upon the discussion in the earlier Fontanus article while creating a context for the work associated with the Archive to date.

"The entire history of the 'millennial Reich' can be reread as a war against memory." —Primo Levi, The Drowned and the Saved.

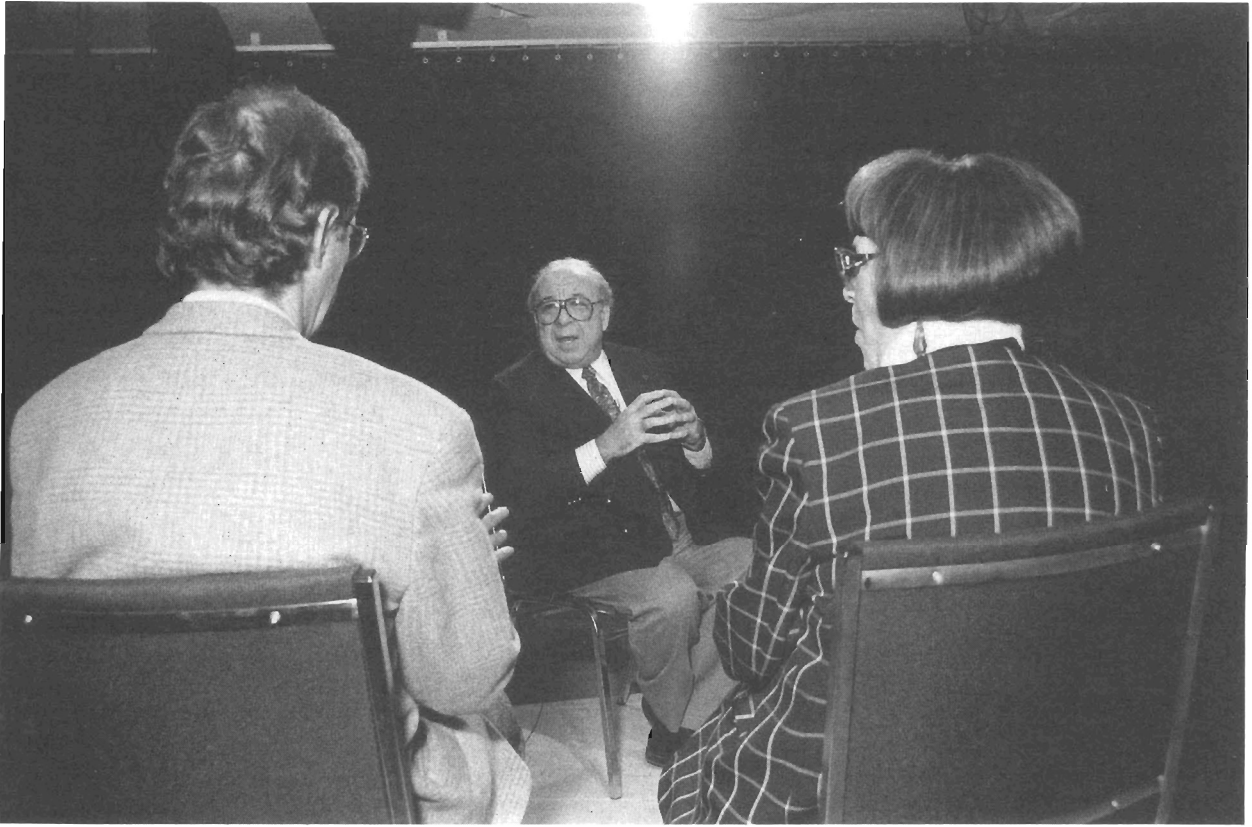
SILENCE AND HISTORY

When G.L. Durlacher, from the perspective of middle age, looks back at his experiences in Auschwitz as a sixteen year old boy, standing for hours at a time at roll-call, to be counted over and over again during the daily counting ritual known as *Zählappell*, "grey

with exhaustion, the head dizzy, the stomach hollow with emptiness," the most striking aspect of his situation, one on which he frequently comments, is his sense of absolute isolation and abandonment. For as nobody heard them or seemed to acknowledge them that day in early August 1944 (not even the American bombers that on that particular day seemed close to strafing the camp's crematoria, but had other business to attend to), the young slave labourers of the Männerlager (camp for men) Auschwitz-Birkenau B II seemed to be forgotten by the world.⁴ Primo Levi, working as a slave labourer in nearby Buno-Monowitz at the same time as Durlacher, comments, in a memoir that carefully balances recalled experience with reflexion, that this is exactly what the Nazis had in mind: not only to command the right or presumed right "of a superior people to subjugate or eliminate an inferior people,"⁵ but to isolate the people first from the rest of the world, and eventually even from the collective history in which we all share. To be abandoned by history, to have, in a truly Orwellian sense, no longer recourse to the memory of mankind, is exactly what the Third Reich had in store for its most chosen victims. As the SS guards put it, in the memory of one survivor, "We will be the ones to dictate the history of the Lagers."⁶

Several interviewees of Living Testimonies were bluntly forced by the SS to participate in the Nazi ritual of altering history by exhuming from mass graves the bodies of earlier massacres. What Primo Levi terms the forced suppression of the "material evidence of the mass extermination"⁷ was actively launched in the fall of 1944, when German defeat and with it the future exposure of German crimes against humanity had become a plausible reality. Thus *Rena* from Krakow was forced to help cover the Nazi's tracks by digging up the bodies of earlier massacres in camp Plaszów with a spade and pile them onto a pyre for burning. Her testimony and that of others are an indication to Holocaust deniers then and now that history cannot be easily suppressed altogether.

To many of the victims, it must have seemed that their principal goal in life would be to bear testimony, in the unlikely event that any one of them would survive long enough to tell the story. The accents vary, but the message is the same. When his book about Auschwitz was accepted by a German publisher, Primo



Most of the interviews for Living Testimonies are recorded in the ICC studio of McGill University. The interviews are conducted by one or two volunteer interviewers.

Levi wanted the Germans to know all the things that had occupied him for so long, in order to "tell them, indeed, shout them from the rooftops."⁸ Alexander Donat's mission was to "hurl [the Ghetto's history] into the face of the world."⁹ An exhumation even more horrible than that in Plaszów, on account of its much larger scale, took place in Treblinka. It was precisely the knowledge that soon "Treblinka" would cease to exist in history that led, against overwhelming odds, to the well documented, implausible rebellion of August 2, 1943. As Terrence Des Pres put it, "The aim of the revolt was to ensure the memory of that place, and we know the story of Treblinka because forty [people] survived."¹⁰

Writing long and carefully detailed letters to her Amsterdam friends from transit camp Westerbork, from which inmates were deported directly, and with icy bureaucratic precision, to Auschwitz once or twice a week, a young Dutch woman watches the departures

and testifies to the world about what she sees. Her name is Etty Hillesum. On this particular pre-dawn and early dawn morning (it is August 21, 1943) exactly 1020 Jews are counted again and again as they are crammed into box cars bound for some unknown destination in Poland. The witness report contains graphic scenes as young and old, babies and sick people, pregnant women and old men are crowded into the cars, until the final blow of the whistle announces the start of the journey to the east. Even as she recounts the infernal sights of the departing rituals in her letter, the narrator explains, almost humbly: "One always has the feeling here of being the ears and eyes of a piece of Jewish history... We must keep one another in touch with everything that happens in the various outposts of the world..."¹¹ Less than a month later, it will be Etty Hillesum's turn to be similarly deported. She will not survive, but her letters do. That same autumn of 1943, while she herself is still alive in Auschwitz, two of these long letters are

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published illegally in occupied Holland and quickly distributed by couriers working for the Dutch underground. They are read by thousands of people.

Many of the interviewed survivors have confirmed their need to bear witness. We have this obligation to tell the story, says *Ted*: "As we have no graves for those who perished, **our** memories are (in a phrase borrowed from an inscription in the Venice ghetto) **their** only graves." *Ted* claims that what saved his life was having what he self-consciously calls two "good jobs", first by working in the kitchen and later by being an "undertaker," i.e., carrying bodies and transporting them to a mass grave. Being an undertaker saved my life, he wryly comments.

Quite often the ability to tell the story is based on very mixed feelings. But the desire to tell the world what happened is often accompanied by an equally profound or even deeper need to redress some balance inside. "They tried to kill me and turn me into an animal," says *Abraham*, and then, not without satisfaction, "They didn't succeed. I survived...and Hitler is dead. I danced on his grave."

"The perpetrators should not sleep quietly at night," says *Bonno* who is, like *Abraham*, a survivor of the Lodz ghetto and Auschwitz. And in a tone which resembles that of Simon Wiesenthal or Serge Klarsfeld, but is clearly all his own, he adds, "I don't want revenge. I want justice."

"We are the last witnesses," says *Renata* with a mixture of sadness and pride, "after us there will be nobody to tell the story." Yet she insists that in spite of the loss and the pain that never go away, she is indeed a survivor in the sense that she has remained human. "My success is that I retained my humanity, that I am a human being," she says. A survivor of the Warsaw ghetto, she was first interviewed at McGill in 1989 and is now active as an organizer for Living Testimonies and one of its principal interviewers. But it took *Renata* more than four decades before she was able to tell her story. Encouraged by her daughter, she finally made the move. The result was a lot of pain alongside a strong personal sense of liberation. Meanwhile her two children marvelled at some of the incidents that were now uncovered to them for the first

time. In another example, *Rubin's* three married sons first learned about the details of their father's experiences in Auschwitz, Buna-Monowitz and Buchenwald, among other places, while watching the video-taped interview in their respective homes. (It is the project's policy that each survivor receives a VHS copy shortly after the studio session.)

This kind of ambivalence, the strongly felt need to testify that is balanced against the accompanying sadness or terror, the pride at surviving versus the loss of so many and so much, is found in many eye witness accounts. A good example is that of *Phil* whose testimony for the Yale Archive is appended, as a kind of epilogue, to Lawrence Langer's *Holocaust Testimony*:

We have not only survived, but we have revived ourselves. In a very real way, we have won. We were victorious. But in a very real way, we have lost. We'll never recover what was lost.¹²

In attempting some kind of summary, one may turn to Elie Wiesel's story about the Jewish historian Simon Dubnow for bits of necessary insight. As Dubnow is being deported from his home in Riga, along with his fellow-Jews, he is said to have urged them to remember everything: "Open your eyes and ears, remember every detail, every name, every sigh! The colour of the clouds, the hissing of the wind in the trees, the executioner's every gesture: the one who survives must forget nothing!"¹³ The outcry is very powerful and persuasive. Yet at the same time, the sense of abandonment and loss it contains is so great that the very terror and despair (what Des Pres has aptly termed the "scream") that should give rise to the witness report and propel it out into the world as "living testimony," may equally stifle its expression and reduce it to unutterable silence.

SILENCE AND THE OUTSIDE WORLD

Re-reading or viewing the reactions of the world to the plight of the Jewish people before, during and immediately after the Shoah, one runs the chance of being overcome by a different kind of despair at the ominous prevalence of silence almost everywhere. This

may have been the reaction on the part of those who watched the recent PBS television special *America and the Holocaust: Deceit and Indifference*. This one and a half hour documentary shows in chilling detail what powerful political forces were at work, during WWII, first of all to keep Jews out of America; and second, to keep America out of any meaningful involvement with the European Jews, by maintaining a detached silence about the on-going massacres. The specific goal of the TV documentary was to reveal something of the strict policy of silence, on the part of the U.S. government, that kept the allied and American military from becoming implicated in any rescue operations. Even as late as 1944 their interventions might have saved hundreds of thousands of Hungarian Jews from being gassed at Auschwitz. In this sense, the abandonment intuitively felt by Durlacher (remembered in his memoir) while he himself and his fellow-prisoners stood at attention to be counted during their daily and endlessly repeated *Zählappell*, was entirely justified. Whereas only kilometers away from his Männerlager, literally endless lines of Hungarian Jews coiled towards the gas chambers every long summer day, a different kind of ritual, that of the ever-returning allied bombers, took place each day less than a few kilometers above their heads. But the targets of these large scale and daring British and American bombing missions were the industrial complexes of nearby I.G. Farben and other German factories, and never the gas chambers and crematoria; the latter were not considered priority military targets.

Such are the conclusions of well documented books by, among others, Arthur Morse in *While Six Million Died* and David Wyman in *The Abandonment of the Jews*. Wyman's own moving testimony in the above mentioned PBS TV documentary completes the impression that what has since become known as a "conspiracy of silence" pervaded the Western world, from the media to the top echelons of government.

For those wanting documentation about Canada's attitude towards the Jews during WW II, there is now an abundance of documentation showing how that country quietly barred its doors against the entry of all refugees of Jewish origin. Canada's attitude towards letting in any Jews at all is well summed up by the title of the book *None is Too Many*, by historians Irving Abella and Harold Troper.

In Europe, especially in France and Holland, tough-minded young historians are moving at great speed to uncover evidence that had been quietly overlooked for almost fifty years: the massive and crucial support, varying from tacit assistance to zealous collaboration, on the part of the local civilian bureaucracies and police authorities. As a result, many tens of thousands of Jewish fellow-citizens were deported to their ultimate murder sites in Eastern Europe.¹⁴

In fairness to the historical record, mention should at least be made of one people and government that acted speedily and successfully to save what they considered to be their fellow-citizens. The collective effort by the Danish people to rescue the Jews shows what might have been accomplished if other nations and governments had chosen the path of active solidarity instead of hesitant or devoted abandonment. As a result of the concerted Danish initiative of October 1943, almost all the Jews of Denmark were directly shipped to Sweden and arrived in safety. Of those who were deported to the Theresienstadt ghetto/concentration camp (481 in all), many survived. And while it is true that a considerable number of the Danish Jews perished in Theresienstadt of hunger and disease, this was not because of Danish silence or indifference. On the contrary, the documentation seems to suggest that the insistent Danish protests, combined with their attempts at support and communication, kept the inmates from an even worse fate. While there were large and frequent transports from Theresienstadt to Auschwitz and other death camps, not a single one of the Danish deportees was sent on to be gassed in an extermination camp.

The recent conviction in France of former Nazi collaborator Paul Touvier to a life sentence for crimes against humanity indicates that, in France at least, the silence of the past is in the process of being probed and reevaluated. After being pardoned by then President Pompidou, in 1971, Touvier has finally found his nemesis, which seems to indicate a new attitude on the part of the French. And this comes in spite of what is widely regarded as unusual leniency towards the former Vichy régime's collaborators on the part of current President Mitterand.



This picture of seeming pastoral bliss was taken by one of the children's benefactors, Philip Baron Van Pallandt, in the summer of 1943. Unlike other less fortunate youngsters hidden on the Baron's forested estate in an eastern province of the Netherlands, all of these Jewish children survived the war.

"For many years the members of my generation were concerned with the concealment and repression...the suppression of memory." —Aharon Appelfeld¹⁵

THE SILENCE OF THE CHILDREN

One feature of survivor memory that has received a lot of recent attention is what happened to the memory of those who were children during the Nazi persecution. This is also an aspect that increasingly occupies the interviewers for McGill University's Living Testimonies project. Naturally, with the passage of time, more and more of the interviewees are those who were six, ten or fourteen years old at the end of the war, or even mere toddlers whose memories consist at best of some vivid scenes, or clearly remembered sensations or visual fragments. Some were so young that they have no memory at all. Those who attended one of the recent conferences of child survivors and hidden children, may have seen desperate notes scrawled on strategically placed bulletin boards. Some of the youngest child survivors are still searching, after fifty years, for clues

regarding their identity, including their family name and the name given them at birth. "Who am I?" read one of those queries, and after describing the place and time and some further identifying information, "Who can tell me my name and who my parents were?"

As for the older children, even while admitting that "memory is a problem" (as one scholar puts it), most have lived practically all their lives choked with memories that have been as keen and ever-present as they have been consistently repressed. "Most hidden children were encouraged to forget about their war experiences," says the writer of an article in *Newsweek*, published prior to the large gathering (more than 1600 participants) of "Hidden Children" in New York in May 1991.¹⁶ If there was ever a concerted attempt to "crash the holes of oblivion," a term attributed by Primo Levi to Hannah Arendt, it is in the cases of many of these "children."

The need to tell the story of what happened is probably as old as the time of mankind's first

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incursions into speech. And there is virtual unanimity about the benefits of speaking out and sharing one's stories with the world. As Eva Hoffman puts it in the *New York Times Book Review*, it is now "accepted wisdom that for victims of trauma the way to catharsis is through telling their story."¹⁷ Or as rescuer Hetty Voûte and Dutch child survivor *Nico* agree, "You only get better once you start talking about it."

Yet almost to a person, the child survivors have remained mute about their experiences during the war, at least until recently. Among the various aspects that mark the experience of the survivor child (who, in the majority of cases, is one whose life during the war was saved in hiding, or by "passing" as a gentile on forged papers) are the suddenness of the separation and the smooth, chameleon-like adaptation of the children to their new, various situations. *I Never Said Goodbye* is the apt title of a French woman's account of the sudden parting, for ever, from papa and maman. It could serve as an emblem for the rupture that the war caused to those who were sixteen years old or younger at the time of liberation in 1945. Again and again, those watching our video testimonies, must encounter that one moment that constitutes the last time when the survivor would see his or her parents. *Sam* was present in the room when two French *gendarmes* led his mother away out of the house. He would never see her again. Arrested in June 1942, she was deported to the transit camp of Drancy and from there to Auschwitz. *Daisy*, who was born in Nitra in Czechoslovakia, remembers standing in the office of the lawyer who helped make the necessary arrangements for hiding her. Her parents were standing next to her. Though she was only five years old, she recalls her mother telling her that her new name would be Anicka, and that she should never tell anybody her real name or who she was. This was the last time *Daisy* would see her parents who were killed in Auschwitz.

Some of the most wrenching moments on any of the footage of Living Testimonies is when a child, with the help of a parent or older sibling, is forced out of a hole or narrow opening in the box car traveling to Auschwitz or Treblinka. That is how *Mila*, a native of Poland, jumped or fell to safety. Though she was lucky enough to survive the fall along with her sister and female cousin, a fourth child, her friend Olek, was killed in the attempted escape. Her parents stayed on the train and were killed immediately upon arrival in Auschwitz.

The abrupt and sudden change that is common to all these accounts, was probably even more keenly experienced by children than by adults. At the age of nine, *Leah* had only just enough time to read the results of her previous year on the board posted outside the school in her village in rural Romania. Pleased about learning that she had done well and was promoted to fourth grade, she was marched off, literally the next day, on a journey which, within months, would claim the lives of her parents and siblings, and turn her into the single orphan-survivor of her large family.

Though little has been written about it, the powers of adaptation of the child are generally acknowledged and praised. Hetty Voûte who was responsible for hiding and saving the lives of more than one hundred Jewish children in Holland, has expressed surprise at how sweet and obedient the children were and how good at keeping silent. Bloeme Evers-Emden, who has published extensively about hidden children in the Netherlands, comments on the unusual extent to which the children were "easy, nice and adorable."¹⁸ Sarah Moskovitz and Robert Krell have remarked how children hidden in convents, orphanages and farms "learned to play it safe, be quiet, and not be noticed."¹⁹ Robert Krell, himself a hidden child in war-time Holland, was among the first to draw attention to the child survivor's descriptions of their ability to adapt "in chameleon-like terms."²⁰ Sarah Moskovitz also observed the children's "wide range of adaptation."²¹ Seven years later, Krell explains the children's quietness and adaptability in terms of their unusual cognizance of their situation, even at a very young age: "children...could not be playful or boisterous. They were taught to be silent."²²

Silent they were, both during and long after the war. *Tom* (who lost both parents) mentions that for him the real war started after the war, a commonly acknowledged theme among child survivors who often speak of the challenge of "surviving survival." Although *Tom* carefully avoided all contacts with his war past as well as his Jewish past, and tried hard to assimilate, he acknowledged that there has never been one day in his life when he wasn't thinking about something connected with the war.²³

As a child hidden in Holland in more than fifteen locations, I can testify to both the adaptability and the silence, especially the silence. I can't remember ever talking to my peers or friends about any of my war

experiences. Even and especially in the company of those with a similar past, I avoided any references to it, and thus along with my fellow children-in-hiding, contributed to a "conspiracy of silence" all our own. One example: I recognized *Sophia* at once by her striking long, black hair, the moment I arrived at the school. It was only minutes after I had entered, for the first time, the yard of my new elementary school, in the South of Amsterdam. She recognized me at once, for we had spent months together in hiding, along with about ten other Jewish children, in three different locations in the wooded hillside terrain of Eastern Holland. Eventually *Sophia*, *Liesje* and myself would end up as near-neighbours, along the same rural route, in the northern province of *Freisland*. Together we also witnessed and shared the arrival of the victorious Canadian troops, in April 1945. That day marked the end of fear and persecution for *Sophia*, *Liesje* and me as white loaves of bread, dark chocolate bars and *Player's* cigarettes were dispensed by smiling Canadian soldiers from their overweight tanks which mightily tore into the narrow asphalted road. I had been only seven years old at the time. I was still seven that day when I arrived at my new school. As I remember it, we greeted each other with quiet astonishment. But though *Sophia* and I spent the next five years in the same classroom, and even later, as University students, joined the same student club, we never again referred to the joint past that tied and bonded us beyond our rational will. All I can think is that the taboo surrounding it must have been a very powerful one.

Evidently my experience — of utter silence — was typical of all of us. "To whom should we have talked?" asked Ed Van Thijn, the then burgomaster of Amsterdam (currently Holland's minister of Interior Affairs) as he addressed the opening session of the Conference of Hidden Children gathered in Amsterdam, in August 1992. To the surprise of just about everybody, he revealed himself as one of us. "To whom?" To the physicians, the specialist? "I was a problem case," he explains. "I was even seen by a child psychiatrist. I got the wildest kinds of treatments, I even received electro-shock therapy. The war was never even mentioned. Not once did any of all those clever types ever ask me to tell my story." And he continues: "To whom else could we talk? Our peers? The kids in our class? Our friends?" They prove to be rhetorical questions. Not a single word is whispered to any of those with similar experiences. He concludes his conference address by recalling that when he once

or twice, at an unguarded moment, said something or started to tell a story, an adult would promptly interrupt him by saying "What are you talking about? Remember, you were just a child..."

Since the first international conference of Child Survivors in Lancaster, Pennsylvania, six years ago, much has changed. Canada hosted a gathering of child survivors/hidden children from four different continents. At this large international conference, held in Montreal from October 7-10, 1994, the theme was the transition from "memory" to "legacy." The occasion was no doubt the excuse for the swapping and sharing of endless stories and personal anecdotes. What exactly will be done with these memories and these stories (including those that continue to be gathered by McGill's Living Testimonies) is not yet clear.

It may well take another generation or two before the full value of these communications can be determined — or maybe the interpretations and evaluations will continue to vary from one period to the next as scholars, educators and documentary film makers put their different individual spins on the testimonies. There is some indication that the use of those memories may lead to what Aharon Appelfeld has termed an enlargement of vision as the inhuman dimensions of the Holocaust are giving way to human responses and emphases. In that respect, Claude Lanzmann's epoch making film *Shoah* (1985) has evidently marked the conclusion of something old as well as the opening up and heralding of things quite new, even if its dimensions are still vague and tentative at best. Others contend that some of that is already happening anyway, with oral history providing, in the words of Robert Krell, the eye-witness accounts "so important to history, and for future education," while at the same time allowing the child survivor to experience "personal well-being and a sense of closure."²⁴

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The logo of the Convention of Hidden Children held in Amsterdam in August 1992. More than 500 Dutch (or former Dutch) children attended.

Notes

1. The Archive collection of video taped recordings with survivors and witnesses of the Holocaust can be viewed locally at the audio-visual room of Living Testimonies at 515 Pine Avenue West. The master tapes are now in storage at the Department of Rare Books and Special Collections of the McGill Library of Humanities and Social Sciences. In addition parts of the collection of video tapes are now shared with similar projects at Yale University, the Simon Wiesenthal Center in Los Angeles, and Yad Vashem in Jerusalem.
2. Ruth Wisse's remarks to *The Forward* are quoted by Adam Dickter in his article "A Holocaust Obsession?" in *Hadassah Magazine* (April 1994), 19.
3. Cf. President Bill Clinton's observations, at the opening ceremony of the U.S. Holocaust Memorial Museum in April 1993, that "history" will soon be replacing living reality and shared experience and that it is exactly to preserve those that the Museum was consecrated so that, in the President's words, "we are now strengthened and shall forever be strengthened by memory."
4. Gerhard Durlacher, *Stripes in the Sky* (New York: Consortium Books, 1992). This work was originally published in Dutch in 1985. For details on the deportations during the second half of 1944 and the allied bombings above and around Auschwitz, see also Michael Marrus, *The Holocaust in History* (Toronto: Lester and Orpen Dennys, 1987), 184-196.
5. Primo Levi, *The Drowned and the Saved* (New York: 1988), 115.
6. Primo Levi, 12.
7. *Ibid.*
8. Primo Levi, 168.
9. Terrence Des Pres, *The Survivor* (Oxford: 1976; Oxford University Paperback, 1980), 31.
10. *Ibid.*
11. Etty Hillesum, *Letters from Westerbork* (New York: Pantheon, 1986), 124-139. The letter quoted here was one of two originally published illegally in Holland in late 1943. The same letter is also included in *An Interrupted Life: The Diaries of Etty Hillesum 1941-43* (New York: Pantheon, 1984), the source of the actual quotation.
12. See Lawrence Langer, *Holocaust Testimonies: The Ruins of Memory* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1991), 205.
13. Elie Wiesel, *One Generation After* (New York: Random House, 1970), 38-39.
14. Cf. the finished but as of this date unpublished recent study by Guus Meershoek, *The Amsterdam Municipality, Its Police Force and the Persecution of the Jews*.
15. Aharon Appelfeld as quoted in Eva Hoffman, "Let Memory Speak," *New York Times Book Review* (January 23, 1994), 5.
16. See *Newsweek*, April 15, 1991.
17. Eva Hoffman, 5.
18. Bloeme Evers-Emden, *Onderduikers en hun Joodse 'kinderen' over de onderduikperiode* (Utrecht: ICODO, 1988), 84. Cf. also the same writer's *Geleende kinderen* (Kampen: Kok, 1994).
19. Sarah Moskovitz and Robert Krell, "Child Survivors of the Holocaust: Psychological Adaptations to Survival," *Israeli Journal of Psychiatry Related Sciences*, vol. 27, No. 2 (1990), 83.
20. Robert Krell, "Therapeutic Value of Documenting Child Survivors," *Journal of the American Academy of Child Psychiatry*, Vol. 24, No. 4 (1985), 399.
21. Sarah Moskovitz, "Longitudinal Follow-up of Child Survivors of the Holocaust," *Journal of the American Academy of Child Psychiatry*, Vol. 24, No. 4 (1985), 401.
22. Robert Krell, "Who is a Survivor," *If Not Now* (Toronto, Winter 1992), 3.
23. *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant*, 20 August 1992.
24. Robert Krell (1985), 399.

Hugh MacLennan As I Knew Him

by Louise Gareau-Des Bois

This is the text of the Hugh MacLennan Memorial Lecture, under the auspices of the Friends of the Libraries, McGill University, 13 October, 1993.

In her paper, Louise Gareau-Des Bois recalls her friendship with Hugh MacLennan and the letters they exchanged throughout the years, mostly during his stay in Grenoble from October 1963 to the following April.

*His translator begins by describing her enthusiasm when, as a young girl, she first read *Two Solitudes*, and her initial disbelief when she learned that the book, already translated in six languages, still lacked a French version. She then proceeds to tell us about her first meeting with the author, and the thousand and one episodes which marked the making of her translation. The latter was published in Paris, at les Editions Spes, in December 1963, eighteen years after the initial publication of the book. It was only in 1978 that Louise Gareau-Des Bois' translation was eventually published here, by les Editions H.M.H., in Montreal. A paper-back edition came out two years ago.*

Voici le texte de la conférence MacLennan du 13 octobre 1993, que parraine chaque année les amis des bibliothèques de l'Université McGill.

Dans son exposé, Louise Gareau-Des Bois relate sa longue amitié avec Hugh MacLennan et la correspondance qu'elle échangea avec lui au cours des années, spécifiquement lors du séjour qu'il effectua à Grenoble d'octobre 1963 à avril de l'année suivante.

*Sa traductrice décrit d'abord son enthousiasme quand, jeune fille, elle lut *Two Solitudes* pour la première fois, et son incrédulité quand elle apprit que déjà traduit en six langues, le livre n'avait point encore de version française. Elle nous raconte ensuite sa première rencontre avec l'auteur, et les mille et une aventures qui marquèrent l'histoire de sa traduction. Celle-ci parut enfin à Paris, aux Éditions Spes, en décembre 1963, dix-huit ans après la parution originale. Ce n'est qu'en 1978 que *Deux Solitudes* fut reprise au Québec par les Éditions H.M.H., à Montréal, qui publièrent aussi une édition de poche il y a deux ans.*

Let's go back in time. It is early April 1958. A young girl goes to the library and comes back with a book. It's Hugh MacLennan's *Two Solitudes*. She has heard about it and from the outset, is very curious. As she first opens it, she recognizes the name of her favorite author, Rilke, and the thought chosen by MacLennan as an epigraph. She closes her eyes, the novel still in her hands, and the wonderful words fill her once again with joy and hope: "L'amour, c'est deux solitudes qui se protègent, que s'éprouvent et s'accueillent l'une l'autre". The words come to her mind in French, because it is in her mother tongue that she first read Rilke. She then goes back to *Two Solitudes* and reads aloud the epigraph, but in English this time: "Love consists in this, that two

solitudes protect, and touch, and greet each other". And right at this moment, she decides that the author who chose such a beautiful leitmotiv for a book of his must be a wonderful human being, and she becomes even more eager, if possible. Such was the disposition of mind in which the young girl--myself some thirty-five years ago--began reading *Two Solitudes*.

My life--as I suppose indeed most lives--has been marked by a series of interesting and at times, even rather strange coincidences. The very same week, a short article regarding MacLennan's novel appeared in *Le Devoir*: it stated that despite having been translated in Holland, Sweden, Spain, Czechoslovakia, Germany and Japan, *Two Solitudes* was still looking for a French

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translator. "Look no more", I said inwardly but resolutely. "Here I am!"

Being a Taurus, it did not occur to me for a moment that I might be refused. I did not reflect on my inexperience as a literary translator but instead was comforted by the fact that I had just been granted a degree in translation from the Université de Montréal. Recently, I had won two first prizes in poetry and a play was a finalist at the first competition sponsored by the Théâtre du Nouveau-Monde. I was *doomed* to become a writer, I knew this in my flesh and bones, and still did not know whether to lament or rejoice at the fact. Confronted by *Two Solitudes*, I was not rebuffed by its 618 pages. It needed a French translation, I would do it. I was just about to be engaged, but even that would not come in the way! I was going to do it.

A quick look in the telephone directory was fruitless, but I finally managed to locate MacLennan's address on Summerhill Avenue. I then set about to write him, requesting his authorization to translate *Two Solitudes*. My letter, dated April 21st, was, as you may guess, very enthusiastic and, I must admit, quite naive.

MacLennan wrote back two days later, on my birthday. Needless to say that I was quick to see a sign of the gods in this! I would now like to read his first letter to me.

1535 Summerhill Avenue
April 23, 1958

Dear Miss Gareau:

I hope that you will be able to read this. An attack of bursitis in my left arm makes it impossible for me to use the typewriter at the moment.

Thank you for your kind words about my books. *Two Solitudes* now lies so far behind me that it seems that another person wrote it. It is more than thirteen years since it was first published. This year the New York firm Dusll, Sloan & Pearce, who published it originally, have issued a new cloth-cover edition. In Canada, at least, the book will probably live for a while.

Now about the French translation. *Two Solitudes* has been translated into Dutch, Spanish, Swedish, Czech, German and Japanese. But there is no French translation.

The reason is that I signed a contract in 1945 with Lucien Pariseau et Cie. Pariseau kept the rights for three years and then failed. By that time it seemed too late for a French translation.

Six years ago a young Canadian of Ottawa, André d'..., began a new translation. He may have finished it. So far as I know, he is now in Paris, but I have several times tried to find him and have failed.

I do know, however, that it is not easy to persuade a French firm to publish a book which is (or will be) fifteen years old by the time it reaches the French market. Even if you undertook the task, you would be unable to make any money out of it proportionate to the time and talent you expended on it. Also, my London agent has long ago given up trying to interest a Paris publisher in *Two Solitudes*.

A Montreal publisher in the French language would be the only possible solution here. If you could find one, he would be able to tell you 1) whether he wished to publish; 2) what he would pay you as a translator.

Finally, there is the problem of Mr. d'. I suppose I could trace him if I tried hard enough. But before I could authorize another French translation, I would have to find him.

I'm sorry this is so confused, but I'm most grateful for your letter and for your interest and kind words.

Sincerely,
Hugh MacLennan

Coincidence again: having both been raised in a then fenceless Town of Mount Royal, I knew by sight the "Monsieur d'." to whom MacLennan had referred. Moreover, standing the day before in a Number 4 bus, I had caught a glimpse of the handsome young man at

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Hugh MacLennan by Rice of Montreal, 1932.

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the corner of Guy and Sherbrooke Streets! Not only was I quick to inform MacLennan of this new development, but obligingly, I went as far as providing address and phone number! The wait could now begin.

It was not long--though it seemed like ages--before MacLennan rang to inform me that he had now been successful in reaching Monsieur d'. The latter, it turned out, had had better things to do in Paris than to translate a book! He was therefore renouncing all rights to the French translation, and I was being summoned that very morning to MacLennan's apartment.

I was to be there promptly at 11.30. He was curious, he had said over the phone, to meet the young girl who was rash enough to want to translate the 618 pages of his *Two Solitudes*. I was to bring him the excerpts--two or three chapters--that I had already translated.

I remember it very vividly--it was a lovely Spring day, bright and sunny. Contrary to my usual tardiness in those days, I was there promptly on time, and at 11.30 sharp, rang the bell at 1535 Summerhill Avenue. A middle-aged man, tall and smiling, welcomed me in. Dressed in tweeds and smoking his then eternal pipe, he seemed to be appraising me in a sort of shy if discreet way: would this young girl of twenty or so be able to accomplish such a task? Nothing seemed less certain, or so I imagine he must have thought at that moment. Who could blame him?

Trying to dissipate our mutual feeling of awkwardness (it was not done, in those days, to visit a gentleman at home!) I ventured to blurt out that I liked the decor. The room was all at once elegant and cosy. It exuded great charm--not unlike my host at the time--and was filled with books and objets d'art. One felt happy being there. By contrast, I sensed vaguely that the inhabitant of this lovely decor was not himself a happy man: I was soon to learn that Dorothy Duncan, his first wife, had died just some months before.

He seemed touched by my spontaneity and asked to see the excerpts of my translation. The moment of truth had come, there was no going back. Both Taurus determination and Guardian Angel had abandoned me to my fate, there I was, alone and frightened, waiting for the verdict!

MacLennan was to write some time later, specifically in an essay published in 1960 entitled *French is a Must for Canadians*, that (and I quote) "my inability to speak it is a constant shame to me, and I recognize it as the severest educational handicap in my entire life". (End of quote). Thus spoke the Rhodes scholar of the not-so-far away Oxford years.

He was able, on the other hand, not only to grasp the meaning of the language, but also to appreciate style and rhythm. Soon, he was telling me how pleasantly surprised he was with my translation: the rhythm of my sentences was a perfect match for his, was he saying now. I remember to this day uttering a long, eloquent sigh of relief: I had passed the test!

My happiness, however, was short-lived: MacLennan was going on to say that it was up to me to find a publisher. Horror! Granted, he had mentioned that in his first letter to me, but I had tried to forget the tiresome "detail"! A succession of ominous, closed doors and of stern and ventripotent publishers passed gloomily in my mind, and I came close to abandoning the whole project. Had I fully realized at the time what would become of my life for the next five years, I would probably have done so. Instead, I smiled and agreed to start making the round. I was not going to be disappointed.

The doors kept closed and publishers--in whatever shape they came--remained adamant: they were NOT going to rely on a young writer--and a girl at that--for such an important and enormous task! Thank you, Mademoiselle.

However, one of them relented and agreed to read my translation. I was to do about half the book--some three hundred pages--and await the verdict. Such was the lot of a literary translator in those days.

Then came the day we returned from our honeymoon, in May 1959. The rough seas we had faced on our way back from Europe had seemed more merciful that the stern letter which was now trembling in my hands: it stated that my use of the subjunctive having been found to be somewhat careless, it had been decreed that the job was indeed, AS EXPECTED, beyond my powers. Thank you again, Mademoiselle--pardon, Madame!

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After a few months of playing house and generally adjusting to married life, came a day when my husband, feeling no doubt a certain restlessness in his young bride, suggested gently that perhaps I should consider returning to the grindstone: "You have worked so much already, said he, unfortunately echoing the voice of my conscience, that it would be a shame to abandon and to have done all of this for nothing".

I could only agree, however reluctantly: I had been saying this to myself for the past few months, and now my husband was reading my mind! What was I to do but to resume the work and become once again a "woman of paper", "une femme de papier" as I used to refer to myself in those days.

You may think that all of this is taking up too much of my allotted time, but one must consider that it is mostly through *Two Solitudes* that I have known Hugh MacLennan. On the other hand, it is also a rather rare instance when a translation comes out eighteen years after publication date, thus the need, I feel, for a rather lengthy presentation. But take heart! I am soon coming to the correspondence we exchanged during his stay in Grenoble, from October 1963 to the following April.

However, we are not quite there as yet. Indeed, it is only December 10, 1960, and MacLennan, with whom I got in touch again recently, sends me a formal letter of agreement which I am to sign and forward back to him. A few weeks before, I have, at his suggestion, met a French publisher, the formidable Mademoiselle Dumat, of les Editions Spes, in Paris, who was indeed most pleased with the first part of my translation and who has agreed to publish it if (I quote) "the quality of the second half is as good as the first". Thus MacLennan's letter to me which said in part:

"I hereby grant you the exclusive right to offer your translation to publishers in French for a period of one year from the date of this letter, it being understood that the first publisher to consider the translation will be Editions Spes, 79 rue de Gentilly, Paris.

It is understood that if your translation of *Two Solitudes* has not been accepted within a year from the date of this letter, or by December 10,

1961, all claims on me are null and void, and you will retire the translation.

When you have affixed your signature below, this letter will constitute an agreement between us.

Sincerely yours,
Hugh MacLennan

Once again, there was no time to be lost. I set to work at a feverish pace, les Editions Spes having been even more demanding than the author and having insisted on a July 31st, 1961, deadline. I shall spare you the gory details but will only admit to an 18 hour work-day during the last three weeks. My mother would bring in meals and my brother Jean, who was already at that time a busy young architect, typed innumerable pages to help me out. As for my husband, he was as usual kind, supportive and patient, and frankly, I'm not sure that the reverse was always true!

It is strange how details connected to an important event in one's life remain untouched by time: I still remember the kind and jovial postal employee in Dorval to whom I spoke on the phone on "deadline day" who promised to keep the bag open for me until late in the afternoon. When I finally got there, exhausted but so very relieved, there he was, seemingly as happy as I was. The next day, on August 1st, my husband and I left for Prince Edward Island, the sun and the sea, and ten months later, our first child, Valérie, was born. The "woman of paper", at long last, was shedding her cocoon.

My dear friend Hugh (who was always very decorous and who will only start addressing me by my first name many years later), my dear friend Hugh was very happy at the prospect of my translation being published in France. However, my own happiness once more turned to anxiety as the December 10, 1961 deadline for publisher's approval crept closer and closer; still, there was no word from the formidable but unfortunately ailing Mademoiselle Dumat. MacLennan, on the other hand, was getting more and more impatient with her and her publishing firm: I was getting more and more anxious. Finally two days before the deadline, on December 8th, came her answer: she agreed to publish my translation as long as I would

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work some more on the introduction, the quality of which, according to her, being unequal to that of the remainder of the translation. What relief! If that was her only condition!...

Finally, on March 30th, 1962, nearly four years after my first communication with Hugh MacLennan, I received my contract with the *exciting* promise of an account of one thousand and two hundred francs. In those days, it represented about \$258. The account or "à valoir", as it was called, was never followed by anything else. MacLennan called my translation a "labour of love". It was never meant to be anything else.

I will only add at this time that my manuscript remained on the shelves of les Editions Spes for more than two years. Was it their own devious way to impose on their writers the virtue suggested by their name? Who knows. Let us simply say for the record that after a lengthy and voluminous correspondence with the author, his agent in New York, Miss Gregory and mostly Mademoiselle Dumat, who wanted to expurgate my manuscript of all possible canadianisms but who, I'm happy to report, finally lost the battle, *Deux Solitudes* came out at long last in Paris in December 1963. Some fifteen years later, les Editions Hurtubise HMH published my translation here, in Montreal, and a new paperback edition came out recently.

We are now coming to the gist of my correspondence with Hugh MacLennan. Some months before, he had addressed me the following letter in which he refers to a forthcoming seminar which some of you might have attended:

North Hatley
June 16, 1963

Dear Madame Gareau-Desbois:

Many thanks for the copies of your letters to Blanche Gregory and Mlle Dumat. I can't understand why the latter is so slow, but this seems always the way with Paris publishers. Certainly you should have the proofs in July if they intend to publish in early October.

Our title seems to have passed into the currency of the Canadian language, at least at the present. McGill Graduate Alumni Association is holding a panel seminar next October called *Two Solitudes* with Laurendeau, Faribault, Frank Scott, Howard Ross and myself in the chair, each man to speak his own language.

After a very bad time, the political situation in Canada seems to me to be improving. I wish I could say the same for the economic situation. I do not agree with some that economics is all there is to a nation, but I'm afraid it's much more important and certainly more difficult and intractable, than some of the ardent intellectuals among the University of Montreal students seem to believe. However, I suppose we'll get through somehow.

With all good wishes.

Sincerely,
Hugh MacLennan

In October of the same year, *Chatelaine* published excerpts of my translation, and on that occasion MacLennan sent me a most enlightening letter with regard to both *Two Solitudes* and the political situation of Quebec at that time.

Montreal
October 8, 1963

Dear Madame Gareau-Desbois:

Three copies of *Chatelaine* have just reached me, and I hope you are pleased with the production they gave of your translation. I still don't know when Spes publishes the book in its entirety, but I suppose it will be this fall. I had been curious to know what sections *Chatelaine* would choose, and was rather surprised (at first) by the ones they did select. They certainly avoided the controversial elements in the novel, and probably they were right. For these could not be fairly produced in brief excerpts. Anyway, I hope the book as a whole is well received in Quebec, and for my part I am deeply thankful that a French Canadian translated it.

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You have had a hard and, I would guess, at times a heart-breaking task, and I hope it has not been one you regret.

In a little over a fortnight my wife and I leave Canada for seven months in Europe, and hope to spend most of that time in France. Perhaps I will at last succeed in mastering the French language, but the real purpose is to get free for a time, to obtain a new perspective and to write a new novel. Only time will tell whether I can or not.

People tell me that *Two Solitudes* is as true as it was twenty years ago--meaning by this that the situation is the same. I don't believe this. I believe rather that the general public, both French and English, has finally accepted the main outlines of the picture in the novel. But the public mind is always a generation behind actual developments within a society.

What is going on in Quebec today seems to me to have many overtones of the Russia of the late 19th century, though there are of course innumerable differences. I am desperately sorry for those boys in the FLQ, though organized society would have invited suicide if it had tried to prevent the law from taking its course. Here was a situation that was almost pure Dostoyevsky. Only a handful of those boys could ever have had any dealings with *Les Anglais*, yet they acted with a passion equal to that of young Irishmen at the time the English army was occupying their country. During the riot at la Place des Arts, the young people were shouting: "*à bas les bourgeois!*" So out of this, for the time being, will probably come a *volte face* on the part of the Quebec establishment *towards* les Anglais, as a counterbalance against the true revolutionary ferment within the younger elements of French Canadian society.

I write this because my intuition tells me that the basic situation has changed almost out of recognition. On October 18 I am to be chairman of a panel discussion before the McGill Alumni Association (he repeats here the gist of his previous letter to me, but then goes on by adding): I predict that 95% of the questions will

be addressed to Faribault and Pelletier. Yet I have the feeling that all of us will be talking in the past tense, much as Les Etats Generaux were talking in the past tense in Paris in 1789.

All good wishes,

Sincerely,
Hugh MacLennan

Shortly thereafter, MacLennan left for Europe with Frances, his second wife, and thus began one of the happiest periods of his life and also of mine. We corresponded steadily during that time, and for the very young woman that I was then, the experience was all at once enriching and stimulating. Do let me read his first letter of that period.

Hôtel de Savoie
avenue d'Alsace-Lorraine
Grenoble, Isère, France
7th of January 1964

Dear Madame Gareau-Desbois:

We have been in Grenoble now for nearly seven weeks and have seen the sun only on one day: A most beautiful country when visible, and as I bought a small Peugeot with a *contrat de rachat* we have at least been able to drive a little, though the roads are dangerous for small cars on account of verglas. (Strange that he does not mention French drivers! I continue with the letter:) But for all that, it has been a wonderful experience. I was too much involved at home, have not really been away for any length of time since I wrote *Two Solitudes*, and at this particular moment, one learns more about Canada from living in France than from any place I could imagine. We deliberately kept out of Paris because we wanted to know France, and it is amusing to see once again the plain evidence of human incapacity to see the obvious. As you of course know, the strength of France is in the provinces and the French provincial is the most private, staunch individual who ever lived. These folk in the Dauphiné remind me of Lowland Scots--their women dress, if possible, more dowdily, their houses are so cold that any normal

Canadian would die of pneumonia in them, and the better I come to know them, the more I love them. But make no doubt of this: there is more vitality in French Canada than there is here, more youth, gaiety and exuberance, and--saddest of all--the famous French *cuisine* has all but collapsed since the war. Partially this may be caused by a plain lack of a variety of foods, especially meats, which are in great demand since the population has increased so dramatically. But I do wish that more of my Francophone compatriots would stay in places like Grenoble, Valence, Chalons, Rennes and Tours than in Paris. Prices are so terrifying that I wonder seriously how people live, and can only guess that they do so by stinting themselves of good, solid food and heat, and the kind of clothes most Montrealers take for granted. The best index I can think of here is the cost of horsemeat in the the shops--from \$1.35 to \$1.55 a pound. (And he goes on with a joke in French): En Québec on trouve des gens qui parlent 'joyal' mais personne qui le mange!

I learned from home that copies of your translation had appeared, so I wrote Mademoiselle Dumat and asked her to send me three here. I have just finished reading it, and appreciate more than ever what a truly enormous task you had in translating that novel into French. Perhaps it is impossible for any author to grasp a translation of his work, though I read here practically nothing but French, but to me your translation has such vigour that it seems like a new book.

And this brings me to something else:

My increasing impression in France is that the long rule of l'Académie française is literally emasculating the language. I know this sounds like heresy in French ears but, to quote your line from Capt. Yardley, "j'vous signe mon papier que c'est sacrement vrai!" They have become such purists that the sheer use of the French language has become an end in itself. God knows Quebec needs to do something along these same lines --- so many people at home chew their words so badly it is next to impossible for an Anglophone to understand them -- I find the

French here exquisite and easy to hear -- but it is Alexandrine and decadent to make the use of a language an end in itself, and to say, as often they do, "ce mot n'existe pas" because the professors have decided that it should not. That is why, I am certain, there is such lack of vitality in most contemporary French fiction -- why the earthy quality has gone out of it and they write like tired people. Too polite? I wonder. But though they can smile, they have forgotten how to laugh.

Therefore, I will be fascinated by what result, if any, your translation is going to have here. They are going to laugh at some of the dialogue, but the English did exactly the same thing twenty-five years ago when they encountered the best American writers. And look at the situation now! The English discovered a vitality in American speech they lacked in their own. Your translation, I would guess, has a Rabelian quality long missing in French literature, and it certainly has the speech of the farm people at that time.

Mademoiselle Dumat wishes me to go to Paris for the lancement which she says she is arranging with the Canadian embassy. I will go if I can and tell you about it if it happens. At the moment, I don't think we have an ambassador, but I gather from a Montreal paper that Lionel Chevrier is going to be appointed to Paris. I have met him several times but don't really know him.

Once again, fortunately or unfortunately, *Deux Solitudes* is timely. What fools people are, repeating from one generation to the next the same pattern. But I do think, *néanmoins*, that things are really better at home. Quebec blew off too far in one direction, now we'll have to wait a while until Ontario blows off in reverse, and then we'll go ahead. I was all in favour of Quebec blowing off up to the FLQ, but last Spring I felt that Lesage and Lévesque were waiting too long to say where they stood. I still think they waited a little too long. For any way you look at it, separatism is impossible economically. If French did not have such a damnably difficult grammar,

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I think bilingualism would come about in necessary areas, but it is useless to pretend that it is not a very difficult language for an Anglophone to master. I even go to Berlitz, and they all say this is the case. Still, much can, should and will be done. Living here, I often think that Canada - - I mean English Canada as well -- resembles France more than any other country on this side of the water. The French here are provincials, and in many ways -- though their manners are better -- the Dauphinois are still at bottom more like Scotch Canadians than like French Canadians. Every Frenchman, of course, who lives elsewhere tells a foreigner he has made a mistake unless he lives where that particular Frenchman lives himself. In Grenoble, they think I'm particularly intelligent to have understood, even in Canada, that Grenoble is the heart of France. On visite Paris mais on n'y habite pas. (this in French, of course).

All good wishes,
Hugh MacLennan

The very next day, Hugh wrote me the most moving letter of all those he addressed to me. I shall read it in its entirety, because it reveals the generous and very vulnerable man he was.

Hotel de Savoie
Grenoble, France
January 8, 1964

Dear Madame Gareau-Desbois,

Last night, sitting in bed, I was so moved that I wrote you a letter in French about your translation. This morning, with a heavy day of writing ahead of me, I re-read it, realized that nobody could possibly read my handwriting, and that probably I had some mistakes in syntax, so this will go in English.

I finished reading your translation from end to end, and it was a poignant experience. I don't think I have read the whole of *Two Solitudes* since I read the galley proofs, nor any part of it since I read the first half of your original translation.

This was like reading a book by somebody entirely different. The translation was utterly faithful, yet again and again the French language made it seem new to me. I found myself asking myself, with a certain incredulity, how it had been possible for a man in his thirties, a Nova Scotian, at that time unable to speak a single French sentence, to have written this particular book. It gives me a very strange sensation, and a certain curious confidence in the universal authority of the artistic intuition. Also, the thing seems just as true now as it ever was.

What moved me literally to tears was the meeting of Tallard and McQueen and his walk to the Cathedral. You have done this, I think, marvellously, and here, I truly believe the French language -- perhaps because Tallard himself is so French, perhaps because something in your own experience made you feel intensely about it -- business men are so universal, aren't they -- here, certainly, I think your translation has more power than the original.

I have worked at such a frantic pace all my life, almost never pausing to consider any significance in my past work, that the book was almost a shock to me. Am I still the man who wrote it? What is the continuing identity with any of us? Suddenly I realized that Athanase Tallard, whom a younger, a much younger Hugh MacLennan dragged out of somewhere more than twenty years ago, is very close to my own present age, and I feel his tragedy more intensely, through your translation, than I did when I wrote it.

Also, of course, I am now in France, and I am sure that the scene of Tallard recalling what it meant to him, as a French Canadian, to be in France, is absolutely authentic. The book seems to me now more than a French Canadian novel, but more essentially one than it appeared when I wrote it. In your translation it is now essentially a FRENCH novel.

You told me that you wrote it as a labour of love. It is quite clear to me that you did just that, for there is a freshness in your translation I can

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truly feel. I have read practically nothing but French since coming here, and can read at the rate of about 150 pages in my scant spare time during the day. Perhaps now I can feel a little better for French style than in the past, though of course I cannot be sure of this.

But there is immense vigour in your writing, far more than in the writing of contemporary Frenchmen on this side of the water, more than may be comfortable for them. I hope they will be kind to our book, and I confess I felt (and was surprised to feel it) a curious pride to see the imprint PARIS on a book of mine -- or was it because, in this particular case, *Two Solitudes* was conceived and begun in 1941, and was finished just before the D-Day landings in Normandy, at a time when few people could be sure there would be any literature ever again emerging from Paris or any part of France?

Anyway, and this is all I can say now and perhaps it is wrong -- when I put your translation down I had several quite different ideas concerning it, as follows:

1. This, which was once an English book, is now also a French one.
2. The dialogue of the villagers, vigorous though it is, may perhaps, in Quebec, assist Gérin-Lajoie and Lesage in their educational reform, for you have reproduced it perfectly and VISUALLY, and without intending to do it, you have also made a point as regards bilingualism which no French Canadian, to the best of my knowledge, has ever appreciated. It is this: The Anglophone in Quebec is up against an impossible situation as regards learning French for two reasons: if he speaks to an educated person, the educated person speaks such excellent English that he cannot practice his conversation without mutual embarrassment. If he speaks to a French Canadian who has no English, he cannot possibly follow what he says because he chews his words and mixes up the grammar, precisely as Frère Untel said. I go to Berlitz for help in my pronunciation, and my very intelligent teacher, who speaks an exquisite

French, said this to me: "DON'T try to speak so fast. Learning French is like learning to ski. Un Anglais speaks from the throat, we speak from the lips. It is possible to speak French very fast only IF you have mastered a lip control, just as it is possible to ski fast only when you have mastered every necessary movement in the control of your skis. Failing that, you chew your words, you actually misrepresent their proper sounds"

Of course, educated French Canadians do NOT chew their words, but so very many do. And the Anglo-Canadian who mingles with these latter young, ends up by talking like Yardley.

Je vous remercie, chère Madame.

Hugh MacLennan

And in case you're curious, no, there was no phone-call from either Messieurs Gérin-Lajoie or Lesage! The educational reform in Quebec was achieved, I'm sorry to say, without my precious help. But it was generous -- if somewhat unrealistic -- of MacLennan to suggest that it might be otherwise.

Some twelve days later, he felt bold enough to write me in French:

Hôtel de Savoie
avenue d'Alace-Lorraine
Grenoble, France
le 20 janvier 1964

Chère Madame,

J'ai donné un exemplaire de *Deux Solitudes* au professeur qui m'enseigne le français, une jeune femme très intelligente pour être l'épouse d'un avocat! (This to tease me, of course, as I happen to be in the same boat). Elle ne connaissait rien du Canada avant qu'elle n'ait fait notre connaissance.

A son avis, votre traduction est magnifique: le narratif fort et plein de poésie, le dialogue éclatant. Elle trouve le Capitaine absolument

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formidable, et dans le livre même, un humour abondant, chose très rare dans la littérature française en ce moment actuel. Sa réponse, naturellement, m'a plu énormément, j'avais confiance en votre traduction, mais je parlais français tellement mal que je ne pouvais pas discuter d'une chose comme cela avec Monsieur T. (the publisher who had complained about my relative dislike of the subjunctive tense!)

Je ne sais pas quand se trouvera le lancement; peut-être Mademoiselle Dumat attend-t-elle l'arrivée de notre nouvel ambassadeur. On m'avait dit que celui-ci devait être Lionel Chevrier, mais j'ai lu justement dans un journal français que ce dernier va à Londres.

En tout cas, il est bien possible que vous gagnerez pour *Deux Solitudes* un vrai succès en France. J'aime ce pays -- si singulier, aimable et subtil en toutes choses sauf la politique! Je serais très fier si la France, grâce à vous, acceptait mon livre.

Bien amicalement,

Hugh MacLennan

He would not leave it at that and a month later, began commenting in French on a lengthy review of *Deux Solitudes* signed in *La Presse* by Jean O'Neil. At first sceptical and expressing doubts about the actuality of the novel, O'Neil had finally rallied to it and had signed a most positive review. Here's MacLennan's letter about it

Hôtel de Savoie
le 22 février 1964

Chère Madame,

Je vous remercie vivement de vos très gentilles lettres et des coupures. J'ai trouvé particulièrement intéressant l'essai sur *Deux Solitudes* écrit par Jean O'Neil dans *La Presse*; j'en suis aussi fort encouragé, parce que celui-ci a abordé le livre avec scepticisme et même dans un esprit presque hostile. Comme il a dit lui-même, les lecteurs d'aujourd'hui, selon les

critiques, n'aiment pas un livre sérieux quand il compte plus de 600 pages. Mais il a raison, certes, quand il se plaint que dans ce livre, je n'ai pas présenté situations et caractères par "de brèves évocations". M. O'Neil n'est point le premier qui s'est irrité en lisant *Deux Solitudes*, mais il ne ressemble point aux critiques universitaires (je veux dire les critiques qui étaient aussi professeurs de littérature anglaise) parce qu'il a compris, lui, qu'il était nécessaire au temps de *Deux Solitudes* qu'un écrivain canadien se souvienne que le Canada n'est pas un pays connu. C'est Aristote qui a observé que le drame dépend du pouvoir du lecteur de faire les reconnaissances. Enfin, je suis très touché par M. O'Neil -- par son sens de la justice.

This typewriter lacks accents, and by now you will be out of patience with my maladresse in writing French. Nothing struck me as more characteristic of France, in her delightful but infuriating individuality, than to have a special *clavier* for her typewriters. I could not rent one without having to learn a new keyboard, so I bought a portable and paid to have about twelve keys changed. When this was done, all the accents had disappeared!

Only one thing did I wish to say to O'Neil. I agree totally that in general a writer should write at home. But I have done this for 25 years, and the idea of being at home now, the telephone ringing twenty times a day -- no! I desperately needed a new perspective, and I hope I have gained one in France. I have come to love these people more than I have words to express, because it was like coming home from home. If only French Canadians would stop calling and thinking of the rest of us as *Les Anglais*! I am a Canadian -- as is almost everyone with a Scotch name -- because my ancestors were France's allies in the old wars and were expelled from Scotland as a result. In so many respects, I find the French of France and the English of England (not of today's England but of the older and better England) similar. But the French of the Dauphiné (they regard Lyon, 55 miles away, as foreign) are so like the Scotch in their character I don't know whether to laugh or cry. Nor, God

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knows, has it ever been difficult for me to feel as a French Canadian. Three of my grandparents spoke Gaelic, and at the root of the intensity of feeling in Quebec is the fear of losing the mother's tongue. That fear need not be so strong. French Canada has secured that battle, and with it the meaning of Canada, for believe me, it is only in Canada -- never as a separate weak state, never as a part of the USA -- that the language can be saved.

I am glad to hear that an ambassador has at last been appointed, and from all that I have heard, Léger is an excellent man. I hope the lancement occurs while I am still in France, but we leave for home April 29, and wish to take about ten days in Italy first.

I presume that the book is in circulation in Canada. Once again, many, many thanks for what you have done for it. In its French version, this should be called "our" book.

Sincerely,
Hugh MacLennan

A month later came an extraordinary letter in which his fascination with René Lévesque came out loud and clear, although MacLennan admits here that he views nationalism as being parochial and near-sighted.

Hôtel de Savoie
March 6, 1964

Dear Madame,

Two days ago I had lunch with Mr. Garneau, cultural attaché of our Embassy in Paris, and I think the lancement here is fixed for April 7. The ambassador will not be here until the end of April, and they have decided to go ahead without him. I rather dread what is coming up. Apparently there will be a formal luncheon followed by a lengthy discussion of the book among a large number of Paris critics. Malraux may be there, but I'm not certain. A duke (I forget his title which is difficult) will be there; he is a descendant of Lévis and also an Académicien (I think he meant le duc de Lévy-Mirepoix). I

hate talking about my novels even in English. In French it will be very, very grim. Nor again have I any notion of its reception. I would guess it will be attacked because of its length and attention to detail, but I don't know. It was so long ago that I wrote that novel.

A clipping arrived from *Le Nouvelliste* which attacked the book as savagely as it was attacked in *Le Devoir* nineteen years ago. So I suppose it is now involved in Quebec politics, and I suppose that's a good thing, even though for me it was never intended to do anything but be a healer of wounds. I hope none of the hostility it is sure to create will rub off on you.

How things work out in Canada I do not know. I suppose Confederation will hold up after a fashion, but the situation has become so neurotic that all I can see is the work of twenty years wiped out. Never have I had such a sense of *déjà vu*, such an absolute certainty that I was a better prophet, in the widest sense, than I knew I was or wished to be. Every nation that ever lived must go through these crises and I had truly hoped that Canada, and especially Quebec, was more psychologically mature than it is behaving at present. Those who refuse to remember the past are condemned to repeat it, and there is no release for humanity until men realize that nearly all of their political "causes" stem from personal wounds, generally suffered from infancy, and later projected onto others. Diefenbaker in a gross way is one example of that; Lévesque in a more sophisticated way is another. Lévesque is a socialist AND a nationalist. As the former is essentially international, and the latter parochial, each cancels the other out, though for a brief time, as in Europe 25 years ago, the combination of the two creates both change and emotional explosions. I'm terribly sorry about this, for Lévesque is such an enormously attractive character, and this I say without ever having met him.

Do forgive this letter. It may sound pessimistic, and politically it probably is. My own view about separatism is, I think, completely objective. If Quebec can thrive as a separate

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state, then that is the way she should go. As I absolutely know she cannot, but would become fascist almost immediately if she did, and in a far worse position than she ever was since 1763, I hope the separatist thing will soon die out. Above all I wish people everywhere would accept the difficult truth that most problems can never be solved, they can merely be lived with.

Sincerely,
Hugh MacLennan

About a fortnight later, on March 24, MacLennan writes again. After assuring me that he would have done so in French if it weren't for his infuriating accentless typewriter, he goes on in the following terms:

Canada's difficulty today is the inability of any but a few Canadians to think ahead to what the country could be like, must be like, if she is to survive: a dual country in which the solitudes protect and touch and greet each other with love and respect, thereby solving, in this area, the most difficult of all social-political problems of the future--how to preserve individuality within a vast economic common market, and so to avoid the fatal concentration which ruined the Roman Empire and dissolved, in the Dark Ages, into the very opposite--a vast *mélange* of tiny succession states having only two things in common--ignorance and poverty.

In this crisis there are two great temptations, on either side of the fence, so strong that each solitude, feeling it in itself, suspects, rightly, the existence of the same sentiment in the other. That is to follow the path of apparent least resistance. In practice this would mean that English-Canada, as hard pressed by the States as Quebec has been by English Canada, should give up and try to enter the American Union. It would probably be accepted after fifty more years, but no sooner, and in that time, of course, its character would be terribly damaged.

My personal feeling, confirmed by my stay in France, is that the French and English are curiously alike in their inner conviction that each

should behave as the other does. As a Celt, I have felt myself in a sandwich between them ever since I can remember. However, what the Quebec French now call *Les Anglais* applies only to language, not to the old Anglo-Saxon point of view. The real Anglo-Saxons are in a very small *minorité* among the Canadian Anglophones.

Now back in Montreal, MacLennan wrote again at the beginning of the New Year to send me his best wishes. He had been reading Camus and commented on him:

1535 Summerhill Avenue
Montreal, Quebec
January 6, 1965

Dear Louise Gareau:

Thank you so very much for your New Year's note and the enclosed clippings about *Deux Solitudes* and les Editions HMH. The review in *Evenement* seemed quite good even though they did spell my name wrong.

Lately I have been reading Camus' non-fiction. How easily people today, especially the young, take for granted the victories such men as Camus won for them, and misunderstand the real meaning of novels like *l'Etranger*!

As for this country, I think it is in much better condition than it was a year ago, perhaps than it has been since 1949. I thought English-Canada would never wake up, but it has finally done so. I'm very sorry for Mike Pearson. He may not have been a good politician, but in all this misery he has at least upheld human dignity and has refused to betray men for political convenience.

All the best for 1965.

Sincerely,
Hugh MacLennan

* * * * *

I believe that I have already exceeded my allotted

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time, so I ought to stop here and close my file, even though there was so much more I would have liked to tell you.

All the while I was writing this piece, the picture of MacLennan's summer home in North Hatley was on my table, a bleak, forlorn house separated from the lake by a country road. It stands alone, aloof and dignified, in a setting of huge, mature trees.

I was never there myself, but thanks to another strange coincidence it was my son Nicolas who happened to take these pictures, a client of his having bought the house with all its contents. Knowing of my association with the former owner, the new one had a thoughtful gesture and sent me a framed photograph of a young Hugh in his thirties, smiling hesitantly at the camera.

That Hugh MacLennan I never knew, but I firmly believe that he was the same one that I met some twenty years later: idealistic, intransigent, generous and yet intensely private, a man with a dream that he knew he would never see realized.

To me, Hugh MacLennan will always live on as the man who deeply believed with Rilke that

'love consists in this,
that two solitudes protect,
and touch, and greet each other".

Les Archives Photographiques Notman du Musée McCord

by Barbara M. Syrek

Parmi les collections du Musée McCord d'histoire canadienne, il y en a une particulièrement bien connue, "Les Archives photographiques Notman". Il faut dire que la ville de Montréal a été privilégiée de se voir choisie par celui qui a créé un des plus importants studios photographiques au Canada, 17 ans après la découverte de la photographie. C'est à la fin de 1856 que William Notman, un écossais, ouvre un studio temporaire quelques mois après son arrivée à Montréal. Au fil des années, son premier studio se transforme en une grande entreprise photographique familiale.

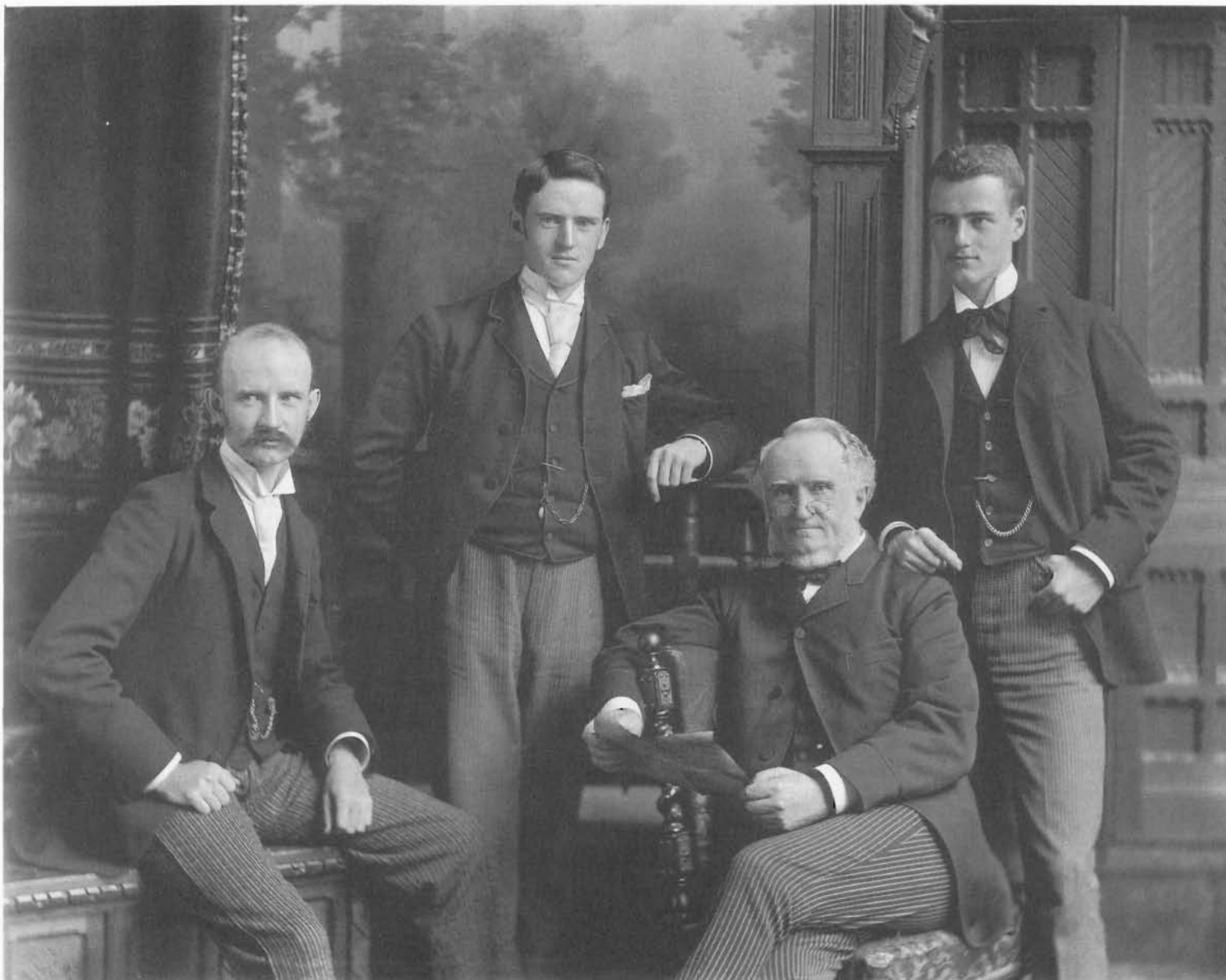
L'importance du travail de William Notman, de ses fils et de leurs employés est basée sur le caractère de la photographie qui nous donne des images fidèles. Celle-ci est une source indubitable d'information sur le temps passé par rapport aux changements de la vie d'aujourd'hui et celle de l'avenir. L'architecture, les costumes, les voitures et même notre physionomie ne seront plus les mêmes avec le temps. Prenons en exemple les nombreux portraits de Montréal qui change continuellement pour le mieux ou le pire. On bâtit, on détruit... Les photographies seront toujours les témoins de notre histoire.

L'année 1956 souligne le centième anniversaire de l'établissement à Montréal de William Notman, "photographer to the Queen" et surtout photographe de la vie quotidienne de la ville pendant la deuxième moitié du XIXe siècle. Cette même année marque le début de la vie publique de la "Collection Notman" qui trouve sa place aux McGill University Museums. C'est grâce à Alice J. Turnham, directrice des McGill University Museums à l'époque, et son action remarquablement persévérante auprès des autorités de l'Université, qu'on peut encore aujourd'hui admirer la richesse du passé véhiculée par la "Collection Notman" et, en plus, se servir de cette source historiquement importante.

Of all the collections in the McCord Museum of Canadian History, the Notman Photographic Archives are perhaps the best known. Montreal had the great good fortune of being the chosen home of the man who set up one of Canada's largest photography studios just 17 years after the discovery of the photographic process. William Notman arrived in Montreal from Scotland in 1856 and opened a makeshift studio a few months later. Over the years, that studio would grow to become a large family-run photography firm.

What makes the work of William Notman, his sons and their employees so important is the nature of the photography that has passed such faithful images down to us, providing a reliable source of information on times gone by to contrast with the changes that we see today and those we anticipate for tomorrow. Our architecture, costumes, automobiles, our very physiognomy — all change over time, as witness the many portraits of Montreal, a city that is continually changing, for better or for worse. Buildings go up, buildings come down... and photography continues to bear witness to our history.

The year 1956 marked the centenary of the arrival in Montreal of William Notman, "photographer to the Queen," but even more important, the photographer of daily life in this city in the second half of the nineteenth century. That milestone year saw the public debut of the Notman Collection, which found its rightful place in the McGill University Museums. It is thanks to the remarkable persistence of Alice J. Turnham, then the director of the McGill University Museums, who persuaded the university authorities that Notman's work must be preserved, that today we can admire the rich heritage passed down to us in the Notman Collection, and benefit from this historically important source.



William Notman et ses fils William McF., George et Charles, 1890.
(Musée McCord d'histoire Canadienne, Archives photographiques Notman)

Les Archives photographiques Notman du Musée McCord

L'importance de William Notman pour le développement de la photographie au Canada est reconnue. Son nom se retrouve dans plusieurs publications professionnelles parues à travers le monde. On le connaît comme un grand portraitiste et un innovateur qui a su allier dans son travail, à la fois, une approche en tant qu'artiste et une autre comme homme d'affaires.¹ Grâce à sa bonne habitude de tenir les registres de son travail et aussi grâce aux circonstances, une grande partie de son oeuvre peut être appréciée cent ans après sa mort.

LA "COLLECTION NOTMAN"; SON CHEMINEMENT VERS LE MUSÉE McCORD.

La succession de William Notman se retrouve aujourd'hui aux Archives photographiques Notman du Musée McCord d'histoire canadienne. Son arrivée au Musée a été précédée par une vaste correspondance entre Alice J. Turnham, directrice à l'époque des McGill University Museums, et les représentants des parties intéressées dans la transaction du dépôt de la *Collection Notman* au McCord, notamment l'Associated Screen News Limited, le Maclean's Magazine, la Maxwell Cummings Family Foundation et l'Empire Universal Films Limited.²

Après la mort de William Notman en 1891, le studio "William Notman & Son" poursuit la tradition de servir la population montréalaise tout en étant opéré par ses deux fils, William McFarlane et Charles.³ En 1935, l'entreprise familiale est vendue à l'Associated Screen News Ltd. par Charles qui, malgré son âge et même après cette vente, essaie de continuer le travail de son père pendant plusieurs années.⁴ Le décès de Charles Notman survenu en 1955 de même que certains changements structuraux dans l'Associated Screen News Ltd. engendrent un moment crucial pour l'avenir de la *Collection Notman*. La direction décide de démanteler le studio en séparant l'équipement photographique des archives contenant des centaines de milliers de négatifs en verre, de photographies et de nombreux albums de même que les répertoires de clientèle et plusieurs autres documents afin d'en faciliter la vente.⁵

L'équipement de la firme Notman de même que les droits visant l'utilisation du nom de "William Notman & Son" sont achetés par Niels Montclair, employé du

studio.⁶ En ce qui concerne les négatifs et les épreuves, la situation n'est pas bien précisée dans les toutes premières lettres se rapportant au processus d'acquisition de la *Collection Notman*. Le 15 avril 1954, la directrice des McGill University Museums envoie une lettre à W.J. Singleton de l'Associated Screen News Ltd. lui demandant des informations sur l'avenir des "photographies historiques du vieux Montréal".⁷ Selon Madame Alice J. Turnham, le dépôt à l'Université McGill des objets de la *Collection Notman* ne peut que rendre hommage à la famille Notman tout en enrichissant les collections du Musée McCord et servir le public, malgré le fait qu'il soit fermé depuis 1936. Pour Madame Turnham, il est essentiel de préserver tout ce qui importe à l'histoire du Canada. La réponse de Monsieur W.J. Singleton démontre qu'il y a conflit d'intérêt. Celui-ci entrevoit une autre possibilité de préservation. Il suggère le dépôt de la collection aux Archives Publiques du Canada à Ottawa car William Notman a photographié dans divers endroits autres que Montréal.⁸

Selon la documentation disponible aux Archives photographiques Notman, il apparaît que la décision finale a été prise à la fin de l'année 1955 puisqu'une lettre de Murray Briskin, assistant exécutif du président de l'Associated Screen News Ltd., en date du 8 décembre, confirme à Alice J. Turnham que la collection peut être cédée aux McGill University Museums pour un montant fixé à 25,000\$. De plus, il l'informe que pour alléger les coûts et faciliter ainsi la transaction, Messieurs Maxwell Cummings et Paul Nathanson feront don de 5,000\$ chacun afin d'aider l'Université McGill à acquérir la *Collection Notman*. La lettre comporte également des conditions préliminaires qui seront, par la suite, élaborées scrupuleusement. Le 16 décembre, dans sa réponse, la directrice des musées exprime sa satisfaction mais elle avoue son anxiété face à l'avenir de la collection photographique sachant les nombreux problèmes auxquels ont à faire face les musées de l'Université. Aussi, elle informe Murray Briskin que l'éditeur Ralph Allen du Maclean's Magazine a proposé sa collaboration à l'acquisition des négatifs et des épreuves pour le McCord. Pour ce faire, il se dit prêt à payer la différence du montant total, soit 15,000\$. Cette proposition se veut être un échange pour l'obtention des droits de préemption, le nombre d'années devant être établi sur la publication d'un nombre de photographies



Charles Notman, ca. 1935
(Musée McCord d'histoire canadienne, archives photographiques Notman)

provenant du Studio Notman et choisies selon les besoins du Magazine.⁹ A cette fin, Ralph Allen voit la nécessité d'effectuer un inventaire du contenu de la collection, le coût pouvant être partagé entre l'Université et le Maclean's.¹⁰

La correspondance effectuée entre les parties démontre le peu d'enthousiasme de la part de l'Université, voire même le peu d'intérêt, à soutenir Madame Turnham dans ses efforts de conclure l'entente. Tout semble vouloir contribuer au ralentissement du processus de règlement. La période des vacances et celle du Nouvel An s'ajoutent à la déjà lourde bureaucratie nécessaire à donner le feu vert provenant du University Museums Committee afin qu'elle procède à la dernière mise au point visant l'acquisition et la mise en valeur de la collection.¹¹ De leur côté, la direction du Maclean's Magazine, de la Maxwell Cummings Family Foundation de même que celle de L'Empire Universal Films Limited démontrent leur volonté de simplifier la transaction à l'aide de dons additionnels servant à couvrir le montant relatif à la taxe de vente provinciale, soit 5%.¹²

L'ampleur de la correspondance concernant cette acquisition pendant les mois de mai et juin 1956 de même que leur contenu, laissent croire que le tout est conclu au cours de cette même période. En effet, en mai et en juin, les parties impliquées font l'échange de copies de propositions relatives aux conditions, de mémorandums, de lettres de remerciement, de reçus de charité et enfin, d'un projet d'offre officielle de vente de la "Notman Photographic Collection".¹³ Ce projet est préparé à la demande de Murray Briskin de l'Associated Screen News Ltd., par le bureau d'avocats Magee, O'Donnell & Byers.¹⁴ Le 28 juin 1956, William Bentley écrit au Maclean's Magazine pour déterminer les conditions d'utilisation de la "Notman Photographic Collection" par le magazine et pour finalement formaliser un accord entre eux et l'Université McGill. Le troisième point de cette lettre stipule que:

For a period of approximately three (3) years expiring on August 31st, 1959, MacLean's Magazine shall, except as herein below noted, have the absolute rights to the commercial use of any and all pictures in the said Collection.

Le 6 août 1956, Alice J. Turnham fait parvenir un chèque au montant de 26,250\$ à Murray Briskin de l'Associated Screen News et lui offre ses remerciements pour le soutien qu'il a su lui apporter tout au long du processus d'acquisition. La partie théorique de la mission relativement à la préservation du patrimoine est accomplie.

La collaboration entre le Maclean's Magazine et Alice J. Turnham, pour ce qui est de la collection photographique, est excellente. D'après la documentation des Archives photographiques Notman, on peut affirmer que cette transaction s'est révélée des plus positives car elle a permis de sortir la collection de l'ombre. Les éditeurs du magazine Maclean's, de par leurs exigences, ont donné une renaissance à la renommée de l'oeuvre de William Notman et de celle de son studio.

LA VIE MUSÉALE ET PUBLIQUE DE LA "COLLECTION NOTMAN"; LA DIVERSITÉ DES PROBLÈMES PAR RAPPORT À SON UTILITÉ

La précarité financière alliée au manque d'espace et de personnel qualifié pour faire fonctionner les musées de l'Université McGill de façon appropriée et intelligente en fonction de leur vocation ont aussi affecté dans une certaine mesure les activités relatives à la *Collection Notman*. Dans son allocution lors du lancement qui a lieu au Musée Redpath, le 9 novembre 1956, Madame Turnham suggère que la nouvelle acquisition soit l'objet d'une série de traitements spécialisés qui rendront la collection inaccessible pour longtemps.¹⁵ Elle exprime également son inquiétude au sujet de l'entreposage des épreuves et des négatifs car ceux-ci, bien qu'ils soient destinés au Musée McCord, seront temporairement logés à la Bibliothèque Redpath.

Comme il a été mentionné plus haut, la coopération est à son meilleur entre le Maclean's Magazine et Alice J. Turnham de même qu'avec le personnel qui travaille au fil des années sur la collection photographique. Au départ, l'Université a dû accorder des moyens à la directrice pour effectuer l'inventaire préliminaire. Cette forme particulière de recherche, déterminée par les besoins publicitaires du Maclean's, a un impact immédiat sur la diffusion du contenu de la collection. Plusieurs articles publiés dans le populaire magazine

provoquent l'intérêt du public pour la collection. La "découverte" des photographies du Studio Notman inspire un certain nombre de canadiens à chercher leurs origines.¹⁶ Bientôt, les autres média manifestent leur volonté d'utiliser *le phénomène* qu'est devenu l'oeuvre Notman, dans leurs productions.¹⁷ Suite à cet intérêt public, Alice J. Turnham donne au moins trois conférences sur la *Collection Notman*, deux en automne 1957 et une en 1960.¹⁸ Mais avant, elle élabore une exposition dédiée à William Notman et intitulée **!!CAMERA!!** au cours de l'été 1957. Cette exposition, présentée du 15 mai au 15 septembre, est basée sur une sélection de photographies de la nouvelle acquisition, qui sont elles-mêmes accompagnées d'objets de l'époque Victorienne provenant des collections du Musée McCord.¹⁹ Il est nécessaire ici de mentionner deux autres sources de soutien concernant la mise sur pied de cette exposition. Pour l'occasion, quelques documents et albums de même qu'une partie de l'équipement provenant de l'ancien Studio Notman ont été prêtés à Alice J. Turnham par leur propriétaire, Niels Montclair.²⁰ Pour sa part, l'éditeur général du Maclean's Magazine, Pierre Berton, a une fois de plus fourni un certain nombre d'agrandissements de photographies provenant du Studio.²¹ L'exposition organisée pour les raisons que l'on connaît au Musée Redpath est ouverte au public tous les jours, sauf le dimanche, de 9H00 à 17H00 et l'entrée est gratuite.²²

QUESTION D'ENTREPOSAGE

L'acquisition d'une collection aussi volumineuse dont les problématiques s'avèrent particulièrement complexes, relève de l'héroïsme quand on considère la situation dans laquelle se trouvaient les musées de l'Université McGill à l'époque. Directrice des McGill University Museums depuis 1951, Alice J. Turnham voit cette opportunité comme un autre défi à relever, comme une continuité de l'oeuvre de E. Lionel Judah, son professeur de muséologie.²³

Les préparatifs en vue du déménagement de la *Collection Notman* du sous-sol de l'édifice de l'Associated Screen News Ltd. à la Bibliothèque Redpath débutent le 20 janvier 1956, c'est-à-dire avant l'accomplissement du processus formel d'acquisition. En effet, dans une lettre datée ce même jour, Alice J. Turnham décrit son plan stratégique au directeur de

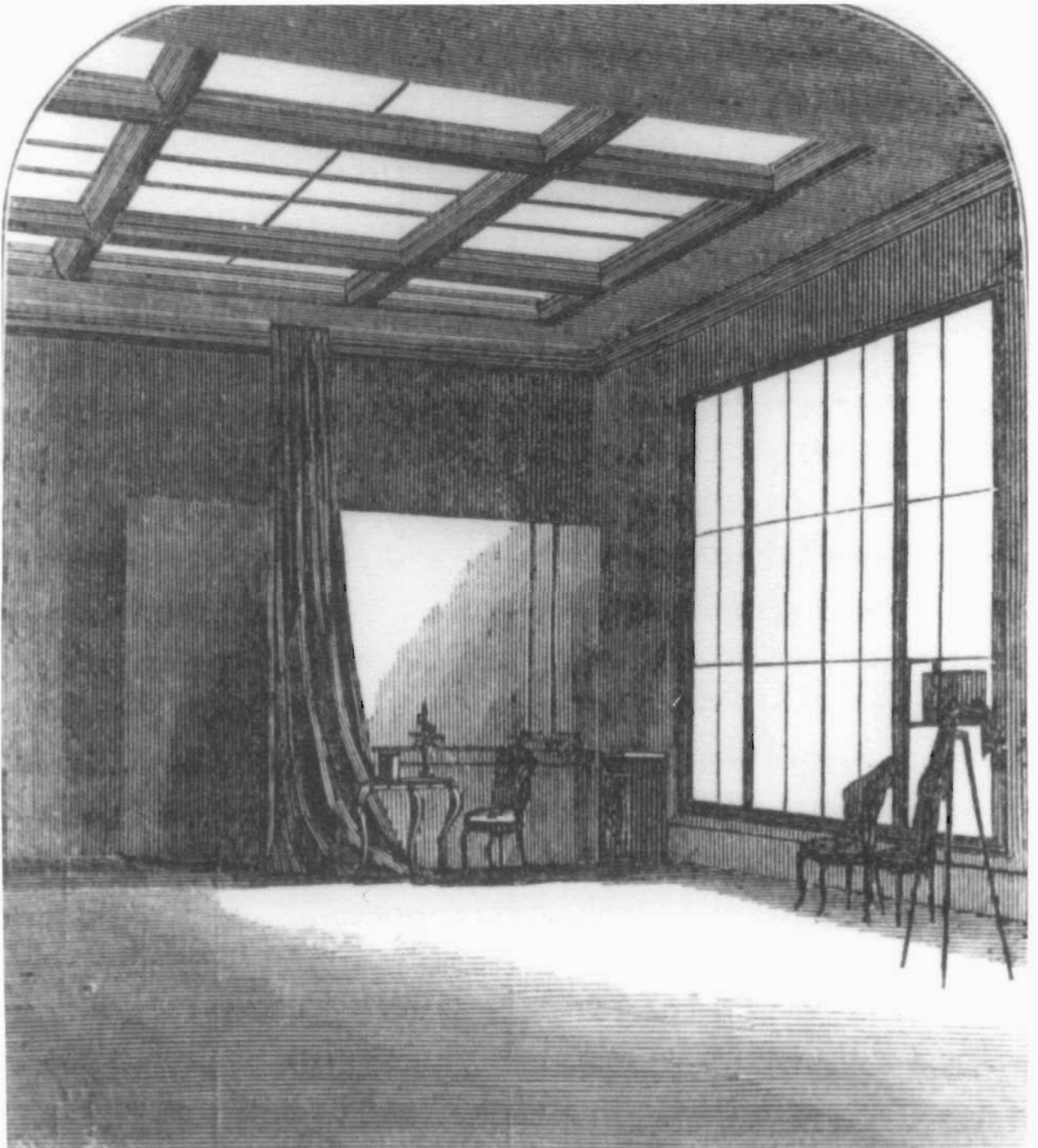
l'Université, F. Cyril James. Ce plan, établi lors de la réunion du University Museums Committee le 16 janvier, prévoit que face au manque d'espace approprié pour placer la collection entière au même endroit (Musée McCord), l'alternative la plus favorable est la "Lincoln Room" à la Bibliothèque Redpath. Madame Turnham mentionne également que si le directeur est d'accord, l'opération du déménagement et le travail du professeur John Cooper qui doit débiter l'inventaire de la collection, peuvent être entrepris immédiatement. Cette lettre est intéressante car pour une première fois et il y en aura plusieurs autres, la directrice des McGill University Museums suggère une solution au problème d'entreposage. Elle propose tout simplement de jeter une partie considérable des négatifs en verre.²⁴ Dans un document intitulé *Notman Photographic Collection, 1856-1945, Now Housed at Associated Screen News, 2000 Northcliffe Ave., N.D.G.*, elle maintient son opinion et veut l'appliquer à l'ensemble de la collection. Selon une note manuscrite, ce document est parvenu les 9 et 10 février 1956 à Messieurs Murray Briskin de l'Associated Screen News Ltd. et Ralph Allen du Maclean's Magazine. Le point numéro 5 du document se lit comme suit:

That once Maclean's list [is] completed, the University shall have the right to discard any portions of the remainder of the collection, which it may consider irrelevant to its own needs; the same right to apply to all pictures on Maclean's list, once Maclean's prior right has expired;

Cette approche dogmatique est également vue par Madame Turnham comme une solution applicable aux albums. Les alternatives particulières proposées par la directrice sont notées dans les "Recommandations" du "Progress Report" et envoyées aux parties impliquées le 26 avril 1956. Dans ce rapport, elle souligne que les albums doivent être démantelés et les photographies placées dans un dossier "for ready reference", mais elle ajoute que cette méthode peut exiger "a great deal of labour". Elle propose donc une autre procédure, notamment d'effectuer des photostats de chacune des pages de tous les volumes et de couper les photographies individuellement pour les placer ensuite dans un dossier. "The original volumes could then be kept if that seemed advisable or could be eliminated." Heureusement, il semble que rien n'ait été éliminé selon



Studio Notman sur la rue Bleury, Montréal, avec la charrette de W. Ogilvie et Cie, 1864 (Musée McCord d'histoire Canadienne, Archives photographiques Notman)



Studio "A" de Notman. *Philadelphia Photographer*, August 1866. (Musée McCord d'histoire Canadienne, Archives Photographiques Notman)

les méthodes suggérées par Madame Turnham sauf les négatifs en nitrate endommagés par leur autodestruction et par les conditions d'entreposage.²⁵

La réception des informations révélant l'ampleur réelle de la collection de même que la description des espaces de rangement posent un nouveau problème à Alice J. Turnham qui en avise le directeur, F. Cyril James: "The weight of 500,000 glass slides would be too great for the floor of the Lincoln Room".²⁶ Elle suggère d'emblée un autre espace dans le même édifice. Le directeur étant favorable à la proposition, on pense immédiatement au transport mais les démarches sont arrêtées. Bien que la documentation semble incomplète sur le sujet, quelques lettres échangées au cours du mois de mars 1957 mentionnent que les négatifs sont affectés par les mauvaises conditions d'entreposage car on a découvert la présence de petites bêtes connues sous le nom de poisson d'argent. La lettre de Alice J. Turnham à Murray Briskin datée du 9 février 1956 donne à penser que la mauvaise condition des négatifs était déjà connue car Madame Turnham propose que: "The glass plates could be transferred later, as they are part of yet another operation".

The Pestroy Company Limited est choisie pour effectuer un test de désinfection par fumigation sur une partie des négatifs avant de procéder au traitement de l'ensemble de ceux-ci. Le test n'a démontré aucun dommage visible sur l'émulsion photographique des négatifs, ce qui n'exclut aucunement l'apparition de changements à long terme, comme le signale George Rance de l'Associated Screen News Ltd.²⁷

La fumigation de la totalité des négatifs a lieu les 23 et 24 mars 1957 et dès le 25, la compagnie Morgan Storage and Van Lines Ltd. entreprend la préparation des négatifs en verre pour les déménager à la Bibliothèque Redpath.²⁸ Cette opération se termine avant le 16 avril 1957. Contrairement aux prévisions antérieures du nombre de négatifs en verre (500,000), on n'en dénombre que 300,000 après le déménagement.²⁹

LE CATALOGAGE INITIAL

La vérification des albums et des répertoires de la clientèle débute un an avant le transfert des négatifs.

Au cours du printemps 1956, le professeur John Cooper du département d'histoire de l'Université McGill examine le contenu en marquant les photographies à l'aide d'insertions en couleur selon des thèmes.³⁰ Ce système de classification thématique des photographies, établi à la demande du Maclean's Magazine, est toujours utilisé aux Archives Photographiques Notman. Le professeur Cooper ne travaille que 75 heures sur la collection. Il est accompagné par le Dr. Gerhard R. Lomer, ancien bibliothécaire de l'Université McGill, qui est employé pour effectuer un inventaire détaillé des albums et superviser le catalogage des photographies en prévision de la finalisation de l'acquisition et de la sélection d'un nouveau catalogueur.³¹

Il s'avère très difficile de définir la fluctuation du personnel employé pour travailler sur la collection des négatifs et des épreuves provenant du Studio Notman et déposés à la bibliothèque Redpath. La documentation disponible aux Archives photographiques du Musée McCord paraît peu complète mais on peut y apprendre que dès l'hiver 1956, Anne E. McKim est chargée du catalogage.³² La préparation des négatifs pour leur transfert du sous-sol de l'Associated Screen News Ltd. a été supervisée, du côté de l'Université, par Margaret Lukis Lambert. Cette dernière, une amie proche de la famille Notman, a travaillé auparavant au Studio avec Charles Notman à titre de photographe. Étant donné sa connaissance de la collection, il est certain que son aide est pertinente.³³ En 1957, on procède à l'engagement de deux autres personnes pour continuer le traitement de la collection, notamment John A. Kennerley et Barbara M. Chadwick. Madame Chadwick débute comme assistante catalogueur et y travaille jusqu'en 1960. Elle fait aussi le classement des épreuves et des négatifs et répond aussi aux nombreuses demandes de la clientèle. Les deux dernières années, elle est responsable de la collection.³⁴ Au cours de cette période, pour cause de maladie, Madame Chadwick est remplacée temporairement par Margaret Lukis Lambert.³⁵

QUESTION DE CONSERVATION

Les années suivant l'acquisition sont marquées par la recherche concernant la préservation. L'état de conservation des négatifs et des épreuves ne permet pas une utilisation illimitée. Pour assurer une manutention



Mme W.B. Lindsay, 1876. (Musée McCord d'histoire Canadienne, Archives photographiques Notman)



Mortimer Davis, 1891. (Musée McCord d'histoire Canadienne, Archives photographiques Notman)

qui soit sécuritaire, il faut trouver et élaborer certaines mesures de protection des objets. La situation se voit aggravée par le manque de service photographique professionnel attaché à la collection.³⁶ Selon l'entente conclue entre l'Université McGill et le Maclean's Magazine pour l'acquisition de la collection, le contenu aurait dû être accessible le plus rapidement possible. Pendant trois années les négatifs en verre et les épreuves originales choisis pour être publiés ont été envoyés à plusieurs reprises à Toronto. Soulignons que les assurances *tous risques* sur la durée de leur séjour aux locaux du magazine sont payées par l'Université McGill.³⁷

Pour faire face à un nombre croissant de demandes provenant du public, des institutions professionnelles et commerciales, pour l'utilisation des photographies du Studio Notman, on fait appel à la firme Arnott Rodgers de Montréal afin qu'elle effectue des épreuves et des copies de négatifs.³⁸ Mais une fois encore les objets originaux sont soumis à des déplacements répétés ce qui contrevient, particulièrement dans le cas d'objets fragiles comme les négatifs en verre, aux règles de sécurité et surtout de préservation.

Le catalogage des photographies soulève un questionnement en regard de la méthode de préservation de cette partie de la collection par rapport à la nécessité de son utilisation. La recherche sur ce problème commence à la fin de 1956. Le sujet de la préoccupation sont les pochettes utilisées pour la conservation des épreuves, soit la sécurité de leur utilisation car celles-ci sont faites en acétate de cellulose. De plus, leur coût est considérablement élevé. Après avoir pris connaissance des expertises déjà établies, comme celle de la Canadian Chemical Co. Ltd., on demande au gouvernement du Canada de faire des tests additionnels concernant la sécurité du matériel par rapport aux objets muséaux, plus particulièrement aux photographies. Suite aux résultats, les pochettes sont acceptées comme un moyen permettant une manipulation sécuritaire des épreuves.³⁹

Les albums font aussi l'objet d'une recherche concernant leur état de conservation de même que la possibilité de les rendre accessibles aux chercheurs. Le démantèlement, appliqué déjà sur vingt-six albums, est momentanément abandonné. Notons que ce sont tous

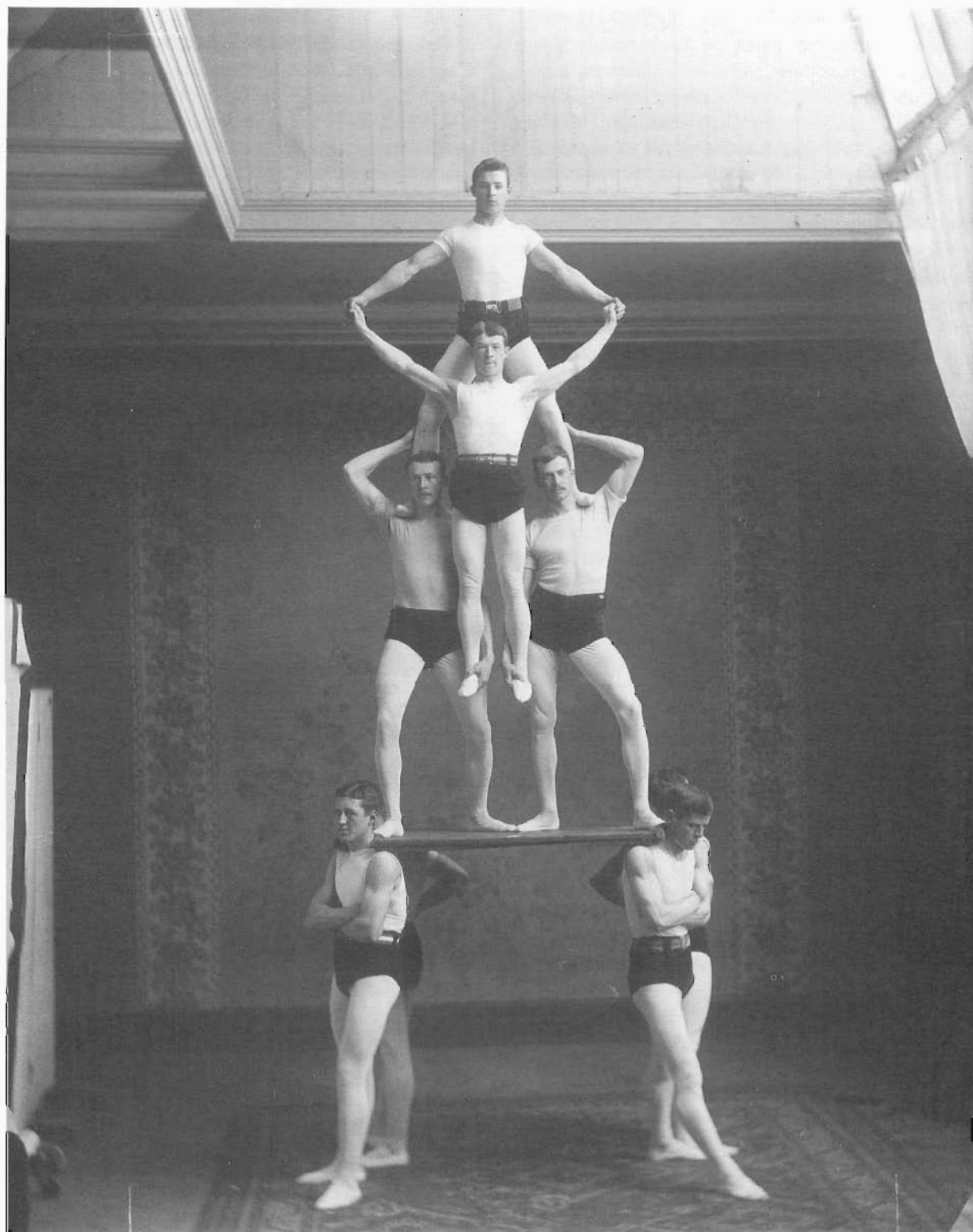
des albums de photographies mesurant 5 pouces sur 7.⁴⁰ Au cours de l'année 1959, les personnes impliquées dans la *Collection Notman* font la "découverte" du laminage qui, en étant déjà utilisé pour préserver les documents, pourrait être appliqué sur les albums pour éviter leur destruction.⁴¹ Les résultats de la recherche sur le laminage, poursuivie en hiver 1959 par Margaret Lukis Lambert et Alice J. Turnham, sont soumis le 28 octobre de cette même année au University Museums Committee. La décision de ce dernier est de rejeter la méthode du laminage et de continuer le démantèlement des albums, d'insérer les photographies dans une pochette en acétate et enfin, de les classer verticalement dans un cabinet en métal.⁴² Selon la directrice des musées de l'Université McGill, cette méthode est recommandée dans le cours "Principles of Archival Management" de l'Université Harvard et acceptée aux Archives Publiques du Canada et la Library of Congress à Washington; elle est également utilisée par la majorité des grands musées.⁴³

In order to demonstrate the manner in which Mr Notman originally kept his prints, it might be well to retain one of the less important volumes as an exhibition specimen which eventually could be laminated.⁴⁴

La décision du University Museums Committee d'abandonner le "projet laminage" a été prise en regard de l'aspect financier et non dans un esprit de préservation des objets. Nul n'a songé à cette époque que toute intervention sur des objets du patrimoine, placés dans un musée, doit être minimisée et surtout être réversible. Ainsi donc, la méthode du laminage de même que celle du démantèlement des albums sont inquiétantes car elles ne sont évidemment pas réversibles.

LES ARCHIVES PHOTOGRAPHIQUES NOTMAN

Suite à la décision d'unifier la *Collection Notman* à une autre déjà établie dans les archives du Musée McCord par son fondateur, David Ross McCord, l'appellation se voit changée. Dès le début des années 60, il est question maintenant des Archives photographiques Notman car la majorité du contenu provient de l'ancien Studio Notman.⁴⁵



Groupe de gymnastes, 1891. (Musée McCord d'histoire Canadienne, Archives photographiques Notman)

En 1965, les autorités des McGill University Museums ouvrent un poste de conservateur de la photographie pour les Archives photographiques Notman du Musée McCord. Celui-ci est comblé par Stanley G. Triggs, photographe professionnel. Dès son arrivée, Monsieur Triggs entreprend une vérification du système de catalogage, du classement, du service à la clientèle et de la préservation des objets de même que du nombre d'employés en regard des autres collections photographiques d'importance au pays.⁴⁶ Parallèlement, il met sur pied une chambre noire afin de répondre aux besoins du Musée McCord relativement aux expositions basées sur la collection photographique ou encore, pour répondre aux demandes provenant du public et ceci, sans déplacer les négatifs historiques en dehors des Archives.⁴⁷ La période d'improvisation pour cette collection est terminée.

L'approche professionnelle du conservateur, renforcée par une forte passion pour l'oeuvre de William Notman, donne bientôt des résultats visibles en ce qui a trait au travail exécuté par le personnel des Archives photographiques. En 1967, un livre intitulé *Portrait of a Period, a Collection of Notman Photographs 1856 to 1915* est préparé et édité par J. Russell Harper et Stanley G. Triggs. Au cours de la même année, une exposition itinérante de photographies provenant du Studio Notman est envoyée à travers le Canada.⁴⁸

En mars 1968, la *Collection Notman* est l'objet de la planification d'un déménagement, cette fois-ci, de la Bibliothèque Redpath au Musée McCord. On prévoit l'emballage du 13 au 17 mai et le transfert pour la semaine suivante.⁴⁹ Pour ce qui est du bureau, son déménagement vient longtemps après, soit en janvier 1969. Pour cette raison, les portes des Archives photographiques Notman sont fermées entre le 20 décembre 1968 et le 20 janvier de l'année suivante.⁵⁰ Ce déménagement n'est pas exclusif aux collections photographiques du McCord, il s'étend également à toutes les collections du Musée, entreposées temporairement à la Maison Hodgson.

C'est un moment important dans l'histoire des Archives photographiques Notman de même que dans celle du Musée McCord qui, au printemps 1971, ouvre ses portes au public après avoir été fermé pendant 35 ans. Il est à noter que cette réouverture est rendue

possible grâce aux efforts de Madame Isabel Barclay Dobell, conservatrice en chef du McCord à l'époque. Connaissant la situation désastreuse des collections du musée, y compris les Archives photographiques, Madame Dobell demande l'appui de Walter Stewart, mécène bien connu de la culture, et enfin sollicite l'aide financière de la McConnell Foundation.⁵¹ L'adaptation du bâtiment du Centre social des étudiants de l'Université McGill, construit entre les années 1904-1906 par Percy Erskine Nobbs, pour les besoins du musée est confiée à l'architecte Guy Desbarats et au dessinateur Clifford Williamson.⁵² Lorsque cette phase est terminée et que les collections trouvent leur place au sein du nouveau site, le Musée McCord propose au public montréalais une grande exposition, préparée par les Archives photographiques Notman. Pour l'occasion, on emprunte le titre "Portrait of a Period" du livre publié en 1967. C'est une première exposition majeure des photographies effectuées dans le Studio Notman entre 1856 et 1880 (époque du "wet-plate" dans l'histoire de la photographie). La différence entre le livre et l'exposition réside dans le fait que toutes les photographies tirées des négatifs originaux et choisies méticuleusement par le conservateur, Stanley Triggs, et arrangées par le dessinateur Clifford Williamson, n'ont jamais été publiées ou vues publiquement avant cette exposition. Tout comme le musée à ce moment, l'exposition est ouverte au public seulement trois jours par semaine, de 11H00 à 18H00 pendant six mois.⁵³ Le succès de cette exposition a peut-être influencé la décision du Conseil des Arts du Canada d'accorder au Musée une subvention de l'ordre de 5,000\$ en septembre 1971, qui sera versée le premier novembre 1972 avec la stipulation suivante: "To help catalogue and preserve the Notman photographic collection".⁵⁴

LE CONTENU

Les Archives photographiques Notman du Musée McCord contiennent plusieurs collections photographiques. La *Collection Notman* est la plus grande et la plus homogène, puisqu'elle s'est enrichie, en juin 1958, des dons effectués par Niels Montclair et George Dudkoff. Monsieur Montclair, propriétaire de l'équipement photographique de l'ancien Studio Notman, cède avec empressement les objets à l'Université McGill comme le lui suggère la directrice des musées, Alice J. Turnham.⁵⁵ Les autres collections

importantes incluent les négatifs et les épreuves de Alexander Henderson, William Hanson Boorne, Peter Pitseolak et Charles Millar. De façon générale, on retrouve dans ces archives toute l'histoire de la photographie. Celle-ci est racontée à l'aide de plus de 100 daguerréotypes, ambrotypes et tintypes effectués dès 1845, également 500 diapositives des années 1870 et 1910, colorées à la main, sans oublier les réalisations de William Notman, aussi des équipements photographiques de l'ancienne époque jusqu'à nos jours, car il y a également des exemples de photographies contemporaines représentées entre autre par les travaux de Clara Gutsche, Gabor Szilasi et Thaddeus Holownia.⁵⁶ Certaines collections sont titrées du nom de leur donateurs, comme par exemple la collection Fritz Arnold, la collection Roper ou celle de Preston.⁵⁷

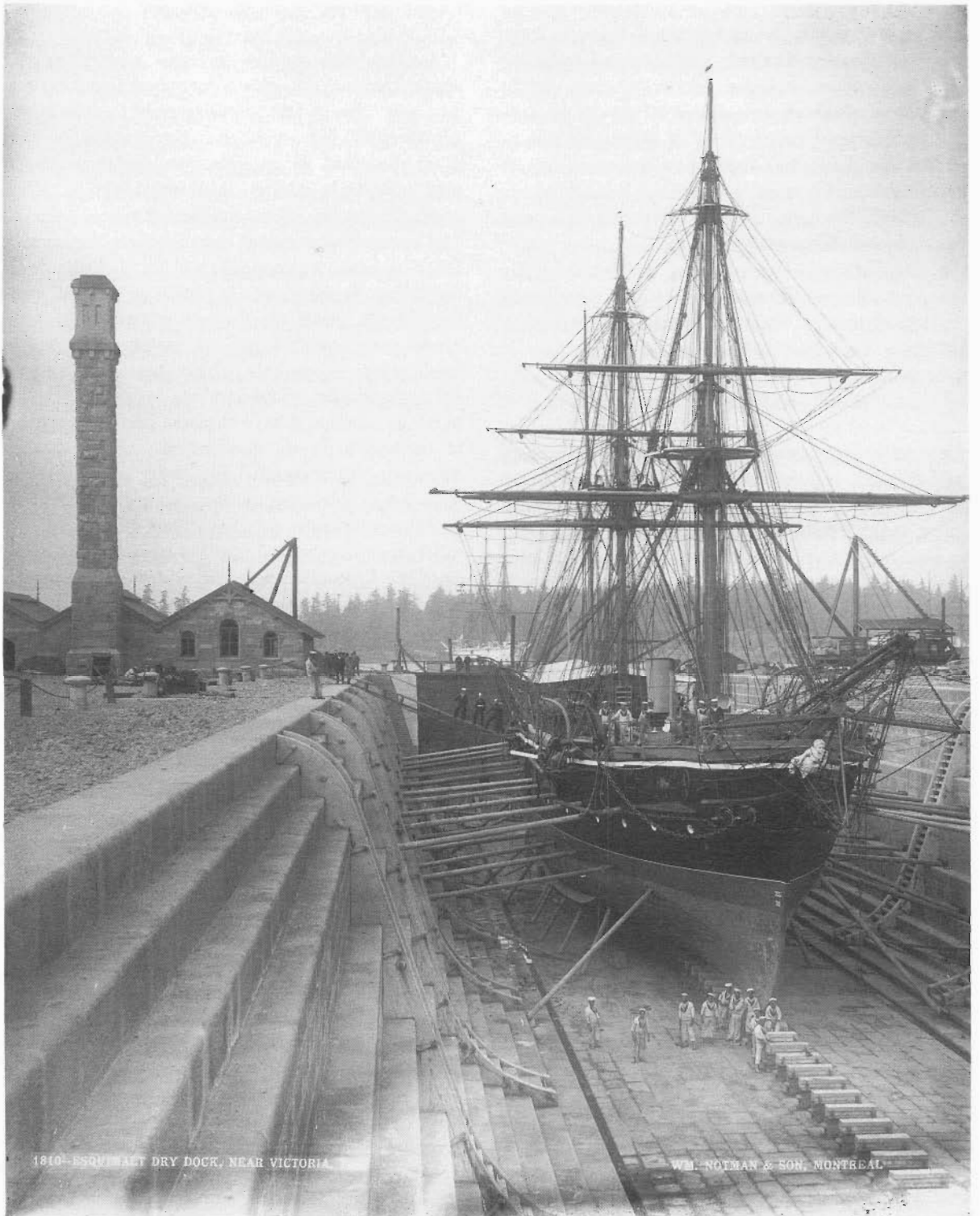
Le nombre exact des objets se trouvant aux Archives photographiques paraît difficile à déterminer, voire même impossible. Selon Nora Hague qui travaille aux Archives depuis 1969, et qui occupe actuellement le poste d'assistante du conservateur de la photographie, l'ensemble des collections peut se chiffrer aux environs de 750,000 objets mais ce nombre pourrait être plus élevé car le processus du catalogage suit son cours. Depuis le 25 mars 1991, le Musée McCord entame son projet d'informatisation des collections québécoises.⁵⁸ Les collections photographiques sont donc aussi soumises au nouveau système de catalogage. L'enthousiasme de Madame Hague qui a commencé le travail chez elle bien avant l'introduction officielle du système, a considérablement avancé le catalogage.⁵⁹

Pour ce qui est de la *Collection Notman*, le système privilégié par William Notman lui-même facilite l'utilisation de la collection. Il est d'ailleurs encore utilisé aujourd'hui par les Archives photographiques. L'informatisation est donc concentrée sur les autres collections encore difficiles d'accès. Afin de donner une image de la situation actuelle, soulignons que 5,045 objets de la *Collection Notman* et 13,818 objets provenant d'autres collections sont déjà catalogués à l'aide de l'ordinateur. Ce qui totalise 18,863 objets traités. Nora Hague est soutenue dans ce travail par Heather McNabb, assistante chercheuse. Cette équipe se voit complétée par le photographe Tom Humphry. Une personne continue bénévolement le catalogage traditionnel; mais celui-ci est loin d'être terminé.⁶⁰

CONCLUSION

Le Musée McCord est de retour après avoir déplacé temporairement ses collections pendant trois ans à cause de son projet d'agrandissement. Malgré ce déplacement, les Archives photographiques Notman n'ont pas cessé de répondre aux demandes du public sauf pendant la période du déménagement. Il est à souligner que les collections photographiques du Musée McCord représentent une source infinie d'informations. Les chercheurs professionnels et les étudiants de toutes disciplines de même que le public en général, peuvent explorer le passé du Canada à travers le matériel historique rassemblé par les nombreuses personnes impliquées dans la création des Archives photographiques Notman, qui avaient cet intérêt commun. Même si les premières décisions concernant la méthodologie de conservation de la *Collection Notman* peuvent paraître aujourd'hui controversées, il nous faut comprendre les circonstances. L'histoire des Archives photographiques Notman n'est que le miroir reflétant la situation de tous les musées de l'Université McGill. La centralisation de la gestion des musées et les difficultés financières perpétuelles ont déterminé l'évolution des collections. Pendant les premières années, c'est-à-dire jusqu'en 1965, les Archives n'ont pas retenu les services d'un photographe.⁶¹ Jusqu'à ce moment-là, toutes les interventions ont été initiées par une seule et même personne, notamment Alice J. Turnham. Il est évident que cette dernière a dû relever un défi majeur — sauver la collection. On peut dire, qu'à sa façon, elle y est parvenu.

En terminant, un mot sur le fonctionnement des Archives photographiques du McCord. Le rôle visant l'utilité sociale dans cette section du Musée est évident. En fait, effectuer sa propre recherche aux Archives est très satisfaisant. L'accessibilité et l'appui professionnel du personnel se traduisent par des chiffres éloquentes par rapport aux autres collections. En effet, la moyenne des visiteurs est de 900 à 1000 personnes par année, ce qui inclut les visites répétées.⁶² Les gens viennent de tout le Canada mais aussi de l'étranger. Les activités aux Archives sont sans aucun doute parallèles aux fonctions primordiales des musées en général. Le récent agrandissement du Musée devrait donner plus d'espace pour les collections et les chercheurs. Si on ajoutait quelques membres de plus au personnel, le service et l'accès en seraient grandement améliorés.



La cale sèche, Esquimalt, Colombie Britannique, 1887. (Musée McCord d'histoire Canadienne, Archives, photographiques Notman)

POST-SCRIPTUM

Le texte ci-haut, écrit en décembre 1991, est le résultat d'une recherche effectuée au cours de l'automne de la même année. A la fin de juin 1993, le conservateur Stanley Triggs a pris officiellement sa retraite.

* * * * *

Notes

1. Stanley G. Triggs, *William Notman. L'empreinte d'un studio*, Musée des Beaux-Arts de l'Ontario, Toronto, 1986, pp. 23-26; 28-31 aussi *Portrait of a Period*, édité par J. Russel Harper et Stanley Triggs, Montréal, McGill University Press, 1967 (texte non paginé); Glen Warner, *Building a print collection. A guide to buying original prints and photographs*, Van Nostrand Reinhold Ltd., Toronto-New York-Cincinnati-London-Melbourne, 1981, pp. 16-17; *Peinture et photographie canadiennes, 1860-1900*, Musée McCord, catalogue d'exposition, 1979, pp. 23-26, 29, 46; William Welling, *Photography in America. The Formative years 1839-1900*, New York, 1983, p. 254; Naomi Rosenblum, *A world history of photography*, New York, 1984, pp. 137, 236; Helmut Gernsheim, Alison Gernsheim, *The history of photography from the camera obscura to beginning of the modern era*, New York-St-Louis-San Francisco, 1969, pp. 299-300; Dennis Reid, *Our Own Country Canada, Being an Account of the National Aspirations of the Principal Landscape Artists in Montreal and Toronto 1860-1890*, National Gallery of Canada, 1979, pp. 53, 131; Michel Lessard, *Les Livernois, photographes*, Musée du Québec, 1987, les chapitres: "La division du travail", "Le portrait classique en buste, 1870-1914"; Larry Raskin, "William Notman, Through the looking glass", Dossier dans une revue intitulée *Montréal*, septembre 1989, p. 30; George Zimbel, "Rediscovering a Canadian pioneer", *Photo District News*, May 1985 pp. 54, 56; Véronique Robert, "L'album de famille du Canada", *L'Actualité*, octobre 1989, p. 18.

2. La documentation se trouve aux Archives photographiques Notman du Musée McCord d'histoire canadienne.

3. Stanley G. Triggs, *op. cit.*, p. 162 (épilogue).

4. *Ibid.*, p. 11 (introduction), p. 166 (appendice), source: Charles F. Notman (1870-1955).

5. *Ibid.*

6. *Ibid.*, aussi communiqué de presse concernant le lancement de la *Collection Notman* dans les McGill University Museums (12 novembre 1956).

Les Archives photographiques Notman du Musée McCord

7. Traduction libre de l'anglais.
8. Lettre de l'Associated Screen News Ltd, datée du 6 mai 1954 et signée par W.J. Singleton.
9. Lettre de l'éditeur Ralph Allen à Alice J. Turnham, datée du 16 décembre 1955.
10. *Ibid.*; aussi, lettre de Murray Briskin à Alice J. Turnham, datée du 22 décembre 1955.
11. Lettres: A.J. Turnham à R. Allen du Maclean's (30 décembre 1955); A.J. Turnham à William Bentley, administrateur de l'Université McGill (22 février 1956); F. Cyril James, doyen et vice-recteur honoraire de l'Université McGill à Margaret Lukis Lambert, assistante catalogueuse de la *Collection Notman* (14 juillet 1959) - Monsieur James admet qu'il n'a pas démontré beaucoup d'intérêt envers la problématique de cette collection depuis le début.
12. Lettres de William Bentley à Ralph Allen (18 et 24 juillet 1956).
13. Lettres: Douglas Gowdy, directeur du Maclean's Magazine à Alice J. Turnham (11 mai 1956); réponse de A.J. Turnham à D. Gowdy (28 mai 1956) Ralph Allen (Maclean's) à Alice J. Turnham (4 juin 1956); réponse de A.J. Turnham à R. Allen (12 juin 1956); A.J. Turnham à F. Cyril James (26 juin 1956) - Elle informe le directeur de l'Université qu'elle a reçu deux copies du projet d'offre officielle de la vente. Elle ajoute que les négociations qui se sont échelonnées sur plus de deux ans, "... have at last brought this collection to McGill"; F.C. James à W. Bentley (27 juin 1965) - Il demande à l'administrateur d'apposer sa signature sur les deux copies du projet d'offre officielle de vente, reçues par la directrice des Musées afin d'accélérer l'acquisition.
14. Lettre de Donald N. Byers, Q.C., incluant les copies du projet d'offre officielle de vente à Alice J. Turnham (15 juin 1956).
15. *Remarks by Mrs Turnham at reception to mark the acquisition by the McCord Museum of the Notman Photographic Collection!* Redpath Museum, November 9, 1956; aussi "250,000 Photos Span 80 years", *The Gazette*, November 10, 1956.
16. Lettre de Max Campbell, M.P., d'Ottawa à l'éditeur du Maclean's Magazine (14 octobre 1957), envoyée à Barbara M. Chadwick, catalogueuse de la *Collection Notman*, par Pierre Berton (17 octobre 1957).
17. Lettre de Pierre Berton, éditeur général du Maclean's Magazine à Alice J. Turnham (13 novembre 1957) soulignant que "The National Films Board has expressed an interest in making a picture about Notman collection (...)" ; Lettre de A.J. Turnham à Ralph Allen (14 janvier 1959) - "...New York television studio interested in arranging for use of 4 or 5 Notman photographs weekly for 26 weeks on a forthcoming TV panel series." aussi télégramme de Pierre Berton (14 janvier 1958), mentionnant que l'éditeur du *Vancouver Sun* (section: mode) visitera Alice J. Turnham relativement aux photographies de William Notman.
18. Lettre de Alice J. Turnham à Ralph Allen (10 octobre 1957): une conférence pour le "Women's Art Group" de l'Art Association, le 22 octobre, l'autre pour le "Women's University Club", le 19 novembre; deux lettres de Lloyd Bloom de la Commercial & Press Photographers' Association of Canada à Toronto: la première datée du 16 décembre 1959 pour proposer la conférence, la deuxième datée du 2 août 1960 pour conclure les arrangements - la conférence a eu lieu le 12 septembre.
19. Press release, Notman Photographic Exhibition, Redpath Museum, McGill University, For release Tuesday, May 14, 1957; aussi "Making Victorian Montreal Very Real", *The Gazette*, May 15, 1957.
20. Press Release, *op. cit.*; aussi, liste intitulée "Items received from Notman Studio for use in Exhibition", préparée le 15 avril (1957) au musée Redpath, probablement par John A. Kennerley, catalogueur de la "Notman Photograph collection", notes manuscrites présumément écrites par A.J. Turnham.
21. Lettre de Alice J. Turnham à Pierre Berton (17 mai 1957). Cette sorte de collaboration a déjà été établie pour l'occasion du "Press Party" organisé presque simultanément à Montréal (le 9 novembre 1956) et à Toronto (le 12 novembre 1956) pour célébrer l'acquisition de la *Collection Notman*. Dans sa lettre du 3 octobre 1956, Pierre Berton informe A.J. Turnham

que dans le tirage du 24 novembre, Maclean's Magazine consacrera 13 pages en plus de la page couverture à la *Collection*. On peut imaginer ici une sorte de campagne publicitaire. Aussi, dans la même lettre, il propose son aide pour la préparation de la première exposition. Monsieur Berton signale ainsi son intérêt et sa volonté relativement à la promotion. Cette collection photographique leur permet d'offrir un soutien visant à organiser les expositions itinérantes au gré de Alice J. Turnham. Également, il signale la découverte d'objets provenant du Studio Notman, dans la section référence de la Bibliothèque du Royal Ontario Museum. Selon lui, la revendication est possible afin d'ajouter ces objets "...to the collection at McGill."

22. Press Release, *op. cit.*

23. Paul Carle, Alain Mongeau, "La difficile naissance d'une muséologie scientifique moderne. Le cas de l'Université McGill et du Musée Redpath pendant la première moitié du XX siècle", *Musées*, Vol. 11, Nos 1 et 2, 1988, pp. 6-10; aussi, Paul Carle, Madeleine Dufresne, Lynne Teather, "Le Musée Redpath de 1940 à 1970: les années Johannsen", même source, p. 11-14; Paul Carle, Madeleine Dufresne, Alain Mongeau, Lynne Teather, "Le mouvement de modernisation des musées scientifiques au XX siècle: le cas du Musée Redpath de l'Université McGill", *Fontanus*, Vol. III, 1990, pp. 77, 81-82, 86, 89-93, 98-101, 107 (note 69).

24. "It was made clear at that meeting that, in its present quarters, the McCord Museum could accomodate only 300 to 400 albums and that other temporary space would have to be found for the 500,000 plates until the irrelevant items could be discarded. (...) (3) that further investigations be made regarding desirability of microfilming the glass plates and eventual discard of the originals."; aussi, Lettre de A.J. Turnham à Martha Shepard, National Library of Canada, Ottawa (22 février 1956) - "The question has come up as to the desirability of microfilming some at least of these negatives as a means of reducing the bulk."; lettre de A.J. Turnham au Général Oscar N. Solbert, directeur du George Eastman House of Photography, Rochester, New York (22 février 1956): "When we come to evaluate the collection, some of these negatives undoubtedly will prove historically worthless and can be discarded but we estimate that there will remain a good one hundred thousand glass

slides." - Si l'on considère que le nombre estimé de négatifs au début était de 500,000, sa méthode de calcul est alarmante. Il est difficile d'imaginer que 80% de cette collection, composée d'objets uniques, peut n'avoir aucune valeur. Aussi, comme on peut lire dans la réponse du 27 mars 1956 du conservateur Beaumont Newhall, de la George Eastman House: "At any rate, I don't feel at the present time that microfilm-reduced negatives will give results at all comparable to larger sized negatives. The ideal thing would be to make duplicate negatives(...)."

25. Témoignage oral de Nora Hague, assistante du conservateur de la photographie des Archives Photographiques Notman, Musée McCord (automne 1991).

26. Lettre de l'Associated Screen News Ltd., datée du 26 janvier 1956; lettre de Alice J. Turnham à F. Cyril James, datée du 3 février 1956.

27. Lettre de George Rance à Alice J. Turnham (18 mars 1957).

28. Lettre de A.J. Turnham à G.E. Worth, The Pestroy Company Ltd. (19 mars 1957).

29. Lettre de Alice J. Turnham à F. Cyril James (20 janvier 1956); aussi, lettre de Alice J. Turnham à R.H. Smith, vice-président et directeur général de Morgan Storage and Van Lines Ltd. (16 avril 1957).

30. Lettres de: A.J. Turnham à F.C. James (3 février 1956); F. C. James à A. J. Turnham (7 février 1956); A.J. Turnham à M. Birskin (9 février 1956); A.J. Turnham à R. Allen (10 février 1956); A.J. Turnham à M. Briskin (23 février 1956); A.J. Turnham à M. Briskin (26 avril 1956); A.J. Turnham à F.C. James (19 juin 1956).

31. Lettres de: A. J. Turnham à M. Briskin (9 février 1956); A.J. Turnham à R. Allen (10 février 1956); A.J. Turnham à R. Allen (19 juin 1956), *op. cit.*

32. Lettres de: A.J. Turnham à Ralph Allen (4 septembre 1956); Pierre Berton à Anne E. McKim (14 novembre 1956).

Les Archives photographiques Notman du Musée McCord

33. Time Sheet for Notman Removal (21 mars-11 avril 1957); aussi, lettre de F.C. James à A.J. Turnham (23 juillet 1959); copie de la lettre de Margaret Lukis Lambert à Alice J. Turnham (27 juillet 1959).
34. Lettres de: Pierre Berton à Barbara M. Chadwick (17 octobre 1957); Barbara M. Chadwick à Pierre Berton (4 novembre 1957); Jack Olsen, photo-éditeur du Maclean's Magazine à Barbara M. Chadwick (21 janvier 1958) Barbara M. Chadwick à Jack Olsen (23 janvier 1958); rapport de fréquence sur les demandes, préparé par Barbara M. Chadwick à la fin de l'année 1958; lettre de recommandation de Alice J. Turnham (14 janvier 1960) écrite à la demande de Barbara M. Chadwick.
35. Lettres de: Margaret L. Lambert à Ralph Allen (17 septembre 1958); Ralph Allen à Margaret L. Lambert (23 septembre 1958).
36. Témoignage oral de Nora Hague (automne 1991).
37. Lettre de l'assistant au contrôleur de l'Université McGill, R.L. Puxley à l'agence d'assurances Lewis, Apedaile & Hanson Inc. (26 septembre 1956); aussi, lettres de A.J. Turnham à Ralph Allen (23 novembre 1956); Anne E. McKim à Pierre Berton (7 février 1957); A.J. Turnham à R.L. Puxley (11 février 1957); Ruth Hertzman (Maclean's Magazine) à Barbara M. Chadwick (22 novembre 1957 et 11 août 1958); Jeanne Paddock (secrétaire éditoriale) à B.M. Chadwick (22 novembre 1958); B.M. Chadwick à Ralph Allen (7 avril 1959).
38. Témoignage oral de Nora Hague; aussi, rapport de fréquence sur les demandes, préparé par Barbara M. Chadwick, *op. cit.*
39. *Report on cellulose acetate folders* du 5 décembre 1956, préparé par John Kennerley, Musée Redpath; aussi, lettres de Alice J. Turnham à la Canadian Kodak Sales Company de Toronto (13 décembre 1956); réponse de la Canadian Kodak Sales Limited à A.J. Turnham (19 décembre 1956); témoignage oral de Nora Hague (automne 1991).
40. Copie de la lettre de Margaret Lukis Lambert à Alice J. Turnham (27 juillet 1959), *op. cit.*; aussi, témoignage oral de Nora Hague (automne 1991).
41. Lettre de R.V.V. Nicolls, Associate Professor, Department of Chemistry, McGill University, à Margaret Lukis Lambert (14 juillet 1959); F. Cyril James à M.L. Lambert (23 juillet 1959); (copie) M.L. Lambert à A.J. Turnham (27 juillet 1959), *op. cit.*; G.L. Long, historian, The Bell Telephone Company of Canada, à A.J. Turnham (15 octobre 1959); G.L. Long à Joseph A. Patterson, Director, The American Association of Museums, Smithsonian Institution (18 mars 1959); J.A. Patterson à G.L. Long (27 mars 1959); E.E. Howell, American Association of Museums, à G.L. Long (24 avril 1959); Gerhard R. Lomer à A.J. Turnham (19 octobre 1959).
42. Lettre de Alice J. Turnham à F. Cyril James (29 octobre 1959) - "Weighing all the evidence, the Committee was of the unanimous opinion that although lamination offers a remarkable and, as far as can be ascertained safe method for protecting documents and photographs, the problems inherent in preserving and rendering accessible the 300,000 photographs in the Notman Collection will be more easily, more economically and more quickly served by continuing the present method of cutting the pages in half, inserting them in individual acetate folders and filing them chronologically in vertical steel files".
43. Même lettre, *op. cit.*
44. *Ibid.*
45. Témoignage oral de Nora Hague (automne 1991).
46. Rapport de voyage à Ottawa du conservateur Stanley G. Triggs relatant ses visites des collections suivantes: Public Archives of Canada, Picture Division; National Film Board, Still Photo Library; Geological Survey Collection, Department of Mines & Technology; Department of Agriculture Collection (16 au août 1966).
47. Témoignage oral de Nora Hague (automne 1991).
48. Dane Lancken, "Remarkable exhibit of Notman photographs", *The Gazette*, novembre 1971; Adrian J. Gatrill, "Portrait of a portraitist", *Montreal Star*, novembre 1971.

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49. Lettre de H.R. Smith, Morgan Storage and Moving Ltd., à S.G. Triggs (18 mars 1968).
50. Lettre de Isabel M. Dobell, conservatrice en chef du Musée McCord, à Alice E. Johannsen, directrice des University McGill Museums (24 octobre 1968).
51. *McCord*, Vol. 3, No 2: Hiver 1989-1990, bulletin du Musée McCord d'histoire canadienne; "Le Musée McCord", (dossier), *Chantiers*, Vol. 8, No 7, septembre 1991, pp.27-28; Guy Boulizon, *Les musées du Québec*, tome 1: Montréal et l'ouest du Québec, Fides, 1976, p. 74 (Musée McCord); Dusty Vineberg, "The McCord Museum", *Montreal Scene*, February 17, 1973, pp. 14-15.
52. Dusty Vineberg, *op. cit.*, p. 14.
53. Adrian J. Gatrill, *op. cit.*; Dane Lancken, *op. cit.*
54. Canadian Horizons Program, Notification of grant.
55. Lettre de Alice J. Turnham à Niels Montclair (16 mai et 3 juin 1958); Deed of gift (3 juin 1958); Press Release for Saturday, June 7, 1958; Harold Poitras. *Press Photographers Then and Now*, *The Star* (revue), juillet 1958.
56. Documents élaborés par Stanley G. Triggs (13 mai 1975 et 10 décembre 1982).
57. Fait noté au cours de mon expérience comme bénévole aux Archives photographiques Notman.
58. "Lancement du projet d'informatisation", *Bulletin de la Société des musées québécois*, mai 1991, numéro 4, p. 1.
59. Entretien avec Nora Hague (décembre 1991).
60. Selon mes prévisions basées sur la situation actuelle, pour enfin connaître le nombre exact des objets présentement aux Archives photographiques Notman, il nous faudra attendre quelque 16 ans, à moins que le Musée McCord puisse employer plus de personnel.
61. Dans la lettre de F. Cyril James du 23 juillet 1959, envoyée à Alice J. Turnham, Margaret Lukis Lambert est décrite comme une photographe amateur même si elle a travaillé au Studio avec Charles Notman; aussi, selon le témoignage oral de Nora Hague, Stanley G. Triggs est le premier photographe professionnel à s'occuper de la *Collection Notman*.
62. Témoignage oral de Nora Hague; aussi, Véronique Robert, *op. cit.*

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Leacock Enters McGill

Marcel Caya

McGill University Archivist

Stephen Leacock taught in the Department of Economics and Political Science at McGill University for thirty five years, from 1901 to 1936, serving as Chairman of his department for twenty five. We know from his comments and certainly can infer from his unwillingness to retire that he considered his role of educator very seriously.

In spite of the length of his service at McGill and the prominent position he held, relatively few administrative records remain to tell of the development of his department or assess his role in governing it. The files he maintained as Chairman no doubt have been destroyed, as most of them probably dealt with routine matters. It is also likely that, in the informal McGill's administration of those days, most communications were effected *viva voce* within the relatively small body of administrators.¹ The only records left of Leacock in the Archives of the University mainly consist of letters and memoranda addressed to senior administrators, particularly deans and principals. Of this small official correspondence with the McGill administration, Leacock's letters and memoranda following his forced retirement are cited the most often, leaving the impression that they are the only ones extant to be of interest.

Much of what we know about Leacock at McGill has been drawn from anecdotes and reconstructed from interviews with contemporaries² and the few glimpses that he offered in his writings.³ The lack of archival records explains why none of his biographers has given any extensive account of his life at McGill. It also explains in part why the story of such an important biographical element as his appointment to McGill is repeated from one biography to another without revisiting the basic documentation that a search of the archival records would have provided.

Although they have never been quoted, Leacock's letters of application to Principal Peterson prove interesting in that they reveal how the aspiring professor undertook to persuade the Principal to hire him. This correspondence was initiated in January 1900 as a result of a suggestion by Henry Neville Sanders, a McGill professor in Classics and Sanskrit. The fact that it is so dated, at the very beginning of the second term after he started at University of Chicago indicates that the contacts with McGill's Principal, William Peterson, were established at a very early stage, even before Leacock's wedding. It may correct the impression left by some of his biographers that he only considered McGill after being rejected by University of Toronto Professor of Economics James Mavor.⁴ His letters to the Principal are interesting also in that they illustrate how Leacock introduced himself and planned to reconcile his graduate studies at University of Chicago with the beginning of his academic career at McGill.⁵

Jan 17 1900

Principal Peterson
McGill College
Montreal

Dear Sir —

Mr Sanders of your faculty writes me that there is a possibility of a lectureship being shortly established at McGill in Political Economy — In such an event I should like to apply for the position. I am at present doing Post Graduate work in the department of Political Economy at

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Chicago University — I did not take political economy as an undergraduate at Toronto: the course was not yet founded. Previous to coming here I did five years of private study and did enough work to be easily admitted to the graduate school here — In my undergraduate course at Toronto I took classics and modern Languages. I graduated in 1891. My standing in my course was very good. I took the first proficiency scholarship on entering the university: did not write in the first year exam: was first in first class in Modern Languages (scholarship) and second in first class in Classics at the end of my second year: first in first class in modern Languages at the end of my third year: in the final exam in modern Languages the ranking was alphabetical in the classes.

I am asking the Professors here to write to you as to my competency to undertake the work. Of course it would not suit me very well to leave Chicago just at present as it would involve dropping the work I have in hand, but I presume there is no intention on your part of engaging anyone until the autumn — My present degree is B.A., but I believe it would be quite possible for me if I came to Montreal to arrange to presently get my degree of Ph.D. from Chicago. I am thirty years of age. This is my first year at Chicago.

Yours sincerely,

Stephen Leacock

P.S. In the event of an appointment, I could, if necessary, come to see you personally to make arrangements as to courses to be given and so forth.

Jan 18 — 1900

Principal Peterson
McGill College
Montreal

Dear Sir.

In my letter to you of yesterday in regard to a position at McGills in Political Economy, I should have referred you to Professor Cashar Miller, and D' Veblen of this University. I have done most of my work with them, and thought it better to ask you to write to them for full information instead of merely asking them for the usual testimonial.

Yours faithfully

Stephen Leacock

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Graduate Hall
University of Chicago
May 5 — 1900

Principal Peterson
McGill University
Montreal

Dear Sir

I am just in receipt of your letter of the third instant. In answer I may say that I am taking Political Science in connection with my work in Economics. My work in Political Science both before Xmas and at present, has been entirely with Professor Judson, the head professor of the department — I expect to continue my courses with him next year. I should be most happy to make application for such a temporary position as you speak of as it would work in very well with my course here. I believe it is customary here to allow temporary work in high teaching in one's own department to count as part of a graduate course. With many thanks for your courteous letter.

Yours sincerely

Stephen Leacock

[letterhead of] The University of Chicago

June 12. 1900

Principal Peterson
McGill University
Montreal

Dear Sir : —

I beg to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of June the 9th. In reply to it I may say that I should, in the event of my coming to Montreal, be most happy to give any help I could to students wishing it out of lecture hours. In the matter of remuneration, the arrangement suggested would be entirely satisfactory to me. In case of your having anything further to communicate to me, my address from June 20, until Sep 28 will be, Orillia, Ontario : after that I hope to return to Chicago.

Very sincerely

Stephen Leacock

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Notes

1. When Leacock arrived in 1901, McGill College had a student population of close to 1,050; in 1936, when he left, it had grown to a little more than 3,000 full-time students.
2. Allan Anderson, *Remembering Leacock* (Ottawa: Deneau, 1983) provides interesting accounts and testimonials from students and colleagues documenting his teaching and various idiosyncracies.
3. Except Moritz and, to a lesser extent, Legate, his biographers have not consulted the administrative records produced by Leacock when communicating with the McGill administration.
4. According to R. Curry, Leacock saw his application rejected by Mavor in 1901. Ralph L. Curry, *Stephen Leacock. Humorist and Humanist* (New York: Doubleday, 1959), 69; Moritz (p. 93) and Legate (p. 37-38) also consider McGill as Leacock's second choice.
5. McGill University Archives, *Records of Principal Peterson*, File No. 9, (1892-1904), LA-LE. (RG 2, ...)

McLennan Library: Twenty-Fifth Anniversary

Peter F. McNally

Associate Professor, Graduate School of Library and Information Studies

On Friday, June 6, 1969 at 3:00 p.m. following the Spring Convocation held earlier that day, there was a short ceremony when the Principal Dr. H. Rocke Robertson, the Chairman of the University Library Committee Dr. Stanley Frost, the Director of University Libraries Mr. Keith Crouch, and the Chancellor Mr. Howard I. Ross, after delivering brief speeches, officially opened the McLennan Library.¹

This short and subdued ceremony, held in the Library's main hall, contrasts too vividly with the impressive and lengthy opening ceremonies held, seventy-six years earlier in 1893 for Redpath Library, to go unmentioned.² To begin with, only university officials participated. There was no participation by representatives of the deceased benefactor, Isabella Christine McLennan (1870-1960) after whom the library is named, or the alumni or the larger civic community beyond the University's gates. By contrast, in 1893 there had been speeches from the benefactor Peter Redpath, the Governor General, the Lieutenant Governor of Quebec, and other distinguished guests in addition to the Principal and a representative of the Chancellor. Another major difference from 1893, is that no commemorative book accompanied the opening of McLennan Library in which the speeches were recorded and intentions of the architect set forth. The tenor of the late 1960s, however, with its strong social opinions and student unrest militated against ceremony, celebration, and commemoration.

Yet McLennan Library, sitting as prominently as it does at the corner of Sherbrooke and McTavish streets, is probably the most visible building on the lower campus. In addition, it has proven to be a remarkably effective main library. Despite the enormous growth in collections, enrollment, and research activity at McGill during the last quarter century, the building has proven capable of handling them with great ease.

At some time, a full scale description of McLennan Library, its design and construction, will be needed along with a discussion of the people involved. The main elements of the story are as follows. In the late 1950s the crowded conditions in Redpath Library had made it obvious that a new library building would soon become necessary. Miss McLennan, who died in 1960 and whose family had long been benefactors of McGill, left the bulk

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McLennan Library Building, ca. 1970.
(McGill University Archives)

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of her estate to the Library; this allowed a new building to be seriously considered. In 1962 planning of the new building commenced, strongly influenced by the recommendation of two American consultants, McCarthy and Logsden, that simply building a stack wing to the south of Redpath Library, as originally intended, would prove inadequate. Instead, they advised that a new main library building be constructed. This advice evolved into a decision to create a new main library complex: McLennan Library becoming a graduate research library with the Graduate School of Library Science having specially designed quarters on the street floor level, and Redpath Library becoming primarily an undergraduate library.

To oversee the new library's design, construction, and use a number of committees were established by the University and the Library. Their three main participants were Stanley Frost, Chair of the Library Committee, John Archer, Director of University Libraries from 1964 to 1967, and Alison Cole, Associate University Librarian. The building's architects were Dobush, Stewart, Bourke, with the major responsibility devolving upon David Bourke, a graduate of McGill's School of Architecture who has subsequently become the University's Secretary-General. He has vivid memories of being invited by Miss McLennan to the Linton Apartments for tea in 1954, when he won the McLennan Travelling scholarship.

Bourke, Cole, Archer, and Frost created a building that is notable both internally and externally. To begin with, the suggestion from some experts of having an underground building was rejected as such libraries can be claustrophobic and psychologically unhealthy. Since the building would be very large and would need to be strong enough to bear the weight of books, it was decided to construct it in reinforced concrete, with pre-cast concrete panels on the exterior, in the international modernist style. Three major design problems presented themselves: how to lessen the sheer impression of bulk such a large building must necessarily impart, how to ensure continued access to McTavish Street from the southern end of Redpath Terrace, and how to relate the new building to the asymmetrical 1893 and 1953 wings of Redpath Library directly to the north. A symmetrical building was the perceived solution with its four sides being almost exactly identical; although the building is rectangular, its north and south sides being somewhat longer than its east and west sides, it appears square. The only major asymmetry is on the north side: at the street level there is an entrance to the building and a staircase ascending to the terrace level where there is another entrance; there are also two enclosed bridges at the terrace level connecting McLennan with Redpath. No visual disruption is caused by the underground tunnel connecting the two buildings. The bridges, tunnel, and stairs between the Libraries permitted an open walkway linking the Terrace with McTavish Street. To reflect the old wings of Redpath Library, projecting towers were placed on all four sides of McLennan, making it a harbinger of postmodernism. The sense of McLennan's bulk is reduced by its four corners being notched and by its three horizontal planes: the vertical windows of the street level, the large picture windows of the main level, and the horizontal ribbon windows of the five stack levels.

The interior is characterized by its very large modules created by widely spaced groupings of columns which mean that the floors can be adapted for virtually any use. Another characteristic is the placement of the stack seating areas along the periphery beside the horizontal windows which permit maximum natural light for reading with minimum distraction from outside views. The books are protected from the sun's damaging rays by being placed in the centre.

The new building transformed the McGill library scene. Whereas Redpath Library had seating for only 500, McLennan sat 1,500 readers. When the renovation of Redpath was completed one year later an extra 1,500 seats became available in the main library complex for a total of 3,000. The approximately 700,000 volumes from the old library were moved into a building with double that capacity. Staff space which had been extremely cramped and inefficient was suddenly very spacious and efficient. The air conditioning system made summer work - for staff and users - significantly more comfortable. Finally, it must be remembered that the new building was designed to accept two additional stories should the need arise.

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Construction began in the late summer of 1967 for a building whose initial contracts called for expenditures of \$5,900,000.³ Although an October 1968 opening was hoped for, the actual date was January 21, 1969. Eleven days earlier on January 10, Redpath Library was closed and a crew of 190 people worked on twenty-four hour a day shifts moving out all the books and furniture and leaving an empty shell. Its interior was subsequently gutted and rebuilt during 1969-1970 to accommodate the Undergraduate Library in the three lower stories and the Blacker-Wood and Blackader-Lauterman Libraries in the upper stories. Although the Undergraduate Library was disbanded in the late 1980s, the spatial configuration of Redpath remains much the same.

The total cost of building McLennan Library was eventually \$7,430,000: \$3,050,000 from the estate of Isabella McLennan and other bequests, \$2,880,000 from the government of Quebec and \$1,600,000 from the Canada Council.⁴ Although this was a great deal of money at the time, by 1994 standards it seems relatively modest. McGill continues to enjoy a main library whose total stack and user capacity has yet to be exhausted. It also enjoys an outstanding building whose internal convenience and external prominence continue to attract attention and comment.

One question still remains. When will a plaque be unveiled commemorating Isabella McLennan, the McLennan Family, and the Library's formal opening on June 6, 1969?

Notes

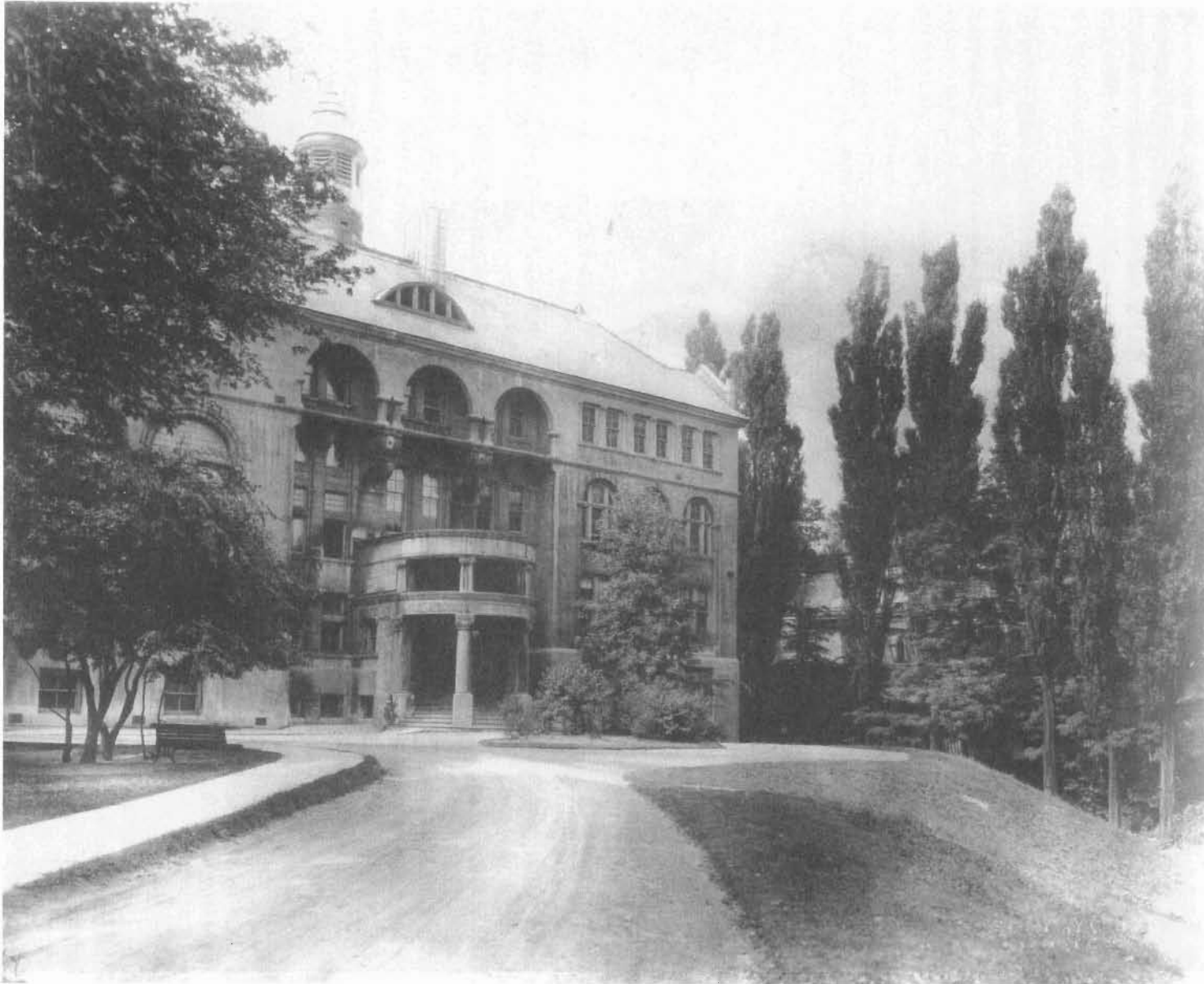
1. The author acknowledges with gratitude the assistance of Mr. David Bourke in writing this article. Also of assistance were the following records: McGill University Archives. RG40 Library. Files 621-623 container 0174, and file 647 container 0175; McLennan Library, Department of Rare Books and Special Collections. Alphabetical files, McLennan Library.
2. Peter F. McNally, "Dignified and picturesque: Redpath Library in 1893," *Fontanus*, v. VI (1993), 69-84.
3. "New McGill library designed to break 'bottle-neck' in learning process," *Montreal Star*, (August 12, 1967), 23.
4. "The McLennan Library," *McGill Alma Mater Fund Newsletter*, v. 1, no. 2 (February 1969), 3.

Macdonald Physics Building: 1893-1993

By Montague Cohen
Professor, Department of Physics

This year is the centenary of the opening of three important buildings on the downtown campus: the Macdonald Physics Building, the Macdonald Engineering Building and Redpath Hall. Only the first of these (Figure 1) will be discussed in this article.

The teaching of physics at McGill began in 1854, when the Department of Mathematics and Natural Philosophy was set up. However, little progress was made in teaching 'practical science' before 1878, when the Faculty of Applied Science was inaugurated, with Henry T. Bovey, Professor of Civil Engineering, as Dean. The next step was taken in 1891, when Sir William Macdonald endowed a chair of physics and John Cox, a Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge, was appointed as the first incumbent. Macdonald also provided generous funds for erecting and equipping a physics building and Cox was asked to visit laboratories in Europe and America to garner ideas as to the design and furnishing of such a building. The architect chosen was Andrew T. Taylor.



Macdonald Physics Building, ca. 1900
(McGill University Archives)

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The Macdonald Physics Building was formally opened on February 24, 1893 by the Governor General of Canada, Lord Stanley. The building was considered to be the finest of its kind in North America - perhaps in the world - thanks to Macdonald's "everything of the best" philosophy. It was designed in Romanesque style and constructed of Montreal limestone lined with pressed brick, and with woodwork of quartered oak. The walls were three feet thick at the base. In order to facilitate experiments in electromagnetism (an important field in the 1890s) some parts of the building, including the magnificent quartered oak stairway, were constructed entirely with the use of iron. The main entrance hall (now no longer used as such) was provided with an elegant stone fireplace inscribed with the motto "Prove All Things." (Figure 2) The cost of the building, excluding equipment, was £29,000 (\$145,000), i.e. about 23¢ a cubit foot.

According to Arthur Stewart Eve (who came to McGill from England in 1903 and was Chairman of the Physics Department from 1919 to 1935), the Macdonald Physics Building was intended "to meet the requirements of the ensuing fifty years." (Eve, *Nature*, July 19, 1906.) In fact, the building served as a physics teaching and research centre for over 80 years and still functions well, albeit in a different role.

However, a building alone does not constitute a university department, particularly a science department. Accordingly, Macdonald instructed Cox to prepare estimates for equipment and apparatus for the new laboratories. Cox submitted a request for £5,000 in response to which £6,000 was provided! Moreover, this was not the end and, in fact, the purchase of equipment continued until 1897, by which time £22,000 had been spent and the Physics Building was deemed to be "fully equipped." However, Macdonald continued to make grants from time to time for special purchases such as radium, a liquid-air machine, and books.

Perhaps most important of all, Macdonald provided funds for staffing the new department (although it was not formally designated as such until much later). In particular, he endowed a second chair, this time in experimental physics. The first incumbent was Hugh L. Callendar, also from Cambridge, who quickly established himself as a world authority on the physics of heat. Callendar specialized in high-precision measurements of thermal quantities and his platinum-resistance thermometer became widely accepted as the standard for the measurement of temperature.

Early in February, 1896, little more than a month after the discovery of X-rays by Wilhelm Conrad Roentgen in Germany was announced to the world, Professor Cox set up the equipment for the production of the radiation in the Macdonald Physics Building and succeeded in making the first radiographs in Canada. These early X-ray photographs included the first clinical radiograph in North America (of a bullet lodged in a young man's leg) to be used as an aid to a surgical procedure (for removing the bullet) and reproduced in a scientific journal: *Montreal Journal of Medicine*, March 1896.

In 1898 Callendar left McGill and the vacant post was filled by a young New Zealand physicist who had just completed three years of graduate research in the Cavendish Laboratory, Cambridge. During his nine years at McGill (1898-1907), Ernest Rutherford carried out pioneering research in the newly discovered field of radioactivity. He established the nature of the radioactive process, the exponential law of radioactive decay, the details of the uranium-radium series and the nature of the alpha-particle. Rutherford's work at McGill laid the essential foundation on which he later (1910) constructed the nuclear model of the atom, the basis of the 'atomic age.' Ernest Rutherford's Nobel Prize (1908) was awarded for his work at McGill University. Indeed, two of his collaborators at McGill would later themselves become Nobel Laureates: Frederick Soddy, a young Demonstrator in Chemistry, and Otto Hahn, a graduate student from Germany. What other building, in McGill or elsewhere, has nurtured three future Nobel Prizewinners in the first fourteen years of its existence?

In a short article it is, of course, impossible to name--let alone discuss--all the distinguished scientists who worked in the Macdonald Physics Building after Cox, Callendar and Rutherford. A partial list must include Eve,

Howard Barnes, Louis King, Norman Shaw, John Stuart Foster, David Keys, Anna McPherson, Stuart Marshall, Walter Hitschfeld and Robert Bell, each of whom merits an article to himself or herself. And that excludes all the physicists who are still alive and working in the Department.

It must not be forgotten that the Macdonald Physics Building was designed not only for research but for teaching, too. Indeed, in an early article in *Nature* on "Physics and Engineering at the McGill University, Montreal" (October 4, 1894), the Physics Building is described as "designed for the teaching and study of physics (including mechanics) with special regard to (1) its intrinsic importance as an integral part of a liberal education in the Faculty of Arts; (2) its essential necessity as a study preliminary to the courses of engineering, mining, and practical chemistry in the Faculty of Applied Science, (3) prosecution of scientific research." It will be noted that the principal aims did not include the education and training of professional physicists! That came later, as Rutherford and others demonstrated the potential of Montreal as a world centre of science.

The Macdonald Physics Building served its original purpose, as a home for the teaching and development of science, until well past the Second World War—far beyond the original 50 years suggested by Eve—but, inevitably, it became too small and too inconvenient to satisfy the needs of modern physics. In 1977 the Physics Department moved into a new building on the upper campus, appropriately named the Rutherford Physics Building. The old Macdonald Building was then gutted, remodelled (at least, internally) and converted into a library. The Physical Sciences and Engineering Library was officially opened on May 19, 1982. Thus William Macdonald's original bequest, for the service of science and engineering, lives on in another guise. Long may it continue!

Views of Rome, Visions of Rome Piranesi Prints from the Nobbs Collection in the Blackader-Lauterman Library, McGill University

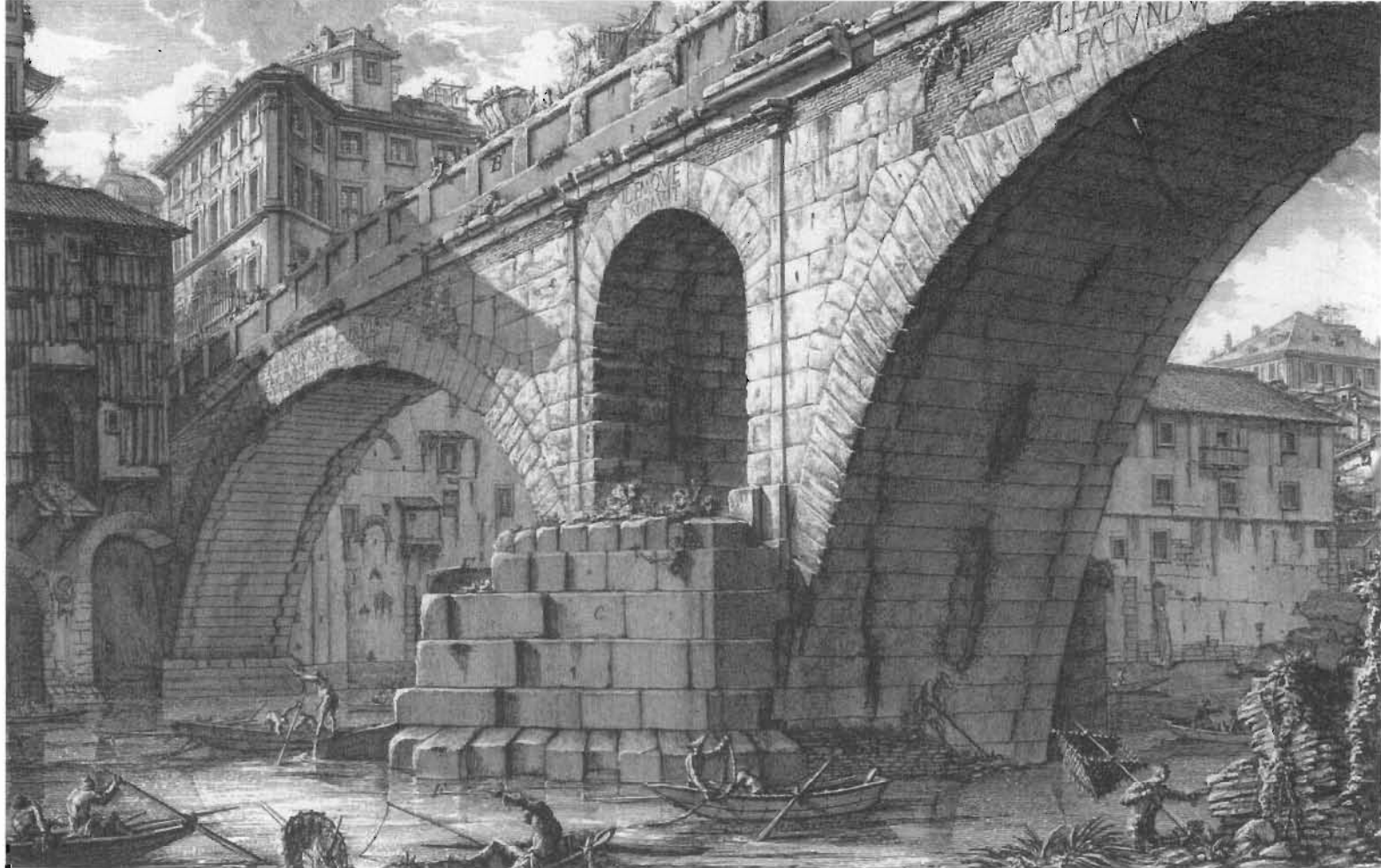
By Ron Harvie

Ph.D. candidate, Department of Art History

Giovanni Battista Piranesi (1720-1778) was one of the great masters, along with Rembrandt and Goya, of the highly demanding medium of etching. He was also that rarity, an artist who was able to combine commerce and conviction. For while he successfully supplied the ever-increasing demand by tourists for inexpensive souvenirs of Rome, Piranesi never abandoned his own personal vision of what the city stood for.

Briefly stated, Piranesi's concept was that the seeds of classic art had originated in Italy, germinated in Greece and flowered most perfectly again in Rome.¹ The more that archaeological discoveries refuted him, the more steadfastly, and profusely, Piranesi maintained his position. This wrong-headed obsession led Horrace Walpole to write of "the sublime dreams of Piranesi, who seems to have conceived visions of Rome beyond what it boasted even in the meridian of its splendour."² Piranesi's images, however, clearly matched the romantic, neoclassic sensibility then so prevalent, particularly in northern Europe.

Although his name is forever attached to Rome, Piranesi was actually Venetian. He was born, and had his early training (as an architect and a theatrical set decorator) in Venice, and the romantic spirit of this city seems to infuse his etcher's needle. So does the Venetian sense of drama, which had been sharpened by study with Bibiena, the self-styled inventor of the *scena per angolo*, (the use of exaggerated low-angle diagonal perspective in stage scenery). Thus, Piranesi's work melds two traditions which appear mutually exclusive: that of the Baroque theatre with that of topographically accurate renderings of architecture.³



View of Ponte Fabrizio, ca. 1762.

Notes and Comments

Piranesi was also a very productive artist. During his career, he made over 1000 etchings, most of them large and densely detailed. Moreover, he claimed that he had to take 4000 impressions—far beyond the normal number—from every single plate in order to make a living! For this reason, he was careful to develop a technique based on parallel etched lines, rather than cross-hatching, so that the images pulled from his plates would remain crisper and clearer over large numbers of impressions. It is this volume of prints, often with only minor revision, taken over a long period of time which has made dating Piranesi's work so tricky.⁴

Piranesi first went to Rome in 1740, where he studied etching and met the important cityscape-painter Pannini. 1743 saw the publication of his first mature work, the *Prima Parte di Architetture e Prospettive*, done in a rather stiff, formal style and not a major success. He returned to Venice that year, where he is believed to have worked in Tiepolo's studio. In 1745, he returned to Rome as a print-publisher's agent and remained there the rest of his life. The first segment of his famous *Vedute di Roma* may have been published in 1748, although the first dated edition is from 1751. Piranesi continually expanded this work over the years until it comprised 135 plates.

Perhaps the best known of Piranesi's works, the *Invenzioni Capric. di Carceri*, or *Imaginary Prisons*, first appeared in 1749. These fourteen etchings of malevolent-looking architectural mazes have created today's image of Piranesi as a proto-Freudian artist of surrealistic, demonic dreamscapes (see *Postscript* below).

In 1756, Piranesi published the four-volume *Le Antichità Romane*. This massive work, combining dramatic scenic views of Roman monuments along with exact architectural renderings of them, made Piranesi a celebrity throughout Europe and shows him clearly as both a great artist and a dedicated archaeologist.

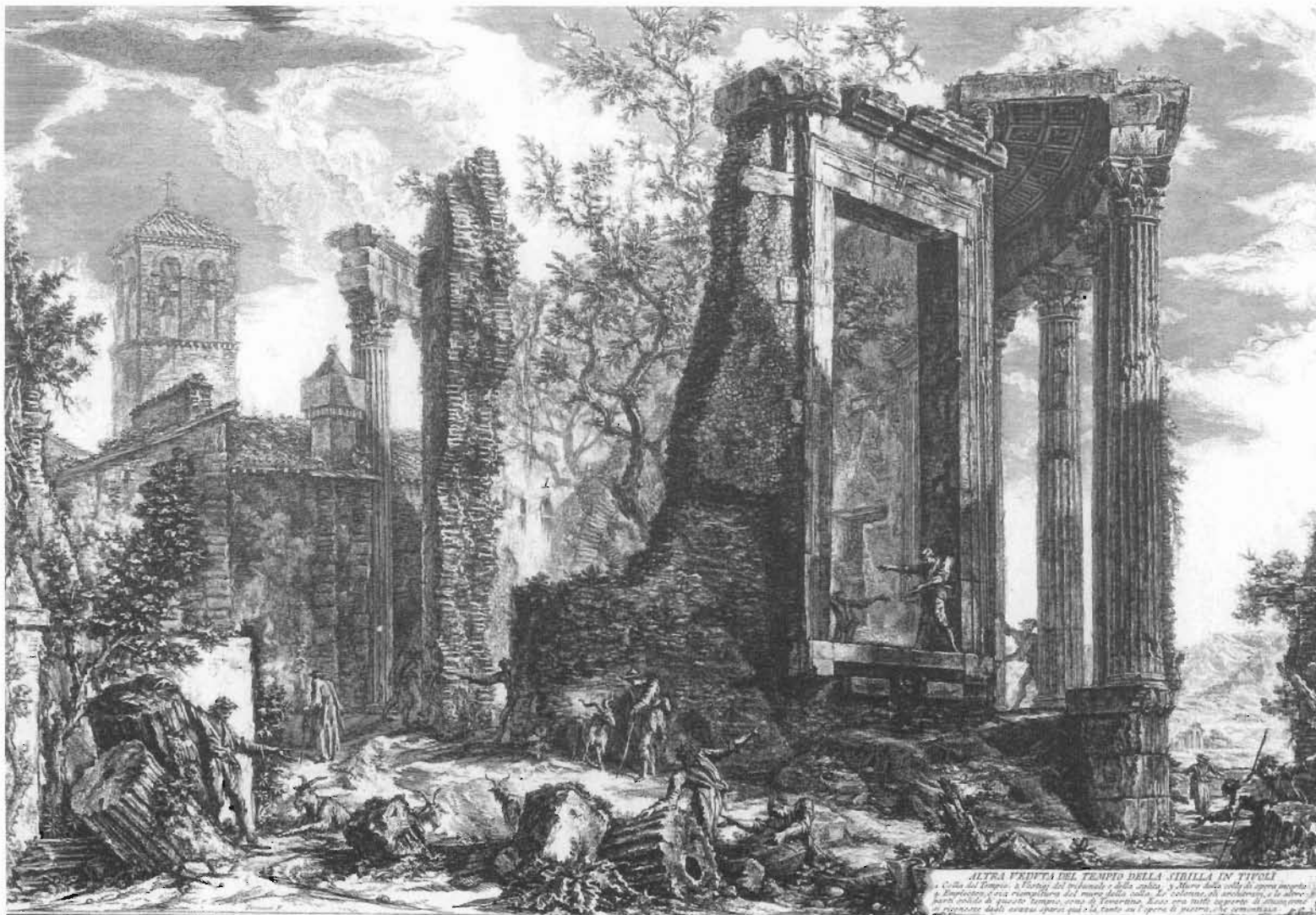
Throughout his life, Piranesi continued to publish all his works extensively, in various permutations and combinations, with continual additions and revisions. He also created a vast series of single plates of architectural ornaments and details, which has been invaluable to scholars of the antique style ever since. Piranesi died in 1778, and his sons Francesco and Pietro continued the publication of his work. In fact, Francesco etched additional plates in the manner of his father, adding yet another difficulty to the cataloguing of Piranesi's work. In 1798, the brothers took all Piranesi's plates to Paris, where they were published until 1839. Then they were bought by the *Camera Apostolica* and returned to Rome.

The etchings owned by McGill were collected by the well-known Montreal architect, Percy E. Nobbs, and presented to the Blackader-Lauterman Library by his son after Mr. Nobb's death in 1964. It is interesting to note that the collector's own fascination with the structure of bridges is reflected in the group of prints: four of the seven are bridge scenes.

1. *Frontispiece with Statue of Minerva*, ca. 1748.
49 x 63 cm.
Third State
F. 786; H.2⁵

From Piranesi's *Vedute di Roma*, this served as the frontispiece to Volume II in posthumous editions. It is an example of a *capriccio*, a collection of ancient buildings and/or sculpture arranged arbitrarily to make a dramatic image: nowhere like this actually existed, although elements in it are recognizable, e.g. the *Hercules Farnese*, a Roman marble copy of the 4th century B.C. bronze attributed to Lysippos, can be seen in the upper left corner.

Judging by the address in the lower left margin, this impression dates from between 1761, when Piranesi established his studio in Palazzo Tomati, and 1778, the year of his death.



View of the Temple of Sibyl, Tivoli, ca. 1780.

Notes and Comments

2. *View of a Cistern at Castel Gandolfo*, ca. 1764.
40 x 61 cm.
F. 531

This is Plate 22 from Piranesi's *Antichita d'Albano e di Castel Gandolfo*, published in 1764. The summer residence of the Popes since Urban VIII (1623-44), Castel Gandolfo is on the edge of Lake Albano, south of Rome. In ancient times, the area was a reservoir for the city, and this etching shows the ruins of a water-collecting cistern. Stylistically, it is very reminiscent of the dark, disturbing series, *Imaginary Prisons*, perhaps Piranesi's most famous work.

This particular impression was printed after 1870.

3. *View of Ponte Fabrizio*, ca. 1756.
36 x 60 cm.
F. 531.

From *Le Antichita Romane*, the four-volume work which made Piranesi famous in artistic and antiquarian circles throughout Europe, this shows the best preserved of the ancient bridges of Rome. Built by the consul L. Fabricius in 62 B.C., the bridge links the east bank of Rome to the Isola Tiberina. It is now known as the Ponte dei Quattro Capi. The wonderful detailing shows why Piranesi was, and is, so highly regarded among architects and archaeologists.

This print was taken after 1870.

4. *View of the Temple of the Sibyl, Tivoli*, ca. 1780.
47 x 65 cm.

This etching is by Francesco Piranesi, the artist's son, and was part of *Raccolta de' Tempi Antichi*, which he published two years after his father's death. The composition is based on one of the most evocative plates in the *Vedute di Roma* (F. 766; H. 63), but Francesco took only half the image created by Piranesi, changed the angle of viewing slightly and added statuary and other figures.

Tivoli, twenty miles northeast of Rome, was a favorite resort of well-to-do Romans and reached the zenith of its splendor under Emperor Hadrian (117-38 A.D.). This temple dates from the first century B.C. and to this day its true identity remains unknown: it is sometimes called the Temple of Vesta.

The print dates from after 1870.

5. *View of the Ponte d'Elio Adriano*, ca. 1756.
37 x 60 cm.
F. 347

Another plate from *Le Antichita Romane*, this image shows the ancient Pons Aelius, built by the Emperor Hadrian in 134 to provide easy access to his massive tomb, now known as the Castel Sant'Angelo and one of Rome's major sights, on the right bank of the Tiber. This bridge is now best known for the statues of angels bearing the instruments of Christ's Passion, commissioned from Bernini in the 17th century (the actual statues were carved by Bernini's assistants).

This impression was printed after 1870.

Notes and Comments

6. *View of the Isola Tiberina*, ca. 1775.
47 x 71 cm.
Third State
F. 836; H. 121

Legend says that the island in the Tiber acquired its religious significance in 292 B.C., when a snake brought to Rome from the Temple of Asklepios at Epidauros in Greece escaped and swam out to it. A temple to the god of medicine, the Roman Aesculapius, was immediately built there. In the print, a plate from the *Vedute di Roma*, remains of the ancient embankment are clearly visible and a statue (Piranesi's invention) of the god with the snake on his staff is seen at letter B.

Judging by two sets of numbers in the upper right corner, this impression dates from 1830-39.

7. *View of the Ponte Molle*, ca. 1762.
43 x 66 cm.
First State
F.f 767; H. 64

Another plate from the *Vedute di Roma*, this shows the Milvian Birdge, which takes the Via Flaminia across the Tiber north of Rome. Originally in the countryside, the spot is now near Rome's Olympic Stadium and completely urbanized. The bridge is best known as the site of the battle between Constantine and Maxentius in 312 A.D., at which the Emperor, inspired by a vision of the Cross, converted to Cristianity and was victorius.

Again, the fine detail of the etching underscores Piranesi's knowledge of the architectural methods of the ancients as well as his ability to enliven what might have been a dry archaeological subject.

This particular impression (which shows some damage in the lower left corner) was probably made during Piranesi's llifetime, i.e. before 1778.

* * * * *

Postscript

There is a copy of Piranesi's *Opera Varie di architettura, prospettiva, grottechi, antichita* in the Department of Rare Books and Special Collections. It was published in Rome by Giovanni Bouchard in 1760-61. It was through the efforts of Ramsey Traquair, Director of McGill's School of Architecture from 1913-1939, that the McGill libraries was able to acquire this important work. The McGill copy of the *Opera Varie*, bound in an 18th-century English binding, includes a complete set of the 14 prints of the first edition of Piranesi's *Carceri* series. (The Rare Book Department's Print Collection houses a complete set of the dramatically reworked fourth edition of the *Carceri*.) Among other important prints in the volume are a complete 2nd edition set of the *Prima Parte*, the thirty plates of the *Antichita Romane de Tempi della Repubblica*, four *Grotteschi*, and the title-page and 8 plates from the *Trofei*.

Notes

1. A. Hyatt Mayor, *Giovanni Battista Piranesi* (New York, 1952) 3.
2. Peter Murray, *Piranesi and the Grandeur of Ancient Rome* (London, 1971) 58.

3. Rudolf Wittkower, *Art and Architecture in Italy 1600 to 1750* (London, 1958) 237.
4. Andrew Robinson, "Dating Piranesi's Early 'Vedute di Roma'" *Piranesi tra Venezia e l'Europa* (Venice, 1983) 11 ff.
5. The "F-" and "H-" numbers refer to the two standard *catalogues raisonnés* of Piranesi's work, Henri Focillon, *Giovanni-Battista Piranesi, essai de catalogue raisonné de son oeuvre*, (1918): and Arthur M. Hind, *Giovanni Battista Piranesi: A Critical Study*, (1922).

"House Portraits" **Four Kriehhoff Oil Paintings at the McCord Collection**

By Conrad E.W. Graham

Curator of Decorative Arts, McCord Museum of Canadian History

The McCord Museum of Canadian History acquired in 1990, as the gift of Mr. And Mrs. David M. Campbell, four "house portraits" by Cornelius Kriehhoff. "House portraits" while popular and not unusual in Britain and the United States, are much less common in Canada and were commissioned only by the most well established citizens. These four Kriehhoff paintings are an important addition to the McCord Museum's collection of historical paintings.

Cornelius Kriehhoff was born in Amsterdam in 1815, the son of Ernest Kriehhoff a wallpaper manufacturer of Düsseldorf, Germany and a Flemish mother. Brought up in Bavaria he is said to have studied painting in Düsseldorf and have travelled Europe as an itinerant musician and painter. In 1837 he emigrated to the United States and enlisted as an artificer in the American army. He made drawings for the army during the Seminole War in Florida.² Discharged from the army in Burlington, Vermont in 1840, he married Emily Saintaguta of Boucherville, Quebec shortly thereafter, although no marriage certificate has been located. By 1841 the Kriehhoff family was living in Montreal but in the middle of the year moved to Rochester, New York probably because he could not obtain enough work as an artist. By 1845 they had returned and had taken up residence in Longueuil. Kriehhoff worked in the Montreal area until 1853 when he moved to Quebec where he remained until 1863 and to which he returned in 1869-1871. He died in Chicago in 1872.³ Kriehhoff was trained in the German genre painting tradition, and the secular subject matter had a sense of immediacy that Canadian customers came to prefer over the more formal neo-classical subjects that had preceded Kriehhoff in Canada.

The four "house portraits" painted by Cornelius Kriehhoff in 1846, and now part of the McCord collection, were commissioned by the Hon. Edward Hale (1800-1875). They represent one of the earliest commissions that Kriehhoff received upon setting up his studio in Montreal. In a letter from Fanny Hale to her brother Edward she makes reference to the fact that she is sending him sketches of the old house and how wonderful it will be to have them in colour,⁴ this probably refers to the sketchbook of her mother Elizabeth Hale now in the National Archives, Ottawa.⁵ This sketchbook includes six sketches of the manor at Ste-Anne-de-la-Pérade and were probably used by Kriehhoff in preparing his composition. The two ancestral houses were most probably painted from engravings. Kriehhoff would have considered this commission to be a very important one as it was this type of clientele which he both wished and needed to cultivate in order to survive in Canada. Likewise, when displayed in the Hale house, the paintings displayed their old and new world roots and that they were part of the "establishment".

The Hon. Edward Hale (1800-1875) was a businessman of some standing, a member of the House of Assembly for Sherbrooke and a Legislative Councillor.⁶ He purchased 600 acres on the banks of the St. Francis river in late 1833 or early 1834 and probably built the house "Sleepy Hollow" during 1834. The museum has portraits of both Edward and his wife signed and dated by Alonzo Slafter 1834, and Slafter is known to have been accepting commissions in Sherbrooke during this year.



Cornelius Krieghoff (1815-1872), *King's Walden Hertfordshire*.

Oil on canvas, 1846; Size: 29.3 x 39.7 cm.

Gift of Mr. & Mrs. David M. Campbell; McCord Museum of Canadian History, M990.758.1



Cornelius Krieghoff (1815-1872), *Plantation* near Guisborough Yorkshire.
Oil on canvas, 1846; Size: 29.0 x 39.0 cm.
Gift of Mr. & Mrs. David M. Campbell; McCord Museum of Canadian History, M990.758.2



Cornelius Krieghoff (1815-1872), *Seignior's of Ste-Anne de la Pêrade*.

Oil on canvas, 1846; Size: 28.7 x 39.8 cm.

Gift of Mr. & Mrs. David M. Campbell; McCord Museum of Canadian History, M990.758.3



Cornelius Krieghoff (1815-1872), *Sleepy Hollow Sherbrooke, Quebec.*

Oil on canvas, 1846; Size 29.3 x 38.7 cm.

Gift of Mr. & Mrs. David M. Campbell; McCord Museum of Canadian History, M990.758.4

Notes and Comments

Edward Hale's father John Hale (1765-1838) first came to Canada in 1793 as aide-de-camp and military secretary to Prince Edward Augustus, Duke of Kent (1767-1820). In 1799 he married Lady Elizabeth Frances Amherst (1774-1826) daughter of Lt. General William Amherst and niece of General Jeffrey Amherst and brought his wife to live in Quebec. He returned as deputy paymaster general and eventually was receiver general. He was a member of the Legislative Council from 1808 to 1838 and a member of the Executive Council from 1820 until his death.⁷ On 27 September 1819 he bought the seigneurie of Sainte-Anne-de-la-Pérade from Anne Tarieu de Lanaudière. It was an historic seigneurie as Madeleine de Vercheres had come here as a bride in 1706. This became the family seat in Canada and summers were spent there until the return to Quebec for the winter social calendar.

The third painting represents the "Plantation" the house of Edward Hale's grandfather General John Hale (1728-1806). The property came to him through his wife Mary Chaloner (1743-1803) and was a portion of the old Chaloner grant of monastery lands near the town of Guisborough in Yorkshire. His grandfather had also had Canadian connections. As colonel in command of the 47th (Lascelles) Regiment, he joined with General Wolfe in the assault upon Quebec in 1759, and it was he who carried to England news of the victory and of the death of General Wolfe.

General John Hale had been born in 1723 at "King's Walden" depicted here as the fourth of the house portraits. This property had entered the family in 1575 and was purchased by Richard Hale a citizen and merchant of London who founded the grammar school in Hertfordshire. It had been a property of the Crown and is first listed in the Domesday Book as "Waldeni". The manor lies in the parish and village of King's Walden, Hertfordshire.

The four house portraits have come with a clear provenance having descended in the Hale family until their purchase by Mr. Campbell.

Notes

1. J. Russell Harper, *Krieghoff* (University of Toronto Press: Toronto, 1979), 5.
2. *Ibid.*, 8.
3. J. Russell Harper, *Early Painters and Engravers in Canada* (University of Toronto Press: Toronto, 1970), 184.
4. McCord Museum Archives, Hale Family Papers, 1846.
5. Colin M. Coates, "Like 'The Thames towards Putney' The Appropriation of Landscape in Lower Canada", *Canadian Historical Review*, Vol. LXXIV (number 3, September 1993), 317-343.
6. *Dictionary of Canadian Biography* (Vol. X), 326-327.
7. *Dictionary of Canadian Biography* (Vol. VII), 372-373.

An Early Canadian Herbal

By Alfred Van Peteghem
Montreal antiquarian bookdealer

The first Canadian plant book is generally accepted to be *Iac[obus] Cornvti doctoris medici parisiensis canadensivm plantarvm, aliarumque nondum editarum historia ...* printed at Paris (Simon le Moyne) in 1635. Indeed, it is the first book *exclusively* devoted to Canadian plants. Cornut was never in Canada¹, and antiquarian bookdealer Lathrop C. Harper in his *Catalogue of Americana, part IV*, 1943², states that "it is said that as there was no one in Canada capable of writing this book the Jesuit fathers collected all the specimens and shipped them to France." A comment by Trömel indicates that "a large number of the plants are described here for the first time".³

Likely the first botanical "book" relating to North America was published in 1620. It is entitled *Histoire des Plantes, Nouvellement trouuées en l'Isle Virgine, & autres lieux, lesquelles ont esté prises & cultiuées au lardin de Monsieur [Jean] Robin Arboriste du Roy. Non encore veuës n'y Imprimées par cy deuant. ...* also printed at Paris⁴. The entire work consists of a title-page and 14 engravings, and is variously listed in Sabin as 16mo (32024) or 32mo (72042). I recall seeing a copy of it in 1975 or 1976, and to the best of my recollections it was no more than about 8 cm. high by 6 cm. wide. While it claims to describe plants "of the Virgin Islands and elsewhere", one of the plates is called the "Lillium canadensis."

Shortly after Robin's *Histoire des Plantes* was on the market, I acquired Pietro Castelli's *Exactissima descriptio rariorvm qvarvndam plantarvm, que continentur Rome in Horto Farnesiano: Tobia Aldino [pseud.] Cesenate avctore. Illustr.^{mi} et rev.^{mi} Principis et cardinalis Odoardi Farnesii medico chimico, et eiusdem horti præfecto.* published at Rome, by Jacob Mascardus, in 1625. This folio volume bound in contemporary "wallpaper"-style (block-printed) boards consists of [6] preliminary leaves, 100 p., 1 l., and a [6] p. Index. There are 22 full-page illustrations, as well as 5 text illustrations (copper engravings). I later sold this volume to McGill University.

Being "of extreme rarity", I was unable to trace the whereabouts of the copy of Robin that I had seen. Sabin lists two copies: John Carter Brown and Harvard. *National Union Catalogue* also gives the Library of Congress as a third holding. There are no less than 17 locations for the Castelli in *National Union Catalogue*, indicating the book is not nearly as rare. The Library of Congress gives as its authority for the author's name Tiraboschi's *Letteratura italiana*. A manuscript note on verso of the "Typographvs lectori" leaf in the McGill copy supports this assertion. The note reads "Huius operis verus auctor fuit Petrus Castellus Medicus Romanus, ut pater ex litteris maiusculis simul collectis, quæ sunt in hæc epistola" (The true author of this work was Petrus Castellus, Roman Doctor, ...). Indeed, the capital letters of the "Typographvs Lectori" leaf spell out his name.

Nobody, however, appears to have noticed the book's Canadian content. The standard *Canadiana* and *Americana* bibliographies do not point out the fact that several plants are of North American origin. Among the American plants illustrated there is the "Panis Hyiuccæ Mexicanæ", the "Aloes Americana florida" and the "Ricinus Americanus" (Figure 1), with leaves that look suspiciously like the maple leaf.

Furthermore, another three plates depict a "Canadian" plant: "Hyivcca Canedana" (Figure 2), "Flores Hyivccæ Canedanæ", and "Radix hyivccæ canadana". Webster's *Dictionary* defines *yucca* [from W. Ind. (prob. Taino) native name] as a plant of the lily family, having stiff, sword-shaped leaves and white flowers in a single cluster, found in the southwestern United States and Latin America.

The plant illustrated by Castelli is similar to the "*Yucca recurvifolia*", also known as *yucca pendula* and *yucca recurva*,⁵ which is said to be "a native of coastal regions of Georgia, Alabama and Mississippi ... allied to *yucca*

RICINUS AMERICANUS.



Figure 1. "Ricinus Americanus."
(Department of Rare Books and Special Collections)

32

Rariores Plantæ

HYIVCCA CANEDANA.

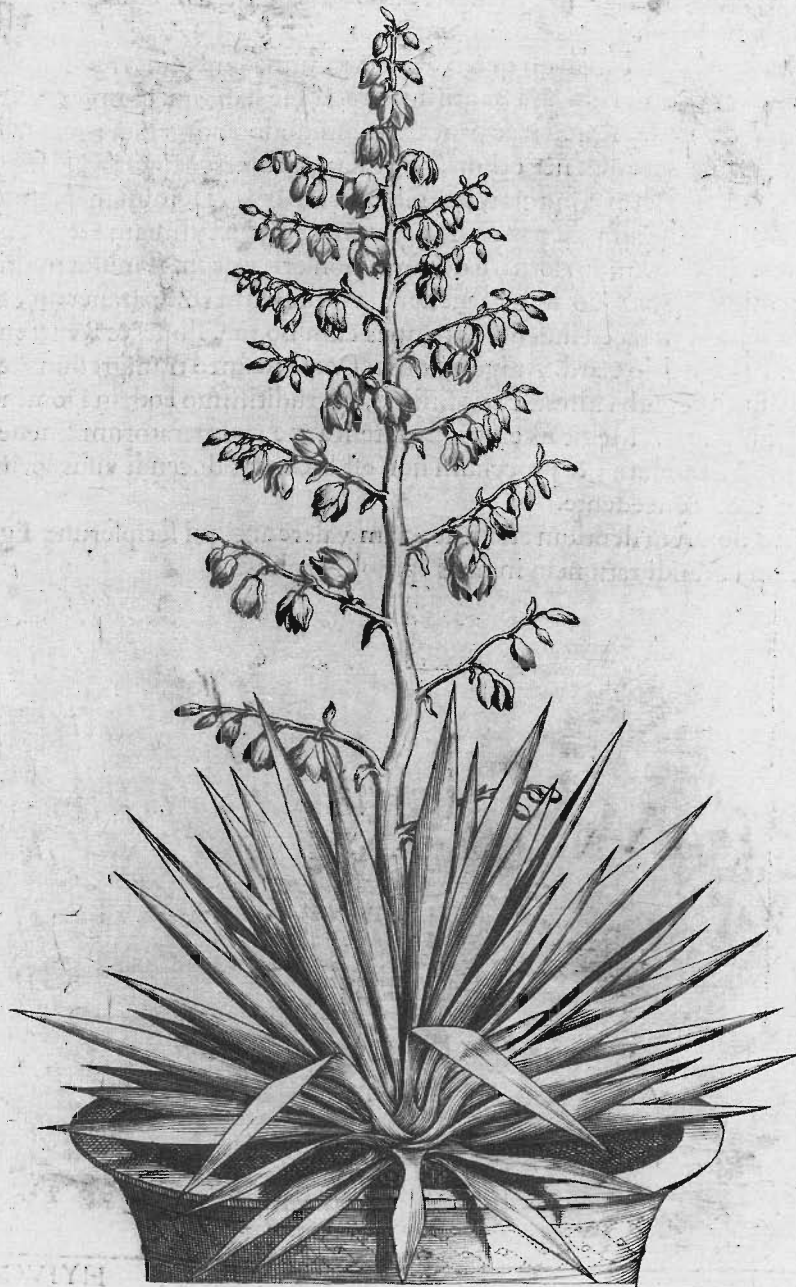


Figure 2. "Hyivcca Canedana."
(Department of Rare Books and Special Collections)

Notes and Comments

gloriosa and as an intermediate between the two species, *yucca recurvata* is occasionally found; some botanists regard *yucca recurvifolia* as a variety of *yucca gloriosa*. Introduced into Britain in 1794, it is quite hardy and is occasionally seen in private gardens, and, for example, grows at the Royal Botanic Gardens, Kew. Its gracefully recurved leaves are quite thin and flat on the upper surface for most of their length. *Yucca gloriosa*, a native of coastal areas from North Carolina to Florida, has thicker, stiffly erect leaves. Some forty species of *Yucca* occur in the southern United States, Mexico and the West Indies. They differ from *Agave* in having perianth segments and stamens which are inserted at the base instead of the top of the ovary, as in *Agave*".⁶

Castelli himself states that the descriptions of *yucca* vary considerably: "Missa nobis est planta ex Canada regione Hyiuccæ nomine, quam conferentes cum Hyiucca, seu Yuccaab aliquibus descripta, tam variat ab ea, quàm ij descriptores inter se, vt Monardes, Gomara, Ouiedus, Cardanus, atque Scaliger." (It is our aim to compare common factors between this plant from the Canadian regions which is called Yucca, with Yucca elsewhere described, as much as the variations in descriptions is concerned, as the degree in variations between authors, such as Monardes, Gomara, Oviedus, Cardanus, and moreover Scaliger). He insists the plant is a *yucca*, and of Canadian origin: "... nostram Hyiuccam legitimam esse certo pronunciare iure dubitaremus (cùm eas regiones, vbi spontè, & satiuè nascitur, & eam colunt certis tantum, & per somnium viderimus) nisi Indi quidam, & alij etiam, qui Hyiuccam in India viderunt, & commederunt, nostram aspicientes plantam testati essent, ipsam legitimam esse Hyiuccam ex qua panem Indi conficiunt." (Our Yucca certainly, beyond any doubt, genuinely originated only in certain parts of the Indies, and exists still elsewhere, — in those regions, where they sprout spontaneously, and as cultivated plants; though they are certainly more often grown; we examined them in dormant state — but the Yucca which is found in the Indies, and is eaten there, prove, by the plants we examined, precisely why it is truly the Yucca with which Indian bread is made).

The French, by 1625, had not yet made their inroads into the Mississippi region; the only French settlement in New France at the time was Quebec (Trois Rivières was not founded until 1634, and Montreal in 1642). Castelli might have referred to plants brought back from Florida during the voyages of Laudonnière, Ribault, and Gorgues, who visited Florida in 1561-67.⁷ However, in that case he would not have insisted on their Canadian origin, because the "Aloes Americana Florida" is identified as originating there, and not in Canada. Since the plant was "introduced into Britain in 1794, ... is quite hardy and ... grows at the Royal Botanic Gardens, Kew",⁸ could these have been specimens legitimately brought back from Canada? Was the plant still growing here in the early 1600s but completely wiped out by some extremely cold and long winter? It is not illustrated in Cornut's *Canadensium plantarum*, ten years later. Cornut, however, must have been aware of Castelli's work: the *Exactissima descriptio* ... is dedicated to Cornut and, therefore, Castelli would have given him a copy.

However, Castelli may well have examined more than one species of plant and erred when he assumed them to be one and the same; no bread is made of the "yucca"; the plant Castelli examined in its "dormant state", evidently was nothing but an ear of corn.

Notes

1. Toronto Public Library, *A Bibliography of Canadiana, First Supplement*, Toronto, 1959, no. 4663, quoting (bibliographer, librarian, book collector, dealer?) Trömel from Sabin, *A Dictionary of Books relating to America from its Discovery to the Present Time*, vol. IV, 1871, no. 16809.

2. *Op. cit.*

3. *Op. cit.*

Notes and Comments

4. Sabin, *op. cit.*, vol. XVII, no. 72042, stating this is the corrected title of No. 32024; vol. VIII. No. 32024, has the footnote "of extreme rarity. Not mentioned by Rich or Ternaux." Jean Robin, 1550-1629, was Henry IV of France's gardener.

5. Morley, Brian D., et al. *Wild flowers of the world. A thousand beautiful plants painted by Barbara Everard.* (London: Ebury Press and Michael Joseph, 1970), plate 168.

6. *Op. cit.*

7. These voyages are described in René Goulaine de Laudonnière's extremely rare *L'histoire notable de la Floride sitvee es Indes Occidentales, contenant les trois voyages faits en icelles par certains Capitaines & Pilotes François* ..., Paris, 1586.

8. Morley, *op. cit.*

In Touch with History The Archival Collection of Professor Thomas Henry Clark

By Jason Pan

Department of Earth and Planetary Sciences

MCGILL CENTENARIES

The year 1993 marked two historic centennial observances; the festivities marking the 100th year of Redpath Hall, and the celebration of Emeritus Professor Thomas Henry Clark's 100th birthday, acknowledging his seventy years of distinguished service at McGill.

Redpath Hall is reserved in its usual serene and tranquil composure to the witnessing of McGill history through the ages. Professor Clark is also a living link to the past century of history. This paleontological centurion is a gentleman scholar from another time and age; yet he is still vigorous and active in academic and intellectual pursuits.

After graduating from Harvard, Thomas Henry Clark came to McGill in 1924 as an assistant professor in the Department of Geology. He was Logan Professor in Paleontology from 1931-1962, and was the head of the department from 1952-1959. Clark also undertook other important appointments; working as geologist for the Geological Survey of Canada 1926-1931, Curator of the Redpath Museum 1932-1952, and geologist for the Quebec Department of Mines 1938-1963.¹ He has been an Emeritus Professor at McGill since 1962, and also an Advisor in Geology at the Redpath Museum from 1964 to the present day.

In professional circles, Clark is highly regarded and esteemed for his outstanding contributions in the geosciences. He is recognized by his colleagues and peers to belong to a very exclusive and select company, as one of the top Canadian scientists in the 20th century. He has been elected to some of the highest professional offices: he was President of the Geological Society of Canada, and Head of the Geology Division of the Royal Society of Canada. In 1971, the Geological Association of Canada (the professional body of the geoscience community) granted him its highest award, the Logan Gold Medal. This award, named after Sir William Logan, the founder of the Geological Survey of Canada, acknowledged Clark's distinguished contribution and his major accomplishments in the advancement of geoscience in Canada.

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Known as a superb teacher, an able administrator, a proficient scientist, and expert field geologist, Clark is above all a true gentleman in the full sense and truest meaning of the word. Ingrid Birker, Paleontology Curator at the Redpath Museum remarked that, "he's an old-world type mentor, very steadfast and honourable. He's simply wonderful."²

Clark's work has had an immense impact on the North American geological community. He has been a friend and an inspiration to generations of McGill graduates. These McGill graduates have gone on to become successful geologists, engineers, managers, and company executives in all aspects of the Canadian petroleum, mining, and resource industries. They have also played major roles in government geological surveys, and in university research and teaching.

His students remember him as an enthusiastic and captivating teacher. Famous for his spirited lectures and an exuberant sense of humour, Clark loved to tell a good joke to illustrate a point and to bring a dramatic end to some earnest discussion. He was always courteous and gracious in his conduct, always entertaining. His course was always rated among the best by students. Science and engineering students had to take this introductory geology class, and each year, Clark lectured to hundreds of students in large lecture theatres. Many recorded that they had gone into the geosciences because Clark's introductory course had so captivated them.

Together with Professor Colin Stearn in the department and, later with Professor Robert Carroll from biology, he wrote the important textbook, *The Geological Evolution of North America*.³ Going through several printings and editions, it was one of the best introductory geology textbooks of the time, and for several decades it has been widely used in many universities and colleges. The popularity of this textbook among generations of students and its prominence among professional peers are well-deserved. The assessment can be summed up by Stephen Jay Gould, (Harvard Professor of Paleontology; of *Wonderful Life* fame): "I knew of Clark by reputation of course, for all geologists respect his classic textbook... on *The Geological Evolution of North America*...."⁴

Professor Clark was also an expert on the Burgess Shale fossils. In 1924, he met Charles Walcott at his field camp and worked in the Burgess quarry to collect the precious well-preserved fossils (Walcott is the discoverer of the Burgess Shale; he was Director of the U.S. Geological Survey, Head of the Smithsonian Institution in Washington, President of National Academy of Science). Clark has maintained a life-long involvement to this day, establishing and categorizing the Burgess Shale Collection at the Redpath Museum. In 1990 at the age of 97, Clark delivered a lecture on the Burgess Shale and the work of Charles Walcott.⁵

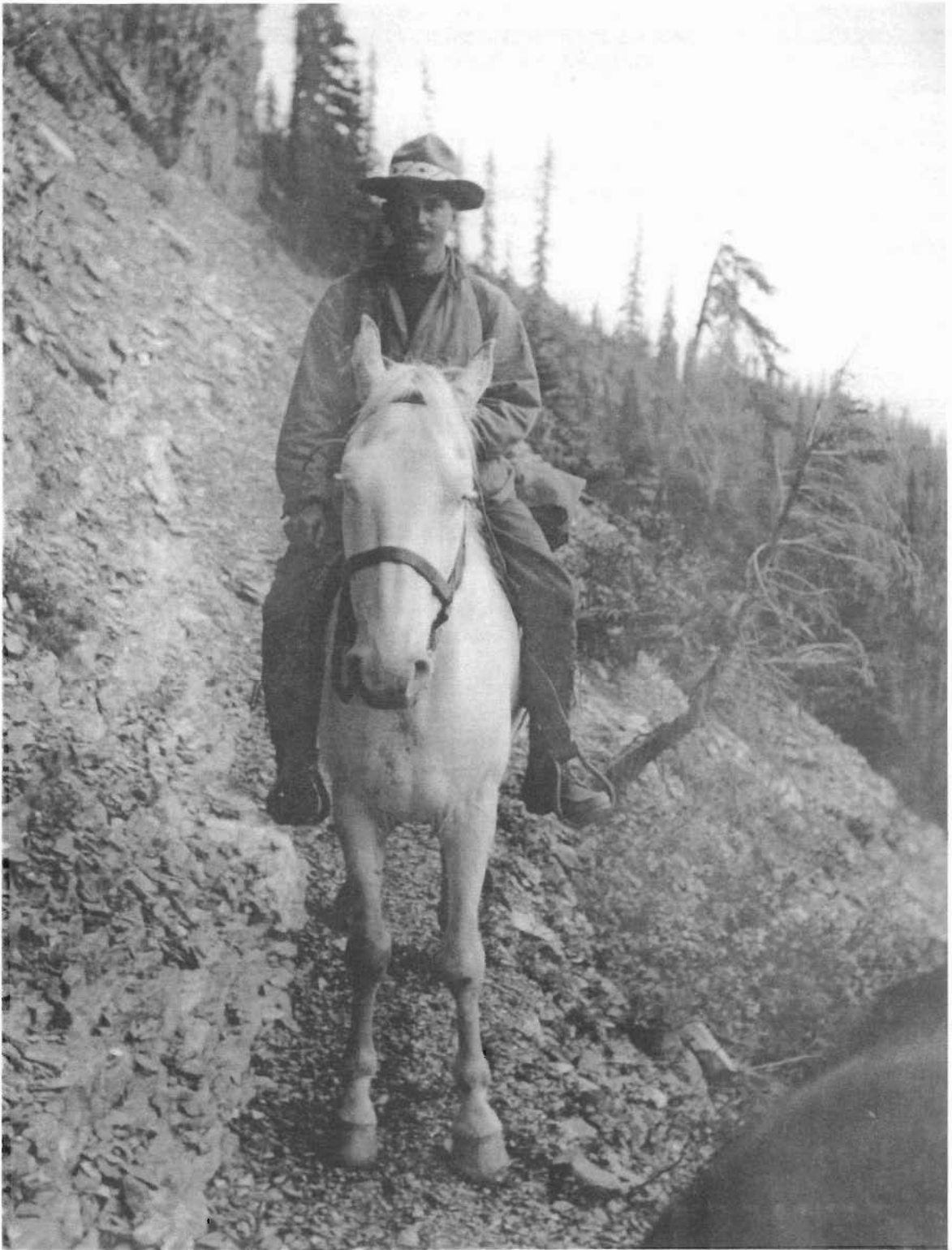
Born 1893, Clark was a veteran of the First World War (in the U. S. Army Medical Corps 2nd Lieutenant, 1917 to 1919). As a young student in the second decade of the century, he began doing geology mapping and field work during his undergraduate geology training. Now with seventy years of active employment at McGill behind him, Clark is still, as always, exemplary in his commitment to scientific research. For the last three decades, despite his advanced age and having been "retired" from academic life in 1962, he has worked nearly every day on his fossil collections. For the last few years, in his late nineties, Clark still came to work at least twice a week to his offices in the Redpath Museum and the Geology Department.

CONCLUSION OF AN ERA

In the summer of 1993, Clark decided that it was finally time to "really" retire and give up his McGill office.

He started to move out of his office sometime in early June. He cleared up the seventy odd years worth of material, and left it outside of his office for garbage. I was not aware of this change until somebody told me about it one day. Other students also had been there to pick up whatever interested them before the janitor hauled the rest

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T.H. Clark astride Ghost on the trail near the Burgess Shale, 1924.

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away. Later that day, I went over to have a look. Seeing that these old publications, out-of-print reports, and dusty turn-of-century journals were of some historical and scientific value and should be saved, I planned to take some of the boxes and store them around the department. I got another graduate student, Paul Budkewitsch, involved in this archival record preservation endeavour. Together we examined and sorted through the accumulated material as things were disposed of outside the office. Many times we were thankful that we got there before the custodial staff.

While we worked with the material, people in the department who went by would wonder why we bothered. They thought it was foolish to get all worked up over old letters and tattered books. In any case, the department was in serious need for more space, and downsizing was the order of the day. No one was supposed to add more boxes and fill up our already cramped offices and classrooms. Others commented that we were odd to be snooping through the trash. They thought we were going to take all the books and papers home or give them away to friends. At times we had to ignore the inquisitive stares and the less than complimentary remarks as we carted things away for storage.

Clark and his house assistants came on Tuesdays to clean out his office. They would work through the vast accumulations of material, taking the more important personal effects home, and throwing away whatever was not needed, or things deemed useless. We then requested to be allowed to keep whatever was outside his office that was designated to be cast off. Furthermore, we also asked them not to junk any of the books and manuscripts. As well, we indicated that we were willing to help out in their removal of the office contents. At the time we were only thinking of preserving the old geology books, journals, and special reprints that could still be in good use by the department, professors, and students.

In the subsequent weeks, we gained the confidence of Clark and his assistants, undoubtedly with recommendation and reassurance about our endeavours from Shirley Jackson, Geology Department secretary. So during July and thereafter we would go and put in boxes all the material that Professor Clark had decided not to take home. Despite our heavy workload, we still had to do whatever was necessary to save this geological literature and manuscripts from oblivion.

For the next few weeks my friend and I sorted through the material on the weekly visits by Clark and his assistants. Both of us were behind in our academic schedules and had to work most of the day. Therefore we would often labour in the evenings and into early morning hours organizing the enormous amount of material.

In the subsequent days, we had to make some fateful decisions. What do we do with all the stuff? What should be kept, and what should go to the department for use? Large piles of books and journals were sorted and organized, and made available for the Geology reading room. We also kept some of the excellent guidebooks and reprints, those that would be useful for research and geology field trips. Other scientific literature and reports were given to people in the department with relevant specialties in the field.

It was only later that the realization came of the immense value of the historical and scientific treasures on our hands when we worked through the rich deposits containing fieldwork notebooks, working maps, rare monographs, and personal effects such as letters and postcards. We contacted the McGill University Archives and they were more than happy to have these historical documents and personal records of Professor Clark's lifetime work. These materials turned out to be very useful for the Clark Centennial celebration at the Redpath Museum and the special exhibit arranged by Ingrid Birker.

CONTRIBUTION TO THE ARCHIVES

This addition to the McGill University Archives is described here briefly. More detailed examination and description of this material must await future Archives' research projects. Here follows an overall summary listing of the Clark collection with highlights of some particularly notable items.

1. One box of geology field notebooks compiled by Dr. T.H. Clark and field assistants under his direction, during various field seasons of mapping and geology work for the Quebec Ministry of Mines Reports from the 1930s to the 1960s.
2. One box of personal correspondence (mostly signed and dated letters) from 1910 up to the present day, including official McGill Geology Department and Redpath Museum business. This correspondence includes many fascinating historical rarities, including letters between Professor Clark and other famous scientists and academics of the day: Charles Walcott of the Smithsonian Institute, Professor Percy Raymond of Harvard University, Professor Charles Schuchert of Yale University, and René Levésque in 1961 when the late Premier was the Minister of Natural Resources.
3. Several postcards from different decades, some with military censor marks. One favourite item is a postcard from his army buddy in 1918 during the First World War. It was from the European front lines, and addressed to: Sgt. Thomas H. Clark, Med. Dept. USA, Boston, Mass. The postcard opened with these words: "Dear Tom, How is the old kid ?". This was in 1918, some seventy-six years ago. Little did the writer realize how appropriate his words would become.
4. Working drafts of maps and cross sections, core logging descriptions and geological diagrams for government reports and other publications.
5. Receipts, expenditure accounts, and memos of field work and mapping projects for the Quebec Ministry of Mines Reports from the 1940s to the 1960s.
6. Field photographs of rock outcrops and exposures, and of Clark and his assistants at work, taken during field work and regional mapping for the Quebec Ministry of Mines Reports from the 1930s to the 1960s.
7. Silver-coated glass plate slides from the 1940s and the 1950s. Most are for teaching purposes. They consist of maps of selected Quebec localities, photographs of fossil specimens, stratigraphic cross sections, schematic diagrams. The batch also contains prints of Clark's own collection of English delftware.

Some of the above material is on loan to the Redpath Museum, where the Curator for Paleontology, Ingrid Birker, has constructed a *Thomas Henry Clark Centennial Exhibition*, a travelling presentation to be displayed at various sites in Montreal, Ottawa, Quebec City, and other locales in Canada and the United States.

In addition, much of Clark's collection of published materials is deposited in the Geology Department's Reading Room. These include whole sets of old journals and books, out-of-print papers, early scientific monographs, and reprints from geology colleagues from all over the world. Some are kept in storage for future use by student and staff.

SIGNIFICANCE OF THE CLARK COLLECTION

The Archival Collection of Thomas Henry Clark is a gift of enormous value and significance: for the rich biographical information contained, for the preservation of an important chapter of McGill and Canadian history,

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T.H. Clark, ca. 1960. (Department of Earth and Planetary Sciences)

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and for the heritage of the scientific community. His work is world-famous, and quite a number of his publications have long been considered as classics. Many of his comprehensive mapping reports and research papers are standard references in the field, acclaimed for their scientific excellence. With over 100 scientific papers published, the first in 1917 and the latest in 1990.⁶ His prodigious productivity and the quality of his work are much regarded. In the geoscience community across international boundaries, Dr. T.H. Clark of McGill University, is readily recognized and acclaimed as one of the foremost names in stratigraphy and paleontology.

The material given to the McGill University Archives represents important elements of Clark's scientific works. We can trace the developments and workings of the renowned Clark geology maps and reports through his field notebooks, sketches of outcrop localities, hand-drawn diagrams of structural interpretation, and drafts of maps in preparation. The collection reveals the whole extent of his richly active professional, academic, research, teaching, and administrative career. The whole spectrum of his lifetime work is represented in his voluminous correspondence with fellow professors, former students, geology researchers, amateur fossil collectors, commercial companies, university departments, museums, government agencies, and publishers.

His letters reveal the humane and compassionate side of Professor Clark. He is given to prompt consideration and accommodation in helping many a friend in times of difficulty. There are also scores of letters from friends, grateful students, and colleagues thanking him for his help, and for his thoughtfulness, generosity, and kindness.

From the early days, through the decades and on to the present time, Clark's geological reports and maps of the Montreal Island area and of all regions in southern Quebec are utilized and consulted every day for all kinds of surficial and subsurface ground work. They are the first and last works on geology for infrastructure construction and engineering projects, in building houses and office towers, in petroleum and mineral exploration, water reservoir and pollution analysis, urban planning and land use studies. He undertook the pioneering paleontological studies and geological surveying of the St. Lawrence Lowland region (including the Montreal area), from the 1910s to the present day. His publications have included vast regions of Quebec, the Appalachian mountains, and areas of New England.⁷ These works laid the foundation for all subsequent mapping and research studies in this northeast corner of North America.

The Clark Collection preserved in the McGill University Archives, provides us and all later generations with an authentic connection and a vital link to the history of a by-gone era. These records are windows to a most remarkable career — Dr. Thomas Clarke — a great Canadian.

Notes

1. *The International Who's Who 1991-1992* biographical entry, Europa Publications Ltd., London, U.K.
2. Ingrid Birker as quoted in *The McGill Reporter: Digging Up the Past*, by Daniel McCabe, April 11, 1990.
3. *Geological Evolution of North America*, 3rd. ed. 1979. Colin Stearn, Robert Carroll, and Thomas H. Clark. John Wiley and Sons, Inc. (note: this reference is for the 3rd ed., I really should have the 1st and 2nd ed. reference, Clark and Stearn....., but I do not have a copy.)
4. In Touch with Walcott, in *Eight Little Piggies: Reflections in Natural History*. Stephen Jay Gould, 1993. Published by Norton Ltd., New York, 229 p.
5. A Lecture by Dr. T.H. Clark, "The Strange Animals of the Burgess Shale; What Happened at Field, B.C. and What it Means Today", Redpath Museum, Wednesday March 28, 1990.

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6. As listed in *The International Who's Who* entry. See also Publications of T.H. Clark as provided by Ingrid Birker of Redpath Museum.

7. Publications of T.H. Clark as provided by Ingrid Birker of Redpath Museum.

Beatrice V. Simon (1899-1994)

Peter F. McNally

Associate Professor, Graduate School of Library and Information Studies

Beatrice V. Simon, a leading figure in Canadian librarianship, died in Kitchener Ontario, on February 8, 1994. Although her career was spent entirely at McGill University, she enjoyed both a national and an international reputation.¹

Born on November 29, 1899 she was educated at the Montreal High School for Girls and at Stanstead College (Quebec). As a result of travelling with her parents to Argentina and the United States — where her father worked as an engineer — her education at McGill was interrupted, and she completed her B.A. only in 1943. Her 1950 M.A. thesis in Comparative Literature was on "Autobiographical Writing of Some North American Indians: a Critical Study of Their Origin and Development."

Although she studied art at the Carnegie Institute of Technology in Pittsburgh, Penn. in 1920-1921 and worked for a short period as a freelance commercial artist, her life-long career was to be in librarianship. In 1927-1928 she took the one year Diploma in Library Science which had just been introduced by the McGill Library School. For the next forty-one years, between 1928 and 1969, she divided her career between the School and the McGill Libraries. Her first professional position was in the Medical Library where she served as Assistant Cataloguer (1928-1930) and Head of Serials (1930-1938). During this period she began teaching in the Library School which by now had become a graduate program offering a Bachelor of Library Science. Between 1935 and 1938 she taught as a part-time instructor and between 1938 and 1943 as a full-time faculty member, lecturing on Cataloguing, Indexing, Serials, and Special Libraries.

During this same period, she became active in the Special Libraries Association, becoming President of the Montreal branch in 1936-1937 and Second Vice-President of the international organization in 1949-1950. It was in Britain, however, where she achieved her first international recognition. During 1938-1939 under the sponsorship of the Rockefeller Foundation she undertook surveys of British medical libraries for the Royal College of Surgeons which resulted in the development of co-operative programs. The major publication from this project was *A Survey of Medical Library Facilities in London*. Plans for a similar study in France were interrupted by World War II.

In 1943, at the request of Principal F. Cyril James, she rejoined the Library staff, although she continued giving the Special Libraries course at the School until 1951. Between 1943 and 1947 she established the Commerce Library (forerunner of the Howard Ross Management Library) and ran the Law Library. The Principal was so impressed with her achievements that he appointed her Assistant University Librarian in 1947, concurrently with his appointing Richard Pennington University Librarian.

In theory, the combination of Pennington and Simon should have been excellent. His very unstructured and traditional approach and her very structured and organizational approach should have complimented one another. In fact, their personalities clashed and they were never able to develop an harmonious working relationship. This situation was exacerbated by the Principal having appointed Simon as Pennington's Assistant, without first consulting him.

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That said, Beatrice Simon's contribution to the running of the McGill libraries was enormous. Between 1947 and 1956 she co-ordinated activities between Redpath Library and the various faculty, school, and departmental libraries. During 1951-1953 she developed the Physical Sciences Library (forerunner of the Physical Sciences and Engineering Library) through the amalgamation of a number of departmental libraries. From 1956 to 1965 she was, in effect, the head of public services in Redpath Library.

During the 1950s she was actively involved in the Quebec Library Association, becoming its President in 1959-60. In 1961 she was President of the Canadian Library Association's University Libraries Committee (forerunner of the Canadian Association of College and University Libraries). Her greatest accomplishment of this period, and the one for which she will probably be best remembered, was her 1962 report on libraries for the Canadian Association of Medical Colleges. It was published by the Association in 1964 as *Library Support of Medical Education and Research in Canada*. A French-language version was published the same year as *Les besoins de la bibliothèque médicale pour l'enseignement et la recherche*. It was a landmark study which resulted in an enormous increase of support for Canadian medical libraries. The fruits of her labour continue to be felt today. In 1969 the Special Libraries Association held its annual conference in Montreal where she was awarded its Professional Award in recognition of her outstanding contributions to the practise, study and teaching of librarianship and in particular recognition of her 1962 report.²

As for her McGill career it took a radical change of direction in the 1960s. The great initiatives and developments experienced by Canadian higher education in that decade resulted in much critical attention being paid to libraries in general and the McGill libraries in particular. Although criticism at McGill was directed primarily at Richard Pennington and resulted in his stepping down as University Librarian in 1964, some criticism was also directed at Beatrice Simon. Their refusal to speak with one another, publicly or privately, caused justifiable disquiet which undermined the credibility of both. That both should have retired in 1965 seemed ironically appropriate to many people.

At this point she returned as a Sessional Lecturer to what had by then become the Graduate School of Library Science, where from 1965 to 1969 she taught Administration as well as College and University Libraries. Her required course in Administration was part of the reorganized curriculum of the newly inaugurated two year Master of Library Science Program. The course is particularly significant because it was the first attempt in any library school to teach management theory. Students of that period remember her as an excellent lecturer, always able to illustrate theories and principles with examples from her own career. Although her penetrating eyes and questions could be troubling for some people, her effectiveness in communicating the essence of administration was universally acknowledged.

It was with pleasure and surprise that friends and colleagues learned in 1979 of her marriage to Hermann G. Stockwell, following which she moved from Montreal to Ontario. Her later years were marked, unfortunately, by poor health, which thwarted plans to revise her Master's thesis for publication.

Beatrice Vina Simon Stockwell will be remembered as an attractive, energetic and intelligent woman who paid great attention to her personal appearance and stylish wardrobe. She held strong opinions on most issues and expressed them freely and effectively. Neither her competence nor intellectual grasp of situations nor leadership abilities were ever in doubt. The deep satisfaction she took from her association with McGill University its Libraries and Library School was greatly evident. Her commitment to librarianship, and to its highest standards, was beyond question; her contribution to its public recognition as an academic profession was immense. She was an exacting person to work for or to study under. But her very seriousness kept those around her aware of the great importance she attached to librarianship and to intellectual achievement. By any standard, she must be considered one of the most distinguished and effective librarians of her generation.

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A Selective Bibliography of B.V. Simon's Publications

A Survey of Medical Library Facilities in London for Post-Graduate Students and Research Workers Including a Suggested Scheme for the Re-organization of the Library of Royal College of Surgeons. Montreal: McGill University Library School, 1938.

"Planning a Company Library." *Business Quarterly*, v. 16, no. 1 (Spring 1946): 39-46.

"Let's Consider Serials Realistically." *Library Journal*, v. 71, no. 17 (October 1, 1946): 1296-1301.

"The Training of Medical, Hospital and Nursing Librarians." *Special Libraries*, v. 39, no. 3 (March 1948): 71-76.

"Cataloguing of Periodicals." *Ontario Library Review*, v. 33, no. 3 (August 1949): 237-45.

Library Support of Medical Education and Research in Canada: Report of a Survey of the Medical College Libraries of Canada, Together with Suggestions for Improving and Extending Medical Library Service at Local, Regional and National Levels. Ottawa: Canadian Association for Medical Colleges, 1964.

Les besoins de la bibliothèque médicale pour l'enseignement et la recherche. Québec: Université Laval, 1964.

"The Need for Administrative Know-how in Libraries." *Bulletin of the Medical Library Association*, v. 57, no. 2 (April 1969): 160-170.

Notes

1. The assistance of the following people in writing this appreciation is gratefully acknowledged: Ms. Fay Lando-Little, Toronto, Ontario; Mrs. M.A. Flower, Kingston, Ontario; Mrs. Nellie Reiss, Mrs. Elizabeth Silvester, and Dr. Stanley Frost, McGill University.

2. "SLA professional award/1969," *Special Libraries*, v. 60, no. 6 (July-August, 1969): 406.

The Rutherford Museum

By Montague Cohen
Professor, Department of Physics

The Rutherford Museum of McGill University contains a collection of about 35 pieces of original research apparatus designed and used by Ernest Rutherford during his tenure as Macdonald Professor of Experimental Physics from 1898 to 1907. In addition, there are documents, letters, photographs and other memorabilia. Until recently the museum was housed in a room in the old Macdonald Physics Building where Rutherford actually worked, although this building was converted into a library (Physical Sciences and Engineering) in 1977. In 1993 it was decided to move the museum to the new Physics Building, appropriately named the Rutherford Physics Building, on the upper campus. The museum was officially re-opened on October 1, 1993 by the University Chancellor, Gretta Chambers, and a public lecture on "Rutherford at McGill: Life and Science" was given by the Museum Curator, Professor Montague Cohen.

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Although the move entailed a break with the original Physics Building, the new location provides about 50 percent more space for the museum and this has been utilized to display photographs, documents and other items to advantage. Unfortunately, there are no additional pieces of original apparatus! The new museum is next to the McPherson Museum of Scientific Instruments (mainly late 19th century) and visitors can see both collections if they wish. Although neither museum has regular hours of opening, visits can be arranged by appointment at short notice. Visitors to Montreal should at least be aware that the city includes this unique treasure!

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

Thanks to a number of farsighted individuals and corporations who have pledged nearly \$5 million in contributions through the McGill Twenty-First Century Fund, the McGill Libraries will be better able to maintain and improve its comprehensive and diversified collections for the growing number of students and scholars, as well as the Montreal community, who use the libraries.

The R.H.W. Foundation pledged \$3,000,000 to enhance collections in the Humanities and Social Sciences Library and the Physical Sciences and Engineering Library. The CIBC pledged \$500,000 in the fields of Management, Music, Architecture and Law. The Sun Life Assurance Co. pledged \$300,000 to the Health Sciences Library. Recently, two anonymous donations for a total of \$350,000 were received in the libraries. \$180,000 was received from a donor in Hong Kong and last May a very successful Roast, hosted by the Roaster's Foundation, of our former Principal, David Johnston, brought in \$150,000 to the libraries. The Seagram Company Ltd. has committed a most generous pledge in support of library materials for the McGill Institute for the Study of Canada and a donor in Europe has agreed to support material for Polish and German Studies. McGill faculty and staff were most generous to the libraries during the faculty and staff campaign last year.

The Friends of the Library have donated funds for the acquisition of the following new treasures:

- *Principles and Practice of Ophthalmology*, 2nd ed., ed. by Albert & Jacobiec. (6 vols).
- *The Trial of Adolf Eichmann: record of the proceedings* (5 vols.) Jerusalem: State of Israel Ministry of Justice.
- *Encyclopedia of Food Science, Food Technology and Nutrition*, ed. by Macrae, Robinson and Sadler. London: Academic Press, 1993. (8 vols.).
- *Mélanges Dufournet. Et c'est la fin pour quoi sommes ensemble.* (3 vols.). Littérature, histoire et langue du Moyen Age.
- Milton. *Paradise Lost*. Hammersmith, 1902. Doves Press.
- Plotinus. *Plotins Schriften: Griechisch-deutsch.* 6 Bde. Hamburg: Meiner.

The following list represents merely a selection of significant and unusual items acquired by McGill libraries, archives and museums, mostly during 1993.

Blackader-Lauterman Library of Architecture and Art

The Library was awarded a two-year, \$15,000 SSHRC Support to Specialized Collections Grant in the subject area of Urban Design. The first joint SSHRC Support to Specialized Collections Grant proposal in the subject field of Iconography-Modern Iconography was submitted in co-operation with Université de Montréal, UQAM, Laval and Concordia through the CREPUQ consortium. Besides, the first allocation of over \$31,000 from the Webster donation was received.

The most significant acquisition this year was the newly available sequel to the *Marburger Index*. The sequel represents the holdings of art museums from East Germany, and in particular those of the Deutsche Fotothek der Sächsischen Landesbibliothek Dresden, which became recently available as a result of German reunification. The new sequel includes 440,000 images, completing the 920,000 already included in our holdings. The other two titles

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of major significance acquired this year were the *Catalogue of Walter Gropius Archive* (Munich: Technical University, 1990), and the *Catalogue of the Architectural Drawings of Alvar Aalto* (Helsinki: Museum of Finnish Architecture, 1994), both distributed by Garland.

The library acquired a number of important catalogues raisonnés: foremost among these were V.E. Barnett's *Kandinsky Watercolours* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1992-); R. van Bastelaer's *Prints of Peter Breughel the Elder* (San Francisco: A Wofsy Fine Arts, 1993); J.B. de la Faille's *Vincent van Gogh: the complete works on paper* (San Francisco: A. Wofsy Fine Arts, 1992) and *Géricault* (Paris: Musées nationaux, 1991).

Historical catalogues of consequence included G. Campori's *Gli artisti italiani e stranieri negli Stati estensi* (Modena, Camera, 1855) and H.E. Kubach's *Romanische Baukunst an Rhein und Maas* (Berlin: Deutsche Verlag für Kunstwissenschaft, 1976-). The long-awaited reference work by J. de Maere, *The Illustrated Dictionary of 17th Century Flemish Painters* (Bruxelles: Renaissance du Livre, 1994) was also received, as was another important reference tool, Christopher Wright's *The World's Master Paintings*, a comprehensive listing of works by 1,300 painters and a complete guide to their locations world-wide (London: Routledge, 1992). Scholarly monographs and exhibition catalogues, particularly on the work of 20th century artists were among notable acquisitions this year, including W. Schmied's *Hundertwasser* (Salzburg: Welz, 1974) *Alexander Rodchenko: works on paper 1914-1920* (London: Sotheby's 1991). Further important additions to the library included titles on urban history: A. Bellani's *Milano: architetture per la città* (Milano: Domus, 1989), A. La Padula's *Roma e la regione nell'epoca napoleonica* (Roma: Istituto editoriale pubblicazioni internazionali, 1970), E. Paoletti's rare series, *Il fiore de Venezia: i quadri, i monumenti, le vedute ed i costumi* (Venezia: Fontana, 1837-1840) and *Les Lieux de mémoire* (Paris: Gallimard, 1984-1992); on archeology - *Excavations at Sarachane in Istanbul* (Princeton: Princeton University Press and Washington: Dumbarton-Oaks Research Library and Collection, 1986-1992), and on building types - D. von Winterfeld: *Der Dom in Bamberg* (Berlin: Mann, 1979-).

Notable gifts included two valuable titles from the Estate of Peter Collins: *Exposition Universelle de 1878. Le Pailia de Trocadéro* (Paris: Morel, 1878) and T. Rickman's *The Styles of Architecture in England from the Conquest to the Reformation* (London: Longman, 1840); Octavio Paz *Discos Visuales* (Mexico City: Madero, 1968), *Pellan: A catalogue* (Quebec: Musée du Québec, 1972), A.M. Ross's *William Henry Bartlett: Artist, Author, and Traveller* (University of Toronto Press, 1973) offered by Dr. Eleanor McGarry, and an important monograph on American photographer *Brett Weston: Master Photographer* (Carmel: P.W.G. 1989), donated by the Director of Libraries.

Blacker-Wood Library of Biology

To the rare books collection was added:

1. Forshaw, Joseph Michael and William B. Cooper. *Kingfishers and related birds*. Volume 4, 1993. Purchased from the Wood Fund.
2. Rennie, Barrie and Emily Sartain. Portfolio of sixteen Canadian wildflowers. 1942. Gift.
3. Stones, Margaret. Jefferson and the natural world. A commemoration of the 250th anniversary of the birth of Thomas Jefferson: six limited edition prints of watercolor botanical drawings of native flora of Virginia. 1993. Funds for this purchase were donated by Mr. David Lank.
4. Hammond, Anthony. *The gentleman's exercise: or, a supplement to Mr. Latham's bookes of faulconry ...*, 1662. One of 25 copies of a 1992 limited edition facsimile reprint. Presented by Mr. Kent Carne and the North American Falconers Association Archives.

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Department of Rare Books and Special Collections

New Acquisitions

John Milton's *Paradise Lost* (Hammersmith: Doves Press, 1902). This significant Doves Press item for the Colgate Collection on the History of Printing was acquired with funds made available by the Friends of the Library.

William Henry Ireland, *An authentic account of the Shaksperian manuscript &c.* (London: Printed for J. Debrett, 1796).

Amos Blanchard, *Book of Martyrs* (Kingston, U.C., 1842).

"A perambulating curate," *Church rambles & scrambles* (Toronto, 1880).

Restif de La Bretonne, *Les gynographes, ou, Idees de deux honnetes-femmes...* (La Haie, 1777).

Restif de La Bretonne, *Le pornographe, ou, Idees d'un honnete-homme...* (Londres & La Haie, 1770).

David Hume, *The history of England...* (London, 1796).

Le murmure charmant. Recueil de chansons canadiennes et françaises (Montreal, 1879).

Masson de Pezay, *Les soirées helvétiques* (Amsterdam & Paris, 1771).

Robert Service, *Songs for my supper* (London, 1953).

Robert Service, *Songs of a sun-lover* (London, 1949).

Frank W. Porter, *Stray leaves gathered from the wildwood* (Mount Forest, Ont., 1880).

Jack Preston, *The world war* (Toronto, 1914)

Samuel Johnson, *Know Thyself* (Kingston, Ont.: Lock's Press, 1992).

Johann Ernesti's *Die woleingerichtete Buchdruchery ...* (Nuremberg, 1733) (Purchased with the aid of a grant from the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada [SSHRC].).

Charles Bruce's *Wild apples* (Sackville, N.B., 1927).

Alonzo Ryan's *Caricature politique au Canada* (Montreal, 1904).

The galley sheets to complement the 1936 typescript, the 1940 mimeograph copy, and the first edition of A.J.M. Smith's *News of the phoenix* (Toronto, 1943).

Mrs. Davenport's *Journal of a fourteen day's ride through the bush from Quebec to Lake St. John* (Quebec, 1872).

Joseph Bouchette's manuscript survey of the town of Durham, Quebec, 1805.

A map by Jean Baptiste d'Anville titled *Canada, Louisiane et terres angloises* (Paris, 1755).

Chronicle

Ten prints of Montreal and Quebec scenes by Herbert Raine.

A contemporary manuscript copy of F.X. Prieur's *Notes d'un condamné politique* (circa 1864) (Purchased with the aid of an SSHRC Fleeting Opportunities grant.)

The Janus Press edition of Barbara Luck's *Night Street* (West Burke, VT, 1993).

Donations

A highly important gift of historical manuscript material has been given to the Rare Book Department by William P. Wolfe, the eminent Montreal antiquarian book dealer. This donation, of some 2,000 items, represents the balance of Mr. Wolfe's stock of historical manuscripts and is made up mostly of Canadian material, largely from the late 18th and 19th centuries, although there are some English and European items. The earliest document is an indenture dated 1398. Many of the manuscripts complement material in the Department. A number of documents relate to the same Quebec families included in the De Léry MacDonald papers: Chartier de Lotbinière, Lambert-Dumont, Lefebvre de Bellefeuille, Lemoyne de Longueuil, and Regaud de Vaudreuil. There is a group of 38 letters (1833-1838) from Isabella Louise Stanley, the first wife of the Arctic explorer Sir William Parry, to her husband and other members of the family. Other interesting documents concern the Police and Fire service in Montreal in the early 19th-century.

Mr. Emanuel Lilker of Toronto has given several fine art books. A limited edition of *The Art of Norval Morrisseau* by Lister Sinclair and Jack Pollock (Toronto, 1979), is accompanied by five signed prints by the artist. *The Inner Ocean, Painting and Drawing of Ron Bolt* (Toronto, 1979), is another limited edition work which includes a print by the artist. Books on the work of European artists, Georges Rouault and Joan Miro, are also included in Dr. Lilke's gift.

A manuscript of an 18th-century geometrical treatise has been donated by Mr. Robert Gill. It consists of 79 folio leaves and is written neatly in English on paper of Dutch manufacture. Written on the verso of leaf 67 is the date December 1783. The manuscript is the 18th-century equivalent of a modern textbook; problems are presented and worked out with examples and diagrams.

Ms. Claire Van Vliet of the Janus Press recently gave the Department a copy of *The Janus Press 1981-1990, Catalogue Raisonné* by Ruth Fine and several other items relating to her career and the press. The Department's holdings of work by Ms. Van Vliet and the Janus Press is considered to be the most comprehensive in Canada.

Mr. Brian Merrett has presented to the Department Giovanni Battista Piranesi's *Lapides Capitolini* (1762) bound with *Antichità di Cora* (c. 1764). This volume is a significant addition to our important holdings of Piranesi's work.

Mme Vanna Garnier has given us over 400 cookbooks, including many produced by church organizations and women's clubs.

Soeur Berthe Sansregret has donated over 250 cookbooks dating from the 1940s to 1980s. Soeur Berthe was director of the cooking division of the École supérieure des arts et métiers which closed last year after more than 40 years in operation on Stanley Street in Montreal. Raynald Lepage, of the Department's staff and a long-time student of Soeur Berthe, was instrumental in acquiring these books for the Library.

The Department has acquired the papers of three Canadian writers: Ann Diamond, Steven Heighton, and Penn Kemp. Ann Diamond is from Montreal and is well-known as a poet, novelist, and literary journalist. Steven Heighton lives in Kingston, and has published poetry and short stories. Penn Kemp is a Toronto poet and performance artist.

Chronicle

Saul Shapiro Collection

The collection of Anglo-American Judaica of the late Saul Shapiro of Montreal has been given to the McGill Libraries by the family. This collection is composed of over 5,000 books and volumes of journals. Many of the books are signed first editions of fiction, poetry and drama written by Jewish authors in English. There are as well, many translations of works into English. Although twentieth century works predominate, there are also significant nineteenth century items. For example, there are first editions of the novels of Benjamin Disraeli, and important runs of English Jewish journals. Among the twentieth century works of particular note is a copy of Gertrude Stein's *The Making of Americans* (Paris, 1925). There are also some eighteenth and seventeenth century works, and a significant series of Haggadahs. The collection includes much Jewish history, many biographies, works on Jewish Christian relations, and a substantial number of volumes on Jewish art, cinema and literary criticism. The Saul Shapiro Collection is an important addition to the Libraries' holdings of Judaica. Professor Barry Levy of the Department of Jewish Studies had an instrumental role in arranging this gift to McGill.

F.R. Scott Library

The second and final part of the private library of the Canadian poet and lawyer, and McGill professor, F.R. Scott, has been received by the Rare Book Department. This part of the Scott Library is particularly strong in English and American literature of the late 19th and 20th centuries including works by Edith Sitwell, W.H. Auden, D.H. Lawrence, Siegfried Sassoon, Stephen Spender, Ernest Hemingway, Aldous Huxley, Archibald MacLeish and Algernon Swinburne among others. As well, there are significant additions to the Canadian literature included in the first part of the Library received in 1989.

McLennan-Redpath Libraries

Dr. C.G. Brodie-Blackwell. 61 volumes on the subjects of Anthropology, Religion, Near East and Philology.

Professor Max Dunbar. Ten bound volumes of *Grönlandsposten*, a newspaper in Godthaab (now Nuuk) for the years 1942-1950.

Professor John Fossey. *Boeothia Antiqua II: Recent Work in Boiotian Archaeology; Fortificationes Antiquae; Scipio Africanus and Rome's Invasion of Africa: a Historical Commentary of Titus Livius book xxix; The McGill University Collection of Greek and Roman Antiquities.*

Mr. Ludwig Grabowski and Mrs. Olga Grabowska. Historical German periodical *Illustrierte Geschichte des Weltkrieges / Allgemeine Kriegszeitung* nos. 1-125, 129-231, published between 1914 and 1919; 130 issues of a historical German newspaper, *Die Woche* (July 1914-June 1917); *History of the Present War with Russia*, 6 volumes, dated ca. 1857-60; 45 issues of *The New York Times-Mid Week Pictorial*, bound in 2 volumes. 82 issues from the years 1920-1930 of the German historical professional military magazine, *Wissen und Wehr*; *Almanach Imperial pour l'année MDCCCIX*; 8 GEGEN 2, nos. 1-23, 25-36 issued between 1914 and 1915; *Russkoe Proshloe; Pismo Imperatora Aleksandra I Grafu P.A. Tolstomu po Povodu Ostablenia Kn. Kutusovym Moskwy.*

Professor Peter Hoffman. *Karl Carstens reden und interviews, 1-4; Karl Carstens im Dienste unseres Staates, Potsdam: Staat, Armee, Residenz, Aufbau nach dem untergang, Von Scheicher zu Springer: Hans Zehrer, The War's Long Shadow; Baden-Wrttenbergische Portraits.*

Professor James Mallory. 93 books on literature, political science, history and literature.

Chronicle

Brian McCulloch of Data Administration. *Science fiction, Fantasy, & Horror: A Comprehensive Bibliography of Books and Short Fiction Published in the English Language*, 1987, 1988, 1990, 1991, 1992.

Dr. Andr Michalski. *Trafico Terrester y Red Vial en las Indias Españolas*.

Dr. Hans Möller. *Dansk Identitetshistorie*, volumes 1-4; H.C. Andersens. *Eventyr*, (Dal & Nielsen) volumes 1-5; a nine-volume set of the works of Adam Oehlenschläger; *Den Store Danske Udtaleordbog*; H.C. Andersens *Eventyr og Historier*, (Pedersen & Frølich), volumes 1-5; *Karks Blå Bog* 1992; *Spredt Blandt Folkeslagene*, volumes 1-4; H.C. Andersens *oeuvres*; a two volumes set of *Oehlenschlägers Levnet*; *Danskernes Identitetshistorie*, Supplement; *Dronning i Danmark*; *Digteren og Samfundet*, volumes 1-2; The *Diaries* of Hans Christian Andersen; *Les Vikings*; *From Viking to Crusader* and 37 assorted titles either in Danish or on the subject of Danish travel, history and literature.

Mr. J.G. Nelles. Books on history, political science, education, economy and government documents; *Political, Miscellaneous and Philosophical Pieces* by Benjamin Franklin 1779; the *Backwoods of Canada* by Catherine Trail, 1836; a 1928 first edition of Morley Callaghan's *Strange Fugitive* and a series of eight Quebec political pamphlets of 1890 bound in one volume.

Mrs. Eva Novotny. *Journal of Roman Archaeology*. Volumes 1-6.

Mr. Alexander Ross. 69 books on the subjects of Canadian Literature, Arts, Crafts, Classics, Literature, History, Military History, Travel and Literary Criticism. He also gave a copy of his own book, *Slow March to a Regiment*, and *Portrait of a Period; A Collection of Notman Photographs, 1856-1915*.

Mrs. Jacqueline Beaudoin-Ross. 69 books including *Estat présent de l'Eglise*, 1688 by Mgr. de Saint Vallier; *Lettres et Mémoires pour servir l'histoire du Cap Breton*, 1760 by Pichon; *A Companion to the Altar*, 1765 by Comber, *The Guards in Canada*, 1848 by Major John Richardson.

Professor William Shea. *Memoirs of the Royal Mines of Almadn*; *Kitab-I Bahriye*; 2 volumes; *Manuscripts of the Dibner Collection*; Adam Reis, *Coß and Kommentar*, 2 volumes.

Dr. Faith Wallis. *Norton I, Emperor of the United States*; *Carolingian Civilization: a reader*; *The Peace of God: Social Violence and Religious Response Around the Year 1000*.

Mr. Tony Schwartzman. From the estate of Birgitta Christensen Radow a collection of Danish fiction books including a history of Jews in Denmark.

Professor Michael Thompson's estate (Carleton University, Ottawa) a collection of 140 volumes of Swedish, Norwegian and Danish literature including Bellman's Songs, Runeberg's and Fröding's poetry, Strindberg, Holberg, Björnson, Andersen, Kierkegaard and anthologies of Swedish and Danish poetry. The collection also included 20 records and 5 albums of Scandinavian music, now placed in the Marvin Duchow Music Library.

The estate of Dr. Kate Kranck of the Bedford Institute of Oceanography, Dartmouth, NS. The library received a donation of Swedish-Finnish literature, both prose and poetry. Especially noteworthy is a number of volumes by Zacharias Topelius. The donation also included several science books among other books by the Danish explorer Knud Rasmussen which belonged to her father the late Håkan Kranck, who was professor of Petrology in the McGill Department of Geological Sciences from 1948 to 1969.

Chronicle

Scandinavian *National Bibliographies* covering books published in Denmark, Norway and Sweden 1961-92 were received as a donation from Carleton University Library. This valuable and generous donation was facilitated by Professor Gurli Woods, Comparative Literary Studies, Carleton University, Ottawa.

Osler Library of the History of Medicine

The \$20,000 grant received from SSHRC in 1992 is now spent; purchases received in 1993 include the following:

Actstykker angaaende cholera-epidemien i Norge i 1853 besorgede ved Medicinalcommitteen. Christiania, C.C. Werner, 1854.

Aviragnet, E.C. *De la tuberculose chez les enfants.* Paris, Alcan, 1892.

Baumler, Chr., et al., eds., *Handbuch der chronischen Infektionskrankheiten.* Leipzig, Vogel, 1874.

Barth, H. *Thérapeutique de la tuberculose.* Paris, O. Doin, 1896.

Bell, James Bachelder. *The homoeopathic therapeutics of diarrhoea, dysentery, cholera...* 3rd ed., F.E. Boerike, 1888.

Bellew, H.W. *The history of cholera in India from 1862 to 1881 ...* London, Trübner, 1885.

Berg, Fr. Th. *Sammandrag af officiella rapporter om cholerafarsoten i Sverige ar 1850...* Stockholm, Norstedt, 1851.

Bertrand, L.E. & J. Fontan. *De l'entéro-colite chronique endémique des pays chauds...* Paris, Doin, 1887.

De Renzi, Salvatore. *Intorno ad al colera di Napoli dell'anno 1854.* Naples, Gaetano Nobile, 1854,

Dobell, Horace. *On bacillary consumption.* London, Smith, Edler, 1889.

Duboué, Dr. (P. Henri) *De l'impaludisme.* 2nd ed. Paris, A. Cocoz, 1881.

Fournier, Alfred. *Leçons sur la syphilis vaccinale.* Paris, Lescrosnier & Babé, 1889.

Fournier, Jean. *Observations sur les fièvres putrides et malignes...* Dijon, L.N. Frantin, 1775.

Grohmann, J.F. Reinhold. *Das Pest-Contagium in Dgypten...* Wien, Kaulfuss Witwe, 1844.

Handbuch der acuten Infektionskrankheiten. 2 v. Leipzig, Vogel, 1874.

Hernandez, J.F. *Essai sur le typhus ou sur les fièvres dites malignes...* Paris, Mequignon-Marvis, 1816.

An historical narrative of the great Plague of London, 1665... London, W. Nicholl, 1769.

Hunter, Thomas, *Disputatio medica inauguralis de flava Indiarum febre.* Edinburgh, A. Neill, 1798.

Leuthner, Johann N.A. *Abhandlung und Beobachtungen von der Ruhr...* München, J.A. Crätz, 1768.

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Louvrier, Joseph. *Joseph Louvrier's nosographisch-therapeutische Darstellung syphilitischer Krankheitsformen...* 2nd ed. Wien, Bauer, 1819.

Pacini, Filippo. *Della natura del colera asiatico* Firenze, Uccelli, Zolfanelli, 1866.

Pellarin, A. *Contagion du Choléra démontrée par l'épidémie de la Guadeloupe; hygiène des pays chauds.* Paris, J.B. Baillière, 1872.

Phillippe, A. *Histoire de la peste noir...* Paris, 1853.

Pidoux, Hermann. *Études générales et pratiques sur la phthisie.* Paris, Asselin, 1873.

Pirondi, Prospero. *Considerazioni sulla contagiosita del cholera-morbus asiatico...* Marsiglia, Arnaud, 1856.

Reincke, J.J. *Die Cholera in Hamburg und ihre Beziehungen zum Wasser.* Hamburg, Lucas Gräfe & Sillem, 1894.

Salisbury, James Henry. *Malaria.* New York, William Kellog, 1885.

Samoilovich, D. *Mémoire sur la peste qui, en 1771, ravagea l'empire de Russie.* Paris, Leclerc, 1783.

Southey, Henry Herbert. *Observations on pulmonary consumption.* London, Longman..., 1814.

Tholozan, J.D. *La peste en Turquie dans les temps modernes.* Paris, G. Masson, 1880.

Thomassen a Thuessink, E.J. *Untersuchung ob das gelbe Fieber ansteckend sey, oder nicht.* Bremen, Johann Georg Heyse, 1823.

In addition, one rare book was purchased with the assistance of the Director of Libraries, who found it in a Copenhagen bookshop. This is Jacques Mesnard's *Le Guide des accoucheurs... ouvrage des plus utiles pour les personnes qui veulent faire une pratique particulière de l'opération des accouchemens: le tout en forme d'examen.* Paris, 1743.

Gifts received include the translation into English of J.C. Sournia's *Histoire de la médecine et des médecins* (English edition published in 1992 by Harold Starke), donated by Dr. H.J. Scott.

In memory of Mr. & Mrs. A.J. Paull, Dr. & Mrs. M.M. Gertler donated a copy of Leonard F. Peltier's *Orthopedics: a history and iconography*, San Francisco, 1993.

Redpath Museum

From the McCord Museum

- 1 West African dagger
- 2 Roman lamps
- 1 Roman dish
- 1 Roman pilgrim's flask

Chronicle

From Mrs. Joyce McAusland

- 5 Roman coins
- 1 terracotta lamp
- 1 ivory die
- 1 Egyptian shwabti figure

From Mr. Alexander Hutchison

- 12 stone implements from St. Kitts and Lesser Antilles
- 6 shell adze blades, etc., from St. Kitts and Lesser Antilles
- 14 terracotta zoomorphic and anthropomorphic figure fragments from St. Kitts and Lesser Antilles
- 3 stone fragments from St. Kitts and Less Antilles

Walter Hitschfeld Environmental Earth Sciences Library

Thanks to special support from Irma and Charles Hitschfeld we were able to purchase an electronic atlas, *Global Explorer*, and an important set of maps issued by the CIA. These maps of developing countries will partially fill a major collections gap.

Among the many gifts processed this year were air photo runs from Quebec journals and government documents. A particularly impressive backrun, *Geophysical and Astrophysical Fluid Dynamics* was donated by Prof. Lawrence Mysak.

One of our most browsed current periodicals, *Science*, comes to us thanks to Prof. Max Dunbar.

Prof. John Lewis continues to be a generous donor. This year he donated to the library *Geo Info Systems* and *GIS World*, two current awareness journals focusing on geographic information systems.

Contributors

Ian Binnie, Q.C. is a lawyer who practices with McCarthy Tétrault in Toronto. After graduation from McGill in 1960 he attended Cambridge University (where he was the first Canadian to be elected President of the Cambridge Union) and the University of Toronto Law School. He has represented Canada before the International Court of Justice at the Hague and makes numerous appearances before the Supreme Court of Canada and other courts and tribunals. His grandmother was a regular summer visitor to Orillia during the Leacock era.

Michael S. Bisson was born in Barre, Vermont, and obtained his Ph.D. in anthropology from the University of California, Santa Barbara in 1976. His archaeological fieldwork has concentrated on the later prehistory of South-Central Africa, beginning with a study of prehistoric copper mining in Zambia, and followed by a survey of Late Stone Age and Early Iron Age settlement patterns on the Zambia-Zaire watershed. Recently his research interests have expanded to include the Middle and Upper Palaeolithic in Europe. He has made extensive use of the archaeological collections of the Redpath Museum in teaching a laboratory course on the European Palaeolithic.

Stanley Brice Frost joined McGill University in 1956 as Professor of Old Testament Languages and Literature and during the next two decades became intimately concerned with the administration and direction of the University. He was appointed Dean of the Faculty of Divinity in 1957, Dean of the Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research in 1963, and Vice Principal (Administration) in 1970. For ten years, he was chairman of the University Libraries Committee. Named Director of the History of McGill Project in 1974, he has been the moving spirit in the organization of the popular James McGill Society, serving first as its executive secretary and now as Honorary President. His publications include *Old Testament Apocalyptic*, 1952, *Standing and Understanding*, 1969 and the two volumes of the McGill history, 1980 and 1984. A biography of Cyril James was published in 1991 and *He Chose A City: James McGill of Montreal* is scheduled for 1995.

Louise Gareau-Des Bois, a poet, translator, librettist and playwright, was born in Montreal. She has been very active for some twenty years in the work of the Committee of writers of P.E.N. International. Apart from *Deux Solitudes*, her French translation of Hugh MacLennan's *Two Solitudes*, she has published two collections of poetry, *Paroles d'Eau et de Sang* (Éditions St-Germain des Prés, Paris, 1976), and *Brèches* (Éditions Garneau, Québec, also 1976). She has also contributed to various special publications of the National Film Board of Canada (*The Female Eye*, 1975, and *Canada with Love*, 1982). She wrote several plays which were produced by Radio-Canada, and in 1983, published an artist's book with the painter Ghitta Caiserman-Roth. From 1990 to 1992, she wrote the libretto of a work entitled *Opera for a City*, which will have its premiere in Montreal and Paris in November 1995. The composer for this is Joanna Bruzdowicz, who lives in Brussels and already enjoys a world-wide reputation.

Barbara Lawson is Curator of Ethnology at the Redpath Museum. She has a B.A. in anthropology from Northwestern University and an M.A. from McGill. Prior to joining the Redpath Museum in 1984, she was a member of the curatorial staff at the Vancouver Museum. Her book *Collected Curios: Missionary Tales from the South Seas*, published in the Fontanus Monograph Series, provides the first comprehensive account of the history of some of the Redpath Museum's ethnological holdings and a detailed analysis of a collection of objects gathered during the nineteenth century by members of Nova Scotia's Presbyterian "South Seas Mission."

Yehudi Lindeman is a professor at McGill University where he teaches English. He has published articles on Renaissance theory and translation as well as a book-length edition, with translation, of plays by the Neo-Latin Renaissance author Macropedius (1983). Since 1989, Lindeman has been director of Living Testimonies, the Holocaust Video Documentation Archive at McGill University.

Robert H. Michel is an archivist in the McGill University Archives and a faculty lecturer in the Graduate School of Library and Information Studies for the team-taught archives course. He holds a doctorate in history from McGill University. He is a member of the Acquisition Committee of the Canadian Council of Archives, established to help preserve Canada's documentary heritage. He serves on the executive of the James McGill Society, which presents lectures on McGill's history.

Contributors

Barbara M. Syrek, née à Szczecin, au nord de la Pologne, est muséologue et chercheuse de formation. Depuis 1978, elle détient une maîtrise en conservation et en gestion des musées de l'Université Nicolas Copernic de Torun, Pologne. En 1993, elle obtient, à l'Université de Montréal, un diplôme de maîtrise en muséologie. Avant son établissement à Montréal, en 1987, elle a travaillé, entre autres, comme conservatrice au Cabinet numismatique du Musée National à Szczecin en Pologne et comme restauratrice-adjointe au Museum of Applied Arts and Sciences à Sydney en Australie. En 1992, elle a effectué son stage à la Direction de la conservation du Musée McCord d'histoire canadienne. Présentement, elle est consultante en muséologie à la Société d'histoire de Longueuil. Les 15 dernières années ont été vouées à la recherche touchant l'art médiéval européen, la numismatique mondiale, l'histoire des musées et l'art québécois.

Bruce G. Trigger has taught in McGill's Department of Anthropology since 1964. Born in Ontario, he holds a B.A. from the University of Toronto and a Ph.D. from Yale University. His contributions to the study of aboriginal history include *The Children of Aataentsic*, 1976, and *Natives and Newcomers*, 1985, both published by McGill-Queen's University Press. More recently he has published *A History of Archaeological Thought*, 1989, and *Early Civilizations: Ancient Egypt in Context*, 1993. He is currently working on a comparative study of early civilizations around the world.

Bruce Whiteman, Head of the Department of Rare Books and Special Collections, holds an M.A. in English Literature (1977) from the University of Toronto. He has published widely on Canadian literature and bibliography, and is also a poet and book reviewer. He is the former editor of the *Papers of the Bibliographic Society of Canada*. Recent books include *The Letters of John Sutherland, 1942-1956* (1992) and *Lasting Impressions: A Short History of English Publishing in Quebec* (1994). A biographical and critical study of Group of Seven painter J.E.H. MacDonald is due for publication in 1995.

Fontanus Publications

The **Fontanus Monograph Series**
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and presentation of the collections of the
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and archives.

General Editor: Hans Möller
Associate Editor: Richard Virr

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Guidelines for Authors

Fontanus is an annual publication devoted to scholarly research based principally upon McGill University collections. The term 'collections' is interpreted in the broadest sense, to include books, archives, specimens, artifacts, buildings and other forms of documentary evidence. Contributions derived from all aspects of McGill collections will be considered. Submission of a contribution is understood to imply that no paper containing essentially the same material has been published previously and that the manuscript is not under editorial consideration elsewhere. All submissions will be reviewed by members of the Editorial Board and refereed by experts in the appropriate field. Any substantial changes will be cleared with the author before publication. Send submissions, prepared according to the instructions below, to:

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All manuscripts (in two copies) must be typewritten and double-spaced. Articles may also be submitted on computer disk, using WordPerfect 4.2, 5.0 or 5.1 software. Notes should be numbered consecutively and follow the text of the article. Author's name should appear after the title and before the text of the article. A short biographical note of no more than 100 words should be included. Degrees, current and previous positions and major publications should be listed.

Abstracts

A brief abstract (of no more than 200 words) of the content of the article should be prepared by the author.

Form of Citation

Manuscripts should conform to the standards outlined in *The Canadian Style: a guide to writing and editing* (by the Department of the Secretary of State of Canada) Toronto, London: Dundurn, 1985. Translation of passages in other than French or English should be provided in the text.

Illustrations

Photocopies of visual material (with brief captions) must be submitted for initial evaluation. Once an article has been accepted, the author is responsible for supplying clear black and white glossy photos and for securing the permission to publish copyright material if necessary.

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